

ST. MARY'S, SANDWICH, AFTER THE REFORMATION*

By Ivor Bulmer-Thomas

16th Century.

THE 16th century opened with no hint of the religious troubles that were so soon to descend upon Sandwich as upon every other town in the kingdom. A vivid picture of church life immediately before the Reformation continues to be given in the wardens' accounts. Among the early entries for the century we read of eleven copes being mended against Ascension Day, and we may wonder who wore them all; of coals for Good Friday at night; of frankincense bought from the monks of St. Austin at Canterbury; of new bellows for the organs and the purchase of a "portative", that is, a portable organ, in London; of the repair of singing books. A frequent and amiable entry is "to the sexton for drink when it thundered", he ringing the bells to give courage to the people and putting heart into himself with that form of courage called Dutch. The tally of "costs done upon the obit of Mr. Archer." well repays study from year to year. For 1506 it ran

"First paid the vicar	4d.
To the Chantry Priest	4d.
To Sir Francis the French Priest	4d.
For offering money	3d.
To the clerk	3d.
To Sexton for Ringing, and making of the Hearse	12d.
For 4 Tapers	4d.
To 4 poor people	2d.
To the Wardens for their labor	8d.
To children in the quire	3d."

Even in 1518, when the wardens of St. Mary's leased a piece of void ground to William Cripps at 3s. 4d. a year for 99 years,⁴² there was still no hint of the coming dissensions. True, in the previous year a German monk named Martin Luther had nailed nearly a hundred theses to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg, but to those who were aware of the incident it merely smacked of another medieval disputation. Even when Luther's course became more manifest, it

* A continuation of the paper "St. Mary's, Sandwich, in the Middle Ages" in *Transactions*, vol. VII, 1939, pp. 33-56.

⁴² Boys, p. 378, Item 6.

looked as though England would give no anxiety in Rome, for King Henry VIII earned the title of "Defender of the Faith" by a book attacking Luther's sacramental views; but in 1532, when Henry visited Sandwich on his way to Francis I he was accompanied by Anne Boleyn, and the momentous events of the English Reformation were already in train. Henry stayed in the parish of St. Mary's, almost certainly in a house nearly opposite the church since known as the King's Lodging. He stayed there also on a later occasion, as did Queen Elizabeth on her visit in 1573. The house then belonged to Sir Edward Ryngeley, for in his will dated 24th July, 1543, he said, "I leave to my widow, Dame Jane, my great house called the King's Lodging."⁴³ Sir Edward was seneschal or comptroller of Calais, and was the last person to hold the office of King's Bailiff at Sandwich, the office then being sold to the town. An assignment of land and buildings in the parish of St. Mary's to him by Richard Butler in 1536 still exists among the St. Mary's archives. We have already noticed that he was buried in the south aisle of St. Mary's and that all trace of the site had disappeared before the end of the century.

William Merriman, who had become vicar of St. Mary's in 1513 or 1515, accepted his sovereign's policy of "Catholicism without the Pope" for he died in possession of the benefice in 1538, but he did so without enthusiasm and in the belief that it would not last. In 1535, being over seventy, blind and feeble, he had an assistant named John Croft, who has been caught up in the wind of reform. Going into the church one day he found Croft busily at work on the books and ledgers. When Merriman asked him what he was doing, Croft replied that in obedience to an ordinance just received he was erasing "the names of the Bishoppes of Rome of late called Poeppes". The old man gently admonished him, "Erase not so fast out but I think we shall put them in as fast again, for the King's grace is mortal as another man is." One of Merriman's parishioners, Thomas Valorres, a barber, called Croft a traitor, and all three were arrested and kept in custody till the pleasure of the King's Council should be made known. Valorres was eventually fined.⁴⁴

Croft succeeded Merriman as vicar of St. Mary's in 1538, but the Six Articles of 1539 with their harsh penalties kept reform in check. There was at least one person, however, on whom the Articles had the opposite effect from that intended. William Kynnardaye, or Kennerday,

⁴³ "Visit of Two Queens to Sandwich", by Thomas Dorman, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 1885.

⁴⁴ *Old Red Book* 1527-1551, fol. 69d. (*The Old Red Book*, so styled by Boys, is one of the Sandwich town manuscripts now deposited on loan among the Kent archives at Maidstone); Dorothy Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 171.

was a servant of Sir Edward Ryngley and a soldier in the garrison of Calais. In 1540 the Commissioners at Calais to Henry VIII reported that he was a great sacramentary till the making of the last statute, and recorded him as saying that there were twenty more of his opinion in the town. Later he changed that opinion but would not name anyone.⁴⁵ The Commissioners banished him and three others of like views, and the King, who was annoyed because he would have preferred a few executions as an example, directed that those who were to be banished should be sent to England.⁴⁶ When the four men besought the King, as long in his service, to appoint them entertainment elsewhere they were told that he would not meddle with them and they must shift for their living otherwise.⁴⁷ Later in the same year, when Kennerday was significantly described as "late servant to Sir Edward Ryngley", he was the subject of an inquisition by Vincent Engeham, mayor of Sandwich in 1528, 1529 and 1541, which left no doubt about the heretical nature of his views:

"1. That he said several times in Sandwich before Mr. Pyman of the same town, jurat, Ric. Aldersley and John Folefeld, and many others, that he had as lief see an oyster shell or a piece of paper as the most blessed sacrament above the priest's head at the altar. 2. That he would sell all the meed and merits of all the masses he had ever heard for a penny or a dozen of points. 3. That our Lord gave not his body, but a signification thereof unto his disciples at his last supper or 'maunday'. 4. That he said of the King's book sent down for the edifying of his subjects, that one part of it could not be amended, and the other part, if all the devils in Hell had been at the making thereof, they could not have made it so evil. 6. (*sic*). That if a knave priest could make God, then he would hire one such god-maker for a year and give him 20l. to make fishes and fowls and all other things he wished. 'If this be not sufficient you shall have at more leisure of his lewd words against other sacraments and ceremonies of the Church.'"⁴⁸

What happened to Kennerday as a result of this formidable indictment is not known but the new views continued to gain ground.⁴⁹ In May, 1541, John Stephynson junior and William Achurche swore on oath that the previous Easter they had heard George Wolf, a currier,

⁴⁵ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol. XV (1540), p. 190, no. 460.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196, no. 473; see also p. 195, no. 471.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 497, no. 997.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 569-70, no. 3. In the inquisition the name is given as Kenterdall.

⁴⁹ It is possible that he is the William Kennerdale who in 1543 was named by Cranmer as a witness against the curate of Shoulden for setting up again four images taken down by the King's commandment and Thomas Bleane of North Mongeham, who commanded the priest and churchwardens not to deface the images (*Letters and Papers*, vol. XVIII, Pt. II, 1543, p. 299, VI, iv and v). Vincent Ingeam mentioned by Cranmer in the same papers (*ibid.*, VI, iii) is probably the same Vincent Engeham.

assert in St. Mary's, "that the Sacrament of the Aulter there was but a signification and a signe, as the signe of a bull or the signe of the rose set up and standing at taverns".⁵⁰ In June, 1542, Edmund Shether described as "preacher of Christchurch, Canterbury", preached at Sandwich—it is not known in which church—two sermons on which Cranmer commented adversely. He taught that Baptism takes away only original sin (on which Cranmer wrote in the margin "Heresy") and that every man since the Passion of Christ has as much free will as Adam had in Paradise (Cranmer, "Error");⁵¹ eventually Cranmer had him imprisoned. On 26th September, 1543, Cranmer noted in the manuscript already cited that the vicar of St. Mary's took down sundry images to the value of £30, and that the "church" of St. James was prostrated by Richard Butler with his assistance.⁵² The vicar of St. Mary's was still John Croft, and the Richard Butler is presumably the same person who had assigned property in the parish to Sir Edward Ryngley in 1536; he was mayor of Sandwich in 1539. Though the chapel of St. James was prostrated, the burial ground continues to figure in the St. Mary's records for many years to come.

John Steward, the hermit who lived at the south-west corner of the chapel, appears then to have become the chantry priest of Cundy's chantry in St. Mary's, but not for long. King Henry VIII could be as ruthless a reformer as anyone when his personal wishes or the interests of the State were involved, but he was a Catholic by temperament, and so long as he remained on the throne the wilder waves of Continental reform lapped in vain around the English coast. With his death in 1547, and the accession of his young and weakly son Edward VI, the barriers fell. One of the first acts of the new reign was the suppression of the chantries, and St. Mary's did not escape the fate of all other churches with such endowments. The chantry certificate issued by the royal commissioners⁵³ informs us that in 1548 the yearly value of the lands and possessions of Cundy's chantry was £9 7s. 4d., whereof rents resolute took 11s. 2d. and the perpetual tenth 18s. 9d., so that there remained clear to the chantry the yearly sum of £7 17s. 4d. John Steward was said to be "indifferently lernyd, of honest qualities and conversacion, hath not any other lyvinge besides the same chantrye". There was no grammar school kept or preacher maintained or poor

⁵⁰ Boys, p. 685; Dorothy Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 172.

⁵¹ *Letters and Papers*, vol. XVIII, Pt. II (1543), p. 305.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 311. The manuscript is MS. Volume No. 128 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and consists of a series of papers dealing with the heretics of Kent.

⁵³ Chantry Certificate No. 49, Co. Kent, Roll 28, Commission dated 14 Feb., 2 Edward VI. In the Commissioner's arithmetic there is 1d. unaccounted.

Sciatis presentes et futuri quod Walterus de Draper de Sandelwiche pro salute anime sue dedit concessit et hac presentis carta
 mea confirmavit deo et ecclesie beate marie in villa de Sandelwiche predicta in perpetuum et perpetua elemosinam
 ad sustentacionem luminaria unius lampadis ad comburendum coram imagine sancte crucis marie et tande in ecclesia
 predicta sex solidos et octo denarios pro festivo annui libere et quieti redditus quos heredes Petri Wynter magistri
 presentis annuatim ad quatuor annos tunc principales ad unumquemque terminum per equalis portione de quibus
 unum festivo fuerit in vicu qui vocatur veldhalstoto ex parte occidentali latitudinis inter nosseham heredes Johannis
 deo Ede vsus Solith et mesuagium quondam Radonulle vsus north. hinc et tunc reddunt predictam annuatim
 redditum cum exactione et omni premissis predictis sancte ecclesie beate marie libere et quiete in perpetuum hereditarie in perpetuum. Et
 octo predictis Walterus et heredes sui totum predictum annuum redditum cum exactione et premissis de fondom et de amercalms
 in scottis et totum in villa de Sandelwiche casualiter accidentibus. Et warrantizabimus deum annuatim redditum
 predictam ecclesie beate marie contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. Et ut hec mea donatio concessio et huius presentis carte
 confirmacio de cetero in perpetuum durare permaneat. Hanc cartam meam sigilli mei missive fieri feci rogari
 quinto huius testibus Willmo Condy tunc maior Willmo Charlye Godfride de dyndett. Et stephano
 frankeney. Petro Noldem. Thyma Epulon. Johanne Jay Gillopro lo Blak. Johanne lo deod et multis alijs

FIG. 1. Deed recording endowment of a sanctuary lamp by Walter le Draper at St. Mary's, Sandwich, 1312.

people relieved by the chantry; and no spoil or waste of woods or gifts of goods was noted. The commissioners ascertained the annual value of lands given by divers persons for the observation and maintenance of the Jesus mass to be celebrated weekly in St. Mary's for ever to be 71s. 8d., from which rents resolute amounting to 7s. 1d. had to be deducted, leaving a clear sum of 64s. 7d. a year. An obit rent given by Elizabeth Engeham for one obit to be kept for twenty years, of which ten had expired, brought in 20d. a year; and a light rent "given by whom it is not known for the mayntenance of one staffe torche" yielded 16d. a year.

A second consequence of the wave of reform was the spoliation of the riches acquired by churches over many generations. Religion and avarice combined to make havoc of the treasures given and bequeathed by pious donors. In the case of Sandwich there was yet another motive; and by a decree of King Edward in 1549 all the plate, jewels, ready money, estates, ornaments and other things belonging to the three parish churches were granted to the town for the renewing, erecting and making of the haven.⁵⁴ Money was also borrowed to carry on the works. It was a vain fight. The silting up of the haven, which had troubled the mayor, jurats and commalty throughout the reign of Edward's father, went on relentlessly. Sandwich continued to put up a gallant fight against Nature for many years, but its days as a great port were over, and now it is several miles inland. It would have been better to have left the plate, jewels, ready money, estates, ornaments and other things in the possession of the three churches. So thoroughly was the work done that no item of the 15th-century inventory is known to have survived the Edwardian destruction.

A third consequence of the Edwardian wave of reform, startling at the time, was the permission given to priests to marry. John Croft took advantage of it almost immediately, and on 20th October, 1551, he was married in St. Mary's to Joan Parr, a widow; nor did he lose any time in fulfilling his marital obligations, for his son Paul was baptized in the church in 1552.

What happened to Mrs. Croft when Queen Mary ascended the throne in 1553 and restored relations with Rome is not recorded, but at some time her husband appears to have become rector of Deal and to have been buried in the chancel there in 1561. It is known that at Mary's accession, "the vicars and curates in Sandwich being all married men, there are no ministers to perform divine service".⁵⁵ At St. Mary's

⁵⁴ Boys, p. 686.

⁵⁵ See Boys, p. 687.

the dilemma was solved by the appointment as vicar of John Steward, the former hermit and chantry priest.

The accession of Elizabeth in 1558 brought back the English liturgy in a revised form and renewed tolerance for married priests, though the Virgin Queen did not like them any more than her married half-sister. John Steward seems to have accepted the changes with good heart, for he held the benefice till 1564; after a year of retirement he died and was buried in St. Mary's. Thomas Pawson, who succeeded him, held the living for thirty-two years until his death in 1597 and gave St. Mary's the stability that Queen Elizabeth sought for the country as a whole. When the Queen visited Sandwich in 1573 she was received with every evidence of loyal affection, not unmixed with a firm intention to press the suit of the haven upon her ministers, and the houses in Strand Street were ordered to be beautified and adorned with black and white.

Meanwhile the ordinary affairs of life went on as before. Men and women were born, married and died, but with this difference that since 1538, when the ruthlessly efficient Thomas Cromwell had been vicar-general, incumbents had been obliged to keep a register of baptisms, marriages and deaths. St. Mary's is one of the few churches where the register has been kept from 1538.⁵⁶

The leasing of property went on much as in the Middle Ages except that it was no longer for the benefit of "superstitious" uses. In 1550 the vicar and wardens leased a garden "next unto paradise wall in St. Jacob's churchyard for 21 years at two shillings a year;" in 1563 Robert Wasserer entered into a bond to build a house on a garden plot in High Street lately belonging to St. Mary's; in 1567 a tenement in High Street from which there issued to the corporation a rent of 2s. 8d. and to St. Mary's 3s. 4d., and which for default of heirs had fallen to the town as an escheat was demised to the same Robert Wasserer with reservation of the said rents to the corporation and the parish; in 1568 the vicar and churchwardens leased to John Wood a void piece of ground in St. Mary's Street at a yearly rent of 20d., the tenant covenanting to build a house thereon; and in 1580 Oliver Warson enfeoffed to trustees an annuity of 3s. 4d. out of a house and garden in the parish for the use of the poor of St. Mary's.⁵⁷ The poor were now beginning to be a problem and were soon to be the subject of Elizabeth's great act of 1601.

⁵⁶ The first volume is now on loan to the Library at Canterbury Cathedral. The first entries in the book are apparently a transcript made by Humphrey Aylworth, vicar of St. Mary's from 1597 to 1600.

⁵⁷ See Boys, pp. 378-9, Nos. 22, 26, 25, 13 and 7.

This is the p[re]s[ent] copy of
 the b[e]de[ro]lle r[e]l[at]ed of
 the nam[er] of 1000 soules of
 the hoode doare of our lady
 ch[ur]che w[ith] in the to[wn]
 of Sandwiche and in
 p[re]s[ent] for them that haue
 bene grete help[er]s and
 releas[er]s ther to ag[ai]n
 ap[er]tly here in r[e]l[at]ed
 as foloweth that re for to
 How the soules of John Con
 e w[ith]em soules the w[or]shipe
 vicary the p[ar]ishe be[ar]ing
 of the fundacion of his cha[n]ce
 and for all oth[er]e p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 here to more of p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 Where the w[or]shipe p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 be the bett[er] p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 Also for the soules of Thomas
 Robert & of his wyf the
 w[or]shipe founde the cha[n]cel
 our lady at the est hede of
 ch[ur]che & of m[ar]y v[ir]gin
 of the north syde of the ch[ur]che
 Also for the soules of h[er]e
 w[ith] the w[or]shipe of the mon[as]t[er]
 of h[er]e & to be for to bere
 in the sacrament on e[ac]h day
 Also for the soules of Thomas
 Elbe & Agre the wyf and
 the p[ar]sonal p[ar]son some tyme
 vicary of the ch[ur]che and for
 the soules of a oth[er]e p[ar]t[ic]ular
 of the good soules made
 w[ith] the west wyndow of the
 ch[ur]che and for to the re
 p[ar]t[ic]ular of the west wyndow
 to bere rent of p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 actually to be payd
 Also made the vicary of the
 w[or]shipe more than h[er]e
 in to the honoure of them the
 schull[er] be vicary of the
 so that he shoulde be vicary
 for to do p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 in an oth[er]e for h[er]e & for
 the p[ar]t[ic]ulars of the
 And he shoulde vicary
 that tyme of the p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 the soules obte[n]e p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 And our p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 ch[ur]che in the p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 clerke in the p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 Also for the soules of
 & of h[er]e the w[or]shipe made
 the north wyndow of the ch[ur]che
 be h[er]e the same and also
 in to the rep[ar]t[ic]ulars of the ch[ur]che
 Also for the soules of
 be h[er]e the same the w[or]shipe
 for a cha[n]cel of the
 Also for the soules of
 Barle & h[er]e the w[or]shipe
 gabyn in the p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 for a p[ar]t[ic]ular of the
 paynted tabe[le] of p[ar]t[ic]ulars
 tyme on seynt laurence
 an a p[ar]t[ic]ular
 Also for the soules of
 dar[er] h[er]e the w[or]shipe
 was p[ar]t[ic]ular in the w[or]shipe
 coope[re] the gold
 Also for the soules of
 sty[m] p[ar]t[ic]ular of the w[or]shipe
 was p[ar]t[ic]ular a hole vestment
 for a p[ar]t[ic]ular of cloth & silke
 p[ar]t[ic]ulars of the w[or]shipe

FIG. 2. Bederoll of St. Mary's, Sandwich, c. 1470, recto.

Also for ye saule of alix and
Norman & of h[er] wyf ye wyf
be h[er] wyf dany made the
south wyndolls & no south
pouch of ye chyrche

Also for ye saule of Robard
q[ue]stment of whos goodye
was zebyn vn to ye chyrche
of these bette

Also for ye saule of thome
thyn and thome warbo
and y[er] wyf of whos goodye
was made ye gresson pouch
& the best masse boke

Also for ye saule of yohn
Goddard of ye par[ish] of
whos goodye was zebyn n
boke a gramel & a martologe

Also for ye saule of harry
sercy & ye wyf of whos
ye d[er]t was made by capel
of ye south west of ye chyrche

Also for ye saule of Symon
chappman & yulien wyf
of whos goodye was zebyn a hok
vestment for a p[ar]t of cloth
of gold & lute bynd w[ith] grol
tar tary & a chyrche playre
gylt

Also for ye saule of serghy
Gerard & marheri wyf
of whos goodye was zebyn a
good nete masse boke

Also for ye saule of thos
Archere & ye wyf of whos
zup be h[er] wyf dany & a gresson
tary of yohn & ye tuncer
of ye stoude & ye ymager of
janye w[ith] in foun janye chapp

Also for ye saule of yohn
Syneth v[er]meley & joneley
wyf ye whiche a hok vestment
& a cope of ymager & a gylt

Also for the saule of yoh[ann] & alix
& of h[er] wyf the whiche gaf
be the wyf dany the best gresson
of yohn & yulien w[ith] a p[ar]t of lator
and yulien to ye whiche of yoh[ann]

Also for the saule of thome
Grene jone wyf & yohn
Wythap the whiche gaf the
pate of yohn sy[nt]e y[er]e to ston
y on ye gresson and

Also for ye saule of thome
Wurges of whos wyf & alix
Garter kyn of h[er] wyf and
amere wyf of whos wyf & alix
the best chalyse w[ith] cruce
of yohn a ymager of coope
of yohn of blak tussel and a
hok vestment for a p[ar]t of ye
toun of gold & yohn & amere

Also for ye saule of yohn
& h[er] wyf of whos goodye was
zebyn vn to ye p[ar]t of yoh[ann]
de h[er] wyf of gold ye s[an]ct of yoh[ann]

Also a hok nete tenende the
whiche cost y[er]e to h[er] wyf

Also for ye saule of thome
moeston vicari of whos wyf
be h[er] wyf dany vn to h[er] nete
serlyst & h[er] gandylyst and
to a boke & calth[er] an antylyng
and vn to of necessaries the
sum of y[er]e to h[er] wyf

Also for ye saule of yohn
Gothie atok of ye chyrche
the whiche gaf a hok vest
ment for a p[ar]t & a bynd of
lator sy[nt]e lampe to yohn

Also for ye saule of whos
of whos goodye was zebyn
nete & yohn & yohn

Fig. 3. Bederoll of St. Mary's, Sandwich, c. 1470, verso.

Some time in the reign of King Edward VI or of Elizabeth I there was given to St. Mary's a very precious vessel that in some measure atones for the loss of its medieval plate. Two motives led to the almost complete disappearance of all medieval chalices from English churches. One was the Protestant view of them as superstitious and profane. The other was the re-introduction of communion in both kinds for the laity, which made it necessary to have much larger chalices than were required for the communion of the celebrant alone. For both these reasons in the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was a great dearth of suitable chalices, and it was met in two ways. One was the virtual mass production of chalices specially designed for ecclesiastical use, the other was the gift of secular vessels. The former solution was found at St. Clement's, the latter at St. Mary's.

The St. Mary's vessel has a font-shaped bowl with almost vertical sides, and a spreading foot with a corded rib below the bowl and a moulded base. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the diameter of the mouth is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the diameter of the foot 4 inches, the depth of the bowl $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and it weighs $19\frac{1}{4}$ ounces. It is undoubtedly of secular origin. In shape it is very similar to the winecup of 1512 given to Wymeswold church in Leicestershire, and it has been suggested that such vessels originally served as grace cups. Sir C. J. Jackson writing in 1921⁵⁸ noted that Lord Swaythling owned one of similar form with London hall-marks for 1500-1, and he dated the Sandwich cup as about the end of the 15th or early part of the 16th century; Mr. A. B. Grimwade in the catalogue for an exhibition at Christie's, where the cup was exhibited in 1955, dated it more precisely as *c.* 1510⁵⁹. It must be admitted that the Sandwich cup is not very suitable for communicating, and at the celebrations of Holy Communion in St. Mary's nowadays it is used as a ciborium, that is, a vessel for holding the wafers to be consecrated for the communion of the people.

The marks on the St. Mary's vessel have set experts a problem. The first was described by Sir C. J. Jackson as an apple slipped and the third as a serrated leaf, also slipped; Mr. Grimwade took the first to be a pomegranate and the third a leaf incuse. It is over the second mark that the real problem arises. All that can be affirmed with certainty from an inspection is that there are two halves of some objects, one of which may be an animal and one a ship, conjoined. Noting that the arms of the Cinque ports were composed of the three lions of England dimidiated with the hulls of three ships, as found in the seal of the mayor

⁵⁸ *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 2nd edn., p. 449.

⁵⁹ *Silver Treasures from English Churches*, p. 11.

of Sandwich, Sir C. J. Jackson boldly leapt to the conclusion that "the town mark of the goldsmiths of Sandwich . . . was a lion passant and a ship's hull, both dimidated and conjoined;" and still more boldly he asserted that "on the only known example of Sandwich plate the town mark is found between two other marks." Having observed in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII* the name of Christopher or Coper Johnson, goldsmith, he speculated, "It is possible that he was the maker of the above-mentioned cup"; caution returning, he added, "but no evidence of that has been found." Mr. Grimwade is far less positive. He describes the second mark as "a device perhaps a demi[-]lion and stern of a ship", and after noting Jackson's views he comments: "It is however, by no means certain that the second mark can be so identified and the exact provenance of the cup, although undoubtedly English, must be open to doubt."

When the vessel was given to St. Mary's, the inscription "THIS IS THE COMVNION COVP" was engraved on the bowl on hatched ground with scrolling foliage between the words. Mr. Grimwade thinks this was probably done about 1550. The St. Clement's chalice bears the inscription "THIS IS THE COMVNIO COVP S CLEMES". On the top of the handle of the cover are the marks

$\frac{SC}{1577}$. It seems a fair inference that the St. Mary's cup had been

engraved before this date for if they had been done at the same time the name St. Mary's and perhaps the date would have been added. The inscription on the St. Clement's vessel was copied from that at St. Mary's but the name of the church added to avoid confusion and the date added for interest.

At some later date still the St. Mary's cup was provided with a cover without marks, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, domed and surmounted by a finial, weighing $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.⁶⁰

In 1556 the wardens of St. Mary's "sold the garden lyeing within paradize for xl.s".⁶¹ A list of the yearly rents received in 1558 has been preserved and runs as follows:⁶²

	s.	d.
A tenement in st. Clements parish . . .		8
Another tenement there	3	4
A stable	3	0

⁶⁰ The cup was the subject of a paper *A Piece of Kentish Plate* by Thomas G. Barnett in the journal of the British Archaeological Association.

⁶¹ Boys, p. 362.

⁶² Boys, p. 362, but with the figures set out in modern fashion.

	s.	d.
A garden over against the waterlade; mr. Tomson houldeth the same	6	
Symon Lynch his garden in dreggars lane	4	
A corner garden at St. Jacob's lane end ...	1	0
A house in the cherche yard, taken into the parishe hands by reentry	8	4
A garden in dreggars lane, sometyme iij gardens, adjoyning to a malte house there	3	4
A tenement	4	0
A tenement	5	0

The total is £1 9s. 6d., and even when this is translated into current values it makes a sad contrast with the wealth of St. Mary's at the close of the Middle Ages.

In the year 1579 Sandwich had an alarming experience, which left its mark on St. Mary's. It is best told in the words of the town chronicler of the time.⁶³

"Mem. On the vijth of april xxxiid of Elizabeth, about six o'clock in the evening, there was heard from the southwest a marvellouse greate noyse, as though the same had ben the shott of some greate batterie or a number of canons shott off at one instante without decernying of any dyfference of tyme in the going of of the same shott. Which noyse seemed to be, from the place wheare it was herde, as thowghe yt had been mydwaie betwene Calleis & Dovor. But sodenlie and in the twingling of an eye the same noyse was as though yt had been round aboute the hearers; and therewith began a moste feirce and terrible earthquake, which with the noyse aforesaid and other circumstances contynued not above the time as we commonly call yt of a paternoster while. The place wheare the inhabitants of Sandwich fyrste herd the same was coming out of Sandowne, wheare weare mr. Cobbe, mr. Rawe, mr. Peeke, mr. Crispe, jurats, Robert Bonham recorder of Sandwich, Villers Aldey mynister, Charles Aldey, Robert Griffin and others, from whence yt passed into the towne, being theare universally to the greate feare of all the people; and that wich such ratlinge as though a number of persons with chaynes shakinge had ben presente; and yet thanks be to God dyd little harm, saving that in thende of the north vale of St. Peter's church yt shaked down the gable and copinge of the gable ende thereof, and dyd shake and cleave fower archeis in st. Maries chirch, and overthrewe a peece of a chymney in the howse of Katherine Christmas wyddowe, and with the fall thereof brake certen pottes and other earthen vessels of one Jerome Pynock. This earthquake contynewed so much longer in the towne as yt did with them at Sandowne. The shippes in the seae, as also such as weare at the keye and wythin the havon at the beacons, felte the lyke. Something before nyne

⁶³ Boys, pp. 695-6.

of the clocke the same nighte the same began againe, but endured a verie shorte space as also a lytle before eleven of the clocke in the same nighte with lyke shortness; and a small noyse was herd aboute fower of the clocke the nexte mornynge, but no shakinge; and within one halfe hower after a like noyse and a little shaking.

“Mem. That, the second daie of maie in the said xxii yere, about ii of the clocke in the mornynge hapned an earthquake, which came with a great noyse and shakinge, allmost as terrible as that on the 7 of aprill laste.”

The chronicler underestimated the damage both to St. Peter's and to St. Mary's, but we have to pass into the next century to learn the full disastrous consequences. Before doing so we must briefly notice the coming of the Dutch to Sandwich from 1561 onwards under Elizabeth's policy of welcoming a limited number of exiles from the religious persecution in the Netherlands—briefly, for in 1564 St. Peter's was appropriated to their use. It was laid down in 1565 that “the dutchmen are not to dispute openly about religion”⁶⁴ and in 1572 that they were to have their children baptized “according to the order now here used, under pain of banishment”.⁶⁵ There is no reason, however, to think it was a Dutchman who in 1571 was “imprisoned for speaking evil words of the vicar of s. Mary's”.⁶⁶ This would be Thomas Pawson, who seems to have enjoyed the new liberty so much that he was married no fewer than four times. Perhaps this was the subject of the evil words. The offending person was enjoined to ask pardon of the vicar in St. Clement's church and was to be banished if he repeated his fault.

Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I there was founded in the parish of St. Mary's a free grammar school which still flourishes, to the great benefit of the town, though no longer in its original building. The history of Sir Roger Manwood's Grammar School would require a volume of its own, but the story of its foundation may briefly be told in the words of Boys:⁶⁷

“In the year 1563, the mayor, jurats and principal inhabitants of Sandwich agreed to raise a sum of money, by subscription, for the purpose of erecting a building for a freeschool; under a promise from Mr. Roger Manwood, then a barrister, to endow the same with lands, of sufficient value to support the building and mtaintain a master. Accordingly the sum of 286l. 7s. 2d. was immediately collected, and other measures were taken to forward the work.

⁶⁴ Boys, p. 690.

⁶⁵ Boys, p. 691.

⁶⁶ Boys, p. 691.

⁶⁷ Boys, p. 199.

It happened fortunately, that Archbishop Parker was then in the neighbourhood, and, approving the design, he became eminently instrumental in founding the school. He made application to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, for a grant of some land, belonging to their church, which was judged to be a proper site for the school: and moreover he wrote to his friend secretary Cecyl, for his interest with the queen to procure her license for the foundation and endowment."

17th Century

A dispute between the parishes of St. Mary and St. Peter about their boundaries in Delph Street and Harnet Street was settled by an award in 1632.⁶⁸ Some seven years later the parishioners had their peal of three bells melted down and made into a ring of five. References in the accounts to "the great bell", "the best bell", "the Mary bell" and "the little bell" suggest that in the later Middle Ages St. Mary's had a ring of four or five bells, in addition to the "sacring bell" and the "wakerell" or sanctus bell. By 1639 this peal had been reduced to three, and of these the third was cracked. The parish had frequently been cited in the ecclesiastical court for not mending this bell. They found that to re-cast the third bell alone and make it tuneable with the others would cost £16, whereas they could get all three melted down and made into a ring of five for £36. The latter course was approved, and the wardens authorized by the vestry to make arrangements with John Wilnor, bell founder, of Borden. The accounts show that in 1640 Henry Wilnor was paid £32 for the use of the widow of John Wilnor; he was presumably their son carrying on the family business, and we may hope his father had received £4 on account. At the same time Thomas Barnett was paid 23s. 8d. for making the quarters to strike upon the fourth bell, the Dutch paying 11s. 6d.⁷⁰

A foreshadowing of troubles to come is seen in Archbishop Laud's account of his province sent to King Charles I for the year 1639 in which he says:⁷¹

"There was about half a year since one that pretended himself a minister, who got many followers in Sandwich and some neighbouring parishes, but at last was found to have gone under three names, Enoch, Swann, and Grey, and in as several habits, of a minister, an ordinary layman, and a royster;

⁶⁸ Boys, p. 301, Item 42.

⁶⁹ This information, and much else to be cited later, comes from the *Vestry Minute Books of St. Mary's*, vol. I (1631-1822), vol. II (1822-1860). I have not as yet been able to locate these volumes, but a manuscript in the St. Mary's archives contains extracts from them.

⁷⁰ Boys, p. 365.

⁷¹ Wharton's *History of Archbishop Laud*.

and this being discovered he fled the country before any of my officers could lay hold of him."⁷²

Sandwich had no small part in the struggle between Charles I and his Parliament. Demands for ship money and warrants to apprehend persons escaping to the Continent were common; but these belong to the history of the town rather than of St. Mary's. Thomas Miller, appointed vicar of St. Mary's in 1635, resigned in 1642 in order to take the vicarage of Teynham. In his place Samuel Mills was appointed, but he died after two years and was buried at St. Mary's as "minister of this parish". In the years that followed the Church of England had to go underground. In Sandwich it would appear that the revenues of the three parishes were appropriated by the mayor, jurats and commonalty who appointed three ministers, preachers or lecturers to serve the town as a whole rather than individual parishes. There is no certain record of any appointment of a vicar of St. Mary's between 1644 and the Restoration, though the list of incumbents on the board in the church compiled by Arthur Manners Chichester cites Robert Webber, a Fellow of Wadhams, as appointed in 1655.

Another Commonwealth minister having a special connexion with St. Mary's was Thomas Danson, Master of Arts of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was the author of many controversial tracts and who distinguished himself in a notable disputation against three Sandwich Quakers, Samuel Fisher, George Whitehead and Richard Rubberthorne on 12th, 13th and 19th April 1659.⁷³ When the Commonwealth came to an end, Danson was turned out of his appointment at Sandwich in October 1660⁷⁴ on the ground that his title was not valid, as indeed it was not, but soon afterwards he was given the living of Sibston in Suffolk, from which he was ejected along with other Nonconformist ministers in 1662. It is more than likely that after his ejection from Sibston he returned to Sandwich, for his infant

⁷² In the register of St. Mary's the following persons, not being vicars, are mentioned as "ministers": John Terry, minister 1622; Caleb Jacob, minister, buried 26th Aug. 1627; Samuel Prichard, minister and preacher of God's word, buried 4th Feb. 1647; — Dicus, minister of this parish, buried at Elsted in Essex 21st April, 1649.

⁷³ His record was published as *The quakers' folly made manifest; or a true relation of what passed in three disputations in Sandwich*, and it went through three editions, London, 1659, 1660 and 1664. He also wrote a *Narrative of the wicked and abominable practices of the quakers* and *The quakers' wisdom not from above; or, a defence of the said disputation against George Whitehead*; London, 1659. His other works include: *A defence of some matters of fact, A synopsis of quakerism; or a collection of the fundamental errors of the quakers, &c.*, London, 1669; *Vindiciae veritatis: or, an impartial account of the late disputations between Mr. Danson, late minister of Sandwich in Kent, and Mr. Ives of London upon this question, viz., Whether the doctrine of some true believers' final apostacy be true or not, &c.*, London, 1672.

⁷⁴ Indeed, he seems to have sensed the change in the atmosphere and already to have accepted a post in London, "to the surprise and annoyance of the Corporation" (Dorothy Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 282.)

son Thomas, who was born on 23rd October, 1668, and who died on the same day in 1674, was buried at the west end of St. Mary's in a brick-walled tomb surmounted by a black marble slab with an inscription including the words:

*Upon october's three and twentieth day
The world began, as learned annals say.*

This was a reflexion of Archbishop Ussher's chronology, according to which the world was created in October 4004 B.C.⁷⁵

With the restoration of the monarchy normality returned to the three Sandwich parishes. On 20th July, 1661, John Lodwick, or Lodowick, was appointed to the vicarage of St. Mary's, stated to be "vacant by the death of Thomas Miller". This may be a clerical error, or Miller may have returned to Sandwich for a short time at the Restoration; or Miller may have been regarded as the last true vicar of St. Mary's. Lodowick had served St. Peter's and even signed as Rector there during the Commonwealth. *A Catalogue of all the Benefices & Promotions Within ye Diocese and Jurisdiction of Canterbury*,⁷⁶ apparently compiled by George Hall, Archdeacon of Canterbury, 1660-68, has this note about Lodowick and his parish:

"A Fleming lately put in; of parts very sufficient, a sober man, & right for ye Church, though he seems to affect preaching after ye Presbyterian modell & measure. 200 Houses in ye parish, Many Dutch & Flemings, Many Sectaries & Enemies of the late King, & some Petitioners for his death."

Lodowick seems to have shared some of his Sovereign's characteristics, for in 1672 the vestry determined that he should be "presented either in the Ecclesiastical or Temporal courts for neglecting his Duty and for loose conversation". He nevertheless survived as vicar for another five years and in 1671 was involved in a renewed dispute about the Puttocks Down tithes.

The Restoration literally left its mark upon St. Mary's on the font. This is undoubtedly 15th-century work, but on the shaft is inscribed:—

G W	16	D E
I I		I C
R S	62	POD

The date was no doubt inscribed to mark the resumption of full Anglican worship. The Book of Common Prayer as revised by the Convocations was authorized for use by the Act of Uniformity of 1662

⁷⁵ *The Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, had been published in 1650-54.

⁷⁶ Cod. Lamb. 1126, Fol. 17.

after sixteen years in which the Directory for Public Worship had been imposed on the Church. The font may very well have been pulled down during the Commonwealth and re-erected in 1662. That there must have been some reconstruction at some time is shown by the fact that the font now rests upon a stone platform in two stages, of which the upper contains a gravestone with the inscription *Hic requie . . . Warson . . . ille 12 oc . . . 1613 obiit . . . vixit aetat. . .* The medieval font at St. Cybi's, Holyhead, is inscribed with the date October, 1662, and the names of the wardens; and no doubt there are other parallels. I have not identified the owners of the six sets of initials, but it is tempting to link them with a visitation in 1662 when four able inhabitants were chosen in vestry to appear with the Minister and churchwardens.

What is more puzzling is that according to the wardens' accounts for 1675-80 money was then disbursed for "havinge a font made" among many other items. It may be categorically asserted that the St. Mary's font would not have been made at that date, and it is improbable that a second font was required. The most likely explanation is that it was at this date that the font was re-sited and placed upon the Warson slab. A great deal of reconstruction was then required by a major catastrophe that had befallen St. Mary's, and to that catastrophe we must now turn.

The earthquake of 1579 was not to be cheated. On 13th October, 1661, the tower of St. Peter's, which had been left split from top to bottom, collapsed and brought down with it the south aisle. On 25th April, 1668, the tower and spire of St. Mary's also collapsed, and brought down with them the roofs, the north and south arcades, part of the east wall, and some other parts of the building. The state of the fabric had obviously been giving rise to anxiety, for in the previous December the vestry had asked the churchwardens to "go about the repairing of the Pillar, the which is ready for to fall, for the preserving of the steeple". There can be do doubt that the collapse both of St. Peter's and at St. Mary's was a delayed consequence of the earthquake. The parishioners of St. Clement's may have saved themselves from a like fate by taking down their steeple and the battlements of the tower in 1670.⁷⁷

Within three weeks Edward Fellows, one of the wardens, appeared before the County Court and told how he and his fellow warden, John Read, had been forced to set watchmen to keep the timber and lead from being stolen by the poorer sort of people. He alleged that there

⁷⁷ *Sandwich Year Book, 1642-1730* (now deposited with the Kent County Archives), fol. 270a.



FIG. 5. 'Silver grace cup (?), c. 1510, given to St. Mary's, Sandwich, for use at the Holy Communion.

were divers parcells of lead and timber which, being gotten from the rubbish, might be useful for the "re-edifying" of the church, or so much thereof as should be thought fitting to be "re-edified". The wardens therefore sought an order for the carrying away of the rubbish, and for the preservation of the useful things, and to sell any rotten timber of no use except as fuel. The order was granted.⁷⁸

In 1670 the wardens—then William Maundy and John Forwood—made a further application to the court. Alleging that the church was beaten down to the ground and was a ruinous heap, they said the parishioners lay under an utter disability of rebuilding it unless they were permitted to sell the five bells, estimated by honest and understanding artificers to be worth £300. Their request was granted⁷⁹ and the bells, so newly re-cast, were sold. Local tradition asserted that they went to St. Mary's, Elham, in the same county, and in 1757-8 Bryan Faussett noted at Elham, "5 heavy bells all made by John Wilnor in ye year 1659" (a mistake, of course, for 1639). They were not, however, the present Elham bells, which number eight, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 by Lester & Pack of London in 1763, and No. 7 by Thomas Mears & Son in 1809. In fact, the Elham church accounts record that on 9th Feb., 1764, £1 12s. was paid for the carriage of the old five bells to Sandwich, and £1 12s. 6d. was paid for the carriage of the new eight bells and clapper from Sandwich to Elham. This is followed by a mysterious entry, "Charge of a letter to Mr. Potter of Canterbury concerning the old bells being not sent from Sandwich to London—2d." Although they returned to Sandwich, it is unlikely that they stayed there, and they were probably melted down.

At St. Peter's, the parishioners decided to rebuild their tower (perhaps because it had long been a mark for seamen) but did not rebuild the south aisle. At St. Mary's the decision was to keep the south aisle but not to rebuild the tower. The south arcade was not rebuilt, but the nave and south aisle were thrown into one and given a low plaster ceiling. The north arcade was rebuilt, but not in stone as before. Following the precedent of their neighbours at Wingham on the road to Canterbury, the parishioners erected a new arcade of timber. On stone bases—partly the old stone, partly leger slabs—four timber piers, surmounted by square timber abaci were raised, and from these timber posts with struts on either side rose to the valley between the nave and north aisle roofs. At the east and west ends posts rose from the stone responds to the roof, so that from that date the eastern

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 244a.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 282b.

respond consisted of a Norman base, a Lancastrian middle and a Caroline upper part.

The wardens' accounts and the vestry books are not as complete for the period as could be desired, and the details of the rebuilding are a matter for conjecture. The entries suggest that the church was again in full use by 1675, but the work may have gone on longer. Forty-five long deals for the ceiling at 14d. each cost £2 12s. 6d. Henry Nelson was paid £3 9s. for paving the church; he used a lot of Caen building stone from the old walls in many places. John Bradford received £2 6s. for "building up ye wall of ye church". Glue, 12 lb., cost 6d. and pitch 2d. Mr. Bodewynn Capper gave $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of deal and the porters were paid 6d. for bringing it from the quay; a grateful inscription on a stone in the reconstructed east end reads, "1671. John Forwood, John Simons, churchwardens. Bodowen Cuper, a friend to this work". There are various other names carved on stones on the outside north and east walls of the chancel, and they also may date from this reconstruction. Boys saw the date 1671 on one of the buttresses, and 1673 at the top of the external west wall of the nave, but they are not visible to-day.

A fair amount of fallen stones seems to have been sold to townspeople between 1676 and 1680; the price was 4s. to 5s. a load, and no doubt the receipts went towards the repairs. It is pleasing to record that in 1679 the Dutch contributed £10 though their main connexion was with St. Peter's. In 1678 the wardens recorded that £123 4s. 8d. had been spent "for buildinge of Piewes & Sielling said church & Havinge a font made and other necessarys".

Apart from the low ceiling over the nave and south aisle, which might make the casual visitor to St. Mary's in the next three centuries think that he had entered a meeting house, the main difference after the reconstruction was in the chancel. Many references make it probable that in the Middle Ages St. Mary's had three chancels—a high or middle chancel having another chancel on either side. After the reconstruction there was only one broad chancel terminated by two east windows with plate tracery. This had repercussions on the vicar's fees, and in 1691 the vestry minuted:

Whereas, upon rebuilding the church, part of the middle chancel belonging to the minister was taken in by the parishioners, for the convenience of building seats, and a proportionable part of the south chancel laid to it instead of it; it is agreed that the fees of burial in the whole chancel, as it is now contrived, do all belong to the vicar, be repairing it."

Though so many ancient charities had been lost, other benefactors

came forward in the 17th century, and surviving documents testify to the Christian generosity of such men as Thomas Fulnetby. Towards the end of the century we get a new form of record—the benefactors' board. St. Mary's has a particularly interesting series of such boards, eight in number. They begin in 1697 with a bequest by Solomon Hougham, who died in that year and by his will provided for a yearly rent charge of £11 out of Barton field in the parish of St. Paul in Canterbury; out of this the churchwardens of St. Mary's were to lay out 4s. in penny loaves every Sunday and 12s. in the same way at Christmas, to be distributed at church after sermon or divine service to such of the poorest of the parish as the churchwardens should think fit.

Solomon Hougham was a London merchant who was high sheriff of Kent in 1696. He died a bachelor, and a marble monument placed in the church to his memory by his nephew, also called Solomon Hougham, testified of him:

*Both Indies, both the poles, nay both worlds knew
His traffick, justice and his bounty too.
Giving all on earth the heavenly pearl t'obtain,
He liv'd with profit, and he died with gain.*

With him are commemorated his father, yet another Solomon Hougham, mayor of Sandwich in 1639, his mother Mary, and his elder brother Richard. It was the beginning of a series of commemorations in St. Mary's of families who gave mayors to the town.

Postscript. Since Note 27 was written in the first part of this paper, I am glad to say that the whole bederoll as it was known to Boys has come to light in the frame that Woodruff saw. Two framed fragments of the 15th century inventory have also been traced, along with almost all the "Evidences of the parish of St. Mary" summarized by Boys (see Note 11) and other documents.