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## THE POPULATION OF SANDWICH FROM THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH I TO THE CIVIL WAR

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Sandwich was a flourishing market town and port during the middle ages. It was at the height of its prosperity during the thirteenth century, when it was the largest trading port outside of London and an important naval base. This prosperity was not maintained during the later middle ages and by 1550 the town appeared to be in decline. The population of Sandwich – in common with other places in east Kent – had still not recovered by that date and the economy of Sandwich had contracted to adjust to lower population levels in both the town and its rural hinterland. There was little incentive to rebuild houses destroyed by the French raid in 1457 and parts of the town still lay in ruins in 1500.<sup>1</sup> Demographic and economic contraction was compounded by some decline in the fortunes of the port, resulting from changing trade patterns and the physical deterioration of the harbour. The end of the middle ages saw the decline in Sandwich's role as an outpost for London, with the departure of the Italian fleets, which had used Sandwich as a regular port of call en route between Southampton, London and the Continent. The port's overseas commerce shrank further with the growth of the Merchant Adventurer's London to Antwerp trade.<sup>2</sup> The decay of the harbour, which had been gradually silting up since the fifteenth century, was a cause of great concern to the inhabitants of Sandwich and by the mid-sixteenth century, urgent action was needed to prevent 'the utter ruyn and decaye of the saide towne'.<sup>3</sup> Sandwich was another example of a town in difficulty in the early and mid-sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of this gloomy prognosis, Sandwich saw a revival in its fortunes during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, followed by contraction – a pattern common to many small towns in the early modern period.<sup>5</sup> The town's population, which was at a low level in the 1550s, had more than tripled by the 1620s. There were several reasons for this extraordinary expansion. In the first place,

Sandwich experienced an underlying increase in the birth rate from the 1570s until 1640, despite periods of high mortality and poor background health. After 1640 that natural increase ceased. But Sandwich also grew in this period from migration. Immigrants from the Continent were a major factor in the changing size and composition of the town's population between 1561 and 1642.

Sandwich was not the only destination for immigrants from the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century: London, Colchester, Norwich, Southampton, Rye, and in Kent – Canterbury and Maidstone – all had 'stranger' populations, although their experiences varied considerably. Sandwich was, however, the first port of call for immigrants – legal or illegal – and there were always some transient immigrants in the town. A rapid and dramatic increase in the population took place in the 1560s and 1570s as an influx of immigrants fleeing from religious oppression and economic dislocation in the southern Netherlands doubled the population by 1580. Sandwich, as a port, had always known a certain transient population and the town's inhabitants were not unused to hearing Flemish or French spoken in the streets and on the quay, but immigration on this scale was a new experience. Within a very short period this small town containing empty houses filled up with people. By 1580 there was overcrowding, pressure on housing and open conflicts between the two communities over trade and taxes, despite the substantial boost to the town's economy and trade given by the manufacture of the new draperies introduced by the immigrant community. The town authorities appeared to be overwhelmed by the numbers of immigrants pouring into Sandwich in the 1560s and 1570s and by the pressures that arose from a rapidly growing town in those years and again around 1610. Their response was to attempt to limit immigration and to control and restrict the economic activities and lives of the immigrant population.<sup>6</sup>

The period of rapid growth in the immigrant population of Sandwich was short lived, however, and their numbers had decreased by 1600. Some strangers moved on to other towns in England, while others returned to the Netherlands in the 1580s and 1590s. A permanent core of Dutch inhabitants remained in Sandwich in the seventeenth century, to be joined by smaller numbers of new immigrants after 1600. By 1642, the Dutch community had dropped to about a quarter of the total population of Sandwich. It is likely, however, that increasing numbers of English migrants into the town compensated for the decline in the stranger population.

Research on the demography of Sandwich in the early modern period

has previously been partial and incomplete; one aspect or another has been included in a number of published studies.<sup>7</sup> The present article revisits this territory to examine in greater detail the changing composition of the population of Sandwich from the mid-sixteenth century to the Civil War. It looks at the changing size of the population and the roles played by natural increase, mortality crises and immigration. It draws on the parish register data, probate inventories and records of the town corporation in the Sandwich Year Books. There were three parishes in Sandwich – St Clement, St Peter and St Mary – whose boundaries were not entirely coterminous with those of the town. The parish of St Clement had a larger acreage extending beyond the town, but the number of extra-mural inhabitants was probably not very large. The parish registers are not complete during the middle years of the sixteenth century for a straightforward aggregative analysis, but the registration data for all parishes between 1576 and 1640 can be fruitfully exploited (Figs 1-4).<sup>8</sup>

The population of Sandwich was low – in the region of 1,500-1,700 – in the mid-sixteenth century before the first wave of Flemish immigrants began to arrive in 1561.<sup>9</sup> In the previous fifteen years Sandwich had experienced two periods of particularly high mortality: in 1545 recorded burials tripled those of the previous year in St Peter's parish and more than doubled in St Mary's, and in the national epidemic years of 1558-9, burials were high in St Mary's.<sup>10</sup> In about 1560 probably just under a third of the houses in the town were unoccupied and parts of St Mary's parish in particular had become depopulated. Houses were being pulled down or allowed to fall down 'to the great defasyng and ruyn of the same (town)' and in 1560 the town authorities re-issued a decree first made in Edward VI's reign preventing the demolition of houses, if there was no intention to rebuild.<sup>11</sup>

Within seven years, however, decline was dramatically reversed with the arrival of Flemish immigrants. The population increased and vacant houses were filled. In 1561, twenty-five Flemish families were given permission to settle in Sandwich.<sup>12</sup> By 1565, the number of Flemish households had risen to at least one hundred and twenty nine and the population of Sandwich had grown to about 2,500.<sup>13</sup> In 1567, the Sandwich borough Year Book records that 'the town ys so replenished with people that the inhabitants therof have great lack of houses to inhabit'. Permission was given for private housing development by tenants of vacant land rented from the town in St Mary's parish within the town walls near the Canterbury Gate, and a new street was created.<sup>14</sup> There are more references to infilling with new houses and the renting of houses to strangers. Later in 1567, the

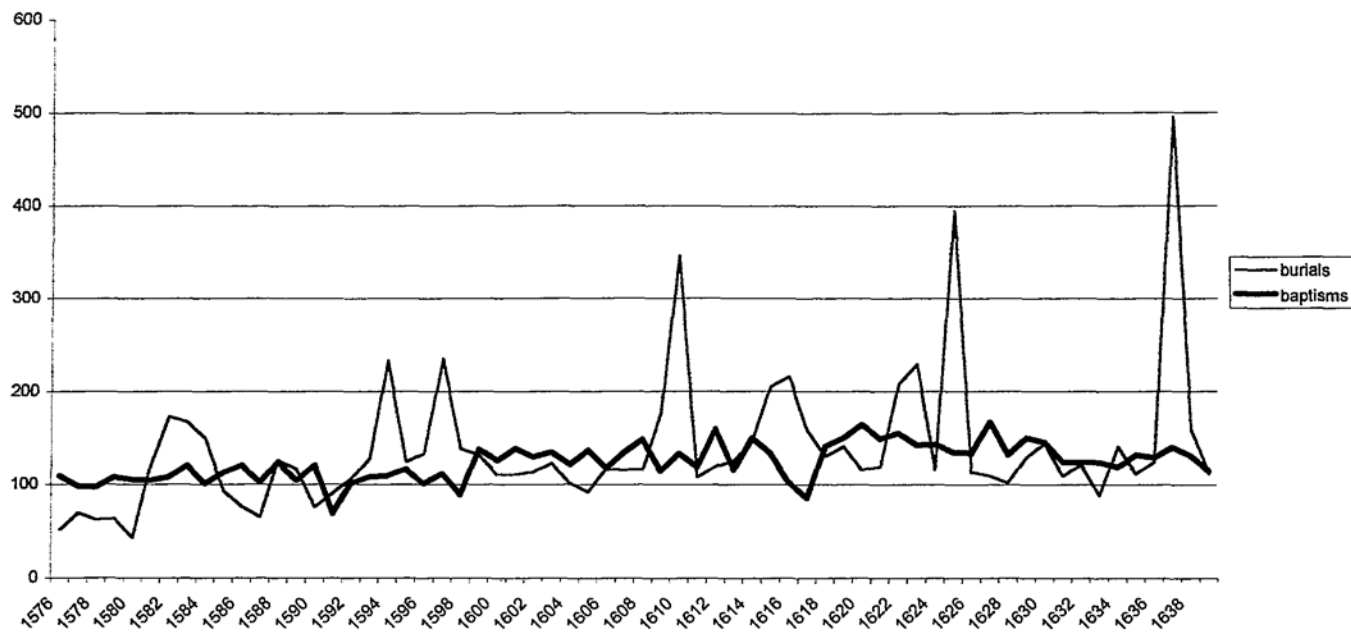


Fig. 1 Baptisms and Burials in Sandwich 1576-1640, using the combined Parish Register data for the three parishes of St Clement, St Mary and St Peter. (Sources – see note 8.)

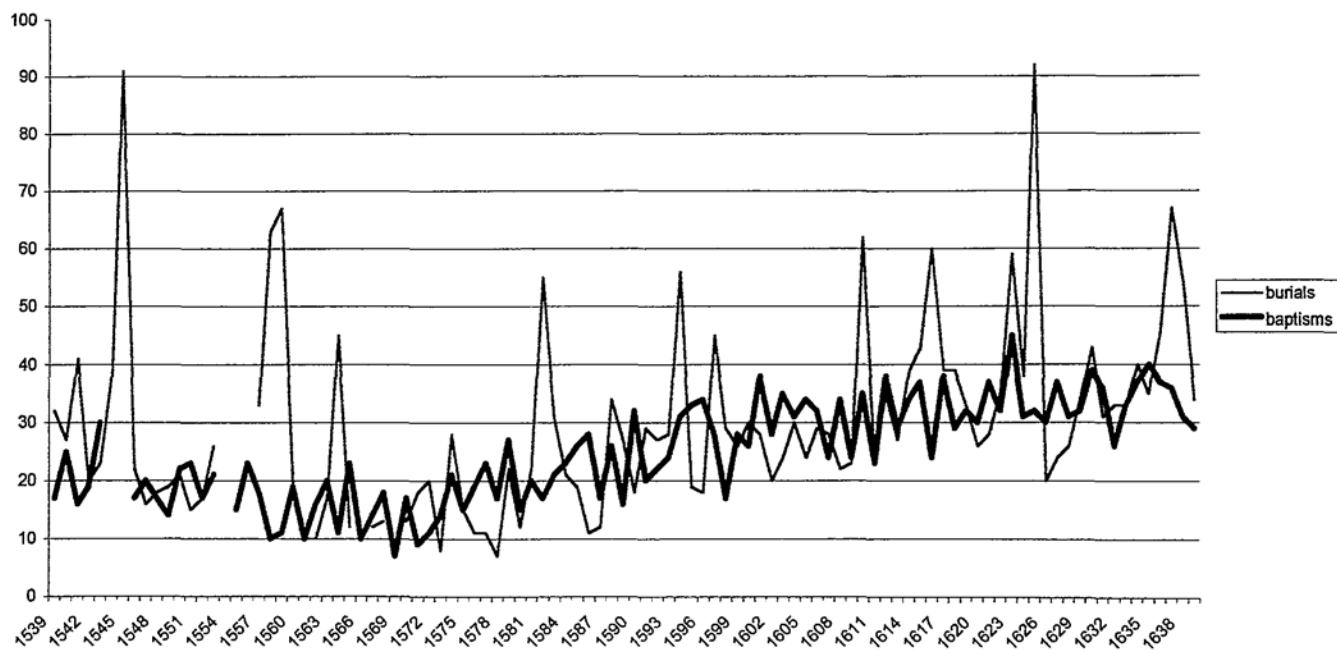


Fig. 2 Baptisms and Burials in St Mary's Parish, Sandwich 1539-1640. (Sources – see note 8.)

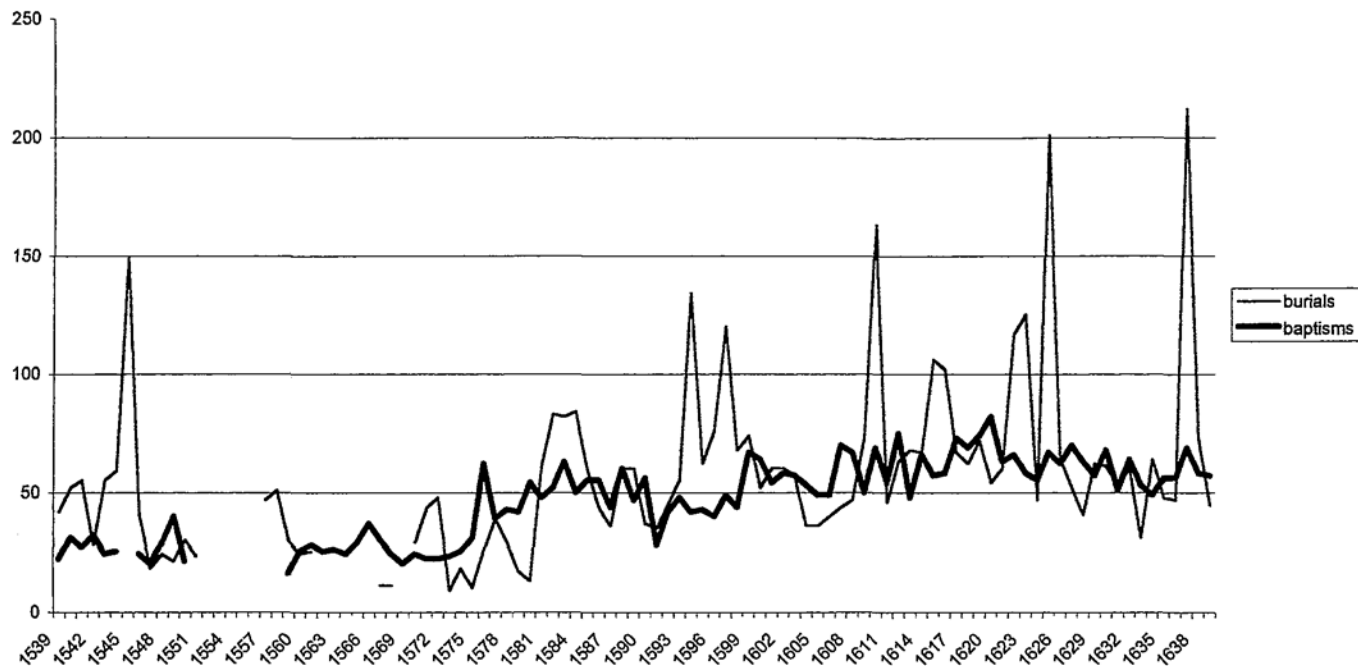


Fig. 3 Baptisms and Burials in St Peter's Parish, Sandwich 1539-1640. (Sources – see note 8.)

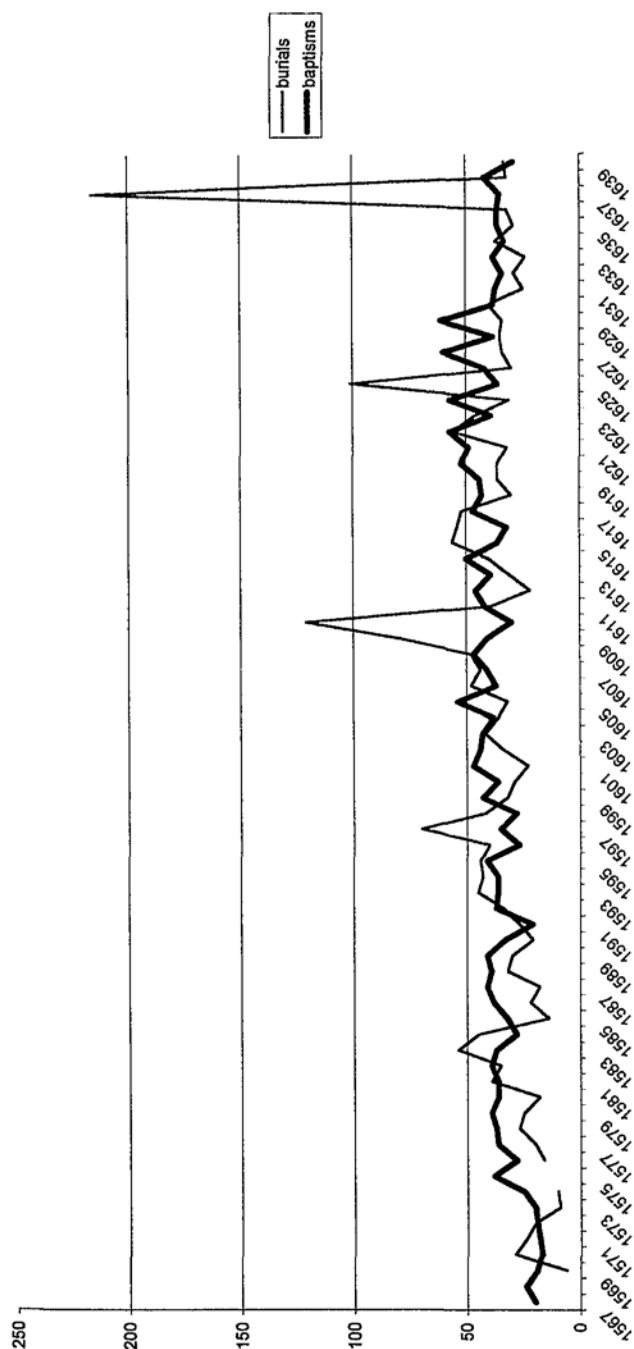


Fig. 4 Baptisms and Burials in St Clement's Parish, Sandwich 1567-1640. (Sources - see note 8.) There are no entries for burials Sept-Dec 1633. An average figure calculated from the surrounding six years for each month has been interpolated.



authorities forbade the keeping of swine within the walls, 'the town being now very populous'.<sup>15</sup> The Year Book gives the impression that immigrants continued to arrive at least until 1588 but that the town authorities were not in control of the situation. Many came in covertly, for in 1568 Dutch inhabitants were required to report any new immigrants coming to their houses and by 1574 they were forbidden to lodge newcomers.<sup>16</sup> Some poor French Huguenot refugees, fleeing after the Massacre of St Bartholomew, added to the numbers of immigrants in Sandwich in 1573. They were regarded with sympathy by the town authorities, who gave them fifty shillings.<sup>17</sup>

The population of Sandwich was probably about 5,000 in the 1570s, when the number of immigrants was at its peak. By the beginning of 1574, the total alien population in Sandwich had reached about 2,900, including 2,400 Dutch-speaking Flemish people and five hundred French-speaking Walloons. At least half of the population of Sandwich were immigrants from the Netherlands during the early 1570s.<sup>18</sup> It was hardly surprising that, in 1575, the Walloon community moved out more or less *en bloc* to Canterbury, where there were still vacant houses.<sup>19</sup> A rising birth rate among the native population also increased population pressure during the later 1570s (Figs 2-4).

Unfortunately, the registers for the Dutch and Walloon communities of Sandwich have not survived and so we are not able to chart population change within the immigrant communities in great detail. The baptisms of only a small number of aliens were recorded in the English parish registers, which principally record the English population. Estimates of population trends based on baptisms – assuming a birth rate constant of 30 per 1,000 – suggest that the native population had risen to over 3,000 by 1580 (Table 1). Sandwich was

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED NATIVE POPULATION OF SANDWICH  
1575-1640  
(assuming a birth rate constant of 30 per 1,000)

1575-79	3307
1580-89	3680
1590-99	3550
1600-09	4350
1610-19	4570
1620-29	4903
1630-39	4277

certainly an over-crowded town during the 1570s, reaching a peak of about five and a half thousand by 1580.

From the early 1580s, the numbers of immigrants began to decline as many of the strangers returned to the Netherlands and one historian has estimated that the Flemish/Dutch population had dropped to just over a thousand by 1582. The likelihood, however, is that although numbers were decreasing the decline was not as great as this, and that numbers were nearer 1,600 to 2,000 in 1582.<sup>20</sup> The immigrant population had dropped to about one third of the total population. Flemish/Dutch immigrants continued to leave during the later 1580s and 1590s because of disruption in the bay industry, trade dislocations and the general distress of the 1590s. After 1581, for those wishing to return to the Netherlands, the opportunity was open to settle in the largely protestant provinces of Holland and Zeeland, which remained free from Spanish rule after that date: Backhouse traced some 278 Sandwich strangers who returned to the northern provinces between 1576 and 1625, mostly to Leiden.<sup>21</sup> During the 1580s, the Sandwich authorities restricted further immigration, banishing new immigrants 'not of the Dutch congregation' and limiting permission to settle in the town to useful and law-abiding immigrants: in 1585 a Dutch merchant and in 1588 a Dutch pot-maker were allowed to stay.<sup>22</sup>

The chronology of conflict between the stranger and native English communities in Sandwich during the later sixteenth century, as measured by the incidence of items relating to the Dutch immigrant community in the records of the Sandwich authorities, confirms the pattern of population pressure arising from immigration outlined above. The 1570s produced the highest number of items – 61 cases – with the numbers dropping in the 1580s and 1590s. These include cases relating to both trade and industry and breaches of the peace, which drop sharply after 1582, reflecting a reduction in tension between the English inhabitants and the remaining immigrants (**Fig. 5**).

Compared with most areas of southern England, Sandwich was an unhealthy place to live – a fact which affected native and immigrant population alike – and was typical of towns situated on the coastal marshlands of South-East England.<sup>23</sup> It was surrounded by inned and stagnating salt marshland, where marshland fevers, particularly malaria, were endemic. The town was on the sluggish River Stour, which was silting up. It was small, confined and congested by the 1560s with narrow streets, overcrowded houses and an open sewer – The Delf – running through it. Pigs roamed the streets. It was a cloth manufacturing town and port, with a mobile population, who might easily import diseases. Like other towns and parishes in similar

# EVIDENCE OF THE STRANGER PRESENCE

No. items in Sandwich Year Books

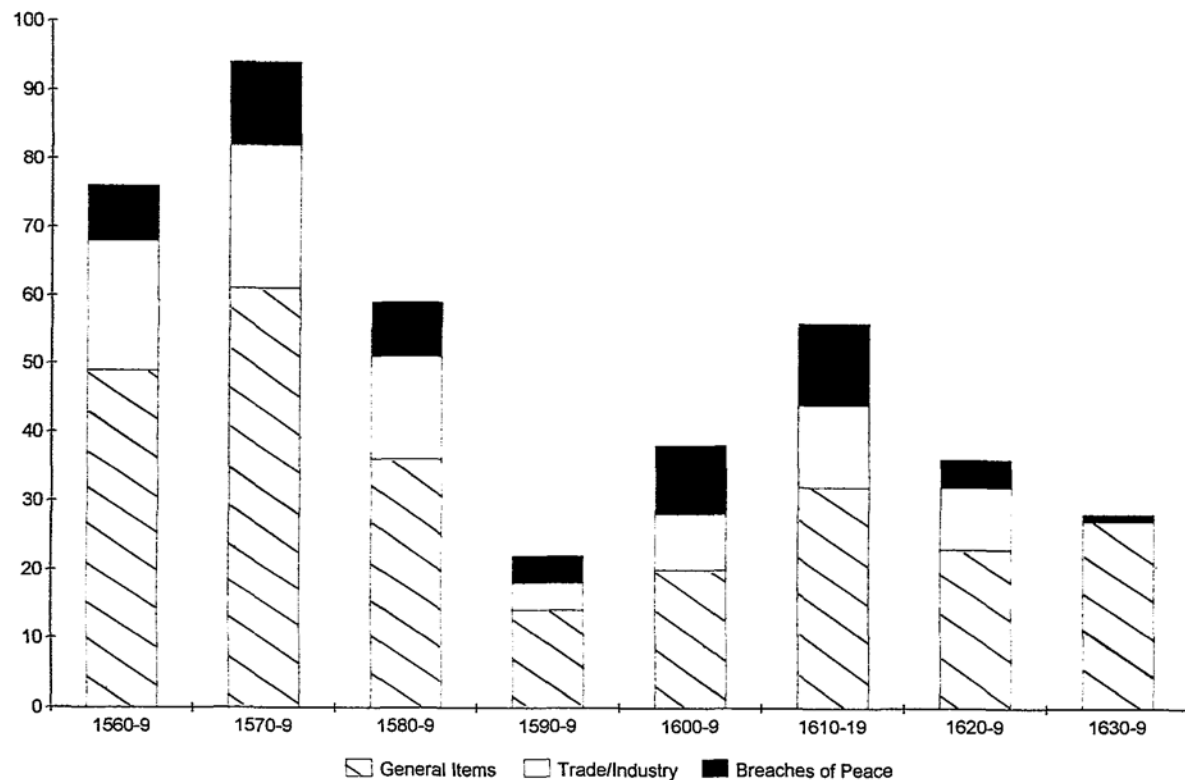


Fig. 5 Evidence of the Stranger Presence in Sandwich 1560-1639.

situations, Sandwich had an excess of burials over baptisms in most years. During the 64 years between 1576 and 1640, 1,139 more burials than baptisms are recorded. The chronological pattern of mortality followed national trends in general.<sup>24</sup> The decade 1570-9, when the population was probably at its greatest and the town at its most crowded, was followed by several decades of higher mortality. In the 1580s burials exceeded baptisms in six out of ten years and 1582 was a crisis year in St Mary's parish.<sup>25</sup> During the 1590s, burials exceeded baptisms in eight out of ten years with peak years of mortality in 1594 and 1597, when the town authorities ordered measures to stem infection from the plague, charging the inhabitants with the cost.<sup>26</sup> The steady decline in the population was exacerbated by the continuing departure of Dutch people, and in 1598 the remaining Dutch inhabitants asked the town authorities for a reduction in the Watch Money they paid from £36 to £30 per annum on the grounds that their 'congregation falleth to decaye and into povertie'.<sup>27</sup> 1610 was the first year of mortality crisis of the seventeenth century, when just under three hundred and fifty inhabitants of Sandwich died (Fig. 1). Burials were high in 1615 and 1616, particularly in the parishes of St Peter's and St Mary's, although they did not reach crisis level (Figs 1-3). An even more devastating mortality crisis occurred fifteen years later – in 1625 – when nearly four hundred people died. Plague is mentioned in the town records for both years.<sup>28</sup>

Despite reverses in the 1590s, 1610 and 1625, the population recovered between each crisis. The level of burials was lower in the first years of the seventeenth century and after 1625 until the crisis year of 1637 (see below). Baptisms recovered after an initial drop at the time of each crisis: during the 1590s the level of baptisms only dropped slightly and then grew from 1600 to 1610 and again in the 1620s.<sup>29</sup> 1600-1610 was the only decade when baptisms exceeded burials and by 1610, the town was once more congested.<sup>30</sup> The population of Sandwich may have regained its 1570s peak of about 5,500 by 1610.

Natural increase, however, was not the sole reason for an increase in the population following the collapse of the 1590s. Immigrants were once again an important element in the town's renewed growth after 1600. While there may have been some new Continental immigration, Sandwich was also attracting English migrants – in common with other towns at this period.<sup>31</sup> In 1610, the Sandwich authorities complained of overcrowding in the town, which was:

greatly inhabited and very populous through a great number of inmates which are harboured in many places within the town as well as by the English as the Dutch congregation, divers persons hyrning of

houses and afterwards for their privat benefit let out many romethes [*sic*, rooms] to several inmates. . . .<sup>32</sup>

Migration was both local and distant. Local east Kent migrants came from the hinterland of Sandwich, where healthy Downland parishes were experiencing rising birth rates and population growth.<sup>33</sup> Local migrants in search of work also came from Canterbury. In 1633, two tapsters, Edward Wood and Tobias Mede, were charged six shillings each in 'foreign money' by the Sandwich authorities for working in Sandwich and were told to return to Canterbury, where they had wives and children.<sup>34</sup> Many vagrants and beggars, who appeared before the Mayor and Jurats from 1587 onwards, were both short- and long-distance migrants. These short-distance migrant beggars came from the hinterland parishes such as Ash, Worth, Northbourne, Sholden, from Chislet and Sarre on the north side of the river Stour, and from Canterbury and Romney Marsh.<sup>35</sup> Many long-distance migrants were coastal migrants from London, Humberside, East Anglia, Sussex, Hampshire and Devon, while others came from Lancashire and Shropshire.<sup>36</sup>

In 1601-2, the Sandwich authorities were concerned about the numbers of women who were not inhabitants of Sandwich and out of covenant, 'resorting to the town' and being employed as servants by the strangers. They issued new decrees forbidding strangers 'to retain, receive, set to worke or take in covenant many maides and women servants being forreiners'; they were to employ only Sandwich-born women.<sup>37</sup> Some of these women may have come from the Continent, but there were undoubtedly English migrants among them: in 1604, four Dutchmen were fined for breaking the decrees and employing uncovenanted women, whose names were English.<sup>38</sup> The case of Jacob Buens suggests that it was not uncommon for English-born Dutch people to move to Sandwich from other towns with stranger inhabitants. At some time before 1633, Jacob Buens moved to Sandwich from Dover where he was born. His birth certificate had been lost and he asked the Mayor and Jurats to enter a certificate of birth into the Book of Records and brought various witnesses to prove his birth in Dover, one of whom was a Dutch woman from Dover married to a Sandwich Dutchman.<sup>39</sup>

The population growth of the early decades of the seventeenth century ended during the 1630s, when the birth rate began to level off. To make matters worse, in 1637, Sandwich faced its harshest mortality crisis of the whole period, when the death toll reached just under five hundred.<sup>40</sup> Plague was a major cause of death, for 70 per cent of burials took place between July and September. The Sandwich Year Book records eleven measures to control the spread of infection

and to provide relief for the poor infected with plague. The fair was cancelled, shops selling clothes and household goods were closed and the authorities resorted to the Justices of the Peace of the county for financial help, as they claimed that the inhabitants were too poor to bear the cost of the relief of the infected poor.<sup>41</sup> By 1642, the population had probably dropped to some 3,700 inhabitants.<sup>42</sup> It continued to decline during the mid-seventeenth century to about 2,600 in 1671, when there were about 50 empty houses.<sup>43</sup>

What proportion of the population of Sandwich in the early seventeenth century was Flemish/Dutch? The decline in numbers of Dutch inhabitants during the 1580s and 1590s seems to have been halted and even reversed in the early decades of the seventeenth century (**Fig. 6**). The numbers of surviving probate inventories of the estates of strangers suggest that during the early seventeenth century, just over one third (34 per cent) of the inhabitants of Sandwich were immigrants of the first or second generation. While the number of Dutch inventories never exceeded those of the native English in any decade between 1600 and 1640, inventories were more equally divided between the two communities in the years 1616-7, 1622 and 1636-9.<sup>44</sup> How representative of the total Dutch community these inventories are, when fewer Dutch inventories – some 11 per cent of the total – survive from the sixteenth century when the immigrant population was higher, is uncertain. They certainly indicate that the Dutch formed a significant section of the prosperous inhabitants of Sandwich in the early seventeenth century. It is likely that the numbers of poor were greater in the sixteenth century. In 1566, the Dutch claimed they were not able to pay their taxes to the town because of the daily increase of the poor and the death of several of the wealthy members of the congregation.<sup>45</sup> The process of inheritance and the disposal of possessions at death in the early days of immigration was probably carried out within the Dutch congregation; the majority of immigrants from Flanders in the 1560s and 1570s were too poor to impinge on the English probate system, except in a small number of cases. The greater numbers of Dutch inventories in the early seventeenth century suggest that many of those who remained flourished, and that as a result of increasing wealth, second generation immigrants made use of the English legal process of probate to protect property and inheritance. If that is the case, the inventory numbers are a truer reflection of the proportion of Dutch inhabitants among the better off in Sandwich in the early seventeenth century than in the preceding decades.

Without the registers of the Dutch Church it is impossible to assess what was happening more precisely. While there are more recorded burials of Dutch inhabitants in the English registers than there are

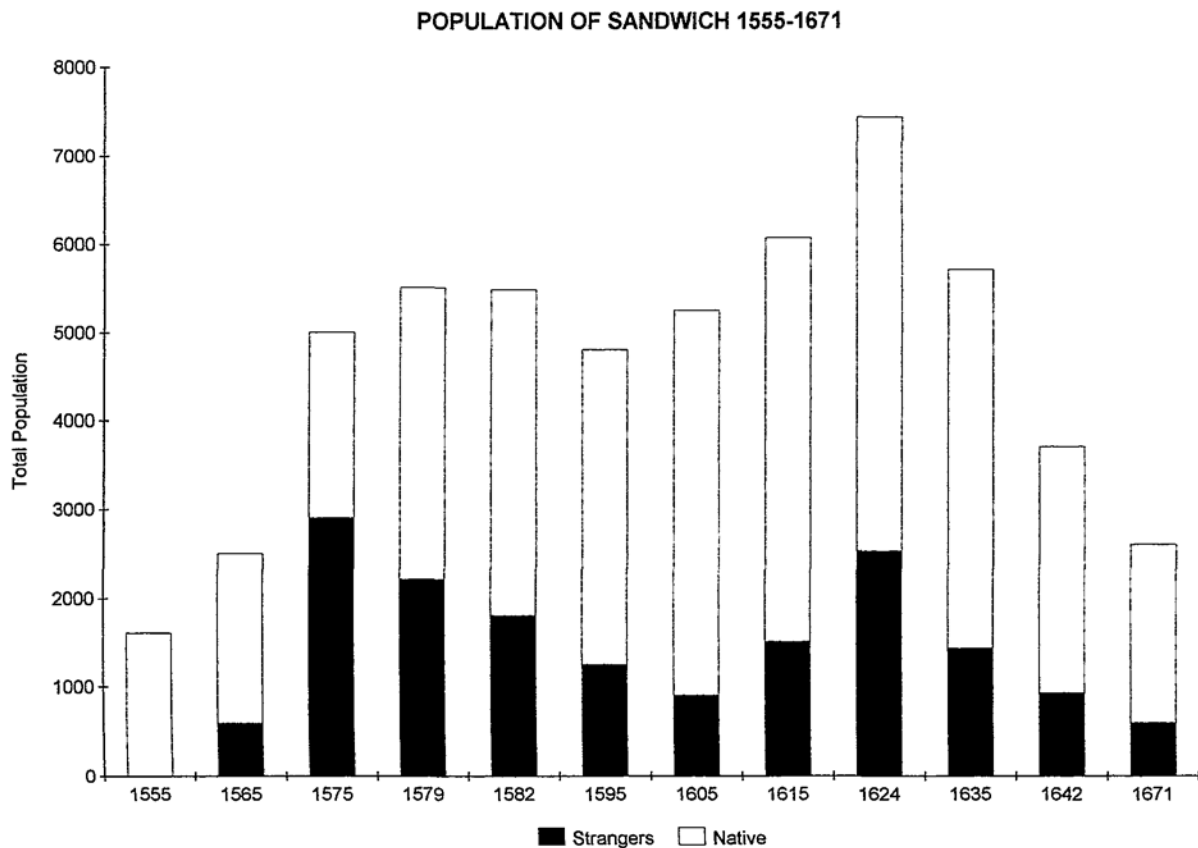


Fig. 6 Population of Sandwich 1555-1671.

baptisms of Dutch children, it is clear that the English registers exclude the majority of the Dutch population throughout the period, even if one assumes some degree of assimilation and anglicisation of names by the early seventeenth century. Only 11 per cent of invent-  
 oried strangers had their burials recorded in the three English parish registers.<sup>46</sup> It is likely that the birth rate of the settled Dutch families – especially the better off – was rising alongside that of the native English. After a significant drop in the previous eighteen years, the numbers of items concerning the Dutch in the records of the town authorities rose again between 1600 and 1620 – reflecting tension between the communities: breaches of the peace and breaches of trading regulations went up (Fig. 5).

In 1635 Sandwich received a new influx of immigrants, who were given royal licence to live in England. Fifty-eight people, including families and individuals, who were mostly French refugees from Calais and the surrounding villages fleeing renewed religious persecution in France, appeared before the Mayor and Council in 1635. They were required to move inland but did not leave with any speed and were still in Sandwich six months later, when they were again warned to leave.<sup>47</sup> Another group of about fifty people who arrived the following year, may have been allowed to reside temporarily in the town. Some had Flemish surnames and there may have been some kinship connections as two names were the same as those of Sandwich Dutch families. The rest probably moved on.<sup>48</sup> Throughout the period under view, a fluctuating proportion of the population of Sandwich at any one time was a transient one – containing not only English migrants but also Continental immigrants as well as short term visiting merchants and mariners.

In 1642 the Dutch community still formed about a quarter of the total population of Sandwich with probably just under a thousand inhabitants. Twenty-three Dutch taxpayers listed in the lay subsidy roll of 1642 were called aliens; the remainder would have been born in England.<sup>49</sup> Roughly twenty per cent of the taxpayers in 1642 had Dutch names. This figure, however, does not include names anglicised by that time and it hides intermarriage and so underestimates the real Dutch presence in the population. The majority of Dutch taxpayers (70 per cent) were concentrated in St Mary's parish, which had been the most under-populated parish in the mid-sixteenth century.

The Dutch and native English communities in Sandwich remained largely separate during this period and assimilation was a gradual process from the early seventeenth century onwards; by then some intermarriage was taking place. Although the town authorities and inhabitants of Sandwich welcomed the economic boost that Dutch



merchants and cloth manufacturers brought to the town, they constantly hedged the economic activities of the immigrants with regulations and restrictions, to protect the interests of native English tradesmen, and took advantage of them with oppressive taxes. Not only did they pay double rates in subsidies that all aliens were charged, but also local taxes on the sale of their cloth, and the regular, burdensome watch money. Tensions between the two communities over trade restrictions died down from the late 1620s as population pressure and overcrowding eased, but extra taxation continued.

Acceptance as equal citizens was slow. In the 1570s some Dutch men were declared denizens, but in 1575, eighteen Dutch men who came from Dover claiming to be denizens were forbidden to set up shop, despite letters patent from the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.<sup>50</sup> During the early seventeenth century, Dutch inhabitants had to fight for the right to be freemen. Theoretically, according to a custom of c. 1563, a stranger who had lived in Sandwich for a year and a day and was quietly behaved, could apply for freedom, if he had married a woman of the town or had purchased property. In practice – with one exception – strangers were denied freedom of the town until the 1630s when certain second-generation Dutchmen born in Sandwich began to press their cases.<sup>51</sup> They eventually succeeded, when Daniel Vander Spey, Peter Morard and Richard Does were granted freedom in 1631, followed by wealthy merchant, Jacob Rickesies, in 1632. But discrimination continued. Freedom was not granted on the same basis as it was to the native English: the Dutch were allowed their freedom by redemption only and in many cases for a much higher fee.<sup>52</sup> In 1642 a series of petitions by Dutchmen such as Jacob Costaker sought the right to claim freedom on grounds of marriage and purchase, which was denied. William Rickesies petitioned for freedom on the grounds that he was born in Sandwich, that his father was a freeman, and that he had been apprenticed to him for seven years. He too was denied freedom on those grounds, but was granted it by redemption for £30.<sup>53</sup>

In comparison with other towns which shared a similar experience of immigration, however, Sandwich had a more limited period of population growth and economic success. Sandwich experienced an expansion of population from a low ebb in the mid-sixteenth century until the 1630s and enjoyed a corresponding period of economic prosperity despite setbacks in the 1590s, 1610 and 1625. Immigration from the Continent played a significant part in the town's success during this period of growth. In the 1630s this demographic and economic advance went into reverse. Comparison with towns such as

Canterbury and Colchester is instructive; both towns received their immigrants initially from Sandwich. In Canterbury, the immigrant (Walloon) population reached its peak later than in Sandwich. About three thousand Walloons lived in the city in the 1590s, making up nearly half of the city's population. By the 1630s the Walloon community had dropped to about 1,300, about a fifth of the total population.<sup>54</sup> Canterbury received a fresh wave of immigrants, however, in the later seventeenth century and with it a renewal of its textile industry, when French Huguenots arrived from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Colchester was a larger town than Sandwich in the early sixteenth century with a population of some 3,500 in the 1520s. By the 1570s the population had reached 4,600, including immigrants, which means that it was then smaller than Sandwich. At this date, the Dutch in Colchester numbered about 1,500, fewer than the 2,400 in Sandwich. In Colchester, Dutch inhabitants represented about one third of the total population compared with over a half in Sandwich. In the longer term, however, Colchester's steady population growth ensured that it soon outpaced Sandwich. By the 1620s, the population of Colchester had increased by two and half times to 10,500 – at least twice the size of Sandwich at that date.<sup>55</sup> The increase appears to have been in the native English section of the population, as the Dutch community had grown only marginally to 1,565. While the number of Dutch inhabitants was probably slightly higher in Colchester than in Sandwich in the early seventeenth century, they represented a smaller proportion of the total population of Colchester than in Sandwich – 15 per cent as opposed to about a quarter in Sandwich. The impact of Continental immigration was much greater in Sandwich than in Colchester and this perhaps explains why the fears of the inhabitants of Sandwich were greater than in Colchester and why conflict between the two communities was more in evidence.<sup>56</sup> Were the demographic setbacks in Sandwich more severe than in Colchester, given that both towns were located near low lying coastal estuaries, or were there economic reasons behind Colchester's impressive growth? The economies of both towns had been flagging in the mid-sixteenth century and both were revived by a textile industry introduced by the Dutch. The population and prosperity of Colchester appears to have grown as manufacture of the new draperies – first established by immigrants – spread among the native population; such dissemination did not occur in Sandwich. Further research into the Dutch contribution to the economy of Sandwich – and responses to that contribution by the native population – may help to explain why Sandwich failed to benefit from its immigrant community in the long term.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of surviving medieval buildings indicates that, while the central parish of St Peter survived the raid, large parts of the parishes of St Clement and St Mary were destroyed. Early Tudor rebuilding was restricted largely to Church Street, St Mary's and Fisher Street; see E. W. Parkin, 'The Ancient Cinque Port of Sandwich', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, c (1984), 189-216.

<sup>2</sup> Helen C. Bentwich, *History of Sandwich in Kent* (Deal, 1971), 35; J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500* (1980), especially 10, 152, 255, 286, 312; D. C. Coleman, *The Economy of England 1450-1750* (1977), 51-2; O. Coleman, 'Trade and Prosperity in the Fifteenth Century. Some Aspects of the trade of Southampton', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., xvi (1963), 9-22; Dorothy Gardiner, *Historic Haven: the Story of Sandwich* (1954), 124-138; W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder. The England of Henry VIII 1500-1547* (1976), 176-206; C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000-1600* (1973); E. Power and M. M. Poston, *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (1966), especially 41, 44, 50, 224, 344-56.

<sup>3</sup> East Kent Archives Centre (hereafter EKAC) Sa/ZB 3/21/12 & 13.

<sup>4</sup> For the debate on the fortunes of English towns from the late middle ages to 1700, see: A. R. Bridbury, 'English Provincial Towns in the Later Middle Ages', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xxxiv (1962), 1-24; P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1976); P. Clark, 'Small Towns in England 1550-1850', in P. Clark (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995); R. B. Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xxvii (1977), 1-22; A. D. Dyer, 'Growth and Decay in English Towns', *Urban History Yearbook 1979*, 60-72; N. R. Goose, 'In Search of the Urban Variable: Towns and the English Economy 1500-1650', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xxxix (1986), 165-185; J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530* (1977), 44-47; D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors 1547-1603* (1983), 225-230; J. Patten, *English Towns, 1500-1700* (Folkestone, 1978); C. Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (eds) *Towns in Societies* (Cambridge, 1978), 159-69; S. Rigby, 'Urban Decline in the Later Middle Ages', *Urban History Yearbook 1979*, 46-59.

<sup>5</sup> Clark, *Small Towns*, 93-120; Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, 231-2.

<sup>6</sup> M. F. Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich: Native Industries of an Industrious Minority', *Immigrants and Minorities* x, no.3 (1991), 70-99; Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, 37-42.

<sup>7</sup> Backhouse, 'Strangers at Work', 70-99; M. J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997); Zoe L. Ollerenshaw, 'The Civic Elite of Sandwich, Kent, 1568-1640', Kent M.Phil. thesis (1990), 11-32; J. Bower 'Kent Towns, 1540-1640', in M. Zell (ed.), *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), 141-176.

<sup>8</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, U3/17 St Clement's parish register; U3/11 St Mary's parish register; U3/12 St Peter's parish register. St Clement's register begins in 1563, St Mary's in 1538 and St Peter's in 1538. Bishop's transcripts DCa/BT/162-4 and DCb/BT/1205-7. The bishop's transcripts, Dca/BT/164 and 163 contained entries for the years 1605 and 1609-16, missing in the registers for St Peter's, and for 1601 in the register of St Clement's. Ollerenshaw, 'Civic Elite', 25-6.

<sup>9</sup> EKAC Sa ZB3/24. A count of houses in 1565 includes 291 English and 129 Dutch houses and seven uninhabited. If the Dutch houses represent unoccupied houses pre-1561, the approximate pre-1561 population can be based on the English houses using a multiplier of 4.75 and making allowance for underestimation.

<sup>10</sup> E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871. A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981), 332-336; 1546 was a mortality crisis year in neighbouring Nonington: E. Jane Andrewes, 'Land, Family and Community in Wingham and its Environs. An Economic and Social History of Rural Society in East Kent from c.1460-1640', Kent Ph.D thesis (1991), 248-9.

<sup>11</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac4, fo.161.

<sup>12</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series 1547-80*, ed. Robert Lemon (1856), 179.

<sup>13</sup> EKAC Sa ZB 3/24.

<sup>14</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac4 fo. 343-5.

<sup>15</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac4 fo. 358.

<sup>16</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac4 fo. 369v, Sa/Ac5 fo.156.

<sup>17</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac5 fo.130v.

<sup>18</sup> Backhouse, 'Strangers at Work', 77-8.

<sup>19</sup> Bentwich, *History of Sandwich*, 179; Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, 40; F. W. Cross, *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury* (1898), 22.

<sup>20</sup> Backhouse, 'Strangers at Work', 78.

<sup>21</sup> Backhouse, 'Strangers at Work', 83, 92-3; G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (1977), 199-270.

<sup>22</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac6 fos. 39v, 115.

<sup>23</sup> Dobson, *Contours*, ch. 1, particularly 14, 104 and ch. 6; Sally Elks 'Lydd 1540-1644. A Demographic Study', Kent MA thesis (1987); G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer 1987); Bower, 'Kent Towns', 154, 157, for a discussion of Gravesend, Milton and Dartford.

<sup>24</sup> Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 332-6.

<sup>25</sup> A crisis year is identified when the number of burials doubled the average for the preceding five years.

<sup>26</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac6 fos. 207v, 240, 242.

<sup>27</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac6 fo. 260.

<sup>28</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fos.10, 136.

<sup>29</sup> The annual average number of baptisms increased from 107 in the 1590s to 131 between 1600 and 1609, dropping very slightly to 129 in 1610-1619 and increased to 147 in 1620-9.

<sup>30</sup> The annual average burials was 118 in the decade 1600-1609. Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone (hereafter CKS) U562 P1, Map of Sandwich c. 1615 by William Boycott shows the town totally congested with dwellings, see F. Hull 'Kentish Map Makers', in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, CIX (1991), 67.

<sup>31</sup> P. Clark 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700* (1972), 117-63.

<sup>32</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fo.10.

<sup>33</sup> Andrewes, 'Land, Family and Community', 241-252.

<sup>34</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fo.226.

<sup>35</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac5 fo. 5; Sa/Ac6 fo. 292; Sa/Ac7 fos. 85, 195v, 215, 284, 388v, 393v.

<sup>36</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac6 fos. 88v, 170, 196v, 288v, 292; Sa/Ac7, fos. 163, 195v, 215, 215v, 220, 226, 284, 388v, 393v.

<sup>37</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac6 fos. 293-4.

<sup>38</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac6 fo. 356.

<sup>39</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fos. 215v- 216v.

<sup>40</sup> 1637 was not a crisis year nationally, although 1638/9 was – see Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 333-4. 1637/8 was a year of local mortality crises where burials were high in Ash and Wingham, neighbouring parishes to Sandwich, see Andrewes, 'Land, Family and Community', 249.

<sup>41</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fos. 301, 302, 307v, 317, 321, 321v, 322.

<sup>42</sup> The lay subsidy EKAC SaZo2 lists 685 real taxpayers with 15% added to adjust for poor households and using a multiplier of 4.75 gives a population of 3,743.

<sup>43</sup> PRO E179/129/746. The Hearth Tax assessment of 1671 for Sandwich contains 414 tax-payers and possibly 192 exempt households receiving poor relief. There is no 1664 Hearth Tax assessment for Sandwich. We are indebted to Duncan Harrington for this information. A population of 2641 is suggested using a multiplier of 4.75 and excluding 50 empty houses.

<sup>44</sup> The majority of the probate inventories for Strangers of Sandwich 1560-1640, are in the archdeaconry court enrolled inventories, CKS PRC 10/10-72, and in the archdeaconry court inventory papers, CKS PRC 11/2-3. A small number are located in the consistory court enrolled inventories, CKS PRC 28/3, 11, 14, 16, 19, 20 and the consistory court inventory papers, CKS PRC 27/6.

<sup>45</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac4 fo. 312.

<sup>46</sup> Baptisms of Dutch children in the English parish registers are usually not more than 1.5% of the total before the 1630s; Dutch burials are on average 7.5% of the total.

<sup>47</sup> EKAC Sa/A 7 fos. 274, 295v.

<sup>48</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fos. 274, 296. The names of the second list with two exceptions do not match those on the 1642 Subsidy list.

<sup>49</sup> EKAC SaZo2.

<sup>50</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac5 fos. 140, 171.

<sup>51</sup> EKAC Sa/LC3 fo. 5. Only Josias Ente was accepted into the élite earlier, but he was exceptional: Ollerenshaw, 'Civic Elite', 131.

<sup>52</sup> EKAC Sa/Ac7 fos. 197, 204, 210. Native Englishmen paid £5. Daniel Vander Spey paid £15, Jacob Costaker £20 in 1641.

<sup>53</sup> EKAC Sa/Ap1 Petitions; Sa/Ac7 fo. 410.

<sup>54</sup> Bower, 'Kent Towns', 145.

<sup>55</sup> N. Goose, 'The Dutch in Colchester: The Economic Influence of an Immigrant Community in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Immigrants and Minorities* 1-2 (1982), 263-4.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 270-1 on attitudes to the Dutch immigrants in Colchester.

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