

A KEY FIGURE AMONG KENT'S FIFTEENTH-CENTURY GENTRY: SIR JOHN FOGGE'S CAREER AND HIS MOTIVATIONS FOR REBUILDING ST MARY'S CHURCH, ASHFORD

GILLIAN DRAPER

The general appearance of St Mary's, Ashford, today was the work of Sir John Fogge between 1475 and 1483 with the rebuilding of the central tower, the transepts, the choir with its sixteen medieval misericords, the porch and nave. The octagonal font also dates from the time of John Fogge and bore the arms of the Fogge family, alternating with roses.¹ It was at Fogge's request that in 1464 Edward IV had granted a licence for the establishment of a chantry college of priests who sang in the choir. They were accommodated in the college building which still partly survives and is adjacent to the church in the surrounding rectangular close known as The Churchyard. Near the college was a small door giving the priests direct access to the chancel (choir) of the church (Draper 2018; Newsome 2013, 25).² The existence of the choir and the surrounding close gives Ashford the air of an important urban church, perhaps even a small cathedral. The paper examines Sir John Fogge's reasons for rebuilding Ashford church and founding the linked college.

This paper sets out more of the life of Sir John Fogge (c.1417-1490) in Kent – his political career, marriages, household and cultural life together with his own and his family's connections with other influential local gentry in south-east Kent. It stems in large part from a recent review of his will and the provisions for remembrance which his second wife Alice Haute made in late life. Also reviewed were the seventeenth-century records of the heraldic and figurative painted glass set in the church and college windows during Fogge's rebuilding, and early studies of Fogge in the light of more recent studies of gentry family commemoration in Kent and beyond (e.g. Bellinger and Draper 2010; Barron and Burgess 2010).⁺³ This has enabled a deeper consideration of the monumental and heraldic culture which expressed the Fogge family traditions and contemporary values within which Sir John was working in his rebuilding of Ashford church (**Fig. 1**).

It has been suggested that Sir Thomas Fogge II, d.1407, was probably the first in his family to come to Kent and to become lord of Repton, a manor about mile westward from Ashford town centre,⁴ by his marriage to Joan de Valence

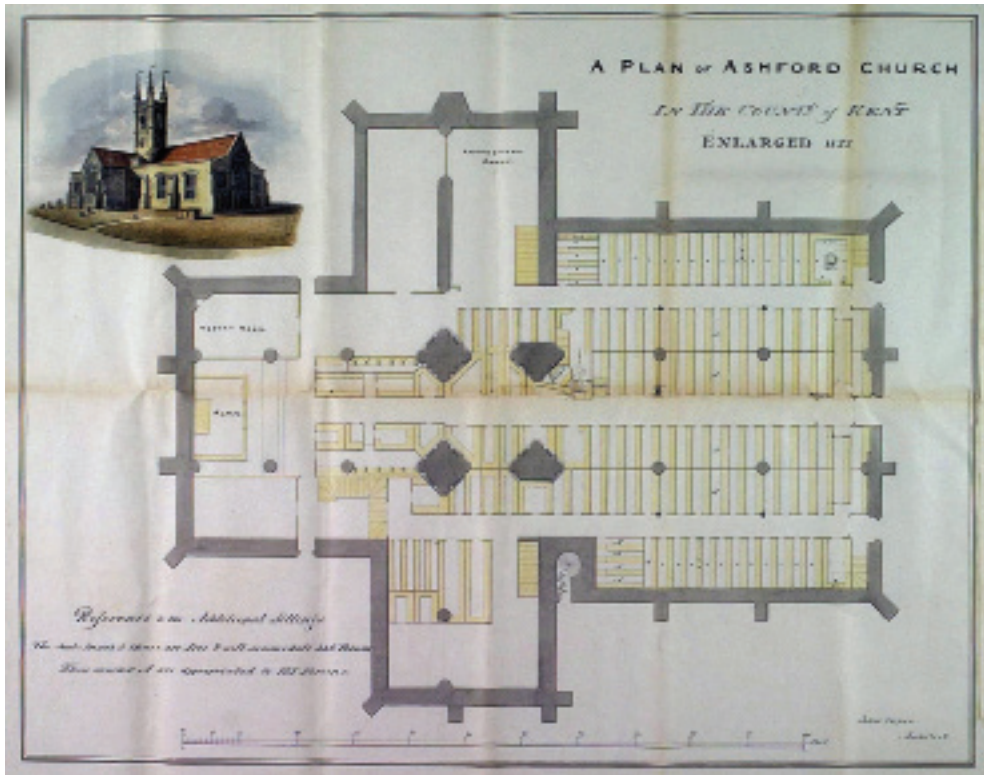


Fig. 1 Ashford Church Plan and Perspective View made for the Incorporated Church Building Society c.1827 to show new seating after nave-widening had taken place (Lambeth Palace Library ICBS 582, reproduced by kind permission).

(Valoins), daughter of Sir Stephen de Valoignes (Woodger 1993a; Fleming 2010, 228). However a longer and deeper connection between the Valoins family and the Fogges – deriving from an earlier marriage between Sir Francis Fogge and Joan, heir of Warentius de Valoignes of Repton – as in **Table 1** – was presented by Pearman (1868, 23-25) who drew on Hasted (1797, VII, 531-32).⁵ Sir John Fogge would later make the most of the Valoins connection on the tomb he commissioned for himself, and in his new church windows, a connection which was certainly made by his grandfather's marriage to Joan de Valence, whether or not it had earlier been initiated by Sir Francis Fogge's marriage. In the south cross aisle window a Valoins figure was depicted along with two wives and children,⁶ and in the north cross aisle window Fogge himself was represented, showing the Valoins arms quartered with those of Fogge (**Fig. 2**).⁷

Sir Thomas Fogge II was a soldier of fortune, a retainer of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and briefly under him a captain of Calais in 1376-77. Subsequently his skills derived from military experience were used in county administration on commissions of array between 1379 and 1402 (Woodger 1993a), like Sir Thomas

TABLE 1. REPTON, THE VALOIGNES AND FOGGE FAMILIES FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD III (1327-77)

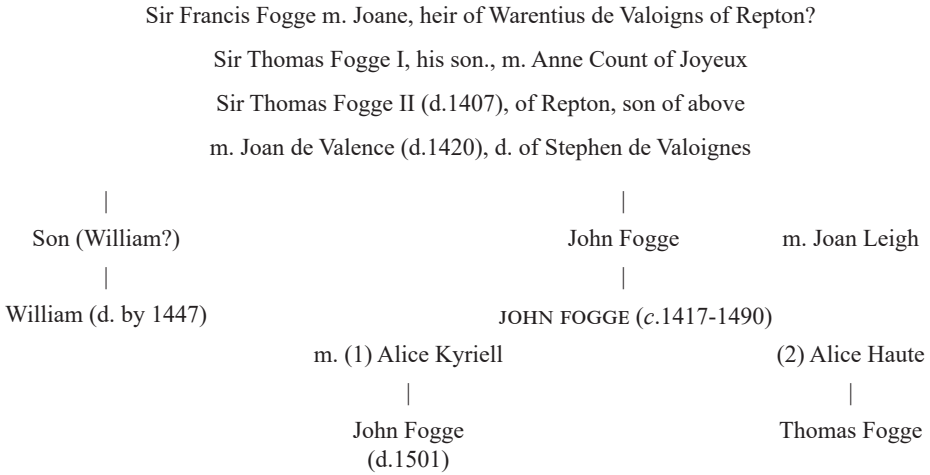


Fig. 2 A Valoins figure along with two wives and children from a now-destroyed window in the south cross aisle (transept) window, as sketched by John Philipot, Somerset Herald (from Cuncer 1960, pl. III).

Kyriell (see below). By the late 14th century the Fogges had risen significantly in status through increased landholding from the profits of war and their regular engagement in county politics. Sir Thomas Fogge II was repeatedly an MP between 1376 and 1388 despite 'political upsets' (Webster 1984, 228), not least his unpopularity in the Peasants' Revolt (Woodger 1993a). Lady Joan Fogge (born Joan de Valence/Valoins), Thomas' widow, was assessed in a major taxation of 1412 at £47 13s. 4d. This was quite substantial even though it apparently represented only her dower, a holding of four landed estates or manors (Webster 1984, 223; Woodger 1993a). Sir Thomas and (perhaps) Lady Joan Fogge were buried in Canterbury Cathedral, of which they were both benefactors, he contributing to the building of the new chapter house and she to the rebuilding of the nave. Lady Joan's will of 1419, recorded in Archbishop Chichele's register, bequeathed a silver gilt cup to the cathedral priory and 20d. to each monk (Woodger 1993a). They were commemorated in the cathedral by a ledger stone and a brass memorial with the date of Thomas' death in 1407 which read '*Thomas Fogge jacet hic, jacet hic sua spousa Johanna*', i.e. 'Here lies Thomas Fogge, here lies his wife Joan'.⁸

The Fogge family was among many lesser landholders in Kent in a county 'without great resident nobles' in the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century (Webster 1984, 219). Yet the Fogges were people of substance even at this period, on a par with the Septvans and Brenchelse families, for whom there is unusual surviving evidence of their literate administration of their estates, which were on Romney Marsh to the south of Ashford where the Fogge family also had land (Draper 2004, 127-8). The Fogges' wealth in 1412 was comparable with that of the Septvans family with whom the Fogges associated (Webster 1984, 219). 'Sir William Septvenn' [*sic*] requested in his testament of 1407, 'as a Canterbury man', to be buried next to Sir Thomas Fogge in Canterbury Cathedral (Brown 1976, 147n.) and in fact this occurred.⁹

John Fogge, the grandson of Sir Thomas, was probably born in 1417, and was ordained to the first tonsure in Canterbury Cathedral in 1425 (Jacob 1938 IV, 367-68). This was a first step into the six or seven holy orders, but many boys took it and it did not mean they were firmly destined for the priesthood. Rather it represented a stage in their early education; for some boys it occurred about age seven to eight years. John Fogge was one of several boys or young men ordained to the first tonsure in 1425 including William Fogge, presumably John Fogge's cousin, and one John Cobbes (see below).

John Fogge's marriages and children

Fogge's first wife and mother of his son John (d.1501) was Alice, the daughter and heir of the Sir Thomas Kyriell or 'de Criol', an old Kent family. Alice Kyriell and John Fogge were married by the early 1440s (Curry 2008). She was still alive in February 1462 but must have died in the next few years because Fogge had remarried by 1468, by which time he had been knighted. His second wife, Alice Haute, was a daughter of Sir William Haute (I) of Kent and his second wife Joan Wydeville/Woodville (Woodger 1993b). Joan herself was a daughter of Richard Wydeville the elder (d.1441), of Maidstone who was captain of Calais when Joan married William (Fleming 2004). Her brother, Richard Wydeville/Woodville the

younger, first Earl Rivers (d. 1469) was –among much else – lieutenant of Calais in 1454-54 (Hicks 2011).¹⁰ Richard, Earl Rivers, married Jacquetta de Luxembourg, Duchess of Bedford, in an extraordinary alliance for the Woodville/Wydeville family and one of their daughters, Elizabeth, became Edward IV's queen. Alice Haute was Elizabeth's first cousin. As Queen, Elizabeth's extensive family, including siblings and cousins such as the Hautes, had to be generously provided for by Edward IV, and Alice Haute became one of the Queen's five ladies-in-waiting in the 1460s (Hicks 2011; Harris 2002). As Sir John Fogge's wife, Alice became the mother of their son Thomas, and also of three daughters who were unmarried at his death (see below). Alice's brother Sir William Haute II (d.1497) patronized musicians and was a noted composer including carols and polyphonic settings of the *Benedicamus domino*, in his leisure from life as a member of the Kentish gentry and mainstay of the county administration (Fleming 2004).¹¹

Political allegiance and career

John Fogge was of legal age *c.* 1438 but only came to prominence when he inherited the Fogge lands and properties of the senior line, primarily Repton manor, on the perhaps-early death of his cousin, William, Sir Thomas's grandson and heir (Horrox 2004). This had occurred by 1447. The leading gentry of Kent at this time were supporters of the Lancastrian Beaufort family (Mercer 1999). John was appointed an esquire of Henry VI's household by 1450, in which year he was involved in the military activity suppressing Cade's rebellion (Sweetinburgh 2004). In November 1453 he was appointed sheriff of Kent. However, by 1460 the Yorkist successes nationally led to a weakening of Lancastrian loyalties among various Kentish gentry (explored further below). Despite his rise in Henry VI's service, Fogge defected to the Yorkists in June 1460, and was rewarded with the grant of Tonford (in Chartham, Thanington and Harbledown parishes) and Dane (Tilmanstone), of which he had claimed the reversion (Horrox 2004; Driver 2011). Fogge fought on the Yorkist side at the battles of Northampton (July 1460), St Albans (February 1461) and Towton (March 1461), for the fallen of which the college he founded at Ashford church was a chantry (Ruderman 1994; Mercer 2010, 252).

Following the crushing Yorkist victory at Towton and the accession of Edward IV, Fogge emerged as a leading royal associate in Kent, and he headed all the commissions named in the county. His connection to the new queen's family by his presumably calculated marriage to Alice Haute sometime between 1462 and 1468 undoubtedly further reinforced his position. His possession of Tonford and Dane manors was confirmed and he was given the custody of Rochester Castle. Fogge was Treasurer of the Household from the beginning of Edward IV's reign until 1468 and also a royal councillor. He was knighted in 1462 when he was elected to Parliament as knight of the shire for Kent and in 1467 was MP for Canterbury.¹² He served further terms of office as sheriff of Kent in 1472 and 1479. Indeed, by the late 1460s the exercise of power in Kent had passed primarily to Fogge and his Haute kinsmen. This pre-eminence was however interrupted by the short-lived restoration of Henry VI in 1470-71 (the Readeption). His name features on none of the commissions appointed in this period and it seems likely that he went into exile with Edward IV. Fogge was certainly well rewarded on Edward's return,

receiving further lands and a grant of the gold and silver mines in Devon and Cornwall (Horrox 2004; Mercer 2020, 258-60, 265). Clearly, it was this influx of wealth that allowed him to undertake the ambitious rebuilding of Ashford Church between 1475 and 1483, supplemented by that which he had received from his first wife who was the heir of Sir Thomas Kyriell (Curry 2008).

During Edward IV's second reign Fogge built up links with the Prince of Wales. Edward's sudden death in 1483 made Fogge's Woodville connection rather a liability, when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, made himself protector of the young Edward V and accused the Woodvilles of conspiracy against him. Fogge apparently took sanctuary, then joined the rebellion against the new regime of October 1483. He was attainted and much of his forfeited land was granted to Richard's ally Sir Ralph Ashton (already in dispute with Fogge over the Kyriell inheritance of his first marriage). In late 1484 to 1485 however, Richard III was reconciled with the Woodville circle, and in February 1485 Fogge was pardoned and re-granted four of his confiscated manors. Fogge played little role in national affairs after Henry VII's accession in 1485, at which time he was nearing his seventies, and probably because of age rather than loss of favour. He made his will on 9 July 1490 and was dead by 9 November (Horrox 2004).

Some local associates

It was noted earlier that John Cobbes was one of the young men with whom John and William Fogge were ordained to the first tonsure. It is likely that they were also educated together. John Cobbes was not a knight or even of the gentry but he became the receiver, or general manager, of the landholdings of All Souls College, Oxford, in the Romney Marsh area which by the mid-to-late fifteenth century was closely linked to the butcher-grazier economy of the Weald and Ashford area (Draper 2004, 249). Cobbes negotiated leases of land and he collected the rents. He even persuaded or prompted these lessees to make their own written lists of the expenses which they could claim against the rent of their land. He recorded his own accounts as All Souls' receiver, at a time when the ability to write Latin was not widespread across England. One can see the application of John Cobbes' own education throughout his life. Part of Fogge's local circle, he had risen to wealth and the status of gentleman (Draper 2007, 228-32).

The rebuilding of the church for which Fogge is chiefly remembered included exceptional windows with royal, aristocratic and gentry figures and heraldic symbols, as did Ashford College.¹³ None of these figures and heraldry are now extant, having been lost in the iconoclasm of the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁴ These windows were sketched both by Sir Edward Dering (1598-1644) and by John Philipot, Somerset Herald, in his book of church notes between c.1603 and 1642 (**Fig. 3**).¹⁵ On page 21 of his book Philipot sketched and named Edward III, the Black Prince, Lord Hastings, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Sir John Fogge himself, Sir John Peche, Roger Manstone [?] and Richard Horne. On page 22 of his book Philipot sketched, in addition, Sir William Hawte (Haute), Lord Scales, Richard [Woodville/Wydeville] Earl Rivers, and his wife, 'the Duchess of ...' [Bedford] (Councer 1960, 82-83, Pl. IV). The representations of Edward and probably the Black Prince were in the great west window of the church until removed in 1861.



Fig. 3 John Philipot's sketches of the royal, aristocratic and gentry figures in the now-lost windows of Ashford Church (from Cuncer 1960, plate IV).

In contrast, the aristocracy and gentry figures were in the windows of the cross aisle (the north and south transepts) which were part of the rebuilding of the church by Sir John Fogge (Cuncer 1980, 4). Sir Edward Dering also drew the window in which Sir John Fogge was represented, wearing armour, surcoat and spurs, and kneeling in prayer at an altar with an open book on it. This was in much more detail than Philipot's sketch, and probably a much better likeness of the window, including an interpretation of the steeples and windows of Fogge's rebuilt church tower. This was the north window in the cross aisle i.e. at the end of the north transept (Cuncer 1980, xii, 4-5). In this position, Fogge's portrayal as a pious and knightly 'founder' would have been most visible to those entering this part of the building, which was also the route to the Fogge chapel next to the chancel (see below) (**Fig. 4**).

All the figures in the transept windows were expressions of Sir John Fogge's political and personal friendships and (marriage) alliances, for example with the Horne family. Sir John's brother-in-law, Sir William Haute II, was married to Joan Horne, daughter of Henry Horne, who was the kinsman and heir of William Horne of Appledore (Woodger 1993b). The representation in one of Fogge's windows at Ashford of one 'Richard Horne' perhaps recalled a personal friendship and even shared pious concerns for remembrance, expressed by the Horne family in



Fig. 4 Sir Edward Dering (d.1644) drew the figure of Sir John Fogge which appeared in coloured glass in the north transept, noting 'In the North Window of the crosse Isle This Figure subscribed Sir John.. Fogge-----'. This window is among the large amount of medieval glass now lost from Ashford Church and College. Reproduced from Smith 1859; it was also reproduced by Cuncer 1980, fig. 1 (p. 5), both from Society of Antiquaries MS. 497A, f.14.

the commissioning of their own chapel with painted commemorative windows. The Horne's seat at nearby Appledore Heath overlooking Romney Marsh, was a notable early stone house whose chapel had been built or rebuilt in the late fourteenth century following the Black Death. William Horne received a licence for its chapel in 1366 and the stonework dates it to that period. Horne's chapel had two painted likenesses in windows and the names of William and Margaret Horne (Scott Robertson, 1882, 363, 366). At Ashford church Fogge's transept window showing 'Richard Horne', as recorded by Philipot, possibly referred to of a branch of this important gentry family of Kent at Westwell (Cuncer 1960; Scott Robertson 1882, 366; Pearman 1868, 50). However, as the window and record of the name 'Richard' Horne exists only as sketched by Philipot, it leaves open the possibility that it was actually one Robert Horne who was represented in the window, the son of Henry Horne, and Fogge's known close associate.

The extent of Fogge's circle was apparent in the events of 1460 when the leading gentlemen of Kent, Robert Horne, John Scott, Sir Thomas Kyriell, Sir John Fogge himself and his second father-in-law Sir William Haute I abandoned their support of the crown and ensured the Yorkist earls' safe passage from Sandwich to London leading to the eventual accession of Edward, Earl of March, as Edward IV in March 1461.¹⁶ Whereas such Kent gentry had been loyal to the crown at the time of Cade's rebellion in 1450 and in its aftermath in 1450-52, their views had apparently been turned by a serious French raid on Sandwich in 1457, seen off by Sir Thomas Kyriell and the county levies, and the subsequent support of the barons of the Cinque Ports for 'the Kingmaker', the Earl of Warwick and his warlike privateering exploits in the Channel (Grummitt 2008, 11, 68). Sir Thomas Kyriell was primarily a soldier, with a contemporary reputation for skill and ruthlessness as a field commander in Normandy. Because of his military credentials Kyriell had been appointed lieutenant, i.e. captain, of Calais in 1439-42, the crucial town for English wool exports and bridgehead for invasions of France from 1475 onwards (Grummitt 2008, 1, 10n, 67-8). Later in life Kyriell was MP for Kent, and also lieutenant of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, as constable of Dover

castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, 1456-60.¹⁷ Kyriell was executed after the battle of St Albans of 17 February 1461 which the Yorkists lost. Robert Horne died at the battle of Towton in 1461 and so was among those remembered by Fogge's chantry and college at Ashford (Mercer 2010, 249, 252). It was also thus that Sir John Fogge, his Haute kinsmen and John Scott ended up with political leadership in the county, holding important royal and Kentish offices.

Sir John Fogge was buried under a fine tomb chest between the chancel and the Fogge chapel to its north side, with his tomb forming the division between them (**Fig. 5**). This tomb still exists although its huge carved and painted canopy of wood was removed in 1697 due to decay. Most of the original brass effigies on the tomb top which showed Fogge and his two wives are no longer extant, although they were described by Pearman from the work of John Weever in 1631 in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, before the removal of most of the brass effigies and mutilation of the tomb by Puritan iconoclasts. In brief summary, Fogge was represented wearing rich plate armour with a Yorkist collar, and in a conventional pious attitude with his hands in prayer and his head on his helmet (Pearman 1868,



Fig. 5 The rather mutilated tomb of Sir John Fogge lying east-west between the Fogge chapel and the choir with the high altar, by courtesy of Ashford Museum.

42-4; Smith 1859, 105-6). A tilting helmet said to be Fogge's is now mounted high on the church wall close to the Fogge chapel (Newsome 2013, 17). There were also four verses engraved in brass 'about the Verge' of the tomb of which two are missing, and the third survives in part, describing Sir John as a 'special friend of Edward IV' who 'departed this world universally esteemed by the common people' (Faussett 1863, 117-18; Smith 1859, 107), echoing Sir John's representation in the Ashford college window. However the fourth verse, a notable eight-line Latin verse engraved in brass on the north side of the tomb is still present and complete. The verse praised Fogge's rebuilding of the church, including the bell-tower, and the enriching of the church porch (*vestibulum*), and his gifts of many choir books, altar decorations and ornaments to it.¹⁸ There was a porch on the north side of the



Fig. 6 The brass plaque recording Fogge's rebuilding of the church and his many gifts to it (see Pearman 1868, 42) by courtesy of Ashford Museum. Translated from Latin:

Here follows more at large what things this John had done;
 At his own charge this Church he hath restored
 Along with the Bell-Tower, which from the foundation he hath
 reared.
 Here through him the Choir with many a Book and Ornament
 Adores: the Altar of God he decorates,
 Enriching the entrance thereto and many gems bestowing there
 upon
 (As it is clearly to be seen) for after ages to be told of,
 To the glory of the Lord, to whom be praise both now and
 evermore. Amen.

nave until it was demolished in 1827 before the nave was widened, and this was presumably the porch constructed or enhanced by Fogge.¹⁹ On the south side of the tomb within arched stone panels in the stone were the arms of his two wives and of Valoins impaling Fogge, and also four large bosses with Tudor roses (Pearman 1868, 42).

The Fogge family vault lies adjacent to Sir John's tomb and when it was opened, apparently about 1680, it contained an old sword and a pair of spurs besides small remnants of bones and coffins. Sir John may have been laid in the vault rather than under the tomb, of course. Faussett said the vault was under the north end of the choir, i.e. the chancel, under the great east window. Equally the vault could have been under the altar of the Fogge chapel just on the other side of the tomb, as the floor-levels rather suggest, although the extensive nineteenth-century alterations to this church must be borne in mind.²⁰

After John Fogge died, his local lands, held by lease, continued to be leased by his executors, who included Richard Knatchbull.²¹ The Knatchbulls were exceptionally wealthy yeoman farmers in this part of Kent between Ashford and Romney Marsh. This family had undergone the same kind of rise in prosperity and status as the Fogges. Unlike many yeoman families, they had the money to educate all the sons of their family, not just the eldest. Richard Knatchbull possessed and bequeathed books, including service books, and contributed to the new steeple at Aldington church, rather like Fogge's more extensive works at Ashford (Draper 2004, 291; Du Boulay 1966, 127, n.5, 236). It is easy to see how the Knatchbulls became part of Sir John Fogge's circle and executors of his estate.

John Fogge had set up his college and chantry at Ashford in the 1460s for the commemoration of the souls of men, like Robert Horne, who had died fighting for Edward IV (Draper 2018). Thus when he came to write his testament and will in July 1490 he was able to ensure his own commemoration there by requiring burial in the tomb for which he had already arranged, and providing 3*s.* 4*d.* to the vicar and his successors for a yearly obit (memorial service) for himself for ever, with two tapers of a pound apiece to burn on the great candlesticks on the high altar in the choir 'every high double feste moste principall in the yere'.²² He also provided for church repairs and made arrangements for twelve of the 'best disposed' Ashford men to oversee the care and keeping of the jewels and ornaments he had given to the church so that they would always be available for the churchwardens to set out for the honour and worship of God.

John's will, made shortly before his death in 1490, gives a view of life and culture in the family home, the manor house of Repton. John's second wife Alice Haute was still alive and they had three unmarried daughters, Anne, Elisabeth and Margaret, who were left to her governance and guiding and for whose marriages monetary provision was made.²³ Not only was Dame Alice to hold almost all the family properties for life even though her stepson John and Thomas, her own son of the marriage to John Fogge, were of full age (see below), but also other specific financial provision was made for Dame Alice during her lifetime: an income from land rents, including some recently purchased by her, and woodlands for fuel. Thomas Fogge, the son of Sir John's second marriage to Alice Haute, received an extensive land and property grants in his father's will including the manors of Oven (in Selling), Hepynton (Heppington in Nackington) and Krykkessale (Crixall

in Staple).²⁴ While Dame Alice, Thomas' mother, received them for her lifetime, the initial profits were to be dedicated to providing £300 for the marriage portions of the three daughters, Thomas' sisters.²⁵ Thomas also received all his father's musical instruments except a pair of clavichords (the usual early term) and a pair of clavicymballis (a harpsichord), which went 'wyth goddes blessing and myn' to John Fogge junior, the son of Sir John's first marriage to Alice Kyriell, along with much land and property. These included Dane Manor which John junior was to receive immediately after his father's death (presumably his home) and, after the death of Dame Alice his stepmother, the manors of Repton and Cheriton, plus lands in Stone near Romney Marsh, and lands and tenements purchased in Ashford and West Hythe. John junior was also to receive the manors of Ostenhanger, a manor adjacent to Westenhanger, Walmer and Mongeham. However he would first have to deal with legal aspects and costs surrounding their recovery (towards which he received £50) *and* once recovered pay an annuity of 20 marks for life to one John Kyriell, esquire. An earlier John Kyriell was brother of Sir Thomas Kyriell of Westenhanger, whose daughter and heir, Alice, was John Fogge junior's mother.²⁶ The John Kyriell to whom John Fogge bequeathed Ostenhanger, Walmer and Mongeham – assuming these manors were recovered – was presumably a son or other descendant of John Kyriell, brother of Sir Thomas Kyriell (above), since these two brothers had been active in the mid fifteenth century.²⁷

Sir John Fogge had a private chapel at the manor house of Repton as well as the Fogge chapel in Ashford church. His bequests of the ecclesiastical equipment used at the chapel at the house reveal aspects of life at the manor and the way in which he considered that equipment to be both family possessions and dedicated to service in the chapel. Fogge left his wife Alice a vestment of velvet, a mass book which she was to choose from the two in the chapel, two basins of silver for the altar, a cross and two cruets all of silver and gilt, and a gilt sacring bell. Alice was to keep all of these for her whole life and most of them – apart from the velvet vestment and the mass book – were then to pass to Fogge's son John or his heirs with the intention that they should remain for the use of the chapel at Repton. The velvet vestment could have been considered a personal item with which Alice may have had some involvement, say in its embroidery, or something she might convert for her own wear, and thus unsuitable to pass on. The fact that Alice was to choose the mass book and keep it for her whole life but that it would then not pass to Fogge's son suggests two things: firstly, that she was literate, and secondly that she might herself bequeath the book to whomever she chose, perhaps a daughter, since mothers were the earliest teachers of children, both girls and boys. Sacred books were very important since the 'dynamic of literacy was religion' (Clanchy 1993, 13), although parents such as the Foggés also required their children to learn pragmatic literacy for letter-writing and estate management (Carlin and Crouch 2013, 14-15; 321-52). Eastern Kent, where the Foggés lived and held lands and manors, was an area of extensive literacy mainly because of the proximity of the Cinque Ports with their early traditions of civic record-keeping (Draper 2007, 216).

Apart from a special decorated 'Standyng Cuppe of gilt' which Sir John bequeathed to John junior, Dame Alice was to receive all the rest of the domestic goods and chattels at Repton to keep or give away as she chose. Alice Fogge apparently left no will and testament proved in the Archdeaconry, Consistory nor

Prerogative Courts of Canterbury so it has not been possible to follow up to whom she bequeathed her effects. Instead however, on 18 August 1512, Alice made a detailed indenture with John Roper, esquire, and ten other men, including two gentlemen, to fund an obit by enfeoffing them with the income of a messuage, two acres of land and two acres of meadow in Ashford.²⁸ This confirmed the obit for the soul of Sir John Fogge for another 60 years and extended it to the souls of herself, their children, Sir William Haute I and his wife (Joan Woodville, i.e. her parents), and their friends – those already dead and those still to die. This remembrance of friends, while traditional, echoed the concern of Sir John in founding the college and having friends or allies painted in its windows and those of the church, men with whom he had been through difficult political times and indeed battles. The total cost of Alice's plans was 10s. 6d. a year with the obit to be organised and paid out by one Richard Smith. The arrangements were to be reasonably substantial and undoubtedly carried out in the Fogge chapel: the singing of the three traditional obit services, mass, *Dirige*, and morrow-mass, by the Master of the college and three priests, two child choristers, two clerks (all receiving 8d. each) with 6d. to two other priests. The clerk was to ring the Great Bell of the church and six wax tapers were to be lighted. Thirteen poor people of Ashford attending the obit each year were to receive 1d. in cash, and a total of 31d. worth of 'Sothen' (southern) beef, bread and ale was to be provided for them for the meal after the obit. Provisions were made for someone to take over from Richard Smith if necessary, and after the 60 years were up the churchwardens were to take over, although in fact Alice was being realistic about the length of time active commemoration of the dead lasted – a few decades while family and friends who remembered them were themselves alive (Sweetinburgh 2007, 78).

Conclusions

Dame Alice Fogge's indenture of 1512 *de facto* replaced the spiritual provisions of a testament at least as regards the commemoration of souls. Like her husband in his testament, Alice did not specify gifts to the altars of saints, although this was not so very unusual at this period. Indeed, neither had John done so in his testament, leaving only the small sum of 6s. 8d. for forgotten tithes and offerings to the high altar, and bequeathing his body to God, the whole company of heaven and St Mary, the patron saint of the church. Alice, who survived her husband by at least 22 years, lived in a time of rapidly-changing devotional practices surrounding death, particularly in central and eastern Kent. In particular the founding of chantries, as Sir John had done in 1464 was no longer fashionable, being replaced by arrangements for prestigious funerals and subsequent commemorations, and increasingly so by the 1520s (Lutton 2007, 24).

Sir John Fogge was a key and long-lived figure among the Kentish gentry of the 15th century. He bent to the wind with much of the other Kentish gentry and turned to support the Yorkist cause, not least because of special position of Kent as regards the coast, its ports and Calais. Surviving the turbulent times – as some of his friends and associates did not – Fogge was able to make a very significant foundation which was unusual in being prompted by deaths in civil war rather than – as was more common – by high mortality in the Black Death and subsequent

plague outbreaks. Really his was a double foundation, firstly that of Ashford College as a chantry for the dead in battle and secondly the rebuilding of the central part of Ashford church starting over a decade later. The focus of the rebuilding was the choir where the priests, clerks and boy choristers of the college sang, and at a time where there were new developments in church music and liturgy, particularly processions, which the enlarged church would facilitate.²⁹ The interest of Sir John and his family in books, including sacred books, and in music is clear from his will as well as the accoutrements of the private chapel in Repton manor.

Both the grandfather of Sir John Fogge, Sir Thomas Fogge, and his first father-in-law, Sir Thomas Kyriell, were career soldiers. Kyriell, as well as William Haute I and Richard Wydeville I and a number of others, combined service in Normandy and Calais with political responsibilities at home, i.e. involvement in local affairs and domestic politics. A chivalric ethos and identity with its notions of honour, loyalty, courage, generosity and virtue developed during the decades of their military service and helped shape English political culture. Furthermore, this culture was transmitted in literary texts, translated into English, which were owned by these men towards the end of the fifteenth century. This included, notably, the Haute family into which Sir John Fogge married and which had a copy of Christine de Pizan's *Livre du Corps de Policie* (1407), a text which discussed the roles of king as leader and the military in society. The process of translation of such texts was not a 'politically neutral process' but rather engaged the reader in discussion of the military service, the English defeat in the Hundred Years War and the nature of chivalric behaviour (Grummitt 2008, 100).

While Sir John Fogge himself was not a lifelong soldier in the same way as Kyriell or Thomas Fogge, this chivalric ethos was part of what Sir John wanted to present when he invested his wealth from property transactions, royal and county service and careful marriage choices in a rebuilt church. Both his tomb and the transept windows expressed the Yorkist allegiance to which he turned, and the deep relationships also built up by marriage and activity at a military and Kentish level. The tomb and windows also emphasised the status of the valued Valoins connection, a family with deep connections to Repton, and pointed – in the helmet on his effigy – to Fogge's own military adventures. Most of all, perhaps, the church's rebuilding and functioning, linked so closely with Ashford college as a chantry to the dead of the battles in 1460-61, expressed the chivalric culture which valued courage and generosity.

APPENDIX

In 2010 Canterbury Archaeological Trust carried out a limited excavation of the available floor spaces of Ashford church nave and aisles during reordering of the nave and both the north and south aisles, as well as inspecting small areas in the north transept and north quire aisle. CAT also excavated an area of the churchyard's south-east corner to aid in the installation of a 'grey-water harvest tank' and its associated service trenching between it and around parts of the church's exterior, all within the churchyard confines. Andy Linklater, the project manager, kindly provided the following information which is reproduced with CAT's permission.

CAT uncovered the footprint of the earlier nave comprising either surviving masonry foundations or rubble filled 'robber-trenches', all of which created the unmistakable rectangular nave of a small-moderate sized nave with a slightly later narrower aisle along its southern side. As was to be expected, this had all been heavily influenced by later major rebuilding schemes to the nave and aisles, through both widening the church and then lengthening it westwards, all in the nineteenth-century. Unfortunately, due to the nature of church archaeology and the limited depth excavated to, dateable material was scant and CAT had to rely more on the phasing of the masonry and its later development to suggest that it was probably of early-mid Norman date (c.1100-1150) with the south aisle added possibly c.1150-1200?

It would appear that this earlier church was not of a traditional two-celled nave and chancel structure, but possessed a secondary chamber, possibly a tower, immediately to the east with a chancel beyond. This reasoning came about when a detailed plan of the present church was examined to show the footprint of the present tower crossing piers is slightly askew to the remainder of the surrounding church walling, but it followed a misalignment noticed in the foundations of the earlier nave. From this it was deduced that the footprint of the present tower, and possibly the masonry core itself, was of the same phase of construction as the earlier nave? This would then suggest that a smaller chancel would have projected from the eastern face of the tower beneath the present choir stalls. A further report on a further external drainage scheme of 2017 to alleviate damp from around the south transept, all of which was of fairly shallow depths, is available (Linklater 2017).

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ENDNOTES

¹ <http://ashfordsheritage.uk/heritage-assets/central-ashford/parish-church-of-st-mary-the-virgin/>; <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1071114> [02.08.2018]; Newsome 2013, 2-3.

² See also the Appendix with recent information from Canterbury Archaeological Trust. St Mary's Ashford is now an arts centre as well as a church where services continue to be held, listed under Ashford Town Centre, <http://www.ashfordchurches.co.uk/service-pattern/> [28.01.2018].

³ John Fogg's entry in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Horrox 2004) and those of his associates are important for their political careers in particular but tend not to deal with their local involvement. The online *ODNB* can be consulted in county libraries.

⁴ Repton manor is reported in the Kent Historic Environment Record, no. TQ 94 SE 63. Part of it dates to the time of Sir John Fogg.

⁵ As Woodger 1993 noted, the biographical entry for Sir Warentius de Valoignes has not yet appeared in the online *History of Parliament*, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/fogg-sir-thomas-1407> [11.08.2018].

⁶ As Edward Dering noted, Councier 1980, 4. John Philipot, Somerset Herald, described these wives as one the daughter of Haute, the other the daughter of Fogg, as in Fig. 2, from Councier 1960, Pl. III. Philipot's greatest concern was always to represent status amongst the Kentish gentry, or even to misrepresent it for the purposes of those aspiring to knightly rank (Bellinger and Draper 2010).

Philipot may have been referring to two Valoins marriages although his sketch and note do accord fit with Pearman's and Hasted's statements as above. However as the window itself does not survive (see below), it is impossible to be certain what it portrayed or intended, Smith 1859, 105-7; <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol1/pp177-213> [4.08.2018].

⁷ Dering added that, presumably separately, 'In a North window in the gallery' there were three coats of arms of Goldwell, Beauchamp and Fogge, although Philipot drew them in his notebook under the Fogge window of the north cross aisle, his concern being above all to record heraldry, Cuncer 1980, 4; <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol7/pp526-545> [09.08.2018].

⁸ It is possible that Joan was not in fact buried there. The inscription is now unclear but was legible to Weever and Somner in the mid 17th century, Hay 1991, 9-10, 23.

⁹ Thomas Fogge's ledger stone and brass, assuming the identification can be accepted, are in Bay 4 of the west walk of the Cathedral and those of Sir William and Lady Brenchley, and Sir William Septvaunt Junior and Senior in Bay 5, Hay 1991, 10, 23. This kind of memorial had been popularised in the 13th and 14th centuries in cathedrals and friaries not only for religious but also for military men, Saul 2009, 73-6; Steer 2018, 115, 132. In the 15th century people of influence on both sides of the Wars of Roses continued to be commemorated at Canterbury on the anniversaries of their deaths, especially those who could use their influence to good effect on behalf of the Priory, Connor 2008, 153-56.

¹⁰ Earl Rivers, the uncle of John Fogge's wife Alice Haute, was a Lancastrian stalwart and experienced soldier of the mid 15th century like Thomas Kyriell, and served under Edward Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, Grummitt 2008, 67-69.

¹¹ William Haute II has a full biography including his literary interests based on primary sources on https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Hawte [28.8.2018].

¹² Hasted 1797 also recorded Fogge's arms as 'Argent, on a fess between three amulets sable, three mullets of the first pierced, as they are carved and painted in several churches in this county, and on the roof of the cloisters at Canterbury', <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol1/pp177-213> [10.08.2018].

¹³ Richard Fogge of Danes Court in Tilmanstone lived in the mid 17th century and was in discussion with Sir Edward Dering about the verses in brass on Sir John Fogge's tomb at Ashford, Faussett 1863, 112, 118. Richard Fogge recorded, in a transcription of Fogge family papers by T.G. Faussett, that in Ashford *College* 'in the Window on the east side was these Portraits in complete Armor:- Johannes Fogge, Senior, Miles. William Scott: Miles. Edward Poynings Banarett. Sir James Darell. Dr White Sir John Fogge's Confessor [not apparently in armour]. In the other Window on the West side the Portraiture of John Fogge junior Miles and King Edward the 4th taking him by the Hand'. These were taken down in 1644. However Richard Fogge gave another list from 'Warren's MS' of 1712 of painted coats of arms which may have described the same windows, or there may have been both some portraitures and some coats of arms, those of the Foggess, Scotts, Poynings, the Royal Arms, Abp. Warham's, the Darells, Dr White, and the Enghams, Faussett 1863, 118-119; Cuncer 1980, 4-5. Herbert 2018, 6-8, and Fleming 2010, 229-30, discussed the Darell family in mid- to later 15th century but not 'Sir William Darell' as recorded by Philipot.

¹⁴ Cuncer 1980, 4; Pearman 1868, 50; Lindley 2007, ch.3.

¹⁵ Cuncer 1960, 68-9, 82-83, Plates III, IV. Philipot's book of church notes is BL Egerton MS. 3310.

¹⁶ Other gentlemen who supported the Yorkists were William Peche and John Guildford, and the Lords Cobham, Abergavenny, and Saye and Sele. Only a few remained loyal to the Crown, Grummitt 2010, 249-50. Pollard 2008 and Hicks 2008 reviewed the way in which local gentry in Kent and Sir Humphrey Stafford of Southwick, Dorset, of a cadet branch of the Stafford family (and earls of Devon) came to support the Yorkist earls, notably after a rout at Ludford.

¹⁷ Buckingham had replaced Kyriell as lieutenant of Calais, since contemporary opinion required a member of the nobility rather than a knight, however soldierly, in such a post, Grummitt 2008, 68.

¹⁸ Pearman 1868, 43-4, gave the verse in the original Latin and translated.

¹⁹ Newsome 2013, 12. The porch is not shown on the church plan made by the Incorporated Church Building Society which was drawn after the work of nave-widening was carried out, since its main purpose was to show additional seating, Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS 582. The catalogue dates it to 1824-8: <http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=ICBS%2fFILE%2f00582> [13.08.2018].

²⁰ Faussett 1863, 118, and Pearman 1868, 44, drawing on the description by Mr Warren, describing events about 30 years before Warren wrote in 1712. Warren was the curate of Ashford, who surveyed the College, Draper 2018.

²¹ Fogge's executors were to apply the profits of the marriage of the son and heir of Humphrey Stafford to the bequest towards his own daughters' marriage portions. The will did not specify which man this was, whether of the Devon branch (above) or the senior line shown by Rawcliffe 1973, pp. 22-3, Table III; cf. Herbert 2018, 8.

²² Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, PRC 32/3, fols. 280-281v.

²³ Specific financial provision was made for Dame Alice too during her lifetime: an income from land rents, including some recently purchased by her for the purpose, and woodlands for fuel.

²⁴ Pearman 1868, 126, identified the places in his transcription of the will and testament. This was not the probate copy but one in the parish chest, p. 136, and therefore differs a little in spelling.

²⁵ Pearman 1868, 125-28.

²⁶ John Kyriell was receiver of Edmund Beaufort, Marquess of Dorset, first Duke of Somerset (1406-55), Mercer 1999, 225-8; Curry 2008; Richmond 2008; Pollard 2008.

²⁷ In sum, Westenhanger and Ostenhanger were two adjacent manors. It appears that the Kyriell family did not recover Ostenhanger since in the early 16th century the Poynings family united the two manors, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=463895 [3.08.2018].

²⁸ Transcribed by Pearman 1868, 134-37, from a copy then in the parish chest.

²⁹ See for example, the work of John and Sally Harper on <http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/enactments/procession-of-the-holy-name/procession-of-the-holy-name-of-jesus-salisbury/> [1.9.2018]. The celebration of the Holy Name grew in importance in Wealden and Romney Marsh parishes from the mid-15th century, Draper 2007, 80, and works cited there. At Ashford an octagonal stair was constructed partly within, partly without, the wall of the south transept and its chapel at a late stage of the medieval development of the church, 'which would have enabled the rood loft to be accessed during the processional liturgy', Linklater 2017.