

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN KENT, 1480-1660

as the result of the generosity of many benefactors, with the result that Kent was a better county in which to live and work as the aspirations of these donors were realized.

D. Education.

The benefactors of Kent were through the entire course of our period deeply interested in expanding and strengthening the educational resources with which the county was provided at the close of the Middle Ages. In all, the great total of £58,255 16s. was given for the various educational uses between 1480 and 1660, amounting to almost a quarter (23·14 per cent.) of the whole of the charitable funds of the county.¹ This proportion was only slightly less than that given for the numerous religious needs of Kent (26·77 per cent.), but was of course dwarfed by the outpouring for the several forms of poor relief. Even during the decades prior to the Reformation substantial sums were provided for the educational needs of the shire, the total of £13,286 10s. given in this interval substantially exceeding the whole amount given for poor relief and amounting to about 18 per cent. of all benefactions made during these decades. This proportion rose slightly in the troubled Reformation era and then very sharply indeed during the Elizabethan age, when somewhat more than a fourth (25·38 per cent.) of all benefactions was designated for educational purposes. The great outpouring occurred in the early Stuart period, when £25,170 7s. was provided for the various educational needs, an amount accounting for 26·79 per cent. of all charities in the interval. It will be observed, too, that during this one generation substantially more than 40 per cent. (43·21 per cent.) of the entire sum vested in education during our whole period was given by some scores of donors. Gifts for all purposes fell away steeply indeed during the period of political revolution, though it may be noted that the £6,111 10s. given for education in these decades represents somewhat more than 23 per cent. of the whole of the charitable funds then provided.

By far the largest proportion of the benefactions made to education was given for the founding of grammar schools or for the augmentation of the endowments of existing schools. The very large total of £28,308 18s. was provided for these purposes, representing 11·24 per cent. of

¹ Kent devoted approximately the same proportion of its charitable resources to educational needs as did most English counties, with the notable exception of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The proportions are as follows for the several counties :

	%		%
Bristol	21·33	London	27·04
Buckinghamshire	21·26	Norfolk	23·00
Hampshire	24·84	Somerset	25·88
Kent	23·14	Worcestershire	26·77
Lancashire	41·79	Yorkshire	31·12

all charitable funds for the county, an amount far larger than that given for any other single charitable cause save, of course, outright poor relief and almshouse foundations. The concern of men of the county for the meagre educational facilities available was evident from the beginning of our period, the not inconsiderable total of £2,673 having been provided as school endowments in the two generations just prior to the Reformation. It is quite certain, in fact, that in this interval alone greater capital outlays were made available for grammar-school education than were accumulated in the whole course of the Middle Ages. The ferment of interest in the educational needs of the county spread during the two decades of the Reformation, the £2,037 8s. given for schools in this brief period representing a steeply heightened curve of giving. In the course of the Elizabethan age not less than £800 was given in any one decade and the total of £7,397 13s. provided during this generation made possible the founding of at least nine schools within the county and two in other parts of the realm. But the climax was to come in the next generation, when the great total of £12,348 7s. was given for the founding of new schools and, as importantly, for the strengthening of existing institutions. There was, of course, a sharp falling off in these foundations during the period of the Civil War, but the £3,852 10s. given during these years was sufficient to found several additional schools and to bring to an almost precocious maturity what was by 1660 an excellent and well-financed structure of popular education.

Almost the whole of this structure of education was the contribution and achievement of the period under examination, since in Kent, as in other counties, the claims of medieval antiquity do not often bear close examination. There were probably not more than four schools to which lay pupils were admitted in Kent in 1480, it being particularly noteworthy that only two of these were chantry foundations, despite the very large number of these endowments scattered all over the county. Moreover, of these four schools, three were in effect to be wholly re-established or endowed, while the remaining institution (Higham) slipped into complete obscurity and was presumably abandoned. The educational resources of the county were, then, very weak at the outset of our period, being with the exception of Canterbury of only slight consequence even in local terms.

The school at Canterbury was undoubtedly old, though there is only scanty documentary evidence of its work or of its institutional existence before 1259, when its master is mentioned in an official communication. From that time forward the records are sufficiently continuous to suggest that the school prospered under the direct patronage of successive archbishops, though towards the close of the fifteenth century it appears that the school house was in a ruinous

state and that there was some apprehension lest another school might be opened in the city.¹ The fact is that there is no documentary reference of any kind to the school from this time forward to the Reformation, and it seems unlikely that it could have been of any great consequence without having left some mark over a period of a full half-century on the history of the times and of the city. The school was in any event unendowed, without any clearly defined constitution, and it was certainly decaying when in 1541 it was completely re-organized and in effect refounded by Henry VIII as part of the collegiate body with which the King replaced the dispossessed monks.

Under the new constitution the King's School was to have, by the appointment of the Dean and Chapter, a master "learned in the Latin and Greek languages and of good character and pious life", as well as a second master proficient in Latin and competent in the teaching of the rudiments of grammar. There were to be admitted to the foundation fifty "poor boys, both destitute of the help of friends, and endowed with minds apt for learning". Scholars might be chosen between the ages of nine and fourteen and might remain for not more than five years or until they had become proficient in the reading and speaking of the Latin language. Cranmer, who probably framed this constitution, shortly afterwards most eloquently insisted that able boys of all classes, even the "plowman's son", must be admitted if they could give evidence of high ability and that no fees of any kind could be laid against the King's fifty scholars. An endowment was provided from the cathedral revenues which supplied each scholar with the generous stipend of £4 p.a., as well as £20 p.a. for the master and £10 p.a. for the lower master.² This, if we may convert the sums into a capital value, suggests an endowment of the order of £4,600 for the school and made it at the time of its foundation probably the richest in the realm. At the same time, it should be observed, this great sum has not been regarded as part of the endowments given during our period, for it was in effect a transfer to secular uses, by royal decree, of properties gained from the expropriation of monastic foundations.

The earliest endowed school in Kent was at Sevenoaks, having been founded in 1432 under the terms of the will of a great London grocer, William Sevenoaks. This benefactor was evidently strongly secular in his views on education, since his will provided for the founding of a grammar school in his native town to be taught by a master who must be a bachelor of arts and competent in the science of grammar, but "by no means in holy orders". An endowment of approximately

¹ Prior Sellyng to Archbishop Bouchier, quoted in Woodruff, C. E., and H. J. Capo, *Schola Regia Cantuariensis* (L., 1908), 36.

² Woodruff, *King's School*, 1-59.

£200 was provided for the wages of the master and the care of the school, it being further stipulated that all boys from the neighbourhood who presented themselves for instruction should be taught without any fees being required.¹ This school, so well and carefully founded, was to prosper as successive patrons strengthened its endowments. In or about 1511 the first substantial gift was received when William Pett, Richard Pett, Richard Blackboy, and probably others, all of yeoman status, conveyed in trust lands with an estimated value of £100, to be used for the joint support of the grammar school and an almshouse.² One of its former students, John Potkine, who became a London merchant, by his will in 1545, "of his godly zeal towards the better maintenance" of the school, charged certain of his London properties with an annuity of £9.³ Still another native of the town who had settled in London, Anthony Pope, in 1571 left the school London properties with a capital value of at least £200 as an augmentation of its endowment and "towards the maintenance of God's glory, and the erudition and bringing up of the poor scholars there in virtuous discipline, godly learning, and good and civil manners". A few years later another substantial bequest was received from a member of the local gentry, John Porter, who in 1578 left a rent-charge of £10 p.a. as an addition to the school's stock, the amount to be employed as an augmentation of the salary of the master and usher, which suggests that the grammar school had by this date attained a considerable size and importance. The endowment by this date must have been of the order of £1,030, not taking into account probable increases in value, and it seems that not many years later the school numbered upwards of sixty students.⁴

There was a chantry school at Higham at the time of the Reformation, founded at an uncertain date, but fragmentary evidence would suggest somewhat before the beginning of our period. The Chantry Commissioners reported that the foundation was held by St. John's College, Cambridge, and possessed in 1548 endowments with an annual value of £6 13s. 4d. The stipendiary priest, then thirty-eight years of age and "of honest learning and conversacon", was required by the terms of the endowment to say prayers within the chapel and to teach

¹ PCC 16 Luffenham 1432; Leach, A. F., *The Schools of Medieval England* (L., 1915), 244. This foundation was the first of the many grammar schools to be founded by London merchants during the next two hundred and fifty years.

² K.A.O.: CCC 10/147, 1511 (Blackboy); PCC 30 Fetiplace 1513 (R. Pett); PP 1819, X-A, 141, App., 220. The circumstances surrounding this gift are most uncertain. Ordinarily one would suppose that these were feoffees creating a new trusteeship, but that does not seem to be the case.

³ PCC 2 Alen 1545; PP 1819, X-A, 141. Hasted (*Kent*, III, 98) has the history of the school badly confused.

⁴ PCC 49 Holney 1571 (Pope); PP 1819, X-A, 141, App., 220-221. Porter also left £2 p.a. to the poor of Seal, where his estates were situated.

the children of the community without charge. The foundation was evidently not suppressed, but the endowment may have been too small or the educational services too slight to have attracted the support necessary for survival in the new world of the mid-sixteenth century. We have, in any event, found no evidence to suggest that this school did survive.¹

The last of the school foundations certainly made prior to 1480 was involved in Archbishop Kemp's creation of the College of Wye, for which he received royal licence in 1432 but did not carry forward until 1448. This foundation, which received rich endowments not only from the founder but from Edward IV, was by the terms of the constitution to include a "maister of grammar" who should "frely teche withoutyn any thing takyng" all who presented themselves to him for instruction. The master was to be a graduate of a university, was to rank after the provost, and was encouraged to take students outside the foundation as well as those regularly in the school. The endowments of the college included the revenues of Newington next Hythe, Brenzett, and Boughton Aluph, livings from which apparently the annual stipend of the schoolmaster was to be paid. The college was of course expropriated at the time of the Reformation, but the sale of the properties in 1545 to Walter Bucler, the Queen's secretary, was subject to an understanding that he should pay £13 6s. 8d. p.a. for the maintenance of a sufficient schoolmaster in Wye and the stipend of a curate. Bucler failed to abide by these conditions of purchase, with the result that the properties were resumed by the Crown under Elizabeth, to be regranted by Charles I in 1627 on condition of an annual payment of £16 to the schoolmaster of Wye and £50 to the chaplain of that place.²

At the advent of our period, then, there appear to have been four schools in scattered places in Kent. The most renowned of these schools, that at Canterbury, was unendowed and was at this date at a low ebb in its history. Those at Wye and Higham functioned as ancillary enterprises to the religious foundations of which they were part. The school at Sevenoaks, already almost a half-century old, was well and securely established as a lay foundation which was shortly to command the financial support of its own former members and of the community which it served. These four institutions were endowed with not much more than £600 of funds, if we may capitalize the stipends which the Reformation settlement assigned to them two generations later. They constituted a very slender basis for the great

¹ *Kent Records*, XII (1936), 150-151; Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, 299.

² *VCH, Kent*, II, 235; Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, 319; Ducarel, A. C., *Repertory of Endowments in Canterbury and Rochester* (L., 1782), 126-127; *PP* 1819, X-B, 46; Mackie, S. J., *Folkstone* (Folkstone, 1883), 248; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 357, VIII, 208.

charitable movement of the next two centuries which was so richly and adequately to endow secondary education in Kent.

There were to be two substantial foundations made in Kent in the course of the period preceding the Reformation. The first was established at Tenterden by the concerted efforts of several men. The initial gift to the school was made by a member of the ancient gentle family of Hayman, probably about 1510 and very possibly by Peter Hayman, who acquired the manors of Somerfield and Wilmington by marriage. It is all but certain that Hayman gave no endowment or building, his generosity being confined to the grant of the premises on which the school was shortly to be built.¹ The vicar of Tenterden at this time (1494-1512) was one Peter Marshall, who evidently interested his younger brother, William, in the needs of the community. William Marshall was also a priest, who had enjoyed the favour of Archbishop Morton as well as of lay patrons and whose pluralities enabled him to maintain residences in Warehorne, Appledore, Canterbury, and London, where he died in 1523. Marshall, who left a total of £456 14s. to various charitable causes, bequeathed an endowment of £10 p.a. out of messuages and twelve acres of land for the support of the school at Tenterden, as well as £10 towards the "purchasing bilding or making of a convenient house" for a chantry priest to live in, "and to teche his scolers accordingly". Marshall likewise left a silver chalice "to be made out of my silver plate", to what was clearly a chantry foundation at Tenterden with a connected grammar school. When the Chantry Commissioners made their report just a generation later, it appeared that the chantry priest had £10 10s. p.a. "as well for celebrating divine service in the church, as for teaching a grammar school". The Commissioners accordingly ordered the school continued with the chantry revenues, "forasmuch as it appeareth that a grammer scole hath bene heretofore continually kept", and ordered that the then schoolmaster, John Forset, should have £10 yearly as his stipend.² That the school enjoyed local support is suggested by the bequest in 1525 of George Strekenbold of Tenterden, who left £1 towards the building of a schoolhouse on condition that it be completed

¹ *PP* 1819, X-A, 148; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 214, VIII, 308. The family was very old and held estates in Kent, Essex, and London. One of its later members, Sir Peter (1580-1641), was an active parliamentary opponent of the Crown.

² K.A.O. : CCC 12/158, 1519 (Peter Marshall); PCC 18 Bodfelde 1523 (William Marshall); *PP* 1819, X-A, 148; *Kent Records*, XII (1935), 304-306; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 214; *Arch. Cant.*, XLIV (1932), 129-146; Leach, A. F., *English Schools at the Reformation* (L., 1896), ii, 115, *Schools of Medieval England*, 299, 326. William Marshall's other benefactions included £50 to the Church of Holy Trinity Minorities, London, for repairs and general uses; £36 for prayers for a period of twelve years; £10 to prisoners in Canterbury, London, and Southwark; £20 for vestments at Warehorne and £4 for Tenterden; £40 for the building of a water conduit at Appledore; £23 7s. in doles to the poor; £2 to poor scholars at Oxford; and his books to Oxford and the Friars Minor of Greenwich.

within a term of seven years, as well as a gift of £10 to be used for repairs on the parish church.¹

Very shortly afterwards a substantial foundation was made at Faversham by John Cole, a royal chaplain and the Warden of All Souls. Cole in 1527 conveyed to the Abbot of Faversham 317 acres of land with a then annual value of £14 10s. for the founding of a school within the monastery precincts for the novices and "all other children that be disposed to learn the science of grammar". With the revenues provided under the deed of gift a schoolmaster was to be appointed with a stipend of £10 p.a. and £1 for his gown, while the remainder was to be employed for his meat and drink and for necessary repairs on the schoolhouse and the master's chamber within the monastery.² Cole must have understood that he was taking a calculated risk in vesting so large and so generous a foundation in an abbey which since 1499 had been persistently mismanaged by a now tottering abbot, John Sheppey, against whom Archbishop Warham had laid a blistering indictment after a visitation in 1511, and who, in his correspondence with Cromwell many years later (1536), seemed to be incompetent in mind as well as in body.³ There is in fact every reason to believe that the school had not more than begun its functioning when expropriation overtook the abbey, a petition to the Crown from the inhabitants of Faversham for the endowment of the school having been denied. After a lapse of a generation another petition was in 1574 laid before Queen Elizabeth, who had recently stopped for two nights in the town, for the reinstatement of the school and the restoration of such of its endowments as remained in the Crown. The Queen granted the request in 1576, vesting the trusteeship in the mayor, jurats, and commonalty. That portion of the endowments remaining in royal hands, which was by this date more valuable than the whole of Cole's original grant, was vested in the trustees.⁴ The site for the new school was provided, probably in that year, by William Saker, a merchant of the town who was later to be its mayor, but the building was not completed until 1587, at a cost of £30, which was raised by a local tax imposed by the town authorities.⁵

¹ K.A.O. : PRC, A. 16/269, 1525 ; *Arch. Cant.*, XLIV (1932), 131 ; *Kent Records*, XII (1935), 305.

² PCC 33 Hogen 1535 ; Jacob, *Faversham*, 53 ; Hasted, *Kent*, VI, 337-355 ; *Arch. Cant.*, XLVII (1935), 189-190 ; Lewis, John, *Abbey and Church of Faversham* (L., 1727), 17.

³ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Warham*, fol. 40b ; *VCH, Kent*, II, 130-140.

⁴ *Arch. Cant.*, XLVII (1935), 190 ; Hasted, *Kent*, VI, 355-357 ; Jacob, *Faversham*, 53-57 ; *PP* 1819, X-A, 104.

⁵ PCC 46 Dixy 1594 ; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 208-209 ; Hasted, *Kent*, VI, 358 ; *Arch. Cant.*, XX (1893), 210n., XLVII (1935), 191. Saker was jurat of the town in 1587 and its mayor in 1590. A strong Puritan, he left £10 p.a. for the relief of the poor of Faversham and £5 p.a. to the city authorities, as trustees, to ensure a weekly sermon "to be read and preached" in the parish church forever.

At Rochester, where there may well have been a priory school of some sort during much of the Middle Ages, a well-constituted royal grammar school was founded in 1542 by Henry VIII after the dissolution of the priory. The foundation was to consist of twenty scholars and a master qualified to teach grammar. From these youths four scholars were to be appointed to the universities on stipends of £5 p.a., the scholars at the time of election to be between the ages of fifteen and twenty. The endowment provided, subject to the control of the dean and chapter of the new cathedral church, seems to have been of the order of £800.¹ The next considerable benefaction received by the school was under the will of Robert Gunsley, a clergyman whose great foundation for the relief of the poor of Rochester and Maidstone has already been noted. Gunsley left an endowment of £60 p.a. to the Master and Fellows of University College, Oxford, in 1618, half being for the benefit of the Rochester Grammar School and half for Maidstone. Four scholars, all of whom must be natives of Kent, were to be chosen in these two schools and maintained there until fully ready for the university, when they should be supported with generous stipends of £15 p.a. each.²

We may conclude, then, that there were in all six schools in Kent in 1540, Rochester having been added as an incident in the great convulsion which we call the Henrician Reformation. These schools possessed in 1540 endowments with a roughly estimated capital value of £1,141, to which the Crown was to add by fiat from older charitable funds endowments of perhaps £800 for the support of Rochester. It was upon this slender foundation that Elizabethan donors were to build the schools of that generation with an infinitely greater generosity and with a more certain sense of purpose. As we shall note, eleven new schools were to be founded in the course of the Queen's reign and, almost as importantly, life-giving transfusions of capital were to be provided for several of the older and ill-provided institutions.

The earliest of the Elizabethan foundations, at Tonbridge, is almost classically typical of those that were to follow and exhibits quite perfectly the aspirations and the purposes of the new age. In 1525 Wolsey proposed the foundation of a grammar school for forty boys on the site of the suppressed priory of Tonbridge, whose revenues he had appropriated to his new college at Oxford; exhibitions at the college were also to be part of the scheme. Archbishop Warham, delegated in June of that year to find out the sentiments of the townspeople, reported that "a good multitude of the saide towne . . . thinke it more expedient to have the continuation of the said monastery . . . thanne

¹ Hasted, *Kent*, IV, 93-97; Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, 312; [Denno, Samuel], *History of Rochester* (Rochester, 1772), 198.

² *Vide ante*, 23.

to have a grammer scole . . . thinhabitantes . . . had levyr to have the said place not suppressed . . ." Nothing came of the Cardinal's proposal, and with his fall both monastery and school were lost, the priory and its possessions falling to the Crown.¹ It remained for a great London merchant and lord mayor, Sir Andrew Judd, a native of the town, to constitute the school. Judd had begun the erection of his school, which he was shortly and richly to endow, in 1553, building it of Kentish sandstone so sturdily and well that it was to be used for somewhat more than three centuries; his will makes it clear that it was completed before 1558. Judd named as his trustees his own company, the Skinners, vesting in them properties in London and in nearby suburban areas which, when they were settled as endowment, possessed a capital worth of about £1,786. The master was to be paid £20 p.a. and the usher £8 p.a. as a first charge on the revenues. The Company was requested to send its master and warden once a year "to ride to visit the said school" to see that the statutes were observed and that its scholars kept themselves "virtuous and studious", for which the Skinners were to have £10 p.a. for their pains. Judd himself drew up the constitution of the school and named the first master. No charges for tuition might be imposed; twenty boarding students might be admitted from the surrounding countryside. The principal interest of the founder was in providing full and excellent instruction for local boys in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The master was enjoined to conduct all classes in the Latin tongue, and Judd's injunctions required the appointment of a master of the highest possible scholastic excellence.²

¹ *L. and P., Hen. VIII*, IV, i, 1459, 1470, 1471; *Arch. Cant.*, I (1858), 31-33; *VCH, Kent*, II, 168.

² PCC 58 Noodes, 54 Welles 1558; *PP* 1819, X-A, 149, App., 233; *PP* 1823, VIII, 358; *PP* 1884, XXXIX, iv, 327; Rivington, Septimus, *Tonbridge School* (*L.*, 1925), *passim*; Vere-Hodge, H. S., *Sir Andrew Judde* (Tonbridge, n.d.), *passim*; Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, II, 30; Lambert, J. J., ed., *Records of the Skinners of London* (*L.*, 1934), 177.

The London properties, particularly the Sandhills estate in St. Pancras, bought by Judd for £346 6s. 8d., proved to be enormously valuable. The gross income of the school in 1924 was £31,784, of which £25,534 was derived from Sandhills.

Judd was the son of John Judd (*d.* 1493), a member of a family long resident in Kent and one which rose during his lifetime into the lower ranges of the gentry. Judd was apprenticed to a London skinner in 1509, but by 1517, when his term of training was finished, he was already trading in wool to Calais as a merchant of the staple, while in 1520 he was importing oil on his own account. In 1523 he married the daughter of a wealthy skinner who had been lord mayor in 1518. He became first warden of his company in 1531 and two years later its master, by which time he was referred to as a "stapuller of reputacion" (*L. and P., Hen. VIII*, Addenda, I, i, 917). In 1534 he, with his brother John, was assessed for the subsidy at £100, which placed him by this date among the richer merchants of the city. In 1543 he purchased for £669 11s. 4½d. confiscated monastic property in Suffolk and Leicestershire, disposing of the Suffolk properties within a month. In 1541 he became an alderman and in 1544 was elected sheriff. By

(Footnote 2 continued at foot of page 75)

THE STRUCTURE OF ASPIRATIONS

Judd had intended to complete the purchase of the endowment for his school and to convey it directly to the Skinners' Company before his death, but his wishes were carried out by a friend and trustee, Henry Fisher, also a member of the company. Fisher added by gift in 1560 certain London properties then worth £6 p.a., for the founding of an exhibition at Brasenose College, Oxford, for a scholar to be chosen from the Tonbridge School, as well as providing £1 p.a. for two sermons at which "a learned and godly preacher", appointed by the master and wardens, should exhort the Skinners' Company "to unity and concord and to be favourable maintainers of the said grammar school".¹ Still another of Judd's London friends and associates, Sir Thomas White, endowed one of the scholarships on his foundation at St. John's College, Oxford, for a student from Tonbridge, "in respect of great love we did bear Andrew Judd . . . builder of the grammar school there".²

But the great second benefactor of the school was the famous London merchant and entrepreneur, Sir Thomas Smith, the son of Customer Smith and the grandson of Sir Andrew Judd. Smith, who was prominently concerned with all leading mercantile and colonial ventures of his day, was for many years the Treasurer of the Virginia Company. As early as 1619 he had notified the Skinners' Company of his intention to augment the income provided under his grandfather's legacy by adding £10 p.a. to the salary of the master and £5 p.a. to the salary of the usher at Tonbridge, as well as giving £10 p.a. to a scholar from the school to be appointed in either of the universities.

¹ *PP* 1819, X-A, 150 ; *PP* 1823, VIII, 360 ; Rivington, *Tonbridge School* 83 ; Fuller, Thomas (P. A. Nuttall, ed.), *History of the Worthies of England* (L., 1840, 3 vols.), II, 156. The company was much troubled by suits laid against it by Fisher's son, Andrew, who introduced forged documents claiming that the endowment of the school was intended for a period of sixty years and was then to fall in to him as a legacy. An Act of Parliament (1572) disposed of this claim, but still another (1589) was required finally to quiet this apparently unscrupulous man. Thomas Fuller says that the Skinners expended £4,000 at law before all claimants were quieted.

² Rivington, *Tonbridge School*, 38-40.

(Continuation of footnote 2 from page 74)

this date his mercantile activities were widespread and he was apparently dealing in wool, alum, lead, and possibly grain.

Judd was made Lord Mayor in 1550, his term of office being troubled by scarcity, uncertain trade because of the devaluation of the coinage, and still another outbreak of the sweating sickness. In the same year he married again, this being his third wife, the widow of a skinner, who brought with her a fortune of at least £6,000 (Wriothesley, Charles, *A Chronicle of England, 1485-1559* [L., 1875, 1877, 2 vols.], II, 46). Probably in the next year (1551) he informed the Skinners' Company of his desire to make them trustees of London real property worth £20 3s. 4d. p.a. to be distributed to "six folk inhabiting in certain six almshouses erected by the said Sir Andrew Judde", the almspeople to have in all £10 8s. p.a. and the residue to be employed for the maintenance of the property and the almshouses.

These payments were made each year by Smith until his death in 1625, when the Skinners' Company was vested with properties sufficient to maintain the augmentations he had made to the salaries of the teachers in the school, as well as an annuity of £6 13s. 4d. to the company for its pains in administering the trust. Smith added by bequest capital with a then value of £1,200 for the support of six scholars in the universities for the benefit of students from the school, as well as settling the great sum of £1,420 for the distribution of weekly bread rations in the parishes of Tonbridge, Speldhurst, Otford, Sutton-at-Hone, and Darenth and providing from what proved to be a sufficient residue an additional payment of £10 p.a. to Tonbridge Grammar School and £30 p.a. more for the poor of the six Kentish parishes favoured under his will.¹

These great successive benefactions, almost the whole of which were derived from London and all of which may be attributed directly to the power of the example of that remarkable merchant, Andrew Judd, had in the course of a half-century made Tonbridge one of the most heavily endowed schools in England. Including, as we should, the numerous exhibitions, capital totalling at least £3,739 had been poured into this notable foundation by men of large and daring vision who knew what they wanted and who possessed the experience and the knowledge required to build this institution for the enduring benefit of a whole community. Men like Judd and his grandson were in fact carving out by their great charities a new ethic and a quite new sense of social responsibility which may well be the greatest of all the contributions of the Puritanism which they came to exemplify. We have the sense of this in the sermon of the great Puritan divine, Thomas Gataker, who, in his visitation sermon at Tonbridge in 1620, when Smith's first annual support of the school had been announced, spoke thus to Smith, who was in the congregation: "The schoole was first erected and endowed by your worships ancestor. And you have worthily built upon his foundation, and added liberally to his gift. So that through your munificence it is very likely to flourish, and not to come behind some of those that be of chiefe note. Your bounty herein, and in other workes of the like nature, is the rather to be regarded, for that you doe not (as the manner is of the most, unwilling to part with ought, till they must needs leave all;) defer wholly your well-doing to your deaths-bed, or your dying day; but bend your selfe thereunto, while you may yet surviving your owne donation, your selfe see things settled in a due course, and receive comfort by view of the fruit and benefit that may thereby redound both to church and common-weale".²

¹ *Vide* Jordan, *Charities of London*, 116, 342, for a full discussion of the charities of this remarkable and munificent man. Smith's philanthropies totalled £4,695, of which £3,440 was designated for Kent.

² Gataker, Thomas, *Certaine Sermons* (L., 1637), "Davids instructor", dedic.

Judd's great benefaction to his native county was rivalled by that of still another native of Kent who had become a renowned merchant in London. William Lambe, a clothworker, was born of humble parentage at Sutton Valence. Having made a great fortune in trade, he devoted the closing years of his life to the perfecting of charitable plans for the benefit of London, Kent, Suffolk, and Shropshire, on which he was to lay out by gift and bequest the great sum of £5,695.¹ Among these charitable interests was the endowment of a free grammar school at Maidstone and one at his birthplace in nearby Sutton Valence.

As early as 1550 the burghers of Maidstone had wished to found a grammar school, in that year securing a charter empowering them to erect a school and to hold lands worth £10 p.a. for its support. In consideration of the sum of £205 4s., a house and certain other properties of a recently expropriated fraternity were purchased by local subscription, as the initial endowment for the projected institution. There is, however, no certain evidence that the school was founded much before 1561, when Archbishop Parker's visitation mentions a school for whose administration the town government was responsible and whose annual income of £9 6s. 8d. was not quite sufficient to pay the stipend of £10 p.a. to the master. The limited endowment of the school was greatly strengthened in 1574 when William Lambe vested a rent-charge of £10 p.a., the title of which was to be conveyed to the town on his death, with the stipulation that an usher be employed at £6 13s. 4d. p.a. and that the salary of the master be increased to £13 6s. 8d. p.a.² We have observed that the school was further and certainly greatly assisted in 1618 by the considerable benefaction of Robert Gunsley, providing scholarships for its former members at Oxford on even terms with nominees from the Rochester Grammar School.³ An even more substantial augmentation of the resources came in 1649 under the will of a physician, John Davy, who left the school lands with a capital worth of £400, almost doubling its endowment and establishing the foundation as one of the well-endowed schools of the county.⁴

But Lambe's greater interest was in the founding of the grammar

¹ Fuller comment on Lambe's career and charities will be found in Jordan, *Charities of London*, 99, 142, 177, 204, 228, 384.

² *PP* 1819, X-A, 127; *Records of Maidstone*, 29, 54; Russell, *Maidstone*, 173.

³ *Vide ante*, 23, 73.

⁴ *PCC* 85 Fairfax 1649; *PP* 1819, X-A, 128; *Records of Maidstone*, 116-117, 121; Newton, William, *History of Maidstone* (L., 1741), 86; *Alum. cantab.*, I, ii, 14. A native of Norwich, Davy had been educated at Cambridge and had been licensed as a doctor in 1609. He settled in Maidstone some little time prior to 1645, when the town records suggest that "Mr. John Davy, phisitian, useth the trade or mistery of an apothecary within this towne, and hath for many yeares last past soe done to the detriment of other the inhabitants of the like mistery". The matter was settled when Davy paid what amounted to a licence fee of £10, the town authorities then ordering that "Mr. Davy shall and may continue his employment as hee now doth at his pleasure with his owne apothecary in his house for the particuler practice of the said Mr. Davy".

school in the village of Sutton Valence. In 1576 he secured a charter for the founding of "The Free Grammar School of William Lambe" for the education of boys and youths in grammar, with the provision that the master and warden of the Clothworkers' Company should serve the school as governors and trustees on his death. Lambe built the school at an estimated cost of £200 and shortly afterwards vested in his company a rent-charge of £30 p.a. on lands in Kent for its endowment and for the payment of stipends of £20 to the master and £10 to the usher. These funds were subsequently augmented by the gift of property then worth £10 p.a., from which the Clothworkers were to receive £4 for an annual visitation of the school. At about the same time, as we have seen, Lambe built well-endowed almshouses in Sutton Valence.¹

In the early sixteenth century there had been a chantry school at Sandwich for at least a brief season, but this prosperous and important town had no grammar school until 1563, when Sir Roger Manwood, a member of a prominent merchant family of that place, interested himself in the need. Manwood, whose later provision for a heavily endowed almshouse has already been noted,² was encouraged by his friend Archbishop Parker, who assisted in securing the royal licence and who rode over on a particularly rainy morning from his house at Bekesbourne to inspect the site. Manwood committed himself to the ultimate endowment of the school and assisted personally in raising £286 7s. 2d. by local subscription as the first capital for the foundation.³ The great and widespread interest in the proposal is demonstrated by the fact that 225 persons made voluntary contributions, the largest gift being £20 from Simon Lynch, one of the jurats, and the more typical being the £9 9s. 6d. given by twenty persons in the first ward, or an average of 9s. 4d. from each subscriber. By deeds executed in 1566 and in 1570 Manwood granted to the mayor and jurats of Sandwich as governors of his school lands then possessing an estimated capital worth of £440 as further endowment. His continuing interest in the institution is evidenced by the will of Joan Trappes, a London widow, who named him as executor of her estate and who in 1563 bequeathed to Lincoln College, Oxford, lands worth £11 6s. 8d. p.a. for four scholars, of whom two should be nominated by the governors of Sandwich School.⁴ In 1570 Manwood's own brother, Thomas, a

¹ PCC 19 Arundell 1580; *PP* 1819, X-A, 147, App., 228; *PP* 1822, IX, 219; *DNB*. *Vide ante*, 40.

² *Vide ante*, 42.

³ Baker, Oscar. *History of the antiquities of Sandwich* (L., 1848), 81; Boys, *Sandwich*, 199.

⁴ In 1581 a second distribution was made under this will by which four scholarships were established in Caius College, Cambridge, with a then value of £11 6s. 8d. p.a. for the benefit of as many scholars from the Sandwich School (Boys, *Sandwich*, 202). *Vide post*, 91-92, for a fuller discussion of the Trappes scholarships.

former mayor, subscribed £10 p.a. to the endowment, which he apparently paid out of income during his lifetime. By will he settled lands worth £200 to fund the endowment "for the better maintenance and sustentation" of the school.¹ A local jurat and merchant, Thomas Thompson, bequeathed property of a value of about £8 p.a. to the endowment of the institution in 1570, with the provision that the stipends of the master and usher be increased.²

In 1580 Manwood, who had until then managed almost every detail of the school's existence, drew up statutes for its further governance that it might "perpetually . . . endure and remaine for the bringing upp of yowth in vertewe and learnynge". He desired the master to be chosen if possible from Lincoln College and to be of the degree of master of arts, while the usher should be appointed by the master. The master should receive £20 p.a. for his stipend and the usher £10 p.a. All students drawn from Sandwich were to be taught without charge, while scholars from other towns were to be assessed according to "the childe and habilitie of his parentes", as should be determined by the mayor and jurats. The master and usher were permitted to offer board and lodging to eighteen such outside students. A sternly classical curriculum was laid out in detail, with, however, the injunction that in the founder's view "during a schollers remayninge in the grammer schole, he should learne but a fewe bookes in lattiin, and in greek correspondent to them, and not to be suffered to rove in many awthors, but that fewe should be learned most perfectlie, and then he maie after with better judgement reade as many as he lyste".³ Manwood's interest in later life turned to the founding of his almshouse at Hackington, and no further assistance was provided for the school under the terms of his will proved in 1592. In 1640, however, Edmund Parbo, a London lawyer who had settled in Sandwich, left an annuity of £4 as an augmentation of the master's salary and of £5 to Lincoln College, Oxford, for the increase of the stipends of the scholars sent there from Sandwich School, though this bequest seems never to have been incorporated into the endowment of the school.⁴

¹ PCC 32 Lyon 1570; *PP* 1819, X-A, 213; Boys, *Sandwich*, 201-202, 842. Thomas Manwood and his brother John were the principal local supporters of the school founded by their brother.

² PCC 2 Holney 1570; *PP* 1819, X-A, 137, 213; Boys, *Sandwich*, 206, 208, 223, 252. All traces of this estate, of which Sir Roger was executor, have been lost, but it seems probable that it became merged in the general endowment of the school.

³ For a full account of the statutes, *vide* Boys, *Sandwich*, 222-232.

⁴ K.A.O. : PRC, A. 1484 (70/130), 1640; *PP* 1819, X-A, 138; Boys, *Sandwich*, 204-205, 251-252. The bequests seem to have been withheld by the heirs. Parbo also left £1 p.a. for the annual entertainment of the mayor and jurats, £39 6s. for the relief of the poor of the town, £20 towards the building of St. Peter's steeple, £10 for new pipes for the town's water supply, and £10 for a loan fund for linen and woollen drapers and tailors.

The school at Biddenden was founded by a gentle family of the community, the Maynes, who had been seated there as lords of the manor since the reign of Edward III. It is possible that a school was begun in the town by William Mayne in 1522, but if so neither building nor endowment survived when in 1566 John Mayne by will provided the grounds and approximately £100 for the building of a suitable schoolhouse. He named twenty substantial parishioners as trustees and vested in them rents with a capital value of £400 which were to be employed for the payment of a salary of £13 6s. 8d. to a master and £6 13s. 4d. to an usher. The curriculum was to be that appropriate to a grammar school, the master being enjoined to speak only Latin to his students, while tuition was to remain free for the youth of the parish. At the same time, provision was made for the reception of twelve boarding students from the surrounding countryside, who were to be charged no more than modest and appropriate fees.¹

At Cranbrook, as at Maidstone and several other Kentish communities, the founding and endowment of a school required many years before the aspirations of the original benefactor could be carried into full effect. In 1518 John Blewbury, Yeoman of the King's Armoury, died leaving his "chief mansion place" to his wife during her lifetime and then to the unborn child of his daughter "yf it be a man childe". If, as was apparently to be the case, his grandchild was a girl, Blewbury left his mansion house and the residue of his lands to William Lynch, as executor, "to founde a frescole howse for all the pour children of the towne of Cranbroke" on the death of his widow.² William Lynch died in 1539,³ presumably before Blewbury's widow, leaving as his heir a son, Simon Lynch, to whom the Blewbury bequest passed at an uncertain date. In 1564 Lynch conveyed to trustees for the endowment of the school certain houses and 160 acres of lands, most of which, it seems certain, had originally been part of the Blewbury bequest. A decade later, in 1576, the school was at last founded as a free grammar school whose administration, under the terms of the letters patent, was vested in the vicar of the parish and from six to twelve freeholders of the community. Lynch, who though a native of Cranbrook was a London grocer, in 1577 by deed conveyed land in

¹ PCC 26 Crymes 1566 ; PP 1819, X-A, 86 ; PP 1908, LXXVIII, 16 ; Kilburne, Richard, *A Topographie of Kent* (L., 1659), 27 ; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 131, 139, 210 ; Harleian MSS., 368, 15.

² PCC 6 Ayloff 1517 ; *Arch. Cant.*, XXXVI (1923), 127. Blewbury was living in Cranbrook in 1507 and was probably one of several of Henry VII's servants exempted from Henry VIII's general pardon in 1509. He was imprisoned for a short time "for misdemeanours in the late reign", but won back favour, since his name appears as "Clerke of the King's Armoury" at Greenwich from 1511 to 1513. He was likewise employed as an agent for the purchase of military supplies in Antwerp in 1511.

³ PCC 34 Dyngeley 1539.

THE STRUCTURE OF ASPIRATIONS

Cranbrook, valued at £44, which it seems reasonably certain was employed by the trustees as the site of the school. The early financial history of the institution is difficult to reconstruct, but it is likely that the endowments available to it in 1580 were of the order of £900 capital value.¹

The classical curriculum proposed for the new grammar school apparently did not seem to at least one inhabitant of Cranbrook sufficient for the whole of the educational needs of the community. We have already commented on the substantial and certainly imaginative provisions made by Alexander Dence in 1574 for an almshouse in the parish as well as for the furtherance of various interesting municipal improvements. At the same time, Dence arranged for the perpetuation of an English writing school which he had built in the churchyard for the teaching of the poor children of Cranbrook town and parish "in reading, writing, and common arithmetic". Dence left property valued at £160 as endowment for the school, constituting the churchwardens as trustees. The institution was carried on successfully, complementing the work of the grammar school, until 1877, when its assets, and functions, were merged with those of the slightly older grammar school.²

Just two years after Dence's foundation at Cranbrook, a grammar school was established in Dartford by three local citizens, two of whom were gentry of the community. In 1576 William Vaughan, Edward Gwyn, and William Death, who had built a corn market for the use of the town, conveyed certain property to twenty-eight substantial men of the parish as trustees to constitute an endowment for a school, to be kept in a large room over the corn market. Somewhat later these properties appear to have possessed a capital value of about £415. Some years later a yeoman of the parish, William Stanley, left £5 for the repair of the school and the market house. The school was successfully and continuously held for about a century, though in 1678 a commission of enquiry was necessary to recover the endowments and to ensure the continuance of a school which had never gained really sufficient support.³

The first period of foundations ends with the establishment of the Dartford School in 1576. Very great progress had been made in the

¹ PCC 23, 46 Rutland 1588; PP 1819, X-A, 94-95; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 108.

² *Vide ante*, 39, 61-62.

³ PP 1819, X-B, 21; PP 1837, XXIII, 492; Dunkin, *Dartford*, 220, 300, 410; Hasted, *Kent*, II, 308, 318; Keyes, *Dartford*, I, 247, II, 161; Thorpe, *Customale*, 53. Vaughan, a Gentleman of the Wardrobe to Henry VIII, had in 1536 obtained a grant of the manor of Bignors. Gwyn was a London mercer. Death was lord of the manor of Charles in Dartford and built a new mansion house in High Street, Dartford. Vaughan in 1569 had given a new house and grounds, valued at £105, to the town, the income to be distributed to the poor by the overseers at their discretion.

creation of a system of endowed secondary education by that date. There were now fifteen endowed schools available for ambitious boys in all parts of Kent, most of which, it is important to note, had facilities as well for boarding students from the county at large. Eight of these foundations had been given in the generation since the Reformation, while four of the older schools had in this same period received important augmentations of their earlier and inadequate resources. There followed a breathing space, as it were, of a full generation, in which only four schools were established. During these years, as we have noted, the interest of the county was principally in the needs of the poor and in that remarkable concentration on the building and endowing of almshouses which resulted in the founding of sixteen of these institutions in all parts of Kent during the relatively brief interval, 1572-1605.

A small school was, however, built and an endowment provided by Sir Thomas Sondes of Throwley in 1592. Sondes' will stipulated that a house should be made available for the residence of the master by his executor and charged his estate with a rent of £6 p.a. for the free instruction of poor youths of the community.¹ The free school in Gravesend and Milton seems to have been established just two years later when an almshouse, given to the town in 1580 by Anne and Edward Lawrence, was converted into a schoolhouse and a master appointed to teach the children of that place. No endowment, so far as our records go, was attracted to this institution during the course of our period, but it seems to have been continued and maintained by direct taxation.² A much more substantial foundation was provided for the parish of Benenden in 1602 by Edward Gibbon, a member of a family of rich clothiers long seated in that parish. Gibbon built a school some years before his death at a charge of about £50 and presumably paid the master's stipend until his gift secured the endowment in 1602. By indenture, Gibbon conveyed to feoffees lands and woods in the parish comprising in all sixty acres and valued at approximately £350, the income of which was to be employed in perpetuity for the payment of a schoolmaster and the maintenance of the free school.³ As we have already noted, an extraordinarily interesting foundation was created at New Romney in 1610 by John Southland, which com-

¹ PCC 12 Nevell 1592; Hasted, *Kent*, VI, 451, 457. *Vide post*, 108, 113. Sondes was the eldest son of Anthony Sondes, Esq., and Joan, daughter of the great lawyer, Sir John Fineux. He left as well £100 for funeral sermons, two each year, to be preached for twelve years; £6 for church repairs; and £39 for doles to the poor of Throwley and thirteen other parishes, including two in Middlesex and two in Surrey.

² Cruden, *Gravesend*, 222. The son of John Chandler, "minister and school master of the Free School of Milton", died in 1643 (Pocock, *Gravesend*, 109).

³ *PP* 1819, X-A, 85; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 181, 187; Jessup, *Kent*, 96.

bined an almshouse and a free English school for poor children, to be taught by a schoolmaster of impressive qualifications.¹

These small foundations appear to constitute the whole of the additions made during a generation to the schools of the county, though most substantial capital was provided for older institutions and, as we shall observe, three schools were founded with Kentish funds in other counties.

In 1626 the second great period of foundations began with the provision in the will of John Proude, a yeoman of Ash (next Sandwich), that his executors should erect a building suitable for use as a schoolhouse and a place for the laying up of stores for the poor. No endowment was supplied for this school, though Proude left an annuity to pay for the distribution of one chaldron of coal each year to the poor of the parish. There was, however, lively local enthusiasm for the educational aspirations that had moved Proude, since in 1629 pressure was brought to bear on his son and executor to carry forward the provisions of the father's will.² More careful arrangements were made in 1632 by Francis Tresse, a gentleman of West Malling, for the school he wished to found in that parish. He named as trustees the local clergyman and four principal freeholders, to whom he conveyed land valued at £10 as the site for a schoolhouse and £40 for the building of a free school, together with a small annuity of 13s. 4d. to ensure its proper maintenance. In this case, too, no endowment was provided, the charges being met presumably by student fees and possibly by local taxation.³

A former merchant and mayor of Canterbury, Thomas Paramore, who had retired to his manor of Downe Barton in St. Nicholas at Wade, which he had purchased in about 1632, founded a school for that parish, as well as for nearby Monkton, under the terms of his will proved in 1636. A house was provided for the school and the residence of the master, together with an annuity of £6 for his salary, and additional capital valued in all at about £80 was vested as endowment. The master was required to take ten poor boys from the two favoured parishes for instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, while additional students might be admitted under terms to be arranged with the trustees of the institution.⁴

The generous and enlightened Sedley family, a few years later

¹ *Vide ante*, 47.

² *Home Counties Magazine*, IV (1902), 60; Planche, J. R., *Ash-next-Sandwich* (L., 1864), 127; Hasted, *Kent*, IX, 219.

³ PCC 95 Audley 1632; *PP* 1819, X-A, 130; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 373; *PP* 1908, LXXVIII, 182; Hasted, *Kent*, IV, 527. The date of this foundation is 1632, though certain of the sources cited give it variously as 1623, 1625, and 1693.

⁴ *PP* 1819, X-A, 131; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 273; Hasted, *Kent*, X, 239, 242, 287, XI, 201. Paramore also left £100 to the mayor and aldermen of Canterbury to be used as a fund for loans to poor shopkeepers.

(1638), provided an adequately endowed school for Southfleet, as well as founding a grammar school at Wymondham, Leicestershire.¹ Sir John Sedley by his will proved in 1638 directed that his wife and executrix should employ £400 from his personal estate for establishing a school for the inhabitants of Southfleet.² Sedley's daughter, Elizabeth, died in the next year, leaving a bequest of £500 "to the setting up of a school which her father gave a legacy towards", but it seems probable that only £100 of this amount was employed for the erection of the building and that no more than a total of £400 was in fact laid out for the purchase of lands, then yielding £27 15s. p.a., which were settled as endowment on the trustees of the institution.³ Dame Elizabeth Sedley, the widow of the founder, on her death in 1649 left an additional £100 towards the endowment of the school and an equal amount for the augmentation of the capital of the school in Wymondham.⁴

Another old and well-known gentle family of the county, the Knatchbulls, established an equally well-endowed grammar school at Ashford in the same year. Sir Norton Knatchbull had during his lifetime built a schoolhouse and other buildings in a convenient situation in Ashford and had as early as 1636 employed a master to begin instruction at his personal charge. His nephew and heir, of the same name, in 1638, in accordance with Sir Norton's will, conveyed by deed to trustees not only the school premises but lands with a presumed value of £30 p.a. for the support of the master and the maintenance of the school, to which he many years later added more lands in order to ensure an income of this amount.⁵ Probably in this same year (1638) a meagrely endowed school was founded at Yalding with legacies totalling £200 left to the town by Julian Kenward⁶ and two brothers of Kingston-upon-Thames (Surrey), Thomas and John Tiffin. Half this endowment was to be employed for the relief of poor persons of the parish not then requiring

¹ The latter school was founded by Sir John Sedley in 1637 with an endowment of £400 (*PP* 1839, XV, 456). This bequest is not included in the grammar-school totals for Kent.

² PCC 130 Lee 1638; Burke, *Extinct Baronetcies*, 482; *PP* 1819, X-B, 26. Sir John was the son of William Sedley (*vide ante*, 24 n., and *post*, 96). His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen Darrell, Esq., and widow of Henry, Lord Abergavenny.

³ PCC 154 Harvey 1639.

⁴ PCC 146 Fairfax 1649; *PP* 1819, X-B, 26-27. She was the daughter and heir of Sir Henry Savile, the founder of the professorships at Oxford. A great-grandson, Sir Charles, in 1727 left an additional £400 to the endowments of the schools at Southfleet and Wymondham.

⁵ *PP* 1819, X-A, 81; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 538, 596; Pearman, A. J., *History of Ashford* (Ashford, 1868), 71; *DNB*. Sir Norton was a descendant of Richard Knatchbull, who had purchased a manor in Mersham in the late fifteenth century. The nephew served in Parliament for his county and was accounted a man of great ability and considerable learning.

⁶ *Vide ante*, 25.

alms, and the remainder, yielding only £5 p.a., was to be used to employ a teacher to give instruction to poor children in reading, writing, and accounts. Land was purchased with these funds in 1641, when proper arrangements were made for the trusteeship, but it seems probable that the institution had been begun about 1638.¹

The outbreak of the Civil War by no means lessened the interest of benefactors in the foundation of grammar schools, though in several instances their intentions were either frustrated or delayed because of the political and economic dislocations of the period of the Puritan Revolution. Thus in 1643 a merchant and jurat of Dover, Daniel Porten, bequeathed £10 to the town for the building of a free school, though there is no evidence that any action was taken in this regard prior to 1660.² In 1643 also a London merchant, John Roan, devised, subject to two lives, extensive properties in East Greenwich, which some years later possessed a capital value of £1,900, to the vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor of East Greenwich upon trust. The trustees were required to found a school in which town-born poor children should receive free instruction, each student to have as well an allowance of £2 p.a. towards his clothing, so far as the income of the trust would permit. The estate fell in to the trustees at an uncertain date and was augmented by the gift of £100 by Sir William Hooker, a London grocer, for the building of the free school. There was delay, however, until long after our period, when in 1677 a commission of charitable uses ordered the trust put into full effect by the feoffees.³ A school was provided for Staplehurst in 1651 under the will of Lancelot Bathurst, Esq., who left to trustees £150 as an endowment for a school in which the poor children of the parish might be taught reading and writing and be instructed in "their duty towards God and man". A few years later (1656) a subscription was taken by which an additional £40 was raised in the parish as endowment, the whole of the income being used for the salary of the schoolmaster.⁴

Several earlier dates for the foundation of the grammar school at Lewisham have been advanced, but its opening in 1652 under the firm hand of that imperious yet generous clergyman, Abraham Colfe, who was to endow it so splendidly, may be taken as the most reliable. One of Colfe's Elizabethan predecessors as Vicar of Lewisham, John Glyn, had almost a century earlier (1568) bequeathed £100 "for the findinge and maintenance of a free scole in Lewsham for the profite and bringing

¹ Hasted, *Kent*, V, 168; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 403; PCC 95 Lee (Thomas Tiffin); PCC 1640, will [not reg'd] pr. January 30, 1639/1640 (John Tiffin). The Tiffins made almost precisely similar provisions for Kingston by their wills.

² K.A.O. : CCC 306, 1643.

³ PCC 50 Rivers 1645; *PP* 1819, X-A, 112; Kimbell, *Greenwich Legacies*, 74; Hasted, *Kent*, I, 411.

⁴ PCC 70 Grey 1651; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 127; *PP* 1819, X-A, 145; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 400.

uppe in learninge of the children of the saide parische", and in 1574 an attempt was made to carry out the terms of the legacy when a royal charter was obtained for the founding of a free grammar school. Twenty governors, including Sir Roger Manwood, were appointed and an elaborate constitution was provided, but the slender endowment in hand, £11 11s. 8d. of which had been consumed in procuring the charter, proved quite insufficient to the need. There was evidently considerable interest in the undertaking, since John Kenworth of Lewisham left £1 towards the building of the school in 1574, while in 1581 a London saddler, David ap Thomas, bequeathed £5 to the still halting enterprise. In 1613 only one of the original governors was still alive, and he perpetuated the charter and feoffment by naming nineteen additional governors, including Abraham Colfe, with the clear indication that the school was at that date no more than a legal fiction.¹

Colfe, whose remarkable charitable contributions have already been discussed, began to exhibit great interest in the need for the school in about 1629, when he commenced to purchase lands from his meagre income as the nucleus for the endowment of his charitable trust. One of his parishioners, George Edmonds, in 1640 left £25 to Colfe and his churchwardens to be employed as endowment towards the free teaching of the sons of the poorest men of the parish.² But Colfe's plans were delayed by the slow accumulation of the endowment which he was constituting with the Leathersellers' Company from his own savings and speculative profits. In 1650, however, he proceeded with the building of an elementary reading and writing school on a site near the parish church and of a grammar school designed to serve the entire hundred of Blackheath, on common lands just outside the town. The schools were opened in 1652, just a few years before the death of their indomitable founder on December 5th, 1657.

Colfe's design for his school was extraordinarily well considered and, as the Leathersellers were to discover, capacious in relation to the endowment provided. The grammar school was to offer free tuition to thirty-one boys chosen from the various parishes of Blackheath Hundred, all being sons of poor men "and of good wit and capacity, and apt to learn". In addition, sons of yeomen were to be admitted at a charge of 8s. a quarter, whereas sons of gentlemen were to be charged 10s. The master might also admit twenty-six boarders in the house provided for his lodging. The master, whose stipend was to be £30 p.a., with £3 p.a. for supplies, must be a learned scholar able to offer instruction in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew and to prepare boys for the university. The usher, whose salary was set at £20 p.a.,

¹ Duncan, *Colfe's Grammar School*, 26-36 ; (Glyn) PCC 2 Sheffield 1568 ; (Kenworth) PCC 1 Pyckering 1574 ; (ap Thomas) PCC 11 Darcy 1581.

² Thorpe, *Custumale*, 57 ; Duncan, *Colfe's Grammar School*, 40.

should be proficient in Latin and Greek and also competent to instruct boys in arithmetic and bookkeeping. Finally, a writing master should be employed, with a salary of £11 p.a., to teach writing and train in the keeping of mercantile accounts those boys not destined for the university. Lilly's Latin grammar and Camden's Greek grammar were to be used and instruction was to follow the tested methods of Westminster, St. Paul's, Eton, and the Merchant Taylors' School. Colfe's will further provided for a library in his grammar school, open to the community, to which he left £5 outright and the proceeds of the sale of his own books, as well as £1 p.a. for the purchase of "one or two books in folio" and 12s. p.a. for the chaining and care of the books and for the costs of heating. Finally, Colfe's will provided £70 p.a. for the founding of seven exhibitions at either Oxford or Cambridge with an indicated preference for poor boys from Lewisham, and, that failing, from the Leathersellers' Company, from Christchurch parish in Canterbury, or from Christ's Hospital, London. In all, the endowments required for the two schools amounted to a capital worth of £1,312, this obligation having been honoured by the Leathersellers as trustees despite the fact that the estate did not prove to be sufficient. The exhibitions themselves likewise required a capital of at least £1,400, an extremely generous outlay which was in point of fact simply unsupported by Colfe's estate, though they too were borne by the Leathersellers, at least in part, until 1757. But though this admirable man may have strained the resources of his painfully won fortune, he had by no means taxed the limitless resources of his charity. One has, even three centuries removed, the feeling of nobility and greatness in this man and all his works.¹

Another clergyman, John Smith of Wickhambreaux, having been moved by the sight of a book entitled *Vox populi*,² in 1656 built a school and established its endowment. Some years earlier, in 1633, he had given evidence of his deep interest in education by endowing a scholarship at Lincoln College, Oxford.³ In the deed of gift establishing his school, Smith indicates that he had previously built the schoolhouse on his own land, which he conveyed to feoffees together with a dwelling for the master and certain other properties, worth not more than £30, for the maintenance of the institution. No provision was made for the endowment of the school, which was to offer free instruction to poor youths of the parish, but the institution carried on its work until well into the nineteenth century, doubtless supported by income gifts and

¹ *Vide ante*, 30, 53.

² This must refer to Thomas Scot's violently anti-Catholic tract published in 1620. Scot, one of the ablest of all propagandists, levied a sustained and a remarkably successful campaign, employing every device known to modern propaganda, against the Spanish marriage policy of James I.

³ *Vide post*, 94.

fees.¹ Still another clergyman, of unalloyed Calvinistic persuasion, founded a school at Smarden in the next year. Freegift Tilden, "preacher of the worde of God" and minister to a Calvinistic Baptist church, in 1657 vested in ten trustees of his faith lands with a capital worth of £600 for the endowment of a writing school for children of the congregation, and, if Hasted is not in error, he also founded another with an endowment of £20 p.a. in the nearby parish of High Halden.²

In addition to the long list of schools founded in Kent, we must mention at least briefly a number of grammar schools established in other counties either by Kentish wealth or by men who may be regarded as of the county at the time of their death. We have already had occasion to note the founding by the Sedleys of a school in Leicestershire, in so many ways identical with their school in Southfleet.³ With some hesitation we have likewise included Archbishop Grindal's foundation of a grammar school at his birthplace, St. Bees, in Cumberland, on which he had expended £100 and to which he left £600 for endowment in 1583.⁴ Sir William Selby, of Ightham Mote, on his death in 1612 provided that a messuage and garden in Berwick-upon-Tweed, valued at £100, should be conveyed to the mayor and bailiffs of that place to be used as a free school, though there were legal and other difficulties which prevented its establishment prior to 1634.⁵ A few years later Sir William's nephew and heir, of the same name, died, leaving to Berwick-upon-Tweed the remainder of a pension due from the Crown, which he estimated as worth £4,000, for the building of a church and for the endowment of the school, of which not more than £1,500 was ever applied towards the school to whose foundation the Selbys had set themselves so tenaciously.⁶ Towards the close of our period Sir Francis Nethersole, by an indenture dated 1655, founded a

¹ PP 1819, X-A, App., 247; PP 1837, XXIII, 225, 280, 320; *Alum. oxon.*, IV, 1374; Wood, Antony (John Gutch, ed.), *History of the Colleges and Halls in Oxford* (Oxford, 1786), 240.

² PCC 91 Laud 1662; Hasted, *Kent*, VII, 225, 479. Hasted suggests that both schools were functioning as late as his time. He also says that there was still in the late eighteenth century a Calvinistic Baptist church at Smarden, though, somewhat typically of this most formidable sect, the clergyman and his congregation were at variance.

³ *Vide ante*, 84.

⁴ PCC 39 Rowe 1583; *DNB*; Strype, John, *Life and Acts of Edmund Grindal* (Oxford, 1821), 420-422, 427. Possibly illogically, the other great charities of the archbishops of our period, and this means in effect Warham, Parker, Whitgift, and Abbot, have been credited in Kent only if the charity was vested there, since all these men retained or developed strong local roots, a fact which suggests that their benefactions should be counted in the county where the "specific gravity" of their attachment seemed to be. Archbishops, like nobles, are difficult to fit into any statistical framework.

⁵ PCC 18 Fenner 1612; *Misc. gen. et her.*, I (1868), 15; Hasted, *Kent*, V, 42; Scott, John, *Berwick-upon-Tweed* (L., 1888), 392; PP 1830, XII, 507.

⁶ PCC 15 Lee 1638; *Misc. gen. et her.*, I (1868), 21; *Arch. Cant.*, XXVII (1905), 30; Harrison, E. W., *Ightham Church* ([Ightham], 1932), 8, 29. *Vide post*, 121.

school at Polesworth, Warwickshire, his wife's birthplace, which he endowed with a capital sum of at least £700. He had earlier erected a large stone school building there, at a cost of about £150, and now stipulated that a schoolmaster, with a salary of £20 p.a., and a schoolmistress, with £10 p.a., should be employed to teach both boys and girls. The boys were first to be taught to read and write English and the girls to read and work with needles, while both were to be instructed in the principles of Christianity. A curriculum in Greek and Latin was to be provided for the more advanced students, but not for more than six at any one time. The governors were enjoined to offer free instruction to all qualified students from the parishes of Polesworth and Warton.¹

There were towards the close of our period at least thirty-one schools in Kent, only three of which did not by 1660 have at least a modest endowment. Of the total number, twenty-eight had been founded and endowed between 1480 and 1660. At the same time the three medieval foundations had either been reorganized or the endowments substantially augmented.² It is, then, fair to say that the whole structure of secondary education in Kent was the creation of this remarkable period. In all, the great sum of £28,308 18s. had been provided by private charity for the foundation, the endowment, and the support of this great undertaking whereby widespread and cheap education was made available for any gifted and enterprising boy in the county. The group of thirty-one schools which we have treated in some little detail had been vested with endowments totalling £18,478 11s., it being recalled that the expropriated capital of £4,600 with which the King's School at Canterbury was endowed has not been included in this sum. In addition, the substantial sum of £3,450 was provided for foundations in other parts of the realm by Kentish donors who were evangelical in their enthusiasm. The remaining £6,380 7s. was given for the erection and maintenance of buildings, the augmentation of existing endowments, for schools which never got themselves established because the initial gift or legacy was too small, or for the direct support of existing schools as gifts to income.

The schools of Kent at the close of our period were remarkably well scattered across the face of the county and most of them by tradition, if not always by the terms of the deeds of gift, admitted students from the surrounding countryside. The magnitude of the accomplish-

¹ PCC 22 Laud 1662; *Misc. gen. et her.*, ser. 5, IX (1937), 178; *PP* 1835, XXI, ii, 1126; *DNB*. Nethersole, a fellow and tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, was knighted in 1619. He was a zealous supporter of the Electress Elizabeth, whose secretary he had been. Nethersole took no active part in the civil wars, being best remembered for several political pamphlets in which he advocated peace. He died in 1659.

² The chantry school at Higham had not survived.

ment of the benefactors of our period is suggested when we reflect that in 1660 there was a school to every fifty square miles of area in the county of Kent, as compared, for example, with one to every seventy-three square miles in the likewise prosperous and forward-looking county of Norfolk. Save for a region with Folkestone as a centre, there was no point in the county more than nine miles distant from a grammar school or a writing school. And, fittingly enough, it so happened that Folkestone's most distinguished son, the great Dr. William Harvey, on his death in 1657 left £200 to the town, which was to be employed not many years later (1674), with certain other funds, for the foundation and endowment of a grammar school for that somewhat neglected corner of Kent.¹

These foundations were of all sorts, and they ranged in size from the struggling and unendowed institutions we have noted to the great foundations at Canterbury, Tonbridge, and Lewisham. Ten of them possessed really comfortable endowments of £800 or more, while another ten, or just possibly eleven, in relation to their size and communities, were likewise probably adequately endowed for the tasks in hand. No considerable market town in the county was without a school at the close of our period, and, as we have observed, more than a third of these foundations were situated in thinly populated rural areas where they afforded opportunity and hope to regions which might all too easily have become culturally derelict.

This great accomplishment was the work of many men and attests to the generosity of all classes of the society save the very lowest. Restricting our analysis to these thirty-one Kentish schools and to the £18,478 11s. poured into their endowments, we can perhaps discover the socially and culturally dominant classes of the period and assess the origins of the dynamic forces which were moulding not only Kent but England as well. The founders, as well as the benefactors who added substantially to older and insufficient endowments, were, with few exceptions, drawn either from the merchant aristocracy or from the gentry. In all, fourteen of these men were merchants, seven of the lower gentry, and three of the upper gentry. Five in all, it is pleasant to note, were members of the lower clergy. The Crown was responsible for the substantial endowment of two schools; a municipality, employing the taxing power, for one; a yeoman for another; and the professional classes for two. When these foundations are analysed in terms of the ultimate sanction of the amount of the contribution, very interesting conclusions are at once apparent. The merchant founders and donors gave in all £9,754 towards these endowments, or nearly half the total. But almost the whole of this large amount, the exact sum being £8,534, was the gift of London merchants. It is

¹ PCC 270 Pell 1659; Hasted, *Kent*, VIII, 177; *PP* 1819, X-A, 106, App., 159.

here that we find the mainspring of the powerful and beneficent force which was creating a new culture in Kent. The total contribution of the gentry, of whom at least three, it should be observed, were only a generation removed from the wharves and trading counters of London, totalled £3,111; that of the lower clergy just slightly more, £3,202. The remaining £2,411 11s.¹ was the gift of all the other classes of men who had joined in this noble and enduring effort.

Nor was the foundation and the endowment of these numerous schools by any means the whole of Kent's contribution to the advancement of education in the course of our period. In all, benefactors of the county gave the very large total of £10,648 13s. for scholarships and fellowships, in most cases vested in the universities, but with an indicated preference for or restriction to scholars from the schools of the county. This sum represents 4·23 per cent. of all the charities of the county and is in absolute amount at least slightly larger than the funds given for this purpose in any of the other counties included in this study save Yorkshire and, of course, London. Since almost the whole (98·26 per cent.) of this generous total was in the form of endowments, something like £523 3s. 4d. p.a. must have been available for the various exhibitions created by benefactors in our period. In fact, we may say that the donors had specified that these stipends were to be available for sixty-eight scholars or fellows, the range of the emoluments being from £2 13s. 4d. p.a. to £20 p.a.

We have regarded it as appropriate to deal with a number of these foundations in the course of discussing the schools to which they were so frequently attached by the deed of gift. The whole structure of these endowments was conceived as strengthening the schools of the county and providing avenues to secure the future education of boys of great promise in the schools and afterwards in the universities. But others remain which should be at least briefly noted. Thus in 1530 John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, founded, with Kentish properties as endowment, four fellowships, two scholarships, and twenty-four trentals each year with stipends of 10s. each for poor scholars, all for the benefit of St. John's College, Cambridge. This great benefaction was endowed with funds valued at £1,200, but, it should be noted, by the terms of the deed of gift only one of the holders must be from Kent.²

We should comment more fully on the interesting foundation made in 1568 by Joan Trappes, the widow of a London goldsmith, a benefactor who was very possibly influenced by the professional eloquence

¹ The Canterbury endowment is wholly excluded from this and all other calculations.

² Lewis, John (T. H. Turner, ed.), *Life of John Fisher* (L., 1855, 2 vols.), II, 46, 272, 287-290, 296-297, 301-302. Fisher's benefactions to his university will be noted in later pages (*vide post*, 95). A portion of this endowment was confiscated after Fisher's execution.

of her executor, Sir Roger Manwood. Two foundations were created from the residue of her estate, each with a capital value of £227. The first was vested in Lincoln College, Oxford, for the creation of four scholarships in that college, two to be chosen by the rector and fellows at will and the other two to be selected by the governors of Manwood's grammar school at Sandwich, each scholar to be paid a stipend of £2 13s. 4d. p.a. The second foundation was made in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, for four poor scholars with like stipends, while the residue of 13s. 4d. p.a. was directed to the general uses of the college.¹ A much smaller bequest, typical of more than a score which space will not permit us to treat, may likewise be mentioned. In 1574 Elizabeth Dennis, widow of Sir Maurice Dennis of Sutton-at-Hone, left £66 13s. 4d. to be distributed to needy students in the universities.² Though most of Archbishop Parker's great charities were vested in Norfolk and in Lancashire, we have recorded in Kent his foundation of scholarships in Benet College, Trinity College, and Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, which were endowed with capital of £1,160 and two of which were specifically designated for Kentish boys chosen from the King's School in Canterbury.³ A gentleman of Woodchurch, Martin Harlakenden, some years later, in 1585, provided by will £100 in scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge for students who intended to become clergymen, as well as other benefactions totalling £155.⁴

The interest of benefactors of the county in these endowments was

¹ PCC 4 Stevenson 1563; Boys, *Sandwich*, 200-203; Baker, *Sandwich*, 82; Wood, *Colleges and Halls in Oxford* (Gutch, ed.), I, 240; Venn, John, *Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge, 1897-1912, 4 vols.), III, 227-228, IV, ii, 85. *Vide ante*, 78.

This benefactor's daughter, Joyce Frankland, was also a generous donor to the universities (*vide* Jordan, *Charities of London*, 228-229, 257, 263, 264, 402).

Sir Roger Manwood's reputation for rapacity is to a degree confirmed in his handling of this bequest. Caius College maintained that the benefactor had no school preference in mind. Manwood delayed for years in carrying out the terms of the bequest, and then Caius complained, "No lands he will let us have except we would take such barre racked pilled and leasyd land of his owne as he lyst to geve us upon the burned downes in Kent, gayninge and wyning by the bargayne, and suttley deluding us". But that was by no means all. Manwood further extracted from the college an agreement that the scholars were to be selected alternately by the college and himself, and after his death alternately by the college and Sandwich School. Hence the college complained that Manwood had "diverted to Kent what she meant for all England, as all learned men in both laws, common and civil, do say" (Venn, *Gonville and Caius*, III, 227-228).

² PCC 4 Martyn 1574. Dame Elizabeth likewise left gowns for 120 poor at 1s. per yard, £25 for church repair in Sutton-at-Hone and London, £5 in doles for the poor, £9 for prisoners in London and Southwark, and £20 to Christ's Hospital.

³ PCC 39 Pyckering 1575; Strype, John, *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (L., 1711), App., 186; Woodruff, *King's School*, 357; *DNB*.

⁴ PCC 18 Brudenell 1585. Harlakenden left £35 to the clergy of his parish, an endowment of £100 for the relief of the poor of his community, £10 to London hospitals, and £10 to prisoners there. His was one of the oldest of the gentle families of Kent.

by no means confined to the ranks of the rich and the great. Thus in 1593 a Tonbridge yeoman, Thomas Lampard, left property valued at £60 for the support of an exhibition of £2 13s. 4d. p.a. to be held for terms of five years by the poorest scholar preferred out of Tonbridge Grammar School to either university on the nomination of the headmaster but with appointment by the vicar and churchwardens.¹ A former usher of the King's School in Canterbury, Robert Rose, not only left £100 for the support of poor children in his native city and the residue of his estate, valued at about £200, for general charitable uses, but in 1618 by an indenture conveyed to trustees properties then valued at upwards of £480 for the founding of four scholarships in the school with an annual value of £6 each. The awards were to be made to four of the scholars on the foundation (King's Scholars), who had been so designated for at least two years and who were "fit both for their learning and manners", to help maintain them in either university. Preference was to be shown by his trustees, who included Sir Peter Manwood, four prebendaries of the cathedral clergy, and five aldermen, for boys who had been born in or near Canterbury.² We have previously commented on Robert Gunsley's somewhat similar provision for scholars from the grammar schools of Maidstone and Rochester, established in 1618 with a capital value of £1,200.³

A retired London leatherseller, Robert Holmden, who was a native of Sevenoaks, by the terms of his will, proved in 1620, established a scholarship of £4 p.a. for a student from the Sevenoaks school or, that failing, from Tonbridge, to be used in either university, as well as providing £2 p.a. for the poor of his native town, the same amount for the poor of Edenbridge, £36 in doles for the poor of the thirteen parishes in Kent and Sussex in which he owned land, £2 p.a. for church repairs at Sevenoaks, and £3 p.a. for the same purpose in Edenbridge.⁴ A few years later, in 1624, a gentleman of Canterbury, William Heyman, conveyed to trustees by indenture land with an estimated worth of £300 with the provision that five-sixths of the annual income be used for the maintenance of two scholars in the King's School, Canterbury, with an indicated preference for his own relations or boys bearing

¹ Rivington, *Tonbridge School*, 44 ; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 506 ; Thorpo, *Customale*, 55. Lampard also left to the churchwardens as trustees properties then worth about £60, the income to be distributed for poor relief twice annually.

² *PP* 1837, XXIII, 220, 282 ; Woodruff, *King's School*, 90, 358 ; Hasted, *Kent*, XI, 207 ; *Alum. cantab.*, I, iii, 487. Rose had himself been a King's Scholar at Canterbury and had matriculated at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1567. He was lower master of the King's School from 1572 to 1585. He resided at Bishopsbourne in the later years of his life, where in 1600 he witnessed the will of Richard Hooker. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral in 1620.

³ *Vide ante*, 73.

⁴ *PCC* 5 Soame 1620 ; *PP* 1819, X-A, 142, App., 221 ; *PP* 1824, XIII, 256. Holmden likewise left substantial benefactions in London.

his surname. If no such applicant appeared, then the scholars were to be appointed to the King's School from among poor boys of the parish of Sellinge, they to be aged eight years or more, the tenure to run for a term of nine years with an additional tenure of seven years if a scholar should be admitted to a college at Cambridge and still another term of three years if he should enter holy orders.¹

A determined Puritan clergyman of Wickhambreaux, who was later to found a grammar school in that town, in 1633 created by deed of gift a particularly generous and carefully devised scholarship endowment. John Smith vested in trustees, who included two clergymen, property then possessing a capital value of about £300, the income of which should be used for the maintenance of one scholar in Lincoln College, Oxford, with an annual stipend of £14, as well as £1 p.a. for the general uses of the college. The term of the award was established as eight years, with the provision that the scholarship should be vacated if the holder left college or gained a benefice worth £30 p.a. or more. In this event, the trustees should assemble in the cathedral church of Canterbury to nominate the successor.² Another clergyman, Walter Richards of Dover, by his will proved in 1642 bequeathed to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, lands in and near Dover for the support of two scholars. The income from this endowment, valued at its creation at £380, was to be divided equally and might be held for a term of seven years, with an indicated preference for the donor's kin, sons of members of the Salters' Company, and those educated at Christ's Hospital in London.³ And, finally, we should notice the foundation in 1643 by Henry Robinson, a retired Canterbury merchant, of an endowment of approximately £340 in St. John's College, Cambridge, for two scholarships and two fellowships for natives of the Isle of Thanet who had been prepared for the university at the King's School, Canterbury, or, in default of suitable nominees, natives of the county of Kent at large. It being found that the income was insufficient to support so ambitious a design, a decree of the Court of Chancery

¹ Woodruff, *King's School*, 359; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 222, 431; *Alum. cantab.*, I, i, 364. The remainder of the income, the sixth part, was to be employed for the support of three householders in the parishes of Sellinge and Lympe, the trustees to choose two from the parish most burdened with poor at the time of the selection. Heyman sought to arrange his trust in such wise that no relief would be given which would lessen the responsibility of substantial men of the two parishes for the relief and maintenance of the poor.

² *Vide ante*, 87. Smith in 1638 created a trust with a then capital worth of £100 to provide sermons to be preached in each quarter session before prisoners about to be presented, for their instruction and repentance.

³ K.A.O.: CCC 246, 1642; *Arch. Cant.*, XXXII (1917), 33-35; Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, II, 363; *Alum. cantab.*, I, iii, 450. Richards was graduated from Emmanuel College in 1593. He held a number of livings in and near Dover during his long ministry (1602-1642) and accumulated a considerable estate.

THE STRUCTURE OF ASPIRATIONS

in 1652 ordered the establishment of four scholarships, the other provisions of the deed of gift remaining undisturbed.¹

The scholarship resources of the county, accumulated slowly during the whole course of our period, constituted at its close a strong and immensely fruitful complement to the remarkable structure of grammar-school foundations which private benefactions had created. The great contribution made by Kent to the whole process of education was completed by the substantial amounts given for the augmentation of the endowments and the general uses of the universities during the age under review. In total, £19,097 5s. was provided for this purpose by donors of the age, of which almost the whole amount (99·70 per cent.) was in the form of capital gifts. This sum, representing 7·59 per cent. of all the charities of our period, ranks very well indeed with the amount, if not the proportion, afforded for these purposes in the other counties included in this study.²

In 1512 Sir Thomas Bouchier of Boxley, in fulfilment of a bequest of his late uncle, Archbishop Thomas Bouchier, gave £100 each to the two universities for their general uses. At Cambridge this endowment was apparently employed as a loan fund, a master being permitted to borrow £3, a bachelor £1, and a scholar one mark, on proper security.³ John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whose great scholarship benefaction has already been discussed,⁴ was, of course, the founder of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1511 and gave largely to its endowment, almost wholly from Kentish properties. His total contribution to its funds possessed, in 1545, an annual value of about £124 3s. 8d., or a capital worth of about £2,483, of which, however, only £1,400 has been credited as a charitable benefaction of our period, the remainder being constituted of various parcels from the endowments of dissolved monastic establishments granted by the Crown to Fisher

¹ Howard, H. F., *An Account of Finances of the College of St. John the Evangelist* (Cambridge, 1935), 81, 229, 289; *Alum. cantab.*, I, iii, 469; Woodruff, *King's School*, 362; *PP* 1837, XXIII, 274, 531. Robinson also left £100 to the municipal authorities of Canterbury to be lent at 5 per cent., the income being annually employed to help a young man who had just completed his apprenticeship. He left as well to trustees property then worth £130, for the support of four poor widows of more than sixty years of age.

² The proportions and amounts are as follows for the several counties :

	£	s.	%		£	s.	%
Bristol	3	0	—	London	154,591	5	8·18
Buckinghamshire	6,886	0	7·81	Norfolk	9,408	18	5·29
Hampshire	8,642	0	9·93	Somerset	16,495	12	14·16
Kent	19,097	5	7·59	Worcestershire	40	1	0·08
Lancashire	3,637	10	3·51	Yorkshire	12,393	19	5·09

³ PCC 15 Fetiplace 1512; Nicolas, N. H., *Testamenta Vetusta* (L., 1826, 2 vols.), II, 525; Clark, J. W., ed., *Endowments of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1904), 556.

⁴ *Vide ante*, 91.

for the purposes of this foundation.¹ A few years later, in 1524, the great humanist physician, Thomas Linacre, probably a native of Canterbury, where he had received his early education, vested in trustees Kentish properties for the foundation of three lectureships in medicine, two at Oxford and one at Cambridge. The trustees, who included Sir Thomas More and Bishop Tunstall, for reasons not wholly clear were delayed a full generation in vesting the endowments and then, instead of creating university foundations, assigned the lectureships to Merton College, Oxford, and to St. John's, Cambridge. The original worth of the endowments was £30 p.a., though the stipend assigned to St. John's was imprudently managed and apparently lost.² Archbishop Warham was a steady and an important benefactor of Oxford during the last two decades of his life, expending upwards of £2,000 on the completion of St. Mary's church and the Divinity School as well as leaving valuable books and manuscripts to All Souls and to New College at the time of his death.³

Passing to the early seventeenth century and to the lay donors so typical of that later era, we should note the well-considered educational benefaction of Sir William Sedley, a member of one of the most enlightened and responsible families of the county, which, as we have seen, had already founded a great almshouse in the parish of Aylesford.⁴ Sedley by his will proved in 1619 left £100 each to the university libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as providing an endowment of £2,000 for a new lectureship in natural philosophy at Oxford.⁵

¹ Howard, *Finances of St. John's*, 6, 287-301; Lewis, *Fisher*, I, 53, 160, II, 289, 307-319; Ducarel, *Repertory*, 134; Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, II, 31, 74, 92; *DNB*.

² PCC 36 Bodfelde 1525; *DNB*; Johnson, J. N. (Robert Graves, ed.), *Life of Thomas Linacre* (L., 1835), 272-277, 330-333.

³ PCC 18 Thower 1532; Nichols, J. G., and John Bruce, eds., *Wills from Doctors' Commons* (L., 1863), 21; Hasted, *Kent*, XII, 439; Wood, *Oxford Colleges* (Gutch, ed.), 184, 191, 197, 282; *DNB*. We have not regarded as a charitable outlay the £30,000 which Warham said he had expended on the building of his palace at Otford, on his house at Knole, and on the repair on other residences belonging to the see. ". . . Et quoniam multis inauditis quaesitisque coloribus bona defunctorum episcoporum contra voluntates ipsorum episcoporum minus juste auferuntur, atque legata in eis tam ad pias quam ad alias causas non solvuntur, sed testatores per eorum successores pro dilapidacionibus recompensaciones vendicantes voluntate sua damnabiliter fraudantur, igitur executores meos infranominatos requiro ut successori mei in Archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi, cujuscunque status honoris vel dignitatis extiterit, declarent quantas pecuniarum summas super resarcitis maneriis et domibus meis exposui, quandoquidem in consciencia mea nihil pro dilapidacionibus debeo. Nam in maneriis et domibus meis jure ecclesiae meae ad me pertinentibus jam de novo edificatis, constructis, reparatis et resarcitis ad triginta millia librarum sterlingorum sicut me Deus adjuvet, ejus misericordiam et spero et expecto, citra tempus illud quo primo sedi in sede archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis exposui, et pro dilapidacionibus in temporibus predecessorum meorum factis ne minime quidem virtutem accepi."

⁴ *Vide ante*, 24, 47, 84.

⁵ PCC 29 Parker 1619.

Sedley's son had in 1613 married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Henry Savile. And it was Sir Henry Savile who in 1619, the same year as Sedley's foundation, established in Oxford the two professorships in geometry and astronomy which bear his name with an original endowment of £320 p.a., of which, however, only the capital worth of £800, being the value of an estate called Norlands in the parish of Ebony, has been credited to Kent.¹ An even greater scholar, the historian William Camden, in 1622 devised the manor of Bexley in Kent to Oxford University for the foundation of a professorship of history. The rents of the manor were at that time valued at £400 and were under the terms of the deed of gift settled on William Heather and his heirs for a term of ninety-nine years; Heather, the renowned composer, founded with his own funds a lectureship in music at Oxford. For the ninety-nine-year term specified by Camden, £140 p.a. was to be paid out of the estate for the professorship, and then the manor was to be wholly vested in the university.²

The pattern of these very large endowments for chairs in the universities, so important and so common during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, was well maintained by Sir Edwin Sandys of Northbourne, Kent, under the terms of his will proved in 1629. A son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, Sandys had enjoyed a truly remarkable career as a traveller, author, politician, prisoner of state, speculator, and colonial undertaker. In his most interesting will Sandys confessed that his estate had been weakened by debts, his manor of Stoneham being particularly heavily mortgaged. This estate was to be reserved and its income hypothecated for a term of years in order to pay all his just debts. Quite characteristically, Sandys ordered £500 to be risked on each of three East Indian voyages in order to provide competences for his three daughters, while £160 from his Yorkshire leases was to be employed for the support of his three younger sons. From the residue of his estate, £1,500 should be used to purchase lands to be conveyed to Oxford for the endowment of a lectureship in metaphysical philosophy, and £1,000 was to be given to Cambridge for the same purpose, the lectureship to be named in honour of Francis Mecham, a deceased friend.³

¹ PCC 44 Savile 1622; *DNB*; Brodrick, G. C., *Memorials of Merton College* (Oxford, 1885), 166-167. The bulk of the huge benefactions of this great scholar and philanthropist has been credited to Yorkshire, the county of his birth and in which his family was so long and so prominently seated.

² PCC 111 Swann 1623; Hasted, *Kent*, II, 165; *DNB*; Ireland, *Kent*, IV, 533.

³ PCC 84 Ridley 1629; *Alum. oxon.*, IV, 1309; *DNB*; *Virginia Magazine*, XXIX (1921), 235; *Arch. Cant.*, XXIV (1900), 105. These bequests failed, apparently because Sandys' estates were straitened beyond his somewhat sanguine assumption. In 1619 he had persuaded the Virginia Company to set aside 10,000 acres for the founding of a college at Henrico, a plan later abandoned.

We may conclude with the benefaction of Thomas Nevile, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dean of Canterbury. Nevile, on his death in 1615, left a substantial bequest to Eastbridge Hospital in Canterbury, but his great concern was with the completion of the quadrangle of his college. During a period of seven years he was said to have lent £3,000 towards this work, while from his own purse he laid out approximately £1,000 towards building the second court of the college as well as contributing manuscripts and books to its library.¹

E. Religion.

The first region in England to be well and permanently organized as Christian, Kent was maturely gathered into a parochial system long before the beginning of our period. Divided for administrative purposes between Canterbury and Rochester, it likewise benefited from the nearness to two powerful and interested prelates, with the result that the visitations of its churches and religious houses were more effectively and continuously carried forward than in any other county in England. Moreover, its parochial clergy were on the whole more consistently protected from the spoliation of monastic and lay proprietors than was the case in most dioceses, and they very probably enjoyed larger average stipends than those to be found in any other rural diocese in the realm. But, at the same time, Kent had been from the Lollard days a notable centre of heresy and was very early indeed to have many Protestant sympathizers. Several large and well-organized Protestant groups from abroad obtained sanctuary in Kent during the Elizabethan age, which were in their turn to become centres, if not of dissent, of a most lively and influential religious life outside the bounds of the Establishment. Puritanism and later dissent became firmly rooted in Kent in the late sixteenth century, particularly in Canterbury and the market towns, embracing as well a considerable and an increasing number of the rural gentry and yeomanry.

The parochial structure of the county seems to have been quite mature as early as the Domesday Inquest, which named as many as 360 settled places in the county and which listed about half as many churches. Somewhat more than two centuries later, in 1291, an official *Taxatio* lists 353 churches and chapels in the county, 243 being in the diocese of Canterbury and 110 in Rochester, which of course means that even then the great task of building the church fabric of the shire must have been well advanced.² Strong efforts were in fact made in

¹ PCC 118 Rudd 1615; *DNB*; *Alum. cantab.*, I, iii, 244; Fuller, *Worthies*, II, 185; Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, II, 264; Hasted, *Kent*, XII, 10. Nevile was graduated from Pembroke College in 1569. He was Master of Magdalene from 1582 to 1593 and of Trinity from 1593 until his death. He was Dean of Canterbury, where he was buried, from 1597 to 1615.

² *VCH, Kent*, II, 50.