

Archaeologia Cantiana

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES— AYLESFORD AND SANDWICH

By S. E. RIGOLD, F.S.A.

THERE were three Carmelite houses in Kent, out of a total for England and Wales of forty-one¹—Aylesford, Lossenham in Newenden and Sandwich. The so-called White friars of Canterbury were in fact Austin friars. Since the mendicant orders held little land and few titles to hand on to their successors the documentation of individual houses is thin. But among the later medieval Carmelites there was a lively interest in the history of their order: a fifteenth-century Prior of Malden, Richard Hely, compiled a table of houses in order of traditional foundation, which is preserved in a notebook of Stowe's,² while John Bale, another late, and often unfriendly, witness, had been Prior of Ipswich. We have largely to rely on such derivative sources for the origin of each house. In Hely's list Hulne in Northumberland and Aylesford come first and second and are both ascribed to 1240; they certainly represent the two detachments of the original plantation of the order, which did not, however, arrive until the end of 1241. Others of Hely's dates can be shown to be a few years out. 'Newenden' is placed third with a date of 1241 and Sandwich sixteenth in 1272. While the precise years must be treated with reserve, there is no doubt that Lossenham was a very early settlement, while Sandwich belongs, with the majority of the houses of the order, to the last third of the thirteenth century. Though they did not owe them a heavy basic endowment, Carmelite houses honoured the Founder's family and expected them or their successors to continue their alms. In an abbreviated cartulary of Aylesford, also preserved by Stowe,³ the seventh in succession from the 'first founder' Richard de Grey is called 'seventh founder', while Hely several times mentions a 'second founder', which should here mean something quite

¹ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 196 ff.

² B.M., Harl. 539, 143.

³ B. M., Stowe 938, 76.

specific—the immediate recipient of the original founder's rights, whether by inheritance or by other conveyance.

Because they generally occupied town sites that were quickly converted to other uses, Friary buildings in England (but not in Ireland) have a low rate of survival. True, a higher proportion of the Carmelites and Austin friars than of the two more numerous orders were in the country. On the limited available evidence it appears legitimate to elucidate the plans of one order of Friars by analogy with those of other Friars *within the same province* (perhaps the most obvious instance is the odd, single-transept church used by all four orders in Ireland). This is in complete contrast with the universal building-discipline of the Cistercians. But it is also apparent that there was a considerable development of the accepted and generalized friary plan within any province from the thirteenth century onwards and that communities whose original endowment was very small and who built from income rather than from capital, lent themselves to new and economical concepts of conventual building. The narrow steeple over the 'walking-place' that has come to be regarded as typical of friaries, both in England and Ireland, was one of these novelties, originating early in the fourteenth century. The search, then, is not so much for a distinctively Carmelite plan as for a typical English friary of a particular period. It is unfortunate that the two plans here discussed were not recovered under the sort of archaeological conditions that might establish a firm relative date for all their parts.

Both Aylesford and Sandwich have already been cursorily treated in *Arch. Cant.*⁴ It is unnecessary to repeat all the documentation collected in *V.C.H. Kent*, II, 201 and 204, respectively, where it is not strictly germane to their development and structural history. The purpose of this article is to remedy the archaeological deficiencies of the earlier notices and to present all that is firmly known of plans that have now partly been built over. Lossenham remains unexplored.⁵

HISTORY

AYLESFORD

The manor was reckoned as one intact knight's fee, held by Richard de Grey of Codnor (Derbyshire), in 1253-4, i.e. after the friary was well

⁴ *Arch. Cant.*, lxiii (1950), 50, and xlvi (1936), 225.

⁵ *v. Arch. Cant.*, xiv (1882), 311, for an inventory made at the Dissolution. The site is near a river, as at Aylesford, but on a slight ridge. The present house, of the 1660's, remodelled later, stands within a moated site, apparently representing the capital messuage which was not alienated by the Auchers when they founded the friary. The O.S. map marks the site of this to the east of the moat at a spot where Major J. R. McGrindle, the present owner of the house, assures me that building-materials are found. Nothing is visible on or above the surface.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

established.⁶ The small parcel occupied by the friars was not the only one in the manor granted in frankalmoign to a religious house⁷ and it was hardly economically self-supporting. Being quite near the south coast, it probably sheltered the whole Carmelite party until the group under de Vesci's patronage moved north to Hulne,⁸ but de Grey's group remained technically guests until 1247, when the bishop of Rochester, Richard of Wendover, issued a formal faculty for them to establish a dwelling-place and a chapel and an indulgence to help the building of the chapel,⁹ which the same bishop consecrated in 1248.¹⁰ The Carmelites had not yet acquired immunity from episcopal jurisdiction. About the same time the King acknowledged the community with a pittance.¹¹ These provisions do not imply a full claustral lay-out, but the chapel was evidently a ground-floor building, suitable for burial. Richard de Grey then established the Carmelites in London, probably in 1253,¹² but the Aylesford community remained and Richard's grandson, Henry (baron Grey by writ in 1299) seems to have been the next to show any active interest in it and was buried there in 1308, after which the house became, in effect, a family chantry with a rather unusual college to celebrate there.¹³ His son Richard increased the tenement in 1318¹⁴ and his grandson, John (third baron from 1335 to 1392), obtaining a relaxation of dietary discipline for the friars¹⁵ and a relaxation of penance for pilgrims visiting the house.¹⁶ This growth would call for such improvements to the buildings as a proper stone cloister by the first half of the fourteenth century, and a new church was envisaged in 1348, when the ground for it was dedicated (by a Carmelite bishop under exemption from the diocesan).¹⁷ Work proceeded very slowly; the quire may not even have been finished when the third baron was buried in 1392, if it was still described as 'new' when the fifth baron was buried in 1430,¹⁸ but already in 1417 bishop Yonge of Rochester had consecrated a church that was complete enough to have

⁶ *Arch. Cant.*, xii (1878), 224; cf. *Regist. Roffense*, 154 (21 Ed. I).

⁷ The hospital of Strood has woodland and messuages in the parish, besides the church (*Cal. Ch. R.*, 1226-57, 293; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, *Letters*, I, 329; *Regist. Roff.*, 147-9, 153). The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records a rent still due to the Master from the friars. The friars also had woodland and were able to supply elms to the Bridge Wardens of Rochester in 1400.

⁸ W. St. John Hope in *Arch. Jour.*, xlvii (1890), 105; site excavated 1888-9.

⁹ In the cartulary (note 3), dated Trottscliffe, 25.1.1246-7.

¹⁰ *ibid.* (note 3).

¹¹ *Cal. Lib. R.*, 1245-51, 163.

¹² J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in Eng. in the Thirteenth Cent.*, 367, *pace V.C.H. London*, I, 507.

¹³ cf. *Complete Peerage*, III, 123 ff.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1317-21, 142; 3 acres added.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, *Petitions*, I, 286.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, *Letters*, III, 573.

¹⁷ In cartulary (note 3); the bishop was John Pascal.

¹⁸ So the *Complete Peerage*, but the citation probably refers to 1392.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

included the nave altars.¹⁹ There was certainly building in progress in the 1380's and 90's when Sir Richard atte Lese (whose brass is at Sheldwich) left a bequest²⁰ (as he also did to Sandwich), when a local man, Rynger, established a private chantry²¹ and when arrangements were made for a new water-supply.²² After the church was finished attention was turned to modernizing the cloister; here the key document is a small bequest in 1451,²³ but the work was evidently slow enough still to be calling for money as late as 1513.²⁴ The surviving outer curia and both gatehouses bear witness to this steady rebuilding to the end of the fifteenth century and beyond. The seventh and last baron Grey was buried at Aylesford in 1492.²⁵ Summarizing, the documents point to a first church in the late 1240's, totally rebuilt between the 1380's (or possibly earlier) and the 1410's, and a first substantial set of claustral buildings from the early fourteenth century, which were being transformed from the mid-fifteenth until the eve of the dissolution.

The tenurial history after the dissolution in 1538 can be followed elsewhere.²⁶ Suffice it to say that a number of ultimate gothic features that could just be pre-dissolution,²⁷ would rather seem to belong either to John Sedley's reconstruction in the 1590's (date-stones of 1590 and 1592 are associated with rather unequal detail), or to some adaptation soon after the dissolution. The splendid interior refurbishment by Sir John Banks in the 1670's (see the plan and description made under his successors by marriage, the Finch earls of Aylesford)²⁸ was lost when the house was gutted by fire in 1930. There is some photographic record of the ensuing restoration by the then owner, Copley D. Hewitt,²⁹ when many medieval features were revealed, but were generally in such a state as to necessitate completely new dressings.

In 1949 the Carmelites repurchased the house. Before the community could occupy it it was repaired and adapted under the direction of Mr. Hugh Braun, who took the opportunity to do some limited trenching and gave an account of his findings to the Society of Antiquaries. A short version of this paper was published in *Arch. Cant.*, lxiii (1950) with schematic reconstructed plans and elevations.

¹⁹ In cartulary (note 3); 'tempore septimi fundatoris'—really the sixth (ob. 1418), unless one year is out.

²⁰ or Leese; Knight of the Shire 1366 ob. 1394 v. *Arch. Cant.*, xviii (1889), 290; for his will, *Cal. Kentish Wills, 1334-1559 in Prerog. Co. Canterbury*.

²¹ *Regist. Roff.*, 164-5.

²² *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1391-6, 371 (1394). The aqueduct led from Burnham.

²³ v. Appendix A.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *Complete Peerage*, VI, 132; for his will, N. H. Nicolas, *Testam. Vetusta*, 411.

²⁶ e.g. Hasted, also Thorpe, *Bib. Top. Brit.*, vi, pt. I, 1.

²⁷ e.g. most of the doorways in large ragstone ashlar with drafted margins.

²⁸ Thorpe, as note 25; plan follows p. 28.

²⁹ High Sheriff 1929-30, and a Scout dignitary. Photographs of repairs in Nat. Buildings Records.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

In 1959 a new and un-traditional church was erected, with transepts or 'tribunes' leading saltire-wise from a central sanctuary to subordinate chapels, the central altar being near the site of the quire altar of the medieval church. The emplacement for this was formed by lowering the site of the eastern arm and east range. This was done mechanically, but the operation provided a 'free' area-excavation of the greater part of the church and east-range. Two independent surveys were made, admittedly not under ideal archaeological conditions, which form the basis for the plan here presented. The open-air 'nave' to the west of the new church is now paved and the present information about the foundations now covered over must suffice for the foreseeable future.

In presenting this account of the remains, together with the foregoing re-assessment of the documentation, the writer gratefully acknowledges the help and encouragement of the former Prior, Fr. Malachy Lynch, of Brother Conlett and others of the convent, and of his fellow-surveyor Mr. Anthony Gilbert Scott, then living with the community.

SANDWICH

In Hely's table³⁰ the 'first founder' is named as Henry Coufeld 'from Germany' (*de Alemania*), the second, 'by concession', as Thomas Balseforde 'earl of Worcester' and the date of foundation 1272. Henry is otherwise untraceable, but a Coufeld or Coufeud with the low-German name of Godekyn occurs in London under Edward I³¹ and the possession of an altar to St. Garion (i.e. St. Gereon of Cologne)³² affirms the German affinities of the house. There was never a Balsford earl of Worcester, but the only known Balsford place-name (Balsford Hall in Beoley) is in fact in Worcestershire, and Hely or his source, had evidently confused *comit(e)* with *comit(atu)s*. This Thomas Balsford 'from Worcestershire' is equally untraceable, but it is likely enough that Henry, who must have held enough land in Sandwich to accommodate the friars, had for some reason to surrender his holdings and rights to someone else—a transaction that probably took place not in Sandwich but in London. The date cannot be far wrong: in 1280 John de Sandwich (*ob.* 1282) of the important and genealogically difficult local family,³³ was licensed to augment the Carmelites' existing holding of land,³⁴ and it is clear that he also obtained the founder's privileges. Only thus can another and obviously garbled late tradition be explained, which names 'William Lord Clinton' Lord of Folkestone as 'second founder'

³⁰ *v.s.*, note 2.

³¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I (1812) 404, 421, 423.

³² Appendix A, *sub anno* 1502.

³³ J. R. Planché, *A Corner of Kent*, 296 ff.

³⁴ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1272-81, 404.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

and large benefactor in 20 Ed. I (1291-2).³⁵ No member of the midland family of Clinton of Maxstoke and Kenilworth (Warwicks) had any interest in Kent until 1328, when William Clinton, created earl of Huntingdon, but never 'Lord Clinton',³⁶ married the 'Infanta' Juliana de Leybourne, ultimate heiress, among much more, of John de Sandwich's lordship of Folkestone. The reference is obviously either to Huntingdon, who was a hero and champion to the men of Sandwich as commander of the Cinque Ports squadron at Sluis, or to his nephew John Lord Clinton who succeeded to Folkestone in 1354, and the date perhaps records a donation either by Huntingdon in 20 Ed. III, or by John de Sandwich in 10 Ed. I, or a confusion of both. Yet a third late source names a Thomas Crawthorne as a principal benefactor in the time of Edward I,³⁷ he, again is otherwise untraced, but the Crawthornes were minor local landholders and kinsmen or clients of the Sandwich family.³⁸ All these documents point to a small foundation in or about 1272, enlarged a few years later by John de Sandwich and his fellows and a house of some substance by c. 1300, and perhaps again enlarged in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Though not rich the house was not so utterly dependent as Aylesford, and its circumstances would require a complete claustral lay-out by c. 1300. A private conduit, a convenience that friars always looked for, was arranged in 1306,³⁹ nearly a century before Aylesford had one.⁴⁰ These early buildings would seem to have lasted substantially for the whole duration of the friary, but bequests show that slow, and perhaps modest, repairs were in progress on church in 1474 and 1481, on the cloister in 1523, and again on the church between 1526 and 1537.⁴¹ Indeed, the house seems to have been in a flourishing state and attracting undiminished legacies in its latest days. It possessed an image of the Virgin which had earned a particular indulgence from bishop Brantingham of Exeter as early as 1370.⁴² In 1482 a general chapter of the order was held there, with some subsidy from the corporation.⁴³ The verse epitaphs of the fifteenth century, recorded by Weaver⁴⁴ from Bale, suggest that the house

³⁵ W. Boys, *Coll. for a History of Sandwich*, I, 175; 'from a MS (unspecified) in my (Boys') possession'.

³⁶ *Complete Peerage* (under 'Clinton' and 'Huntingdon'); for a traditional view of him see F. W. Steer, *John Philipot's Roll of the Constables of Dover and Lord Wardens . . .*, 24.

³⁷ Hasted, ultimately from Bale (?).

³⁸ Planché, *A Corner of Kent*, 297 and note.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1301-7, 440; land with spring at Wodnesborough alienated in mortmain. For friary conduits in general, see A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (Br. Soc. Franciscan Studies, 18), 39.

⁴⁰ *v.s.*, note 21.

⁴¹ Appendix A, under those years.

⁴² *Exeter Episc. Reg.* VII (Brantyngham), I, 223.

⁴³ Sandwich Corp. Records—Year Book, 273 d, cited also by Boys.

⁴⁴ *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1767 ed.), 62.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

was not behind the rest of late medieval Carmelites in a certain urbanity and humane learning.

After the surrender in 1538 some of the buildings were probably downed forthwith to provide material for fortification,⁴⁵ but they were not totally grubbed up and excavation indicates that the more adaptable buildings were left standing. In 1540 the notorious and unfortunate Arden of Faversham acquired the precinct,⁴⁶ while a certain James Hall still held 'certain void premises' by lease granted by the Carmelites.⁴⁷ In 1573 a motion was made to purchase the 'Friars' (?the whole precinct or just the messuage now called Whitefriars House) for the Corporation.⁴⁸ The same question of precise identity affects the 'Fryers', listed among the properties of a certain Mr. Cooke, one of the 'Forreners dwellinge without us', in the Shipping-cess of 1595. The same document names 'a garden next the Fryers gate', which would appear to have been still standing.⁴⁸ The finds suggest that some of the buildings remained in use until the seventeenth century, but by Boys' time (1790's)⁴⁹ the precinct was vacant, as his map, which marks the moats, shows, though another writer of 1790 records not only foundations then visible, but 'side-walls of the avenue' from the gate on the Moatsole.⁵⁰ At some date before 1936 burials had been found in the N.W. of the precinct.

The whole precinct was parcel of the land of the house called Whitefriars in 1936, when the then owner, Dr. John Harrison allowed the late Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing to uncover the foundations, with the aid of a fund for the research into the history of Sandwich, administered by Alderman W. R. Rose. The excavation occupied fifteen weeks from 18th June, 1936. An interim report (but with only the most general indication of the precise location) promptly appeared in *Arch. Cant.*, xlviii (1936), 225, Stebbing being then editor. But nothing more was done until 1962, when the present owners of Whitefriars, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Deighton, sought permission to build four blocks of flats on the precinct. It was understood that the first block would, in any case come clear of any known part of the claustral complex, and that, in the light of what was thought to be the position of the buildings, all the flats

⁴⁵ cf. Rutton in *Arch. Cant.*, xxiii (1898), 25, but there is no proof that the Whitefriars provided the material shipped from Sandwich.

⁴⁶ *L. and P., Hen. VIII*, xvi, 831(17); cf. also *Arch. Cant.*, xxxiv (1920), 101.

⁴⁷ Cited by Stebbing from Corporation records; cf. also Boys, *op. cit.*, 180.

⁴⁸ Both copied *in extenso* by Stebbing from Corporation records. For Whitefriars House cf. *Arch. Cant.*, lix (1946), 115.

⁴⁹ Boys' map (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 790) marks three plots—the trapezoidal piece within the S.E. moat or channel, the larger one to the N.E., containing the remains and extending well into the present cattle-market, and the strip to the W. between these and the Rope-walk, as having belonged to the Friars. He also records the descent of Whitefriars House to his own family.

⁵⁰ The *Kentish Traveller's Companion* (3rd. ed.), 289.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

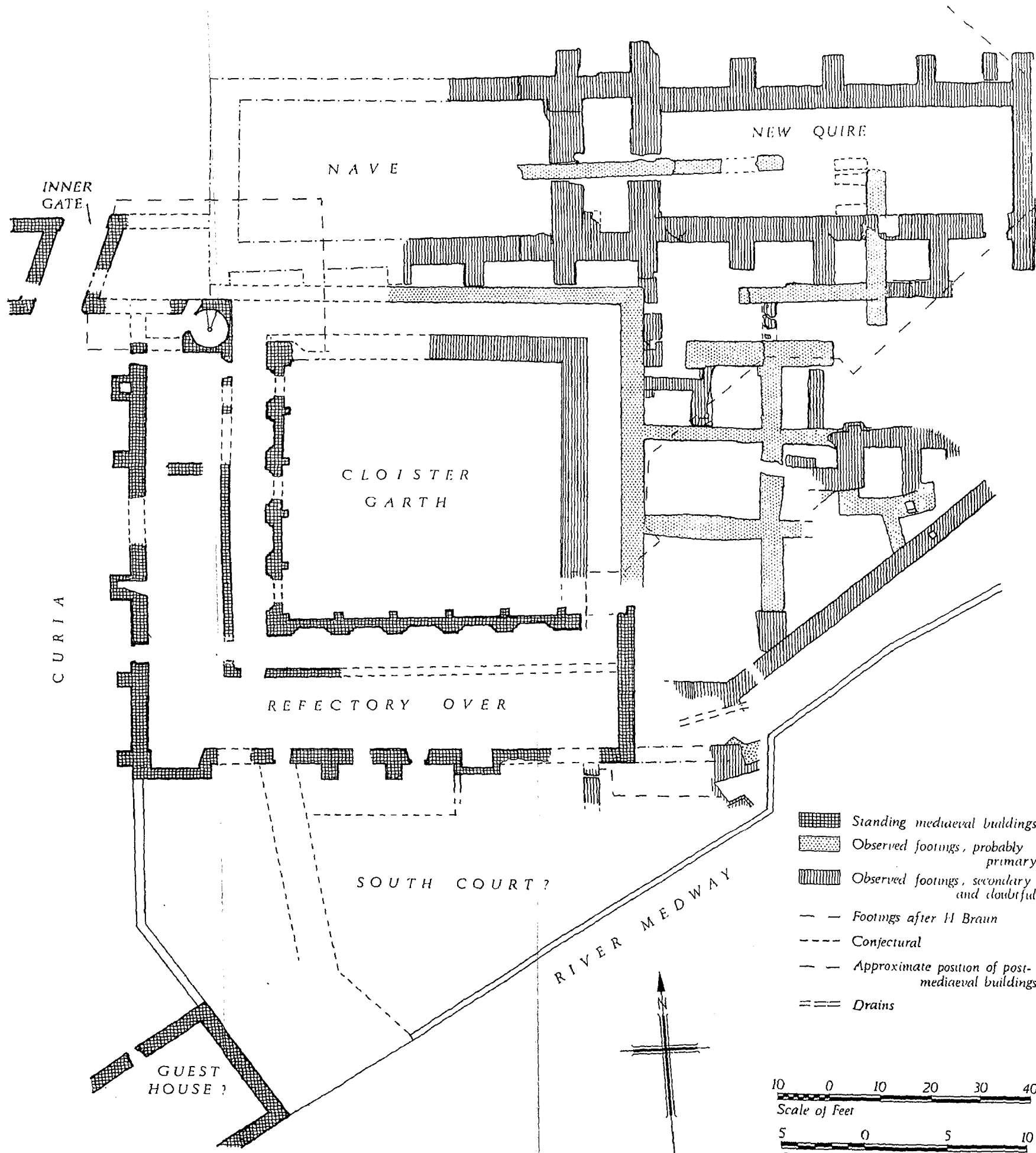
were intended to avoid violating the foundations. In the event, the fourth block, the only one yet complete, was built first, and foundations were exposed, thought to be part of some unrecorded subordinate building, but in fact part of the refectory (compare Fig. 2, below). It was now too late to resite the building or lay on an emergency excavation, but the trenches were observed by Mr. B. Roberts, the Town Clerk, and Dr. J. S. Ogilvie, to whose help, as well as to Mr. Deighton, the writer is most indebted in his attempt to reconstruct and properly base the plan of the friary. The discovery of the survey notes and some of the small finds among Mr. Stebbing's legacies, kindly communicated to the writer by his colleague Mr. G. C. Dunning, led him to re-examine the site and the other small-finds and records to which Mr. Deighton and Mr. Roberts have kindly granted him free access. The plan and interpretation which he presents is an attempt at reconciliation of sometimes inadequate and divergent evidence, and may be subject to correction if partial re-excavation is ever undertaken.

ESTABLISHMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF PLANS

AYLESFORD

In *Arch. Cant.*, lxiii, Mr. Braun printed a site-plan and more detailed ones at ground-floor (including the outer curia) and first-floor levels. The site-plan is adequate for its purpose and does not need repetition in this volume. But the larger plans are very schematic—all the angles in the claustral complex are shown as perfect right-angles, and though a distinction is made between upstanding medieval walls and destroyed ones, there is no indication of what was established by excavation and what is conjectural. From a few well-placed cross trenches, Mr. Braun was able to calculate the general form and size of the latest church, but he also supplied an unwarranted reconstruction of the east range, where he admits that he was able to do little.

The stripping of the eastern two-thirds of the church and most of the east range in 1959 revealed the plan at the level of the lowest footings (and sometimes a course of two higher) almost in its entirety. The plan is recorded at this level and allowance must be made for a slight reduction in thickness at the actual walls. The earlier robbing and disturbance of floors had evidently penetrated almost to this depth and little archaeological damage seems to have done, but there was no opportunity to test the stratigraphic relation of the various modifications of plan. The author surveyed the exposed area of the church and parts of the east range. Subsequently Mr. Anthony Gilbert Scott covered the whole east range and much of the church. These two surveys in large part overlap and substantially agree. For the western part of the nave we have still to rely on Mr. Braun's data, where one of his



AYLESFORD, CARMELITE FRIARY

FIG. 1.

trenches lay open for some time and the lines he established are now marked on the paving. The footings were of flagstone rubble with a small admixture of flint and no particular distinction between face and core, nor any easy criteria for dating. But the outline of the earlier church, on a different axis from its successor, and the accurate plotting of other deflections provide some indication of development, though much of the east range remains problematic. The writer then re-examined the standing buildings, where further repairs have taken place. The plan presented here (Fig. 1) is a conflation of the two surveys of the buried foundations (marking only those remains which have been seen and measured by either witness, or both) tied into a revised plan of the upstanding medieval claustral buildings, *at plinth level*, with later structures marked in outline for reference. This does not extend to the buildings round the curia, which are all well shown on Mr. Braun's plan, though a more precise examination of the late monastic and the, possibly post-dissolution, ultimate gothic elements would be useful. The remains are recorded, without prejudice as to date, and with the proviso that some straight joints, etc., may have been missed. A tentative consideration of the various components follows.

The Early Quire

Two parallel footings, one on the south side of the later quire and the other through the middle of the 'walking place', but not bonded to it, must surely be those of the first quire, which would then have had the likely internal breadth of 24 ft. (7·2 m.) and a probable length of 64 ft. (19 m.), much the same as at Hulne,⁵¹ close to the probable dimensions of the Sandwich quire, and apparently the regular size for the quires of early Carmelite and other lesser friary churches, such as the Blackfriars of Brecon.⁵² The larger Franciscan quires approached 100 ft.

The New Quire and Walking-place (Plate I, A)

These were very much as Mr. Braun reconstructed them. The quire was again probably 24 ft. wide above footing-level and 72 ft. (21·5 m.) long, in four bays separated by deep buttresses. It was evidently a high building, conceived as a structural entity. Any indication whether or not there was, as at Coventry,⁵³ a resonance-passage under the stalls had disappeared. A number of burials in the presbytery, some in rag-stone cists, including one on the axis, in the place of honour proper to a founder, were laid bare, just beneath the tracks of the machine;

⁵¹ *Arch. Jour.*, xlvii (1890), 105.

⁵² A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Archit. in England*, 14, plan opp. 22.

⁵³ Excavated by Mrs. C. Woodfield; interim reports in *Medieval Archaeol.*, v (1961), 314; vi-vii ('62-3), 317; viii ('64), 245.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

these probably include those of the Greys. At least one sacristy or chantry-chapel had been thrown out between the buttresses on the south side. The heavy transverse footings of the 'walking-place', on the axis of the east cloister walk, undoubtedly carried a typical friars' axial tower and the emplacement for a spiral stair was visible in the south-west corner. The slight westward buttresses were straight-jointed to the nave footings and there was certainly a break in construction at this point, whether or not the nave was ever entirely reconstructed.

The Nave

The walls of this, anyway in its final form, diverged towards the west. The breadth of 30 ft. (9 m.) given by Mr. Braun was evidently obtained at that end, where he certainly cross-trenched it.⁵⁴ The south wall had the same direction as the early quire, while the north was apparently more or less on the line of the new. The final span is large, but manageable, for a single-span roof but originally it would have had its south wall near to that of the later north cloister walk, and it seems then to have had a north aisle, much as at Sandwich. A possible explanation for the divergent walls is that the aisle remained in use while the south wall was reconstructed with deep buttresses on an inset line, but parallel with the arcade; the arcade was then demolished but the old, ill-set-out north wall, where no traces of buttresses have been found, was retained. The direction of the new quire would thus have been based on that of the north aisle.

The East Range

This was the essential part of a conventual lay-out and the first to be built; for a small community, such as the brethren of a hospital, it was all that was needed, and the complete habitation for the original settlement of friars would have been found there. It is presumed that its ground-floor face always ran from the same north-east angle of the cloister-walk—at least, no other building-line has been found. A fairly heavy, but interrupted wall, some 20 ft. (6 m.) east and a mutilated north wall, separated from the old quire by a passage, later blocked, (but not by a 'court') have been found. This item, taken by itself, is something as Mr. Braun surmised, but whether he had any evidence that the south wall originally continued that of the south range is not explicit; if it did, it was certainly cut back when the earlier, certainly medieval, river-wall was erected. The undercroft was divided into three compartments and then re-divided. There was an eastern exten-

⁵⁴ His trenching is visible in Knowles and St. Joseph, *Monastic Sites from the Air*, 255.



A. Aylesford Friary. Footings of Walking-Place Tower and New Quire, from west.



Photo by R. W. Wardill, Crown Copyright reserved

B. Aylesford Friary. South and West Ranges of Cloister, from north-east.



Photo by W. P. D. Stebbing

Sandwich Friary: 1936 Excavations. South wall of South Range, showing projection for Frater-pulpit from west.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

sion, perhaps two bays wide, and containing at least one deep, and apparently late, pit, lined with large blocks; there was perhaps another pit, truncated by the river-wall, beside it, and two much smaller shafts are cut in the adjoining walls. All this looks like a rere-dorter, altered at least once, and the whole range seems to have been an irregular L-shaped building, close to the river. It is impossible to unravel its various alterations, but there is little doubt that it contained dormitory and rere-dorter upstairs and nothing very important in the undercroft. If the first refectory was in this area, thus completing a simple first-floor house, it cannot now be recognized; nor would the central cell make a very satisfactory chapter-house, backing straight on to the latrine-pits. Friary chapter-houses, generally mere chapter-rooms, are often unpretentious—even in the relatively grand Carmelite east range at Coventry⁵⁵ it is a mere chamber in the undercroft, with a small apse—nor are the long eastward extensions occasionally found off this range necessarily rightly understood as chapter-houses. At Aylesford it would seem likely that the chapter-room was elsewhere, perhaps in the undercroft of the refectory. In conclusion, the east range defies full explanation, but it was certainly much more complicated, at all periods, than Mr. Braun suggested.

The South Range

This still stands, in much altered form, containing a large first-floor refectory, and an apparently original kitchen, in series. The only embrasures that have anything medieval to show, those of the great west window and the two kitchen windows below, would prefer an early fourteenth-century date (but not a thirteenth century one) to a date contemporary with the cloister arcade. This is historically likely. Whether the south cloister-walk was 'undershot' at this period, as now indeed, whether the east walk was ever, or always, undershot—is beyond conjecture.⁵⁶ The frater pulpit, with its little cell beneath it, is the best feature, but has no original detail. Of the doorways on the south side, one (with a bold ovolo) may be fourteenth century, the rest doubtfully monastic at all. But the cavetto plinth-mould, which runs with that of the west range, suggest a later re-casting of the exterior.

The South Court

A so-called 'little cloister' (but not necessarily to be connected with an infirmary) beyond the refectory, is a feature of several friary plans,

⁵⁵ Still standing and now under repair.

⁵⁶ The 'undershot' cloister is characteristic of English friaries: cf. Greyfriars at Dunwich, Walsingham, Ware (where the surviving portion is much the same as at Aylesford), Yarmouth (Martin, *op. cit.*, under those headings) and Blackfriars at Bristol, Hereford, Newcastle, Norwich.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

including Sandwich. There is just room for one in the irregular space towards the river at Aylesford, and it is possible that the Tudor kitchen court here preserves something of it, but no medieval detail remains. What may be a fragment of the east range of the court, not re-used in Tudor times, has been uncovered. A cache of floor-tiles was found here.

The West Range

This is relatively straightforward—a ground-floor hall, the screens-passage of which served as the only outside approach to the cloisters, a ground-floor parlour, and two upper chambers (? for the Prior and a principal guest, each with its own garderobe). What detail remains is perhaps late fourteenth century and antedates the cloister-arcade, and thus evidence for an earlier undershot cloister-walk on this side.

The Late Cloister (Plate I, B)

This is by far the best preserved piece of medieval detail. However long it took to complete, the design is a metropolitan one of the mid-fifteenth century. It was never glazed, at a time when monks expected some such protection—indeed, it lacks anything to break the weather at all; it is doubtful if it was ever lived or meditated in, but merely functioned as a passage.

The Inner Gatehouse

Mr. Braun is surely right in calling this very late, in spite of its segmental arch. The big, coarse cavetto and cyma on the outer arch proclaim it so. There is no other original detail. Continuing the north wall of the west range, it lies exactly at right angles to it.

SANDWICH

Unlike Mr. Braun's economical cross-trenching at Aylesford, Mr. Stebbing's excavation in 1936 was merely a matter of wall-following. The trenches were vertical, but there is no record of any stratigraphic data obtained except O.D. levels in relation to the water-table.⁵⁷ Mr. Stebbing began a fuller report, to follow the 'interim' (without plan) in *Arch. Cant.*, xlvi, but this was left in a very incomplete state and anything relevant it contains is incorporated in the present paper. Though the writer knew Mr. Stebbing and his chief collaborator Mr. B. W. Pearce, both had died before his interest in the site began and

⁵⁷ O.D. levels obtained by V. Smart, then Borough Surveyor and reported by courtesy of Mr. B. Roberts, were: general turf level, 8.13; water level, 5.13; top of refectory plinth, (ritual) N. side, 7.48, S. side, 8.36; paving, outer parlour, 7.97, S. range of S. court, 7.67. Note the relative depression of the cloister-girth.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

he has worked entirely from the records that have been available to him. These are:

1. The unfinished report.
2. Two versions of a fair copy of the plan, in the possession of Mr. Deighton and Mr. Roberts, supplementing each other on some points and disagreeing in others.
3. The survey notes for the greater part of (2), by the late John Archibald. These are carefully measured in detail, but have very few running measurements and diagonals, and these sufficient only to show that the fair copies are incorrectly schematized, with every angle treated as a right angle and diagonals consequently ignored.
4. A set of twelve photographs dated September 1936, by courtesy of Mr. Roberts, and another photograph, which establishes the orientation of the south side of the south range within a degree or so. These can be supplemented by the following:
 - (a) Observations by Mr. Roberts and Dr. Ogilvie of the intersection of the trenches for the new building with the south range of the friary.
 - (b) Two small sections of masonry still visible on the north side of the north (church) range, and another hitherto unknown piece further east; uncovered by the Deighton family; these were plotted by the writer.

The plan presented here (Fig. 3) attempts to combine all these data and distinguishes between parts definitely measured by Mr. Archibald or recognizable on photographs, or still visible and those that appear apparently firmly marked on one or both 'fair' plans only. Anything else shown on the plans is omitted and any conjectural restorations are entirely the author's. From the available evidence on the ground it appears that the church and refectory were nearly parallel, but that the east range, to allow for its junction with the refectory to appear within the area of the new building, must have lain some five degrees from the perpendicular to the ascertained axis. The location thus arrived at and the position of the buildings within the still largely wet moats are shown on Fig. 2. But it must be remembered that the present report is not based on re-excitation but on re-working of earlier data.

The photographs show that the remains were unevenly preserved. Much of the refectory stood to a course or two above plinth-level, while elsewhere only the lowest course above ground remained. Where mere footings remained they were never sectioned and not even recorded as they deserved. The west range had obviously been particularly heavily robbed. A neat, chamfered ashlar plinth-course, of late thirteenth

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES
SANDWICH *WHITEFRIARS*

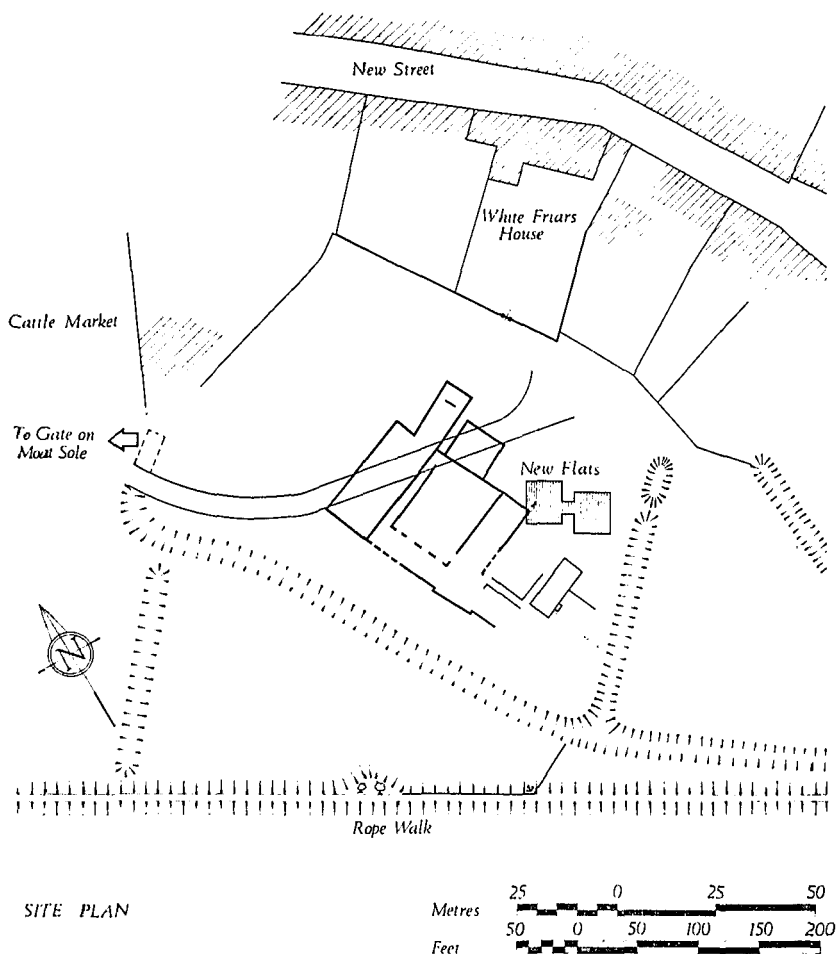
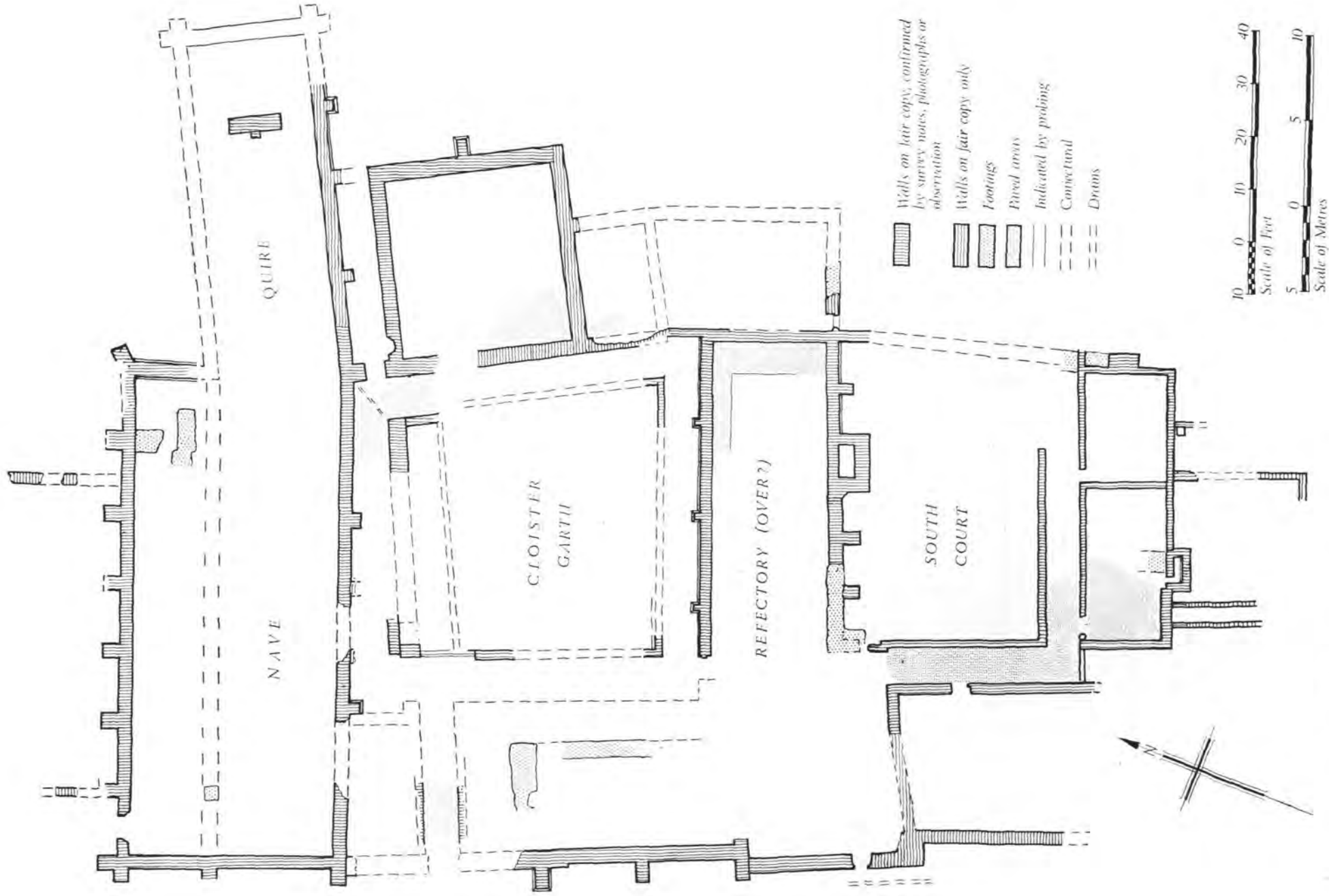


FIG. 2.

century type, apparently much the same in treatment wherever it occurs (it was best present on the north and eastern part of the south sides of the refectory) contrasts with the small, well-coursed, and apparently rather miscellaneous rubble walling. The footings, where described, were of lime-mortar or chalk contrasting with the plentiful ragstone rubble at Aylesford.



SANDWICH, CARMELITE FRIARY

FIG. 3.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

A consideration of the various components follows. The compass points are 'ritual' ones, the actual orientation is far from true.

The Quire

Of this only the south side and the newly-found short piece of transverse walling are recorded. It had four unequal bays with moderate buttresses, and the usual early Carmelite length of about 64 ft. (see above). The transverse wall which has a small projection on the west and is not at right angles to the axis of the nave, but would fit symmetrically on the axis of the quire if the quire had the same deflection that the measurements of the claustral buildings demand for the east range, with the implication that they were laid out together on the same base-line and survived for the whole duration of the house. There is no hint of this deflection on Mr. Stebbing's plans.

The transverse wall is hard to explain, unless the eastern bay-and-a-half formed a shrine-area (miscalled retro-quire) around the famous image of the Virgin, or the 'wall' never rose above footing-level and had something to do with a resonance-passage.

The Nave

This, though not primary, is also basically early, and represents, as the form of the plinth would suggest, a preaching nave, added at the first enlargement at the end of the thirteenth century. It consisted of a nave proper and north aisle of six 12 ft. (3·6 m.) bays and a wider passage-bay, 43½ ft. (13·0 m.) overall and regularly set out. The aisle was integral, not an addition. The nave butts directly on the quire, allowing a simple cross-passage but no sign of the heavy transverse footings for a walking-place tower. The reason for this is simply that such a feature was as yet unheard of in the 1280's and '90's. The nearest parallel to this plan is in the late Perpendicular Greyfriars church at Gloucester,⁵⁸ which for all its rebuilding may preserve the plan of its thirteenth-century predecessor. In any case, by the early sixteenth century walking-place towers were 'out', and whatever improvements were done at Sandwich at that time, as at Gloucester, they would probably not have included one. Though the records are not explicit, there was probably a 'spine' at foundation level, between the nave and aisle. Only the westernmost of the arcade piers left any trace. One of the 'fair-copies' shows two transverse 'spines' bounding the passage-bay, but may be only an attempt to reconstruct a 'normal' walking-place and the other plans show other features, including an inset footing of rammed chalk that may have supported a bell-tower of some sort,

⁵⁸ *Trans. Bristol and Glouces. Arch. Soc.*, liv (1932).

perhaps of timber, at the end of the aisle. The only burials noted were in the east end of the aisle—a popular place, in front of an altar. There is no doubt about the door, with traces of a porch, on the north side in the west bay, and, as the west wall stood above footing-level, it may be stated that there was no door at all on the west front. Nor do the survey-notes mark any door in the south wall, but this wall was unequally preserved: there must have been an entrance to the passage-bay from the east walk of the cloister, but the condition of the wall makes it unlikely that there was one corresponding to the west walk, where Mr. Stebbing conjectured one on Benedictine analogies, not realizing that there was probably a 'lane' between church and cloister (see below). The three buttresses on this side would have interfered with a cloister-walk against the church; only the central one corresponds with a bay-division, but the western buttress, with a chamfer on two sides only, gives the breadth of the west range in this position.

The East Range

As noted, the east range and the quire seems to deflect to the same degree from the axis of the nave and to belong to the same primary build. The range was much robbed but evidently comprised a large chamber roughly 33 ft. (10 m.) square, with a chamfered buttress in the middle of the east wall and a narrower block or series of chambers, running south, the breadth of which is given by a stump of the east wall on the square chamber. Whether the mutilated wall containing an external door, continuing the south wall of the south range, but again on a slightly deflected line, represents the original termination is uncertain. The west wall of the east range was too fragmentary and too poorly recorded to say whether there had been an alteration at the junction with the refectory. It certainly continued beyond this point, but probably only as the boundary wall of the south court (see below). Mr. Stebbing reconstructed a long Benedictine-type dormitory, but admits he found no evidence to support it.

The square chamber was heavy enough to carry two storeys and it would commonly be explained as a chapter-house which is, indeed, a possible function for the ground-floor, but the obvious parallel is the equally enigmatic square chamber at Norwich Blackfriars,⁵⁰ in the same position, and with an unequivocal chapter-room in the long range beside it. It would appear rather that the east range is composed of essentially residential elements, the square, four-cell chamber-on-undercroft of some urban house-plans, perhaps carrying a refectory at first, and a long first-floor chamber off it, as a dormitory. The chapter-

⁵⁰ F. C. Elliston-Erwood in *Arch. Jour.*, cvi (1949), 90 and plan opp.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

room would have fitted equally well, indeed better than at Aylesford, in the undercroft of the latter. No trace was found of the rere-dorter, but flint-and-brick flooring, of late, perhaps post-dissolution, date was found in the square chamber and the adjoining cell to the south.

In the writer's view, the fact that a general chapter was once held at Sandwich does not strengthen the possibility that the relatively large square chamber was a chapter-house, for this would almost certainly have assembled in the nave of the church.

The South Range (Plate II)

As at Aylesford, this is the best-preserved part of the complex, and the buttresses, though similar on both sides, do not exactly correspond—the northern ones, though shallow, must have interfered with the cloister-walk. The plinth is at different levels on the north and south sides. Probably, as at Aylesford, the actual refectory was on the first floor; the wide border of brick paving, whatever its date, is more consistent with an undercroft, and the cross-passage and the base of the frater-pulpit, would, as at Aylesford, be recognizable at undercroft level. The pulpit-projection has the appearance of an addition. But unlike at Aylesford, the cloister-walk was not 'undershot' and there would have been room enough for a refectory on the ground-floor.

The South Court

This was evidently very well developed, but it was undoubtedly made use of in post-dissolution times and it is difficult to be certain what of it is monastic. There was a great deal of brick flooring and some of the walls are so thin that they were probably the ground-walls of timber buildings. The long west passage, continuing the cross-passage of the refectory, is certainly monastic, likewise probably the domestic-looking range on the south, perhaps the infirmary, but the wall-fireplace of this runs over the footings of a heavy medieval wall, and wide footings were also found beneath the east wall, possibly linking up with the west wall of the east range. The original plan of the court was certainly different, but it is likely that the final arrangement is basically late medieval and invites comparison with the well-developed south court of the Greyfriars, at Walsingham, Norfolk.⁶⁰

The West Range

This is very fragmentary—little was recorded except the west wall and this does not give the impression of structural unity. The wide projecting bay at the south, roughly in line with the south range, was

⁶⁰ A. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, 129.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

presumably part of the kitchen. At the north end the buttress, chamfered on one side only, suggests a broad structure against the nave. A patch of tiles, not bricks, described as re-used, but neatly laid in diagonal rows, appears from a photograph to consist of plain, or very worn patterned tiles, bounded by walls north and south only. It surely does not mark a tiny room, as reported, but a passage, or 'outer parlour' at this point, and the paving may well be medieval. South of this a reported breadth of some 17 ft. only was evidently obtained from a section of the footing of the inner wall, and a heavier, transverse footing is probably for a cross-wall rather than, as suggested, a heavy, straight staircase (which would have been unlikely at any period). This may show that the southern part of the west range was narrower, with a 'lane' between it and the cloister.

The Cloister

Apparently only four corners were exposed, and, in spite of variations in thickness of the walls, all were hypothetically joined up to form the inner dwarf wall on the 'fair plan'. In fact the cloister almost certainly stood away from the church, with a lane between, in the usual friary fashion. The much thicker wall in the north-east, definitely aligned in the survey-notes with a short piece of similar thickness at the north-west, belonging to the *outer* wall of the north walk, which thus continued the line of the passage indicated by the tiles in the west range. The very thin walls that abut on the thick wall must be blockings. The south-east corner shows the dwarf wall and the breadth of the walls properly. All four walks were lean-tos, not 'undershot' as at Aylesford.

Mr. Stebbing reported fragments of Purbeck marble shafts, even at the west of the nave, and a corbel found by Mr. Roberts has typically Early English mouldings and apparently an undercut mask. This indicates highly finished work at a date that cannot be much after 1272—indeed the reported foundation-date may err on the side of lateness.

CONCLUSION

These two houses differ too profoundly in their surroundings, rural *versus* urban, and the apparent date of the major elements in their plans to permit more than the roughest comparison. A full study of English friary building lies in the future, apart from Mr. A. R. Martin's work on the Franciscans, but it is hoped that two neighbouring and relatively complete Carmelite plans, to be placed beside the yet unpublished plan from Coventry and the not fully investigated remains at Norwich, may prove a valuable contribution to this story.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

APPENDIX A

BEQUESTS

Aylesford. Apart from those of the Greys,⁶¹ *Testamenta Cantiana*, Pt. 1, 3-4, records six mentions of Aylesford Friary in wills, to which *V. C. H. Kent*, II, adds four more from various sources.⁶² The only ones that concern the structure, both for work on cloister, are:

1451 William Redesdale, clerk, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.

1513 Robert Pirry, Gillingham, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.

Sandwich. Mr. Stebbing prepared two appendices to his 'write-up', tabulating bequests and burials. Some of these are taken from *Testamenta Cantiana*, Pt. 2 (hereinunder abbreviated *TC*), from Arthur Hussey's summaries of Ash and other Wills in *Arch. Cant.* (abbreviated *AC*) and from W. Boys, *Collections for the History of Sandwich* (abbreviated *HS*), but most of them come from an unprinted extraction of Sandwich wills, also made by Mr. Hussey.⁶³ These have every appearance of reliability, and are here rearranged, further abbreviated and published without verification, except from printed sources, with a little additional material. Where the process of probate covers two years or the period between 1st January and 25th March only the later year is given. A indicates Ash and C, M, and P the Sandwich parishes of St. Clement, St. Mary and St. Peter, respectively. PCC indicates the roll with its name, of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Sums are given in pounds, shillings or marks of 13s. 4d. J. means John; other names are self-explanatory.

1394 Ric. atte Lese, Sheldwich; also bequeathed to Aylesford (PCC Rous, 22).

1396 J. Septvans, A. 1 mk. and grain.

1407 Wm. Makenade, Preston, by Faversham, £1; also to Aylesford and Lossenham (*AC*, xxi, 129).

1414 Thos. Walter, Birchington, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk. (*HS*, 178).

1419 J. Fayrhood, M, £1.

1432 Ric. Justyse, P, burial

1440 Clem. Harryesson, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk. and 4d. to each friar.

1444 J. Sacket, St. P in Thanet, 10s. (*HS*, 178).

1452 J. Botelere, draper, P, livestock.

1457 Matilda Clyderow, A, £1 (*AC*, xxxiv, 59).

1464 J. Malyn, Monkton, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk. (*HS*, 178); J. Symond, C, £1.

⁶¹ *v.s.*, note 24.

⁶² Add also Thos. Kar, Sittingbourne, 1522 (*Arch. Cant.*, xli (1929), 47), but a much longer list could doubtless be compiled.

⁶³ Stebbing cites his sources as 'Mr. A. Hussey's transcripts of Sandwich, Ash and Eastry wills'. Dr. Hull assures me that no printed copy of the Sandwich excerpts exists.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

- 1466 Ric. Bilton, M, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.
 1467 J. Kenet, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.
 1469 Rob. Rolfe, C, 20d.
 1471 Wm. Brome, C, $2\frac{1}{2}$ mks.; Thos. Janyyn, M, livestock.
 1472 Wm. Brook, weaver, M, 1s.
 1473 Joan Ruston, M, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.
 1474 Joan Kenet, C, £1; Mgt. Giles, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Wm. Joyate, P, £1 for repair of church and £1 for three years prayers; Agnes Leycester, M.
 1475 J. Beverick, C, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Ric. Walshe, M, 10s.
 1477 Hy. Lunys, P, 5 mks., burial before image of Christ on N. side of quire (*TC*, 293); Sim. Childmell, C, 20 d. and grain.
 1478 J. Harmon, M, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.
 1479 Wm. Mountford, cordwainer, P, wax for SS. Crispin and Crispian (*TC*, 293); J. Guyleman, M, £1.
 1480 J. Boteler, P, £2.
 1481 Hy. Hert, P, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk. for prayers and repairs, 1s. to prior and friar J. Tropham, 4d. to the others; Maynard Swan, C, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Derek Roke, tailor, M, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.
 1482 Wm. Kenet, mayor 1461-2, C, £1.
 1483 Cath. Hartilope, C, 1s.
 1484 Cecilia King, C, £1; Willimina Lay, C, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.
 1485 Ric. Tilley, Selling, £1 (same to three Canterbury friaries) (N. H. Nicolas *Testam. Vetusta*, 384); Laur. Cundy, C, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.; Alex. Johnson, P.
 1486 J. Drye, Ham, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk., clothes and money to individual friars, burial before the altar of S. Ninian (*TC*, 293).
 1487 Rob. Mayhew, *al.* Dyer, M, £1.
 1488 J. Lynche, C, 5s.
 1489 Wm. Harrisson, P, wax for SS. Cosmus and Damian (*TC*, 293).
 1490 J. Archer, mayor, 1483-4, M, 10s. and beer; Thos. Bulkeley, M, to conduct body to Ash; J. Coke, P, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.
 1491 Thos. Toller, smith, C, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.; J. Naseby, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.
 1492 Nic. Burton, C, 5 mks.; Alex. Pytlard, merch. of the Staple, M, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.
 1493 Wm. Tanner, P, wax for SS. Cosmus and Damian and 20 d. (*TC*, 293); Wm. Turner, C, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.; Nic. Motte, P, burial.
 1494 Nic. Haryngton, M; Thos. Pynnok, mayor 1491-2, M, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Ralph Richard, grocer, P, house to be sold and proceeds to friars.
 1495 or earlier, J. Graunt, P, £1.
 1495 Thos. Colman, P, 1 mk. and contingent sale of house and store.
 1496 Mgt. Graunt, P, wood; Wm. Omer, Flete, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk. (*AC*, xxxvi, 50); Helyne Bigge, M, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Wm. Halingberg, C, $2\frac{1}{2}$ mks.; Thos. Neel, fuller, M, 1s.; Alice Jacob, S, Bart's Hosp., £1 and great brass pot (*TC*, 295).

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

- 1497 Wm. Garrard, M, £1; Rowland Hardiston, C, 1s.
 1498 J. Harre, M, £1.
 1499 Rob. Saundre, C, 20 d. and 8d. for prayer at S. Thronion's altar (*TC*, 294).
 1500 Nic. Lokyar, smith, S. Barbara's light.
 1501 J. Assheton, mariner, M, 2s.; Rob. Matson, mariner, C, 5s.
 1502 J. Philip, P, 1s., burial before S. Garion.
 1503 Wm. Parnell, C, £1 and 4s. between four friars.
 1504 J. Broke, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk. and grain.
 1505 Thos. Bigge, M, £3 for nine years obits.
 1506 Wm. Brok, P, 1 mk. for repairs; Eliz. Gifford, P, 9s. *p.a.* for seven years; Rob. Worteley, M, £1.
 1507 Thos. Toller, C, 8d. and 4d. to each friar.
 1508 Benet Webb, mayor 1488-9, M, £2 and barn in Cornmarket.
 1509 Hewe Payne, A, 10s. (same to three Canterbury friaries) (*AC*, xxxvii, 33); J. Saunders, preb. of Wingham and vicar of Ash, 10s.; Rob. Bennet, P, 30s.; Wm. Glasynbury, C, burial.
 1510 Wm. John, A, grain (*AC*, xxxvi, 50); Nic. Swinderby, *al.* Sters, P, 1 mk. and burial before image of S. Anne (*TC*, 293).
 1511 Ric. Fry, P, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.
 1512 Sim. Bell, C, 1s.
 1513 J. Joyce, C, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.
 1514 Ric. Somer, C, £2.
 1515 J. Webbs, M, 10s. and wood.
 1516 J. Botler, M, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.; J. Sege, C, 4s.
 1518 J. Hoole, A, 20 d. (*AC*, xxxv, 32).
 1522 Wm. Basyn, P, to S. Anthony's light, 1s.
 1523 Mat. Clerk, M, £2 for repair of cloister.
 1524 J. Engham, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Jane Aschowe, S. Bart's Hosp., 20 mks. and kettle (*TC*, 293).
 1525 J. Sympson, P, a garden in Harnet St.
 1526 Wm. Lewies, A, 10s. (same to three Canterbury friaries) (*AC*, xxxvi, 52); Eliz. Coplaye, P, 4d. to each friar and drapery; Alice Simpson, P, pewter vessels and 4d. to four friars, buried before image of Virgin in S. Barbara's chapel (*TC*, 293); Joan Frevell, P, 4 mks. for repair of church, 1s. to each friar, burial before crucifix and 20 mks. for two years' masses there (*TC*, 293).
 1528 J. Appleton, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk. and sheets; Dirick Lylbort, C, £1.
 1529 Wm. Baldock, P, 10s.; Agnes Hilton, P, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk., burial before S. Anne (*TC*, 293).
 1530 Ric. Rykard, P, $\frac{1}{4}$ mk.
 1533 J. Boys, M, 10s.; Hy. Bolt, P, 2s. and burial.
 1534 Wm. Anger, P, 1 mk. for repair of church.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

- 1535 Eliz. Engham, P, 10 mks. for seven years obits; Ric. Cryspe, P, $\frac{1}{2}$ mk.; Ric. Browning, P, 8d. to Our Lady light; Juliana Giles, M, 10s.
1537 Thos. Alcock, M, £1 for repair of church.

Many bequests are conditional on the friars singing for the souls of the testator or his relatives. The rate seems to have remained the same despite a decline in wordly purchasing-power—a groat for a mass and, *pro rata*, 10s. for a trental (30 masses), though some expect this for half a mark and others are more generous, especially Mrs. Engham, who specifies an obit. of 10 masses only for seven years.

APPENDIX B

FINDS

At Aylesford, besides the tiles now re-bedded in a window-embasure, there is a case of finds on exhibition. Some of the Sandwich finds are still in the possession of Mr. Deighton and a few more were among Mr. Stebbing's collections, now at Deal.

BUILDING MATERIALS, ETC.

For stone and brick fragments from Sandwich we have to rely on Stebbing's brief summary in *Arch. Cant.*, xlviii, and nothing significant is preserved at Aylesford. I have examined a quantity of grisaille window-glass from Sandwich and a little from Aylesford, but the fragments are all too small to make much of. Both sites produced the normal and very constant type of Kentish peg-tile. Only the floor-tiles lend themselves to detailed description.

Floor-Tiles. There is yet no adequate study of tiles from Kent. It is known that the mass-produced stamped tiles from Penn, Bucks.,⁶⁴ and perhaps other middle-Thames kilns, had a distribution covering the Thames basin in its widest sense and extending from Warwickshire to E. Kent, but perhaps excepting the Cotswold area, where better-quality tiles were current. Of the local kilns that rivalled and imitated the rather indifferent middle-Thames products, only one, probably at Tyler Hill, nr. Canterbury⁶⁵ seems to serve north-east Kent. Others, such as Rye,⁶⁶ and perhaps one in the Weald,⁶⁷ seem to have had a

⁶⁴ C. Hohler in *Records of Bucks.*, xiv (1941-6), 1; cf. P. Chatwin in *Trans. Birmingham and Midland Arch. Soc.*, lx (1936), 1. For Sussex examples (a minority among superior titles) cf. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, lxxv (1934), 19.

⁶⁵ *Arch. Cant.*, lxii (1949), 148—no details of the floor-tiles.

⁶⁶ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, lxxiii (1932), 92 ff.

⁶⁷ The tiles from Frittenden (*Arch. Cant.*, ix (1874), 203) are hard to parallel but look too good for a local mass-production.

very limited market—frankly Rye had nothing very good to offer. As will appear, all the identifiable tiles from Aylesford and some of those from Sandwich are of mid-Thames manufacture.

Aylesford. About 50 tiles are preserved, now mostly re-set, and many of these seem to have been found after the fire of 1930. Few, if any, came from the church area, but some certainly from in and around the south range. There are a few plain green tiles of small (not more than 5 in. square) size, and an unusual green tile divided by incisions into four bands (Fig. 4, O), but the great majority are stamped and, with but one exception, their designs can be matched or nearly matched from Thames valley sources. In brief, Aylesford probably obtained all its glazed tiles from Penn. On the other hand, no design found at Aylesford has been noticed among those from Temple Manor, Strood, or the almost identical selection in the Pyx Chamber, Westminster,⁶⁸ for both of which I have argued a Thames-valley source and a date not later than the first decade of the fourteenth century. This group seems generally a trifle earlier than those from Aylesford, where cusped designs are prominent—if one can use such terms of so derivative a product, the Strood group is more 'Early English' and the Aylesford more 'Decorated'. All the Aylesford tiles are printed at one stroke—none show a thick inlay of white clay. The colour varies, but no more than accidental differences in firing would produce, some having a distinct greenish tinge to both the brown and the yellow parts of the surface. In the light of present knowledge there seems nothing inconsistent with the supposition that a large part of the conventual buildings was tile-floored soon after completion in the first half of the fourteenth century.

In the following table the references are: *LMC* = London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue*, p. 229 ff., and C. Hohler, in *Records of Bucks.*, xiv (1941-6), p. 1 ff., for the serial numbers prefixed by letters, of which P stands for Penn; full provenances are given in these sources. In most cases there are two or three specimens of each design at Aylesford (Fig. 4).

Overall quasi-heraldic designs:

- (1) Checky, when laid diagonally (*LMC*, 57).
- (2) Fretty with fleurs de lys (P105).

Circular or biaxially symmetrical designs:

- (3) Pierced cinquefoil (*LMC*, 8; P74).
- (4) Cross of rosettes (*LMC*, 33, P62).
- (5) Lys and toothed arcs (*LMC*, 13, 14; P44).
- (6) Octofoil and cusped arcs (*LMC*, 4, P66).

⁶⁸ S. E. Rigold, 'Two Camerae of the Military Orders', *Arch. Jour.*, forthcoming.

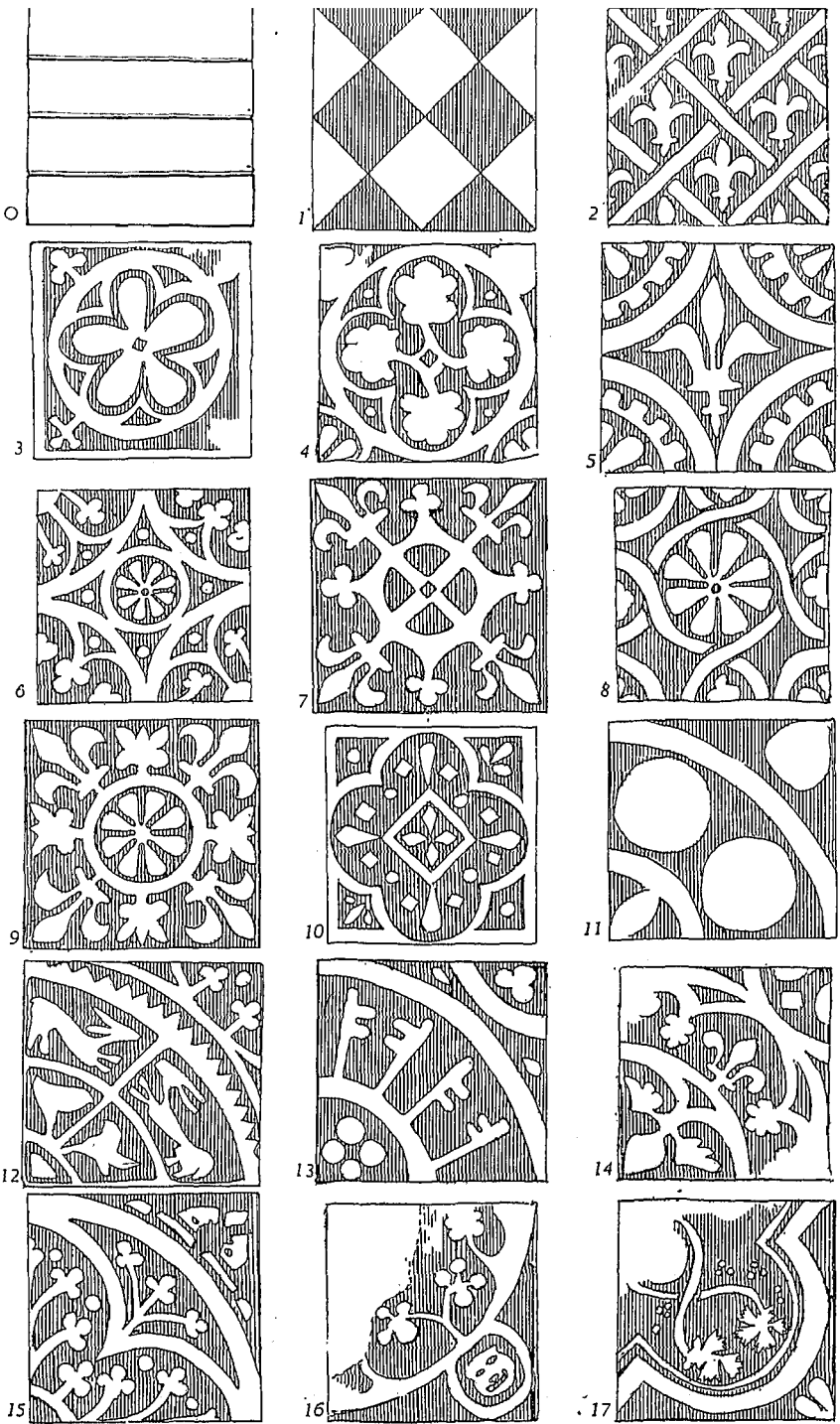


FIG. 4.
Aylesford Friary, Floor-tiles

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

- (7) Wheel-cross fleury (*LMC*, 50; P71).
- (8) Octofoil in two-way guilloche (*LMC*, 20; P73).
- (9) Octofoil in circle fleury (P68—this establishes its origin, though not in *LMC*; there is a large number of this design in Upchurch church).
- (10) Jewelled square, not in *LMC* or Hohler.

Quadrant designs:

- (11) Large bezants (cf. P165).
- (12) Deer or hares and chickens (*LMC*, 10; P128, 129)—11 examples.
- (13) Paired keys(?) (cf. P139-144).
- (14) Cusps and lys (cf. P131).
- (15) Two human profiles and many trefoils (*LMC*, 1; P157, 158).
- (16) Lion-mask and quatrefoils (cf. *LMC*, 24).

Quarters of lobed square (?)

- (17) A more delicate entwined leaf design (cf. *LMC*, 30).

All the tiles are $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11·5 cm.) square or slightly less, except nos. 5, 7, 9 and 15 which are a trifle larger.

Sandwich. Only about 20 tiles and fragments, half of which are plain green or yellow, were examined. Of the printed tiles most are somewhat thinner than the Temple Manor tiles or most of the mid-Thames examples, and the designs, with a liking for sixfoils, are generally absent from *LMC* and the Thames-valley sources, as are the majority of those from the churches of St. Mary and St. Clement, Sandwich, Blackfriars, Canterbury, and some other E. Kentish sites. The designs, of course, were sometimes imitated, but in view of the large assemblages of different motifs at the aforementioned places, it is provisionally suggested that the majority of them and of the Whitefriars tiles are of local (? Tyler Hill) manufacture. The following from Whitefriars are complete enough to describe (Fig. 5).

Circular or Biaxially symmetrical:

- (1) Sixfoil in lobed square; tile with red, not grey, core.
- (2) Large sixfoil, occurs at St. Mary's, Sandwich, Faversham Abbey, etc.
- (6) Lys in cusped quadrilateral, exactly as at St. Clement, Sandwich, but for similar designs cf. *LMC*, 17, 18 and P.
- (4) Lion in cusped quadrilateral—a thicker tile, much worn, probably mid-Thames—cf. *LMC*, 2. Grey core.

Quadrant design

- (3) Lys and cusps; thick, clumsy execution cf. P130.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

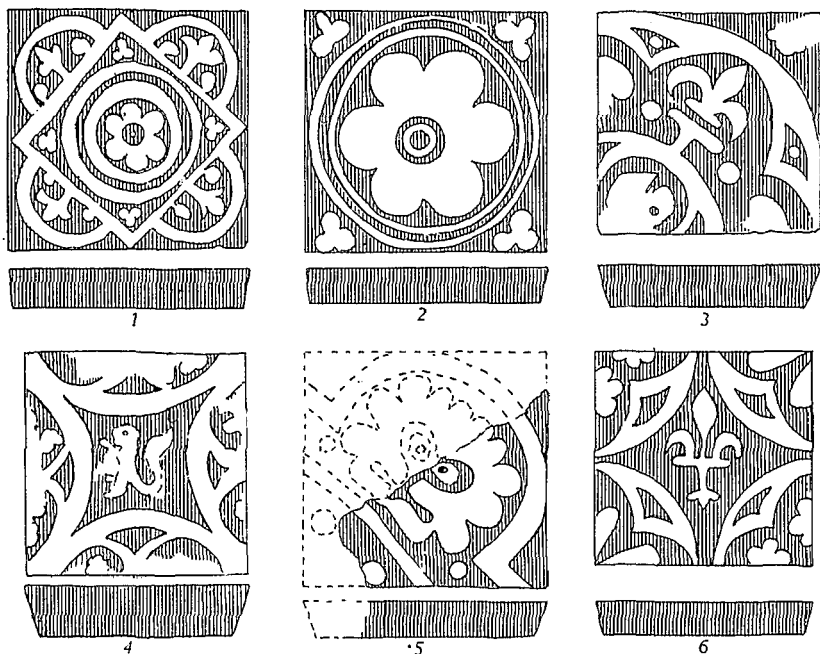


FIG. 5.

Sandwich Friary. Floor-tiles

Quarter of lobed square(?)

(5) Lion-mask, something like *LMC*, 7, 9.

Border tile

(7) Lion passant.

SMALL FINDS

Pottery. A large quantity of post-Dissolution, mainly seventeenth-century, ware from Sandwich attests the continued occupation of part of the premises. It is intended that this shall be described elsewhere. There is, as would be expected, some post-Dissolution pottery at Aylesford. But medieval wares available from either site amount to very little: one glazed jug from Sandwich has already been described;⁶⁹ there is a piece of grey sandy, E. Kentish (?) jug with a round internal thumb-press at the base of the cylindrical handle from Sandwich⁷⁰ and both sites have produced a few cooking-pot sherds, including one rim apiece with an upper bevel such as seems to go out of use before the

⁶⁹ *Arch. Cant.*, 1v (1942), 47 and Pl.

⁷⁰ cf. the jug from New Romney (*Arch. Cant.*, lxxix (1964), 66, fig. 11,13).

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

end of the thirteenth century, that from Sandwich giving a local *terminus post-quem* of c. 1272. The sherd is sandy, light red throughout, probably Tyler Hill.

Numismatica. The whole collection from Sandwich has been examined.

Coins

- (1) London halfpenny, Edward III, 2nd coinage (1335-43), fairly fresh; stars at end of both legends (+ EDWARDVS RE(X AN) G*/ CIVITAS LONDON*). 'From S.W. corner' (of cloister?)—may confirm the suggested completion of the buildings by this date.
- (2-6) 'Lennox-Richmond' farthings: James I (1614-25), i.m. unclear; Charles I (1625-34), i.m.'s. pellet, annulet, martlet and uncertain, the last three outside S. wall of refectory, confirming activity in the S. court at this period.

Token:

- (7) Farthing, WILLIAM PARTRIDG (Grocers' arms)/OF ELHAM (W.P.); 'Williamson's Boyne', *Trade Tokens issued in the seventeenth century*, Kent 248.

Jettons:

- (8) French; an evolved example of the official series; diam. 25 mm. Shield of 'France modern'/cross fleury in open quatrefoil with large pendants, three annulets and cinqfoil in spandrels. + AVE MARIA (cinqfoil) GRACIA PL (slipped trefoil); Fig. 6, j.

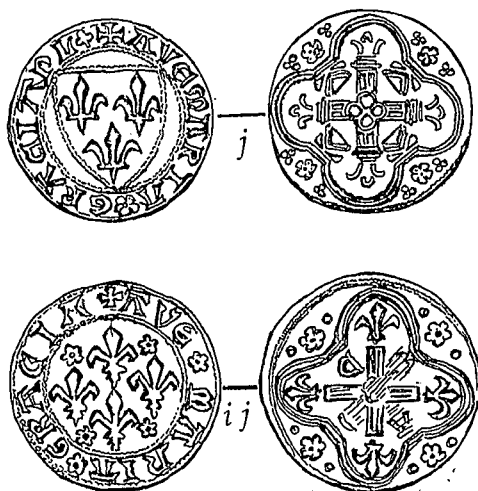


FIG. 6.

TWO KENTISH CARMELITE HOUSES

- (9) French, official, even more evolved; diam. 26 mm. 4 lys and 4 pierced cinquefoils in field/as previous but quatrefoil more spread, pellets and cinquefoils in spandrels. +AVE (cinquefoil) MARIA (cinquefoil) GRACIA; Fig. 6, ij. (For the common, late fourteenth-century archetype of 8 and 9 cf. Barnard *The Casting-counter and the Counting-board*, Pl. VI, 40, 43. From their condition these two seem to have been found in association. How late in the fifteenth century they were struck is uncertain, but perhaps c. 1450, when Tournai jettons had generally replaced them in the English market. For the developed form cf. Barnard, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI, 46, 47. They are to be distinguished from the much coarser, unofficial 'French derivatives' that continue into the sixteenth century.)
- (10-17) All 'early-middle' period Nuremberg jettons of normal type (*Reichsapfel* (orb) in trilobe/3 crowns and 3 lys) with garbled Lombardic legends, such as occur very frequently in 'Dissolution' contexts—a large number came from Whitefriars, Coventry. Two sizes: 10-14, diam. 25 mm. with 6-7 mm. orb and all except one with obv. i.m. crown, rev. crowns terminating in annulets and 2 annulets or pellets in spandrels (14 has fleured crowns, empty spandrel, no i.m.)—these look like an associated find; 15-17, diam. 23 mm. with 5 mm. orb and fleured crown or 7 mm. orb and knobbed crown.
- (18-20) Small (22 mm.), later, signed Nurembergers: normal types of Hans Krauwinkel (c. 1580-1610) and Hans Schultes (c. 1550-74) and another of Schultes with *Reichsapfel*/bust in winged helmet. Both of his have motto 'Glick kumpt von Got allein'.