THE ACCOUNT OF GEORGE NYCHOLL FOR ST. AUGUSTINE'S, 1552–1553*

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Many manuscripts survive from the life-time of St. Augustine's Abbey and a number of them have long ago been transcribed. But it is not generally realised that the abbey is also fortunate in the survival of its post-Dissolution records. These give an unusually detailed description of how one of the greater English abbeys was dismantled by stages, partly converted into a royal residence, sold and later allowed to go to ruin. The recent publication of Volume IV of the History of the King's Works (Colvin 1982) and the preparation of a report on excavations along the south side of St. Augustine's (Sherlock and Woods forthcoming) prompts the first publication of one of these post-Dissolution records, namely George Nycholl's account of demolition work on the abbey church and repairs to the recently renovated royal apartments in the last year of King Edward VI's reign and the first year of Queen Mary's.

The original manuscript of this account is now in the library of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury (MS 11676), to which it was presented by Sir Bryan Godfrey-Fawcett of Hyde Park, London, in 1925. How it came into the possession of his ancestors is not known, but in the eighteenth century it was still in its place among the records of the Court of Augmentations where it was seen by Edward Hasted (Colvin 1982, 62n). It comprises ten paper folios stitched together, the first and last sides being blank. It is written in a normal sixteenth-century clerk's style of English. The last folio appears to be written by a different hand and sums in arabic numerals have been added in various places.

The manuscript is of interest for two reasons: firstly, the description of the sale of second-hand building materials to various buyers,

^{*} Published with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment.

PLATE I

Sent duffent rugut // (
for really of Anthony//s)

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Hat yo to fam. 11

The Account of George Nycholl (St. Augustine's College MS 11676, F.1v).

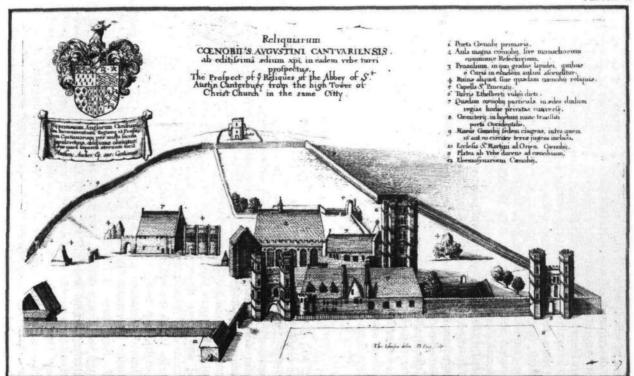
some of whom were of more than local importance; and, secondly, the descriptions of works carried out on the royal apartments.

St. Augustine's Abbey was suppressed in 1538 and in the following years Henry VIII gave orders for parts of its buildings to be converted into a royal residence. This conversion was partly effected by re-using materials from the former abbey. Roof-tiles from St. Pancras' Church, furthest from the palace, seem to have been the first to go. Two years later the King gave orders for the abbey church to be unroofed and for parts of it to be demolished in order to provide materials for his military works at Calais and elsewhere. His men started with the lady chapel and quire and by October of that year had reached the south-west tower of the nave and the charnel chapel to its south. Finally, they walled up the great west door of the church to close in the King's garden.

Concurrently, the abbot's lodging had been selected by the King to be converted into a royal residence. This lay along the west side of the cloister quadrangle and to the north of the nave. The principal buildings included a large guest hall and chapel. To these were added a suite of new chambers for the Queen's apartments. He also retained the abbey's great kitchen, a free-standing hexagonal building to the north.

In 1539, the combined works of demolition and repair cost about £650 and at the height of activity nearly 350 craftsmen and labourers were employed. Thereafter work continued but the pace slackened. James Nedeham, the King's surveyor then in charge of the work, was succeeded by Lawrence Bradshaw in 1548. In 1551, Robert Sylvester, master mason to the Court of Augmentations was in charge and replaced in 1552–53 by a local clerk called George Nycholl who, on the authority of Sir Thomas Moyle, general surveyor of the Augmentations, spent £40. After him, repairs were less frequent: £39 in 1573 and some money in 1582. In 1608, Robert Cecil obtained permission to remove 520 tons of stone for his new house at Hatfield. Charles II was the last monarch to stay at St. Augustine's and during the eighteenth century the palace gradually fell into ruins.

The most extensive source for all these works are the seventy pages of James Nedeham's 'Particular Books' now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawlinson D.779 and 781). George Nycholl's 'Account', though very much shorter, is as detailed and of particular interest to Canterbury. The first half (ff.1–4V) is mainly a list of payments received from people who had bought materials from the demolished abbey. These, we are told, came from the demolished steeple and the crypt and from the south side of the church including a window and pillars. Materials were removed by the cart-load through the great gates, in total some 340 loads of stone, 100 paving tiles (f.3R) and



Remains of St. Augustine's Abbey engraved by Daniel King (d. 1664). Crown copyright reserved.

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eleven bundles of roofing laths (f.4V). Examples of prices are as follows:

By the cart load: Flint		4d., 6d. or 12d.
5	Rubbish stone (sometimes including	
	Broken Caen stone	2s.
	Small ashlar stone	3s.
	Large Caen window stones	3/4d.
	Ashlar Caen	4s.
Individually:	Hard stones	2d. or 3d.
	Corbel stones	3d.
	Round marble pillar stones	6d.
	Ashlar stone	2s.
	Broken grave stone	68

The purchasers were nearly all local people of some standing from Canterbury and a radius of about seven miles except for Henry Crisp of Thanet (f.2R). Five of them were also buying vestments and furnishings in the general sale of church goods in 1553 (Arch. Cant., xiv (1882), 320). The biggest purchaser was Stephen Thornhurst of Canterbury who paid £15 8s. 10d. for over 228 loads of various stones (ff.3R, 4R). Others came from the parishes of St. Paul's, St. Martin's and St. Dunstan's, and from Ash, Chilham, Dane Street, Nackington, Harbledown, Hernhill, Fordwich, Goodnestone, Kingston, Preston, Stodmarsh, Sturry, Wickham and Wingham. They were people of various trades and professions: the archbishop's kinsman, a member of parliament, three mayors, a Cathedral prebend, the vicars of St. Paul's and Sturry, a baker, a grocer, a printer, and others. One man, Sir Thomas Finch, was the son-in-law of Sir Thomas Moyle himself. Not only are many of them already known today from other sources, as will be seen from the notes which follow the manuscript: but in at least two cases the stones that they removed can still be identified. There are various places in Canterbury where ancien' walls probably built of the demolished abbey can still be seen. A list of these will be found in the Appendix to this paper.

The second part of Nycholl's manuscript (ff.5R-10) is made up of payments for wages and materials for the repair of the King's great hall, the wardrobe chamber, dresser kitchen, great kitchen, stairs, privies, the former vestry and almonry and other old walls. Much of the work was on the roofs, involving carpenters and tilers. Rafters and tiles were taken down, cleaned and re-used where possible with new laths. Plumbers were required to make new gutters, in part by melting down and recasting old lead (f.9R). Ladders and scaffold poles had to be made and a saw-pit was specially built for the sawyers. The first task was the 'hewing and squaring of a great oak tree containing two and a half tons of good and sound timber which grew in the grounds of the King's palace' (f.5R). Additional wood

and other materials had to be purchased locally: roof-tiles from Hernhill and Fordwich, lime from Redfield, nails, sand and scaffold poles from Canterbury and laths from Chartham. Roofing nails had to be bought from a man from London. A lock and keys were bought in Canterbury. One carpenter, Richard Holt, was paid for going to London to collect the money for the work from Sir Thomas Moyle (f.8V). His name also appears in the first half as a purchaser of second-hand laths (f.4V). Some ten labourers were paid for clearing up after the tradesmen had finished their various jobs. The whole account gives the impression of an efficient clerk of works who has completed his task in a reasonable time, paid off his men and balanced his books.

Concerning George Nycholl himself, however, few facts are known. He was probably a good choice for the work at St. Augustine's in 1552/3 because he had worked as clerk for James Nedeham during the repairs of 1542 (Rawlinson D.779, ff. 170V, 173R, 176R, 177V, 178V). Although he is styled clerk by Nedeham, he was not in holy orders. He held property on the south side of Ivy Lane (Gravett 1980, 52) near the Two Sawyers (perhaps named after 'Thomas Walker and his fellow' – f.5V?), from where he was conveniently placed to supervise the King's work, opening and shutting the great gates each day (f.9V). He also farmed a piece of land belonging to St. Andrew's Church, for which he paid rent in 1538/9 and 1545/6 to 1547/8 (Arch. Cant., xxiv (1920), 24 ff.). His year of birth is not known, but he died in 1557 (Kent Archives Office P.R.C. 17/30/251).

In transcribing the manuscript an attempt has been made to render exactly each word without concessions to modern spelling. Punctuation has been inserted only where it seemed necessary to clarify the sense. The original is inconsistent here and in its use of capitals which have only been used at the beginnings of sentences and proper names. All abbreviations, with a few exceptions, have been extended according to their supposed meanings in the sixteenth century. Where doubtful, e.g. in whether p with a stroke in the tail should be per or par, the abbreviation has been extended to a form that conforms with modern spelling. Many numerals have superscript letters, e.g. XX': for viginti, which have not been transcribed. Some words in the original are underlined, but these have not been noted except occasionally in the notes which follow the transcription.

In preparing the manuscript for publication I am grateful to Mrs. Margaret Sparks; also the late Dr William Urry not only for his enthusiasm which prompted this publication but also for his notes on some of the characters mentioned. His words will be found largely unaltered quoted in the notes and in a list of places with St. Augustine's Abbey stonework in an Appendix at the end. In the

introduction my debt to the 'Canterbury' section of H.M. Colvin's *History of the King's Works* is obvious. Short excerpts from Nycholls' ff. 1–4 were first published by Humphrey Woods (Woods 1980).

The manuscript is transcribed and published with the kind permission of the Corporate Body of St. Augustine's College.

F.1R blank

F.1V

Anno R. E. VI VI

The kings pales of Sent Austens without the walls of Canterbury

The accompte of George Nycholl of ye parish of Sent Paull without ye walls of Canterbury. As well of all manner of sales of assheler cayn2 stone with other grett broken cayn stons, flynt, hard broken stonis and chalke stons commyng of the buyldyngs defaced within ye site or precyncte of ye late monestery of Sent Austens without ye mured walls of Canterbury forsayd, as also of payments of ye money comming thereof, and also certeyn redye money mor receavyd of my master Sir Thomas Moyll3 kyght as yt apperyth after in the accompte of my receyts payd & layd out for the new repayrying, buyldyng & mendyng of the kings maiest grett hall, the gret chamber called the wardroobe chamber, the dresser kychyn with certeyn other nedfull places as yt followyth after partycularly, mad and done by the commandement and appoyntment of ye aforsayd Syr Thomas Moyll knyght, one of ye generall surveyrs of the Kyngs maiesties lands. Ffrom the xxix daye of Apryll in the vi yer of the reine of our soverayng lord Kyng Edward the syxte unto ye natyvytie and byrthe of

George Nycholl. See Introduction. Payments for his own work are entered on ff.5R, 6R, 7R and 9V. On 10R, by a different hand, his name is spelt Nycols.

² Caen, in the Calvados province of Normandy. Over 80 per cent of the stone from the abbey church was from that region and it seems likely that this was the principle building material used by Abbots Scotland and Wido in the late eleventh century (Sherlock and Woods, forthcoming).

³ Sir Thomas Moyle (also mentioned on ff.3R, 4V, 8V, 9V and 10R) was a general surveyor in the Court of Augmentations, a court established in 1536 to survey and administer the properties surrendered by the dissolved monasteries and an important part of the machinery of Tudor government. In 1553 he was speaker of the House of Commons and member for Rochester. Also in that year he helped pay for the repair of Canterbury city walls, perhaps with stone from St. Augustine's. He was evidently a pushing man of considerable parts, and benefited largely at the Dissolution of the monasteries. He was one of the commissioners for their suppression. He was an ardent supporter of the old religion and in Mary's reign was chairman of the magistrates who imprisoned John Bland, the parson of Adesham and a protestant martyr, and was one of the opponents of the Wyatt rebellion. He died in 1560 at Eastwell Court. See *DNB*.

our Lord Jehus Cryst in the furst yer of our soveraynge ladve Ouevn Mary next ensuyng, as after particularly vs contayned and declared.

That ys to saye

F.2R Ffurst sold and receyvd of mother Chapman4 of Sent Paulls paryshe for ii court loode of flynt & rubvshe stone dvgvd from ve mas hep and rubyshe of ye old stepyll5 & other placs at vid lood - xiid Rec. of Mr Humfrey Hall for vi hard step stons - iis vid Rec. of Lenard Strenger of Chyllam for iiii small rownd pyller marbull6 stons at vid a pece - iis Rec. of Gregery Roose7 of Canterbury for ii court lod of rubyshe stond dygyd as ys aforsayd - xiid Rec. of Mr Bull8 of ye sam for ii lod of stone - xiid Rec. of Jhon Shypton of Nakynton for vii lod of assheler cayn stone & dygyd as ys aforsayd & from ye walls of ye under crofte9 at iiiis lod - xxviiis item hym mor for vii lod of rubyshe stone at xiid lod - viis Rec. of Mr Webe10 of Canterbury for for (sic) ix lood of rubvshe stone at viiid the lood - vis Rec. of Jhon Mychell11 prynter for certeyn assheler stone - iis Of Jhon Brooke & Jhon Gryffyn for iiii hard stons - viiid

Mother Chapman may have been kinswoman of James Chapman, who gave surety of £20 for John Bland (see notes 3 and 40) when he was brought to Canterbury for trial. Bland was there described by Moyle as 'a stiff-necked fellow' (Fox 1684, 308 ff.). He was martyred at Dover in 1555.

5 The old steeple, the south-west tower of the abbey church, the twin of Ethelbert's and sometimes called St. Augustine's Tower. Its demolition was started in 1541, as we know from James Nedeham's accounts (Colvin 1982, 61). The remainder of it, a huge muro torto as observed by Stukeley, was finally cleared away in 1793 by 200 men of the Surrey militia (Gent. Mag., Ixiii (1793), ii, 667).

6 Marble. Possibly from Purbeck or Bethersden, but the harder seams of Kentish rag were also black and capable of a polish. Shafts of this stone were found in excavations south of the quire in 1974 (Sherlock and Woods forthcoming). Marble is also mentioned on f.3V.

Alderman Gregory Rose lived in a house near the present Marks and Spencer's in St. George's Street. His wife was the local midwife Goody Rose who is likely as anyone to have brought Christopher Marlowe into the world (Urry). In the same house later on dwelt Robert Cushman who hired the Mayflower in 1620 (Urry). In 1591, Rose proposed a scheme to make the Stour navigable to Canterbury (Hasted 1799-1801, xi, 140 and xii, 640).

8 Probably Thomas Bull who bought a cope and other items in the sale of church goods in 1553 (Arch. Cant, xiv (1882), 319, 321).

⁹ The Romanesque undercroft or crypt of the quire.

¹⁰ Probably George Webb who was mayor of Canterbury in 1547 and 1552 (Hasted 1801, ii, 606). He bought curtains, etc., in the sale of church goods in 1553 (Arch. Cant., xiv (1882), 320). Also mentioned on f.3V.

¹¹ John Mychell of St. Paul's parish, an important provincial exponent of his trade, fl.

1549-1560. See DNB.

Rec. of Beke of Wyngam for x lod of rubyshe stons – xs Rec. of ye vycar¹² of Sent Paulls for ii lood of broken cayn stone at iis the lood – iiiis Rec. of Mr Harry Crysp of Taynett¹³ for vii cart lode of gret broken cayn stone of churche wyndows sowtheward at iiis iiiid the lood – xxiiis iiiid Rec. of Jhon Durrayt of Fordych for i lood of assheler cayn stone & dygyd as ys aforsayd – iiiis

Summa iiii li xiis viiid

F 2V Rec. of Mr Meres of Cant. for xx lood of assheler cayn stone & dygyd as ys aforsayd at iiiis the lod - iiii li Rec. of hym mor for xiiii lod of rubyshe stone - xiiiis Rec. of Thomas Byng of Cant. for ii lood of cayn ston - viiis Rec. of Jhon Hull of Harm Hyll for i lod of cayn ston - iiiis Itm of hym mor for vii lod of rubyshe ston - viis Rec. of George Caldam of Fordych for for (sic) ii lod lyk ston - iis Rec. of Mr Fuller14 of Cant. for for (sic) certeyn assheler cayn stone som broken & som holl by grett14a - xxs Rec. of Nycholas Franklyn's of Storey for i lod of lyk ston - iiiis Rec. of Wylliam Mathe of Canterbury for iii court lood of rubyshe stone at vid the court lod - xviiid Rec. of Wylliam Yong¹⁶ of Sent Paull for v lood of lyk ston - vs Rec. a (sic) man¹⁷ of Wyngam for ii lyk lood of ston - iis Rec. of Peter London of Cant. for ii court lode of lyk ston - xiid Rec. of Mr Vycar¹⁸ of Story for ii lod of assheler ston - viiis Itm of hym mor for ii lod of rubysh stone - iis Rec. of a man of Ashe for i lolde (sic) of assheler ston - iiiis Rec. of Wylliam Scotte of Canterbury for ii court lode of flynt - xiid Rec. of Jhon Stnard for i lyk lod of rubyshe stone - vid

Possibly John Fuller who was mayor of Canterbury in 1556 and 1559.
 Grett: contract. A 'bargeyn by grett' occurs near the end of F.7R.

Rec. of Mr Copyn¹⁹ for v lod of rubysh stone - vs

16 Perhaps related to Robert Young who was churchwarden of St. Paul's in 1552

(Arch. Cant., viii (1872), 123).

17 Presumably not the Mr Warham of f.3V.

¹⁸ Thomas Cockes LL.B was vicar of Sturry, 1535–54. It appears that he either married or else acknowledged his hitherto secret marriage following the Act abolishing celebacy of the clergy, and he was deprived of his living along with all other married clergy on the accession of Mary. He was the last incumbent to be presented by St. Augustine's Abbey, the patronage passing to the archbishop following the Dissolution. I am grateful to the Rev. P.J. Gausden, the present rector for this information.

¹⁹ William Copyn was mayor of Canterbury of 1541 and 1551, and member of parliament in 1553 (Hasted 1801, ii, 606; 1797–1801, xii, 218). Also on f.3V. 'Mr

¹² John Clarke was vicar of St. Paul's, 1512-58.

¹³ The Isle of Thanet is more than twice as far as any of the other places buyers came from, unless Thanet Wood in Great Chart parish is intended (see introduction).

¹⁵ Nicholas Francklin died in 1577. His will of nine pages in Maidstone Record Office shows he owned about £400 and lands in four parishes. He also owned a library which, coupled with his concern for the education of his nephews, suggests he was a man of a scholarly disposition. See Church 1972.

Rec. of Mr Commyssary's20 servaunt for 1 brokyn grane21 stone - vis

Rec. of Georg Caldam forsayd for 1 lod of cayn ston - iiiis

Rec. of Gyylman of Canterbury for i lyk lod of ston - iiiis

Rec. of Mr Master²² of Wyngam for one lood of rubyshe stone and dygyd out of the forsayd heap & rubyshe and other places at – xiid

Summa ix li iiiis

F.3^R Rec. of Mr Quylter of Sent Dunstons for i C of small

pavyng tyll - xiid

Rec. of Mr Thornherst²³ of Canterbury for xxvi small corbell stons at iiid a pece – vis vid Itm of hym mor for xiiii lod of rubyshe

stone at viiid the lood - ixs iiiid

Rec. of hym mor for certeyn assheler and

other cayn stone by grett - xis

Rec. of Jhon Quessonbery of Canterbury for i

court lod of rubyshe stone - at - vid

Rec. of Jhon Nores of the same for v lode of lyke rubyshe stone at vid the lood – iis vid

Rec. of Jhon Elvey of the sam for ii lod of lyk ston - xiid

Rec. of Maystres Thomson wedow of the sam for

i lod of lyk stone - vid

Rec. of pety Jhon of Canterbury for 1 court

lod of lyk rubyshe stone - vid

Somma xxxiis ixd

15. 7. 6 (deleted)

15. 9. 6

Rec. of my master mor Syr Thomas Moyll Knyght to pay for parte of the kyngs maiests buldyngs

Copyn of St Martin's had a maidservant who had a charming adventure in Longport when a boy slipped a present from London into her handbag (Ecclesiastical Court Records)' (Urry). Some of the stone he had still survives (see Appendix).

²⁰ Commissary. A representative of the archbishop's with responsibility for disposing

of church goods.

²¹ The reading is almost certainly *grane*, underlined. 'Greenstone', a rag stone from the Maidstone area, and 'grainstone', i.e. mill-stone, seem unlikely. Gravestone, perhaps a large coffin stone, may, however, be intended. Hasted, who had seen Nycholl's MS, records gravestones being sold (1799–1801, xii, 218). This is the most expensive single item in the accounts. It could have come from within the church or from the cemetery between the church and Longport (see Sherlock and Woods, forthcoming).

²² The Master of Wingham, presumably the secular college of canons there that was dissolved in 1547.

²³ Stephen Thornhurst (also on f.4R) 'built a big development block at the top of the main street in Burgate Lane. He was ancestor to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough' (Urry). His wife and son, Sir Thomas (d. 1627) have monuments in St. Michael's Chapel in the Cathedral. He bought more stone than anyone else in these accounts (see introduction).

and reparyng hys place of Sent Austens forsayd in redy money the som of ten pound.

Summa x li

F.3V

Anno R. Marie I

Rec. of Mr Warram24 of Wyngam for iii lood of rubyshe ston dygyd as ys aforsayd at xiid lod - iiis Rec. of Clement Roos of Wykam for i lyk lod of ston - xiid Itm of hym mor for i lod of assheler stone - iiiis Rec. of Andrew Holnes of the sam for ii lod of rubysh ston - iis Rec. of Mr Copyn¹⁹ of Cant. for v lod of lyk stone - vs Rec. of Austen Eston of Preston for v lod of rubyshe stone at xd the lood - iiiis iid Itm of hym mor for 1 lod of small assler - iiis iiiid Rec. of Goldfynch of Harbadon for iii cort lod of flynt - xiid Rec. of Jhon Clerk of Densted for iii lod of rubyshe stone at xd the lod - iiis iiiid Rec. of Mr Webe¹⁰ for for (deleted) viii court lod of lyk stone - iis viiid Itm of hym mor for i lod of small assheler stone - iiis Rec. of Thomas Wylliams of Fordych for ii lod of assheler cayn stone at iiiis the lod - viiiis Itm of hym mor for i lod of rubyshe stone - xiid Rec. of Wylliam Den of Kyngston for i lod of cayn ston - iiiis Rec. of Fowll of Harbardon for vi lod of lyk ston - xxiiiis Rec. of Mrs Brent of ye sam for ii lod of lyk cayn ston - viiis Rec. of her mor for i lod of rubyshe stone - xiid Rec of ye forsayd Wylliams for ii rownd marbull pyllers stons - xiid Rec of Shypton forsayd for v lod of rubyshe stone - vs Rec of Wyntryngam of Cant. for iii lod of assheler cayn stone at iiiis lood - xiis

Summa iiii li xvis vid

F.4R

Anno R. Marie I

Rec. of Lynell Chylton²⁵ of the sam for ii lod of lyk stone at iiiis the lood – viiis

Itm of hym mor for i lod of rubyshe stone – xd

Rec. of Mr Engeam of Gooddenson for i lod of cayn ston – iiiis

Rec. of Jhon Redwood of Stadmarshe for ii lod of rubyshe ston – xvid

Rec. of Mr Spylman²⁶ of Canterbury for ii lod of cayn ston – viiis

²⁴ John Warham was a cathedral prebend in 1554 (Hasted 1799–1801, xii, 87) and a kinsman of Archbishop Warham (1502–1532), the patron and friend of Erasmus. The arms of the Warham family are in the south window of Wingham parish church.

²⁵ Lionel Chilton appears in St. Paul's Church records with parishioners deciding on mending the highways. 'He is (I think) father to James Chilton, the tailor who lived somewhere round the corner of Church Street, St. Paul's. James Chilton set sail on the Mayflower and was one of those who signed the famous "compact" on the waters off Cape Cod at the end of 1620 (a founder-father of U.S.A.)' (Urry). Also on 8V.

Rec. of Myhell Smyth of Sent Dunstons for i lod of flynt - xiid Rec. of Mr Thornhest23 forsayd for xxxix lood of assheler cayn stone dygyd som out of ye undercroft & from the walls of ye olde church & stepull walls and from ye walls of the south yeld of ye church at iiiis lod - vii li xvis Item of hym mor for syx score & x court lood of rubyshe stone & dygyd as ys aforsayd at vid the lod - iii li vs Rec. of hym mor for xx court lod of (deleted) of broken covn & rubvshe stone at xiid the loode - xxs Itm of hym mor for xxxii hard corbell stons at iiid a pece - viiis Itm of hym mor for xi lod of rubyshe stone at vid the lood - vs vid Rec. of hym mor for ix lod of gret cayn & small assheler stone som broken and som hole left of parte of i of ye pyllers of the churche sowthward at iiiis the lood - xxxvis Itm of hym mor for v lod of rubyshe ston at vid the lood - iis vid

Summa xv li xvis iid

F.4° Rec of Rychard Holte² for viii bundells of sap late² lefte for ye lood bought of ye goodman Rene forsayd² at xd the bundell – vis viiid Rec. mor of hym for iii bundells of harte late left also as ys aforsayd at xiiiid ye bundell – iiis vid

46, 12, 4

Delyveryd by my master's commanndment Sir Thomas Moyll Knyght, sent to me by the goodman Vans hys servaunt to Barnard³⁰ the baker xi lood of assheler cayn stone at iiiis lood – xliiiis Itm delyveryd in lyk manner to Sir Thomas Fynch³¹

bought the site of the Canterbury Greyfriars in 1539 (Hasted 1799–1801, xi, 171). He was responsible with others for making the inventory of church goods sold in 1533 (Arch. Cant., xiv (1882), 318).

²⁷ Richard Holt was also paid for 38 days' work as a carpenter (ff. 5R and 6R) and for collecting money from London (f.8V).

²⁸ Roofing laths of sapwood, not as strong as laths made of heartwood mentioned three lines below.

²⁹ Forsayd is a mistake since Rene has not previously been mentioned. He might be the same as John Ryne in f.8R.

³⁰ Barnard Bonnard was a churchwarden of St. Mildred's, Canterbury in 1552 and also bought various church items off the Commissioners in 1553 (*Arch. Cant.*, vii (1872), 124–5; xiv (1882), 320). Also mentioned in f.10R.

³¹ Sir Thomas Finch, military commander, was then engaged in suppressing Wyatt's rebellion in Kent. He was knighted only three months before these accounts were made. He married Catherine, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Moyle. He himself died three years later. 'The Moat', where he was living in 1552/3, lay in the eastern extremity of St. Martin's parish (Hasted 1799–1801, xi, 160–1). There are memorials to

knyght of ye moot vii lood of cayn stons - xxviiis Itm certeyn parcell remanyng in my hand as yt aperyth in my furst accompt - xxxs viiid

summa pagina vli xiis xd

summa totl of receyte ivli xvis vd of the avverage of hys last accompt

......32

F 5R

Anno R. E. VI VI

Ffrom Sondaye the xxxi day of July unto Sonday the xxx day of August by the space xxiiii laboryng days

Workyng not only in hewyng & squaryng of a grett okyn tree contaynyng ii tun & dimidia of good & sownd tymber which grew in ye ground of ye kyngs pales ther eastward, with settyng oute of the sam tymber for the sawyers to brek & saw for the repayryng and mendyng of the kyngs maiesties grett hall, 33 but

Carpenters

mendyng of the kyngs maiesties grett hall,³³ but also hewyng & squaryng of new tymber to make new long ladders redy for the works, with cuttyng and squaryng of long scaffold poolls to shoer ye rooffe of ye sayd hall and takyng out of old rotten & broken pecs of rafters & sprocketts, rotten wall platts, rotten planks & bords from the sydd of ye sayd hall north east & suthe, cuttyng and hewyng of olde sownd tymber from (deleted) for sprocketts long & shorte to pece ye rafters beyng brokyn with contynuall workyng upon the sayd hall.

At xd

Rychard Holte²⁷ xxiiii days - xxs
Thomas Holte xxiiii days - xviiis
At ixd Wylliam Waterman xxiiii days - xviiis
Austen Pysyng xviii days - xiii vid
At viiid George Nycholl¹ xxiiii days - xvis

Summa iiii li vs vid

his grandson James in St. Martin's church and to his descendant Sir William Rooke in St. Paul's church. See *DNB*. Also mentioned in f.10R.

33 The great hall had been the abbot's hall, built in the late thirteenth century.

³² These dots at the foot of the page are clearly part of some calculation, though their relevance to the stated totals is not apparent.

F.5V

Anno R. E. VI VI

Sawyers

Sawyng & brekyng of tymber as quarters planks bords eves bords jiests wall platts sydds for ladders & other tymber met for the sayd works. To ye som of xiii C dimidia & xii fott of new tymber at xvid the bundreth fott.

hundreth to

Thomas Walker and hys fellow - xviiis

Sawyng by ye daye

To them mor for sawyng & slyttyng a sonder of olde tymber for wall platts & other nedfulls by the space of iiii days apece of them at viiid day

- vs iiiid

Laborr

Laboryng as well in making of a saw pyte for the sawyers, helpyng them & the carpenters to ber tymber to and from to (sic) ye saw pytts & to ye workyng places redy to the carpenters hand to work, as also to help the carpenters to mak ther scaffolds & raysyng up of scaffolde poolls, helping to tak downe rotten brokyn tymber, with beryng yt from them, dygyng ye stone walls & rubyshe under ye wall platts & gutters of lead of ye sayd hall to ye furtheryng of ye carpenters worke.

at vid Rychard Fox

xxiiii days - xiis

Working not only in takyng downe of old tyll from ye roofe of ye sayd hall to serche the rafters of ye sam & to begyn to late ye same wher yt nedyth, but also to reppoynt & tyll part of ye east syd roofe with old & new tyll wher yt nedyth, with contynuall workying upon the same.

at viiid

Hew Hamon

xiiii days - ixs iiiid

Summa xliiiis viiid

F.6R

Anno R. E. VI VIto

Labour

Laboryng not only in helpyng ye tyler to tak down tyll with saving them from brekyng, makying cleyn of old tyll, helping to rayse ladders with removing of the sam, but also makying of tyll pynns, pynnyng of tyll, slakying of lym, makying of morter with servyng ye tyler with pryg³⁴ lat morter & ston & greving attendaunce to ye sayd tyler yt nothyng be laking

at vid

Jhon Charelle

xiiii days - viis

Ffrom Sonday ye xxx day of August unto ye xvii of September

³⁴ Pryg were thin, flat roofing nails. Also mentioned on f.7V.

by the space of xxiiii laboryng days.

Carpenters

syd of ye gret hall in new laying of jiests, planks & bordes redy for ye plommer to lay new gotters of led wth doyng all other nedfulls belonging to ye same syd of ye hall, as also takying up planks, jiests & bords of ye north & south syd of the same hall & laying in of other new jiests, planks & bordes redy for ye plommer to lay new gutters of led. Repairing ye gret chamber called ye wardroob chamber over ye staier commying up in to ye gret hall in every place wher yt nedyth of both sydds of ye sayd gret chamber, as pecyng of rafters with new tymber, making of new sproketts rownd about ye same, mendyng ye flower with new jiests & bards wher yt nedyth with ye fynysshyng of ye sam, reparying twoo coves next ye entrey goyng in to ye grett seller and wardroob chamber, mendyng ye roofe of ye northwest and south syd of ye dresser kychyn with fynysshyng of ye same.

Working aswell in fynysshyng of all reparacons of the east

at xd

Rychard Holte²⁷
Thomas Holte
William Waterman
Austen Pysyng
at viiid
George Nycholl¹

xviii days - xvs xxii days - xvis vid xviii days - xiiis xxiii days - xvs iiiid

xxiii days - xvs iiiid

Summa iiii li iiiis viid

F.6V

Anno R. E. VI VI

Workyng not only in fynysshyng of ye said hall, as ryppyng, poyntyng & new lattyng³⁵ & layng ye sam with old & new tyll, reparyng ye stone walls under ye gutters redy for ye carpenters & plommers to fynyshe ye worke, but also tak (sic) up tyll & serche ye roofe of ye wardrobe chamber redy for ye carpenters to worke & mend ye sayd roofe wher yt nedyth, with savyng ye olde tyll beyng takyn downe for ye sam, begynyng to late ye sam after ye carpenters on both sydds for the spedy workyng & dyspatchyng of ye sam rooffe.

Tyller

at viiid

Hew Hamon

xxiii days - xvs iiiid

Laboryng in makyng of morter & other neccessarii nedfulls, servyng ye tyler & gevyng attendaunce to ye same.

at vid

Jhon Charells

xxiii days - xis vid

Ffrom Sonday ye xiii day of November unto Sonday ye xi day of December by the space of xxiiii laboryng days.

³⁵ Lattyng: fixing laths.

Workyng as well in mendyng & reparvng ye grate³⁶ of wood standyng in ye kychyn dresser next ye grett hall, mendyng ye flower of ye same & ye flower over ve stavers govng downe in to ye grett kychyn,³⁷ as also with lyk repayryng ye roofe of ye sam joynyng to ve kyngs gret kychyn, as pecyng ye rafters, makyng new sprokets for ye fall of ye rayn water to have hys

iiii days - iis viiid Austen Pysyng Jhon Thomson ii days - xvid Harry Turner days - xvid

corse north from ye grett kychyn, with fynysshyng of ye same

Summa xxxiis iid

Anno R. E. VI VI

F.7R

Working aswell in tylyng of ye sayd wardrobe chamber on both sydds, with lew layng of roof tyll wher yt nedyth, wth fynisshyng of ve sam chamber, as also to mak a scaffolde to tyll the lyntyll roofe over ye jayks38 of ye sayd wardrobe chamber and

fynysshyng of all other nedfulls.

at viiid

laborers

at vid

Tyler

Carpenters

Hew Hamon xxiiii days - xvis George Nycholl xxiiii davs - xvis Jhon Charells days - vs x Ihon Fton xiiii days - viis

To the same Hew Hamon for serchyng, ryppyng, pontyng and lattyng35 tyllyng of ye roofe over the kychyn dresser, with the fynysshyng of the same by the space of x days at viiid day - vis viiid

To hys laborer for lyk workyng to serve hyme & gevyng attendaunce by the space of x days at vid the daye - vs

Payd the sayd Hamon and hys ii laborers for new lattyng & tyllyng of ii coves, i over ye seller entrey, the other adjoynyng to ye stone wall next the wardrob chamber, wyth under pynyng the sells of ye sam coves & mendyng all the stone work dekayd in the grett hall, ye dresser kychyne and the wyndow & stone wall next ye grett hall to ye courtward (sic), with makyng cleyn ye grett hall & caryng away all the rubyshe commyng of ye sayd works in a bargeyn by gret - xviiis iiiid

Summa iii li ixs ixd

³⁶ Grate: a lattice or open framework of laths.

³⁷ Formerly the abbey's great kitchen, a detached hexagonal building just north of the refectory, built 1287-91 and depicted by Braun and Hogenberg and earlier artists (Sherlock and Woods forthcoming).

³⁸ Jayks: privies.

F.7^v

Anno R. E. VI VI Empcons

Playn Payd to Robert Colwell of Harnhyll for ii mille playn tyll imployd in tylyng & reparyng of ye forsayd hall tyll rooffe at viiis the mille - xvis Payd hym mor for vi mille playn tyll imployd uppon lyk use at ixs mille - liiiis Pd. hym mor for xxiiii roofe tyll for lyk use at id a pece - iis Roofe tvll gutter till Pd. hym for i quarter of gutter tyll for ye dresser kychyn - xd Pd Jhon Hull of ye sam for i mille of playn tyll for lyk use - viiis Pd Georg Caldam of Fordyche for v mille playn Playn tyll at viiis viiid the mille & imployd upon lyk use - xliiis iiiid tyll gutter tyll Pd hym mor for i quarter of gutter tyll - xd Pd. Hew Hamon for xxx corner tyll for ye sayd kychyn - xiid Corner tyll Pd. hym mor for xvi corner tyll for lyk use - iiiid Payd Wylliam Crepyn of Redfyld39 for i loode Lym of lym imployd upon ye sayd works to mak morter - vis Sand Pd. Jhon Keys of Cant. for iiii court lood of sand imployd in makyng of morter at vid ye loode - iis Pd. Jhon Clerke of ye sam for iiii lod of sande for lyke use - iis Pd. Mr Mylls⁴⁰ of Chrystys Churche for i lode of Scaffoll pools scaffolde poolls imployed (sic) in shoryng ye hall roof - xd Pd. Jhon Farbrace of Chartam for i lyk loode of scaffolde poolls for to mak sydds for ladders - xd Pd. ye Foster for cutting of ye sayd poolls - iiiid Carr of Pd. Jhon Rygdon of Chartam for carr of ye poolls Sayd ii loodes from Chartam to Sent Austens - iis viiid Payd Mr Cornwell41 of London for i some of pryge pryge imployd upon ye sayd workes - vis

Summa vii li xiis vd

F.88

Anno R. E. VI VI Empcon

Payd Jhon Browne of Canterbury for vi dimidia C of xd nayll⁴² for ye sayd works at xd C - vs vd

Payd Jerom Oxenbryge43 of Cant. for iiii C vd nayll - xxd

³⁹ Redfyld: unidentified.

⁴⁰ John Mylls, alias Warham, one of the monks of the recently dissolved priory, now a cathedral prebend, afterwards rector of Chartham and Ringwould. Died 1565 (Hasted 1799–1801, xii, 97). He was Master of the Works at the Cathedral so would have been in a position to sell scaffolding to Nycholl. Along with Finch and Moyle he was also involved in the arrest of John Bland (Fox, 1684, iii, 301). See note 4 above.

⁴¹ Christopher Cornwall of London, ironmonger, bought vestments for the huge value of £30 in the sale of church goods in 1553 (Arch. Cant., xiv (1882), 321).

⁴² These were therefore 'tenpenny nails' - 10d. per 100.

⁴³ Jerome Oxenbridge, grocer, was the grandfather of Stephen Gosson who wrote *The School of Abuse* (1579) which prompted Sir Philip Sidney to write *An Apologie for Poetrie* (Urry).

Naylls	Pd. Mr Lewys of ye sam for xli xvd nayll to nayll sproketts - vid
off	Pd. hym mor for iii C vid nayll to nayll bordes – xviiid
dyverse	Payd Rychard Panton ⁴⁴ of Sent Dunstons for i C
sortes	of xvid nayll imployd by the carpenters upon ye sayd works – xvid
301103	Pd. hym mor for v Cvid nayll for lyk use – iis id
	Pd. hym mor for vi C iiiid nayll to nayll bords - iis
	Pd. Jhon Lyght of Sent Paulls for i mille iiid nayll
	imployd by the tyler to nall (sic) late upon ye rafters - iis vid
	Pd. hym mor for v C vd nayll for ye sayd works - iis id
Shovull	Pd. hym mor for yron worke for ye stone wayths45 - vs xid
& spade	Pd. Rycharde Panton forsayd for i shoyd shovull
\$\$000.00 # 00076660	& i spade imployd by (deleted) the (deleted) by the laborers in dy-
	gyng, castyng & shovelyng rubysh from ye stone
	walls under ye gutters & other placs there at viid pec - xiiiid
a	To Wylliam Hart of Cant. for i looke & a keye
lok	for ye pantry dore - viiid
keys	Pd. Harry Elyat smyth for ii new keys, i for ye
	cloyster dore, ye other for ye wardrob dor & for naylls - ixd
Disprint Lancacción	Pd. Rychard Brooke for dygyng of stone as cayn rubyshe
dygyng	stone & other broken stone at dyvse tyms - xxxs
of ston	Pd. hym mor for dygyng of mor cayn & rubyshe - iis
& wayng	Pd. Roger Atkynsone for lyk dygyng of stone - xxs
	Pd. Jhon Rogers for dygyng of stone xxd
	Pd. hym mor for dygyng of stone of stone (deleted) by the
of ye sam	daye and helpyng to way ston vi days - iiis
	Pd. Jhone Ryne ²⁹ of Chartam for i loode of latte

Summa v li vs vid

F.8^v

Anno R. E. VI VI

imployd in ye sayd works at - xxvis viiid

Payd Roger Apsley of Canterbury for dygyng & gathering to gether of rubyshe stone – iiis iiiid Pd. Jhon Heyet of the same for lyk workyng & dygyng of stone with wayng of them at ye balance – iiiis Pd Jhon ye plasterer for dygyng of stone iii days – iis Pd. Harry laborer for caryng out of stons from ye rubyshe of ye vestry – xiid Pd. Thomas Kepe of Harbardown for dygyng and carying stons in lyk maner out of ye vestry – iis Payd Stephyn Olfyld⁴⁷ for lyk carr of rubyshe

45 Weights, presumably penannular for suspension in an iron rod, like clock weights, for the balance mentioned on F.8v.

46 Shod with an iron tip to reduce wear.

⁴⁴ Perhaps related to John Panton, vicar of St. Dunstan's, who was put in the pillory for seditious words in August 1553 (Burnet 1829, iii (1), 424).

⁴⁷ Parker's visitation of 1573 in St. George's parish found that Stephen Oldfield's wife 'did not go to church on the Sabbath' (*Arch. Cant.*, xxix (1911), 278). Possibly related to William Oldfield, the bellfounder, who lived at the bottom of Ivy Lane (Bellfounder Lane).

stons from ye vestrey – vid
Pd. Thomas Wylson of Canterbury for lyk beryng
of stons out of ye forsayd vestrye – vid
Payd George Blossom of Sent Paulls for mendyng
of the ston worke of the dore of ye vestrye i daye – xd
Pd. Jhon Olmed hys laborer for helpyng i daye – viid
Payd Jhon Fag smyth for makyng of ii keys
for ye sayd vestry dore – viiid
Pd. Lynell Chylton²⁵ of Sent Paulls for mendyng
of ye harthe of ye chymney in ye porters lodege – viiid
Payd Rychard Holte²⁶ carpenter for part of hys
chargs goyng to Londone to ye forsayd Sir
Thomas Moyll³ Knyght for money – iis

Summa xviiis id

- 18 1d

F.9R

Anno R. E. VI VI

Olde leade Delyveryd to Stephyn Redborne of Cant. plomer in olde lead taken down from ye north syde of ye forsayd wardrobe chamber & other old lead taken up from ye gutters suthe & eastwarde of ye sayd great hall yt was left, beyng broken full of hools & thyn, contaynyng in waygh xxi C iii quarters & xii li of leade to be new molten & caste for to make new gutters of leade for ye great hall & other places to avoyd & convey the water from rottyng ye tymber & stone walls. Itm ye wast of ye sayd leade after ye castyng, ii C i quarter x li so ye sayd Redborne delyveryd som agayn ye led beyng new molten or casted xix halfe C & ii li. Payd the sayd Stephyn for castyng of ye sayd xix C halfe

& ii li – xixs vid.

Pd. hym mor for iii C vi li of new leade imployd upon ye sayd gutters of ye grett hall at xs C – xxxs vid Pd. hym mor for xx li of sawder to mend ye gutters yt were not new casted at viid li – viiid

Payd hym mor for (deleted) for takyng downe of ye sayd olde lede & layng ye gutters with ye sam leade beyng new casten or molten with new mendyng ye olde gutters with sowder* as ys aforsayd & making of one new gutter of led next ye cloyster at the end of ye grett hall southward, makyng cleyn and scowryng ye olde pypps of led beyng growen over with yvie & full of rubyshe yt ye water coul not voyd in to the gutters nor thourow ye gutters, by the space of viii days at xd ye day – vis viiid

Pd. hym mor for ii of hys servaunts for lyk workyng by the space of viii days at viiid ye day a pece of them – xs viiid Pd. hym mor for carr of ye sayd led to ye plommers house & recarr of ye same to Sent Austens after ye castyng – xvid

Summa iiii li iiiid

⁴⁸ Solder.

37. 15. 9 remayn 8. 16. 7

F.9V

Anno R. E. VI VI

Itm delyveryd to the reparacons of the kyngs maiesties housyng called ye amery⁴⁹ (one word deleted) lefte upon my furst accompte ii mille Playn tyll at xs mille – xxs Item delyveryd & spent mor upon the buldyngs and reparacons of ye forsayd grett hall i lode of lym left of my sayd accompte at – vs Itm spent upon lyk use v C playn tyll lefte in lyk maner of my furst accompte mad to my master Syr Thomas Moyll³ Knight – vs viid

Summa xxxs viiid

To George Nycholl1 for gevyng attendaunce in sellyng & delyveryng of ston with openyn & shuttyng of ye grett gatts50 & makyng of provysyon for certyn stuffe & nedfull neccariis for ye kyngs maiests reparacons & bulldyngs as ys aforsayd with gevyng attentance to se carts lodden with stone as they cum in and oute & making ye accompts & rekenyngs partycularly of the same. That ys to say from ye xxix day of Apryll anno predicto unto ye xxxi daye of Julye by the space of iii moneth and from ye xi daye of December in anno predicto unto ye xxvii day off Apryll anno vii E. vi by the space of iii monethes iii weiks & v days at vid the daye - iiii li iiis vid (all except first 3 words deleted) and from ye xiii daye of Julye in ye furst yer of our soverainge ladye queyn Mary unto the natyvytie and byrthe of our Lord Jehus Cryste next then ensuyng by the space of iiii moneth and xii days at vid ye daye (last four words deleted) for all in reward - v li Itm spent and bestowed upon the forsayd reparacons & buildings in new tymber ii tun & dimidia Itm mor in olde tymber by estymacon upon the sayd works viii tun which was left & saved of the vestry roofe.

Summa paginae vi li xs viiid

F.10^R summa totalis of all ye sayd payments & allouncs - xl li iis xid

Et sic

Remanet xii li viiis vid

⁴⁹ 'I can remember the almonry before the war, with two-light fifteenth-century Perpendicular windows. Destroyed partly by slum clearance and partly unwise clearing after bombing' (Urry). The almonry lay outside the precinct, to the west of Fyndon Gate, no. 12 on King's engraving (Plate II).

50 Fyndon Gate and Cemetery Gate, built respectively at the beginning and end of

the fourteenth century.

wherof

Respected unto the sayd George
Nycols' for xi lode of stones
delyvered to Barnard³⁰ the baker
and before charged at xliiiis – xliiiis
And lykewise for vii lodes of stones delyvered unto Sir
Thomas Ffynch³¹ Knight
before charged at xxviiis – xxviiis
Summa respects – lxxiis

Et sic

debet viii li xvis vid quos soluit ad monit Sir Thome Moyle³ militi et sic eqi

F.10^v blank

APPENDIX

List of places in Canterbury with stone re-used probably from St. Augustine's, from notes supplied by the late Dr W. Urry in 1979.

- Chantry Lane. East end. Long wall flanking saw-yard, composed of small 9-in. blocks. Destroyed in road widening in 1930s. Photograph in hands of W.U.
- 2. Dover Street. East side of hop-oast, destroyed c. 1950 to make way for garage entrance opposite Vernon Place. Some stones were capitals and were dumped in the old cattle market. Many stones were approx 9-in. blocks.
- 3. Dover Street. East end of cottages opposite Vernon Place now demolished. A number of pieces including one with heavy saw marks embedded in wall still surviving.
- 4. Wincheap Gate. At west end of Dane John, some early blocks.
- 5. Broad Street. Cellar in Broad Street, below Church Street St. Paul's, lined with blocks, now filled in.
- 6. Broad Street. Cellar below Lady Wootton's Green, largely lined with stone. Contained a handsome carving of a dragon.
- 7. Lady Wootton's Green. Wall of house in north-west corner destroyed in 1942 bombing. Checker pattern of brick and stone.
- 8. Old Dover Road. Much early stone in retaining wall to gardens on north side between Oaten Hill and Cossington Place, but probably from St. Sepulchre's Nunnery.
- 9. Cathedral. There is an agreement in the Cathedral Archives with Sir John Hales for removal of any stone above the surface for the repair of the Cathedral, c. 1700.
- 10. Near Canterbury East Station. There is a considerable amount of early stone in the wall of the alley flanking the railway line

- north of the station, including some bits of ornament. The Hales family later owned a manor here.
- 11. Co-op Site. Considerable masses of worked stone in foundations, probably from the lodging house built by S. Thornhurst, c. 1580. When these were dug up to build the Co-op some were re-built into the Cathedral library, though later bits and pieces were shifted up over St. Andrew's Chapel. Thornhurst is mentioned in f.3R.
- 12. Burgate Lane. Row of cottages of c. 1800 built of squared stone. The cottages were demolished in the 1950s and the stone re-used again in the western gable of the cathedral library.
- 13. St. Martin's Hill. Retaining wall on north side with moulded stones. Copyn (see f.2V) probably lived in St. Martin's House. When Bishop Rose came here c. 1934 he moved the whole wall back northwards so that the road became wider, and at the same time disclosed some handsome bits of moulded stone.
- 14. Westgate Gardens. A Norman arch here may have come from St. Augustine's.

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