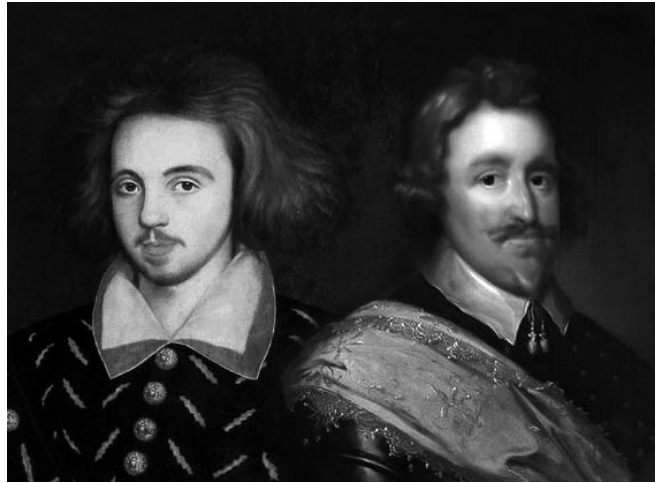


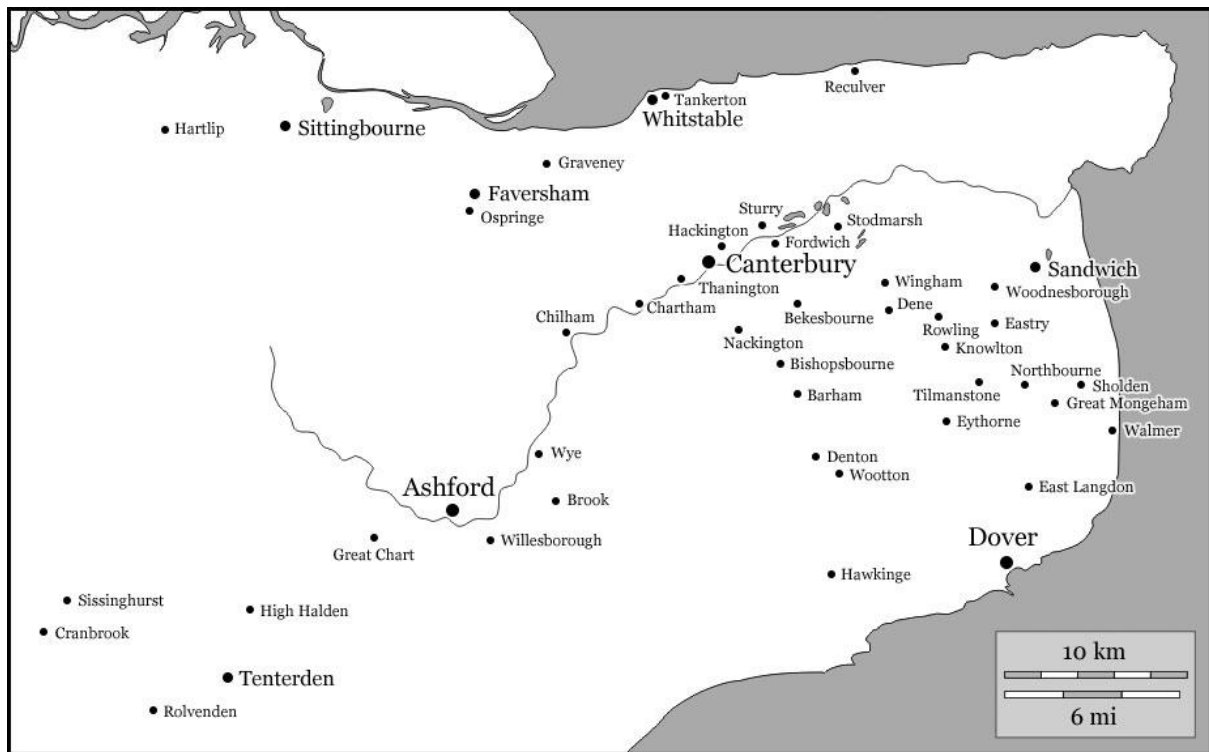
“Study to be Quiet”

Echoes of Marlowe in Kentish Society

Daniel Sayers



¹ Ignoring footnotes. The title quotes the last line of Izaak Walton’s *The Compleat Angler*, which in turn is quoted from *1 Thessalonians* 4:11 (KJV). Cover image shows portraits of Christopher Marlowe (putative, b. 1564), Sir Edward Master (d. 1648).



This essay seeks to investigate Christopher Marlowe’s Kentish connections and legacy — starting from associations which are well established, before tracing a wider network of documented links, using parish registers, wills, and other primary and secondary sources. Understanding connections in Early Modern times can be challenging, due to the paucity of the documentary record. Many parish registers in the Canterbury area only begin in the early years of Elizabeth I’s reign, from around 1560 — not long before Marlowe’s 1564 birth. Where records do survive, they are generally incomplete.

This patchy record may be compounded in the case of a person such as Christopher Marlowe, whose name was considerably vilified towards the documented end of his life, and beyond. In the years following his “sudden and fearful end” in Deptford, in 1593, as well as receiving accolades from fellow-writers (e.g. Thomas Nashe — “no leaf he wrote on but was like a burning-glass to set on fire all his readers ... His life he condemned in comparison of the liberty of speech”, and Michael Drayton — “Marlowe, bathed in the Thespian springs, / Had in him those brave translunary things, / That your first poets had, his raptures were /

All air, and fire”), several scandalous accusations against him appeared in print.² The Puritan Thomas Beard’s widely-read *Theatre of God’s Judgements* (1597) condemned Marlowe as an immoral atheist who had died terribly and justly by the hand of God: “see what a hook the Lord put in the nostrils of this barking dog”.³ The following year, Frances Meres’ *Palladis Tamia* claimed (incorrectly, as the inquest document found in 1925 by Leslie Hotson showed), that Marlowe “was stabbed to death by a bawdy serving man, a rival of his in his lewd love”. In 1618 the Puritan Edmund Rudierde, in his *Thunderbolt of God's Wrath against Hard-hearted and Stiff-necked Sinners*, wrote, “blaspheming and cursing, he yielded up his stinking breath”. These were strong words to be entered into publication, representing a significant public damning of Marlowe’s character. We may note that, despite coming from Canterbury, home of the leader of the Church of England — and presumably having been well-taught in theology, as well as having been helped to study at university on a scholarship endowed by Archbishop Matthew Parker, probably with a view towards an ecclesiastical career for him — out of the associated names that have come down to us, none were of figures strongly connected to the church.⁴

Today we might consider Marlowe’s reputation to be deserving of a reappraisal. The main accusations against him, of atheism and homosexuality — whatever the validity of these claims — are no longer crimes in England, or widely viewed as such. There are questions over the violent and cowardly picture of him painted by the 1593 inquest document, and by the rumours about his death circulating at the time.⁵ He is important, not only as a major literary originator (considered the most important contemporary influence on the works of William Shakespeare), but also as a figure in Early Modern English history — associated with names

² Baines note copy: BL Harley MS.6853 f. 307-8; Nashe, T. (1593). *The Unfortunate Traveller*. London: Scarlet, T.; Drayton, M. (1627). *The Battaille of Agincourt*. London: Mathewes, A.

³ A biblical allusion evoking e.g. *Amos 4:2* “The time will come when you will be led away with hooks in your noses. Every last one of you will be dragged away like a fish on a hook!” (NLV).

⁴ ODNB Nicholl, “Marlowe [Marley], Christopher”; Dyce (1850) p. v-vi.

⁵ The inquest document found in 1925 differs from most of the versions of events circulating at the time. Hotson (1925); Farey, P. (2011) “Marlowe's Sudden and Fearful End” <http://www.rey.prestel.co.uk/sudden.htm>. Nicholl (2002) and Riggs (2005) are among those who have speculated that the official verdict was a cover-up for the poet’s murder.

such as Sir Walter Raleigh, William Cecil Lord Burghley, John Dee, Sir Roger Manwood, Sirs Francis and Thomas Walsingham, and Mary (Sidney) Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke — active figures in the developing spheres of statecraft, colonialism, modern science, law, intelligence work and literary patronage. Despite his name not having been openly celebrated during many of the intervening years, his plays have continued to be performed, his poems read, and his quiet associations of influence may be detected — not least amongst Kentish gentry circles, from his lifetime onwards.⁶

In order to “fill in the blanks” of Marlowe’s Kentish connections and legacy, we must work to some extent by inference — using known associations as a starting point, before carefully broadening our scope. To this end, a number of further extensions and connections have been found for the Marlowe-associated families of Manwood and Benchkin — including discoveries of Marlowe’s contemporary Peter Manwood’s birth record, previous marriages for both of John Benchkin’s parents, as well as the documented name of Benchkin’s teacher (a family friend, and likely a clergy member at the Cathedral) during the time he is thought to have been at school with Marlowe.

A network of Kentish families in Marlowe’s orbit would intersect strongly with the circles of two later sources of Marlowe-related information — Henry Oxinden and Izaak Walton — potentially informing their knowledge. We will follow the links between, and activities of, this wider network — who were also involved in important developments in theology, politics and colonialism — from the reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

In honour of Calvin Hoffman’s bequest of the prize which this essay is written in entry for, the name of William Shakespeare will be mentioned, where of potential relevance to the undoubted but unproven connections between Marlowe and England’s national playwright. However, we do not here seek to demonstrate an identity between the authorship of the

⁶ See e.g. Bate (1997) chap. 4; Honan (2005); Nicholl (2002); ODNB Nicholl, C. “Marlowe [Marley], Christopher”.

works commonly attributed to the two men. This essay aims to present and contextualise new findings, whilst illuminating avenues for further research.

Early Life

Christopher Marlowe, or Marley, was born in St. George's parish in Canterbury, in 1564 — the son of John, a shoemaker from Ospringe, near Faversham, and Katherine née Arthur from Dover. Two months after Christopher's birth, his father became a freeman of Canterbury — at about the age of twenty-eight, and no more than four years after moving to Canterbury and starting his apprenticeship. The Canterbury archivist William Urry wrote about John Marlowe in his 1988 *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury*, “His age and the speed with which he became a freeman suggest there was more to his progress in Canterbury than the officially recorded details indicate”. Despite being regularly in debt, and perhaps with the help of his colleague Thomas Greenleaf, master of the shoemakers' company, John Marlowe managed to rise to the role of warden / treasurer of the company in 1589 — but then lost the position, after a year, and was taken to court by them for a shortfall of forty shillings and ten pence in the accounts (which he later seems to have cleared).⁷

Marlowe's early education is unknown. Around Christmas 1578, at age fourteen and late to be enrolling as a student, he became a scholar at the King's School, attached to the Cathedral — said to be the oldest school in England, and the oldest continually-operating place of learning in the world. He may have received some of his previous education as a fee-paying student at the King's School, and must have started his education elsewhere — as the school only took boys already able to read and write in both English and Latin. It seems unlikely that his debt-ridden father would have been able to reliably afford a costly education for his son. One possible early benefactor was Sir Roger Manwood.⁸

⁷ Urry (1988) p. 13, 26.

⁸ ODNB Nicholl, “Marlowe [Marley], Christopher”; Kuriyama (2010) p. 22; Urry (1988) p. 42-3.

The Manwoods

Sir Roger Manwood

Sir Roger Manwood (1525-1592) was a colourful Elizabethan character. Today he is remembered as an important judge and respected legal authority under Queen Elizabeth, as well as for being a generous benefactor in his home county of Kent. He founded a free school in Sandwich (still named after him and active today), and built a row of almshouses close to where his manor stood, next to St. Stephen's church in Hackington, Canterbury. Somewhat clouding these positive images of Sir Roger, he is also believed to have been a corrupt opportunist, with a domineering approach to law and personal gain, who would stop at nothing to achieve his aims. He reached the end of his life (Dec 1592, aged 67) with his career in free fall – in disfavour with the Queen, under house arrest, and battling accusations of misuse of his powers, corruption, and bribery.⁹

Thirty years previously, in Jan 1562 (early in Elizabeth's reign), as a rising lawyer he took part in the royal Christmas revels, in which he performed before the Queen in a courtly drama – *The Masque of Beauty and Desire*. Manwood appeared as “Chief Baron of the Exchequer” – a role he would later (in 1578) go on to play in real life. He performed in the masque as one of the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple – members of one of London's legal Inns of Court. The Inner Temple's patron, Robert Dudley the Earl of Leicester, was one of Queen Elizabeth's favourites. Dudley's first wife Amy had died just over a year beforehand, apparently from falling down a flight of stairs, leaving him free to pursue the Queen's hand in marriage – having observed the traditional year's mourning period. Dudley may have tried to use themes of royal succession in both of the dramatic entertainments at these revels, as part of an (ultimately unsuccessful) attempt to persuade the Queen to marry him.¹⁰

⁹ ODNB Jack, S. “Manwood, Sir Roger”.

¹⁰ Walker (1998) p. 202-8.

The masque was part of a double bill, alongside a new play, *Gorboduc*, written by Manwood's fellow Inner Temple members Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, both from Sissinghurst in Kent.¹¹ This play has a special significance in the history of English literature: it was the first to be written in blank verse — a rudimentary version of the form later revolutionised by Christopher Marlowe, before finding employment throughout the plays of William Shakespeare.¹²

A year later, the Queen granted Manwood the estate in Hackington that would be his Kentish home for the rest of his life. Later the same year he started his free school in Sandwich, with help from Archbishop Parker.¹³ Parker was a key theologian in the Church of England, directing the writing of the Thirty-nine Articles — the defining statements of the Anglican Church — as well as being a generous educational patron, bequeathing in his 1575 will a set of scholarships under which Canterbury's King's School students could study at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.¹⁴ In 1581, this bequest would enable the young Christopher Marlowe to study there. Parker also left money to Manwood in his will — suggesting a friendship.¹⁵

In 1587, Marlowe was awarded his M.A. at Cambridge, thanks to a letter from the Privy Council strongly suggestive of Marlowe's involvement in intelligence work for his country, whilst a student there.¹⁶ Also that year, a hagiographic account of Sir Roger appeared in the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* — an important source for the history plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare — written by Francis Thynne, Holinshed's colleague in the Society of Antiquaries.¹⁷

¹¹ In 1566, Manwood was made executor and beneficiary in the will of Richard, Thomas Sackville's father. Hasler (1981) "Sackville, Sir Richard (by 1507-66)".

¹² Honan (2005) p. 169-70; Bate (1997) chap. 4;

¹³ ODNB Jack, S. "Manwood, Sir Roger"; CHAS Thistleton, A. "Sir Roger Manwood (1525-1592)" <http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/manwood>.

¹⁴ At the time known as Benet College. ODNB Crankshaw, D. & Gillespie, A. "Parker, Matthew"; TNA PROB 11/57/423.

¹⁵ ODNB Nicholl, C. "Marlowe [Marley], Christopher"; Strype (1821) vol. 3 p. 337.

¹⁶ Honan (2005) p. 152-5.

¹⁷ Salter (2017) p. 139.

After Sir Roger's death in 1592, Marlowe wrote an epitaph poem to him, of twelve ten-syllable lines of Latin. The poem was not used for Manwood's actual epitaph (which may be seen today in St. Stephen's church, Hackington, on the striking monument he probably had built, and engraved, during his lifetime), but was found later, in the notebook of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Kent.¹⁸ The existence of this poem has suggested to Marlowe scholars the likelihood of some kind of patronage of the playwright and poet by the wealthy judge (or his eldest son, Peter) — perhaps including having helped Marlowe to get his education.¹⁹

Other than the epitaph poem, other connections between Christopher Marlowe and Sir Roger Manwood have been found. In 1589, after receiving his M.A. at Cambridge, Marlowe was involved in a sword fight in London which resulted in the death of a man — William Bradley — at the hands of Marlowe's friend and fellow poet Tom Watson. Manwood was the presiding judge of the court session that finalised Marlowe's pardon for his part in the affray.²⁰

One of Marlowe's fellow pupils at the King's School was Richard Boyle (b. 1566, Preston-next-Faversham) — who later became the Earl of Cork, and was father to the famous scientist Robert Boyle. Richard also attended Corpus Christi, Cambridge, with Marlowe — after which he studied law at the Middle Temple, and worked as a clerk for Sir Roger Manwood, during the high-profile trial of Mary Queen of Scots for treason, as well as that of secretary of state William Davison for prematurely executing her — both of which trials Manwood sat at, as a senior judge. Later, in the early sixteen hundreds, Boyle was associated with Sir Walter Raleigh — thought to have been one of Marlowe's earlier associates. Raleigh

¹⁸ The poem used on the actual monument was, unusually, copied from another — the tomb of John Martyn in Graveney near Faversham, 1436 (Parsons, 1794 p. 217-8), a judge in the time of Henry VI, who Manwood was a near-direct descendant of — his great-grandfather having remarried Martyn's daughter (Berry, 1830 "Manwood"). Both monument and inscription seem to have been completed before Manwood's death, as the date is carved in a different hand (Dyce, 1850 p. v). Eccles (1935) p. 39-40.

¹⁹ Kuriyama (2010) p. 71; Dyce (1850) p. iv-v; ODNB Nicholl, "Marlowe [Marley], Christopher".

²⁰ ODNB Nicholl, "Marlowe [Marley], Christopher".

received a cut-rate deal on large tracts of Boyle's Irish land, and his fleet received help from Boyle in Ireland, at the start and end of Raleigh's last, fateful expedition to Guyana.²¹

Another connection linking Marlowe, Manwood and Raleigh, found by Marlowe scholar Charles Nicholl, was a man named John Meere, from near Raleigh's estate at Sherborne, Dorset. In 1580 Meere had studied law at the Inner Temple, and worked as a servant to Manwood, before being committed in 1584 to the Fleet prison in London by the Star Chamber, "for knavery". There he associated with a fellow-prisoner, Thomas Drury — later one of the main people responsible for organising the accusations being gathered against Marlowe (as well as Raleigh) in 1593. From around 1592 Meere worked as a servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, who later referred to him as a "rogue", and "so infamous and detested a wretch as Meere".²²

Manwood was a friend and associate of Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's spymaster — cousin and professional superior to Marlowe's friend, literary patron and probable employer in intelligence work for his country, Sir Thomas Walsingham I, of Scadbury near Chislehurst, Kent. Sir Thomas' son Sir Thomas Walsingham II married Manwood's granddaughter, Margaret, in about 1616, thus joining the Marlowe-associated Kentish families of Manwood and Walsingham.²³

The Harts of Lullingstone

In 1587 Manwood arranged with the recently widowed Dame Elizabeth Hart for a double marriage, of his son Peter and daughter Anne, to her daughter Frances and son Percival. As part of the deal, Manwood agreed to pay £200 yearly for both couples to live with Dame

²¹ ODNB Barnard, T. "Boyle, Richard, first earl of Cork"; ODNB Jack, S. "Manwood, Sir Roger"; Salaman & Burton (1985) p. 151-2.

²² Nicholl (2002) p. 456-61.

²³ Kuriyama (2010) p. 119; Berry (1830) "Manwood".

Elizabeth at the Hart family estate at Lullingstone Castle, between Sevenoaks and Dartford in North Kent.²⁴

The Hart family had court connections. Dame Elizabeth's father-in-law Percival Hart (d. 1580) was Chief Sewer and Knight Harbinger to four English monarchs, from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I. The Harts were related, via court-associated marriages (see Appendix B1), to the Sidney family: the poet and patron Mary, and her brother the poet Sir Philip. Mary Sidney was the wife of Henry Herbert, the 2nd Earl of Pembroke, and was mother to the dedicatees of Shakespeare's *First Folio* (1623), William and Philip Herbert — the 3rd and 4th Earls of Pembroke. The relationship line between Dame Elizabeth Hart's mother-in-law, Frideswide Braye, and the Herbert family, via the Earls of Shrewsbury (first tree path, Appendix B1) is perhaps the route Ingram (1904) had in mind, in stating that the Manwoods and Sidneys were "connected by marriage". Another relationship line connecting the Harts and the Sidneys (second tree path, Appendix B1) takes in Robert Devereux the 2nd Earl of Essex — once one of Queen Elizabeth's favourites, later executed in Feb 1601 for an attempted uprising against her, supported by Shakespeare and Nashe's patron Henry Wriothesley the Earl of Southampton — and Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter, Frances, wife of Sir Philip Sidney (and secondly, from 1590, Essex).²⁵

An association between Christopher Marlowe and Sir Roger Manwood, or his children, from around the time of the Manwood-Hart marriages or earlier, could possibly have informed Marlowe's connections with either Mary (Sidney) Herbert — to whom in 1592 he wrote a gushing Latin dedication, published preceding his late friend Tom Watson's poem *Amyntas* — or with another of his Kentish patrons, Sir Thomas Walsingham I. Tom Watson also shared the latter connection: in 1590 he published a Latin elegy for Sir Francis Walsingham, dedicated to Sir Thomas.²⁶

²⁴ ODNB Jack, S. "Manwood, Sir Roger"; Arch. Cant. 16 p. 108.

²⁵ Hasler (1981) "Hart, Henry (1531-c.78), of Lullingstone, Kent"; Ingram (1904) p. 101; App. B1.

²⁶ Kendall (2003) p. 159; Honan (2005) p. 138-9.

Another, later connection gives another link from the Harts to the Herberts and Sidneys: Dame Elizabeth Hart's uncle by marriage, William Knollys, in 1595 took in the young Mary Fitton as his ward, and fell in (unrequited) love with her. She later had an affair with Mary Sidney's son, William Herbert the 3rd earl of Pembroke. She has been suggested as a candidate for the 'Dark Lady' of Shakespeare's Sonnets.²⁷

Sir Peter Manwood

Sir Roger's son, Sir Peter Manwood (d. 1625), is also of literary interest — though he was not known as a writer. He followed his father in studying law at the Inner Temple — and remained associated with the Inn of Court, although he declined being called to the bar. He was a keen collector of manuscripts, a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and an active associate and patron of writers and scholars. He was elected MP for Sandwich four times between 1589 and 1601, a Virginia Company councillor from 1609, and MP for Kent in 1614.²⁸ In 1623, over sixty years after his father's performance in the Inner Temple's royal Christmas masque, Peter was appointed steward of the London Inn of Court's Christmas festivities. If Roger was overly attentive to personal power and wealth, it seems his son was rather the opposite: he was in debt and had to be bailed out several times in the latter part of his life — lastly by King James — and the family fortune was “in disarray” by the time of his death.²⁹

In 1607, Sir Peter was praised by his close friend, the herald and antiquarian William Camden, who had been Ben Jonson's educational mentor. Camden probably also knew Sir Thomas Walsingham I — in 1609, he moved to Chislehurst, near Dartford, becoming Walsingham's neighbour.³⁰

²⁷ ODNB Larminie, V. “Fitton [married names Polewhele, Lougher], Mary”.

²⁸ ODNB Knafla, L. A. “Manwood, Sir Peter”; Sams (1939) p. 754.

²⁹ *Ibid.*;

³⁰ ODNB Knafla, L. A. “Manwood, Sir Peter”; ODNB Herendeen, W. “Camden, William”; ODNB Gair, R. “Walsingham, Sir Thomas”; Clark (1977) p. 218-9; Webb, Miller & Beckwith (1899) p. 239.

Peter Manwood's literary circle also included his close friend the poet William Browne, who, like Peter and his father, had trained in law at the Inner Temple. Browne was patronised by the Herbert family, including the 3rd and 4th Earls Pembroke, and Mary née Sidney their mother. The famous epitaph poem dedicated to Mary upon her death in 1621 ("Underneath this sable hearse ...") is often attributed to Browne. He was the author of an elegy (printed in 1616) for Peter's son, Thomas, who had also studied law at the Inner Temple, and had died as a young man. Along with Browne, Manwood may have known the writer Michael Drayton — a close friend of Browne, as well as of Manwood's Antiquarian Society fellow William Burton.³¹

Peter's other literary acquaintances included Sir Robert Cotton — another member of the Society of Antiquarians, and the owner of a large and important library of manuscripts, which would become the basis of the British Library;³² William Lambarde — another antiquary, associated with Archbishop Parker, a friend of both Sir Peter (who witnessed his will) and his father (who received praise from him in his *Perambulations of Kent*), who once discussed with Elizabeth I the use of the Shakespeare play *Richard II* by the Duke of Essex as part of his attempted rebellion;³³ Sir Francis Bacon, to whom Peter dedicated a book printed from one of his manuscripts; Samuel Daniel — poet, student of and eulogist of Mary (Sidney) Herbert, and master of the Queen's revels;³⁴ John Tradescant the Elder — a celebrated botanist who managed the garden of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and sent his son John to the King's School;³⁵ and John Stow — a historian and antiquarian patronised by Matthew Parker, whose work was a source for plays by Marlowe and Shakespeare.³⁶

Manuscripts and books held by Sir Peter included:

³¹ ODNB O'Callaghan, M. "Browne, William"; Corser (1867) p. 155-7. Hebel et al. (1961) p. xxix.

³² Woudhuysen (2003) p. 133; ODNB Knafla, L. A. "Manwood, Sir Peter".

³³ Woudhuysen (2003) p. 130; Salter (2017) p. 139; "I am Richard. Know ye not that? ... He that will forget God, will also forget his benefactors", Scott-Warren (2013).

³⁴ Woudhuysen (2003) p. 130.

³⁵ Leith-Ross (1984) p. 154, 170.

³⁶ Woudhuysen (2003) p.131; ODNB Knafla, L. A. "Manwood, Sir Peter".

- ❖ Samuel Daniel - *The First Part of the History of England* (presented to Manwood by the author, 1613),
- ❖ A manuscript of *The Life of Henry V* owned by John Stow (copy made by Manwood 1601),
- ❖ John Stow — *Annales*, a presentation copy to Manwood,
- ❖ “Henry VIII’s life with certain notes” (on loan from Cotton, 1606),
- ❖ A summary of Robert Devereux the 2nd Earl of Essex's arraignment in 1601,
- ❖ Essex's speech at his execution,
- ❖ A summary of Sir Walter Raleigh's arraignment in 1603,
- ❖ A letter from Raleigh to James I, the night before his execution,
- ❖ Camden — *Brittania*, translated by Richard Knolles,
- ❖ Papers about the King of England’s claim over France (“the best book I have”), note in Camden’s hand,
- ❖ John Day — *A Testimony of Antiquity*, containing signatures of seventeen bishops and archbishops, apparently previously owned by Archbishop Matthew Parker,
- ❖ Cotton and Camden’s discourses on high office titles,
- ❖ Plutarch — *Precepts of Government*,
- ❖ Sir Roger Williams — *The Actions of the Low Countries*, manuscript owned and printed by Manwood, dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon,
- ❖ George Cavendish — *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, copied from Stow’s manuscript, 1598,
- ❖ *Life of Thomas More* by Ro. Ba., manuscript,
- ❖ A letter from Lord Arundel to Queen Elizabeth.³⁷

In 1620 Sir Peter donated several of his manuscripts to the then-new Bodleian Library.³⁸

³⁷ Woudhuysen (2003) p. 130-4; Daybell (2012) p. 200-1; Sotheby’s (1844); Keleman (2006); MS Bodl. 966; Eckhardt & Smith (2016) p. 67; BL Add. MS 38139, f. 58r.

³⁸ ODNB Knafla, L. A. “Manwood, Sir Peter”.

Another of the books Peter held — written by a writer friend of both Peter and his father — may be of particular interest in regard to the plays of Christopher Marlowe. Richard Knolles (late 1540s-1610) was headmaster of Sir Roger’s free school in Sandwich from sometime after 1571, for most if not all of the rest of his life. His *General History of the Turks* has been noted as a possible source for Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine I* and *II* plays. It could perhaps have also been a source for another, *The Jew of Malta*: it contained one of the few contemporary English descriptions of the 1565 Siege of Malta, on which some of the events in the play are loosely based. Although Knolles’ book wasn’t printed until 1603, in its introduction he stated that it was for many years left in a largely completed state, in manuscript, in the keeping of his friend Peter Manwood, a “lover and great favourer of learning”. Marlowe could only have used the book as a source for his plays if he had access to Peter’s collection.³⁹

Peter Manwood’s birth date has been estimated (on the basis of his being legally “of age”, at least twenty one, by the time of his father’s death) as being c1571 — which would make him about seven years younger than Marlowe — and is given as such in various sources, including his current entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.⁴⁰ However, this would make him very young to have enrolled at the Inner Temple (about twelve), or for his father to have requested he be made MP for Sandwich (about fifteen). His actual baptism record, dated 22 Jun 1567, can be found, not in the church register of St. Stephen’s, Hackington in Canterbury, but in the register of St. Gregory by St. Paul, London. In this record, Peter’s father’s name appears as “Sergiant Manwood” — appropriate to Roger, who in April that year had been appointed Serjeant-at-law.⁴¹

Also in the register of the church are baptism entries for Peter Manwood’s sisters Margaret (22 Sep 1560) and Anne (10 Apr 1566).⁴² Their mother Dorothy was buried in the same

³⁹ ODNB Woodhead, C. “Knolles, Richard”; Dick (1949); Martin (2011) p. 227-8; Ingram (2015) p. 58.

⁴⁰ ODNB Knafla, L. “Manwood, Sir Peter”.

⁴¹ See App. A. Titles were commonly substituted for first names (e.g. “Mr. Doctor”) in documents of the period. Peter Manwood’s birth record may explain the “1567” written next to his signature in his copy of *A Testimonie for Antiquitie*, inherited from Archbishop Matthew Parker — perhaps his year of birth? Keleman (2006).

⁴² App. A.

church, attached to the side of the old St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1575.⁴³ Sir Roger stated in his 1592 will that he hoped that his second wife, Elizabeth, and Peter would continue to live in his winter and summer homes, in Hackington, Canterbury, and in London near the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great — a ten minute walk from St. Gregory by St. Paul.⁴⁴ In 1606 Peter built a monument to his mother in the church in which she was buried.⁴⁵ Their London home or homes in this area would have been conveniently located, for a book and manuscript collector like Peter, close to the booksellers — whose shops lined the churchyard of St. Paul's.

A birth year of 1567 makes Peter closer in age to Marlowe (b. 1564). It also makes him the same age as Marlowe's best known Canterbury friend, John Benchkin.

⁴³ She died four months after Archbishop Parker. ODNB Crankshaw, D. & Gillespie, A. "Parker, Matthew"; Maitland (1757) p. 1105.

⁴⁴ Made 12 Dec 1592, two days before his death. Boys (1892) p. 256-69.

⁴⁵ Maitland (1757) p. 1105.

The Benchkins

John, James & Katherine

Christopher Marlowe's only known surviving signature (as "Christofer Marley") appears on the will of a Canterbury widow, Katherine Benchkin, made in Aug 1585. Marlowe and Katherine's son, John, had returned to Canterbury on a break from their studies at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. John was made executor of the will, and may have written it down for his mother. Marlowe witnessed the will, and according to later depositions by the other witnesses read it out, "plainly and distinctly", in Katherine's house on Bullock Lane — just off Stour Street, close to the Benchkins' church of St. Mildred's. The other witnesses to the will were Christopher's father John Marlowe, John Marlowe's shoemaker apprentice and brother-in-law Thomas Arthur, and John Moore, widower of Christopher's younger sister Jane (who had probably died in childbirth two years earlier).⁴⁶

Before studying at Corpus Christi, it is thought likely that Christopher Marlowe and John Benchkin had also attended school together — Benchkin probably having been a fee-paying student at the King's School concurrently with Marlowe. Records only survive for the scholars, and for these there is a gap from Christmas 1581 to Michaelmas 1587.⁴⁷ John's father James worked as a beadle (general agent) for the Cathedral's Dean and Chapter, and as a lay clerk (professional singer) in the Cathedral choir.⁴⁸ John did not receive the Parker scholarship at Corpus Christi, but he did attend the same Cambridge college as the King's School scholars, including Marlowe — whose similar dining arrangements and travel dates whilst at Cambridge suggest a friendship. Later, further suggestive of closeness, Benchkin may have delayed his wedding to mark the traditional year's period of mourning for his

⁴⁶ Urry (1988) p. 57, 123-9; Kuriyama (2010) p. 62.

⁴⁷ Treasurer's Accounts: CCA-DCc-TA.

⁴⁸ Urry (1988) p. 57.

friend — he applied for a licence to marry Catherine Grant one year to the day after the 1593 incident that marked the “fearful end” of the poet’s life.⁴⁹

Katherine Benchkin was wealthy enough at her death in 1585 to leave twenty pounds towards relief of the poor — enough to buy a tenement, the profits from the rent of which were to go to almshouses on Stour Street known as Maynard’s Hospital, in perpetuity. The Benchkins were gentry — higher in social status than the Marlowes, yet lower than the Manwoods (Sir Roger having been probably the wealthiest private individual in Canterbury, and at the height of his career one of the most powerful people in the land).⁵⁰

Kuriyama (2010) has noted that Katherine’s will refers to John Benchkin as her husband’s son — suggesting that he may not have been her son by birth.⁵¹ This is confirmed by the parish register: James Benchkyn married Katheryn Hart at St. Mildred’s on 14 Oct 1571 — after John’s birth, around 1567.⁵² Elizabeth Allen, presumably John’s birth mother, married James Benskin at St. Nicholas’ church in Sturry, near Canterbury, on 21 Oct 1566 — most likely the woman buried at St. Mary Northgate, Canterbury, in Sep 1568, as Ellysabeth Benchyn, wife of Jammes.⁵³ She may have been the Elizabeth Allen mentioned in the will of John Allen of Sturry, made 1561, who left a bequest to his sister of that name, the full balance to be paid on the feast of St. Michael in 1565. Assuming that by then the recipient would have become legally of age — twenty-one years old — this Elizabeth Allen would have been twenty-two at the time of the marriage to James Benchkin.⁵⁴

John Benchkin was witness to and overseer of the will of a Thomas Allen of Sturry, in 1597. This Thomas’ eldest son was John Allen, of age. This could possibly be the John Allen of St. Mildred’s, Canterbury (d. 1614) who we shall meet again later in this essay.⁵⁵ Although a

⁴⁹ Kuriyama (2010) p. 58-64.

⁵⁰ Urry (1988) p. 123-7; CHAS Thistleton, A. “Sir Roger Manwood (1525-1592)” <http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/manwood>.

⁵¹ Kuriyama (2010) p. 61-2.

⁵² Kuriyama (2010) p. 59; App. A.

⁵³ App. A.

⁵⁴ CPR PRC/17/35/204c.

⁵⁵ CPR PRC/17/51/204b. App. A.

common surname and thus hard to trace, John Benchkin's mother's relatives may be of great interest in understanding Marlowe's Kentish milieu: as we shall see, John Allen of St.

Mildred's was Archbishop Matthew Parker's brother-in-law.

Also worthy of mention is a land conveyance to "James Benskin and Margaret his wife" in St. Mary Northgate, Canterbury, in 1558. This might suggest that John's father James had another wife before Elizabeth — or, this may have been James Benchkin's father, named as James in the younger man's will.⁵⁶

James Benchkin's Will

Whilst Katherine's will has been studied by Marlowe scholars over the years, her husband James' will, made five years earlier in August 1580 — nearly two years before his death in Apr 1582 — has apparently not received attention. In it he made clear that Katherine was not (the then around thirteen years old) John's birth mother: referring to the two of them, he stated his wish, "... that they may by His glorious grace have their hearts so joined together in perfect love that she may willingly adopt and take him for her son, and he meekly obey her as his loving mother".⁵⁷

Other points of interest include his bequest to John of "all my books of English, Latin and French", as well as a "house and lands in Great Chart that my father James Benchkyn gave me", signifying some wealth as gentry, and a connection to a village near Ashford where several Benchkin entries may be found in the parish register, from around the turn of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ CCA-CC-WOODRUFF/26/13.

⁵⁷ CPR PRC/10/10/389 — see App. C for a full transcription of James Benchkin's will.

⁵⁸ FMP "Benchkin/Benskin; Great Chart, Kent".

Mr Sympson

One item in James Benchkin's will is of particular interest in the study of Christopher Marlowe's early life: it includes a bequest of twenty shillings, and a plea, to John's schoolmaster — "Mr Sympson" — to help John obtain "relief" for a place at university.

At the time of the will's writing, Marlowe was sixteen years old, and a scholar at the King's School. Seven months later the future playwright would start at Cambridge, on a Parker scholarship. These were then administered by Dr John Parker, the Archbishop's son — apparently a friend of Sir Roger Manwood's.⁵⁹ James' request to Mr Sympson is suggestive of the Parker scholarships — at the time the main route for Canterbury, and specifically King's School, boys to earn "relief" for study at university. Given that John Benchkin was probably a student with Marlowe at the King's School in August 1580, we might expect the Mr Sympson mentioned in James' will to have been one of the teachers there. Mr Sympson may have also been Christopher Marlowe's teacher.

No lists of individual schoolmasters' names exist for the King's School at this time — although we do know that the headmaster from around that time was Nicholas Goldsborough (succeeding John Gresshop), and that the lower master (equivalent to a deputy head teacher) was John Rose.⁶⁰ Sympson, or Simpson, whilst not rare, was not a highly common surname in the Diocese of Canterbury at the time.⁶¹ A strong candidate for Mr Sympson is Nicholas Sympson (c1550-1610), one of the Cathedral's prebendaries, or canons — a senior clergy post of which there were twelve at Canterbury. Each held a numbered "stall": Sympson occupying the eighth, from 15 Jun 1580 — less than two months before the writing of James' will — until his death in 1610. From 1595, concurrent with the

⁵⁹ Riggs (2004) p. 53; Keleman (2006).

⁶⁰ Urry (1988) p. 45; Honan (2005) p. 57.

⁶¹ Judging by e.g. Cowper (1892).

prebendary position, he was rector of Great Chart, the village where James Benchkin owned land.⁶²

According to Cowper (1903), canon Nicholas was the “Simpson, Nicholas, clerk, son of John Simpson, shearman” made freeman of Canterbury in 1575 — when he would have been about twenty-five. This identification is supported by Simpson’s will, made in 1607, in which he described himself as “clerk and prebendary”.⁶³ His father may have been the John Simpson who was buried at St. Mildred’s in Feb 1563. One of Nicholas’ sons was also named John, and also became a prebendary at the Cathedral — in the seventh stall, from 1614 until his death in 1639.⁶⁴ Another of his sons, Nicholas, was married in Great Chart in 1596.⁶⁵

An Agnes Benchekyn of St. Mildred’s, in her will of 1559, stated that she was the widow of a James Benchekyn. This James might have been the above James Benchkin’s father — but perhaps more likely was an uncle or cousin, since her will mentions no children or stepchildren.⁶⁶ She bequeathed to a John Simpson, who also witnessed the will along with a Nicholas Simpson — who must have been of age at the time of the will’s writing, and so could not have been the prebendary (born c1550), but may have been an uncle, or another relative.⁶⁷ Like Katherine Benchkin, Agnes left a generous bequest to the poor of St. Mildred’s — to whom she left the proceeds in rent from a house on Stour Street.

⁶² Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp55-108>; (1798) “Parishes: Great Chart” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol7/pp497-514>; *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (1891) “Shield-Smethurst” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1350-1368>; App. A.

⁶³ CPR PRC/32/40/214.

⁶⁴ App. A; Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons”; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857* (1974) “Canons: Seventh prebend” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1541-1847/vol3/pp28-30>.

⁶⁵ Philipott (1898) p. 86 “Simpson”; App. A.

⁶⁶ CPR PRC/17/34/253a.

⁶⁷ Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons”; According to the laudable Clergy of the Church of England Database, prebendary Nicholas Simpson was ordained in 1560 — CCEd Person ID: 38503. However, this seems very young given a birth date of c1550. The ordination is likely a different man — possibly a relative, and perhaps the Nicholas Simpson bequeathed to by Agnes Benchekyn.

Thomas Greenleaf

A key figure in both James and Katherine's wills, and presumably a connection between the Benchkins and the Marlowes, was Thomas Greenleaf, master of the shoemakers' company.⁶⁸

In their wills, Both James and Katherine referred to Greenleaf as "cousin", suggesting a family connection — perhaps via Greenleaf's wife Margaret, who Katherine referred to as "kinswoman" — and both appointed him overseer. James placed the responsibility for his son's upbringing jointly into the hands of his wife and Greenleaf. Katherine and Greenleaf entered a lease of land together in St. Mildred's and St. Mary Northgate parishes, in Dec 1582, less than eight months after James' death.⁶⁹

Thomas Greenleaf married Margaret Glover at St. Andrews, Canterbury, in 1564. Greenleaf was not a common surname at the time — an online search of currently-indexed English parish registers, including spelling variants, returns only one previous entry for a Thomas Greenleaf — possibly the same man — who married Margaret Galloway in Ardleigh, Essex, in 1557.⁷⁰ Galloway was an even less common surname in Southeast England at the time, mostly appearing in Norfolk and Essex registers — and was also the surname of Sir Roger Manwood's mother, who was from Norfolk.⁷¹ A few other Greenleaf marriages occurred at around that time in Essex — one being that in Copford, on the other side of Colchester from Ardleigh, of Catherine Greenleaf to Nicholas Cranmer (another uncommon surname), in Sep 1559.⁷² We shall meet the Cranmers of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, later in the essay. Again, a family relationship between Greenleaf and the Manwoods (or the Cranmers) might help explain much with regards to Marlowe's early network and connections.

⁶⁸ CCA-CC-J/B/1/378/v; CCA-CC-J/B/1/391/ii; Urry (1988) p.23.

⁶⁹ CCA-CC-MILLENS/8/B/1.

⁷⁰ App. A.

⁷¹ FMP "Galloway"; ODNB Jack, S. "Manwood, Sir Roger".

⁷² App. A.

Hart of St. Mildred's, Canterbury

Katherine Benchkin's surname being Hart before marrying James explains bequests in both of their wills: each refers to a John Hart as "son-in-law". This can be reasonably explained by her having had a stepson, John, the son of a previous husband with the surname Hart — "son-in-law" here (allowably, at the time) meaning stepson.⁷³

Her previous husband was William Hart, buried at St. Mildred's on 29 Sep 1570.⁷⁴ A marriage record has not been found, but in his will he made his main bequests to "Katherine my wife", his daughters Joan and Margaret (who both Katherine and James also bequeathed to — see below), and son John.⁷⁵ Katherine married James Benchkin on 14 Oct 1571, after a year's mourning period for William.⁷⁶ He may have been the William Hart, shoemaker, made freeman of Canterbury in 1543. Whilst it is possible that he may have been related to the previously-mentioned Hart family of Lullingstone, Hart was a common surname at the time, and so it cannot be assumed.⁷⁷

The Weevils and the Fussers

Katherine Benchkin's will mentions a daughter in law, the wife of John Wevells. James Benchkin also mentioned a Joane Weyylls in his will. John Weevells married Joane Hartt at St. Mildred's in 1575.⁷⁸

Katherine's will also refers to "Margaret Fusser my daughter in law", as does James' ("Fussyer"). Margaret Hart married John Fursor at St. Mildred's in 1569. This Joan and

⁷³ OED "son-in-law, n. 2".

⁷⁴ App. A.

⁷⁵ CPR PRC/17/41/88.

⁷⁶ App. A.

⁷⁷ Cowper (1903) "Hart, William, shoemaker, son of Thomas".

⁷⁸ App. A.

Margaret were presumably the same-named daughters remembered in William Hart's 1569 will. John Weevills' will, made in Canterbury, 1607, also mentions a John Fursor.⁷⁹

John Hart, in his will made in Canterbury in 1594, bequeathed a leasehold property in Wincheap, within St. Mildred's parish, which would potentially pass to his sisters, Joan Weevills and Margaret Fusser.⁸⁰ The freeholder of the property was a "Mr Doctor Bulleine" — possibly George Boleyn, Doctor of Theology and prebendary in the ninth stall at the Cathedral.⁸¹ The will was witnessed by John Sweeting, petticanon, the vicar at St. George's — Marlowe's family's church — whose son Leonard (b. May 1563) was a scholar at the King's School concurrently with Marlowe, 1577-9. The inventory for Leonard's 1612 will shows that he died owning a copy of Marlowe's *Hero & Leander*.⁸²

⁷⁹ App. A; CPR PRC/17/57/186

⁸⁰ CPR PRC/32/37/221a.

⁸¹ ODNB Lehmborg, S. "Boleyn, George"; Hasted, E. (1801) "Canterbury cathedral: Canons".

⁸² CPR PRC/27/2/107; App. A; Urry (1988) p. 49-50.

St. Mildred's, Canterbury

The Benchkins' church of St. Mildred's is said to be the oldest within the city walls of Canterbury, and is still active today. It is situated where the River Stour enters the city walls, from the direction of Thanington and Wincheap.⁸³

Lyly

Resident in the parish before 1562 was Peter Lyly, registrar at the Cathedral's Consistory Court, and father of the playwright John Lyly — known for originating the “euphuistic” style of prose, popular in the 1580s. Peter's sister-in-law was married to Sir Roger Manwood's brother, John Manwood of Sandwich.⁸⁴ Peter's brother was George Lily, a prebendary in the first stall at the Cathedral (as well as a canon at St. Paul's Cathedral, London). Peter and George's father William Lyly was a famous grammarian, author of the most widely-used Latin grammar textbook at the time — authorised by Henry VIII as the only Latin grammar textbook to be used in schools, and continuously printed in many editions over the next three hundred years.⁸⁵

Hales

Growing up in Canterbury, and with connections in St. Mildred's parish, Christopher Marlowe would have been aware of the Hales family — at the time including several wealthy landowners based in and around Canterbury. Lady Margaret Hales, buried in St. Mildred's in 1567, was married and widowed three times, lastly becoming the widow of Sir James Hales — a judge who in 1554 had committed suicide by drowning in Thanington, a mile or so upstream from the church. After Sir James' death, Lady Margaret initiated a lawsuit in

⁸³ Although not as old as St. Martin's, just outside the walls, claimed to be the oldest church in the country.

⁸⁴ Feuillerat (1910) p. 15-16; Honan (2005) p. 120. See App. B3.

⁸⁵ Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp55-108>; ODNB Smith, R. D. “Lily, William”.

relation to the settlement of his estate, *Hales v. Petit*, which is alluded to in the gravedigger scene of the Shakespeare play *Hamlet*. A monument to her memory may still be seen in St. Mildred's church today.⁸⁶

Sir James Hales' father John had been Baron of the Exchequer under Henry VIII. Sir James' eldest son Humphrey, in his 1571 will, appointed as executor and left bequests to "Mr Sergeant Manwood", presumably Roger Manwood — named using his title, as on his son's baptism register entry four years earlier.⁸⁷ Manwood's nephew, also Roger, married Margaret Hales of Reculver at St. Stephen's, Hackington, in 1582.⁸⁸ Humphrey Hales fathered another Sir James, whose 1589 death at sea following the Battle of Cadíz is depicted on a memorial which originally stood in St. Michael's Chapel in the Cathedral, and is now located in the nave.⁸⁹ The younger Sir James left a widow, Alice, who the same monument also commemorates, along with their son, Cheyney. Born Alice Kempe, and likely related to the comic actor Will Kempe, she was a patron of Marlowe's "university wit" fellows Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe — receiving a dedication from Nashe in Greene's 1589 book *Menaphon*.⁹⁰

The Hales family originally came from Norfolk — as did Archbishop Parker, as well as Sir Roger Manwood's mother. The Kentish branch of the Hales family were initially based in High Halden, near Tenterden. From the mid-16th century they were to be found in and around Canterbury — in Thanington, at the Dungeon (near St. Mildred's church, and adjacent to today's Dane John Gardens — a cognate name), and in the Manwoods' parish of Hackington.⁹¹ Christopher Hales of Hackington (d. 1541) was Attorney General and Master of the Rolls under Henry VIII, and worked with Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in

⁸⁶ ODNB Baker, J. H. "Hales, Sir James".

⁸⁷ TNA PROB 11/53/261.

⁸⁸ Berry (1830) "Manwood".

⁸⁹ St. Michael's Chapel is now commonly known as the Buffs' Chapel, after the local regiment that originated from the Kentish militia bands during the reign of Elizabeth I. CHAS Lewis, D. "Sir James Hales" <http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/hales>.

⁹⁰ ODNB Butler, M. "Kemp, William".

⁹¹ Arch. Cant. 14 p. 61-84.

reorganising the hierarchy of Canterbury Cathedral after the dissolution of the monasteries. Hales profited from this, receiving Kentish lands forfeited from the monasteries to the crown.⁹² Archbishop Matthew Parker's daughter "Mary married Hales of Tenterden".⁹³

Nethersole

Also commemorated at St. Mildred's is Edward Nethersole, whose brass plaque in the church relates that he died on 3 Feb 1621. Nethersole was mayor in 1590 and 1604, and was a militia captain. William Saunders, a shoemaker "servant of John Marlowe", appears on a c1596 list of men conscripted to fight in Cádiz under Nethersole. The document also mentions the Earl of Essex, who along with Sir Walter Raleigh was a principal commander in the conflict.⁹⁴

Nethersole was married in 1600, in what would be an "unfortunate" and short-lived marriage, to Joan Hooker, widow of the famous theologian Richard Hooker. Hooker had died earlier that year in Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury. Nethersole's plaque in St. Mildred's does not record this marriage — only his last, to Dorothy Selwyn.⁹⁵

In his will, made in Canterbury in 1620, he bequeathed twenty-two shillings to Margaret Glover, widow — perhaps a relative of Thomas Greenleaf's wife. The will was witnessed by a Henry Hart.⁹⁶

Edward Nethersole's signature appears alongside those of Thomas "Greenleffe", and George More (possibly a relative of Marlowe's cousins the Moores) in a c1597 list of men owing money for muskets.⁹⁷

⁹² ODNB (1890) Rigg, J. M. [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Hales,_Christopher_\(DNBoo\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Hales,_Christopher_(DNBoo)).

⁹³ Strype (1821) vol. 3 p. 440.

⁹⁴ Urry (1988) p.25; CCA-CC-N/23; CCA-CC-N/24; CCA-CC-N/44.

⁹⁵ ODNB McGrade, A. S. "Hooker, Richard".

⁹⁶ CPR PRC/32/45/153.

⁹⁷ Twenty-three names given — including Bartholomew Brome (see later section, "Brome"). George More wrote a mark, which is annotated with his full name. CCA-CC-N/33.

The Nethersoles were also related to the Manwoods: Sir Roger Manwood's grandfather Roger (d. 1534) was married to Elizabeth, daughter of John Nethersole.⁹⁸

The Benchkins of Woodnesborough

After the 1594 marriage licence application (and probable marriage) of Marlowe's fellow-student John Benchkin to Catherine Grant in Canterbury, a daughter, Thomasin, was baptised at St. Mildred's in 1596 — followed by a son, Thomas, in 1598.⁹⁹ After this, the family moved to Woodnesborough, near Sandwich.¹⁰⁰ It is perhaps of note that Sir Peter Manwood owned a manor in a neighbouring village, Rowling, which he had inherited from his father.¹⁰¹ In Woodnesborough the Benchkins had a daughter, Elizabeth (b. Jun 1600), and two more sons — Vincent (1604-75) and James (1608-79). Another daughter, Sarah, was baptised in 1612, but died less than a month later. Thomas (apparently John's then-eldest son) was buried in Woodnesborough in 1620, at the age of twenty-two.¹⁰²

John's surviving daughters both married men with the surname Osborne: Thomasin married William Osborne in Preston-next-Faversham, in 1619. Elizabeth married Richard Osborne, woollen draper, in Kingston (between Bishopsbourne and Barham), in 1624.¹⁰³ John Benchkin, Marlowe's friend, died in Woodnesborough in 1639. In his will he bequeathed to his daughters Thomasin Osborne and Elizabeth Osborne, sons James and Vincent, and wife Katherine. He made Vincent his executor, and the will was witnessed by Richard Osborne, probably his son-in-law.¹⁰⁴

The allegation for Thomasin Benchkin's marriage license was written and signed by Edward Osborne "of Hartlip". We may reasonably assume that he was some relative of the groom,

⁹⁸ Berry (1830) "Manwood"; Bindoff (1982): "Manwood, Roger I (by 1475-1534), of Sandwich, Kent".

⁹⁹ App. A.

¹⁰⁰ Kuriyama (2010) p. 64.

¹⁰¹ Hasted, E. (1800) "Goodnestone" <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol9/pp241-250>.

¹⁰² App. A.

¹⁰³ App. A.

¹⁰⁴ CPR PRC/16/222 B/17.

William Osborne. It also seems likely that both men were related to the Richard Osborne who married Thomasin's sister Elizabeth five years later. The Osbornes of Hartlip were a local gentry family who had owned Hartlip Place, near Sittingbourne, since the early 15th century. The bondsman for the above license was very likely the Edward Osborne of Hartlip who had married Mary Denne in 1611, in the same church, and who was the grandson of John Osborne of Hartlip (d. 1577), "one of the Queen Majesty's Auditors of the Exchequer". We shall shortly meet this Edward Osborne again in connection with the Benchkins' relative and friend, Mary's brother Vincent Denne.¹⁰⁵

It may be of relevance to note that a Wyllyam Osborne was married at St. Mildred's, Canterbury, in 1566. One of the overseers of Archbishop Matthew Parker's 1575 will was a Peter Osborne.¹⁰⁶

John Benchkin's son James was later made vicar of Eastry, in the Restoration — where a William Osborne had been vicar 1636-8.¹⁰⁷ This William was probably not James' brother-in-law, but may have been a relative.¹⁰⁸ James Benchkin had a son, John, born around 1656 — probably the John Bensken who was a King's School scholar 1669-72.¹⁰⁹ In 1683 he married Margaret Oxenden of Wingham at St. Margaret's church, Canterbury.¹¹⁰ The Oxenden family brings us back to Christopher Marlowe's epitaph to Sir Roger Manwood.

¹⁰⁵ Hasted, E. (1598) "Parishes: Hartlip" <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol6/pp15-24>; Arch. Cant. 5 opp. p. 227.

¹⁰⁶ App. A; ODNB Crankshaw, D. & Gillespie, A. "Parker, Matthew". Peter Osborne was from the Osborne family of Chicksands, Bedfordshire — see later section "Oxenden and Benchkin".

¹⁰⁷ CCEd Location ID: 128, Person IDs: 39096, 67599.

¹⁰⁸ Since the birth of a child, William, was registered in Eastry in 1636 to parents William and Mary Osborne — not Thomasin, who was still alive at the time of her father John's death in 1639. See later section "Sir Edwin Sandys", App. A.

¹⁰⁹ Year of birth calculated from his marriage licence, which states he was twenty-seven in Jan 1684 — see App. A. Treasurer's Accounts: CCA-DCc-TA. There was a John Bensken born in Chislet (near Canterbury) in Oct 1655 — but this was likely the same John Bensken buried in the same church less than four months later — see App. A.

¹¹⁰ He is called "of Woodnesborough" on the marriage licence, and Vincent "Bensken" — probably his brother — stood bonds. See App. A.

Henry Oxinden

Marlowe's epitaph poem to Manwood was written down sometime in the mid-1600s by Henry Oxinden of Barham (1609-1670), inside one of his notebooks — where it was discovered later, in the nineteenth century.¹¹¹ Oxinden (how he spelt his own surname, though others in his family preferred "Oxenden") was a self-published poet, and a fan of literature. He left a large quantity of notes, letters and books, which together preserve a rare view into the life and times of a seventeenth century Kentish gentleman.¹¹²

The Oxendens were an old, wealthy Kentish family. In 1338 a Richard Oxenden was buried in St. Michael's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral.¹¹³ Henry Oxinden was born in Canterbury in 1609, and was baptised at the church of St. Paul. He was the eldest son of Richard Oxenden of Wingham and Katherine née Sprakeling of Canterbury, who were married at the same church in 1608.¹¹⁴ Katherine's brother-in-law was Colonel William Prude (d. 1632), who was commemorated with a prominent memorial in St. Michael's Chapel.¹¹⁵ Henry attended Wye Grammar School in Kent, followed by Corpus Christi, Oxford, and Gray's Inn, London. In 1632 he married Anne Peyton, daughter of Sir Samuel Peyton of Knowlton. After having three children together, she died in 1640.¹¹⁶

In 1641 Oxinden began recording in another of his notebooks statements made by a man named Simon Aldrich (d. 1655), with whom he had conversed. Aldrich was Oxinden's tenant, living in a house he owned in Denton — not far from his own home in Barham. Aldrich mostly discussed theological topics with Oxinden; he also talked about Christopher Marlowe. On Feb 10, 1641, Oxinden recorded that,

¹¹¹ Eccles (1935) p. 20-3.

¹¹² ODNB Hingley, S. "Oxinden [Oxenden], Henry".

¹¹³ Arch. Cant. 6 opp. p277.

¹¹⁴ ODNB Hingley, S. "Oxinden [Oxenden], Henry"; App. A.

¹¹⁵ Gardiner (1933) p. 28.

¹¹⁶ ODNB Hingley, S. "Oxinden [Oxenden], Henry".

[Aldrich] said that Marlo who wrote *Hero & Leander* was an atheist, and had written a book against the scripture — how that it was all one man's making — and would have printed it but could not be suffered [published]. He was the son of a shoemaker in Canterbury. He said he was an excellent scholar and made excellent verses in Latin, and died aged about thirty. He was stabbed in the head with a dagger and died swearing.¹¹⁷

Oxinden was clearly interested in Marlowe, whose books he owned, and whom he quoted several times in his notes and letters. He owned many play editions in print, including some of Marlowe's, which he listed in his notebook containing the Manwood epitaph (now held by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C., by whose name we shall refer to it).¹¹⁸ "There were 123 in total and they included a remarkable number of early plays, probably not collected by Oxinden himself".¹¹⁹ Also in the library he accumulated were books about atheism, and he may have shared Marlowe's interest in the Ottoman Empire and Islam — owning a copy of the first English translation of the Koran, as well as George Sandys' account of his travels in Turkey, Egypt and the Holy Land.¹²⁰

Simon Aldrich related to Oxinden the tale of a local man named Fineux, who had apparently been converted to atheism by Marlowe. Later, copying the allegation into the margin of his (now sadly lost) copy of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Oxinden obfuscated Fineux's name with a cipher — perhaps illustrating how dangerous an association with the playwright, and atheism, could have been.¹²¹ Oxinden also owned a copy of Beard's *Theatre of God's*

¹¹⁷ Eccles (1935) p. 58, 134.

¹¹⁸ Folger MS V.b.110.

¹¹⁹ Eccles (1935) p. 40; ODNB Hingley, S. "Oxinden [Oxenden], Henry".

¹²⁰ De Mornay, P. (trans. Sidney, P. & Golding, W.) (1617). *A Worke Concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion: Fotherby, M. (1622). Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Jewes, Mahumetists, and Other Infidels.* CCA ELHAM 349; Fotherby, M. (1622). *Atheomastix: Clearing Foure Truthes, Against Atheists and Infidels.* CCA ELHAM 100*; Charleton, W. (1652). *The Darknes of Atheism Dispelled by the Light of Nature.* CCA ELHAM 712; Ross, A. (1649). *The Alcoran of Mahomet: Translated out of Arabique into French; by the Sieur Du Ryer, ... And newly Englished.* CCA ELHAM 366; Sandys, G. (1615) *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610 : ... A Description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of ... Italy, ...* CCA ELHAM 168.

¹²¹ In fact, a shorthand variant. Eccles (1935) p. 21-2.

Judgments — the previously mentioned Puritan publication containing a diatribe against Marlowe — and had annotated in the margin of the relevant section, “Marlowe a shoemaker’s son of Canterbury”.¹²²

Aldrich also discussed Sir Walter Raleigh, who he said “was an atheist in his younger days”.¹²³ Oxinden was also interested in Raleigh, copying extracts from his *Instructions to His Son and The Dutiful Advice of a Loving Son* (1630) into the Folger notebook. Elsewhere in his notes he recorded Aldrich saying, “It is no damnable heresy to doubt of some of the books of the Old and New Testament, but inconvenient.”¹²⁴

At some point, probably c1650-1 — around a decade after making his original notes on his conversations with Aldrich — Oxinden copied the Manwood epitaph into two of his books: twice in the Folger notebook, and once in his edition of *Hero & Leander*.¹²⁵ In both books he appended the poem with copies of some of his previous notes on Simon Aldrich’s statements. In the Folger book, the epitaph is written once on the first page, at the top of which are written the words “Let nobody see this book”. The epitaph is written again further inside, appended by the following note:

These verses above written were made by Christopher Marlo, who was a Shoemaker’s son of Canterbury. It was that Marlo, who made the two first books of *Hero & Leander*, witness Mr Alderich.¹²⁶

We will revisit Simon Aldrich and his family shortly, after a look at Oxinden’s other Marlowe-related Kentish connections. As we shall see, Oxinden, born around two

¹²² Eccles (1935) p. 23.

¹²³ His original Feb 10 1641 note about Marlowe is followed by this statement regarding Raleigh (Eccles, 1935 p. 41). The copy of the same note in the Folger book is shortly followed by “[Aldrich] doth commend of Sir Walter Raleigh’s book to Alexander the Great. Time he had, an excellent library and many choice scholars to help him.” (Sarna, T. Oxenden Miscellany Transcription https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images/pedia_folgerpedia_mw/e/e4/110_Transcription.pdf).

¹²⁴ Sarna, T. Oxenden Miscellany Transcription *ibid*.

¹²⁵ Eccles (1935) p. 41.

¹²⁶ Folger MS V.b.110. https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/Miscellany_of_Henry_Oxinden,_ca._1642-1670_V.b.110; Eccles (1935) p. 39-41.

generations after the playwright, probably knew the sons of both Sir Peter Manwood and John Benchkin — and was increasingly related to both families over time. We may perhaps question whether Simon Aldrich (apparently Oxinden’s first source of knowledge about Marlowe) was the source for the later-added Manwood epitaph: suggested, but not explicitly stated by Oxinden in the above-quoted note. By c1650-1, Oxinden may have had other connections by which it could have come.

Master, Streynsham

In order to better understand the links between Henry Oxinden and other Marlowe-connected gentry families, we will meet a Kentish individual named Sir Edward Master (d. 1648).¹²⁷ Together with other members of the Master family, he had links to several relevant names — including Manwood, Walsingham, Oxenden and Benchkin. His wife Audrey Streynsham’s family is also of interest: based in Ospringe — the village near (now part of) Faversham where Christopher Marlowe’s father John was from — Audrey’s father Robert Streynsham was secretary to William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (d. 1570). From 1582 Robert was owner of the Abbey lands at Faversham — including Arden House, where the anonymous early play *Arden of Faversham* is set (whose authorship has been alternately claimed for Marlowe, Shakespeare and Kyd).¹²⁸ A George Stransham connected with Marlowe’s likely intelligence-related counterfeiting activities in Flushing, in the Netherlands, is thought to have been Robert’s brother.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Note there is confusion in some sources with a later Sir Edward Master (d. 1691) — a “distant cousin”, and MP for Canterbury in the Restoration period. See Henning (1983) “Master, Sir Edward (1610-91)”.

¹²⁸ Master (1874) p. 16, 77, 86; Bindoff (1982) “Wightman, William”; Hasted, E. (1798) “Parishes: Faversham” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol6/pp318-371>; Urry (1988) p. Xxvii; See App. B4.

¹²⁹ Kendall (2003) p. 175-6.

Master, Manwood, Oxenden

In 1627, over a decade before the first of Henry Oxinden's Aldrich notes, Henry's cousin Anne Oxenden married Richard Master of East Langdon, the eldest son of Edward Master (knighted in 1630).¹³⁰ By 1635, the Masters were related to the Manwoods and Walsinghams through several marriages:

- ❖ In 1593 Edward Master's father James Master of East Langdon married Margaret née Manwood,¹³¹
- ❖ In 1611 one of (Sir) Edward's brothers, William Master, married Catherine Manwood – daughter of Sir Roger Manwood's nephew, Roger Manwood of Sandwich, and his wife Margaret née Hales,¹³²
- ❖ By 1622 another of (Sir) Edward's brothers, Nathaniel (b. 1585), married Elizabeth Bourne of Cornhill, London. Nathaniel died in 1633, and by 1635 Elizabeth had remarried Sir Thomas Walsingham II, the son and namesake of Marlowe's friend and patron, who had previously been married to Sir Peter Manwood's daughter Elizabeth.¹³³

See Appendix B for family trees of these and many of the following family connections.

The connections between the Master and Manwood families may have gone back further. John Master and Roger Manwood, grandfathers of Edward Master and Sir Roger Manwood, were both chosen in 1533 to bear the canopy for Queen Anne Boleyn, at her coronation. Canopy bearers at English coronations were traditionally selected from "barons" (freemen)

¹³⁰ Master (1874) p. 18; Arch. Cant. 5 p.239.

¹³¹ Master (1874) p. 12, 39.

¹³² Cowper (1892) Ser. 1; "Master, William, of East Langdon, g., and Catherine Manwood of Stodmarsh, v. At Stodmarsh. Roger Manwood of Stodmarsh, g., bonds. Feb. 7, 1611."; Berry, 1830 "Manwood".

¹³³ Master (1874) p. 14; Arch. Cant. 15 p. 152-3.

of the Cinque Ports — originally five, by then increased to seven Kentish naval towns. Master and Manwood were chosen for Sandwich.¹³⁴

Oxinden's 1638-9 letters from his cousin and frequent correspondent Henry of Dene (later 1st Baronet) discuss members of both the Manwood and the Master families: Sir Peter Manwood's sons Sir John and Jerome, and Sir Edward Master and his son Richard (Henry of Dene's brother-in-law). Richard Master was apparently a friend of Sir John Manwood. Jerome Manwood killed Henry of Dene's brother James in a duel, in 1637.¹³⁵

The Masters were later connected to the Oxendens by further marriages. In 1653 another of Oxinden's cousins, Henry Oxenden of Brook, married Margaret Master, Richard's daughter. In 1724, Henry and Margaret's nephew Streynsham Master married their granddaughter, Elizabeth Oxenden.¹³⁶

The two families were associated in the British colonisation of India: Anne Oxenden and Richard Master's son Sir Streynsham Master (1640-1724) travelled to India in 1656 with his uncle Sir George Oxenden. They would become important figures in the East India Company, with Master serving as the Agent of Madras, and Oxenden as Governor of Bombay.¹³⁷

Oxenden and Benchkin

Henry Oxinden was also related to the Benchkins. As noted, a direct Oxenden-Benchkin marriage occurred in 1683, after Henry's death in 1670 — John Benchkin of Woodnesborough (grandson of Marlowe's same-named friend) married Margaret Oxenden in Canterbury. Margaret's parents were Henry Oxenden of Dene, and Margaret, daughter of

¹³⁴ Master (1874) p. 6; Bindoff (1982): "Manwood, Roger I (by 1475-1534), of Sandwich, Kent".

¹³⁵ Gardiner (1933) p.133, 147-8.

¹³⁶ Master (1874) p. 20, 101; Arch. Cant. 6 opp. p. 277. See App. B2, B3 for family trees showing connections between the families of Oxenden, Master, Manwood and Walsingham.

¹³⁷ ODNB Grout, A. "Master, Sir Streynsham"; ODNB Watson, I. B. "Oxenden, Sir George".

Richard Master.¹³⁸ Margaret Benchkin née Oxenden's sister Mary was married to John Batteley, the Archdeacon of Canterbury. Batteley and his brother Nicholas were both antiquaries — Nicholas edited William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*.¹³⁹

Previously, the Benchkins and Oxendens were already, more distantly, related — via the Peyton and Osborne families. Henry Oxinden's first wife's sister, Margaret Peyton, married Thomas Osborne of Chartham by 1655. Thomas was a member of the Osborne family of Hartlip, which as we have seen most likely included the husbands of Thomasin and Elizabeth Benchkin, Marlowe's friend's daughters. Margaret's uncle Sir Thomas Peyton had also married an Osborne, in 1636: Anne, of the (possibly related) Osborne family of Chicksands, Bedfordshire. Her sister was Dorothy Osborne, a famous letter-writer.¹⁴⁰ The Peytons were also related to the Hales family: Sir Thomas' daughter Anne Peyton married Thomas Hales of Thanington.¹⁴¹

Vincent Denne

Closer personal connections between Henry Oxinden and the Benchkins — as well as further links to the Masters, Manwoods and Marlowes — may be found via Oxinden's friend Vincent Denne (c1580-1642¹⁴²) and his family.

Vincent lived in Wenderton Manor in Wingham — an estate previously owned by the Master and Manwood families, and which would later pass to the Oxendens.¹⁴³ In 1642 Denne died, leaving a will that would lead to years of expensive legal difficulties for Henry Oxinden as its executor.¹⁴⁴ Vincent's older brother John Denne had previously enraged another brother,

¹³⁸ Arch. Cant. 6 opp. p. 277. App. A, B.

¹³⁹ Arch. Cant. 6 opp. p. 277; ODNB Knighton, C. S. "Batteley, Nicholas".

¹⁴⁰ Arch. Cant. 5 opp. p. 227. Henning (1983) "Peyton, Sir Thomas, 2nd Bt. (1613-84)"; Gardiner (1933) p. Xxx. The Osborne family of Chicksands included Peter Osborne, named as first executor of Archbishop Matthew Parker's 1575 will (Strype, 1821, vol. 3 p. 339).

¹⁴¹ Burke & Burke (1844) "Hales, of Beaksbourne".

¹⁴² KMI "Wingham" <https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Libr/MIs/MIsWingham/01.htm>

¹⁴³ Hasted, E. (1800) "Parishes: Wingham" <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol9/pp224-241>; Arch. Cant. 25 p.275

¹⁴⁴ CPR PRC/31/119 D/3.

Thomas — who John disinherited in his 1625 will in favour of James Benchkin of Woodnesborough, the son of Marlowe’s friend. This developed into a legal family tragedy played out over the ensuing years. Vincent Denne allegedly added to the insult to his brother Thomas, by persuading their mother Thomasin, in 1633, to leave him most of the family estate — which he himself then left largely to Thomas’ youngest son, also Thomas, in his own will (made shortly before he died, in 1642), to revert to Henry Oxinden if the younger Thomas died before coming of age. This bequest caused an irreparable rift between the elder and younger Thomas Dennes, and involved Oxinden in the ensuing lengthy legal dispute. Vincent also left a large share to James Benchkin’s brother Vincent, as well as a bequest to “my loving sister Katherine Benchkin”, who had presumably married one of the Benchkin brothers.¹⁴⁵

Also remembered in Vincent’s will was another of his sisters, Mary (Denne) Osborne, and her children. As previously noted, Mary had married Edward Osborne of Hartlip in 1611 at the church of Preston-next-Faversham. He was presumably the same Edward Osborne of Hartlip who stood bonds for Thomasin Benchkin’s marriage licence to William Osborne, registered eight years later at the same church.¹⁴⁶ Vincent also bequeathed to “my kinsman Edward Den at the sign of the White Hart, Canterbury, Vintner” — an inn where a legal court was held, opposite St. Margaret’s church in Canterbury.¹⁴⁷

Henry Oxinden had previously witnessed Vincent Denne’s mother Thomasin’s also-contentious will of 1633 (along with James Culling, Henry Oxinden’s second wife’s father), which left bequests to both Vincent and James “Benskin”, as well as “Catherine Benskin my daughter”.¹⁴⁸

It seems highly likely, given their mutual entanglement in the subsequent courtroom drama (at least from 1642) — and given their increasing interfamilial relations — that Henry

¹⁴⁵ Thrush & Ferris (2010) “Denne, Thomas (1577-1656)”

¹⁴⁶ Arch. Cant. 5 opp. p. 227; App. A.

¹⁴⁷ Urry (1988) p. 18.

¹⁴⁸ CPR PRC/17/69/467, made Aug 1633, proved Feb 1634.

Oxinden would have known both James and Vincent, the sons of Christopher Marlowe's friend John Benchkin.

A John Den, who pledged for Christopher Marlowe's father John in 1592 when he was taken to court for debt by the shoemaker's company, was probably a relative of Vincent Denne and his brothers — he was “apparently a member of the legal family of that name”.¹⁴⁹ He may have been the John Denne of St. Alphege, Canterbury, first cousin of Vincent, who studied at Gray's Inn, and was married at St. Stephen's, Hackington. This John Denne's brother Thomas married a Susan Honeywood (related to Manwood and Hales), and his sister Elizabeth married a Vincent Nethersole.¹⁵⁰ Edward Nethersole's widow, Dorothy née Selwyn, remarried a Henry Denn.¹⁵¹

Sir Thomas Harflete

We know that Marlowe's friend John Benchkin's birth year was c1567, thanks to a deposition he made in Dec 1617, regarding his writing down the will of Sir Thomas Harflete — in which he stated his age as fifty years.¹⁵² The Harfletes (who in some generations used the alias surnames of “Septvans”, or “at Chequer”) were another old Kentish family, going back to the reign of Henry II.¹⁵³ Harflete and his family provide more links — perhaps most strikingly, connecting to both Sir Edward Master and the family of John Benchkin's (and perhaps Christopher Marlowe's) likely schoolmaster, Nicholas Sympson, through the production of writing ink.

(Sir) Edward Master held the lease of a house in Tankerton, Whitstable, in trust from the 1614 will of Thomas Menfield, a mayor of Faversham. Sir Thomas Harflete married Menfield's widow, Dorothy, and the lease passed to the couple. The house was used for the

¹⁴⁹ Urry (1988) p. 26.

¹⁵⁰ CPR PRC/32/41/107; Burke, J. (1836) vol. 3 “Denne, of Kent and Sussex”; BL Add. MS 54332 f. 86; Burke, B. (1868) “Honywood”.

¹⁵¹ Bannerman (1905) “Selwyn”.

¹⁵² Kuriyama (2010) p. 62-4.

¹⁵³ Planché (1864) p. 81; ODNB Fernie, E. “Harflete, Henry”.

production of copperas (ferrous sulphate) — an important ingredient in the production of ink and dyes.¹⁵⁴ Henry Oxinden noted a recipe for ink using copperas, in the Folger notebook — illustrating a need for people to make their own, at the time.¹⁵⁵

A later Nicholas Sympson, grandson of the same-named prebendary and probable schoolmaster, also owned a copperas-producing house in Tankerton — which may have been passed down to him from earlier members of the Sympson family.¹⁵⁶ The copperas works used as its raw material yellow ore-stones, gathered from the beach. The younger Nicholas Sympson's 1680 will mentions the house, along with “the third part of the lease of copperas stones which I hold with Mr Thomas Allen and Mr Jacob from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury”. The factory had been described by Archbishop Matthew Parker — who was most likely interested in its use for the production of writing ink — in a 1569 letter to Lord Burghley. The ink produced from Tankerton copperas is likely to have been used to write many documents — including several of historic importance — in the Canterbury area, over this period and beyond.¹⁵⁷

Sir Thomas Harflete's sister, Mildred, married William Courthope — a cousin of (Sir) Edward Master. Courthope was appointed overseer of Sir Thomas' will, written down by Marlowe's friend John Benchkin.¹⁵⁸

A presentation manuscript book now held by the Bodleian Library is dedicated, with a poem, to Sir Thomas Harflete's daughter-in-law Lady Afra Harflete — wife of his son Sir

¹⁵⁴ Arch. Cant. 70 p.142-59.

¹⁵⁵ “To make excellent ink ... 2 ounces of gum arabic, 2 ounces of galls, half an ounce of copperas, and they will make a gallon of ink — which make of rain water if possible. Hang it at your door, where it may be daily jogged” (Sarna, T. Oxenden Miscellany Transcription https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images/pedia_folgerpedia_mw/e/e4/110_Transcription.pdf).

¹⁵⁶ Arch. Cant. 70 p.142-59; CPR PRC/17/75/153; Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp55-108> fn. 83. The copperas property may have passed to Nicholas from his father the prebendary John, who bequeathed land in Whitstable to his eldest son, John, in his 1630 will (CPR PRC/32/48/126). The son John died in 1635, and may have passed the property to his younger brother Nicholas.

¹⁵⁷ Arch. Cant. 70 p.142-59; CPR PRC/17/75/153.

¹⁵⁸ Philipott (1898) “Courthop”; Master (1874) p. 7, 12; CPR PRC/32/44/258b.

Christopher — followed by *The Lie* by Walter Raleigh, and other poems by Ben Jonson, Beaumont & Fletcher, William Browne, Sir Henry Wotton (who we will meet again shortly) and others.¹⁵⁹

In 1610 Elizabeth Oxenden, sister of Henry of Dene and Anne (Oxenden) Master, married Sir Thomas' cousin, Thomas Harflete of Wingham, whose brother, Henry, was a literary and early scientific writer.¹⁶⁰ Thomas of Wingham was witness to a quitclaim for a Roger Manwood of Wingham in 1608.¹⁶¹ The Harflete / Septvans family were also related to the Manwoods, via the Hart and Peche families.¹⁶²

The connections between these Kentish families probably go back further. The names Bengekyn, Oxenden and Septvans (Harflete) can be found with adjoining lands in Wingham, in 1464, in a Dean and Chapter land grant.¹⁶³

The Cullings and the Allens

Two years after the death of his first wife, Anne née Peyton, in 1640, Henry Oxinden married his seventeen year old ward Katherine Culling (b. 1624). “His family, especially his mother, disliked all the circumstances of the courtship”.¹⁶⁴ The Culling family had lived in Barham for several centuries. Following her father James' death in 1638, and apparently at the then fourteen-year-old Katherine's request, Oxinden became her legal guardian.¹⁶⁵ Oxinden expressed his love for her in a 1641 draft letter to his cousin and confidante Elizabeth Dallison, mangling a quote from Marlowe's *Hero & Leander* (second sestiad):

Oh none have power but Gods their love to hide,

¹⁵⁹ Bodleian MS Firth e.4; Planché (1864) p. 82; Marotti (1995) p. 53-4.

¹⁶⁰ Planché (1864) p. 347-9; ODNB Fernie, E. “Harflete, Henry”.

¹⁶¹ CCA-U3-173/6/26. Possibly this Roger was Sir Peter Manwood's son — the manor of Wingham Barton was at the time owned by Sir Peter (Hasted, E., 1800 “Parishes: Ash” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol9/pp191-224>).

¹⁶² Arch. Cant. 16 p. 227-40.

¹⁶³ CCA-DCC/ChAnt/M/188.

¹⁶⁴ Gardiner (1933) p. xxxi.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 224.

Affection hidden her eye can be discried,
The light yhid ever itself discovers,
And so it is, ever betrays poor lovers.¹⁶⁶

Oxinden's famous letter-writing cousin by his first wife, Dorothy Osborne, described him as "an honest gentleman, in earnest, has understanding enough, and was an excellent husband to two very different wives as two good ones could be".¹⁶⁷ He "impaled with his own arms those of Matthew Parker: his wife's mother, Marie Allen having been the Archbishop's niece".¹⁶⁸ The heralds' visitation document relates, "Catherine the second wife of the said Henrie her mother's name before she married to James Culling of South Barham was Marie Allen daughter of Leah Parker sister to the Archbishop of Canterbury". Oxinden may perhaps have been helped with this by his friend, Elias Ashmole — mentioned as an officiating herald in the visitation document.¹⁶⁹

Leah Parker, the Archbishop's sister, was the wife of the previously-mentioned John Allen, of St. Mildred's, Canterbury — who made his will in Canterbury, and was buried in Barham, in 1614. He left bequests to his daughter Mary Cullinge and her husband James Cullinge — Katherine's parents. Henry Oxinden owned a copy of this will.¹⁷⁰

Allen / Alleyn was a common surname at the time, but it seems quite likely that the earlier John Benchkin's birth mother, Elizabeth Allen of Sturry, may have been from the same gentry family as her son's later Canterbury neighbour, John Allen: Marlowe's friend and fellow-student may have been a relative of Archbishop Matthew Parker. In 1616 a Nicholas Allen of Sturry was licensed to marry Mary Ellis "of the precincts of Christ Church Canterbury" at St. Margaret's church, near St. Mildred's — adding evidence for links between

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 252-3. Marlowe's original: "O, none but gods have power their love to hide, / Affection by the countenance is descried. / The light of hidden fire itself discovers, / And love that is concealed betrays poor lovers" (1598, Second Sestiad).

¹⁶⁷ Gardiner (1933) p. xxx.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p. xxxiii.

¹⁶⁹ Arch. Cant. 6 p. 284; BL Add. MS 54332.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.; CPR PRC/32/42/360. Described in will as "of St. Mildred's", Canterbury; Arch. Cant. 25 p. 276-7.

the Allens of Sturry and Canterbury Cathedral. Archbishop Matthew Parker's 1575 will was written down by a Matthew Allen, notary public, and witnessed by a Thomas Allen.¹⁷¹

Another local notable contemporary, also perhaps from the same family, was Richard Allen, the vicar of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, from 1601 to 1637 — whose son, also Richard, continued as vicar there from 1637 to 1654. The younger Richard Allen (whose brother Reynold Alleyne was an immigrant in Barbados, from 1630) married Elizabeth Hales of Thanington in 1640.¹⁷² Also of potential interest, Sir Peter Manwood's mother Dorothy, before marrying Sir Roger, was married to Ralph Allen, Alderman of London.¹⁷³

Aldrich of Norwich and Canterbury

Simon Aldrich, whether or not the source for Christopher Marlowe's epitaph poem for Sir Roger Manwood, apparently knew information about Marlowe which, before his conversations with Aldrich, it seems that Oxinden did not. By 1639, Aldrich had moved to Oxinden's second house, Little Maydekin in Denton. Oxinden's notes on Aldrich started in 1641 — the same year in which his courtship with Katherine Culling began.¹⁷⁴ As we will see, Aldrich had several connections to gentry names linked with Marlowe. Some further background on him and his family may be instructive.

Simon Aldrich's father Francis had attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, from 1554, and was the registrar at Canterbury's Consistory Court from 1569, under Archbishop Parker. He replaced the previous registrar Peter Lyly, father of playwright John Lyly, who had held the post from 1551, and who worked for an earlier Vincent Denne, commissary general of the Consistory Court.¹⁷⁵ Francis Aldrich's live-in apprentice was Leonard Sweeting — Marlowe's

¹⁷¹ Strype (1821) vol. 3 p. 340; App. A.

¹⁷² Brandow (1983) p. 4-6.

¹⁷³ Maitland (1757) p. 1105

¹⁷⁴ Eccles (1935) p. 40-1; Gardiner (1933) p. 193-253.

¹⁷⁵ Venn (1924) "Aldrich, Francis"; Edwards (1957) p. 82; Arch. Cant. 134 p. 271; Urry (1988) p. 10; ODNB Hunter, G. K. "Lyly, John".

neighbour and schoolfellow, remembered in the 1605 will of Sir Edward Master's father in law, Robert Streynsham of Ospringe.¹⁷⁶

Francis Aldrich made his will in 1597, and died in 1602. In his will he referred to himself as “one of the sons of Gregory Aldrich of Norwich, gent., deceased”, divided his estate equally between his sons Francis and Simon, and made them both executors along with his wife Katherine. He appointed Roger Raven, the then-headmaster of the King's School, overseer. The will refers to land in Barham, and mentions a Thomas Culling, and the sons of a John Culling, deceased, of Tilmanstone (close to Eastry and Northbourne in Kent).¹⁷⁷

The Aldrich family were connected to Matthew Parker, in his hometown of Norwich. Gregory Aldrich, the elder Francis' father, was the son of Thomas Aldrich of Norwich, alderman. Thomas had helped found Norwich Grammar School in 1549. From the same family, John Aldrich, mayor of Norwich in 1558 and 1570, was overseer of Archbishop Matthew Parker's brother Thomas' 1570 will. John's son was the Puritan Doctor of Divinity Thomas Aldrich, master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, from 1569 to 1573 — appointed on Archbishop Parker's recommendation. Thomas' younger brother Henry was also a fellow there, from 1569 to 1579, and left £40 to the college in his 1593 will.¹⁷⁸

Simon Aldrich's older brother Francis (b. c.1576) was at Clare College, Cambridge, concurrently with Edward Master (b. 1575). He was master of the recently-founded Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, for a short period before his death in 1609. Simon was born in 1578 in Canterbury. Their registrar father entered a land bond with William Courthope — Edward Master's cousin and Sir Thomas Harflete's brother in law — in 1587.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Urry (1988) p. 50; TNA PROB 11/104/229.

¹⁷⁷ CPR PRC/17/52/294.

¹⁷⁸ Lamb (1831) p. 123-8, 325. Hasler (1981) “Parker, Thomas (c.1510-70)”.

¹⁷⁹ Venn (1924) “Aldrich, Francis”, “Master, Edward”; App. A; CCA-DCc/BB/68/35/a.

Another Notebook

Oxinden's awareness of, and interest in his own and other local gentry family relationships may be gauged by another of his notebooks.¹⁸⁰ Most of its contents are devoted to genealogical data for Kentish gentry families — pedigrees, will transcripts, family trees and heraldry — covering several of the names we have met so far: Manwood, Hart, Osborne, Nethersole, Hales, Denne and Fineux — as well as some we shall encounter shortly: Norwood, Digges, St. Leger and Wotton. For the Fineux family, Oxinden included a pedigree, a family tree, and the transcript of the 1593 will of James Brooker of Barham, in which names of members of the Fineux (“Phineux”) family appear, underlined.¹⁸¹

Oxinden's pedigree for the Manwood family includes William Master — uncle of Richard Master, called “brother” (i.e. brother-in-law) in a 1639 letter to Oxinden from his cousin Henry of Dene. Oxinden almost certainly knew he was related to Sir Roger Manwood, the subject of Marlowe's epitaph.¹⁸²

The book also contains poems by Henry on the subject of atheism, as well as poems dedicated to his friend, Elias Ashmole.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ BL Add. MS 54332.

¹⁸¹ Twice written in this will, both times underlined, is the name of Thomas Phineux — who appears to have been the father of two main candidates for the man Aldrich may have accused of being converted to atheism by Marlowe, John and Thomas (who are also both mentioned in the will, as well as on Oxinden's Phineux family tree). Philipott (1898) “Fineux”; Farey, P. (2012) Aldrich, Oxinden and Fineux http://marlowe-shakespeare.blogspot.com/2012/08/aldrich-oxinden-and-fineux-by-peter_17.html.

¹⁸² Gardiner (1933) p. 147.

¹⁸³ “H. O. his advice to an atheist”, “A query of an atheist”, “To my noble friend Elias Ashmole Esq., the restorer of the hermetic mysteries”, and “To my ever honoured friend Elias Ashmole Esq., on his explanation of John Tradescant's rarities”.

Further Manwood Literary Links

John Donne's Father

Returning to literary connections around Sir Roger Manwood — another involves the poet John Donne, who wrote a satirical description of an imaginary library. One of the fictitious book entries reads as follows:

20. On the navigability of the waters above the heavens, and whether ships in the firmament will land there or on our shores on the day of judgment, by John Dee.¹⁸⁴

Presumably this is lampooning Dee's spiritualism, and writings such as *General and Rare Memorials pertaining to the Perfect Art of Navigation* (1577) — a work notable for containing the first use of the term "British Empire".¹⁸⁵ Following it is this entry:

21. The Judges' Handbook, containing the many confessions of poisoners given to Justice Manwood, and used by him afterwards in wiping his buttocks, and in examining his evacuations; now recovered from his servants, and gathered together for his own use, by John Hele.¹⁸⁶

Donne's scatological humour perhaps fails to mask that satire's cutting edge is here being pressed rather hard — his attitude towards Sir Roger in this passage has been said to display "a degree of contempt that may well have been based on a sense of family injury".¹⁸⁷ The poet's father, John Donne the elder, had died suddenly in 1576, when the younger John was only four years old — at the time, he was suspected to have been collaborating with Sir Roger

¹⁸⁴ *The Courtier's Library of Rare Books Not for Sale, or Catalogus librorum aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium*. Translation: Brown (2008).

¹⁸⁵ ODNB Roberts, R. J. "Dee, John".

¹⁸⁶ Brown (2008); Hele was "a notoriously corrupt and successful lawyer" (Summers & Pebworth, 2000 p. 31).

¹⁸⁷ Bald (1970) p. 33-4.

Manwood in hiding properties from the Crown's repossession. It is thought likely that the elder John Donne had been poisoned.¹⁸⁸

The younger Donne's book had circulated in manuscript amongst his friends, but would remain unpublished until 1650 — after his death in 1633, during the Interregnum, and around the same time that Henry Oxinden copied Marlowe's Latin epitaph to Manwood into the Folger notebook.¹⁸⁹

Marlowe's Epitaph for Manwood

If Donne's imaginary book description is suggestive of "family injury", it is difficult to know quite what to make of Marlowe's epitaph poem to Manwood.¹⁹⁰ Its twelve ten-syllable lines of Latin have resulted in contrasting readings by scholars. Several have read the poem as straightforwardly praising and honouring its subject.¹⁹¹ Others have found more nuance — such as Georgia Brown in the *Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, who points out that there is a wealth of puns and double-meanings in the Latin. These, especially in the context of the disgrace under which Sir Roger ended his life, raise the possibility of a more cynical undertone towards the poem's subject.¹⁹²

The poem refers to Manwood as a "vulture to the hardened criminal" — which hardly strikes the most flattering tone imaginable. Examples of wordplay and double-entendre include "envy, spare this man" (*Livor, parce viro*), "light of the government/marketplace" (*fori lumen*) — suggesting the monetisation of the law in Manwood's hands, and the prospect of his (bad) reputation (*fama*) lasting a long time.¹⁹³ "Rejoice, you sons of crime" (*Scelerum gaudete Nepotes*) seems a remarkable thing to say following the death of a family man

¹⁸⁸ Ibid; Summers & Pebworth (2000) p. 31.

¹⁸⁹ Eccles (1935) p. 41.

¹⁹⁰ The Latin original, and an English translation (by Peter Farey), may be found at <http://www.rey.prestel.co.uk/manwood.htm>.

¹⁹¹ e.g. Kuriyama (2010) p. 118-9; ODNB Nicholl, "Marlowe [Marley], Christopher".

¹⁹² Cheney & Sparks (2004) p. 106-126.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

thought to have been criminally corrupt. “Jove’s Hercules” (*Jovis Alcides*) may also strike an ambivalent tone —Hercules in myth having been the illegitimate son of Jupiter.¹⁹⁴ The epitaph makes no mention of Manwood’s substantial local benevolence. If Manwood had helped Marlowe, why would the poet feel moved to write such a send-off?

The Jew of Malta

The extreme nature of the double-meanings in the epitaph, together with the subject of poisoning as raised by John Donne, are suggestive of one of Marlowe’s dramatic characters more than any other: *The Jew of Malta* is a dark tragicomedy in which the protagonist, Barabas — despite being portrayed as unflinchingly avaricious and murderous — nevertheless gets much of the best poetry. This is displayed, following Machevill’s prologue, in the rapacious daydream of his opening soliloquy — from which “infinite riches in a little room” would inspire an allusion in the play *As You Like It*. Or later, addressing his daughter, “But stay! what star shines yonder in the east? The lodestar of my life, if Abigail”.¹⁹⁵

Manwood’s portrait at the National Portrait Gallery shows that he had a distinctive (not to say, vulture-like) nose. Barabas is referred to, antisemitically, by his nose, several times in the play.¹⁹⁶ He is corrupt and murderous — bribing and poisoning to get his way. He defends himself comically and legalistically:

BARNARDINE. Thou hast committed...

BARABAS. Fornication? But that was in another country;

And besides the wench is dead.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Translation from Pendry, E. D. & Maxwell, J. C. in Burnett, M. T. (Ed.) (2000). *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Poems*. London: Dent.

¹⁹⁵ Machevill: “To some perhaps my name is odious; / But such as love me guard me from their tongues” (Prologue); Touchstone’s words in the Shakespeare play (Act 3 Scene 3) are thought to be in reference to Marlowe’s 1593’s apparent death over the payment of a bill: “When a man’s verses cannot be understood ... it strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room”; *The Jew of Malta* Act 2 Scene 1.

¹⁹⁶ Ithamore: “Oh, brave master! I worship your nose for this” (Act 2 Scene 3), “bottle-nosed knave” (Act 3 Scene 3), “God-a-mercy, nose! come, let’s begone.” (Act 4 Scene 1).

¹⁹⁷ Act 4 Scene 1.

He refers to himself in his opening speech as a man “of judgment”. Near the end of the play, he is thrown to the vultures when thought dead.¹⁹⁸

The play was first performed early in 1592, when Manwood’s career was failing, and scandal was beginning to build around him. When first printed in 1633, the play was dedicated, “legalistically”, to Thomas Hammon of Gray’s Inn, by the writer Thomas Heywood. The front page states, “Printed by I. B. for Nicholas Vavasour, and are to be sold at his shop in the Inner Temple, near the Church”.¹⁹⁹

The Manwoods and Shakespeare

A few connections between the Manwoods and the life and works of William Shakespeare are perhaps worth mentioning:

In 1575, Roger Manwood, working outside of his usual domains of Canterbury, Sandwich and London, was one of the justices overseeing the conveyance to John Shakespeare, William’s father, of the house in Henley Street in Stratford-upon-Avon, now known as Shakespeare’s Birthplace, where John would live for the rest of his life — and where William’s younger sister Joan would continue to live after John’s death in 1601, and after the death of her husband William Hart in Apr 1616.²⁰⁰

A possible connection has been noted between Manwood and Shakespeare’s *The Comedy of Errors* — a legalistic farce first performed at the Gray’s Inn Christmas revels of 1594, which features a lengthy subplot involving a goldsmith and a gold chain. The legal case over which

¹⁹⁸ Act 1 Scene 1; Act 5 Scene 1.

¹⁹⁹ ODNB Jack, S. “Manwood, Sir Roger”; McCrea (2005), p86.

²⁰⁰ A.K.A. Shakespeare’s Birthplace. Or at least, the associated fine — the only document from the conveyance that remains today. Halliwell (1848) p. 35; “Foot of Fine recording the conveyance of two messuages, two gardens and two orchards in Stratford-upon-Avon by Edmund Hall to John Shakespeare” <http://www.shakespearedocumented.org/file/cp-2522341elizimich-recto>; Dobson & Wells (2011) “Shakespeare, Joan”.

Sir Roger was “finally humiliated” also involved a goldsmith and a chain, as recorded in the diary of Middle Temple lawyer John Manningham.²⁰¹

Another of Sir Roger’s daughters, Margaret, married (Sir) John Leveson of Hawkinge, whose younger brother William Leveson (d. 1621) was one of two trustees used by Will Kempe, William Shakespeare and others to allocate shareholdings in the Globe Theatre in 1599. John Leveson was listed as a Virginia Company shareholder in 1612 (along with Sir Thomas Harflete, Thomas Walsingham II, Mary Sidney Herbert, and others) — as his brother-in-law Sir Peter Manwood (as well as William Browne and Henry Wriothesley) had been in May 1609.²⁰²

Manwood and Marlowe — Further Possibilities

Might people in power have considered Manwood Marlowe’s protector? Could the judge’s downfall and death have contributed to events leading to the playwright’s documented Deptford demise, just five months following? These are beyond the scope of this essay to answer, given the complex political dynamics of the forces gathering against Marlowe in 1592-3. The early 1590s were a period in which many of Elizabeth’s closest advisers, such as Francis Walsingham, Robert Dudley and Christopher Hatton, had died, and others had decreased in influence — due to age such as Burghley, or like Raleigh and Dee had apparently fallen from favour.²⁰³

Could Marlowe have been privately educated by Knolles, or at Manwood’s free school in Sandwich where Knolles was headmaster, before receiving a scholarship at the King’s School,

²⁰¹ Brown (2008) p. lvii-lix; Raffield (2009); ODNB Jack, S. “Manwood, Sir Roger”.

²⁰² ODNB Wisker, R “Leveson, Sir John”. BL Add. MS 54332 f. 86; Hotson, L. (1937) p. 160-1. Sams (1939) p. 757-81.

²⁰³ ODNB Collinson, P. “Elizabeth I”; ODNB Nicholl, C. “Marlowe [Marley], Christopher”.

Canterbury? Another angle on Marlowe's childhood and education may be provided by our next set of Kentish connections.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ As at the King's School, Roger Manwood's School records are incomplete for the period. Cavell & Kennett (1963) p. xi.

Izaak Walton and the Cranmers

The Compleat Angler

Izaak Walton's perennially-popular *The Compleat Angler* (henceforth *Angler*) is more than just a fishing guide. First published in 1653, and greatly expanded by its author over four further editions during his lifetime, its discursive prose takes in philosophical, religious and scientific musings — as well as poems, songs and quotations. The book is written as a dialogue between friends on a fishing trip together. Walton puts a famous poem by Christopher Marlowe into the mouth of the elder Piscator — a wise and humble fisherman, who tells of meeting a milk-maid whilst out fishing, who sung it to him:

... it was that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlow, now at least fifty years ago; and the milk-maid's mother sung an answer to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh, in his younger days.²⁰⁵

The Passionate Shepherd to His Love (“Come live with me, and be my love ...”) is Marlowe's best-known poem, and is among the most well-known in the English language. It has been set to music as a song, and has inspired several poems in response. It is alluded to, twice, in the plays of Shakespeare.²⁰⁶ Whilst both Marlowe's poem and Raleigh's (the most famous poetic response) had been previously published, Walton was the first to attribute *The Nymph's Reply* to Raleigh, and the attribution remains today.²⁰⁷ Walton also included in the book another answer poem, by his close friend John Donne — *The Bait* — having the same form and first line as Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd*. Complementing Walton's themes in *Angler*, Donne's poem transposes the original's “pleasures” from the shepherd's fields to the

²⁰⁵ Walton et al. (1824) p. 76.

²⁰⁶ *As You Like It* alludes to the poem's title in referring to Marlowe, quoting from *Hero and Leander*: “Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might: ‘Whoever loved that loved not at first sight?’” (Act 3 Scene 5); In *Measure for Measure*, Evans conflates a version of the poem with Psalm 137: “By the rivers of Babylon ... to whose falls, / Melodious birds sing madrigals (Act 3 Scene 1).

²⁰⁷ Cheney & Sparks (2004) p. 93.

riverside, and fishing — to tell the tale of a lover (or perhaps, given the lack of gender identification, and Donne’s penchant for ambiguity between sacred and profane, an admired associate — not unlike Walton’s fictional friend Piscator), through the imagery of angling.²⁰⁸

As we shall see, several lines of connection may be drawn between Walton and his associates and relations, particularly in the Cranmer family, and Christopher Marlowe — as well as to members of the other families we have met. These connections may help to explain Walton’s confidence in attributing *The Nymph’s Reply* to Raleigh — as well perhaps as his elsewhere naming Marlowe’s friend Thomas Nashe as one of the anonymous authors of replies to the Puritan *Martin Marprelate* tracts. In order to shed light on the interrelations between the Marlowe-associated Kentish families that also connected to both Henry Oxinden and Izaak Walton, our later sources for information on Marlowe, we shall follow their activities up to the beginning of the Restoration — near the end of both Oxinden and Walton’s lives.²⁰⁹

Izaak Walton

Walton was born in Stafford in the Midlands in 1593. Around 1608, as a teenager, he moved to the London parish of St. Dunstan’s-in-the-West. His friend John Donne was vicar there from 1624 until his death in 1631, and was concurrently dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral from 1621. Another literary friend and neighbour was Michael Drayton, who had lived in the parish from around 1612, and who, like Donne, died in London in 1631. In 1623 Donne’s twenty-year-old daughter Constance married Edward Alleyn, 56, who had been the leading actor in Christopher Marlowe’s plays, and was the founder of the London school, Dulwich College.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Chambers (1896); <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44094>.

²⁰⁹ In *Life of Hooker*, Walton states that Nashe “... put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able”. Walton (1825) p. 211-2.

²¹⁰ ODNB Martin, J. “Walton, Izaak”; ODNB Colclough, D. “Donne, John”; ODNB Prescott, A. L. “Drayton, Michael”.

In 1626 Walton married Rachel Fludd at St. Mildred's, Canterbury. She was the daughter of William Fludd (or Floyd), of Chevening near Sevenoaks, and Susanna Cranmer of St. Mildred's. Susanna was the granddaughter of Archdeacon Edmund Cranmer, whose brother Thomas was famously Archbishop during the reign of Henry VIII. Susanna's father, also named Thomas Cranmer, was the registrar at Canterbury's Archdeaconry Court, and lived in a house with a tower near St. Mildred's church, on Stour Street. He had settled in the parish by 1564, where seven of his children were baptised, and lived there until his death in 1604.²¹¹

George Cranmer and Family

Susanna's brother George was born in 1564, the same year as Christopher Marlowe.²¹² It seems likely that young George and Christopher would have known of one another: neighbouring the Cranmers were the Benchkins and other Marlowe-associated families — all of whom would have attended regular services at St. Mildred's, and been part of daily parish life. John Benchkin's father James, like George Cranmer's father Thomas, worked as an administrator within the Cathedral hierarchy. Thomas Greenleaf may have been related to the Cranmers via his possible sister or cousin's marriage to a Nicholas Cranmer in Essex.

Marlowe may have known his Canterbury contemporary George Cranmer from an early age: as we shall see, the Cranmer family had a wealth of pertinent connections. Perhaps one reason why George and the other Cranmers have not been previously noted as people of potential interest in the biography of Christopher Marlowe — e.g. by Urry (1988), who provides a list of eighty of Marlowe's school contemporaries, most including a brief account — is that unlike his Canterbury contemporary, George Cranmer did not attend the King's School. Instead he went to the then recently-founded Merchant Taylors' School, located in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, London, across the Thames from Southwark Cathedral,

²¹¹ Waters (1877) p. 32-3, 40-1; App. A; Lease (1582): CCA-CC-WOODRUFF/34/6. See App. B5.

²¹² Waters (1877) p. 35-6.

near to St. Paul's. George entered the school in Apr 1571, aged six or seven, on the same day as his lifelong friend, (later Sir) Edwin Sandys.²¹³

Merchant Taylors' School had been founded a decade before, in 1561. Its first headmaster (until 1586) was Richard Mulcaster.²¹⁴ Under Mulcaster, along with Cranmer and Sandys, were a number of students who would go on to be of literary interest. There from 1565 was Thomas Kyd, who would go on to be a playwright closely associated with Marlowe. Kyd was the son of scrivener (scribe) Francis Kyd, and was born in 1558, in the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth — less than a mile north of the school, and a stone's throw from St. Michael Cornhill, where Mulcaster was married in 1559.²¹⁵ At the school from 1571 was Thomas Lodge, born the same year as Kyd, who would also be an important author and playwright. Lodge's 1590 *Rosalynde* was the main source for the Shakespeare play *As You Like It*.²¹⁶ An early student there was Edmund Spenser (born c1552), whose celebrated poem in praise of Elizabeth I, *The Faerie Queen* (supported in its 1590 publication, and preceded with a dedication poem by, Sir Walter Raleigh) would influence the works of both Marlowe and Shakespeare.²¹⁷ Another notable pupil was Lancelot Andrewes (b. 1555), later Bishop of Winchester, who along with his brother Roger was one of the translators of the *King James Bible*, and who after his death in 1626 received an elegy from John Milton.²¹⁸

Richard Mulcaster was a supporter of Sir Roger Manwood's educational aims, in setting up the free school in Sandwich which still bears the latter's name. In Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582), he called Manwood one of the "great founders to learning".²¹⁹

In 1578-9 both George Cranmer and Edwin Sandys left Merchant Taylors' and enrolled at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (whilst Marlowe studied at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, from

²¹³ As with the King's School, Canterbury and Sir Roger Manwood's school, records are generally incomplete for the period. Robinson (1882) p. 1, 17.

²¹⁴ Robinson (1882) p. xiii.

²¹⁵ ODNB Mulryne, J. R. "Kyd, Thomas"; ODNB Barker, W. "Mulcaster, Richard".

²¹⁶ ODNB Halasz, A. "Lodge, Thomas".

²¹⁷ Hadfield, A. "Spenser, Edmund".

²¹⁸ ODNB McCullough, P. E. "Andrewes, Lancelot".

²¹⁹ ODNB Jack, S. "Manwood, Sir Roger".

1580). One notable fellow at the Oxford college at the time was John Rainolds — later the initiator of the *King James Bible* translation project. Probably their most significant tutor there, though, was the theologian Richard Hooker (b. 1554) — of whom they became the favourite students, and close friends. Hooker was one of the most important architects of Anglican theology — along with Cranmer’s Archbishop great-uncle Thomas, and Matthew Parker. According to Walton, “betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils there was a sacred friendship ... made up of religious principles”.²²⁰

In addition to being known for *Angler*, Walton wrote a number of short biographies — of people he knew, such as John Donne, or was connected to, such as Richard Hooker. In his *Life of Hooker*, first published in 1665, he clarified his sources from within the Cranmer family:

About forty years past — for I am now past the seventy of my age — I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, now with God, grand-nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom friend and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in the following discourse, as also George Cranmer, their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.²²¹

In 1597, George Cranmer’s sister Dorothy married Dr John Spenser (1559-1614) in Preston-next-Faversham.²²² Spenser had attended Merchant Taylors’ (from 1571), and Corpus Christi, Oxford, with George Cranmer and Edwin Sandys. He was a high clergy member whose

²²⁰ ODNB Feingold, M. “Rainolds [Reynolds], John”; Walton (1825) p. 180.

²²¹ Walton (1825) p. 163-4.

²²² Waters (1877) p. 37-8; App. A — his name for some reason appearing as “Thomas”, but correctly as vicar of Faversham, on the transcripts.

various posts included the living of Faversham (1594-9) as well as president of Corpus Christi (from 1607, succeeding John Rainolds). He was also one of the scholars who worked on the *King James Bible* translations.²²³ Walton continues:

This William Cranmer and his two forenamed sisters [Susanna and Dorothy] had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship, with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishopsbourne near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived.

Another of William and George Cranmer's sisters, Elizabeth, married Alexander Norwood at St. Mildred's, in 1592. Norwood was "one of the proctors practicing in the courts attached to the Cathedral" — and was John Marlowe's then-landlord.²²⁴

Simon Aldrich's father Francis was registrar at the Cathedral's Consistory Court (1569-1602) over the same period that Thomas Cranmer was registrar at the Archdeaconry Court (from early in Elizabeth's reign until his death in 1604).²²⁵ He may have lived next to Cranmer, too: Cranmer's name follows his in a tax subsidy assessment of inhabitants of Canterbury's Worthgate ward (including parts of St. Margaret's and St. Mildred's parishes), in 1598 — for which John Benchkin and Thomas Greenleaf were assessors.²²⁶

Hooker moved to Bishopsbourne in 1595, where the Queen made him parson, and lived there until his death in 1600.²²⁷ His will was registered (unusually for a man of his status) not in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but in Canterbury's Archdeaconry Court, where his friend Thomas Cranmer was registrar. Walton states that Cranmer witnessed Hooker's will, but his name does not appear on the document. Hooker appointed his wife Joan (who

²²³ Waters (1877) p. 37-8; ODNB Wright, S. "Spenser, John".

²²⁴ Waters (1877) p. 37; Urry (1988) p. 27.

²²⁵ Venn (1924) "Aldrich, Francis; Waters (1877) p. 32-3.

²²⁶ The assessors, all also owning property in the ward, were "Thomas Greeneleafe, Henry Prowd, gent., John Benchkyn, gent. and William Drayton, constable". Also listed are William Somner, Alexander Norwood and Leonard Sweeting. Subsidy roll (1598): CCA-CC-B/C/S/3/18.

²²⁷ ODNB McGrade, A. S. "Hooker, Richard".

shortly afterwards remarried Edward Nethersole, and then died suddenly) sole executor, and “my assured good friend” Edwin Sandys an overseer.²²⁸

Many of Hooker’s manuscript writings were destroyed shortly after his death. A London lawyer, Edmund Parbo, testified that he had “credibly heard” that this was done by Nethersole, Roger Raven (headmaster at King’s 1591-1615), and “Mr Aldridge” — likely Francis Aldrich senior. Walton, in *Life of Hooker*, described the same destruction, but assigned the blame to others.²²⁹

Thomas Cranmer the registrar died four years later, in 1604, aged 68. Among the witnesses to his will was Richard Allen — probably the vicar of St. Mildred’s 1601-1637 — as well as Cranmer’s son-in-law (by then John Marlowe’s ex-landlord), Alexander Norwood.²³⁰ A monument to Thomas Cranmer’s memory stands today in St. Mildred’s, Canterbury — built in a similar style as the one there to Margaret Hales, the widow of Sir James Hales who had drowned himself in Thanington.

Thomas Cranmer’s sister Alice by 1568 married Thomas Norton — one of the two previously-mentioned authors of the first English blank verse play, *Gorboduc*. Before that, Norton had been married to another Cranmer — Archbishop Thomas’ daughter Margaret. The *Gorboduc* author gave direct financial support to George Cranmer, his nephew by marriage — personally paying for his study at Oxford. As previously noted, Norton had studied at the Inner Temple. He worked as the solicitor for the Merchant Taylors’ Company in London. He was also employed by Sir Francis Walsingham and, aside from being a pioneering playwright, later in his life became notorious as a torturer of Catholics (“Rackmaster Norton”). Waters (1877) relates, “He was encouraged in his bigotry by his second wife Alice

²²⁸ CPR PRC/31/45 H/7 (orig.); CPR PRC/32/38/291b (copy); Walton (1825) p. 247-9. According to Walton, Nethersole was suspected of murdering Joan — who was found dead in her bed the morning after the destruction of Hooker’s writings was discovered (see following paragraph).

²²⁹ ODNB McGrade, A. S. “Hooker, Richard”; Walton (1825) p. 248-9. Raven was overseer of Francis Aldrich’s will, made in 1597 and proved in 1602: CPR PRC/17/52/294.

²³⁰ CPR PRC/32/39/216.

Cranmer, who was a woman of a temper so violent that she was subject to fits of insanity, and ultimately became a confirmed lunatic.”.²³¹

Thomas Norton’s will (1584), made orally, is very brief. It states that he was “a day or two from death or thereabouts”, and that he handed over all responsibility for his estate to “his brother Thomas Cranmer his executor, to whom he did committed the ordering and disposing of all his goods to be employed to the use and behoof of his wife and children”.²³²

In Feb 1602 the lawyer John Manningham, in his diary, discussed arrangements around this bequest in relation to the Norton family and Manningham’s frequently-mentioned “cousin Cranmer”, registrar Thomas (eleven days after recording a performance of the play *Twelfth Night*, and a month before recording a humorous anecdote about William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage). On 29 Dec 1602 (a month after describing the dispute between Sir Roger Manwood and a goldsmith that had contributed to the judge’s downfall), Manningham “dined at cousin Cranmer’s at Canterbury”, shortly after the death of registrar Francis Aldrich. Cranmer told Manningham of a dispute that had arisen between William Somner and Francis’ widow and son (either Simon or Francis junior), in relation to the settlement of Francis’ estate.²³³

Brome

Another of George Cranmer’s aunts, Anne, had married apothecary Bartholomew Brome, in 1563. Bartholomew and his grocer brother Simon rose steadily through the ranks of Canterbury city politics, from freeman to mayor, over the middle to latter part of Elizabeth’s reign — Simon also serving as MP for Canterbury in the years 1584, 1586 and 1589.²³⁴

²³¹ Waters (1877) p. 21-7; Wilson (1814) p. 565-6.

²³² TNA PROB 11/66/419.

²³³ Bruce (1868) p.18-19, 39, 91, 107-9. The antiquary Somner was also a registrar in the Canterbury courts, and had been deputy to Francis Aldrich — Sherlock, P. “Somner, William”; Eccles (1935) p. 59. Manningham also states that Roger Raven, the King’s School headmaster and overseer of the late Francis’ will, acted as an arbitrator in the dispute.

²³⁴ Waters (1877) p. 32; Hasler (1981) “Brome (Brown, Browne), Bartholomew”, “Brome (Brown, Browne), Simon”; App. B5.

The Bromes were cousins of the Bromes of Holton, Oxfordshire — a recusant Catholic family whose George Brome was implicated in the Babington Plot (which led to the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots), although he seems to have escaped largely unpunished for his part in it. One of the two witnesses to Marlowe’s apparent 1593 death by self-defence (at the hands of Sir Thomas Walsingham I’s employee, Ingram Frizer), Robert Poley, in 1586 had a key undercover role working for Sir Francis Walsingham amongst the Babington plotters — bringing the action to a head through his skills of dishonesty.²³⁵

George Brome’s wife Elizabeth was the daughter of William Wightman — an associate of the Earls of Pembroke, and MP for Wilton in Wiltshire, site of the Pembrokes’ country home. Elizabeth’s sister Frances was married to another Pembroke employee — the 1st Earl’s secretary, Robert Streynsham of Ospringe. In 1602 their daughter Audrey Streynsham married Edward Master in Ospringe. Sir Edward was co-executor of the will of his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Brome née Wightman, in Oxford, in 1634, together with Richard Powell — the poet John Milton’s father-in-law — who worked for Brome. In 1684 Audrey and Sir Edward’s grandson William Master became rector of Holton, where the Oxfordshire Bromes were based, and a branch of the Master family developed there.²³⁶

In 1588 Bartholomew and Anne (Cranmer) Brome’s daughter Friswith (b. 1571) married George Master, a grocer and neighbour of the Marlowe family in St. George’s parish, Canterbury. We shall revisit George Master and the Bromes of Canterbury, shortly.²³⁷

After studying at Oxford, George Cranmer worked for secretary of state (jointly, with Sir Francis Walsingham) William Davison, in 1586-7.²³⁸ Nicholas Faunt visited Davison in the Low Countries in 1578. Faunt had studied at both the King’s School and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, before Marlowe, and is thought to have been a likely connection for Marlowe in intelligence work. Together with Sir Philip Sidney and Francis and Thomas

²³⁵ Burke (1847) vol. 1 “Brome of Salop, Herts and Kent”; Fox (2003); Nicholl (2002) p. 35-8.

²³⁶ Master (1874) p. 16, 20-3; Brydges (1835) p. 278.

²³⁷ App. A, B2, B4; Urry (1970).

²³⁸ ODNB Brewerton, P. “Cranmer, George”.

Walsingham, he was at the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris, in 1572, on which Marlowe based a play.²³⁹ Working as secretary for Davison alongside Cranmer was William Brewster, who would go on to be the spiritual leader of the group of Puritan separatists involved in the 1620 voyage of the *Mayflower*.²⁴⁰

After Davison lost his position for over-hastily executing Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587, Cranmer worked as secretary to Henry Killigrew, ambassador to the Low Countries. He toured Europe with his friend Edwin Sandys during the years 1596-99. Lastly he worked for Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy – whose troops he was with when he was killed, in a skirmish in Carlingford, Ireland, in Jul 1600. William Camden wrote of George Cranmer after his death as “a gentleman of singular hopes”, and that “an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him, he being then but in the thirty-sixth year of his age”.²⁴¹ Four months later, Cranmer’s tutor Richard Hooker would also be dead. One person who must have especially felt this pair of losses was their close friend, Edwin Sandys.

Sir Edwin Sandys

If Christopher Marlowe knew George Cranmer, then it is likely he would have also known George’s friend, Edwin Sandys (1561-1629). Edwin’s younger brother, George Sandys (1578-1644), was a poet and a travel writer, and had settled in Canterbury by 1609. Henry Oxinden owned books by both brothers, and Kentish members of their family are mentioned in his letters. Walton also referred to George Sandys, in *Angler*.²⁴²

²³⁹ Kuriyama (2010) p. 71-2; Nicholls (2002) p. 443-6; Hasler (1981) “Faunt, Nicholas”; ODNB Woudhuysen, H. R. “Sidney, Sir Philip”.

²⁴⁰ ODNB Thompson, R. “Brewster, William”.

²⁴¹ ODNB Brewerton, P. “Cranmer, George”; Walton (1825) p. 179.

²⁴² ODNB Ellison, J. “Sandys, George”; Sandys, E. (1632). *Europae Speculum*. CCA ELHAM 749; Sandys, G. (1615) *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610 : ... A Description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of ... Italy, ...* CCA ELHAM 168; Sandys, G. (1648) *A Paraphrase Upon the Divine Poems*. CCA ELHAM 659; Gardiner (1933) p. 116, 178, 312; Walton et al. (1824) p. 10.

Edwin was born in 1561, in Hartlebury, Worcestershire. He was the second son of Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester and later Archbishop of York, by his second wife (m. 1559) Cicely Wilford, from Cranbrook near Sissinghurst in Kent. Edwin senior was an important theologian and church leader, closely associated with Archbishop Matthew Parker. He worked as a translator on Parker's *Bishop's Bible* project — the third authorised English Bible translation, and the one on which the next, the *King James Bible*, would be based.²⁴³

After studying with Cranmer, Sandys junior became a fellow at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and then an MP. He was known as a calm, rational statesman between the times of Elizabeth's privy council and Cromwell's rise to dominance. One of the strongest voices in Parliament, he was a thorn in the side of King James' plans for a Union of England, Ireland and Scotland. After his European travels with George Cranmer, he wrote a book, *Europae Speculum*, comparing religious practices across the continent. He moved to Kent in 1601, shortly after Cranmer and Hooker's deaths, to land previously belonging to the Cranmer family.²⁴⁴

Knighted in 1603, he became a key figure in the Virginia Company, founded in 1606 — which he was elected to the council of, in 1607. He may have written the company's charter of May 1609, together with Sir Francis Bacon. In 1611 he moved to Northbourne Manor, near Sandwich — another ex-Cranmer property. In 1616 he was made an assistant (equivalent to a director), and in 1619 treasurer (essentially chairman) of the Virginia Company, also becoming a director of the East India Company in the same year. He kept the Virginia Colony active despite severe attrition — “his relentless transportation of settlers over the next five years was probably the single most important reason that England's foothold at Jamestown survived”. Sandys promoted self-governance amongst the Virginia settlers. He was also connected to the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade: the first evidence of the sale of

²⁴³ ODNB Collinson, P. “Sandys, Edwin”.

²⁴⁴ ODNB Rabb, T. K. “Sandys, Sir Edwin”.

African people in the Americas may be found in a 1619 letter sent to Sandys by the Virginian John Rolfe.²⁴⁵

In 1620 King James forbade Sandys' re-election as treasurer of the Virginia Company ("Choose the Devil if you will but not Sir Edwin Sandys"), and he was replaced by Shakespeare and Nashe's patron, Henry Wriothesley the Earl of Southampton — a distant cousin and a long-term friend and associate of Sandys. As treasurer, Wriothesley continued the direction Sandys had been taking for the company. Sandys was MP for Sandwich in 1621, and for Kent in 1624. He died in 1629, and was buried with a monument at his parish church of Northbourne.²⁴⁶

A William Osborne became vicar of Sholden Chapel, a nearby annex of Northbourne church, in 1592, and was vicar of nearby Great Mongeham (1598-1607), and Walmer (1607-12). From 1616 he was vicar of East Langdon, inland from the cliffs of Dover — where Sir Edward Master was based (as well as in Ospringe, before moving to Canterbury in his final years). The patron for his appointment at East Langdon was James Master, Sir Edward's father. On Osborne's death in 1641 he was replaced by his son — also William — with patron Sir Edward Master. The younger man may have been the William Osborne who was a King's School scholar 1616-1618, and was probably the man of that name who had been vicar of nearby Eastry in 1636 — the position later held by James Benchkin of Woodnesborough in 1660.²⁴⁷

Digges

Sir Edwin Sandys was a cousin of Sir Dudley Digges (b. 1583) of Chilham, towards Ashford from Canterbury — godson of the Queen's favourite, Robert Dudley. Digges was taught at Oxford by George Abbot — later Archbishop of Canterbury (1611-33), and another of the *King James Bible* translators. Both Sandys and Digges were involved in the Virginia and East

²⁴⁵ Ibid.; Rabb (1998) p. 111; Rose (1999) p. 15-6.

²⁴⁶ ODNB Rabb, T. K. "Sandys, Sir Edwin"; Hasted, E. (1800) "Parishes: Northborne".

²⁴⁷ CCED Location ID: 223, Person ID: 39066, 39096.

India companies. George Abbot's brother Maurice became president of the East India Company in 1620, and the same year traveled with Digges to Holland on a diplomatic mission for the company. Digges' eldest son Thomas married Mary Abbot, Maurice's daughter. Dudley built a manor at Chilham Castle, where he lived from 1616. He was MP for Sandwich in 1628. His book *The Compleat Ambassador* was published posthumously in 1655.²⁴⁸

Dudley's wife Mary née Kempe was from the Kempe family of Olantigh, near Wye — likely to have included the comic actor Will Kempe. Her aunt was the aforementioned Alice Hales née Kempe. In his 1605 will Sir Edward Master's father-in-law, Robert Streynsham, left a bequest to Mary's father, Sir Thomas Kempe (d. 1607).²⁴⁹

Dudley's grandfather was astronomer Leonard Digges (c1515-c1559), from Wootton Court near Denton. His son, Dudley's father Thomas (b. 1545) of Chevening, was a mathematician, and was one of John Dee's favourite students. After Thomas died in 1595, his widow Anne née St. Leger married Thomas Russell of Alderminster, Warwickshire — named by William Shakespeare as overseer of his 1616 will. Dudley's brother Leonard wrote an elegy to Shakespeare, published in the *First Folio* of Shakespeare's works.²⁵⁰

Anne's mother Ursula née Neville was sister-in-law to Alice Hales' grandfather, Sir Thomas Cheyney — a favourite of Queen Anne Boleyn, owner of the manors of Ospringe and Barton Court in Canterbury, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports — who bequeathed to Sir Roger Manwood in his 1558 will, and made him one of its executors.

Margaret, the daughter of John Parker, Archbishop Matthew's son, married a Digges cousin — Thomas Digges.²⁵¹ Thomas was baptised in St. George's, Canterbury, on 2 Apr 1564 — just

²⁴⁸ Thrush & Ferris (2010) "County: Kent"; ODNB Kelsey, S. "Digges, Sir Dudley"; ODNB Fincham, K. "Abbot, George"; Berry (1830) "Digges".

²⁴⁹ ODNB Kelsey, S. "Digges, Sir Dudley"; ODNB Butler, M. "Kemp, William"; TNA PROB 11/104/229.

²⁵⁰ ODNB Johnston, S. "Digges, Leonard", "Digges, Thomas"; Lee, S. (rev. Haresnape, E.) "Digges, Leonard".

²⁵¹ Berry (1830) "Digges"; Benolt et al. (1899) "Diggs".

over a month after Christopher Marlowe was baptised in the same church. Thomas' brother Christopher was a King's School scholar concurrently with Marlowe, as was Margaret Parker's brother Matthew. Thomas and Christopher's father, also Christopher, was apparently married to an Oxenden, and in 1572 sold lands to two of John Marlowe's best friends, Lawrence Applegate and Richard Gaunt, for eighty pounds. In his 1576 will, Christopher senior left land in Barham to his cousin Thomas, the above-named mathematician.²⁵²

Tradescant

Sir Peter Manwood's friend John Tradescant — mentioned by Walton in *Angler* — was a celebrated botanist and gardener, and was adviser to Sir Dudley Digges for his gardens at Chilham Castle. Resident in Canterbury by 1615, he managed the garden of St. Augustine's Abbey — where he succeeded in growing melons, mandrakes and pomegranates, and probably also mulberries. King James was keen to create a home-grown silk industry. Canterbury's silk weavers and southern location, together with Tradescant's gardening talent, may explain some of the ancient, well-kept mulberry trees later to be found in the Abbey gardens, and in the Cathedral's Deanery, Archdeaconry, and Memorial gardens.²⁵³

Digges and Tradescant were travel companions on a diplomatic mission to Russia in 1618. Tradescant later worked as keeper of gardens, vines and silkworms for Charles I, whose wedding night to Queen Henrietta Maria is said to have been spent in the room above Canterbury's St. Augustine's Gate (now part of the King's School), overlooking Mulberry Tree Green, now known as Lady Wootton's Green. After his death in 1638, Tradescant's "Ark" — his collection of flora, fauna and artefacts from his travels — ended up, somewhat

²⁵² App. A; Wilson (1793) p. 167-8, 171; Urry (1988) p. 106; Philipott (1898) "Diggs" states Christopher senior's wife was from the Oxenden family. An indenture quoted in Wilson (1793) names Thomas' mother as Martha née Brooke. Christopher Digges senior was the great-nephew of astronomer Leonard, also mentioned by name in Christopher's will.

²⁵³ ODNB MacGregor, A. "Tradescant, John, the elder"; Leith-Ross (1984) p. 15; Loudon (1837) p. 187; Potter (2014) p. xxiv. The ancient mulberry in the archdeaconry gardens is alive today.

contentiously, in the hands of his, Walton's, and Oxinden's friend Elias Ashmole, becoming part of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.²⁵⁴

Tradescant's son John Tradescant the Younger (1608-62) was a scholar at the King's School, 1619-23, and a resident of Canterbury. He carried on his father's travel and botany work, visiting Virginia three times between 1637 and 1654. His anatomist associate Dr Thomas Wharton was also mentioned by Walton in *Angler*.²⁵⁵

Wotton

Angler's dedication and main text both refer to Sir Henry Wotton — a friend of both Walton, who also wrote his biography, and Donne. Henry worked as secretary to the Earl of Essex, whose battalion he joined at the Battle of Cádiz (1596), alongside Donne, as well as others previously noted. In a 1613 letter to his nephew Edmund Bacon, Sir Henry described how the original Globe Theatre in London burnt down — from stage cannon fire, during a production of the Shakespeare and Fletcher play *Henry VIII*.²⁵⁶

St. Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, where the elder John Tradescant managed the gardens, was owned from 1614 by Edward, Baron Wotton — Sir Henry's half-brother. Edward was named in the first line of Sir Phillip Sidney's 1595 *The Defence of Poetry*, and he commissioned John Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne's *Essais*. The poet George Chapman, who completed Marlowe's unfinished poem *Hero & Leander* under the patronage of Sir Thomas Walsingham I, dedicated a sonnet to Edward — preceding his 1608 translation

²⁵⁴ ODNB MacGregor, A. "Tradescant, John, the elder"; Orger (1884). Murray (1863) p. 196.

²⁵⁵ ODNB MacGregor, A. "Tradescant, John, the younger"; Walton et al. (1824) p. 29.

²⁵⁶ A play notable in the present context for featuring Archbishop Thomas Cranmer as a lead character, who in the final act predicts that the newborn Princess Elizabeth would "make new nations". Walton et al. (1824) p. liii, 41-43, 206, 223, 255-60; Walton (1825) p. 89-160; ODNB Loomie, A. J. "Wotton, Sir Henry"; Urry (1988) p.25; ODNB Colclough, D. "Donne, John"; Smith (1907) vol. 2 p. 32.

of Homer's *Iliad*. Lady Wootton's Green in Canterbury was named after Edward's widow, Margaret.²⁵⁷

Edward and Thomas' father Thomas Wotton (d. 1587) was a friend of Sir Roger Manwood, and was one of the overseers of Archbishop Matthew Parker's will.²⁵⁸ Thomas Wotton's biography by Francis Thynne appeared in the 1587 second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, alongside Thynne's biography of Manwood. In Apr 1580, the Queen granted Thomas the joint patronage of Nicholas Sympson as prebendary at the Cathedral.²⁵⁹ In the same year he appeared on a list of militia captains along with Roger Manwood, Simon Brome, Sir James Hales (the younger), and James Nethersole (probably Edward's father).²⁶⁰ Thomas was a literary patron of the Manwoods' friend William Lambarde, who dedicated his *Perambulations of Kent* to him. Thomas' uncle Nicholas Wotton was the first Dean of Canterbury after the Reformation, through four monarchs (1541-67), and was a privy councillor.²⁶¹

Walton's References

Alongside Sandys, Tradescant and Wotton, another person named in Walton's *Angler* is Peter du Moulin (1601-1684) — a canon at the Cathedral (in stall four, succeeding his father Pierre), who was tutor to the grandsons of Marlowe's schoolfellow Richard Boyle in Ireland. Elsewhere Walton discussed the scientist Robert Boyle, Richard's son, whose book *Occasional Reflections* — like *Angler* — is written as a dialogue between fishermen, and features a singing milk-maid.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ ODNB Loomie, A. J. "Wotton, Edward, first Baron Wotton"; Potter (2014) ch. 8; Rogers, S. "Lady Wootton's Green" <http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/wootton>; ODNB (1885-1900) Pollard, A. F. [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Wotton,_Edward_\(1548-1626\)_DNB00](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Wotton,_Edward_(1548-1626)_DNB00).

²⁵⁸ Bindoff (1982) "Wotton, Thomas"; ODNB Crankshaw, D. & Gillespie, A. "Parker, Matthew".

²⁵⁹ The patronage was granted to Wotton and William Cole, then master of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Post (1986) p. 202. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857* (1974) "Canons: Eighth prebend" <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1541-1847/vol3/pp30-32>.

²⁶⁰ CCA-CC-N/13; Somner & Battely (1703) vol. 1 p. 184.

²⁶¹ ODNB MacMahon, L. "Wotton, Sir Edward"; ODNB Zell, M. "Wotton, Nicholas".

²⁶² ODNB Larminie, V. "Du Moulin, Peter [Pierre]"; Boyle (1665).

Walton's other pertinent references include William Camden, Sir Francis Bacon, William Basse (a poet who wrote an elegy to Shakespeare), Francis Davison (the poet son of secretary of state William), Adrian Saravia (another Canterbury canon, *King James Bible* translator, and rector of Great Chart) and members of the Hales and Nethersole families. *Angler* discusses trout in Fordwich (downstream from Canterbury), and fishing near Canterbury.²⁶³

From the time of King James to the start of the Restoration, the families we have met in Marlowe's, Oxinden's and Walton's combined network would be involved in some important developments. In particular, members of the Master family — who, as we have seen, were highly-connected to Marlowe's Kentish legacy — would play intriguing roles.

²⁶³ Walton et al. (1824); Walton (1825); ODNB Kathman, D. "Basse, William", Considine, J. "Davison, Francis", Spicer, A. "Saravia, Adrian".

Developments in Canterbury

The *Mayflower* Pilgrims and George Master

From 1617, negotiations commenced between Sir Edwin Sandys, representing the Virginia Company, and a group of English Puritans who were emigrating in search of religious freedom — first to Leiden in Holland: a university town, and home to an important printing industry. The group required the blessing of the Virginia Company to safely establish a settlement in the New World — which, in 1620, having received a patent from Sandys, they set out to do, aboard the ship *Mayflower*. Two key figures in the group — William Brewster, their spiritual leader, and Robert Cushman — had connections in the Kentish gentry circles we have met, and both were closely involved in the negotiations with Sandys. The Leiden group, and eventual *Mayflower* passenger list, included individuals from Canterbury, as well as Sandwich — the port from which the Kentish contingent, including Cushman, probably embarked for Holland.²⁶⁴

As noted, William Brewster and George Cranmer worked together for secretary of state William Davison. Afterwards, the Brewsters and Cranmers apparently maintained a connection: in 1619, Captain Edward Brewster, William's son, transferred a share in the Virginia Company to William Cranmer — George's brother, and Izaak Walton's friend. Brewster also knew Sir Edwin Sandys, whose father Bishop Sandys owned an estate in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire — where many of the Leiden separatists came from, including Brewster, who in c1594 was made postmaster of Scrooby by Bishop Sandys.²⁶⁵

Another connection between the Virginia Company and the *Mayflower* involved Edward la Zouche — a friend of Sir Peter Manwood, Sir Henry Wotton and George Abbot. Raised as a

²⁶⁴ Cushman & Paulick (2013). The eventual passengers included Moses Fletcher, from Sandwich, James Chilton and his wife from Canterbury. According to legend, the Chiltons' teenage daughter Mary (born in Sandwich) was first passenger to step ashore onto Plymouth Rock. Johnson (2005) p. 108-9, 116-8, 143-4; Drake (1901) p. 378-82.

²⁶⁵ Brown (1897) p. 833; ODNB Thompson, R. "Brewster, William".

ward of Lord Burghley, Zouche was a privy councillor, a diplomat, a councillor for the Virginia Company from 1609, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports from 1615. Zouche's long-term secretary Samuel More charged his wife with infidelity by 1616, and claimed that their four children weren't his. The protracted case ended with the More children, then aged between four and eight, being sent as indentured servants on the *Mayflower*. Of the four, only Richard More was alive a year after the crossing. He worked for William Brewster in Plymouth, Massachusetts, lived a long life, and raised a family.²⁶⁶

Robert Cushman (b. 1577, Rolvenden) was the main spokesman in England for the Leiden separatist group in the negotiations with Sandys. He had moved to Canterbury sometime by 1596, where he was a live-in apprentice to George Master — the grocer son-in-law of Bartholomew Brome and Anne Cranmer — in St. George's parish. He may have been related to a William Cushman of St. Mildred's who in 1597 was presented to Canterbury's Archdeaconry Court for non-attendance at church. Non-attendance was often an indication of strong Puritan beliefs: the Puritans held their own services, disapproving of the Anglican ones, which were nevertheless compulsory.²⁶⁷

In 1598 Thomas Reader (whose sister, Sarah, Cushman would later marry), Adrian Nichols, and John Stransham (likely a cousin of Sir Edward Master's father-in-law Robert Streynsham), all of St. Mary Breadman parish, were presented for non-attendance at church. John Stransham later moved to St. George's parish, and married Sarah Tilden — probably a relative by marriage of Cushman's mother, Ellen (Hubbard, Cushman) Tilden, in this tight-knit Puritan group.²⁶⁸

In 1603 (coronation year, and a decade after similar communications had led to a fateful chain of events for Christopher Marlowe), "church libels" — political verses posted on church

²⁶⁶ Harris (2006); Johnson (2005) p. 189-92; ODNB Knafla, L. A. "Zouche, Edward 1a, eleventh Baron Zouche", "Manwood, Sir Peter". Richard More is thought to have died in Salem, Massachusetts c1695 — not long after after the witchcraft trials there in 1692.

²⁶⁷ Cushman & Paulick (2013).

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

doors in the night for parishioners to read in the morning — appeared around Canterbury. Archbishop John Whitgift ordered that those responsible be found. Robert Cushman, George Master's fourteen year old son Peter, and others from the Puritan group were rounded up and obliged to give depositions regarding their parts in the posting of the libels. George Master deposed against his own son (b. 1589) — probably the Peter Master who was a King's scholar from 1601 to 1605, in which case it seems his educational career wasn't too seriously affected by his part in the scandal. Cushman and two other men in the group were briefly committed to the Westgate jail. Cushman would remain excommunicated for periods over the next two years.²⁶⁹

The depositions were written down by Alexander Norwood, notary public — George Master's uncle by marriage, Norwood's wife and Master's mother-in-law being Cranmer sisters. Norwood was later named in a bond with George Master for a 1607 lease of land in Eythorne (near East Langdon).²⁷⁰

In 1603, George Master assigned the lease of his shop in St. George's parish to William Nutt. It had been his home, and that of his wife Friswith, son Peter, and apprentice Robert Cushman — and had once been that of Goodwife Rose, likely the midwife at Christopher Marlowe's birth. The new leaseholder was probably the William Nutt bequeathed to in the 1605 will of Sir Edward Master's father-in-law Robert Streyngsham (along with fellow St. George parishioner Leonard Sweeting), and was likely the son of Alderman John Nutt — like Alexander Norwood, a landlord of John Marlowe who later took him to court for non-payment. William was probably also the father of John Nutt, who would later stand as MP

²⁶⁹ For an account of Marlowe and the “Dutch Church libels”, see e.g. Honan (2005) p. 334-5; Paulick & Neal (2011); Treasurer's Accounts: CCA-DCc-TA.

²⁷⁰ Paulick & Neal (2011); CCA-DCc/Bond/268. It is possible this was different George Master, as he is referred to on the bond as “of the same city [Canterbury], gentleman” (*de eadem civitate generosum*), unlike on other documents where he is “grocer”. However, this is perhaps an error — George seems to be the only man of that name in Canterbury, of age at the time. His name appears on several leases and bonds between 1606 and 1622, including the lease of a house on Stour Street, and a bond with William Master the prebendary: CCA-DCc/BB/83/141; CCA-DCc/BB/83/142; CCA-CC-W/2/1; CCA-DCc/BB/86/56; CCA-DCc/BB/86/57; CCA-DCc/BB/41/100; CCA-DCc/Bond/322.

for Canterbury (1640-53) together with Sir Edward Master (1640-8), and who married Sir Edward's eldest daughter, Anne.²⁷¹

Simon Brome, Bartholomew's brother, was buried in Dec 1603. In his will he gave his son Thomas a house "where John Greenleaf apothecary now dwelleth". "My cousin George Master" was made overseer and witness. Thomas had been baptised at St. Andrews, Canterbury, in 1579, and in 1604 married Joan Simpson (b. 1584) — prebendary Nicholas Sympson's daughter — in the Cathedral.²⁷²

In 1605 Robert Cushman was cleared of excommunication, finished his apprenticeship and became a freeman. He took over a shop (either 13 The Parade, or one facing it on Canterbury's main central street) previously owned by Simon Brome, in Sep 1605. In Mar 1606, Cushman deposed against Thomas Brome, grocer, regarding Thomas' ill-treatment of one of his apprentices.²⁷³

Over the next few years, Cushman and others from Kent migrated to Leiden, Holland — where Cushman arrived sometime between 1608 and 1611. He returned to England in 1617 to begin negotiations with Sir Edwin Sandys and the Virginia Company.²⁷⁴

Returning to 1603 — the year in which both George Master's son Peter and his apprentice Robert Cushman would be found to have been involved in posting Puritan church libels, and a number of their circle, including Cushman, would be excommunicated — on 25 Feb George Master, grocer of Canterbury, became, by grant of Queen Elizabeth, patron of the appointment of William Master (Sir Edward Master's brother, and presumably a relative of George) as prebendary in the ninth stall at the Cathedral. On paper, this was an exceptional

²⁷¹ CCA-CC-W/2/1; Urry (1970); TNA PROB 11/104/229; App. A; Urry (1988) p. 27; Master (1874) p. 17, 42.

²⁷² App. A; CPR PRC/17/52/353; Philipott (1898) p. 86 "Simpson".

²⁷³ Urry (1970); Neal (2006). This Thomas was presumably the above son of Simon Brome, who was listed as apothecary on the marriage licence to Joan Simpson (see App. A). Apothecaries were part of the grocer's company until 1617. Thomas was probably also the King's School scholar 1589-90 (Treasurer's Accounts: CCA-DCc-TA).

²⁷⁴ Cushman & Cole (2005) p. 71.

appointment: George was the only prebendary patron in the Cathedral's history with a social status below gentry, and William was the only canon in the ninth stall not to have been directly presented by the reigning monarch. The appointment was made just a month before Queen Elizabeth's death on the eve of Lady Day, 24 Mar 1603.²⁷⁵ It was overseen by Edward Stanhope, vicar-general to Archbishop Whitgift — uncle by marriage of Percival Hart, Sir Peter Manwood's brother-in-law.²⁷⁶

The previous prebendary in the ninth stall was the recently-deceased George Boleyn — a (possibly close) relative of the Queen via her mother Anne Boleyn — who may have been the Dr Bulleine mentioned in the will of Katherine Benchkin's son-in-law, John Hart. Boleyn was an unconventional preacher, known for bringing his dog to sermons — his fondness for the animal receiving comment in both the *Martin Marprelate* tracts and John Manningham's diary. He left an extraordinary will, made 12 Jan 1603, leaving all he had to his servants, and appointing seven people as his executors — including the Queen (“because that her majesty gave me all that ever I have and subjects gave me nothing and therefore know no cause wherefore I should be beholden to any of them”) and Archbishop John Whitgift.²⁷⁷

Another notable Master cousin in connection with Queen Elizabeth, and perhaps an explanatory factor in the prebendal appointment — although such a conclusion might raise more questions than it answers — was Richard Master (d. 1588), her personal physician. Richard was from Willesborough, near Ashford, and was an early scholar at the King's School after the dissolution of the monasteries. Richard attended both Oxford and

²⁷⁵ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*: Volume 3, Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses (1974) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1541-1847/vol3>.

²⁷⁶ Lamb. Reg. Whitgift III f. 273v; Hasler (1981) “Stanhope, Edward II”, “Hart, Percival”. Elizabeth Stanhope, the daughter of Edward's elder brother (also Edward), married Hart after the death of his previous wife Anne Manwood.

²⁷⁷ Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp55-108>; ODNB Lehmborg, S. “Boleyn, George”; TNA PROB 11/101. Manningham recorded an anecdote about Queen Elizabeth, George Boleyn, and his dog one month after Boleyn's death, and two days after the Queen's (Bruce, 1868 p. 148).

Cambridge universities, and the Royal College of Physicians. He was rector of Great Chart, 1540-1.²⁷⁸

What was the exact relationship of George Master the grocer to William Master the prebendary? This is uncertain, but we may note that a Peter “Maister”, perhaps George Master’s father, was buried in St. Andrews, Canterbury on 15 Jan 1589 — just over nine months before George’s son “Peter Maister son of Georg” was baptised in the same church, on 19 Oct. Master (1874) suggests that this elder Peter may have been the half-brother of James Master of East Langdon (father of William and Sir Edward) — which would make grocer George a first cousin of prebendary William.²⁷⁹

In 1606 George Master became a churchwarden at St. Andrew’s, Canterbury. A John Furser/Fusser and a James Glover were also churchwardens there over the same period (1611-23).²⁸⁰

In 1622, George entered a Dean and Chapter land bond with Mayor George Clagett. Clagett was the grandfather of Maryland immigrant Colonel Thomas Clagett — great-grandfather in turn to Thomas John Claggett, the first American bishop.²⁸¹

George Master died in Feb 1624, and was buried at St. George’s church. William Master died in 1628. He left a bequest in his will to his “cousin” Simpson, “Doctor of Divinity and prebendary of Canterbury” — presumably John, son of prebendary Nicholas: at that time the only canon at Canterbury having the surname. Nicholas had died in 1610, and was replaced as canon in the eighth stall by Isaac Casaubon — a French classicist, and tutor to Sir Henry Wotton — who King James befriended in France and appointed to the position, although Casaubon was a layman and hadn’t taken holy orders. John Sympson died in 1630, and was

²⁷⁸ Master (1874) p. 4-5; ODNB Satchell, M. “Master, Richard”; Emden (1974) p. 390 “Master, Richard”. Richard Master was a great-grandson of Thomas Maister of Wye (d. 1510), as was prebendary William, and likely also George Master.

²⁷⁹ Master (1874) p. 8; See App. A, B.

²⁸⁰ Arch. Cant. 36 p. 98-122.

²⁸¹ CCA-DCC/Bond/322; Utley (1913) p. 2-7.

succeeded as canon in the seventh stall by Meric Casaubon, Isaac's son — also appointed by King James. Meric Casaubon translated the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (1634), and published John Dee's *Conversations with Spirits* (1659). Meric was mentioned by Walton in *Angler*.²⁸²

Canterbury Cathedral up to the Restoration

The Masters and other families we have met would continue to play important roles in Canterbury and its Cathedral — through a time when there would be neither an Archbishop nor a Dean and Chapter.

Another James Master was alderman (1623) and mayor (1624, 1638) of Canterbury, and head of the Canterbury militia by 1628. He was the son of William and Sir Edward Master's uncle John, born in Bekesbourne, near Canterbury, in 1582. From 1624 James was a neighbour of George Master within the Cathedral precincts, backing onto Burgate Street. Edward and William Master's father James, together with alderman James, entered a land lease in 1610. The elder James later named the younger "cousin", bequeathed to him, and appointed him the overseer of his will (made 1625, proved 1631).²⁸³

By 1617 the auditor and registrar of the Cathedral was Horton Drayton. His signature is on leases to the Masters and others, and various Cathedral documents from around this time. In 1619 he married Mary French in the Cathedral, and from 1626 until his death in 1649 lived in a room on the south side of the Green Court, within the precincts. Drayton was from Atherstone, Warwickshire — a town neighboured by the village of Hartshill, where the writer

²⁸² App. A; Master (1874) p. 71; Hasted, E. (1801) "Canterbury cathedral: Canons" <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp55-108>; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 3, Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses* (1974) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1541-1847/vol3>; ODNB Loomie, A. J. "Wotton, Sir Henry"; ODNB Serjeantson, R. W. "Casaubon, (Florence Estienne) Meric".

²⁸³ Master (1874) p. 9, 71; Thrush & Ferris (2010) "Scott, Thomas (c.1566/7-1635)"; CCA-DCc/Survey/22 f. 33; Arch. Cant. 49 p. 221; CPR PRC/32/50/152.

Michael Drayton (Walton's, and possibly Sir Peter Manwood's, friend) was from. Although the name Drayton was common, it seems likely that they may have been related.²⁸⁴

Sir Edward Master and his son-in-law John Nutt of Nackington represented Canterbury in the Short and Long Parliaments, from 1640. Nutt had married Sir Edward's eldest daughter Anne (b. 1610), and was probably the John Nutt born in Canterbury in 1605, to father William. As noted, Robert Streynsham, Sir Edward's father-in-law, remembered William Nutt of Canterbury in his 1605 will. Anne Nutt née Master died in 1641, and was buried at St. Mary's church in Chigwell, Essex — next to Elizabeth Sandys (d. 1639), daughter of Sir Edwin, who was about the same age as her. After Anne's death, John Nutt remarried another Anne, daughter of John Aldrich of Norwich — likely a cousin of Simon Aldrich.²⁸⁵

Deans and chapters were abolished by act of Parliament in 1641. Edwin (Ned) Sandys, the second son of Sir Edwin, was a parliamentary colonel during the Civil Wars. In 1642 he and his troops invaded the Cathedral, arrested Dean Isaac Bargrave and occupied the Deanery, within the precincts. Sandys died in the Battle of Worcester, later the same year. Bargrave died the following year.²⁸⁶

The Puritan Richard Culmer was a King's School scholar 1609-13, and a curate at Goodnestone by 1630. In 1643 he entered the Cathedral and destroyed several stained glass windows and images, as well as the old statue of Christ over the Buttermarket gate — shortly afterwards publishing a gleeful account of the destruction, stating “my aim is to further the downfall of Babylon”. In 1645, Archbishop William Laud was executed.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Arch. Cant. 49 p. 199; App. A; Alcock, N. & HART (2003) *Atherstone House Histories* <https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/atherstone-house-histories-file-18> 22 Church St. (Angel Inn) lease, 1 Oct 1607: "Hester and John's eldest son, Horton Draiton, who became Auditor Registrar Canterbury Cathedral".

²⁸⁵ Willis (1750) p 232, 245; Master (1874) p. 16, 17; App. A; Ogborne (1814) p. 238; KMI "John Nutt 1668 St. Mary's Church, Nackington" <http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/19/277.htm>

²⁸⁶ Hasted, E. (1801) "Canterbury cathedral: The deans (from the Reformation to 1672)" <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp1-26>; Burke & Burke (1844) "Sandys, of Northbourne".

²⁸⁷ ODNB Eales, J. "Culmer, Richard"; Treasurer's Accounts: CCA-DCc-TA; Culmer (1644); ODNB Milton, A. "Laud, William".

James Master of Yotes, son of Sir Edward's brother Nathaniel, was raised by the Walsingham family at Scadbury after his father died, and his mother Elizabeth remarried Sir Thomas Walsingham II — who served as MP for Rochester in the long and short parliaments, and previously. James left an expense book that provides a record of his life from 1646 to 1676. He visited his uncle Sir Edward Master in Canterbury in 1647, who apparently was then living in the Deanery, within the Cathedral precincts. James' expense book also shows that he bought books by George Sandys, Ben Jonson, Francis Bacon and Plutarch.²⁸⁸

On 22 Dec 1647, the Canterbury town cryer announced that Christmas festivities were banned. Shops were ordered to stay open on Christmas Day. On the day itself, the majority of shopkeepers refused to follow the order. The few that did were attacked by an angry crowd that had gathered in opposition. The mayor tried, unsuccessfully, to subdue the mob and send them home. Someone brought out two footballs, and an unruly game erupted through the streets — escalating into a riot which lasted several days, seeing the Westgate jail doors flung open, the mayor's windows smashed, and Richard Culmer pelted with mud outside the Saracen's Head Inn, on Bridge Street without Burgate. Within a week the town had been regained by Parliamentary forces, but the continuing unrest would lead to a Royalist rebellion in the county the following year.²⁸⁹

Sir Edward Master died in Aug 1648, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel, in the Cathedral.²⁹⁰

King Charles I was executed in Jan 1649. Later the same year, Horton Drayton died and was buried in the Cathedral. In 1650 a survey was carried out for Parliament, of (ex-)Dean and Chapter properties within the precincts, in Canterbury and elsewhere in its Diocese.

Parliamentarian captain James Master was living in the Old Convent Garden in the

²⁸⁸ Arch. Cant. 15 p. 152-4, 159, 167, 171; 16 p. 256; 17 p. 337; 18 p. 157; Thrush & Ferris (2010) "Walsingham, Sir Thomas II (c.1589-1669)".

²⁸⁹ *Canterbury Christmas or, a true relation of the insurrection in Canterbury on Christmas day last, with the great hurt that befell diverse persons thereby.* (1648) London: Printed for Humphrey Harward; Everitt (1966) p. 231-3; Arch. Cant. 9 p. 31-49.

²⁹⁰ Dart (1726) p. 69-79; App. A.

precincts, next to the family of prebendary William Master, near where George Master had lived.²⁹¹

A Nicholas Simpson was living near to Horton Drayton's widow Mary's house, on the South side of the Green Court, within the precincts. He was the son of prebendary John (son of prebendary Nicholas, brother-in-law of Thomas Brome), and was part-owner of the Tankerton, Whitstable copperas works.²⁹²

Another familiar, prominent name in the parliamentary survey is that of Vincent Benchkin, Marlowe's friend John's son — who held leases on several Cathedral-owned Canterbury tenements, including two on the High Street within the parish of St. Mary Breadman.²⁹³

In 1651, around the same time that Henry Oxinden copied the Manwood epitaph into the Folger notebook, Richard Master — Sir Edward's eldest son, and husband of Anne Oxenden — was a tenant of Denton Court, neighbouring Oxinden's property where Simon Aldrich (d. 1655) had lived, and may have still been living.²⁹⁴

From the time of the Civil Wars to the Restoration, most Kentish gentry were Royalist — although affiliations are sometimes unclear, especially given later accounts. Sir Edward Master was “a staunch Royalist ... and suffered much in his monarch's cause” according to Master (1874), though it seems he was in fact responsible for a militia at the command of Parliament — as was his fellow Canterbury MP and son-in-law John Nutt, who in Jan 1649 signed a petition to Commons calling for the trial of Charles I. Their parliamentary colleague

²⁹¹ App. A; CCA-DCC/Survey/22 f. 33; Arch. Cant. 49 p. 196, 221 — “It is remarkable that though the survey describes and values every small tenement or little plot of ground within the precincts, the deanery and seven out of the twelve prebendal houses are entirely omitted. I am unable to suggest any explanation for these omissions”.

²⁹² Arch. Cant. 132 p. 206; Hasted, E. (1801) “Canterbury cathedral: Canons” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol12/pp55-108> fn. 83.

²⁹³ CCA-DCC/Survey/22 f. 63.

²⁹⁴ Gardiner (1937) p. 14-5; Eccles (1935) p. 58.

Thomas Walsingham II was found to have had a hand in both sides, and fell into poverty and disgrace because of it during the Interregnum.²⁹⁵

In 1659, as the Restoration began, militia captain James Master was in Westgate jail for debt. He died in 1663, and was buried at St. Mildred's. In 1660, James Benchkin, Vincent's brother, was appointed vicar of Eastry by Charles II. The following year, Izaak Walton became steward to his friend George Morley, who had been made Bishop of Winchester. Bishop Morley also ordained Henry Oxinden as a priest, at around the same time. Oxinden held the living of Radnage in Buckinghamshire until his death — though he only preached there twice.²⁹⁶

In 1660, Richard Burney became the vicar of St. Mildred's, Canterbury. He gave a series of sermons in the church on the subject of Charles II and the divine right of kings, which he published as a book, "all wrote in a vaunting and bombast style". A copy survives in the Archives of Canterbury Cathedral, from the library of Henry Oxinden.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Master (1874) p. 16; Zell (2000) p. 310; Arch. Cant. 132 p. 94; Thrush & Ferris (2010) "Walsingham, Sir Thomas II (c.1589-1669)"; App. A.

²⁹⁶ CCA-CC-A/P/B/1659/17; CCA-DCc/BB/60/198; CCEd Location ID: 128, Person ID: 67599; ODNB Martin, J. "Walton, Izaak"; ODNB Hingley, S. "Oxinden [Oxenden], Henry".

²⁹⁷ Wood (1820) p. 353 "Richard Burney". Burney, R. (1660). *Kerdiston Do-ron. : King Charles the Second, his Most Sacred Majestie; Presented to ... Parliament ... Delivered in eight ... Sermons, in St. Mildreds Canterbury*. CCA ELHAM 745.

Further Horizons

Despite scant documentation, further hindered by a scandalous posthumous reputation, there are still clues to be found regarding Christopher Marlowe's early beginnings and afterlife amongst the wealthy families of Kent. Here we have uncovered evidence further suggestive of links between Marlowe and Sir Roger Manwood and his son Peter, who were well-connected to relevant court families, and to Archbishop Matthew Parker; new extensions for Marlowe's friend John Benchkin and his family, including the identification of canon Nicholas Sympson as John's likely schoolmaster in 1580; Henry Oxinden, a source for Marlowe's poetry, is shown to have had close connections to the Benchkins, as well as family links to the Manwoods, and his second wife's lineage may suggest a family connection between John Benchkin and Archbishop Parker; an investigation of the family and friends of another early source of information around Marlowe, Izaak Walton, reveals more literary and church-connected names, strongly interconnected with other Marlowe-associated Kentish families — who together played roles in developments including the voyage of the *Mayflower*, and the hierarchy of Canterbury Cathedral through to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

Many of the connections noted here present opportunities for further research and study — on Marlowe's childhood and educational background, his literary milieu and legacy, links to the church, as well as Kentish politics and British colonialism. Recent improvements in the accessibility and indexing of original documents, such as wills and parish registers, provide great opportunities to discover more about Christopher Marlowe and his Kentish associates, in what was a pivotal time in English / British history, as well as that of the world.