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The Life and Career of
William Waynflete,
Bishop of Winchester 1447-1486
THE LIFE AND CAREER OF WILLIAM WAYNFLETE,
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER 1447-1486

Virginia Grace Davis B.A.

A thesis submitted to the School of History in the University of Dublin for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

Trinity College
June 1985
DE CLARAT ION S

This thesis was written under the supervision of Professor C.E. Meek, M.A. (Dubl. Oxon.), D.Phil. (Oxon.), F.T.C.D., during 1980-85. It is entirely my own work and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university. The Library may lend or copy the thesis on request.

Virginia Davis
June 1985
By training William Waynflete was a theologian, by vocation he was a schoolmaster. He was magister informator at Winchester College when he attracted the attention Henry VI who visited the college. Henry VI brought him to Eton College to be provost and advisor to this fledgling royal foundation. Waynflete influenced its development along Wykehamist lines.

Henry VI proved a generous patron to Waynflete. In 1447 he elevated him to the see of Winchester on the death of Cardinal Beaufort. Waynflete did not abandon his educational interests. He used his position and the revenues of his see to found Magdalen College Oxford and two grammar schools. Throughout the remainder of his life he kept a close eye on their development. He provided a lavish endowment for Magdalen College and in the 1480s issued a code of statutes which reflected his mature reflection the form education should take.

The manner of Waynflete's promotion to Winchester suggests that he was a shrewd worker. As bishop he proved to be conscientious, concerned for the welfare of his diocese although he was not a great spiritual figure. His diocesan administration and that of his episcopal estates was marked by close personal supervision even of trivial and routine business. A number of practical changes made in his temporal administration increased its efficiency. On one manor at least his zeal met with determined opposition from his tenants.

Waynflete's involvement in politics was dominated by his personal friendship with and loyalty to Henry VI. He was embroiled in politics only during the first third of his episcopate. His main period of activity was during the 1450s when he was a councillor, a mediator and between 1456-60 chancellor. He resigned on the eve of the battle of Northampton in 1460 and by a judicious use of the means of patronage at his disposal he came to an accord with the Yorkist administration. Henceforth he withdrew from political life; he attended parliament when it met and established a good relationship with Edward IV but was not otherwise politically involved. At the readaption he appears not so much as a supporter of Warwick and the other rebels but as the friend of Henry VI. In all he was a successful politician in that he used his skills to survive in the dynastic turmoil which lasted for much of his episcopate.

The latter part of his episcopate was dominated by his diocesan affairs and his educational projects. In addition to Magdalen College he was concerned with the fortunes of Eton. Brief studies of other aspects of his life help to flesh out his figure. He was involved with the Pastons as executor to Sir John Fastolf and was entangled in the disputes which resulted from Fastolf's nuncupative will. He retained close links with the area of Lincolnshire which had been his birthplace, promoting its interests where possible. He was involved with the spread of the 'new learning' in England and patronised the printing process in the last years of his life. With the resources of the see of Winchester at his disposal he proved a lavish builder, particularly in brick. He remained active in diocesan and educational affairs until his death at an advanced age in August 1486.

The main sources for Waynflete's career are his episcopal register, account rolls both collegiate and manorial, central government material, private letters and early muniments of Eton and Magdalen colleges.
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Full bibliographical references will be found in the Bibliography.
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I am very grateful to Professor R.A. Griffiths and Mr. E. Wilson, both of whom sent me pre-publication copies of articles they had written.

This thesis would never have been completed without the help and encouragement of many people. I would like to thank all the friends with whom I stayed while travelling around the record offices and libraries of England. In addition to those already mentioned I would like to thank Miss Brenda Bolton, Professor Christopher Brooke, Dr. Phil Connolly, Professor Joan Greatrex, Professor Roy Haines, Dr. Gerald Harriss and Mr. and Mrs. A. Saunders. I would also like to thank my fellow research students in Trinity College Dublin, especially John McLoughlin. Finally and most especially I must thank my parents and my sister for their constant help, encouragement and support.
In recent years the image of the fifteenth century episcopate has been changing as individual studies have broken down the impression of earlier generations who saw the church as waning or corrupt and in need of reform. This transformation of our view of the episcopate as a group is based on specialised studies of individual bishops which have revealed the diversity of figures who went to make up the episcopal bench. Some, such as George Neville (Exeter 1456-65, York 1465-76) or Robert Stillington (Bath and Wells 1464-99) neglected their dioceses to devote their attention to politics, others like John Carpenter (Worcester 1444-76) concentrated on their pastoral duties; others again fulfilled their political commitments but also conscientiously attended to the administration of their dioceses. The variety of men who together constituted the English episcopate can only be established by research into the careers of individual bishops.

One such bishop was William Waynflete, the diversity of whose activities makes him a good subject for study. During his lifetime Waynflete was involved in a number of important aspects of fifteenth century English life. He was bishop of Winchester, a rich and potentially powerful see, for almost forty years in the later fifteenth century; politically he was linked with Henry VI and the Lancastrian administration in the last years of Henry VI's disastrous first reign; as headmaster at Winchester College, provost of Eton College and founder of Magdalen College Oxford he was closely involved with the educational revolution of the fifteenth century.

A substantial amount of material survives for the study of Waynflete's career although, as with the study of any medieval
figure, there are unfortunate lacunae. The major source is his episcopal register which covers most of his lengthy episcopate. Account rolls and deeds at Eton and Magdalen Colleges throw light on his educational involvements as do the set of statutes he promulgated for his college at the end of his life. In addition numerous land deeds and conveyances survive at Magdalen College relating to the enormous endowment he collected for the college. A number of the buildings which were constructed under his patronage still stand today.

Several biographies of Waynflete have been written by men who were attached to Magdalen College. The earliest life was that written by John Budden, reader in philosophy at Magdalen College, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Budden's work, written in Latin, was based on a number of primary sources, in particular documents from the college muniments, but it is somewhat eulogistic in tone and Budden was at least as concerned to display his own erudition in Latin composition as to detail Waynflete's life.

Another work, written c.1660, should also be mentioned here although it adds little to our historical knowledge of William Waynflete - the metrical life of the bishop written by Peter Heylin, fellow of Magdalen College. This was closely based on Budden's Vita but was propagandist and hagiographic in style, being much coloured by Heylin's own political involvements, in particular his support for King Charles I (whom he parallels with Henry VI). It

2. P.Heylin, Memorial of Bishop Waynflete, ed. J.R.Bloxam (Caxton Society 1851).
It is of little value as a short extract will suffice to show:

'\begin{quote}
Then Henry was thy murder first made known,
And all deplored thy lamentable state,
Then Richard was thy tyranny first shown,
And all abhorred thy most tyrannic state,
But above all Wainfleet, the heavens did tear,
With dolorous complaints; he had no mate
equal to him in greefe. Thus did he reare
his plaints on high and with these following cries,
Did tears extract out of Panicean eyes.' 3
\end{quote}

In the late eighteenth century Richard Chandler, D.D.,
rector of a Hampshire parish and one-time fellow of Magdalen
College, wrote another biography of Waynflete: 4 It was solidly
founded on research especially letters and charters in the college
muniments and Winchester diocesan records and contains an
appendix which prints almost one hundred pages of documents.
Chandler was also careful to cite his sources although the form of
some of his references makes them difficult to trace today. This
has remained the standard biography of Waynflete since it was
published in the early nineteenth century.

Little work has been done on William Waynflete since the
publication of Chandler's Life. Works on the diocese of Winchester,
the fifteenth century episcopate as a body or on the early history
of Magdalen or Eton Colleges have drawn almost exclusively on
Chandler's biography for their information about Waynflete. More
recently an Oxford B.Litt. thesis has dealt extensively with the
process whereby Waynflete collected together the endowment for
his college and its transference to the college in the 1480s. 5 For

3. Ibid., pp.58-9, stanza 137; the work begins, 'Chant out my muse:
in thy most pleasing strain, that worthy prelate's fame...'
ibid., p.7.
4. R.Chandler, The life of William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester
(London 1811); it was actually written in 1793 but was published
posthumously.
5. J.Mills, 'The foundations, endowment and early administration
this reason I have not dealt with this issue in any detail. While it is of great interest to see how the endowment was built up piecemeal it is more germane to the early history of Magdalen College than to the central theme of this thesis which is the life and career of William Waynflete - a Lincolnshire man who lived for most of his life in Southern England; a schoolmaster turned bishop; a patronee turned patron; a man involved in politics almost despite himself.
THE TOMB OF RICHARD BARBOUR, SHOWING WILLIAM WAYNFLETE KNEELING AT HIS RIGHT SHOULDER AND JOHN WAYNFLETE AT HIS LEFT.

(The tomb was in the church of All Saints in Wainfleet but is now in Magdalen College chapel)

Photograph: NMR (Oxford)
I. EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS

1. Parentage, early life and Winchester College

2. Eton College I 1441-1447

3. Eton College II 1447-1486

4. Oxford foundations 1448-1486
Wainfleet, a port near Boston on the coast of Lincolnshire, was the birthplace of William Barbour, subsequently William Waynflete bishop of Winchester. He was probably born in the late 1390s but the exact date of his birth is uncertain - a papal dispensation addressed to a William Waynflete, 'who is in his eighteenth year', enabling him to hold a benefice with cure, was issued on 16 December 1410 which would suggest c.1393 as the year of his birth. Conflicting with this is Waynflete's own statement made in 1470 that he was 'almost a septuagenarian'. That his brother John was also described as being in his eighteenth year in 1410 would suggest that more attention should be paid to the bishop's own statement.

He was the second son of Richard Barbour and although there is no contemporary evidence tradition has stated that his mother was Margery Brereton, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Cheshire. The Breretons held the manor of Dalby which lay near Wainfleet which makes the match plausible and Waynflete certainly appears to have had connections with the Brereton family in the 1450s and 1470s which suggest that he was related to

1. A manuscript cited in Chandler, Life, p.250 but now lost, apparently described Waynflete's father as being called Richard Patten otherwise Barbour but from his first appearance in the sources the future bishop is always described simply as William Waynflete.

2. C.Pap.L.,1404-15,p.224; it is immediately followed by an identical dispensation for John Waynflete. This has meant that this John and William Waynflete are usually identified as these two brothers, e.g. B.R.U.O., p.2001. Since there were a number of John and William Waynflete who were clergy in Lincoln at this time the dispensation may be misleading and may refer to other people.

3. C.Pap.L.,1458-71, p.782; this occurs in the context of a petition for a dispensation from the triennial ad limina visit to the Curia. Since Waynflete was petitioning on the grounds of his advanced age there would be no need for him to understate his age; quite the reverse might in fact be expected.


There is little evidence for the social status of Richard Barbour but he seems to have been of gentry stock; in the second decade of the fifteenth century he is found both holding land and witnessing the conveyance of land in Wainfleet. The effigy on his tomb shows him dressed as a prosperous member of the gentry or perhaps a merchant. Waynflete's brother John Waynflete also entered the church, reaching the peak of his ecclesiastical career as Dean of Chichester in 1455.

It has often been stated that Waynflete was educated in Winchester at William Wykeham's recently founded Winchester College. Its records of scholars however are complete and do not include Waynflete's name. Some day boys attended the College as oppidans but Waynflete, coming as he did from Lincolnshire and with no family connections in Winchester, is unlikely to have been among them. A reference by Thomas Chaundler, later Warden of New College Oxford, is partly responsible for this misunderstanding:

6. M.C.Deeds Candlesby 19b, 5 April 1451 - Waynflete, John Waynflete and others were made feoffees to use for Alice Brereton of the manor of Dalby. M.C.Deeds Candlesby 18, 15 June 1474 - conveyance from William Brereton, knight, to William Waynflete, his brother John and Robert Brereton, rector of Brereton Parish, Cheshire, of all manors and other lands in Lincolnshire. P.R.O. CI/76/27 [1485-6] Dame Maud, late wife of William Brereton brings a case against William Bishop of Winchester, concerning the ownership of the manor of Dalby in Lincolnshire.

7. M.C.Deeds Candlesby 3,10.

8. The tomb, originally in All Saints church Wainfleet, is now in Magdalen College chapel in Oxford. It is of alabaster; Richard Barbour is shown with his hands clasped in prayer, his gown has wide puffed sleeves and a decorated belt, on his fingers are two rings. His two sons are portrayed as tiny figures, one kneeling each side of his head.


10. e.g. The article in the D.N.B. and more recently, J.Simon, Education in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge 1966), p.13.

11. This was pointed out by T.F.Kirby, Annals of Winchester (London 1892), p.198; he does not appear in the records under any of the names Waynflete, Patten or Barbour.
...springing from the root of such a foundation like a flourishing shoot, with the help and assistance of Thomas Beckington, most beneficent lord, he grew as it were into a mighty cedar.' 12

In fact Chaundler was referring not to Waynflete but to William Say. It is far more likely that the future bishop was educated locally within Lincolnshire, a county which was well supplied with good schools; ten grammar schools were founded there between 1276-1329 alone. 14

William Waynflete entered the church at an early stage in his career. He obtained his first benefice, Salomby in Lincolnshire while still only a literate and in minor orders. He was presented to it by a layman, John Lyghley of Salomby, and admitted at Sleaford on 3 January 1416 by means of a proctor Robert Parangton. 15 John Waynflete, already ordained a priest and rector of Binbrook, also in Lincolnshire, exchanged benefices with his younger brother three weeks later, on 28 January 1416. Both brothers were represented by proctors on this occasion. 16

Binbrook rectory must have been intended to support William Waynflete while he furthered his education. On 26 September 1416 Philip Repington, bishop of Lincoln, granted a cum ex eo licence to him, enabling him to be absent from the benefice for three years for the purpose of studying at a university. 17 Waynflete was by now a

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13. B.R.U.O., p.1649; Say was at Winchester College 1425-8. He was a chaplain to Henry VI and in 1442 accompanied Beckington to Bordeaux on a diplomatic mission.
15. Lincoln Record Office (henceforth L.R.O.) Register XV, Philip Repington, fo.77v.
16. Ibid., fo.77v.
17. Ibid., fo.154r.
subdeacon, the first of the major orders. Where he was ordained deacon is unknown but in June 1420, still rector of Binbrook, he was ordained priest.  

The problem of which university William Waynflete attended in these years is considerable. It has usually been accepted that Waynflete was a member of New College Oxford which drew its students from Winchester but again their records are complete and his name does not appear. In his Description of England, William Harrison stated that Waynflete was a member of Merton College but he was not recorded there either. The fact that his name does not appear in the records of any of the colleges does not mean that he did not go to Oxford; the majority of students belonged to Halls which were ephemeral and which have left few records. In his own life-time the university of Oxford claimed Waynflete as an ex-student when, in 1447, the university authorities requested his help to obtain the benefaction left to them by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. In their letter to him they describe the university as 'your mother who nourished you in learning'.

Waynflete's degree was in theology. It is not known when he took his degree but the earliest reference to Waynflete as a Bachelor of Theology is from September 1443, after he had become

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18. L.R.O. Register XV, fo.170*; this is the last reference in the Lincoln episcopal registers to Waynflete as rector of Binbrook. It is not known when he ceased to hold this rectory for the next reference to it does not occur until 1450 when the recently deceased rector is named as Walter Thompson, L.R.O. XIX, fo.27.


Waynflete disappears completely from the sources during the 1420s until the very end of the decade when he reappears as magister informator or headmaster at Winchester College in June 1430. William Wykeham had founded Winchester College in 1382 as a grammar school and later he linked it with his other foundation New College Oxford. Boys from Winchester College proceeded to New College. Some seventy boys were allowed for by the statutes and in addition there were a number of day boys. In September 1429 the college sent one of their number, John Edmond, to Oxford, 'equitans Oxon. ad inquirandum communitati cum domino per ibidem pro magistro informatore habendo...'. Waynflete's appointment may have dated from this visit, suggesting that perhaps he had been in Oxford throughout this decade. Oxford was still the great centre for grammar teachers.

It is likely that Waynflete had had some teaching experience prior to his appointment as headmaster. Wykeham had stipulated in his statutes for Winchester College that the master should be a man 'in gramaticam sufficienter eruditus, habens docendi peritiám, vir bone fame et conversacionis'. As headmaster he was an employee of

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22. He cannot be identified with the William Waynflete who was a clerk at the Exchequer in the early 1420s and who then went on to become a fellow at King's Hall Cambridge. This other Waynflete was a B.C.L., not a B.Th., P.R.O. E 28/49; E 404/37/174; Trinity College Cambridge Library, Account books of King's Hall, vols 7, 8.
WILLIAM WYKEHAM AND DISTINGUISHED FIGURES CONNECTED WITH HIS FOUNDATIONS OF NEW COLLEGE AND WINCHESTER COLLEGE

Wykeham at the top; on his right Chichele and Beckington, on his left Cranley and Waynflete; below, standing from right to left Selot, Andrewes, Say, Sugar, Norton, Holes and Chaundler. From The Chaundler Manuscripts, ed. M.R. James, (Roxborough Club 1916).
college, not on the foundation; he was subordinate to the warden of
the college but his position was important enough to permit him to
dine at the High Table with the warden and senior fellows.\textsuperscript{26}

The duties of the master were also laid down in Wykeham's
statutes - they comprised the teaching or the supervision of the
teaching of grammar to the seventy scholars and the chastisement of
the 'negligentes seu alias delinquentes'. The scholars ranged in
age from eight to eighteen, (twenty-five in the case of Founder's Kin)
and they were supposed to have grasped the rudiments of grammar and
plainsong before they were admitted.\textsuperscript{27}

Some idea of what Waynflete taught can be derived from a
surviving inventory of the college library drawn up by one of the
fellows in 1432, not long after Waynflete's appointment as headmaster.\textsuperscript{28}
This listed the books, their value, the donor if known and the first
couple of words of the second folio of each. The list was divided by
subject into sections; the final section, \textit{libri grammaticales} lists
nineteen works. Predominant among these were the commonly used texts
of Priscian and Peter Helias which formed the basis for the Arts
course. Of particular interest are the two works which were described
as 'remanet in manibus magistri scholarum'.\textsuperscript{29} These were \textit{Liber continens
librum equivocorum et librum magni doctrinalis} and \textit{Liber continens
quandam compilationem de informatione puerorum cum aliis parvis tractatibus.}

\begin{itemize}
\item 26. \textit{Annals of Winchester}, p.80.
\item 27. \textit{Ibid.}
\item 28. 'Catalogue of books belonging to the college of St.
Mary Winchester in the reign of Henry VI', ed. W.H. Gunner,
\textit{Archaeological Journal} 15 (1858), pp.59-74.
\item 29. \textit{Ibid.}, p.74.
\end{itemize}
Neither work survives today in Winchester College Library but the Compilatio de informatione puerorum to judge from its title was of a type used quite widely by Waynflete's contemporaries. Other similar works covered the four principal parts of grammar, etymology, orthography, prosody and syntax. There were almost as many different texts as there were teachers and no one set of texts or glosses was widely used. Prior to the 1480s when the printed works of English grammarians such as John Anwykyll came to dominate the teaching of Latin in England, masters like Waynflete had to rely heavily on works produced on the continent which had elaborate glosses adapting them for teaching in England. By the latter half of the fourteenth century the teaching of Latin through English rather than French had become common and it is not therefore surprising to find that this Compilatio was in English - the words cited in the catalogue from the beginning of the second folio being 'ablytif case'.

Waynflete taught at Winchester College throughout the 1430s. The college hall books show that he was in residence for the bulk of the time with only two short periods of absence, 18 May - 8 June 1431 and 9 - 16 March 1435. During this time he was assisted by a number of ushers but they rarely stayed for more than a few years and their names have not survived.

During his years as bishop of Winchester (1404-47) Cardinal Beaufort visited the college on a number of occasions. This would have given him an opportunity to make the acquaintance of William Waynflete; in the 1430s he presented the schoolmaster to the mastership

of the leper hospital of Mary Magdalen which was situated just outside the city of Winchester. Since most of Beaufort's episcopal register has been lost, the precise date of this presentation is not known but Waynflete was certainly master by 1438 for in that year he was involved in a legal dispute concerning its possessions. He resigned the hospital on his elevation to the episcopate. This hospital exercised a considerable influence over Waynflete for he adopted Mary Magdalen as his patron. She was to be depicted on his episcopal signet seal; he dedicated the college he founded in Oxford to her and in addition the chantry chapel in Winchester in which he was to be buried was also dedicated to her.

Waynflete remained headmaster at Winchester for eleven years, a longer period than any of his predecessors. His subordinate position within the college means that we know little of his activities during this period. Clearly, however, he attracted Beaufort's attention, as he was to attract the attention of Beaufort's great nephew, Henry VI, when he paid a royal visit to the college in 1441.

33. This hospital existed until the late eighteenth century. It consisted of a row of habitations, a chapel and a common hall; it is illustrated in R.M. Clay, The medieval hospitals (London 1909) plate xxi.
35. J.Wavel, The history and antiquities of Winchester (2 vols Winchester 1773), II, pp.177-8. Wavell's information is likely to be accurate although the document cited no longer survives for he was master of the hospital.
36. There is no record of his resignation but on 12 February 1448 he presented Thomas Yon to the hospital as master which suggests that he had just vacated it, Reg.Wayn. I fo.3.
a) The foundation of Eton College

The later development of Eton College, its links with Winchester College and the presence of Wykehamists such as Thomas Beckington and Henry Chichele among Henry VI's circle of advisers have all overshadowed the fact that the king's original scheme for Eton College did not suggest that it was to duplicate Wykeham's twin foundation. Having acquired the advowson of the parochial church of Eton in September 1440, Henry issued a foundation charter on 11 October of the same year. This charter emphasised the king's desire to demonstrate his devotion to the church by copying the pious works of his ancestors and shows that he saw his collegiate foundation as a symbol of his having grasped the full reins of power which he had done in November 1437:

'...Unde et nos, qui eodem rege regum, per quem omnes regnant reges, disposiente, utrisque regni nostri gubernationem in manus nostras iam suscepimus, ab ipsis mature etatis nostre auspiciis, sedula mentis cognitacione versare coepimus, quomodo qualiterque qualis regio munere, iuxta modum devotionis nostre, et nostrorum more maiorum, eidem domine et sanctissime matri nostro congruum facere possemen honorem, in tanti complacenciam sponsi eius; tandemque nobis intima meditacione talia cogitantibus, resedit in corde, ut in honorem ac fulcimentum tante tamque sanctissime matris, in ecclesia parochialia de Etona iuxta Wyndesoram...'

The nature of Henry's foundation as religious college, almshouse and charity school is outlined in the charter; it was to consist of a provost, ten priests, four clerks, six chori sters, twenty-five poor scholars and twenty-five bedesmen. In addition a master was to be appointed to teach grammar to all who wished to attend the school, freely and without exactions.

1. Lyte, Eton College, p.4.
Although people to fill the positions of provost, priests and choristers were named in the foundation charter and several boys were designated scholars the reference to the master comes almost as an afterthought and no-one was nominated to take the position. A royal chapel school and the Cambridge college of King's Hall already provided schooling for court proteges and future servants of the crown; there was no actual need for the king to establish a school. Neither in 1440 was any reference made to a second university foundation to complement the school as would have been expected if Henry's foundation had been designed to rival Wykeham's. Six months later, in February 1441, Henry VI did establish a Cambridge college, consisting of a rector and twelve scholars. This may indicate a growing interest in the idea of a dual foundation but against this is the fact that no reference was made to any connection between Eton College and the Cambridge college which was dedicated to St. Nicholas. The school element of Eton College was secondary; the whole tone of the foundation charter clearly demonstrates that the king's intention in the autumn of 1440 was to found an ecclesiastical college, imitating the foundations of his ancestors. He did not set out to emulate Wykeham's dual educational establishment despite the fact that within five years of 1440 they were closely linked in fact and in form.

b) Early connections between Henry VI and Waynflete

Just under a year later, in early August 1441 Henry VI visited Winchester College, a visit which resulted in his employment of

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William Waynflete, then headmaster of Winchester College, initially in some undefined role connected with the development of Eton College.

The reason for the king's journey to Winchester on this occasion is not known.\(^7\) Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, although no longer a member of the Council was often consulted informally on important matters\(^8\) and the young king may have gone to Winchester to seek his great-uncle's advice. Equally Henry may have gone to Winchester for the express purpose of visiting the College as has been suggested,\(^9\) but it must not be assumed that because the visit resulted in the employment of William Waynflete its purpose was to seek a master for Eton. Details of the royal visit and the entertainment of the king on this occasion appear in the Liber Albus and the account rolls of Winchester College, but they shed no light on the king's motives, merely recording that he attended Mass and dined in the College Hall.\(^10\)

The following month, evidently at short notice,\(^11\) Waynflete ceased to be headmaster at Winchester College and entered the royal service. This single visit to Winchester College was Henry VI's only documented connection with Waynflete prior to his appointment but that it was an impetuous decision seems unlikely - as far as Eton College was concerned the king was consistently meticulous in the details of his arrangements. The king's secretary Thomas Beckington, an old

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7. The problem of the exact date of Henry VI's visit to Winchester is discussed by H. Chitty in Notes and Queries 12th series, no.25, (June 1916), p.481; he concluded that Saturday 29 July is the most probable date. Comparison of the king's movements with the itinerary of the king in Wolffe, Henry VI, p.363 suggests that the visit was actually made the following Saturday, 5 August.


11. Deprived of its headmaster by the king, Winchester College had to send a messenger to Thomas Alewyn, Waynflete's predecessor in the post, requesting his return; Waynflete's stipend was paid until Michaelmas 1441 and Alewn was paid thereafter, W.C.M. 22117.
Wykehamist, may have had knowledge of Waynflete and recommended him to the king. In addition Waynflete was known to Cardinal Beaufort who had appointed him to the mastership of the Hospital of Mary Magdalen in Winchester.

No evidence supports the tradition that Waynflete was accompanied by five fellows and thirty-five scholars of Winchester College when he moved to the new royal foundation.\(^\text{12}\) In fact only six scholars moved to Eton with their headmaster.\(^\text{13}\) Neither is there evidence to support the description of Waynflete as first headmaster of Eton.\(^\text{14}\) He may have done a little teaching for two scholars were named in the foundation charter but it is unlikely that much formal teaching was required until the school started to expand. William Westbury, a fellow of New College Oxford, resigned his fellowship the following spring and came as the first headmaster under Waynflete; he was an ex-pupil having been at Winchester College in the first years of Waynflete's headmastership.\(^\text{15}\)

Waynflete had not been brought to Eton to act as schoolmaster. When he set his new foundation in motion Henry VI was not yet twenty years of age. In Waynflete he found what he needed, a mature and experienced man able to carry out his desires and to supervise the future development of the college. Henry Sever, named as provost in the foundation charter, seems to have made little impact on the new foundation and may have proved unsatisfactory in the role

12. Kirby, Annals of Winchester, p.199 points out that this was not the case but the tradition continues to be repeated, as in Simon, Education and society in Tudor England p.13.
13. Ibid., p.198.
The development of Eton College.

During William Waynflete's provostship the royal college at Eton, which had been conceived as a fairly modest establishment under the king's original plan, developed into a much more grandiose body on which much royal time, energy and revenue were expended. Two men in particular were in a position to influence the direction of Eton's development, Thomas Beckington and William Waynflete. Beckington, who was the king's secretary, was intimately involved with the

16. Sever became chancellor of Oxford after he left Eton College, B.R.U.O., pp.1672-3; in 1443 some members of the university wrote to the pope requesting that he use his influence with the king in Sever's favour, Epistolae Academicae Oxon. I, pp.223-5. This was a surprising request in view of the fact that not only had Sever served the king at Eton but also as his confessor in the 1430s; had he won royal favour in these activities such a letter would hardly have been necessary.

17. C.P.R. 1441-6, p.50.

18. ECR 26/120, 'Curia prima [court of first recognition by the tenants] magistri Willelmi Waynflete prepositi'; dated Tuesday before the feast of St. Edward king and Martyr, 20 Henry VI, 13 March 1442.


20. ECR 54/10; Lyte, Eton College, p.18.

diplomatic negotiations with the papacy necessary to obtain the extensive indulgence privileges which Henry wanted for his college.\(^2\) The emphasis on indulgences shows how highly the king regarded the religious and pious side of his foundation. Beckington was a Wykehamist and although he had no later experience of the college after he had ceased to be a schoolboy there, he could have encouraged the king to look at Wykeham's foundations as a model.

Waynflete, by virtue both of his experience at Winchester College and his appointment at Eton, was in a strong position to influence Henry's plans. The trust which Henry came to place in Waynflete's judgement, zeal and abilities is clearly demonstrated in the king's 'Will'.\(^3\) Since Waynflete's experience hitherto had been solely at Winchester College, it was not surprising that he directed the king along similar lines. His own continuing approval of the idea of linking a university college with a grammar school can be seen from the form of his own later foundation at Oxford which was supplied by two such schools.\(^4\)

The great period of change for Eton College was 1443; this was the year when statutes were drawn up and in which Eton was brought closer to Wykeham's model and linked with a much altered King's College in Cambridge. The links of English kings with Cambridge dated back to the fourteenth century when Edward II founded King's Hall.\(^5\)

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22. Beckington's letters relating to these negotiations can be found in Memorials of the reign of King Henry VI, ed. G. Williams (2 vols, Rolls Series 1872).

23. The King's Will stated Henry VI's intentions concerning the development of his two foundations; it is discussed in detail below, pp. 30-33.

24. Magdalen College School was situated in Oxford beside Magdalen College; a second foundation was established along similar lines in his Lincolnshire birthplace, Wainfleet. Both of these foundations will be discussed in more detail later.

Despite the existence of this college in addition to Henry VI's newly founded college dedicated to St. Nicholas, the early scholars of Eton College did not automatically proceed to Cambridge. That their options remained open can be seen from a grant made in February 1442 by John Carpenter, master of the Hospital of St. Anthony in London, to sustain five boys studying the arts in Oxford at the rate of 10d per week, 'provided that they have been instructed in the rudiments of the arts faculty at Eton College'.

On 10 July 1443 William Millington, rector of the College of St. Nicholas in Cambridge, was appointed provost of a reconstituted body, the royal college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Cambridge. On the same day the original commissioners appointed by the king to draw up its statutes were released from their obligations. A public instrument made in the chapel in Eton on 13 September 1443 shows a links between the two royal foundations being forged for the first time, three years after their initial establishment:

'...venerabilis vir magister Willemus Waynfletus...prepositus sedens recitans et declarans intentionem mandatum et voluntatem regis... Et qualiter pauperes indigentes que scolares dicti Collegii Regalis Beate Marie de Etona postquam fuerint prius gramatice rudimentis sufficienter imbuti ad dictum Collegium Regale Beate Marie et sancti Nicholi in Cantab' Eliensis diocesis affirmientur liberalibus ibidem studiis ac ceteris scientiis et facultatibus perfectus imbuendi iuxta ordinacione et statuta serenissimi principis et domini nostri regis ... in hac parte edita'.

The statutes which were being drawn up at this time were instituted three months later in December 1443. They were extremely closely modelled on those of Winchester College; some small changes were made.

28. C.P.R. 1441-6, p.97.
29. ECR 39/30.
for example to cover the bedesmen who were unique to Eton College or
to delete Wykeham's references to founder's kin privileges, but in
effect such alterations were minor.  

Three years after its initial foundation Henry VI's royal college
at Eton was coming to resemble Wykeham's model. Such a development
must not be seen as having been inevitable. Too often the influence
of Wykeham's two colleges is accepted without question - their influ-
ence on other foundations between 1400-1440 was minimal. It was the
foundation of Henry VI's college which helped to spread Wykeham's
influence more widely and the transformation of these along
Wykehamist lines owed much to the influence of William Waynflete, the
first effective provost of Eton College.

d) Duties of the provost

The position of provost of Eton College was very different from that
of magister informator at Winchester College. At Winchester
Waynflete's duties had been those of teaching and disciplining the
scholars and his status within the college was that of a paid subor-
dinate, not a member of the foundation. At Eton Waynflete was in
control of the day-to-day management of the college; he was in regular
communication with the young king and with leading royal advisors, in
particular the powerful Duke of Suffolk. Although Eton College was
still a fledgling foundation, the constant personal interest shown by
the king in its development made the provost an important figure.

The sources for the provost's duties in these early years are
fragmentary. The earliest surviving audit roll is that of 1444-5; the

30. These statutes no longer exist; they are earlier than those pub-
lished by Heywood and Wright in The ancient laws of the fifteenth
century...for the public school of Eton College (London 1850) which
date from c.1447-55. -The notarial instrument of 21 December 1443
which records this ceremony refers to still earlier statutes of which
nothing is known, ECR 54/10. The Eton statutes are not quite as
Leach described them in V.C.H.Buckinghamshire II, p.157,'...a mere
transcript of those of Winchester.' A careful comparison reveals
some changes but these are primarily of phrasing, to fit the royal
status of the founder.
next is from 1446-7 while the first Lease Book which also recorded early college acta begins in 1445. The college Register does not begin until 1457. Some light is also shed on these early years by official records such as the patent and close rolls.

Initially the college was small in size but it quickly began to grow. The first election of scholars, held in 1444, resulted in the election of twenty-five boys. By 1447 when Waynflete left Eton the full complement of seventy scholars and sixteen choristers had been attained although the almshouse element remained small, there being only six bedesmen at that time. The provost was responsible for all aspects of collegiate internal affairs although many external matters, especially negotiations with the papal curia for grants of indulgences, were managed by the king.

The oath sworn by William Waynflete as provost on 23 December 1443 before the king's commissioners gives some idea of his obligations. The duties with some slight changes resembled those of the warden of Winchester College. He had precedence over all the fellows and full authority over the whole college although (as was the case in Winchester also), the fellows had to be consulted in important matters. He appointed internal college officers - bursars' officials and other servants of the college. Every second year at least he had to visit all the college estates. In the religious sphere the provost was responsible for the cure of souls, not only of members of the college

31. ECR/61/AR/1, audit roll 1444-5; ECR/61/AR/2, audit roll 1446-7. The extensive building accounts for this period are described in D. Knoop and G.P. Jones, 'The building of Eton College 1442-60', Transactions Quatuor Cornati Lodge 46 (1933), pp.3-43; H. Colvin, The history of the king's works (2 vols London 1963) I, p.280, n.3 refers to the earliest surviving account not seen by Knoop and Jones.

32. Lyte, Eton College, p.20.

33. ECR 54/10.

34. Annals of Winchester, pp.467-8 for the duties of the warden of Winchester College.
but also of all the parishioners of the parish of Eton. Periods of absence totalling more than sixty days a year were not permitted unless required by urgent college business. In this matter the Eton statutes contain an additional clause not found in those of Wykeham which reflects the emphasis on religious observance and piety in the royal foundation - the provost was required to be in the college on the occasions of the major religious festivals of the year, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the Assumption of the Virgin being particularly specified.  

The daily activities of the provost connected with the running of the college were wide-ranging and manifold. Matters as diverse as the purchase of cloth for liveries, the provision of books for scholars and fellows and the organisation of temporary and permanent buildings all fell within the range of his responsibilities. As a matter of course there were daily services to be attended. The duties of other members of the college had to be supervised. It was the duty of the bursars to purchase cloth for gowns but the ultimate responsibility was Waynflete's; the choice of a Winchester clothier for supplies of cloth suggests the provost's involvement in this matter. In the early years before the buildings had been completed arrangements had to be made for the scholars to be boarded out locally - another responsibility for the provost. During the 1440s the site of the college was overrun by a large number of workmen, about sixty on average at any one time under the supervision of a clerk of works. The first clerk of works was  

35. Ancient laws, p.507.  
36. ECR/61/A/1, m.4; 61/AR/A/2, m.3; 61/AR/A/3, m.7.  
37. Lyte, Eton College, p.32.
William Lynde but several men filled the position in succession during Waynflete's years at Eton. While the daily business of building and the employment and payment of masons and labourers was the clerk's responsibility, the provost was involved in directing the course of building and in matters such as the employment of leading craftsmen.

On 30 November 1443 Waynflete and Lynde contracted with a carpenter, Robert Wheatley, for the carpentry work in ten chambers, a hall and several towers and turrets. The original contract has disappeared and is known only because it is referred to in the accounts for 1445-6 when the final payment to Wheatley was made. Waynflete must have been involved in numerous such contracts relating to building works. It would be he as provost who would act as a liaison figure between the king and royal advisers and the clerk of the works and the masons. The king's 'Will', drawn up in February 1448 shows that Henry VI had very definite ideas about the physical form his buildings should take. The need for the king to produce such a document in 1448, the year after Waynflete left Eton, may have been made more urgent because the king did not have the same personal relationship with the new provost that he had established with Waynflete, in whom he placed great trust.

As well as dealing with the affairs of internal college administration and building, the provost had to oversee the administration of the estates and manors which made up part of the endowment in order to safeguard and maintain income from them. The accounts record personal visits by the provost and some of the fellows to outlying places.

38. 'The building of Eton college', pp.4,6-7; the clerks of this period were John Vady, John Medehill, Richard Burton and William Lynde.
40. Willis and Clark described the king's building plans in detail in Architectural History I, pp.313-27.
estates, as in November 1445 when expenses were paid to the provost, eight fellows and their servants who visited Stokensay, Leighton Buzzard and other manors to inspect them. In July of the same year the provost had been to see the manor of Tooting Bec while in January 1447 he went to Beckford and Deerhurst manors. The holding of manorial courts had to be organised and bailiffs appointed. Landholding brought with it numerous responsibilities which devolved on the provost. The Lease book of the college shows him making indentures on behalf of the college. He also received grants for the college; in December 1444 Waynflete was named along with the Duke of Suffolk and John Hampton as recipient of wardship of the lands of John Speke which were in the king's hands by reason of Speke's death.

Eton College held a number of advowsons which had previously belonged to the alien priories with which Henry VI had endowed his foundation. Clerks had to be found to be presented to these benefices. Another responsibility towards the church was the provost's holding of archidiaconal jurisdiction over the parish of Eton which arose from the exemption of the parish and college from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Buckingham in exchange for an annual payment of £1 2s 1ld.

41. ECR 61/AR/A/1, m.5.
42. ECR 61/AR/A/2, m.6.
43. ECR 61/VR/A/1 - this is a valor of estates but it includes a memorandum of the appointment of a bailiff of the liberties of Eton College estates in Northants, 29 April 1443.
44. In 1446 for example indentures were made between provost Waynflete and Edward and Eleanor Hulle and between Waynflete and William Marshall concerning the Sussex Priory of Leominster, ECR 60/LB/I, fos 6r, 7v.
45. C.P.R. 1441-6, pp.314, 316.
46. Lyte, Eton College, pp.8-9; from 1447 details of presentations to advowsons are recorded in the lease book but they do not start until after Waynflete had ceased to be provost.
47. ECR 39/21; C.P.R. 1441-6, p.205.
William Waynflete was also involved in obtaining writs and confirmations of privileges from the chancery. He attended parliament as the representative of the college. He had regular communication with the king about the affairs of Eton. When the king was at Windsor Castle, as was often the case, this presented no problem, but at other times the provost had to ride in search of him. The accounts record such journeys, both to the king and to the chancery and exchequer in London. When in London Waynflete had to stay in a house rented from Chertsey Abbey for it was not until 1449 that Henry VI gave the college the Hospital of St. James in the Fields at Westminster which could act as a London residence.

Some of these visits were for purposes of 'public relations' rather than business. In April 1445 Waynflete attended the king's wedding at Tichfield Abbey in Hampshire and subsequently the queen's coronation at Westminster Abbey. The involvement of the provost of Eton in these ceremonies was due to the king's regard for his foundation. Such occasions brought Waynflete into contact with the leading figures of the land.

The educational side of Eton College was just one aspect of the provost's responsibilities, although Waynflete's special interest as an ex-schoolmaster may have meant that he concerned himself more with educational supervision than would otherwise have been the case. Thus

48. P.R.O. SC/8/44/12 (Ancient correspondence), a letter from Waynflete to the chancellor requesting the issue of writs for Eton and King's colleges, August 1445.

49. ECR 61/AR/A/2, m.6, account of provost Waynflete's expenses while attending the parliament at Bury St. Edmunds in 1447.

50. ECR 61/AR/A/2, m.5 records a lengthy period spent by Waynflete in London, from 5 November - 10 December 1446. On this occasion his expenses totalled £7 12s 8d. Normally his visits were of shorter duration, a week or ten days.

51. Lyte, Eton College, pp.51-2; although Waynflete never stayed in St. James's Hospital while provost, he spent much of the winter of 1451-2 there, after he had become bishop of Winchester.

52. ECR 61/AR/A/1, m.5.
although no longer involved in the teaching of the scholars he was still closely involved with educational affairs. William Westbury, headmaster from 1443, was an old pupil of Waynflete's and as such he must have been familiar with the sort of curriculum which had been taught in Winchester College. There were particular problems associated with the fact that Eton was such a recent foundation; one must have been the temporary schoolroom, another the shortage of books - a contrast with the well-stocked library at Winchester College. A library building had been completed at Eton in 1445, but in 1447 the provost complained to the king of an acute shortage of books.

Each year in July the provost of King's College Cambridge rode to Eton College for the annual election of Eton scholars to fill vacancies in its Cambridge counterparts. At the same time new scholars were elected to Eton. Procedures for both elections were laid down in the statutes. This visit was one of the high points of the year, requiring extensive preparations by the provost to receive the visitors. The following month came the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 August), one of the most important days in the Eton calendar, for the college was dedicated to the Virgin. Further visitors could be expected on this occasion: Henry VI later insisted that fellows of the college who had been raised to the episcopate should return to Eton for this feast-day.

53. B.R.U.O., pp.2020-1
54. R.Birley, 'The history of Eton College library', The Library 5s 11, (1956), pp.231-4; an inventory of 1465 shows that the library possessed forty-two books by that date.
55. G.Williams, 'Ecclesiastical vestments, books and furniture in the collegiate church of King's College Cambridge in the fifteenth century', The Ecclesiologist 20 (1859), pp.305-6; Lyte, Eton College, p.27.
57. Ibid., p.619.
In his final year as provost Waynflete acquired an additional educational responsibility when the king granted to the provosts of Eton and King's colleges the right to nominate to vacancies in the older Cambridge royal college, King's Hall. The two provosts were to exercise their rights alternately when vacancies arose. Nine months later Henry VI extended this subordination of the old college to the new by granting the patronage of the wardenship of King's Hall to Eton and King's Colleges.

58. ECR 39/51.


e) Links with Winchester College

By selecting Waynflete as his future provost of Eton from Winchester College in 1441, Henry VI linked the two collegiate bodies, initially so different in form, through the person of Waynflete. This personal connection continued above and beyond the formal connection which was subsequently to develop, but at the same time it was reinforced by the king's periodic visits to the older foundation and the reconstruction of Eton along Wykehamist lines. The single most important link, the person who contributed most to the bond, remained Waynflete.

The ex-headmaster did not lose touch with Winchester College after his departure from it. He, his brother John Waynflete and members of his household are recorded occasionally dining at the older foundation. Part of the strength of the connection must be attributed to the warden and fellows of Winchester College. Their headmaster had risen from a relatively humble teaching post to a position where he was close to the king and where he was able to be useful to them. Evidence of their use of Waynflete in this manner can
be seen in the bursars' account of Winchester College. These show that Waynflete was approached for advice and on occasion feted or given presents. In 1442-3, after the receipt of a royal licence permitting the amortising of land to the value of £100 a year, the accounts record a payment of 11s 4d for a breakfast given to Waynflete, master William Say and others for their help in obtaining the licence. In February 1444 a barrel of wine was given to Waynflete. Late in 1444 the same accounts refer to expenses being paid to members of Winchester College who went to consult John Somerset and William Waynflete about obtaining a writ from the king. Evidently there was enthusiasm to retain the goodwill of a man so close to the king and doubtless if Waynflete sought advice from Winchester College in his turn, it would have been readily given.

It is against this background that the Amicabilis Concordia must be considered. Frequently the implication of any discussion of this document, which bound together Eton, King's, Winchester and New Colleges for their mutual defence, is that it marks yet another step in Henry VI's modelling of Eton College on Wykehamist lines. The initiative is more likely to have come from the older foundation for the pragmatic reason that it had the most to gain. It is clear that the compact, being made for mutual support, would have benefitted Winchester and New College far more than the new

60. The accounts for this year also record a visit by fellows of Winchester to Eton to discuss other problems with Waynflete; later the same year they made Waynflete a present of six yards of 'revsey' cloth, W.C.M. 22118, Custus necessariorum forensicorum.

61. The wine cost the college 13s 4d, W.C.M. 22119, Custus liberacionum defensionis

62. Ibid.

63. Lyte, Eton College, p.20 describes the concordat as resulting from the friendship existing between the colleges.
foundation which were already being nurtured by the king. It would enable Winchester to retain its position with access to the king which they had already achieved through the person of Waynflete.

The *Amicabilis Concordia* formalised relations between the four bodies. Its preamble described the colleges as having much in common:

'...qualiter collegia omnia et singula supradicta, licet sint locis situata diversis, nihilominus unius pene ejusdemque nominis vocabulo praesignatur, nec in fundatorem intentione nec operis fructu discrepace, dissimilave esse videntur.'

The agreement allowed for mutual defence in law before any judges secular or ecclesiastical and for mutual assistance where necessary against outsiders. It is dated 1 July 1444 and was signed by the heads of all four colleges but the details of where it was drawn up and signed are not given. Possibly it was discussed in March of the same year when the warden of Winchester college rode to Eton for discussions. On 1 July 1444 the vice-provost of Eton was dining at Winchester college and he may have brought a copy of the concordat to them.

When the agreement was being drawn up the advantages to be gleaned from it must have seemed to lie on the side of Winchester College and New College. In the long term it was Eton which was to come under attack after the deposition of Henry VI while Wykeham's foundations remained unscathed. In the 1460s the *amicabilis concordia* proved to be of little practical aid to Eton and King's colleges.

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65. W.C.M.22119, custus necessariorum forensicorum.
67. For a discussion of the problems faced by Eton in the early 1460s see Lyte, *Eton College*, p.62.
Conclusion

The provostship of Eton College into which Henry VI thrust William Waynflete in the Spring of 1442 was a challenging position. The responsibilities it carried were both numerous and onerous, being not only administrative but also diplomatic and social, requiring an ability to work successfully with a variety of people - papal envoys, magnates, bishops, bailiffs, carpenters and small boys. For Waynflete the problems were increased by the newly-founded status of the college; it would have been considerably easier to administer a well-established collegiate body which had already developed traditions and routines than it was to establish such traditions. In addition during this period the college was changing, both in size and in the conception of its nature, from an essentially religious foundation to one where education was of prime importance. Waynflete presided over and influenced this transformation. His experience at Winchester College enabled him to guide the development of Eton along similar lines. It was a difficult and challenging task - the problems of which can only have been added to by the personality of the young king. That William Waynflete was successful in rising to the challenge is witness to his wide-ranging abilities. Had he not satisfied Henry VI's exacting requirements it is likely that Waynflete, like Sever, would have faded into relative obscurity. Instead, in April 1447, he was promoted by the king to the see of Winchester - a reward for his achievement in developing Eton within six years into a collegiate body along the same lines as the older Winchester College.
3. WAYNFLETE AND ETON COLLEGE II - 1447-86

a) 1447-61

The ties between William Waynflete and Eton College remained close in the immediate aftermath of his elevation to the see of Winchester. In the presence of the king on 30 July 1447 Waynflete was consecrated bishop in the half-built chapel of the college, while in December of the same year he held his first ordination ceremony there, by special permission of the ordinary, the bishop of Lincoln.

In the following years many of Waynflete's visits to the college took place on formal occasions, for celebrations of feast days, in particular for the feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary on 15 August. On a number of occasions Waynflete seems also to have visited Eton College in April when, in his ex-officio role as prelate to the Order of the Garter, he was at nearby Windsor for the St. George's day ceremonies. These visits to the college occurred more frequently in the first four years of his episcopate than thereafter.

Waynflete's dealings with the college in these years were not confined to formal and ceremonial appearances. He remained involved in the more practical and administrative aspects of the college's affairs.

A visit by Waynflete to Eton in early January 1448 was possibly

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1. ECR 60/LB/1, fo.2r; two men had already been consecrated bishop at Eton - Thomas Beckington as bishop of Bath and Wells in 1443 and John Carpenter as bishop of Worcester 1444, W.Stubbs, Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum (2nd ed. Oxford 1897), p.89.
3. 1448, 1450, 1451, see itinerary in Appendix I; this was before an addition was made to the statutes of the college by Henry VI in 1453 which made it mandatory for fellows who had been raised to the episcopate to return to Eton on that day, Ancient laws, pp.619-20.
4. 1450, 1451, see itinerary.
the occasion for the discussion of documents which were to outline the royal plans for the future development of the foundation. Documents dated at Eton on 7 February 1448 foreshadowed the issuing of the 'King's Will' by Henry VI the following month. These first documents were witnessed by Waynflete, the Duke of Suffolk (who as chief advisor to the young king had been involved with both Eton and King's colleges since their inception), and others who were not named. They seem to have been a draft for the more detailed 'Will' which followed, although the specifications for the architectural plans which they contained were to be altered in some respects.

The 'King's Will' itself was a detailed and specific document. It consisted of a preamble describing the motives for the foundation; details of arrangements which had been made to finance the building works; a careful description of the architectural schemes for both colleges; legal provisions concerning the number of feoffees and it concluded with a section which entrusted the overall supervision of the scheme to William Waynflete.

After the preamble the 'Will' begins by reciting the names of men already enfeoffed on behalf of both colleges with land from the Duchy of Lancaster. These men were to ensure an annual payment of £1000

6. ECR 39/74, 39/75, 39/87; ECR 39/75 consists of three texts bound together and endorsed, 'For the edification of the Quere of the Kings college of oure lady...', it is dated 7 February, the only named witnesses are Waynflete and Suffolk, m.5. ECR 39/74 is undated but from this period and deals with, 'The appointment...towching the demensions of the housing of his college Roial of our lady of Eton...' ECR 39/87 also deals with the dimensions of the buildings. The plans are discussed in Willis and Clark, Architectural History I, pp.350-68.

7. The main differences between the drafts and the 'Will' are in the dimensions ascribed to the different buildings, Willis and Clark, Architectural History I, p.352.


9. ECR 39/78, m.l.
from these lands to each college for a twenty year period or longer if necessary. The total issue of castles, manors and other properties was described as being worth £3395 1ls 7d annually. The feoffees who included both archbishops and nine other prelates had been enfeoffed by a number of letters patent, beginning 29 November 1444. The major part of the document was taken up by the detailed plans for building works in both colleges which Henry VI desired, '...to be doon and perfourmed by my same feffees...' Until these buildings had been completed, whether achieved during the king's lifetime or not until after his death, the lands were to remain in their hands; subsequently they were to revert to the Crown. Another section was concerned with legal safeguards - Henry VI was concerned to ensure that the body of feoffees would not be wiped out by death and he provided that if their number fell to three or less new men were to be appointed. He listed the men he wished included among the new feoffees. The list was headed by William Waynflete as bishop of Winchester and included Reginald Pecock (bishop of St. Asaph) and the provosts of both Eton and King's colleges.

The inclusion of Waynflete in this list is not particularly significant since the existing feoffees included the holders of all the most important English and Welsh sees. It was in the final section of the 'Will' that the king expressed his great regard for Waynflete and his belief in the abilities of the new bishop:

10. ECR 39/78 m.1.
11. These were the grants confirmed in the consolidation charter confirmed by the parliament at Westminster on 5 March 1446, R.P.V., pp. 70-3.
12. ECR 39/78 m.1.
13. Ibid., m.2; William Westbury was provost of Eton and John Chedworth, subsequently bishop of Lincoln (1452-71) was provost of King's College.
Furthermore for the final perfourmyng of my seid wil to be putt effectuelly in execution I consideryng the grete distrecion of the seid worshepful fader in god, William nowe bisshop of Wynchestre his high trought and fervent zele whiche at all tyme he hath hadde unto my weel and whiche I have founde and proved in hym and for the grete and hool confidence whiche I have unto him for thoo causes, wol that he not oonly as Surveour but also as executor and director of my seid wil, be priue unto alle and every execucion of the perfourmyng of my same wil and that his consente in any wise be had therto ... I yeue and graunt unto the seid bisshop of Wynchestre by these presents, plain power and auctorite...'14

Waynflete was given the supreme executive power; his was to be the deciding voice in any dispute; if required he could select new feoffees. He was directed to choose before his own death (if he outlived the king), a successor whose qualifications were to be that he is '...best and most godly disposed and most fervent in zele to the perfourmyng of my seid wil...'15 Faithful adherence to the king's wishes was the crucial factor and that must have been the criterion applied by Henry VI to Waynflete himself.

William Waynflete's departure from the provostship of Eton College may have made the production of a document such as the 'King's Will' a matter of urgency and importance. He had worked closely with the king and had been party to Henry VI's plans and ideas which he could be trusted to fulfill. William Westbury his successor, although a successful and dedicated provost,16 had not the same intimate links with the king. King's College Cambridge had also lost its original head during 1447 when William Millington resigned rather than accept the statutes provided in that year.17 Having thus lost both of these well-

14. ECR 39/78, m.2.
15. Ibid.
16. B.R.U.O., p.2020; Westbury's dedication to Eton College was displayed in the efforts he made during the early 1460s to preserve the college, Lyte, Eton College, pp.63-4.
established and trusted provosts it is likely that Henry VI felt the need to express, in detailed written form, his desires and arrangements for the development of both colleges.

The 'Will' is not the sole evidence for Waynflete's active connection with and participation in matters relating to Eton College. This remained considerable in the late 1440s, despite the demands laid upon him by his new diocesan and political commitments.

In June 1448 Waynflete, together with provost Westbury, the Duke of Suffolk, Richard Andrew and William Tresham, was chosen to act as an arbitrator in a dispute which had arisen between college tenants in the Gloucester village of Aston and other inhabitants of the same town. This remained considerable in the late 1440s, despite the demands laid upon him by his new diocesan and political commitments.

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This involvement was reinforced by commitments which Waynflete had shouldered while still provost and which could not easily be shaken off. In association with the Duke of Suffolk he was involved in a long-running controversy with the abbey of St. Albans over some jewels which the Duke of Gloucester had arranged to purchase but which Henry VI determined to acquire for Eton's treasury after the death of the Duke. Henry was slow to pay over the required £600 to the abbey and the matter dragged on until 1457 when it was agreed that the abbey should receive the money owed out of tenths granted by the clergy.

In 1449 Waynflete paid £75 15s to the college, the estimated cost of the wages of twenty men working on the chancel of the new church.

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He visited the college in both April and June of that year, while on 30 May at Westminster he witnessed the confirmation of various grants previously made to the College.

There was a marked decline in Waynflete's involvement with Eton College during the 1450s. In 1450 he visited the college in April and August, the latter on the occasion of the feast of the Assumption. In 1451 there was a similar pattern; visits were made while at Windsor to attend the meeting of the Order of the Garter in April and again in August. The bursars' accounts record that a large fish was given to the bishop as a present, probably during the summer. In 1453 his only apparent connection was the witnessing of a grant of a weekly fair to the college, made at Westminster on 20 June. The visits of 1451 were the last regular recorded visits to the college by Waynflete, although brief and casual visits cannot be entirely ruled out.

His involvement with Eton College revived briefly in 1455 when Henry VI appointed him, (together with the ex-provost of King's, John Chedworth, now bishop of Lincoln), to reform the statutes of both royal colleges. The royal letters patent concerning the reform of the statutes stated that practical usage of the existing statutes had shown up some defects which needed to be removed and that since the king was not able to devote himself to the matter with complete attention he had

21. See itinerary, appendix I.
23. See itinerary.
24. Ibid.
25. ECR 61/AR/A/5, m.8.
26. ECR 39/103.
27. The references to Eton College only occur in the Winchester episcopal register because of episcopal acta made while Waynflete was there; thus it is possible that Waynflete could have paid visits to the college which have gone unrecorded.
chosen Waynflete and Chedworth to act in his stead.  

No proper study has been made of the earliest statutes of Eton College and until this has been done it is impossible to ascertain what changes were made by Waynflete and Chedworth in 1455. The wording of their authority to reform suggests that what was required was not major alterations but rather slight changes to ease the daily running of both colleges and to remove anomalies which had arisen since the statutes had been drawn up more than ten years earlier. Provost Westbury visited Waynflete at Esher manor in 1455 perhaps to discuss the matter, for the reforms were supposed to be carried out in consultation with the provosts of both foundations. Waynflete's visit to the college in May of the same year preceeded the grant of authority to reform but may well have been connected with it.

In October 1456 Waynflete was appointed Chancellor of England and in this guise he was approached by the college on several occasions; two visits to the chancellor in 1458 and one in 1459 were recorded in the bursars' accounts. These visits culminated with the confirmation of royal grants to the college made on 20 November 1459.

By this time Waynflete no longer had the intimate connection with the college which could be seen ten years earlier just after his promotion to the episcopate. This decline is understandable. Henry VI's periods

28. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.241; the letter patent is printed in full in Ancient laws pp.624-5 where however it is wrongly ascribed to 1445.
29. The earliest manuscript of statutes is Eton Ms 300, probably a contemporary copy of the statutes which Waynflete as provost swore to obey in December 1443; the text published in Ancient laws postdates Waynflete's appointment as bishop of Winchester and dates from c.1447-55, possibly narrowed down to 1452-3, Lyte, Eton College, p.18 n.3.
30. ECR 61/BD/A/2, m.13.
31. See itinerary.
32. ECR 61/AR/B/1, m.5.
33. ECR 39/122.
of mental instability must have helped to break the link. Other personal ties between the bishop and the college weakened as new pupils and fellows came to the college. His foundation of Magdalen Hall in Oxford in 1448 and subsequently of Magdalen College in 1458 provided a new channel for Waynflete's educational interests, a channel which moreover, together with his episcopal responsibilities as visitor of New College Oxford, directed his attention away from Eton and Cambridge towards Oxford.

It would be reasonable therefore to expect that Waynflete's attention and his financial resources would continue to be directed away from Eton College to these other heavy commitments. The reality - Waynflete's response to the poor state in which Eton College found itself by the late 1460s - suggests that a considerable loyalty remained to Henry VI's favoured foundation, the college which had provided the opportunity for the advancement of his own career.

b) 1461-1467

The deposition of Henry VI in 1461 was the beginning of a period of great difficulty for his two royal foundations. The promise made by the future Edward IV on 27 February 1461, '...we have taken and receyved the Provoste and felaship of the College of Eyton into oure defense and safeguard...', was to prove of little comfort in the long term. The problems Eton faced in the next half decade, when its revenues fell from c.£1500 to £370 annually and when a union with the royal chapel of St. George at nearby Windsor was mooted, have been described elsewhere, although the almost complete absence of collegiate records during this period leaves the course of the crisis obscure.

34. Cited in Lyte, Eton College, p.62.
Traditionally Edward IV's hostility towards Eton College has been widely accepted: "As time went on Edward's jealousy of Henry VI increased and he resolved to discredit everything that could redound to the fame of his rival." 36 In fact there is little evidence to show that Edward acted in this fashion. His promise of 1461 suggests initial good intentions, further evidence of which was displayed by his action in re-granting some estates to the college after the sweeping resumptions of 1462. 37 Eton College had been Henry VI's particular project and he had showered possessions and endowments upon it; Edward IV on the other hand treated the college much less lavishly, dramatically reducing the scale of royal support. Thus while Edward IV should not be portrayed as attacking Eton College because it was the foundation of his predecessor, neither did he show to it the munificence displayed by Henry VI.

In this context the proposal that Eton be united with the collegiate church of St. George at Windsor is understandable at its face value. In 1463 Edward IV petitioned Pope Pius II that the college be suppressed and its endowments transferred to St. George's chapel. This petition pointed out that the college was not likely to fulfill the aims of its founder in view of the incomplete state of the buildings and its lack of revenue. Without the generosity of Henry VI and with the endowment reduced to a more usual level this claim was quite true. Although the chivalric values behind the Order of the Garter were closer to Edward IV's own tastes than the pious and educational aspirations attached to Eton and King's Colleges, it must not be

37. C.P.R. 1461-67, p.73.
assumed that Edward IV actively sought to crush Eton. Edward IV's patronage of St. George's chapel was independent of his attitude to Eton College - in 1473 when Eton was no longer under threat of suppression, the king began to rebuild St. George's chapel and he continued to favour the college there while remaining on friendly terms with Eton College.

The dilapidation of the revenues of Eton College did for a period make the prospect of union with St. George's chapel dangerously likely. A Bull of Union was issued by the pope on 13 November 1463 and although there is little evidence that any practical attempts were made to enforce it, it was not withdrawn until late in 1470. The survival of the college during this period has been attributed to various causes; one colourful legend assigns the credit to pleading on behalf of the college by Jane Shore, mistress to Edward IV. It seems in fact that what saved Eton was the determination of the provost William Westbury and a small group of fellows to fight the proposed union. Their efforts showed that the college was viable (albeit on a smaller scale than hitherto) and thus gave the lie to the suggestion that it could not survive with reduced resources.

Although William Waynflete was to be of great assistance to Eton College from c.1467 onwards there is no evidence for Lyte's assertion that, '... we may probably ascribe the eventual preservation of Eton to

40. Ibid.
44. Lyte, Eton College, pp.63-5.
his unceasing exertions... As has been seen, by the late 1450s the connections between Waynflete and Eton College were weakening. After the deposition of Henry VI Waynflete, as a known Lancastrian partisan, no longer held a position of influence in the court circle. He was hardly in a position to aid Eton College. Evidence from his episcopal register for this period suggests that in the early years of Edward IV's reign Waynflete spent much of his time quietly in his diocese, avoiding political entanglements and other sensitive issues. It was not until 1467 when initial memories of the early years of the decade were beginning to fade and when Eton had already 'turned the corner' that Waynfelte again became closely involved with the welfare of the college.

c) 1467-86

Waynflete's documented connection with Eton College resumed with the visit he paid to the college in February 1467. No supporting evidence is available from the bursars' accounts which are missing for this period, but his visit may have been exploratory, to discover the needs of the college. It is difficult to account for the timing of the resumed connection, a difficulty which is exacerbated by lack of evidence - we cannot be sure that the connection was not made a year or two earlier. It has been suggested that Waynflete's political position improved in 1467 due to the decline in influence of the powerful Neville family;

45. Lyte, Eton College, p.64.
46. The provost seems to have made an attempt to enlist Waynflete's aid in 1464 for in May and June of that year he visited the bishop but the outcome of his appeal is unknown. In June of the same year Westbury also visited the bishop of Lincoln, presumably seeking support from that quarter also, ECR 61/BD/C/1, fo.7.
47. See itinerary, appendix I.
48. They do not resume again until January 1468.
George Neville, archbishop of York was dismissed from the chancellorship on 8 June 1467.\(^49\) Certainly Waynflete had more friendly connections with the Woodvilles whose influence increased as that of the Nevilles declined. However while these political developments may have eased the bishop's position, they hardly affected his involvement with Eton for this initial resumption of contact took place before the Nevilles' decline.

From 1467 Waynflete acted as a generous patron and benefactor to Eton College. He concentrated his resources on the building and decorating of the chapel which had been the project closest to the heart of Henry VI. Essentially the relationship was a financial one; Waynflete paid for the building materials and the labour and 'called the tune' with regard to the form the building should take. While the chapel was not constructed on the scale envisaged by its founder,\(^50\) considerable care was taken by Waynflete in its design and decoration.

The audit rolls of Eton College from early 1468 onwards record frequent journeys being made by the Provost or fellows of the college to the bishop of Winchester. The purpose of these trips is usually given as, '"...pro operibus ecclesie inchoandis..." or '"...pro pecuniis adquirendis pro operibus ecclesie..."\(^51\) To take two years as examples - in 1472 Provost Westbury rode to London in March to see Waynflete and later in the summer went to Farnham (the bishop's manor in Surrey) for a similar purpose. This second visit, for which expenses totalled 6s 2d, was described as lasting three days and three nights.\(^52\) Seven

\(^49\) Mills, 'Foundations, endowment and early administration', p.18; H.B.C., p.85.

\(^50\) Henry VI's ambitious schemes had envisaged the finished chapel at Eton College as rivalling most of the contemporary English cathedrals in size.

\(^51\) Willis and Clark print extracts from the college audit rolls detailing these visits to bishop Waynflete; both of these phrases occur regularly, Architectural History I, pp.406-11.

\(^52\) ECR 61/BD/C/8, m.6.
visits of this kind were made in 1479-80 - in November, December, February, April, June, August and on one unspecified occasion - and the expense of two presents given to the bishop in this year was also recorded. The extant rolls from 1468 until Waynflete's death in 1486 record such visits taking place each year.

The frequency of these visits suggests that Waynflete retained tight control over the progress of building, paying out money in small amounts at any one time. Clearly he did not hand over a substantial sum of money to the college to be used for building works at the provost's discretion. It is likely that this arose from a reluctance to relinquish control over the works rather than from a shortage of money; Waynflete can be seen behaving in a similar manner with regard to Magdalen College Oxford which did not gain full control over the endowment amassed for it by the bishop until after Waynflete's death.

This desire to direct affairs at Eton personally can also be seen in the fact that the bishop was party to contracts made with building workers. In August 1475 he made a contract with Walter Nicholl of Southwark for the erection of a roodloft in the chapel which was to extend the whole breadth of the choir. Under this contract

53. ECR 61/AR/C/6, m.8, 9.

54. The audit rolls are not complete for this period: between 1468-86 they are missing for the years 1472-3, 1473-4, 1476-7, 1477-8, 1478-9.

55. The amount paid by Waynflete to the college for building purposes cannot be estimated for the audit rolls do not record the amounts given to the college. On occasion isolated contracts refer to specific sums, Nicholl was paid 100 marks over a two-year period for the construction of the roodloft and this was in addition to the cost of materials and the accommodation for the labourers, ECR 38/309.

56. Had there been a cash flow problem preventing Waynflete giving large sums of money to the college at one time, it is likely that an arrangement could have been made to pay over regular instalments which would not have necessitated these 'begging trips' by the provost to the bishop.

Waynflete retained full responsibility for the cost of supplying materials, paying the labourers, providing their accommodation and a workshop and paying Nicholl.

Waynflete was no newcomer to the details of architectural projects. While provost of Eton he had been involved with the construction of the earliest buildings on the site; as bishop of Winchester, with considerable resources at his disposal, he proved a lavish patron of building, involved with major projects at his manors of Esher and Farnham, Magdalen College Oxford and at Wainfleet and Tattershall in Lincolnshire. On occasion he used the same men to work on different projects and it has been suggested that William Orchard, master of the works at Magdalen College from 1468, was in charge of the works at Eton as well. In 1479 Orchard undertook to supply Eton College as well as Magdalen with stone from the quarry he leased from the king at Headington.

In addition to retaining financial control over the building works at Eton Waynflete concerned himself with the actual design and decoration of the building. The resulting chapel was smaller than the one envisaged by Henry VI but that does not mean that its decoration was neglected or that it was built without forethought, on an ad hoc basis. Pevsner says of the building that it, 'achieves greatness by means of uncompromising consistency.' Waynflete evidently attempted to maintain a similar style to that planned by Henry VI - the general similarity between Eton

58. See below, chapter 16.
59. '...and also unto the werke he hathe at Etone...', Willis and Clark, Architectural history I, p.410; for Orchard's career see J.Harvey and A.Oswald, English medieval architects: a biographical dictionary down to 1550 (London 1954), p.199. M.C. CP/2/67 (2) includes among the Magdalen College building accounts some references to the works at Eton.
Chapel and that of King's College Cambridge suggests this, although neither was completed according to Henry VI's plans.

Waynflete paid particular attention to the effect created in the internal features of the chapel. The contract with Nicholl already mentioned specified that the west side of the rood-loft was to resemble that in the chapel of Winchester college, the east side that of the 'college of seint Thomas of Acre in London.' The bishop's own glazier was concerned with the windows of the church, in particular with the great east window which depicted the Annunciation. The same personal concern by Waynflete for the enrichment of Eton college chapel can be seen in the decoration of the walls above the choir stalls with frescoes.

These frescoes are in grisaille; they depict scenes from the miracles of the Virgin and each scene is divided from the next by a single figure painted in imitation of sculpture. The style is Flemish, resembling work of contemporary artists such as Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes. Almost nothing is known of the artists employed at Eton College beyond three names which appear in the audit rolls, those of William Baker, Giblert and Richard, 'pictor.' In addition there was a 'priest master of the painters' who supervised the work. The artists are not mentioned in the lists of the members of the guild of St. Luke at Bruges and nothing is known of either their nationality or training although

61. King's College was not completed until the reign of Henry VII, V.C.H.Cambridgeshire III, pp.389-90.
63. Ibid., This window does not survive.
64. Gilbert is mentioned in the audit roll for 1485-6, ECR 61/AR/F/1, m.4; Richard Seywell is referred to, together with four un-named painters, in 1477, ECR 61/BR/K/6, m.2; William Baker does not occur until 1488, ECR 61/AR/F/2, m.3.
65. '...presbyter magister pictorum...', ECR 61/AR/D/1, m.5.
Part of the legend of a Roman Empress. In the centre the Empress is shown marooned on a desert island. The Virgin appears to her with a herb whose juice will cure leprosy. On the left is depicted St. Ursula with an arrow and a book, on the right St. Dorothy with a flower and a basket of fruit.

theames suggest that they were Englishmen while the style of their work suggests that they trained in Flanders. The priest-master may, as has been suggested, have come from Waynflete's household but no-one with such skills or with connections in Flanders is known to have been part of the household.

It is clear that Waynflete was responsible for the major cost of these paintings which were carried out between 1477-88; not until after his death in 1486 does the full cost of those still to be completed fall upon the college. The employment of artists to carry out these works indicates both originality of ideas and a willingness on the part of Waynflete to patronise contemporary and up-to-date fashions in painting.

Conclusion

William Waynflete's links with Eton College did not finally cease until his death in 1486. The effect of his death can be seen in the account rolls of the college as it then assumed responsibility for projectes previously financed by the bishop. Eton was left nothing in Waynflete's will; all his benefactions to the college were made during his lifetime, at a period when money was urgently required to restore its viability as a college.

Waynflete was cautious in his attitude towards the college in the early years of Edward IV's reign; he did not leap up in its defence at a time when his own influence was slight and the college seemed unlikely


68. The audit roll for 1486-7, the year after Waynflete's death, lists pigments being paid for by the college for the first time, ECR 61/AR/F/2, m.2.
to survive at all. He waited until the future of the college seemed secure and a good investment before he became involved with it again. When he did so his money went primarily towards the construction and decoration of the church, the project to which Henry VI had been particularly attached.

Why did William Waynflete expend so much money and energy on behalf of Eton College? The answer must lie in a combination of two things - the moral obligation to fulfill the trust laid upon him by Henry VI and the debt which he felt personally towards the college which had been the means of his own advancement. Waynflete's adoption of the lilies of Eton college as part of his episcopal arms symbolised his regard and his appreciation of the part the college had played in his promotion to the episcopate. His years there as provost brought him royal favour; he repaid this by helping to fill the financial void created by Henry VI's deposition.

Oxford Foundations 1448-86

a) Magdalen Hall

Waynflete set in motion the foundation of Magdalen Hall in Oxford very shortly after having been promoted to the bishopric of Winchester. His consecration as bishop took place in June 1447, by the following June at the latest the first steps had been taken to acquire the land and site necessary as a prerequisite to the foundation. On 20 August 1448 a foundation charter was issued which established a hall for a president and forty graduate scholars. From the first therefore Waynflete envisaged his foundation on a substantial scale.

The motives of many medieval founders are difficult to establish. Founders of chantries had a more clearly avowed (and perhaps more selfish) motive than can be seen in the case of founders of secular colleges. While the preamble to foundation charters usually contains some indication of the reasons in the founder's mind, such reasons are often obscured by the limitations of the legal form in which they are couched.

William Waynflete's avowed intentions were clear enough - he gave as his reasons for establishing Magdalen Hall the dual and not uncommon motives of wishing to stamp out heresy and to provide well-educated and suitable clergy to serve in parishes. Were these his only reasons? The speed at which he moved provides a clue to his further intentions. It was more common for episcopal founders to wait until they were

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2. E.F. Jacob, 'Founders and foundations in the middle ages' in Essays in the later middle ages (Manchester 1968), pp.154-74.
well established in their dioceses and were fully conversant with the extent of their resources before they embarked on the long and complex business of founding a college. Richard Fleming, bishop of Ely from 1420, acted quickly by episcopal standards in founding Lincoln College in 1427. Henry Chichele became archbishop of Canterbury in 1414, but All Souls College Oxford was not founded until 1437. In 1487 Richard Fox was made bishop of Exeter but he waited until he had been translated several times and finally had been bishop of Winchester for fourteen years before he set in motion the foundation of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. Waynflete's predecessor William Wykeham had been bishop since 1367 but waited until 1379 before establishing New College Oxford. Thus William Waynflete was most unusual in his precipitate action to found Magdalen Hall. The most likely explanation is that, like his greatest patron Henry VI who founded a royal college at Eton partly as a demonstration of his having assumed the reins of power, Waynflete founded his Oxford hall quickly to demonstrate in a most concrete form that he had been elevated to the see of Winchester (a see with strong educational ties with Oxford) and was now able to promote his own educational projects.

Any episcopal founder whose interests would be spread over a wide range of activities and whose other duties would prevent him from devoting himself whole-time to his foundation, required reliable agents to act for him in the slow process of gathering together endowments to

7. From 1369 however Wykeham was collecting properties which were to form part of the site of his future college; at the same time he was housing in Oxford, at his own expense, a community of scholars, R.L.Storey, 'The foundation and the medieval college' in J.Buxton and P.Williams, New College Oxford 1379-1979 (Oxford 1979), p.6.
8. Leach, Educational charters and documents, p.405.
support the fellows and the community and in finding a suitable site for the institution. William Waynflete relied on the Godmanston family, John and Simon, father and son, to act for him in this way. There are no clues to indicate how Waynflete initially came in contact with this family of minor Essex gentry but they continued to serve the bishop well. Simon Godmanston who was named among the graduate scholars in the foundation charter of Magdalen Hall was later appointed chaplain to Waynflete and remained in the bishop's service for the remainder of his life.

The first indication that the new bishop of Winchester might be considering a foundation in Oxford occurred in June 1448. On 19 June John Godmanston was granted twelve properties by the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, an Augustinian foundation situated just outside the east gate of Oxford. This grant was confirmed by the king in letters patent dated 25 July 1448 and these letters refer to the proposed foundation of a hall by Waynflete. The Hospital of St. John the Baptist was to become very important in the later history of Magdalen Hall but from the first it provided the nucleus of Magdalen's property. In addition to these twelve sites, on 1 August John Godmanston granted two halls, Bostar Hall and Hare Hall to Waynflete. Such halls were a common feature of both Oxford and Cambridge; they provided accommodation and perhaps a little teaching for the bulk of the

9. The connection may have been made through the Duke of Buckingham, for Godmanston was one of the stewards of the central circuit for him, C.Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham (Cambridge 1978), p.203.
12. Ibid., pp.254-7; M.C.Deeds, Misc. 372.
undergraduate students. They were usually ephemeral and short-lived, springing up under an individual who was licensed by the university authorities and they kept few records.

On 20 August 1448 Waynflete issued the foundation charter for Magdalen Hall. In it he named a president John Hornley, and a number of graduate scholars. On 8 September Godmanston conveyed to Hornley the properties which he had obtained from the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. These, together with the two aforementioned halls were to comprise the major part of the property of Magdalen Hall.

No administrative or financial records have survived relating to this foundation and neither are there any extant statutes. It is unlikely that there ever were any formal statutes prior to those issued by Waynflete much later in the 1480s. Knowledge of the composition and activities of the community of Magdalen Hall depends on evidence from its foundation charter and from what is known of the careers of the early members of the Hall.

In his foundation charter Waynflete described the community as a perpetual hall founded for the increase of knowledge; the emphasis was away from legal studies; philosophy and theology were the subjects to be followed, reflecting the bishop's own training as a theologian.

15. Licences to keep halls were granted annually and were recorded in the register kept by the chancellor of the university, see for example, Registrum cancellarii Oxon., ed. H.E.Salter, (2 vols Oxf. Hist. Soc. 1930-31), I, p.50.
16. M.C.Deeds, Chartae Regi\textsuperscript{e}50; printed in Chandler, Life, appendix 9, pp.323-30.
The community was to consist of a president and forty scholars, making it a substantial body although not as large as Wykeham's New College which provided for seventy scholars. Initially Magdalen Hall was smaller than the charter provided for, only twenty men were named as scholars in the charter. Of these men thirteen were already masters of arts. No mention was made in the charter of any preference as the geographical origins of the students; the only stipulation was that they were to be graduates.

It is difficult to establish any connection between the bishop and most of the men named in the foundation charter as scholars. With the exception of Simon Godmanston whose inclusion may well have been in gratitude for his and his father's efforts on the bishop's behalf, the remainder had no previous connection with Waynflete. Some, it can be conjectured may have come from the residential halls it absorbed. Of the others nothing is known. In so far as their academic progress can be traced, three of the bachelors of arts had become masters of arts by 1449 while had fourth had followed suit by 1452.

As a corporation licensed by the king the community could hold land and it had its own seal. The limited evidence which exists relating to its activities in the years after 1448 shows Magdalen Hall to be functioning as a corporate, land-holding body, collecting rents and receiving property.

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21. Biographical details of the early scholars are given in Macray, Register of Magdalen I and B.R.U.O. None of these men had previous connections with Waynflete; they had not been at either Eton or Winchester colleges and were not holders of benefices in the diocese of Winchester.
22. Four of them had been involved in other Oxford halls in the early 1440s - William Elys (Hare hall); Thomas Chapelyn (Brasenose hall); John Foreman (St.Thomas hall); William Heward (Nun hall).
23. William Delyn, William Heward and John Foreman (later a substantial benefactor to the college), had become M.A.s by 1449. Philip Rugge had followed suit by 1452, see B.R.U.O.
24. Draft deeds and receipts of rent are recorded in Cart.St.John I, pp.260-65; II, pp.247-8; M.C.Deeds Candlesby 29a is a bequest from Thomas Ingly, 5 August 1450.
PART OF SPEED'S MAP OF OXFORD SHOWING MAGDALEN COLLEGE

From: R. Mason, Old Oxford (Oxford 1973)
b) From Hall to College ; The Hospital of St. John the Baptist

Although the proceedings relating to the amalgamation of Magdalen Hall and the Augustinian Hospital of St. John the Baptist were not finally concluded until 1458 Waynflete may have envisaged close connections between the two bodies at a much earlier stage. The properties rented from the hospital were the nucleus of the Hall's premises from 1448. Waynflete, after his years at Eton College was familiar with Henry VI's practice of suppressing run-down hospitals and other religious foundations and transferring their endowments to other uses. Such suppressed houses, in particular alien priories, had been widely utilised by the king to endow both Eton and King's Colleges.\(^{25}\)

The Hospital of St. John the Baptist had been endowed by Henry III in 1234 on a site outside the east gate of Oxford.\(^{26}\) It was still of royal patronage in the mid-fifteenth century but by that time, like many other such houses, the size of the community was much reduced, consisting only of a master and four canons instead of the original fifteen men.\(^ {27}\) It was not a poor community by any standards, possessing extensive properties which made it potentially a rich prize.\(^{28}\)

In 1451 Henry VI granted the advowson of Horsepath (just outside the city) to the community,\(^{29}\) a rare gesture on his part towards a house to which he had hitherto paid little attention. This may have been the first move towards unification of the hospital and Magdalen Hall - subsequently the master of the hospital Richard Vise rented the

\(^{25}\) Lyte, Eton College, pp.17-19.

\(^{26}\) Cart. St. John III, preface, p.vi; the origins of the hospital predated 1234, the year in which Henry III became 'fundator', that is, the man who provided the land on which the hospital stood.

\(^{27}\) Ibid., pp.xvi-xvii.

\(^{28}\) By the mid-fifteenth century it was worth approximately £75 p.a.

\(^{29}\) M.C.Deeds, Horsepath 13.
rectory of Horsepath from Magdalen College\textsuperscript{30} and it is possible that that was part of an agreement made earlier, with Waynflete persuading the king to release the advowson of Horsepath to the hospital, perhaps to persuade Vise to look favourably on the idea of amalgamation.

The first steps towards the unification of hospital and hall were taken in the spring of 1456, before Waynflete became chancellor although at a time when his political influence was high. On 5 May 1456 Henry VI issued a commission appointing several influential men in the university of Oxford to inquire into the state of the house. The wording of the commission painted a sorry picture, stating that the house was dilapidated, its property was being dissipated and that the chalices and precious ornaments belonging to the house had been sold.\textsuperscript{31} No reports of this commission of inquiry have survived but since the dilapidation of the hospital was one of the reasons given to justify the amalgamation this visitation presumably confirmed the reports which had prompted the issuing of the commission.

At the same time four lawyers were, on behalf of Waynflete, looking into the feasibility of suppressing the hospital. These lawyers were Hugh Sugar (vicar-general of Bath and Wells), John Holland who was attached to Waynflete's household, William Say and John Drue\textsuperscript{l}.\textsuperscript{32} Their report concluded that the suppression would be

\textsuperscript{30} M.C.Deeds, Horsepath I, 17; the lease was originally made on 27 July for two years and was renewed in November 1458 after the establishment of Magdalen College for the term of Vise's life for a nominal annual rent of one red rose.

\textsuperscript{31} C.P.R. 1452-61, p.303; the members of the commission were all men with strong Oxford connections and had acted on occasion as commissaries for the university chancellor; they must have been on the spot in Oxford to carry out the investigation personally.

able to take place provided that, (i) the consent of the patron was obtained; (ii) papal authorisation was forthcoming; (iii) its worship and hospitality were not diminished and (iv) the remaining members of the community were adequately provided for. Unfortunately this legal opinion cannot be precisely dated but it seems likely that it post-dated the grant of the patronage and advowson of the hospital to Waynflete made in October 1456.

Waynflete had become chancellor in early October 1456 and thus was in a position to facilitate the amalgamation proceedings. He lost little time in so doing. On 27 October 1456 he was granted by the king, the patronage and advowson of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. Along with this grant of patronage was a licence to enable him to re-grant his newly-acquired rights over the hospital to Magdalen Hall. The final clause of this grant shows Waynflete wielding his power as chancellor for it stated that if the letters are mislaid the chancellor shall issue new ones without charge.

The major problem facing potential founders in late medieval England was the obtaining of mortmain licences to amortise large amounts of land. It was Sir John Fastolf's failure to obtain such a licence, despite repeated efforts, that prevented him establishing Caister College during his lifetime. In September 1456 Magdalen Hall obtained, presumably through Waynflete's influence, a licence enabling

33. On 20 August 1457 president Hornley and the scholars of Magdalen Hall granted annual pensions of £10 to each of the three remaining chaplains of the hospital, Cart St. John II, pp.449; this grant was sealed with the hospital seal, suggesting that the Hall did not as yet have a formal seal of their own. On 20 July 1457 Waynflete collated the master, Richard Vise, to the Hampshire rectory of Falley, which Vise was to hold until his death in 1483, Reg.Wayn. I fo.88r.
34. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.343, this grant was made by the king himself.
35. Ibid.
36. See below, chapter 16.
it to acquire lands worth £100 annually. Since the potential annual income of the hospital was £75, this covered its acquisition comfortably.

The requisite licences having been obtained, the formal grant of the hospital to Magdalen Hall was made on 5 July 1457. The Hall now held the patronage of the hospital but as yet the latter could not be suppressed. The opinion of the lawyers mentioned above may date from this period. The next stage was to petition the pope for authorisation to proceed with the suppression. This Waynflete did in the late autumn of 1457 and a papal commission was issued on 14 March 1458 which directed a number of English bishops to inquire into the proposed suppression and authorise it if all was in order. This papal commission is the first intimation that Waynflete's intention was to found a new college. It seems possible that in order to justify the suppression he had to present it as essential to the establishment of a body already in existence.

c) From Hall to College: The Refoundation

A comparison of the foundation charter of Magdalen College with that of Magdalen Hall issued by Waynflete ten years earlier provides clues to the advantages he saw in re-founding his Oxford community. Such a re-foundation was not actually necessary for Magdalen Hall did not lack any essential 'collegiate' ingredient; it could and did

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37. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.324.
function adequately. Thus Waynflete must have had his own reasons for wishing to begin again from the beginning. The wording of the two charters is very similar but the few changes which were made help to elucidate the bishop's motives.

Two major changes appear in the charter of 1458. The first was the reference to the college having a papal licence. This was the licence to suppress the hospital and annex it to the newly-founded college which the bishops delegated by the pope to investigate the matter had granted. This having been carried out the foundation charter of Magdalen college was able to refer to 'auctoritate et licencia sancte sedis apostolie nobis in hac parte concessa.' No papal sanction had been included in the original foundation charter. This sanction of 1458 however referred only to the amalgamation of the hospital and the college and did not give the foundation of 1458 any special privilege. The most important papal grant, that of exemption from the authority of the bishop of Lincoln in whose diocese the college lay and the transference of it to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester, did not occur until more than twenty years later, in 1481.

From the viewpoint of Waynflete's control over the college during his own lifetime the college charter of 1458 had considerable advantages over that of the hall. The latter had made no mention of what authority the bishop as founder could exercise over his foundation. That of 1458 on the other hand specifically reserved to Waynflete

41. C.Pap.L. 1455-64, pp.69-70; see above note 39.
43. C.Pap.L. 1471-84, p.97.
complete authority:

'...reservata tamen nobis durante vita nostra plenaria potestate presidentem huiusmodi et alios scolares in collegium predictum per nos edita et edenda quociens et quando opus nobis visum fuerit mutandi, addendi, corrigendi et diminuendi'.

It might be expected that the members of the foundation would show due respect to the ideas and preferences of the founder, but under the original charter Waynflete would have been powerless in the face of opposition. While there is no evidence that he had met with such opposition between 1448-58 he must have welcomed the greatly increased endowment provided by the acquisition of the hospital as an opportunity to compile a more watertight foundation charter. The haste with which Magdalen Hall had been founded may have led him to omit such a provision in the earlier charter.

The foundation established by the 1458 charter was more flexible in terms of size than was the case with the earlier one. While Magdalen Hall had been described as consisting of a president and forty graduate scholars the community established in 1458 was described as consisting of a president and graduate scholars, a statement which allowed the exact number of members to be determined at a later stage.

A number of other slight changes appear in the charter of 1458 which although of minor importance in themselves are interesting, showing a shift in some of the bishop's attitudes since the first charter ten years previously. The use of the word illuminatio in place of the more pedestrian instructio when referring to the

45. Ibid., p.426; Chandler, Life, appendix 9, p.326.
educational purpose of the college implies an increased enthusiasm towards the idea of the education provided by the college.

The 1458 charter also demonstrates how, after ten years as bishop of Winchester, Waynflete had come to identify more closely with his diocese. Although his personal patron saint Mary Magdalen continued to be foremost in the dedication and provided the popular name for the college the later charter entrusted the college to the favour not only of St. John the Baptist (taken from the hospital), but also of the patrons of Winchester cathedral; '...necnon sancti Johannis Baptiste et apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac aliorum patronorum predicte ecclesie Wintoniensis...'\(^47\) When in the 1470s an archway was constructed at the entrance to the college chapel the statutes placed in niches above the door included one of St. Swithun. By 1458 therefore Waynflete was identifying himself with his diocese and the patron saints of his cathedral church to an extent not seen ten years earlier.

While there was nothing 'wrong' with the foundation charter issued in 1448 which prevented the hall functioning as a legal corporation,\(^48\) the charter issued by bishop Waynflete for his new foundation in 1458 was improved and revised in a number of ways. The most important was the reservation to the bishop of power over the administration and form of the college. This additional reservation paragraph could have been in itself enough to justify the re-foundation of the hall of 1448 as the college of 1458.


\(^{48}\) cf Mills, 'But Magdalen Hall was clearly a temporary arrangement, the first step in a larger plan...', 'The foundations, endowment and early administration', p.8.
MAGDALEN COLLEGE: CHAPEL DOOR SHOWING STATUES ABOVE THE DOOR

(Enlarged above; the statues from l. to r. - Edward IV (not shown), St. John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, St. Swithun, William Waynflete)

Photographs a) NMR DD 50/17
b) NMR BB 79/2709
Waynflete's refounded community of 1458 was initially a small body of men. In addition to the president William Tibard only six men were named foundation fellows; all but one of these (Robert Rowse) had been fellows of Magdalen Hall. Simon Godmanston was also one of the bishop's chaplains while Henry Fisher was also involved in the bishop's household. A third man, Richard Bernys, retained close connections with Waynflete acting as a co-feoffee with him on a number of occasions.

Between 1458 and 1480 when administrative records began formally to be kept the absence of evidence makes it difficult not only to chart the growth and development of the college but also to see how closely Waynflete as founder involved himself in internal collegiate affairs. It is not known what role he played in the choice of graduate scholars, direction of college affairs or the ordering of the educational aspects of the college. There is some post-1480 evidence which shows him directing the fellows to elect certain men as members of the college and his influence in this sphere as in others would have been stronger prior to the promulgation of statutes in the early 1480s. To judge from his heavy financial involvement which is well documented, his other involvement is likely to have been extensive.

50. Ibid., p.687.
51. Richard Bernys was evidently a stalwart of the college's administration; he was on the foundation of Magdalen Hall and although he never took a further degree he was vice-president from 1458 until his death in 1499, B.R.U.O., pp.179-80; see also below, pp.356
52. Cecily, duchess of York approached Waynflete in an attempt to have her servant William Stephen taken into the college, M.C. Ms. 367; whether this request succeeded is unknown for his name does not occur in the college records.
From 1458 until his death one of bishop Waynflete's major preoccupations was the collections of lands and advowsons to ensure a lavish endowment, worth over £675 p.a., for his foundation. There were three major periods of acquisition; 1455-59 when 30% of the total endowment was amassed; 1469-70 when 25% of the total was amassed and 1479-86 when 40% of the total was amassed. In between these main periods Waynflete was on occasion involved with negotiations which led eventually to the acquisition of lands, as during the 1460s when the problems surrounding Sir John Fastolf's inheritance was one of his major concerns. Waynflete was constantly concerned with seizing opportunities to gather together endowments.

Although Waynflete was collecting these properties for the college from the 1450s onwards he was slow to hand them over to the foundation, an action which would have made the community financially independent. Throughout this period and indeed until 1481 (later if building costs are included), Waynflete retained control of the purse strings. Instead the college was funded directly from his temporal estates, particularly from four manors in Oxfordshire, Adderbury, Brightwell, Harwell and Witney - which between them contributed an average of £123 annually to the college. Money was also paid directly to the college from the central episcopal treasury at Wolvesey. These payments to the college from either source were only made on receipt of the bishop's personal warrant. The transactions appear irregularly in the ministers'...
accounts for the bishop's temporal estates.\(^{58}\)

His policy of tight control over the release of money to Tibard and the fellows of Magdalen College gave Waynflete the opportunity to exercise authority over the development of his college. He would have to be consulted before the college could enter into any arrangement involving major expenditure. This kept him in touch with and in a position able to direct affairs in Oxford.

Waynflete's enthusiasm for the development of Magdalen College is reflected in the fact that his denial of financial independence to it did not stifle the foundation; he kept himself aware of its needs. However it may initially have slowed its growth: only twenty-eight fellows were in residence in 1477 compared to eighty-seven in 1481 when funds were beginning to be released to the college.\(^{59}\) The college made little apparent impact within the university prior to the 1470s.\(^{60}\)

The bishop also concerned himself with the details and progress of the collegiate buildings which from c.1467 were being constructed on the site of the hospital of St. John the Baptist.\(^{61}\) Richard Bernys, the vice-president, was in charge of the buildings on the spot but again the directive force came from Waynflete. Bernys accounted directly to Waynflete and his accounts have survived for the earliest period of building, 1467-74.\(^{62}\) As architect Waynflete used William Orchard,

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58. H.R.O., EC/2/155834-42; eg. EC/2/155834, fo.65\(^{r}\) records payment of f10 to Tibard and Bernys on receipt of the warrant of Waynflete.

59. M.C. CP/8/49 - accounts of those present for commons, draft libri computi and memoranda 1477-86.

60. The earliest that a fellow of Magdalen is found as a university proctor is 1471 when Nicholas Good was chosen. Henceforth Magdalen fellows appear regularly, Historical register of the university of Oxford to 1900 (Oxford 1900), p.30; John Elys, referred to as a proctor and member of Magdalen in 1452 was in fact principal of Glasen Hall in that year, not yet a member of Magdalen, Registrum cancellarii Oxoniensis 1434-69, ed. H.E.Salter (Oxf.Hist.Soc.93,94 1932), II, p.248.

61. See below, chapter 18 for details of the building works.

62. M.C.CP/2/67, 1,2.
a mason who served him elsewhere. Surviving contracts for building works at Magdalen College were made between Waynflete and the architect, not as might have been expected between the college authorities and the architect. That Orchard was the choice of Waynflete, not the college is suggested by the fact that although Orchard remained active as a mason in Oxford after Waynflete's death in 1486 he was not employed by the college after that date.

Waynflete used his influence with the king to the benefit of Magdalen College. When Edward IV, preoccupied with his own building projects at Windsor during the late 1470s, commandeered all skilled stonemasons, thus depriving Oxford of their services, he granted permission to Waynflete to employ some of the men to enable the building works at Magdalen College to continue. Without such favour the college would have been left, as the university authorities were, in the awkward position of hunting around for competent masons to complete the half-finished divinity schools.

The university authorities also recognised that Waynflete was the crucial power within Magdalen College when in 1478 they addressed a petition to him requesting the loan of cranes being used in the construction of his 'most beautiful college'; explaining that they could not afford to acquire their own building machines of this sort.

63. J. Harvey and A. Oswald, English medieval architects, a biographical dictionary down to 1550 (London 1954), pp.199-200; see below pp.293-4.
64. V.C.H. Oxon. III, p.204; between 1486 and 1504 (when Orchard died) the president's lodgings and a house connected with the song school were built under the direction of a chief mason named William Reynold - a competent but lesser figure than Orchard.
65. Epistolae academicae Oxon. II, p.446.
Much of the work relating to the business affairs of Magdalen College, especially in the gathering of endowments, was carried out by members of the bishop's personal household. In this way too he was able to control strictly the college's financial position and its freedom to act independently. His main agent from the 1450s was Thomas Danvers, treasurer of Wolvesey c.1478-86, but other household figures, Stephen Tyler, the episcopal supervisor, the chancellor David Husband, his chaplains and various notaries occur regularly, acting as co-feoffees or attorneys in these matters. Of the fellows of Magdalen College only the president William Tibard and the vice-president Richard Berries were involved in this process of endowment gathering - they occur occasionally receiving land on behalf of the college. Otherwise such matters were beyond the control of the fellows of the community. While the bishop drew heavily on the revenues of Winchester episcopal manors to cover running and capital building costs of Magdalen College there was little contact between the diocese and the college. Magdalen College fellows (unlike those of New College which also had Winchester connections) are rarely found being ordained within the diocese. Neither are Magdalen fellows collated to benefices within the diocese. Although

70. Ibid., p.989.
71. This statement is based on my study of the witness lists to the charters relating to Waynflete's acquisition of lands and their conveyance to Magdalen College. The deeds were calendared in 49 typescript volumes by W.Macray at the end of the nineteenth century and their calendars are available in the college archives.
72. Names of fellows of New College occur regularly in the ordination lists in Waynflete's episcopal register but only one ordination of a fellow of Magdalen College is recorded, that of William Dunch who was ordained priest on 2 April 1485, Reg.Wayn. II fo.197'. This helps to support the idea that there were not close ties between Magdalen College and the diocese of Winchester.
one of the avowed aims of the college was the provision of suitable
men to act as parish clergy, Waynflete did not flood his diocese
with men educated in his college. The diocesan-collegiate link was
almost entirely financial and restricted to the person of Waynflete
and his immediate household.

e) Waynflete and Magdalen College: The Last Phase 1477-1486

By 1477 Magdalen College appears to have been gaining strength;
while this may partly be a trick of the evidence in that this is the
first year for which a bursary book survives, other external evidence
reinforces this impression. University records begin to mention
graduates of Magdalen in greatly increased numbers from this period
and a few are recorded being ordained within the diocese of Winchester.

This was the beginning of a period of rapid expansion. Thirty
fellows including the president were in residence in 1477 while by
1482 the community consisted of eighty-seven members and this was the
first year in which the college had some financial independence.\(^73\) The
presence of lecturers in theology and philosophy in 1477\(^74\) implies
that Waynflete's college had begun to approximate to its final form
which was enshrined in the statutes promulgated in the early 1480s.\(^75\)
Physically building works were proceeding apace during these years
under the supervision of Bernys and the expertise of Orchard.\(^76\)

It is difficult to compare fairly Waynflete's involvement with
his college in the pre and post 1480 period since records are so much

73. Mills, 'The foundation, endowment and early administration', p.29.
74. M.C.Ms. CP/8/49, fo.5r.
75. See below section (f).
76. See below pp.354-6.
more plentiful for the last six years of the bishop's life, although this is the time when his involvement with the foundation was beginning to diminish. For example, there are for this period descriptions of two visits he paid to Oxford; his itinerary drawn from his episcopal register shows he visited Oxford in 1476 and 1479 as well but these visits are not recorded in surviving college records.

The appointment of Richard Mayew to replace William Tibard as president in 1480 marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of the college. Tibard was an elderly man; he died in November 1480 less than three months after having relinquished his duties. Mayew on the other hand was a young man and extremely competent as his effective quashing of initial opposition to his arrival in the college demonstrated. He was bishop Waynflete's choice as a suitable figure to rule the college after his own death.

The process of preparing Magdalen College to cope after the death of its founder dominated this last phase of Waynflete's relations with his college. Although Waynflete was physically active until early 1486, from the beginning of that decade he was slowly making preparations for the future. Two major moves in particular can be seen: the formulation of statutes to govern the college and the transference to the college of endowments collected over the previous quarter century. Together these developments prepared the college for financial and administrative autonomy.

78. M.C.Register A, fos 1r-2v; the register begins with a description of Mayew's arrival in the college in August 1480. He preached a sermon on the theme 'Bear ye one another's burdens', (Galatians VI, 2), before taking the oath as president. He then produced letters from Waynflete and statutes relating to the governing of the college and the vice-president and bursar swore their oaths. Some of the masters refused to take an oath to obey the statutes and Mayew deprived them of their commons until they complied and took the oath.
The actual transfer of property was not completed during Waynflete's lifetime; at his death some twenty percent remained in his possession to be conveyed to the college by his executors. It was fortunate for the future of Magdalen College that Waynflete lived so long. Had he died in the late sixties or even in the late seventies, the college would have been left in an under-endowed and confused state with only verbal directions left by the founder to guide its administration. It was fortunate also that Waynflete recognised that he was not going to live for ever and began in good time to make preparations for the future of the college.

Two successful attempts were made by Waynflete in the early 1480s to bring Magdalen College to the attention of the reigning sovereign and thus to ensure for it some royal benevolence. Both Edward IV and Richard III visited the college in the company of the bishop and were lavishly entertained. While these visits were successful as far as they went, the unexpected deaths of both kings shortly afterwards prevented the college from reaping any material gain from its newly-made connection.

Edward IV came to Magdalen College in the early autumn of 1481. His visit came as the culmination of a formal visit paid by bishop Waynflete to his college during which decisive steps towards giving the college its independence were taken. An account of the visit was recorded in the college register. This states that Waynflete arrived in Oxford on 20 September 1481 in order to inspect the state of the college and the new buildings. He had sent before him a number of cartloads of books, eight hundred books in all, destined for the new library. Clearly he remembered his days as provost of Eton.

79. M.C. Register A, fo.8r.
MAGDALEN COLLEGE AS IT WOULD HAVE LOOKED BY THE TIME OF WAYNFLETE'S DEATH - An early drawing [c.1500]

Photograph: NMR CC 50/226
when the college was forced to complain to the king that it could not function properly due to a shortage of books. Waynflete also brought with him a number of deeds, conveyances and other documents concerning the transference of properties to the college.

Waynflete was greeted by the president and fellows not only as founder and patron but also as ordinary of the college by virtue of the recent grant of Pope Sixtus IV which exempted the college from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln in whose diocese Oxford University lay and placed it under the bishop of Winchester. This was Waynflete's first visit in this new role.

Two days later Edward IV arrived with his entourage to pay the college its first royal visit:

'Vicesimo secundo die hujus mensis dominus Fundator profectus est versus Wodestoke [the royal manor] ad illustissimum dominum Edwardum IV. Et dominus rex sponte ex sua gratia speciali promisit domino Fundatori nocte insequenti se suum collegium de novo fundatum Oxon. invisere et ibidem pernoctare. Quae res non mediocriter complacuit domino Fundatori. Eadem nocte post solis occasum illustissimus dominus rex cum multitudine luminum primo receptus est honorifice extra Universitatem per dominum cancellarium Universitatis et per regentes et non regentes deinde receptus est honorifice et processionaliter in collegium beate Mariae Magdalenae per dictum dominum Fundatorem et per praesidentem et scholares, ibidemque pernoctavit et in crastino, qui fuit dies dominicus expectavit usque post prandium et post meridiem cum quam plurimis dominis suis spiritualibus et temporalibus et aliis nobilibus.'

Edward's interests were not those of Henry VI and did not lie primarily in educational foundations. His visit to Magdalen College must have been made out of respect for the elderly bishop; the account in the college register emphasises that it was a considerable achievement on Waynflete's part that he agreed to come. Edward had already

80. C.Pap.L. 1461-84, p.97;  M.C.Register A, fo.6
81. M.C. Register A, fo.8
demonstrated his goodwill towards the college through Waynflete when he granted to him the right to use masons for the building works in progress there, at a time when his own building projects at Windsor were monopolising their services.

The second royal visit, that of King Richard III, took place two years later. Richard's coronation on 6 July 1483 was followed by a major royal progress. By 24 July he had reached Oxford where Waynflete entertained him at Magdalen College. Richard had a genuine interest in the patronage of learning which must be why his entertainment took a different and more learned form from that provided for his predecessor. Like Edward IV, on his arrival in Oxford he was greeted by representatives of the university before he proceeded to Magdalen College. He spent two nights there (24, 25 July) and on the second evening:

'*...mandato et desiderio domini regis, facte sunt in magna aula collegii due solemnes disputationes, prima videlicet, in morali philosophia per magistrum Thomam Kerver opponentem, et quendam bachallarium ejusdem collegii; deinde facta est alia solemnis disputatio theologica, etiam in praesentia regis, per magistrum Johannem Taylour, sacre theologie professorem et per magistrum Willelmum Groceyn responsalem...'*

Richard rewarded those taking part generously and gave money to President Mayew to provide wine for all. Although on that evening it must have seemed unlikely that Waynflete, now in his eighties, would outlive the king, that was what was to happen and Waynflete's hopes that his college had found a royal patron and protector for the future must have been dashed with Richard III's defeat at Bosworth.

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82. Epistolae Academicae Oxon. II, p.446; see above p.64; Waynflete honoured Edward IV by including a statue of him among those which were placed in niches above the archway leading into the chapel.
84. Ibid., p.132.
85. M.C. Register A, fo.27. 
These years were ones of great uncertainty in England and the future safety of Magdalen College must have been in Waynflete's mind. A letter to Waynflete from John Gygour, fellow of Merton College and warden of Tattershall College in Lincolnshire with which Waynflete was involved, written in 1483, emphasised the uncertain position of Tattershall College now that the king was dead and his successor was not known. Gygour advised Waynflete to 'spede...and utterli conclude them[matters] that concern your worshipful college of Oxford as else Eton and poore Tatershale.' Waynflete presumably hoped that Richard's visit to Oxford in 1483 would secure the future position of his foundation.

Although the transference of property from the bishop to his college which began in 1481 made it considerably more independent financially the founder was still relied on for money to finance the building works. Waynflete also remained final arbiter in cases of dispute within the college; Mayew as his appointee could turn to him for support if he met with opposition within the college. A letter addressed to the college from Waynflete from his manor at Waltham in April 1482 shows that the bishop still played an active part in the direction of the internal affairs of the college. The letter begins, 'It is come to oure knowlache and to owre displeasure...' Apparently a dispute had arisen within the college concerning the elections of university proctors. Waynflete's response was to act in a ruthless manner against those whom he described as '...sedycyous, wylfull and not conformable to the advyse and the gydyng of yow and the more party majority of the maisters of oure seid college...' On the grounds

87. M.C. Ms.367, no.4.
that such people '...wolbe troublous and fulle onprofitable for my seyd college...', he ordered president Mayew to 'discharge suche persons' who opposed the decision of the majority.\textsuperscript{88}

He also continued to play a part in the election of members of the college, overriding if necessary the statutory limitations on numbers or geographical origins. In a letter sent to the college on 15 March \textsuperscript{1485} he ordered that '...at oure next election among other and before all other, the seid Master William \textsuperscript{7}Hewster, a college chaplain\textsuperscript{7} be elected unto the more and greter number contrary statutes by us made notwithstanding.'.\textsuperscript{89}

The visit of 1483 was the last recorded one by Waynflete to his foundation. Physically he may have been failing - one document of 1484 was signed in what has been described as a weak and feeble hand.\textsuperscript{90} His itinerary shows his perambulations to be less frequent and less extensive, he restricted his movements to the manors at Southwark, Esher and Waltham in the last years of his life and he spent several months at a time in each one rather than merely weeks in each place.

He continued to be preoccupied with the endowment of the college, both the amassing of further properties for it and the transferance to it of lands already collected. By 1484 the bulk of the collection of lands had been completed and was slowly being conveyed to the college. During this period Waynflete's main link with the college seems to have been through visits to him made by president Mayew. The collegiate accounts record frequent visits being made to Waynflete at his manors.

\textsuperscript{88} M.C.Register A, fo.9\textsuperscript{r}; printed in Chandler, Life, appendix 22, p.366.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., appendix 29, p.389.
\textsuperscript{90} M.C.Deeds, Henton 48\textsuperscript{a}; the description is Macray's in his calendar of the deeds of Norfolk but the same could be said of the signature on his will written in March 1486, Chartae Regis 43.
in Hampshire and Surrey. At the same time valuable goods including chalices and other ornaments for the college chapel were sent at intervals from the bishop's household to Oxford; experience had taught Waynflete that to leave directions in a testament for the disposal of goods might not be enough to ensure the college received the stipulated items.

From the early Spring of 1486 when he seems to have become ill Waynflete was increasingly feeble. He no longer left his manor at Bishop's Waltham. President Mayew can increasingly be found acting for the college on occasions where once the founder would have represented them, as for example, at the coronation of Henry VII from which Waynflete was absent. Waynflete continued to oversee the transaction of business relating to his college until the very end of his life; his last recorded grant of manors was made on 20 May 1486 but visits from Mayew continued until August, the month of Waynflete's death.

f) The College Statutes

It was not until 1480, more than twenty years after the re-foundation, that Waynflete issued any statutes for Magdalen College. Prior to that the internal administration of the college must have been governed by President Tibard along lines directed verbally by the bishop and subject to Tibard's discretion. The non-provision of statutes which left the bishop as founder in the position of final

91. M.C.Liber computi I fos 99v-100r; in 1486 alone Mayew visited Waynflete at Bishop's Waltham six times between January and August.
92. e.g., 'Proveccione xvi ymaginum cum panno rubio et cum libro a Waltham ad collegium, iiiis...', Macray, Register of Magdalen I, p.6.
93. Mayew attended the coronation by the order of Waynflete, Liber computi I, fo.99v.
94. M.C.Deeds, Henton 36. As late as 11 July along with co-feoffees Waynflete was receiving grants of land destined for Magdalen, M.C.Deeds, Ashurst and Lancing 4.
arbiter in any matters of dispute, was in accord with Waynflete's policy towards the endowment of the college. Thus in matters both financial and administrative Waynflete retained a close control over the affairs of his foundation and was slow to give it autonomy.

The most pressing reason which led Waynflete finally to issue statutes in 1480 must have been his own advanced age; by then he was over eighty. His lifestyle was becoming increasingly sedentary although he remained physically active for several more years. By 1480 he must have felt that the time had come to present the college with a code of statutes which would order the direction of its affairs after his death. A precipitating factor may have been the desire of the president of the college, William Tibard, who had been appointed in 1458, to retire. With a change of headship it must have seemed a good moment to draw up statutes to be implemented by Richard Mayew the new president.

The composition of collegiate statutes was a lengthy process and must have been carried out by Waynflete in consultation with Tibard and other college officers. The need for such discussions may have been behind Waynflete's visit to Oxford in 1479, on which occasion he stayed not in the college but at his episcopal manor of Witney. The code of statutes now known as the founder's statutes was not presented to the college in its completed form all at once. Some were brought

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95. Numerous repairs and building works were carried out at the manor prior to his arrival on this occasion which suggests that it was some considerable time since his last visit there, P.G. Hyde, 'A history of the manors of Witney and Adderbury from the 13th to the 16th centuries', (Oxford B.Litt thesis, unpublished 1955), p.203.

96. There are two contemporary manuscripts of the statutes. Bodleian Ms.Rawl Q.c.14 was copied out c.1485 and contains the complete code of statutes including Waynflete's later emendations. The second manuscript is M.C.Ms.277 which was also written in the 1480s. It is discussed more fully below, n.95. The printed copy of the statutes was taken from Bodleian Ms. Rawl.Q.c.14 with corrupt passages corrected by collation with B.L.Harl. Ms.1235 and B.L.Hargrave Ms.148, Statutes of the colleges of Oxford (3 vols (3 vols London 1853-6), II, pp.5-91.
to the college by Mayew in 1480, others were added in 1482 and when Waynflete visited the college in 1483 while minor changes may have been made from time to time before Waynflete's death. When complete the corpus of statutes can be taken to represent the mature reflection of Waynflete, based on widespread personal experience, on both the administration of a collegiate body and on its educational function. They were the product of a lifetime of experience in Winchester College, Eton College and Magdalen College itself spanning more than half a century.

The reason for the refusal of ten of the masters to take an oath to observe the statutes and obey the president is not given; possibly they resented the imposition of Mayew and had favoured one of their own number to follow Tibard. They may also have seen the arrival of a code of statutes as indicative of a new stricter regime and it may be that in the last years of Tibard's presidency discipline had become lax.

In their provisions for the administration of the college Waynflete's statutes follow those issued by William Wykeham at the beginning of the century for the use of New College Oxford, which had

97. M.C.Register A, fo.1r-2v
98. Ibid., fo.15r. M.C.Ms 277 is a copy of the code of statutes containing emendations made by Waynflete in July and November 1483. Writing on the final folio has been attributed to Waynflete and certainly resembles it. This may be the volume of statutes for which 16d was paid for binding in the accounts for 1483-4, Macray, Register of Magdalen I, p.13. It may have been bound because it was now felt to be complete.
99. See note 78. Mayew seems to have had little trouble disciplining the recalcitrant masters.
become the template for collegiate statutes in the fifteenth century. Waynflete's innovations came in the educational provisions of the statutes, in particular with the division of members of the foundation into demys and fellows and the arrangement for lectureships.

The college was to consist of ninety-nine members in all - a president, forty scholars, thirty demys, four priests, eight clerks and sixteen choristers. The main body of scholars thus numbered seventy, the same size as in New College and Eton College. The majority of the fellows were to study theology, with two or three only being selected to study law (civil or canon) and the same small number to study medicine. Most founders of colleges expressed similar preferences and these were often, as in Waynflete's case, based on their own educational experiences.

Waynflete showed that he conceived his foundation as being constructed along similar principles to those of Wykeham, not only in drawing on New College's administrative statutes but also in the restriction of the choice of a president for Magdalen College to fellows or ex-fellows of either Magdalen itself, or of Wykeham's foundations. A selection of suitable men was to be drawn up by the body of fellows but the final choice of president was restricted to the seven senior fellows. During his own lifetime Waynflete exercised his founder's prerogative in personally selecting the president, although Mayew was in fact a fellow of New College. The statutes were designed for the future, after the bishop's death. The fellows of Magdalen were to be chosen in a manner similar to that used at New College, but in honour

100. *De numero scholarium*, *Magdalen statutes*, pp.5-6
of the patron saint of the college the elections were to take place on the feast day of Mary Magdalen.

The geographical composition of the body of scholars reflected Waynflete's own experiences for he had connections with each of the areas from which he stipulated that members of the college were to be drawn. Five were to come from Winchester, seven from Lincolnshire (some of whom would come from the grammar school he founded in Wainfleet), four from Oxford and four from Norwich (reflecting the endowment Waynflete had just succeeded in securing for his college from the Fastolf inheritance), three from Berkshire (where a number of his episcopal manors were situated) and two each from Chichester (where John Waynflete was Dean of the cathedral chapter), Gloucester and Warwick. In addition a bequest from Thomas Ingeldew stipulated that two scholars in theology were to be drawn from Northern England, preferably from York or Durham.

A continuing commitment to the idea that a college was a religious not a secular body can be seen in the statute which stated that every fellow must be ordained within a year of achieving his M.A. and that each was to preach and celebrate mass regularly in the college. Within his own episcopal household were a handful of educated laymen but most of the men in his service were clerics, even men filling positions such as that of episcopal supervisor of lands.

102. De electione scholarium, Magdalen statutes, p.16.
103. Ibid., pp.22-23; why Gloucestershire and Warwickshire were chosen is unknown; the college does not seem to have acquired Warwickshire land from Waynflete although they did hold property in Gloucester which the bishop had acquired from the earl of Nottingham as well as some from the estates of Ralph, Lord Cromwell; it is possible that the acquisition of this land could have carried a stipulation that scholars would be drawn from these areas.
104. De electione scholarium, ibid., p.17.
105. De tempore assumendi sacros ordines, ibid., p.34.
106. See below, p.13.
Although Waynflete was a bachelor of theology he was not really a theologian but a man of wider interests. In accordance with this, despite his extensive provision for men studying theology, he made an effort to ensure that his college would not be excessively dominated by theologians. Two of the three deans who were to be in charge of the educational side of the college were to be masters of arts not theologians. A respect for education and training rather than mere longevity can be seen in his stipulation that seniority among the fellows was to be determined by their academic achievements not by the length of time they had spent as fellows of the college. Waynflete classed the degrees in the order of Doctors of Theology, Doctors of Canon Law, Doctors of Civil Law, Doctors of Medicine, Bachelors of Theology and Masters of Arts.  

It was in his provisions for education within the college that Waynflete was particularly careful, detailed and innovatory. The scholars' day was carefully divided up. Disputations were to take place twice a week during full term in the main hall of the college. One of these weekly sessions was to deal with a problem or matter of doubt; the other with an issue relating to the solving of doubts. In the nave of the chapel was to be held a weekly discussion of theological controversies. During the vacation period from 7 July - 1 August an arts disputation was to be conducted weekly. 

Disputations were the commonest method of teaching and practising in the late medieval universities. Waynflete's major innovation in

107. *De decanorum officio et eorum electione*, Magdalen statutes, pp.24-5.  
the sphere of teaching was his provision of three lecturers whose lectures were to be open to all students, whether of Magdalen College or from elsewhere in the university. One lecturer was to teach on natural philosophy, one on moral philosophy and one on theology. Their lectures were to take place daily (excepting feast days) from 9 October – 1 August. The educational day was to begin at 6 a.m. with the lecture on natural philosophy; at 9 a.m. came the lecture on theology and finally at 1 p.m. that on moral and metaphysical philosophy.

These lectures were designed for the benefit of the forty full scholars and other members of the university who wished to attend. Separate provision was made for the junior scholars – the Demys – boys who not yet having taken their degrees would concentrate on the study of grammar, sophistry and logic until they could demonstrate a firm grounding in these subjects. The legislation concerning these demys was the second innovation of Waynflete's. The statute relating to their position, especially the clause which prohibits boys from proceeding to further study without a proper elementary grounding in grammar, has the ring of experience about it;

"Praeterea, quia debile fundamentum fallit opus, ut experientia docet, ac etiam ut intelleximus quod quidam de nostris triginta scholaribus his diebus, priusquam in grammatica, quae omnium scientiarum mater et fundamentum esse dinoscitur, sufficienter instructi fuerint, immutare divertere solent ad logicalia et sophisticalia; ... ordinamus quod nullus eorumdem de caetero admitteretur ad sophistriam et logicam vel ad aliam scientiam nisi prius, judicio Presidentis et magistri informatoris in grammatica, ac alicujus Decanorum nostri collegii memorati, ad id habilis et sufficiens reperiatur." 111

In addition the stipulation that some of the demys should devote their efforts to 'grammaticalia et poemata et alias artem humanitatis'

111. De electione scholarium vocatorum Demys, ibid., p.16.
in order to be able to instruct others, looked back to the era in
which Waynflete himself had taught, the 1430s and 1440s, when there was
serious concern about the absence of grammar teachers and adequate
training for them; a concern which had led to the foundation of
God's House in Cambridge in 1439 as a place where teachers could be
trained. 112

The bishop's personal concern with the teaching of grammar was
also reflected in his foundation of two grammar schools which would
both act as 'feeder' schools for the college itself and be open to
all comers. One was situated in Wainfleet in Lincolnshire, the other
was in Oxford, attached to the college itself. Stipulations governing
the financing and organisation of both schools were laid down in the
Magdalen College statutes.

When exactly Magdalen College school came into existence as an
adjunct to the college is not clear but it was functioning by the time
the statutes were drawn up in the 1480s. The building of a school-
house, complete with upper rooms and a kitchen, was begun in August
1480. The entry in the college register relating to this is ambiguous:

'Prius tamen August 1480 grammatici omnes et singuli
great erant instructi expensis Domini fundatoris per
unum informatorem et unum hostiarium et hoc per medium annum
ante, videlicet, a Festo Paschue ultimo preterito, in
quandam aula bassa intra collegium ex parte australi capelle
in antiquo edificio...' 114

It is left unclear whether the teaching had only been going on from
mid-1479 or whether the school had been longer established but only
situated in the lower hall mentioned since the previous Easter. This
latter explanation seems more likely, especially in view of the fact
that the companion school in Lincolnshire had been in existence since
the early 1460s.

112. Leach, Educational charters and documents, pp.402-3.
113. This is dicussed more fully below pp.308-10.
114. M.C.Register A, fo.3.
Within the founder's lifetime the school was evidently closely connected with the college and it may have been difficult to distinguish clearly the line between the two institutions. It was situated, according to the statutes, 'next to our college'. The master was responsible to the president of the college - it did not, like Winchester College, have its own warden or head - and was to get a room and weekly commons on the same terms as the collegiate fellows. While many of the pupils must have come from Oxford and the surrounding area, for the school was to be open to all, some of the Demys are likely to have also been amongst the pupils for they were not permitted to proceed to the study of logic or sophistry until they were fully conversant with grammar. The grammar master was to join with the president in examining their competence in grammar.

Magdalen College school differed from its counterpart in Wainfleet which, while also a grammar school open to all, was more traditional in conception, for it incorporated a chantry element and its master had to be a priest. Magdalen College school was the larger of the two, with both a master and an usher; the master there did not have to be in priest's orders and in fact the first recorded master, John Anwykyll was a married man. While the school in Wainfleet was never more than a country school, within a decade of its foundation Magdalen College school had become of the the leading grammar schools of England and was foremost in the introduction of the new grammar

115. De magistro seu informatore grammaticorum, Magdalen Statutes, p.76.
117. De magistro seu informatore grammaticorum, ibid., p.77
teaching being pioneered on the continent. 119

Finally Waynflete adopted a practice found in the Cambridge college of King’s Hall from the 1430s 120 but not as yet elsewhere. Twenty sons of noble and powerful personages were permitted to attend the college at their own expense. 121 This astute provision meant that the college could attract the interest and support of powerful friends, while at the same time it catered for the growing demand for education in the humanities by those who did not intend to enter the church. It was another step in the move towards the secularisation of education; in this, as in his provision of lectureships, William Waynflete looked forward to developments in the next century.

These statutes must have been compiled by the bishop with the aid and advice of Tibard, perhaps Mayew and of legal experts in his own household. They are, however, very much Waynflete’s own statutes reflecting his past career, his own beliefs and interests in education and especially his idea that education should be open to a wider group than merely the small circle of men who were privileged to be members of the college foundation.

Conclusion

For William Waynflete the foundation of a collegiate community in Oxford was high among his priorities as is evidenced by the rapidity with which he set the foundation in motion after he had become bishop

119. This is discussed in more detail below pp.326-7 in the context of Waynflete’s interest in the practical side of grammar teaching.

120. Cobban, The King’s Hall, pp.71-2.

121. De extraneis non introducendis ad onus colle~ii, Magdalen statutes p.60; these students were to be known as ‘creancers’ which meant creditor. The word was also used in the late fifteenth century in the sense of tutor or guardian - the Paston Letters contain a reference to ‘my creansyr master Thomas’ Cat Eton, 1478, O.E.D.
of Winchester. It remained a dominant interest; a project to which he devoted a huge amount of his time, energy and resources for the remainder of his life. Almost unflaggingly from its foundation in 1448 until his death in 1486, despite his commitments elsewhere, Waynflete kept Magdalen College and its needs and welfare in the forefront of his mind.

Waynflete's training as a schoolmaster dominated his life. His success as provost of Eton College made possible his promotion to the episcopate. The resources - financial, political and administrative - at his disposal as bishop of Winchester were ploughed back into education. Magdalen College with its particular emphasis on the teaching of grammar and the provision of a solid educational grounding, was a fitting memorial to the lasting interest of a man who had begun his career teaching Donatus to schoolboys at Winchester College.
5. Election as bishop of Winchester

6. Waynflete's diocesan administration and episcopal household

7. Waynflete as bishop within his diocese

8. Ecclesiastical patronage

9. Estates, income and expenditure

10. Administration of the temporal lordship
5. ELECTION AS BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

The first impression conveyed by the evidence relating to the election of William Waynflete, provost of Eton College, as bishop of Winchester in 1447 is of remarkable speed. Less than a week elapsed between the death of Cardinal Beaufort and the election of Waynflete as his successor by the chapter of Winchester Cathedral. The letters of provision were dated a month later on 10 May and at the end of July Waynflete was consecrated bishop at a ceremony in Eton College chapel.

No previous election of a bishop of Winchester had been effected with such haste - a year had elapsed between the death of Eddington and the consecration of Wykeham in 1367, six months in the case of Beaufort in 1404 and eleven months in that of Peter Courtney, Waynflete's successor.¹ The emphasis on haste came directly from the king: both the chronology of events and the contents of the royal letters to the cathedral chapter show Henry VI to have been enthusiastically encouraging Waynflete's candidature.

a) The Chronology

The death of Henry Beaufort, Cardinal-priest of St. Eusebius and bishop of Winchester since 1404, took place in his episcopal residence in the city of Winchester, Wolvesey Palace, on Tuesday 11 April 1447.² His death was hardly unexpected; he was an elderly man and had been

¹ H.B.C., p.58. There were particular problems in the case of Wykeham - although King Edward III was keen for his elevation Pope Urban V was reluctant, partly because of Wykeham's reputation as a pluralist, J.Highfield, 'The promotion of William of Wickham to the see of Winchester', J.E.H. 4 (1953), pp.37-54.

² Details of the election proceedings were recorded in the register of the priory of St. Swithun (Winchester Cathedral), Register of the common seal, pp.99-100.
ill for some time. News of the death of a member of the episcopate
would naturally be sent quickly to the king but an increased
urgency may have been present on this occasion because Beaufort was of
royal blood and great-uncle to Henry VI.

The immediate response of the king, who was at Windsor castle
some seventy miles from Winchester when he received the news of
Beaufort's death, was to dispatch a letter under the signet
addressed to the prior and chapter of St. Swithun's priory. This
letter licensed them to proceed to the election of a new bishop and
continued:

'... And preye you hertily that in alle the haste that ye goodly
may, ye wol so do, having by oon assent oure right trusty and
welbeloved clerc and conceilloure maister William Waynflete Provost
of our College Royal of oure lady of Eton at the reverence of us
and contemplacion of this oure writing, in your sayd election to
be Bisshop of youre sayd chirch before alle other especially
recommended, whom as ye knowe wel we have in the most tender favou
of oure good grace, wherinne ye shall not oonly provide youre sayd
chirch of right a notable clerc and a substancial persone to
goddes plesir and to the worship and wele of the same as we truste,
but also do unto us right singular plesir and cause us to have bothe
you and the sayd chirch in the more special favour of our good
grace in tyme to come...'

Such a recommendation, combined with the veiled threat implied in the
promise of special favour, can have left no doubt in the minds of
the chapter as to the king's desires.

Henry VI had moved more precipitately than the chapter itself for
their letter, requesting the conge d'elire, was not sent until the
following day, 12 April. This must have crossed with the king's original
letter for the arrival of the subprior and hordarian of the priory
with their petition resulted in the issue of a second royal letter.
Again it urged the selection of Waynflete and this time it set

3. K.B. McFarlane, 'At the death-bed of Cardinal Beaufort' in England in
the fifteenth century - collected essays (London 1981), pp.115-38,
prints two descriptions of Beaufort's death. He was described as
'languishing on the point of death' on 25 March 1447.


5. The letter was dated 11 April, the same day as Beaufort's death. It
is printed in full in Chandler, Life, appendix I, p.299-300 and
and calendared in the Register of the common seal, pp.99-100.

Saturday 15 April as the date for the election. In addition it stated that the election was to proceed despite the absence of letters under the Great Seal, '... for we have in such wise ordained that ye shal not need them at that tyme but have them in goodly hast after bering date before...' The subsequently-issued letters show that the archbishop of Canterbury who was chancellor was in Canterbury at the time and the election would have had to be delayed if the chapter waited for the authorisation under the Great Seal. The letters when issued were back-dated as promised to 15 April.

The chapter met as suggested by the king on Saturday 15 April, having agreed at a meeting on the Friday that Saturday would be a suitable day. After a Mass sung at the High Altar in Winchester Cathedral the bells were rung and the community assembled in the chapter house. In addition to the prior, William Aulton, and thirty-six monks, the archdeacon of Winchester, a representative of the archdeacon of Surrey and Richard Pettworth, a notary-public, were present. The archdeacon of Winchester, master Stephen Wilton, had received a letter from the king requesting that he assist the monks in the election. After Wilton had read the general constitution, '...all felt them to be immediately inspired by the Holy Spirit to cast their votes for William Waynflete...' The Te Deum was sung and finally, to conclude the proceedings the chapter processed to the High Altar where

7. Register of the common seal, p.100.
8. C.P.R. 1446-52, p.44; a statute of 18 Henry VI had forbidden this practice, Wolfe, Henry VI, p.108.
9. The archdeacon of Surrey at this time was John de la Bere who was elevated to the see of St. David's in November 1447, Le Neve, Fasti ecclesiase Anglicanae 1300-1541 - monastic cathedrals ed. B.Jones, (London 1963), p.49; H.B.C., p.279.
10 This letter is no longer in existence but is mentioned in Henry's second letter to the chapter; presumably the king wished Wilton to be particularly careful to ensure the canonical legality of the election to reduce the possibility that it might be subsequently challenged.
the archdeacon announced their choice, in English, to the waiting people. Proctors were then sent to Eton College where Waynflete, apparently after initial reluctance, gave his formal acceptance. 11

On Monday 17 April, less than a week after Beaufort's death, the chapter of St. Swithun's priory addressed a letter to the king, formally rounding off their part in the proceedings by petitioning for royal assent to their choice. 12

Details of the election proceedings come from the letter sent by prior William Aulton to Pope Nicholas V, informing him of Beaufort's death and of the subsequent election. 13 On 10 May letters of provision were issued to Waynflete, the pope thus maintaining his prerogative with regard to his nomination of members of the English episcopate. 14

The final stage in the transformation of William Waynflete from schoolmaster and provost of Eton College to bishop of Winchester took place in Eton College chapel where, on 30 July, he was consecrated in episcopal orders. 15 The temporalities had already been restored to him on 4 June (presumably the date on which the king had received the news of papal approval of the new bishop), 16 although in reality Waynflete had had jurisdiction over the temporalities of his future see since Beaufort's death, for Henry VI appointed him custodian of the temporalities on 11 April. 17

13. Ibid., pp.100-1.
14. C.Pap.L.1447-55, p.298; the letters of provision state that the see had been reserved to the pope during Beaufort's lifetime.
15. Registrum sacrum Anglicanum, p.90.
17. Ibid., p.53.
Once Waynflete's position as bishop was assured there seems to have been a lull in the proceedings. His installation in Winchester Cathedral did not take place until January 1449, eighteen months later. His episcopal register begins recording his activities from the end of October 1447, by which time he was resident in the episcopal palace in Southwark.

It is clear that William Waynflete's election as bishop was not merely efficiently conducted, it was rushed. The proceedings surrounding the requests for conge d'élire and for royal assent to the choice of the chapter were usually conducted in a slower and more cumbersome manner. Why, on this occasion, was the king so emphatic about the need for speed?

In his second letter to the monks of St. Swithun's the king gave one reason: '... we would not the cathedral church of Winchester should eny while stand viduate ... ye should proceed to election in all goodly haste...'. This however is clearly an excuse; such a consideration would hardly have caused such speed. Although Henry VI has posthumously acquired a reputation for piety, his anxiety for the good ordering of the church can hardly have been the sole cause of the haste shown in pressing the election of his provost of Eton College as bishop of Winchester.

The real explanation must lie in Henry VI's previous conspicuous lack of success in promoting his candidates to the episcopal bench.

18. The Liber Albus of Winchester College (W.C.M. 22992) records the visit of Henry VI to the college on the occasion of Waynflete's installation; the bursars' accounts for 1448-9 (W.C.M. 22123) itemise the college's expenditure on celebrations. Among the guests were the provosts of Eton and King's colleges and the bishop of Bath & Wells, Thomas Beckington, an ex-pupil of the college and a man closely associated with Waynflete in the foundation of Eton.
20. Register of the common seal, p.100.
Although in 1437 the young king had announced his intention of exercising his prerogative especially relating to the dispensing of patronage, in reality he had often failed to realise this desire, especially in the important field of the episcopal bench. In 1445, for example, he had been out-maneuvered by his council when he failed to secure the much less important bishopric of Norwich for his confessor John Stanbury. Instead Norwich went to Walter Lyhert, the chaplain of the Duke of Suffolk. 'It is clear that the king's prerogative in making ecclesiastical appointments was subject to Suffolk's approval', was the conclusion of one study of the appointment of bishops under Lancastrian rule. The speed with which the king acted in the case of Winchester must have been designed to present his advisors with a fait accompli; a completed and canonical election which would be difficult to challenge and overturn.

Waynflete had been in close contact with Suffolk in matters relating to the foundation of Eton College, which might have been in his favour, but mere acquaintance cannot be assumed necessarily to mean approval. Waynflete, as a schoolmaster with no experience of either diocesan or royal administration, may well have been viewed by his contemporaries as an unsuitable choice. Even if Suffolk approved of Waynflete personally there is likely to have been doubt, in view of this lack of experience, of his ability to fill what was the richest and one of the most influential sees of England. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to Suffolk's whereabouts during this week in April and it

24. Suffolk had been one of the chief advisors to the king about the fabric of Eton College, see Lyte, Eton College, p.11.
is impossible to know whether he knew of Henry VI's speedy reaction to the news of Beaufort's death before the election of Waynflete by the cathedral chapter took place.

In these circumstances, the story told by Waynflete's first biographer concerning Henry's choice of Waynflete as bishop may well be apocryphal but it has a ring of truth. According to this anecdote, the king came to Waynflete at Eton College and asked him whether he thought that he could manage to retain a benefice if he were to be given one. Waynflete apparently replied that he would certainly do his best whereupon Henry VI informed him that he was making him bishop of Winchester.

Such an incident could well have taken place prior to the death of Beaufort for the evidence shows Waynflete well prepared to 'do his best' to retain the benefice, demonstrating at this early stage in his career the shrewd and efficient business behaviour which can be seen later in his lifetime. On this occasion he seems to have left little to chance. While the letter from the cathedral chapter to Pope Nicholas V records that he was initially reluctant to accept the bishopric, the expected and customary response to such an offer, evidence from the Vatican archives shows him to have been ready and waiting to accept such a position.

On 15 May 1447 master William Radclyff B.C.L. and Antonius de Budden, Gulielmi Patteni, p.34; although Budden cites this story he does not appear to believe it.

26. For example his astute behaviour while executor of the will of Sir John Fastolf which resulted in Fastolf's inheritance going to Magdalen College Oxford, see below pp.240-72.

27. Register of the common seal, p.101.

28. B.R.U.C., p.469
Caxa, a Florentine merchant, proctors on behalf of Waynflete, paid 12,000 florins in services to the Apostolic Camera. This was in response to the issue of the letters of provision which made Waynflete bishop-elect of Winchester. There was nothing unusual in his choice of these men as proctors; both had acted at the Roman Court on behalf of other Englishmen. However, the proxy instrument which gave them authority to act on Waynflete's behalf had been drawn up on 9 March, a month before Beaufort's death and the ensuing vacancy in the see of Winchester. This suggests that Waynflete had his proctors waiting at the Curia, ready to act on his behalf as soon as news of Beaufort's death reached Rome.

Waynflete can hardly have been the expected successor to Cardinal Beaufort. Although it may have been felt that his services to the king as provost of Eton College deserved some reward, the see of Winchester was a most singular prize. One would have expected Waynflete to have been rewarded like John Langton who was elevated to the bishopric of St. David's in May 1447, Stanbury, the king's confessor, who got Bangor in 1448 or perhaps like William Booth who was promoted to the see of Coventry and Lichfield in 1447. Some of the men already holding sees could have expected translation to Winchester. One such was Marmaduke Lumley, the bishop of Carlisle who was treasurer and who had been bishop of Carlisle for seventeen years. Lumley had owed his original promotion to the patronage of Beaufort.

30. William Booth, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield used Radclyff as a proctor in 1447 also.
31. Brady, Episcopal succession I p.11.
Other possible candidates were Robert Neville, bishop of Durham and another Beaufort protege; William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln since 1437 or even the king's confessor and Suffolk's close associate William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury since 1438. Bishop Bourchier of Ely and bishop Lacy of Exeter were also experienced members of the episcopate and the former in particular clearly had the potential to rise since in 1454 he was to become Archbishop of Canterbury. Waynflete, however competent he may have been in his position as provost of Eton College, would seem to have had little chance of competing successfully with these men for the bishopric of Winchester. The fact that he succeeded Beaufort with apparent ease should lead us to view his prowess as a skilled political manoeuvrer with considerable respect.

While the elevation to such a position could not have been achieved single-handedly, even with the rather broken reed of royal support,\textsuperscript{32} the main credit must remain with Waynflete himself whose rapidity of action and political acumen succeeded against the odds. His distribution of ecclesiastical patronage in the year after his promotion does not suggest that he had debts to pay to supporters. The first collation recorded in his episcopal register was to one of the most important benefices in his gift— the archdeaconry of Surrey.\textsuperscript{33} To this he presented his own brother, John Waynflete, a definite assertion of his own independence from patrons.

\textsuperscript{32} Thomas Gascoigne in \textit{Loci e libro veritatum} implies that Henry VI was not even aware how a man could become a bishop when he recounts the story of his own meeting with the king at Windsor Castle. Henry VI apparently asked Gascoigne on this occasion why he was not yet a bishop!, \textit{Loci e libro veritatum}, ed. J.T. Rogers (London 1881), p.xlv.

\textsuperscript{33} Reg.Wayn. I, fo. 1\textsuperscript{v}. 
Waynflete's successful election as bishop of Winchester in 1447 was not, therefore, a casual appointment but the result of careful efforts on the part of both Waynflete and the king. In view of Henry VI's previous failures in this sphere, it may be suggested that much of the credit for his success on this occasion be attributed to Waynflete's own efforts.

b) Suitability as Bishop

'A man whose discretion, knowledge and blameless way of life are to be commended; he is in priest's orders and meets the requirements with regard to his legitimate birth, age and free status. In addition his prudence, both in spiritual and secular affairs and his remarkable virtues and abilities will enable him to defend the rights of their church.'

This laudatory statement of Waynflete's virtues comes from the letter of the prior of St. Swithun's to Pope Nicholas V, advancing the reasons for their choice of prelate. While the factual essentials can be taken as true, the fact that the priory were seeking papal approval of their election may have coloured their description of Waynflete. How far did he compare with other fifteenth century prelates and what was the contemporary opinion of his elevation?

The latter question cannot be satisfactorily answered for what contemporary comments there are largely post-date his election, being written after he had proved himself a conscientious member of the episcopate. Chronicles refer to the death of Beaufort but little is said of the choice of Waynflete or his performance as bishop until his own obit comes to be written. The chronicle of John Benet is typical, merely mentioning that the Cardinal of Winchester was succeeded by master William Waynflete, provost of Eton College.

34. Register of the common seal, p.101.
In 1447 William Waynflete was a man in his forties, a theologian by education, a schoolmaster by vocation. He was in priest's orders but had little experience of pastoral work. For the previous six years he had served the king as provost of Eton College and during that time had become a trusted councillor of Henry VI's. Prior to 1441 he had been schoolmaster in Winchester College. All in all the impression is that he was competent and acceptable to the king, but there is nothing to suggest that he was the ideal choice for the next bishop of Winchester, to replace a man who was not only of royal blood but an assured international figure. How does Waynflete fit into the pattern of episcopal promotion under the Lancastrians?

His social origins present no problem; they can be roughly summed up as 'middle-class' gentry, not aristocratic but not unduly humble. Although some members of the episcopal bench were of aristocratic blood, others were of obscurer parentage. John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester 1444-76 was the son of a tenant on the estates of the 36

Neither did his educational training make Waynflete an unusual choice for the episcopate. The last decades of Lancastrian rule were a favourable period for the elevation of theologians; of the twenty-five bishops created between 1443-61, sixteen were theologians. Prior to 1443 the theologians, many of whom were regulars, were presented to the less well-endowed sees; after that date they had a virtual monopoly over the lesser and middling sees. Winchester however was a see of prime importance and Waynflete was the first theologian to be appointed to it. 37

WAYNFLETE'S EPISCOPAL ARMS AS DISPLAYED ON THE ROOF OF HIS CHANTRY IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Photograph: NMR AA 66/1018

The same arms displayed at the foot of his tomb effigy

Photograph: NMR A44/11885
While Waynflete was a B.Th. most of the men with theological degrees promoted between 1385-1461 were Doctors of Theology. That Waynflete was not reflects the fact that although his higher degree was in theology it is misleading to describe him as a theologian. Vocationally he was a schoolmaster. A recent study of schoolmasters in the later middle ages pointed out that, '... hardly anyone who had been a schoolmaster reached a high position between 1307-1509, either in church or state... teaching evidently did little to forward their ambitions and may even have done them harm.' 39 Two other teachers reached the forefront of public life under Henry VI, John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln 1452-71 and John Somerset. Neither, however, had been a schoolmaster. Chedworth had been tutor to Robert, Lord Hungerford and Somerset had been master of Bury St. Edmunds and tutor to the king. Waynflete was the only episcopal figure in this period who had actually taught in a school. He was the sole exception to the rule that teachers were 'overlooked, forgotten and unnoticed'. 40

Waynflete was also unusual due to his lack of previous church preferments; royal and governmental servants who were rewarded with a bishopric as the climax of their careers usually held a number of lesser church preferments at the earlier stages of their careers. One group of bishops in the fifteenth century who had averaged twenty-two years in the church prior to their promotion to the episcopate, averaged five

38. Davies, 'The episcopate', p.56.
40. Ibid., p.227.
rectories and four prebends each. By comparison Waynflete had only held one rectory and one hospital mastership.

As a schoolmaster and a secular clerk without other church or governmental connections if not as a theologian, Waynflete was an unusual choice for the important see of Winchester. His elevation must be attributed entirely to his fortune in attracting Henry VI's attention, initially during the first royal visit to Winchester College and subsequently as Provost of Eton College and it was such that it would have been difficult to predict in 1447 what sort of bishop he would prove to be.

41. J.T. Rosenthal, 'The fifteenth century episcopate: careers and bequests', in D. Baker, ed. Studies in church history 10 (1973), p. 124. Waynflete was included in the group of bishops mentioned; if he were to be excluded the average would be even higher. George Neville, just prior to his promotion to the see of Exeter in 1455, held five canonries, four prebends, one rectory, two archdeaconries and was chancellor of Oxford, G. Keir, 'The ecclesiastical career of George Neville' (Oxford B. Litt thesis 1973, unpublished), p. 85.
6. WAYNFLETE'S DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION AND EPISCOPAL HOUSEHOLD

By the later middle ages in England the structure of diocesan administration was such that it was almost independent of, rather than dependent upon, the bishop. With a vicar-general to deputise for the prelate in administrative matters and a suffragan bishop to carry out those duties requiring episcopal orders, a diocese could be efficiently administered with minimal involvement by the bishop, whose main interests often lay elsewhere.

This, however, was not the position in Winchester under bishop Waynflete. Unfortunately the loss of Cardinal Beaufort's episcopal register makes it impossible to draw direct comparisons between his episcopate and that of his successor but what we know of Beaufort's other activities suggests that frequently his attention must have been directed to non-diocesan matters. Waynflete on the other hand, despite his educational interests and occasional political involvements, was consistently concerned with fulfilling his episcopal duties and personally directing the administration of his diocese. The long record of his episcopal register demonstrates this beyond doubt - his almost uninterrupted residence within the boundaries of his see; the lack of any vicar-general (except for one brief period) throughout the forty years of his episcopate; the regularity with which his register records his personal involvement in the most routine of matters such as the granting of probate and receiving resignations of rectors.

Recently it has been the fashion to 'rescue' bishops from the

1. Beaufort's register (H.R.O. A1/12) contains little information for the period after 1415, the date at which the sections dealing with institutions and general memoranda come to an end, Smith, Guide to bishops' registers, p.207.

2. Waynflete's episcopal register is discussed in appendix II.
unfavourable labels attached to them by an earlier generation of historians, 'non-residents', 'political careerists'. A detailed examination Waynflete's career as bishop certainly exonerates him from such epithets.

As bishop Waynflete was concerned with the administration of two separate entities. First there was the diocese itself - the laity, parochial clergy and religious - over which he had jurisdiction and concomitant to this, he was responsible for the upkeep of religious buildings in the diocese. In addition there were papal and archiepiscopal mandates to be carried out. The other aspect of his concern was the temporal lordship of the bishopric; the organisation and supervision of the lands and manors which made up his territorial base and from which his income as bishop was drawn. This aspect of Waynflete's concerns will be discussed in a subsequent chapter and only be referred to briefly here.

Aside from these two distinct administrative units there was the bishop's personal household, consisting of his chancellor, treasurer, registrar, chaplains, notaries and a variety of lesser secular figures. The household included a number of men who seem to hold no particular position within the formal hierarchy of the household but who were among the bishop's retainers as part of a circle of lawyers and canonists who acted as advisors to him.

The episcopal manor in Southwark, a short journey down-river from Westminster, was conveniently placed, enabling Waynflete to attend parliament and council meetings held at Westminster while remaining resident within the boundaries of his diocese. Southwark, which lay outside the city limits, was a popular choice among prelates for the situation of their town houses - the bishops of Durham and Rochester both had houses there.
VIEW OF LONDON AND THE THAMES SHOWING THE PROXIMITY OF SOUTHWARK TO WESTMINSTER (Engraving by Hollar, c. 1620)

1. Westminster Abbey
34. St. Mary Overy Priory
35. Winchester House (The episcopal palace).

Taken from: London illustria (London 1819).
Excluding a number of brief visits to Eton College in Buckinghamshire Waynflete only left his diocese a handful of times during his episcopate. Rarely were these absences of long duration. He never left England, an action which would have made the appointment of a vicar-general essential. While outside his diocese the bishop, accompanied by his chancellor and other members of his secretariat, continued to function administratively, as can be seen in the register entries dealing with routine business which appear dated Oxford, Eton, Chichester or some other place where he was temporarily in residence.

3. The main periods of absence were May 1450, Leicester; November-December 1459, Coventry; August 1480, Oxford; July-October 1483, Oxford. Waynflete's full itinerary is in appendix I.

4. Waynflete authorised an exchange of benefices while at Eton College on 15 August 1451, Reg.Wayn. I fo.38r: similarly he licensed two friars to hear confessions in the city of Winchester while he was in Reading in September 1464, ibid., fo.83r. He could not, of course, exercise his jurisdiction outside his own diocesan boundaries without the permission of the local ordinary. Neither could he carry out ordinations; when in December 1447 Waynflete conducted his first ordination ceremony in Eton College chapel he required permission from the bishop of Lincoln in whose diocese the college lay, Reg.Wayn. I fo.Ar.

a) The vicar-general

In many English diocese the vicar-general was the cornerstone of diocesan administration. An official experienced in the practices of diocesan administration, often also holding the position of official-principal, he deputised for the bishop in his absences, often himself initiating action within the diocese rather than merely carrying out direct orders from the bishop. The right to the disposal of episcopal patronage was usually excluded from his brief but in most administrative tasks and in matters of corrective jurisdiction he acted for the bishop. In Bath and Wells and elsewhere the vicars-general kept their own registers containing details of their acta, like miniature...
episcopal registers. When the bishop returned to his diocese the vicar-general’s commission would automatically lapse, although it might be resumed again upon the prelate’s departure.

In May 1450 the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Chertsey, John Hermond, is recorded briefly as vicar-general in some letters relating to the authorisation of benefice exchanges. Waynflete was in Leicester with the king at this time, (the parliamentary session of 1449 having being prorogued on 30 March 1450 in Westminster, to reassemble in Leicester, an area of the country more sympathetic to the Lancatrians), but he had returned to the diocese of Winchester by mid June at the latest and his commission to Hermond (no record of which has survived) presumably lapsed. With this one exception Waynflete retained full direction of diocesan affairs in his own hands, even while he was chancellor to Henry VI.

b) The official-principal

The leading figure and the foremost permanent member of Waynflete’s diocesan administration was the official-principal. His primary duty was to conduct the consistory court of the diocese as the deputy of the bishop but the terms of his commission of appointment and the ad hoc commissions regularly directed to him meant that his role encompassed many aspects of diocesan administration unconnected

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9. Little is known of the Winchester consistory court — it is only mentioned twice, incidentally in Waynflete’s register and unlike its contemporaries, such as that in Hereford, no records of its proceedings have survived.
with the supervision of the consistory court. The general
memoranda section of the episcopal register records some of the
activities of the official. Many of his duties were carried out in
response to episcopal mandates addressed to him by the bishop although
unfortunately for the social and religious history of Winchester, the
results of the numerous inquisitions held by the official have not
survived.

Inquisitions into the causes of vacancies in parochial benefices
and into the sometimes awkward question of who had the right of
presentation to benefices fell within the competence of the
official-principal as did the examination of potential incumbents of
benefices to ascertain their educational and canonical suitability.

Excommunications also fell within his range although these also came
within the cognisance of the archdeacons, whose jurisdiction spanned
the behaviour of both clergy and laity.


11. While the majority of the benefices were in the gift of a
single individual or institution and thus presented no problem in
identifying the patron, others were held by feoffees or by a number
of individuals who presented to it in rotation. During the
1470s and early 1480s for example, three different patrons
presented to the parish of Chalton, Reg. Wayn. I fo.162r, II
fos 41r, 86v. Inquisitions might also be required if the
patron failed to present a candidate - after a lapse of
six months the right of presentation passed to the bishops;
commissions of inquiry into vacancies are recorded in Reg.Wayn.
I fos 5r, 46v, 74v.


13. The diocese of Winchester was divided into two archdeaconries,
one encompassing Hampshire, the other Surrey, (excluding the
deanery of Croydon which was a peculiar of the archbishop of
Canterbury). Both archdeaconries were held during Waynflete's
episcopate by men who were frequent if not permanent absentees, so
much of their routine administrative work was carried out by their
deputies, the archdeacon's officials. The bishop's brother John
Waynflete was archdeacon of Surrey 1449-79 and he was more active
within the diocese than his counterpart in Hampshire, Vincent
Clement, 1459-75, much of whose time was taken up by his other duties,
including filling the role of papal collector in England. On
occasion John Waynflete personally acted in his archdeaconry, e.g.
carrying out excommunications, Reg.Wayn. I fos 32r, 58v, 83v.
That William Waynflete treated his official as his foremost deputy is reflected in the order directed by the bishop to his official, Richard Manning, in 1451. He requested Manning to conduct a general visitation of the diocese on his behalf, since he had been detained elsewhere. The official also accepted resignations and held inquisitions into a variety of matters, from clerical non-residence to marriages within the forbidden degrees and the dilapidation of rectory buildings.

Only one commission of appointment of an official-principal is recorded in the episcopal register, that appointing master Thomas Forest in 1453. It summarises Waynflete's conception of the main duties attached to the office. The first half of the commission is almost identical to similar warrants of appointments which appear in contemporary episcopal registers elsewhere in England. It begins:

'Ad audiendum cognoscendum et procedendum in quibuscumque causis et negotiis instancionatis motis et movendis ac dependentibus in Consistorio nostro episcopali Winton'...

It is the remaining clauses which distinguish this commission. Forest was to make general inquisitions each year in every deanery of the diocese concerning the 'honestate subditorum nostrum'. He was given jurisdiction over testamentary and probate matters. In addition he could exercise the episcopalian rights of collation to churches within

15. Ibid., fo.90*.
16. Ibid., fo.95*.
17. Ibid., fos 17*, 48*.
18. Ibid., fo.39*.
the city of Winchester, with one exception, and he was to ensure that suitable people were presented. Such delegation was most unusual for most bishops guarded their rights of collation most jealously and Waynflete's actions elsewhere show that he was not a man careless of his rights and prerogatives. The most reasonable explanation would seem to be that in view of the poor value of these benefices, it would have been troublesome for the bishop to be constantly called upon to find suitable men to fill them, particularly since at this time Waynflete was becoming more involved with politics.

Unlike some bishops who, having been translated from one see to another, brought experienced and well tried administrators with them from their old diocese to their new Waynflete had no nucleus of episcopal administrators to bring with him to Winchester. Neither had he any knowledge of diocesan administration. His knowledge of administration in general was based on what he had learnt as provost of Eton College. His twelve years teaching at Winchester College must have familiarised him with the cathedral city of the diocese but he knew little about the routine day-to-day business of running a diocese. Upon whom then did he rely in the early years of his episcopate and to what extent did he utilise men who were familiar with episcopal administrative practices or who had served his predecessor?

20. Waynflete's reluctance to relinquish or delegate authority was demonstrated in his relationship with Magdalen College Oxford; the college remained financially dependent on its founder for over twenty years, see above, p.63.

21. B.C. Turner, The churches of medieval Winchester (Winchester 1957); in the fifteenth century the poor value of many of the city parishes led to considerable amalgamation of parishes.

22. When George Neville was translated from Exeter to York in 1465, a number of the men attached to his Exeter episcopal household moved north with him, the most important being John Shirwood and Thomas Chippenham, Keir, 'The ecclesiastical career of Neville', p.158.
The loss of most of Cardinal Beaufort's episcopal register makes it impossible to answer this final question; references to 'the official of Winchester' do appear in papal mandates of the 1430s and 1440s but these men are not named. Only one official-principal can be identified by name, John Elmer, who served under both William Wykeham and Henry Beaufort until his death in 1419.\(^23\)

That Waynflete was conscious of his inexperience in matters of diocesan administration is clear from his first choice of official. Richard Manning, D.Cn.L. had been successively vicar-general and chancellor in Worcester during the mid 1440s and had acted as a commissary in Hereford in 1445.\(^24\) The evidence of the benefices he held suggests that he had no Winchester connections prior to Waynflete's elevation to the see; before April 1448 all of Manning's benefices were situated either in Kent or in the west of England but in that month Waynflete collated him to Wonston rectory in Hampshire.\(^25\) He is first referred to as official-principal in January 1449 and in July of the same year he acted as proctor for bishop Waynflete at the Convocation held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.\(^27\) The bishop of Worcester at this period was John Carpenter, a close acquaintance of Waynflete and a man with similar educational interests and Carpenter may have recommended Manning to the new bishop of Winchester.

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23. Register of the common seal, p.198; Elmer had also acted as vicar-general for Beaufort.
26. Ibid., fo.9v.
27. Ibid., fo.4v; H.B.C., p.562. Waynflete was preoccupied with the parliament being held in Winchester at this time; for a discussion of his role there see below, pp.136–8.
Manning died in October 1452 and the position of official remained inexplicably vacant for some eleven months. The consistory court required a judge however and thus, in November 1452 a month after Manning's death, master Thomas Forest, B.C.L. was given a commission - not as official-principal but as a temporary officer in charge of directing the consistory court. Ten months later Forest was appointed official. Why this strange gap? Since the appointment was made at the bishop's pleasure there was no need to try Forest out for suitability prior to appointing him, because he could easily be removed if he proved unsuitable. With the exception of a brief visit (possibly only one day), to Reading to open Parliament in March 1453 Waynflete spent this period entirely within his diocese and presumably applied himself closely to diocesan affairs in the absence of an official. A number of ad hoc commissions were issued at this time, particularly addressed to master William North who was later appointed commissary-general. It is really from the death of Manning that the declining importance of the official-principal within the diocese can be dated, although the decline does not become very obvious until after the cessation of Forest's commission in the early 1460s.

Thomas Forest is a shadowy figure, but unlike Manning he had a number of Winchester connections; his benefices which predate Waynflete's appointment as bishop were all within the diocese and from 1444 at the latest Forest was warden of the Hospital of St. Cross which lay just outside the city of Winchester. He was probably related to John Forest, Dean of Wells whom he succeeded at St. Cross and for

28. Reg.Wayn. I fo.18*V.
29. Ibid., fo.28*V.
30. R.P.V, p.227; Waynflete had been called upon to open this parliament because of the illness of the chancellor, Archbishop Kempe.
whom he acted as executor. His career as official, like his appointment, was erratic. He held the position without interruption from 12 September 1453 until 19 June 1458. Between November 1458 and March 1460 the official was master Richard Colvet, but Forest reappears as official in a single isolated reference on 14 October 1461. Between that date and his death in 1463 there are no further references to Forest and the position of official-principal was filled by a notary-public, Robert Peverell.

The references to Colvet's activities as official-principal suggest that the position was declining in importance within the diocesan administration as a whole - they relate only to excommunications which could have arisen out of the consistory court business of which nothing is known. This contrasts with the extensive nature of the commission appointing Forest. Peverell's activities were similarly limited. He was briefly succeeded by Waynflete's trusted confidant and chaplain-cum-chancellor William Darset in 1465. There is only an isolated reference to Darset as official-principal which suggests that, despite Darset's importance within the episcopal household, the duties delegated to him as official were much less wide-ranging than Manning's had been. Some importance may have been restored to the position under Waynflete's last official-principal, master Richard

34. Ibid., fos 56*F, 60*V; B.R.U.C., p.469.
35. Reg.Wayn. I fo.68*V.
36. Little is known of Robert Peverell; although described as magister throughout the register he does not appear in either B.R.U.O. or B.R.U.C.; he served Waynflete as a notary public between 1467-74. In 1474 he was associated with Waynflete in land transactions relating to the endowment of Magdalen College, M.C.Deeds, Southwark 6,7, 57.
37. Reg.Wayn. I fos 56*F, 57*V, 60*V.
38. Ibid., fo.87*F.
Hayward, to whom there are references from 1467. His miscellaneous activities included commissions concerning the non-residence of clergy, homicide cases and marriage causes. Some of these, in particular the last two, may have arisen out of consistory court business.

Taken as a group all of these men were highly educated. With the exception of Peverell who is merely described as magister, they all had higher degrees. Manning had a D.Cn.L., Forest a B.C.L., Richard Colvet was a B.C.L., a fellow of All Souls College Oxford and a notary public. Darset and Hayward had D.C.L.s and Hayward had in addition a B.Cn & C.L.; he had been educated at Winchester College during the last years of Waynflete's headmastership there. A legal background was clearly a prerequisite for the position; it would have aided in conducting the consistory court and those with civil law degrees were slightly favoured over canonists although this preference did not preclude Manning's appointment. Two of these men, Darset and Peverell, were from Waynflete's home county, Lincolnshire.

Despite the appointment of these highly educated men it is clear that the range of the official-principal's duties declined in the latter half of Waynflete's episcopate. None of the officials appointed from the early 1460s onwards can be seen exercising the wide-ranging powers granted to Forest in his warrant of appointment of 1453. Instead Waynflete increasingly relied on a number of individuals, to whom he addressed personal commissions on specific issues. After the accession of Edward IV in 1461 Waynflete's political importance

40. Biographical information for all of these men, with the exception of Peverell, can in found in B.R.U.O. or B.R.U.C.
declined and he spent much of his time within his diocese. This meant that he could and did personally direct the administration of his diocese. The delegation of much of the routine diocesan business to the official-principal seen during the first decade of his episcopate was no longer necessary and clearly Waynflete preferred to retain as much control as possible.

c) Suffragan bishops

In a large diocese such as Winchester which spanned two counties there was a definite and constant need for a suffragan bishop, even when the bishop himself was not an habitual absentee. His presence relieved the bishop from the physical restrictions of having to perform certain regular and irregular and often tedious 'chores' - ordinations at the *quatuor tempora*, dedications of chapels in far-flung parts of the diocese, giving benediction to newly elected abbots and priors.

The term suffragan bishop suggests a figure of more exalted status and authority than was actually the case. The suffragan acted on the receipt of orders, from the vicar-general if the bishop was absent, otherwise from the bishop himself. Like those of the other figures in the diocesan administration, the primary duties of the suffragan bishops were laid down in commissions of appointment. A number of these were recorded in Waynflete's register and from time to time they were supplemented by additional and specific commissions. Taken together these give an idea of how the time of a suffragan bishop was occupied. The first of these commissions of appointment was that addressed to Robert, bishop of Emly in October 1450.  

41. See itinerary, appendix I.
42. Reg. Wayn. I fo. 8*
It gave him authority to dedicate churches, to bless vestments and church ornaments, to re-admit excommunicates, to give first tonsures and ordain to both major and minor orders. Other commissions, all couched in similar terms were issued to James, bishop of Achonry in February 1450 and to William Westcarre, bishop of Sidon in December 1457.\(^43\)

During the first decade of his episcopate William Waynflete did not have a permanent suffragan bishop; he personally conducted most of the ordinations in the diocese and when necessary relied on the services of 'floating' suffragan bishops — these were usually bishops with Irish episcopal titles who did not reside in their sees. By virtue of their episcopal status they were able to perform duties necessitating episcopal orders on behalf of their English counterparts. Most were itinerant, appearing at intervals in different dioceses. One such bishop who served Waynflete was James Blakedon, O.P., bishop of Achonry, who was active in the diocese of Winchester between May 1448 and 1453. During this time he carried out a number of ordinations.\(^44\) Blakedon's career as a suffragan bishop seems to have ended with his translation from Achonry to the Welsh see of Bangor in 1453;\(^45\) it was unusual for a suffragan bishop to be promoted in this way. Another Irish bishop concurrently active in the diocese of Winchester was Robert Portland, O.F.M, bishop of Emly but beyond his general commission nothing is known of his activities except that he conducted one ordination service in Wolvesey Palace in September 1456.\(^46\)

\(^{43}\) Reg.Wayn. I fos 9*v, 45*v
\(^{44}\) Ibid., fos A^f- C^f
\(^{46}\) H.B.C., p.275.
\(^{47}\) Reg.Wayn. I fo.H^f
With this one exception Waynflete made little use of suffragan bishops between late 1452 and 1457 despite his fairly constant involvement in politics during this period. The ordination lists, the most reliable guide to the use of suffragans, show that the bishop himself conducted the ordinations throughout this period.

In April 1457 the pope provided William Westcarre, prior of the Augustinian priory of Mottisfont in Hampshire, to the see of Sidon and on 1 May 1457 granted to him an indulst, 'to exercise pontifical offices in other cities and dioceses at the request of diocesans'. Westcarre was a distinguished theologian, a doctor of theology who had been deputy to the chancellor of Oxford University during the 1440s. Henry VI wrote to his agent in Rome on Westcarre's behalf although the contents of this royal letter have been lost. Once promoted to episcopal orders Westcarre was the exclusive suffragan bishop in the diocese of Winchester for the remaining twenty-nine years of Waynflete's episcopate. During this period he acted briefly in other dioceses, Bath and Wells in 1459, Canterbury in 1468, Worcester in 1480. Essentially however he served in Winchester. His interests as a theologian may have been similar to Waynflete's own and although his initial commission as suffragan was probably necessitated by Waynflete's position as chancellor to Henry VI, Westcarre remained

48. Waynflete was a member of the Privy Council throughout the 1450s and was one of the most frequent attenders of its meetings, R. Virgoe, 'The composition of the king's council, 1437-61', B.I.H.R. 43 (1970), p.158. Waynflete was chancellor between October 1456 and July 1460. For a discussion of his political career in more detail see below, chapter 10.

49. C.Pap.L. 1455-64, p.323.

50. Only the covering letter addressed to the royal agent has survived, Letters of Margaret of Anjou, ed. C.Munro (Camden Society, 2nd series, 86 1863), p.66.

as suffragan long after Waynflete's political activities had ceased and he acted as confidant and advisor as well as episcopal deputy to the bishop. Westcarre only outlived Waynflete by a few months, dying in late 1486 after almost thirty years of providing continuity in the office of suffragan.

d) The commissary-general

The official-principal and the suffragan bishop comprised two of the triumvirate of administrative officials who headed the hierarchy of diocesan administration in Winchester. The third major figure was the commissary-general or sequestrator - the former title was more common in the Winchester records. From his origins as an 'escheator-like' figure with responsibilities over the revenues which 'escheated' to the bishop when benefices were vacant or otherwise in episcopal hands, the commissary-general came to wield wide powers of jurisdiction and in particular had cognisance of testamentary and intestacy matters. Like the other members of the diocesan administration, the commissary-general was also a recipient of ad hoc mandates from the bishop which could deal with a variety of matters.

Few records of the appointments of commissaries-general are to be found in Waynflete's episcopal register with the result that any account of their duties has to be based on the evidence of their activities which was recorded; from what they can be seen doing, not from what they were expected to do. The surviving commissions date from the early 1450s, two addressed to William North and one to John

Denton. The existence of a fourth commission is indicated by a marginal note on folio 153r of the second volume of the register. The note refers to the appointment of Henry Grimm as commissary-general but the folio is blank, no commission having been recorded in the gap left for it.

Master William North's first appointment was in February 1452, his second just a year later, in February 1453. Both commissions are similarly phrased, empowering him to collect all the fruits of benefices due to the bishop and also to exercise testamentary jurisdiction. The second commission also ordered him to collect all the receipts owing from the time of the commissaryship of his predecessor John Denton. Waynflete also addressed a number of specific commissions to North, requesting him to deal with excommunications, inquire into vacancies of benefices and on one occasion to conduct a visitation of the priories of Tandridge and Reigate. North had been known to the bishop before Waynflete was elevated to Winchester, for he had been a pupil at Winchester College under Waynflete's headmastership. Subsequently he went to New College Oxford and obtained a B.C.L. By 1449 he was a notary-public and one of the lawyers employed by Winchester College. A papal indult of 1446 gave him leave to farm his benefices for seven years while attending University or in the service of a bishop. Waynflete collated him to the parish of Exton in 1452 and from that date until the end of 1458.

54. Ibid., fo.56*v.
55. Ibid., fo.46*v.
56. Ibid., fo.28*v.
he was involved in the Winchester diocesan administration.

John Denton, the other figure for whom we have a commission, spent two periods as commissary-general. Addressed as such in 1450, his term of office had ceased by the time of North's appointment in 1452, perhaps due to a physical attack he made on a parish priest in that year. However, he took over from North again in October 1453. Although he did not die until 1468 he ceased to receive commissions in 1455 and was last recorded as being involved in an inquisition concerning the value of the parish of Beddington, a thorny issue which continued to trouble Waynflete's officials until the 1470s. In later commissions Denton is merely described as rector of Chilbalton, to which he had been collated by Waynflete in May 1449.

No references are made to commissaries-general during the 1460s except for a single reference to Robert Peverell in 1463 and early 1470s. Waynflete's chancellor, David Husband, was described briefly as such in the summer of 1472, just prior to the appointment of master Henry Grimm in August 1472. Grimm first appeared in the diocese in 1460 when the Southampton priory of St. Denis presented him to the Winchester city parish of St. John on the Hill. He does not seem to have acted for the bishop until 1471 when a commission of gaol delivery was directed to him. In 1472 Waynflete collated him to the valuable living of Alreford, perhaps

61. Ibid., fo. 15*.
62. Ibid., fo.28*.
63. Ibid., fo.37*.
64. Ibid., fo.15*.
64a. PRO C85/15710
66. Ibid., fo.153.
68. Reg.Wayn. II fo. 146.
69. Ibid., fo.18^.
in anticipation of services to come. Another commission of gaol delivery was addressed to him in that year. The final reference to his activities as an administrator in the diocese of Winchester was in 1474 when he witnessed the making of a composition between St. Denis priory and the Southampton church of St. Olaf, although he continued to hold the rectory of Alresford until his death in December 1485.

It seems therefore that the commissary-general, like the official principal, was a figure of declining importance in the diocese during the latter part of Waynflete's episcopate. Sequestrations which were a prime part of his tasks were instead carried out by local clergy and laymen to whom bishop Waynflete personally addressed mandates; grants of probate and administration and other matters relating to testamentary jurisdiction were seen to by the bishop himself or by a deputy specially authorised for each occasion, not acting under a general commission. The commissary-general has been described as the 'oculus episcopi' but Waynflete seems to have been perfectly capable of being his own eyes, requiring as a rule little aid in this matter.

The personal attention paid by bishop Waynflete to the routine administration of the diocese of Winchester means that in considering the question, 'who ran the diocese?', we are faced, not with a handful of men to whom the bishop abrogated much of his authority but with

70. Reg.Wayn. II fo. 154
71. Ibid., fos 130v-131v
72. Ibid., fo. 111v
73. Waynflete sent a mandate ordering the sequestration of the fruits of Morden parish to the chaplain of the church there and the rector of Streatham, Reg.Wayn. I fo.95v; similarly the bishop ordered the Dean of Andover and four laymen of Linkenhold parish to sequestrate its fruits in 1472, Reg.Wayn. II fo. 160v.
74. Diocesan administration in fifteenth century England, p.8
myriad lesser figures. In short there were few intermediaries between the bishop and the eventual executors of his orders.

One way of seeing this direct delegation form of diocesan administration at work is to take a single year and investigate how the process worked during that period. I have chosen 1464, some years after Waynflete's main involvement with politics had ceased, which is fairly typical of the later years of his episcopate.

Only two entries occur in the register for January and February, both authorisations of benefice exchanges; one, on 25 January between the rectors of Clanfield and Farlington, both benefices within the diocese; the other between the rector of Dibden and a rector from the neighbouring diocese of Salisbury. Both were carried out by the personal authorisation of bishop Waynflete. In early March the revenues of the parish of Fordingbridge which was appropriate to King's College Cambridge, were augmented; the final agreement concerning this was witnessed by Waynflete's chancellor, David Husband, William de Laguna (another member of the episcopal household) and drawn up by Richard Horclyll, notary-public. The excommunication of Richard Parkede of Thruxton parish on the Isle of Wight was carried out on 10 March by the official-principal of Winchester (unnamed). On 15 March, William Darset, chaplain to Waynflete, reported the result of an inquisition held concerning the the patronage of Cuddington church which was vacant due to the death of its incumbent. Early in April Waynflete directed a letter to the Exchequer, listing the churches annexed to the Surrey priory of Newark.

75. Reg.Wayn. I fos 131v- 135v and fos 81*r- 84*v cover the year 1464; the first folios cited relate to institutions and collations; the second references are to the general memoranda section of the register.
On 18 April Waynflete granted the administration of the goods of William Blake, late provost of St. Elizabeth's college in Winchester, who had died intestate to a master John Park. The final entries for April consist of an order from the bishop to the vicars of Portchester and Fareham directing them to sequester the fruits of Portchester rectory on account of the ruined state of its buildings, and the granting of a licence permitting the collection of alms within the diocese to the representatives of the Hospital of St. Anthony in London.

In May Waynflete addressed a mandate to the rural dean of Winchester and the apparitor-general\(^\text{76}\) concerning the release of a convicted clerk. Two more mandates for sequestration of parish fruits were issued in June, one to laymen in the parish of Portsmouth for the same parish, the other similarly to laymen in Tatsfield parish, in both cases because the cure of souls and other offices of the church were being neglected. On 3 July the relaxation of the sequestration of the goods of Colmer parish was ordered by the bishop. In August the archdeacon of Surrey is recorded as having excommunicated Robert Morley of Lambeth and in the same month Waynflete granted the administration of the goods of Richard Ioone, rector of Hartley who had died intestate, to two laymen of the same parish. In September Waynflete licensed two friars to hear confessions within his diocese. On 12 September letters of indulgence were issued to the Bishopsgate Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem for one year. In the same month the bishop granted the administration of the goods of another intestate, [76. The apparitor-general's primary function was the serving of court citations; three men are known to have acted in this capacity for Waynflete, John Arnold, Robert Bukke and Henry Burton. They all appear in the episcopal register in connection with episcopal commissions of gaol delivery which formed an important part of their work, Reg.Wayn. I fos 44*, 82* II fo. 143.]
Robert Styse, to laymen of the same parish. The year ended with two mandates from Waynflete to laymen directing the sequestration of goods of two parishes, firstly of Rotherhithe, due to the absence of the rector and secondly of Titsey, on account of the death of the rector.

As in this year, which is typical of many, the dominant figure in the diocesan administration was bishop Waynflete. While clearly an official-principal existed, he did not play much part in the routine business of the diocese. Matters of sequestration were dealt with directly by the bishop who, rather than use a commissary-general, directed letters ordering action to local men. Similarly Waynflete himself granted administration orders in cases of intestacy and in other years wills were proved in the presence of the bishop. The augmentation of the revenues of Fordingbridge was witnessed by men from Waynflete's household, not by diocesan officials. Elsewhere household men and chaplains were used for ad hoc commissions relating to matters of diocesan business. The fact that the bishop personally directed the administration of his diocese rather than delegating large areas of business to specialised subordinates tends to blur the distinction between his diocesan administration and his personal household as bishop.

77. The probate of the will of Garth Dodyn of Southwark was granted to the executors named in the testament in the presence of Waynflete at Southwark on 30 May 1473, Reg.Wayn. II fo.160. This is just one example of many available. Most years rather more than fifty percent of grants of probate and administration took place in the presence of the bishop personally.
2) The Episcopal household

Occasional references in the hall books of Winchester College to the expenses of entertaining members of the familia of Provost Waynflete indicate that as provost of Eton College Waynflete already possessed a certain personal entourage. Although Eton was a royal and much favoured foundation and although his position as provost involved Waynflete in close connection and intimacy with Henry VI, it was still little more than a glorified collegiate church, half-built and as yet without the great reputation for educating the future ruling class of England that it was later to attain. From provost of Eton to bishop of the richest see in England was a great step and necessitated a change in Waynflete's style of living. Not only did he need men to serve him in the diocesan administration; he also required a personal household retinue and secretariat suitable to his episcopal dignity. Of the names which appear in the Winchester hall books only a few appear later as members of his episcopal household, namely William Darset and his own brother John Waynflete.

The episcopal household consisted of a hierarchy of officials, supplemented by numerous other figures, both clerical and lay. These appear regularly in witness lists and are recorded as present on numerous occasions, suggesting that they were attached to the household in some way, but they do not seem to have a defined role within the household. William de Laguna, a doctor of canon law who

79. One of the most valuable sources of evidence for the composition of Waynflete's episcopal household is the Magdalen College muniments relating to the early endowment of the college. Many of the bishop's closest household associates appear listed with Waynflete as co-feoffees or as witnesses to the conveyance of lands. These deeds are available in Magdalen College; they were calendared by W.Macrav at the end of the nineteenth century in forty-nine typescript volumes.
had studied in Oxford, Toulouse and Bordeaux, was among these 'stray' figures. He is never described as a specific officer of either the diocesan administration or the household but he appears as a witness on several occasions during the 1460s and 1470s and as an occasional commissioner of the bishop. Waynflete collated him to the parishes of St. Anastasius in Winchester city and Cranleigh, presumably as a means of support for him and as a reward for his services.

Identifying the members of Waynflete's household is rendered difficult by the absence of any source material relating to the bishop's personal household. The episcopal register is concerned only with a record of items relating to diocesan affairs and references to chaplains and other household officials occur only incidentally. The ministers' accounts for the bishop's temporal estates are immensely detailed but no household accounts or wardrobe books have survived for the bishop's personal household which is not included in the ministers' accounts. That such accounts would certainly have been kept is suggested by references in the ministers' accounts and in the register of St. Swithun's priory to the treasurer of the household of the bishop. Thus for information about these men who were closest to bishop Waynflete on an everyday basis, we are forced to rely on occasional and scattered references and the information which can be thus gathered is scanty.

81. Reg.Wayn. I fos 100^r, 125^r.
82. These are the well-known Winchester Pipe Rolls. They are now in the Hampshire record office. See below pp.187-9 for further discussion of them.
83. Discussed in more detail below pp.126-7.
a) The chancellor

The sketchiness of the evidence is demonstrated by the fact that prior to 1457 nothing is known of Waynflete's chancellor, the man who headed his secretariat and who had custody of the episcopal seal, although it is almost inconceivable that the household had no chancellor for the first decade of Waynflete's episcopate. Despite this the chancellor is in fact the member of the household about whom most can be discovered for he appears acting for the bishop in a wide range of matters both within and beyond the diocesan boundaries.

The man most likely to have filled the post of chancellor during Waynflete's first decade as bishop is William Darset who is first referred to as chancellor in 1458.\(^84\) Darset had been a pupil of Waynflete's at Winchester College and then a member of his familia at Eton College. He accompanied Waynflete on his promotion to the episcopate.

Darset dominated the episcopal household until his death in 1470. The manner of his death, ostensibly while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem but in reality while on a secret mission to Rome concerning the delicate matter of the inheritance of Sir John Fastolf,\(^85\) sums up his role as confidant and advisor to the bishop. A doctor of laws, Darsett was presented to the Salisbury benefice of Brightwell in February 1451;\(^86\) the first of three benefices in the gift of bishop Waynflete which he was to hold. Darset's first appearance on the

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85. M.C.Deeds, Sele 90, 91.
86. Reg.Wayn. I, fo. 34\(^r\); see also below, chapter 8
on the administrative side of affairs occurred the previous year in July 1450, when along with the bishop he witnessed the resignation of the prior of Mottisfont Priory. In May 1451 he was one of the general proctors appointed by Waynflete to deal with litigation and henceforth until his death he was associated with numerous commissions, especially although not solely relating to gaol delivery, a sphere where his legal knowledge would have been valuable. In 1465 Darset acted briefly as official-principal, combining that office with with chancellorship. Like Waynflete himself, a Lincolnshire man, he was closely involved in all of Waynflete's major projects, diocesan and educational, acting on occasion as a co-feoffee with him to receive land ultimately destined to form part of the endowment for Magdalen College Oxford.

The man who succeeded Darset in 1467 was David Husband, a highly educated and experienced man. Husband was a doctor of canon law by 1462 and prior to that a bachelor of civil law; he had been involved with the organisation of the law schools in Oxford. He was also a notary-public and held numerous benefices and was a canon of several cathedrals, among them Hereford and Chichester. In September 1463 he was collated to the parish of Alresford but he was not personally instituted, acting instead through a proctor. However, despite his benefices elsewhere from his first appearance as chancellor

87. Reg.Wayn. I fo. 37
88. Ibid., fo.11*
89. Ibid., fo. 87*
90. e.g. M.C.Deeds, Ford 2 where Darset was one of the household men who received with Waynflete the reconveyance of land destined for Magdalen College; the other clerks involved included Thomas Walkington treasurer of the bishop's household, John Nele to was to succeed Walkington as treasurer and Thomas Gyan, one of the foremost notaries-public in the episcopal household.
92. Reg.Wayn. I fo.131
in August 1467 Husband transferred his loyalties to Winchester. His first mention as chancellor in 1467 was as a witness to the appointment by Waynflete of proctors to the Holy See. The gap in the general memoranda section of the episcopal register for the period 1477-82 makes it difficult to be absolutely certain but Husband seems to have remained chancellor for the rest of Waynflete's life. He was certainly still in the position in 1482 for two stray folios from the register for this year refer to him as such. As occasional deputy for the bishop Husband's involvement in the diocese was varies, commissions for benefices exchanges, pension awards, the appointment of executors, the transference of a rector's house from one building to another more suitable one. Although only described as such in the summer of 1472, he frequently appears to be fulfilling a commissary-general's role in the extent of his testamentary jurisdiction, perhaps contributing to the demise of that official's position. Like Darset he was also involved in the process of amassing land for Magdalen College.

b) The treasurer of the household

In the absence of surviving accounts it is impossible to determine the exact form of the treasurer's duties but chief among these must have been the provisioning of the household. He would also have been responsible for the day-to-day running expenses of the bishop's household. The money for these purposes came from the central episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey which was the responsibility of the Treasurer of Wolvesey. The ministers' account contain references to sums of money being transferred directly to the treasurer.

93. Reg.Wayn. I fo.89
94. Reg.Wayn. II fos 132, 140
95. M.C.Deeds, Southwark 23, Benham 5, Cowfold 6 and others from the period 1468-86.
of the bishop's household from a number of manors regularly.

Two men held this position; both were also chaplains to the bishop. Waynflete's first household treasurer was Thomas Walkington, a theologian and graduate of Winchester and New Colleges and one of the friends of Thomas Chaundler, another of Waynflete's chaplains. Walkington is described as treasurer in the first pipe roll of Waynflete's episcopate. In July 1448 Waynflete collated him to Cheriton parish which he continued to hold until his death in 1470. Walkington had relinquished the post by December 1466 at the latest, although he remained connected with the household, acting as co-feoffee with Waynflete and other members of the household as late as May 1469.

John Nele replaced Walkington as treasurer, being described as such in the accounts for 1466 and in letters patent of Waynflete from December 1466 which granted land in Taunton to the vicar of the church of Mary Magdalen there. Also a theologian, Nele seems to have had interests in education similar to those of his patron. Not only did he contribute to the costs of building Magdalen College tower and leave most of his books to the college, but he personally founded two schools on the island of Jersey. He remained treasurer of the household until Waynflete's death after which, in 1487, he appears as treasurer to Arthur, Prince of Wales.

97. H.R.O. EC/2/159438.
98. Reg.Wayn. I, fo.6\textsuperscript{v}, II fos. 4\textsuperscript{v}.
100. Register of the common seal, p.123.
c) The registrar

The registrar by virtue of his position, straddled the line between the diocesan and the household administration. His responsibility was over the bishop's secretariat; he was concerned with the preparation of episcopal letters and commissions and in particular was concerned with the compilation of, or the supervision of the compilation of, the episcopal register which survives as a testament to his activities. At least three hands appear regularly in Waynflete's episcopal register but these cannot be matched up with the individual registrars. The register is more likely to have been compiled by scribes under the registrar's supervision than consistently by the registrar himself which accounts for the range of hands which appear.

No formal appointment of a registrar is recorded in Waynflete's register but this is not unusual. Since it was important that the episcopal registrar be a notary public who could carry out certification of acta it is amongst the notaries public serving Waynflete that the registrar is to be found. On a number of occasions the exemplifications by notaries include, after the name of the notary concerned, the description 'scriba et registrarius'; thus

102. See illustration p.131

103. A number of folios, particularly in the latter part of the register have entries in a number of hands which indicates that more than one scribe at a time was concerned with writing up the register. One entry, Reg.Wayn. II fo.91v has got three hands appearing in it. Entries attested by the same notary do not appear in an identical hand either - the hand which has written the entries attested by Thomas Somercotes on fos. 108r and 124r of the second volume of the register, clearly belongs to two different people.

identifying these men from amongst the large number of notaries, scribes and clerks who were an essential part of any household, episcopal or lay.

Waynflete's first registrar was Thomas Gyan who described himself thus in 1453. Gyan appears as a notary-public in Waynflete's service in early 1449 and was probably already acting as registrar at that period. He was a central figure in the household and his activities extended to Waynflete's interests outside the boundaries of the diocese of Winchester, primarily the establishment of Magdalen College. In 1458 he wrote and witnessed the foundation charter of Magdalen College and over the next ten years witnessed a number of deeds relating to the endowment being collected for the college. In 1462 he was promoted to the crucial and important position of treasurer of Wolvesey, a position he retained until his death in 1469.

Gyan's successor was probably Robert Peverell of Lincoln diocese. Peverell was another figure closely involved with the diocesan administration. He was active as a notary-public within the diocese from 1459 and may have taken over from Gyan when the latter became treasurer of Wolvesey. He was not described as registrar until September 1471. His main concern appears to have been with the diocese and its affairs but towards the end of his life, in the

106. Ibid., fo. 9r.
107. M.C. Deeds Cowfold 6, 20
109. See also below, pp. 110-111
110. Reg. Wayn. I fo. 54r.
years 1473-4 he was involved as a co-feoffee in a number of grants to Magdalen College. 112

Richard Horcyll, of Coventry and Lichfield diocese, was the next registrar. Peverell died in 1476 113 but Horcyll was acting as registrar from September 1475 114 and had been in the household as a notary public from at least November 1461. 115 Again his prime concern was with diocesan affairs and he does not appear to have been involved at all with the growing endowment for Magdalen College.

How long Richard Horcyll remained registrar is unclear; he does not appear in the register after 1477. The final registrar of Waynflete was from the diocese of York, Thomas Somercotes who described himself as 'scriba et registrarius' in October 1485. 116

In March 1486, at the very end of his episcopate, Waynflete collated a number of members of his household, hitherto unrewarded, to benefices as rewards for past services. This must have been done as he realised that he was coming to the end of his life and could support them as members of his household for very little longer. One collation was made to his physician John Argentein; 117 another, Bramden, was given to Thomas Somercotes, a Lincoln clerk described as 'registrarius nostrus'. 118 Somercotes featured in Waynflete's will where, along with other members of the household he was listed in a codicil as the recipient of a bequest of 53 shillings. 119

112. M.C.Deeds Southwark, 6, 7, 57.
117. Ibid., fo. 116v.
118. Ibid., fo. 116v.
THREE OF THE HANDS FOUND IN WAYNFLETE'S EPISCOPAL REGISTER

a) Reg. Wayn. I fo.131v; this is the hand which dominates the first volume of the register.

b) Reg. Wayn. II fo.131r

c) Ibid., fo.140v.
Of the men who served Waynflete as registrars only Somercotes and Peverell were beneficed. Neither Gyan nor Horcyll received benefices from Waynflete, a fact which would suggest that they may only have been clerks in minor orders. Although Waynflete received faculty to appoint notaries-public from the pope, none of the men he is known to have appointed served him as registrar. Other notaries-public served Waynflete both in the diocesan administration and outside the diocese. These did included some of the men he had appointed who seem to have served him for a short time, presumably before moving to service elsewhere.

Among the notaries-public who were not registrars who acted for Waynflete the most important was Simon Ailwarde. He was made a notary-public by Waynflete. Ailwarde was a Lincolnshire man who had been a pupil at Eton College during Waynflete's provostship. Waynflete had presented him to the Wiltshire benefice of Patney in September 1464 but he resigned it the following year, perhaps in order to marry, for at his death in 1503 he was recorded as being survived by a wife and two children. Ailwarde was mainly concerned with the bishop's affairs outside the diocese. Throughout the 1480s he acted as proctor for Magdalen College and he left to it the manuscript of De Ludo Scacchorum which he had transcribed himself.

120. Peverell held Annington, Droxford and Shenting chapel on the Isle of Wight, Reg. Wayn. I fos.93v,115r, II fo.22r. Somercotes held only Bramden, collated March 1486, Reg. II fo.116v.
121. These men were Thomas Grendhurst of Winchester diocese, 1466; William Long of St. David's diocese, 1470; William Gelyott of Lincoln diocese, 1470; Simon Ailwarde of Lincoln diocese, 1470; Nicholas Rede alias Piers of Coventry and Lichfield diocese, 1477; C.Pap. L. 1458-71, pp.814, 777; C.Pap.L. 1471-84, p.648.
122. William Gelyott, Thomas Grendhurst, William Long and Nicholas Rede all served him for a year after their appointment.
as a young man in 1456.\textsuperscript{125}

The contrasting careers of Thomas Gyan who rose to be treasurer of Wolvesey and who was a very powerful man in the bishop's administration and Thomas Somercotes of whom nothing is known other than that he was promoted to a lowly benefice, demonstrates that the position of registrar was a potentially important stage in promotion within the bishop's household administration but that it was not always so.

d) Chaplains

A papal letter of 1453 granted to bishop Waynflete permission to have up to six chaplains at any one time.\textsuperscript{126} At least a dozen men acted as chaplain to the bishop at various times during his episcopate; the position was not necessarily a full-time one and some of these men combined it with serving the bishop in other capacities or with other positions in the diocese. Two chaplains as we have seen filled the post of treasurer of the bishop's household, another, Thomas Chaundler was warden of Winchester College. Viewed as a group\textsuperscript{127} it is noticeable that all were well-educated men, all with at least a B.A. and most with higher degrees. With the single exception of the canon lawyer Thomas Yon, all those with higher degrees were theologians, their training similar to that of the bishop himself.

\textsuperscript{125} Coxe, \textit{Catalogus}, p.12; the manuscript may in fact have come to the college library via Waynflete for on the front flyleaf is the note, 'Winton episcopi' in a fifteenth century hand, \textit{Humfrey and English humanism in the fifteenth century}, (Bodleian Library catalogue 1970), p.55.

\textsuperscript{126} C.Pap.L. 1447-55, p.110; Reg. Wayn. fo.22*r.

\textsuperscript{127} Their names were John Belle, Thomas Chaundler, William Darsett, William Gyfford, Thomas Halle, John Nele, Thomas Paslewe, John Perche, John Sevenoak, John Swalwell, William Tympany, Thomas Walkington and Thomas Yon. Biographical information can be found in B.R.U.O.
The position of Dean of the bishop's chapel, held during the 1450s by Thomas Halle must have been one which gave him authority over his fellow chaplains. Halle had been educated at Winchester College during Waynflete's period as headmaster there and he held a number of benefices within the diocese to which he had been collated by the bishop.

Finally the household contained numerous lesser figures; not just scribes and clerks but grooms and servants who have left little trace in the sources. A few of these figures are referred to by name in grants of licences to marry - Thomas Junore was described as 'nostri famuli' when he was granted a marriage licence in 1453, a similar reference appears for Thomas William in 1471. A codicil to Waynflete's will listed fifty-six household men to whom he left sums of money. The ten names which head the list are familiar; they include the chancellor David Husband, the physician John Argentein and a number of chaplains but the other names which are not to be found elsewhere must be those of the lesser servants of the bishop. By and large it is only those who were concerned with the administrative and secretarial aspects of Waynflete's service who have left records of themselves.

130. M.C.Chartae Regis 43; the will is printed as an appendix to Chandler, Life, appendix 28, pp.383-7.
Conclusion

It is difficult to draw a definite line between the people involved in the administration of the diocese of Winchester and those who formed the bishop's own household; Waynflete's practice of using household men as commissioners in diocesan affairs by means of ad hoc mandates helps to blur the distinction. Household men, itinerant with the bishop, can be seen involved in non-diocesan affairs, in particular relating to the endowment of Magdalen College Oxford. The trend which was to become more marked in the early sixteenth century, of uniting several offices in one person can already be seen to a limited extent in late fifteenth century Winchester, as for example, when William Darset held the positions of official-principal and chancellor or when David Husband as chancellor exercised the testamentary jurisdiction hitherto the responsibility of the commissary-general, although Husband is never named as such. One figure dominates and unites both streams of officials - the bishop himself. William Waynflete can be seen perpetually interesting himself in all matters within his jurisdiction, no matter how routine or trivial and he personally supervised and directed the administration of his diocese.
7. WAYNFLETE AS BISHOP WITHIN HIS DIOCESE

Any attempt made to view a late medieval bishop in the role of spiritual leader within his diocese is fraught with difficulties created by a lack of evidence. Except in rare cases where sermons or other spiritual writings have survived our picture of the late medieval English episcopate in their dioceses is drawn essentially from administrative type documents and thus the bishops are presented in an administrative role. This does not pose as great a problem of balance as might be supposed, for most bishops' administrative (and perhaps political) activities, both inside their dioceses and in the central government clearly fill their lives, not as a rule leaving great lacuna which might or might not be filled with spiritual thoughts.

As already described, within the diocese of Winchester there existed a comprehensive administrative structure which could operate, if required, with minimal involvement by the bishop. The presence of a conscientious bishop however, added to its efficiency. In Winchester during William Waynflete's episcopate the direction of affairs came clearly from the top; the bishop had a circle of administrators but policies and actions were the result of his personal initiative.

In this chapter I want to look at Waynflete as bishop of Winchester; having dealt elsewhere with the part he played in both the temporal and ecclesiastical administration of the diocese and shown that he was constantly concerned with its affairs and business, I now want to turn to his 'policy' within the diocese; how he approached the problems which as a conscientious prelate he must face. I will look first at his dealings with the three main groups of people with whom he was concerned - the secular/parochial clergy, the religious
orders and the laity.

a) Secular and parochial clergy

The major body of clergy under the bishop's jurisdiction in the
diocese were the men who served (or who were supposed to serve) the
cure of souls - the rectors, vicars and chaplains attached to the
the parishes in the diocese. They comprised a large
body of men, there were over three hundred and sixty parishes in the
diocese, and it was important for Waynflete to be able to exercise
proper control and authority over these men for the spiritual
welfare of the laity lay in their hands. If they were permitted to
neglect the divine office and the cure of souls the spiritual
welfare of the diocese would suffer.

The first stage at which Waynflete could exercise control over
this body of clergy was at their ordination. Ordination ceremonies
must have been preceded by an examination, made by the archdeacon
or his official, of the candidates' suitability in canonical terms, for
the degree of ordination which they sought.\(^1\) The ceremony itself
provided an opportunity for the bishop to meet, preach to and perhaps
direct the ordinands.

Waynflete carried out his first ordination ceremony after he
had become bishop in Eton College chapel in December 1447, by special
licence of the bishop of Lincoln in whose diocese the college was
situated.\(^2\) During the first decade of his episcopate, except in 1451
and early 1452, Waynflete presided personally over ordinations. They
took place wherever he happened to be in residence when one of the

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1. At such an examination the future ordinands would also have to
produce details of their previous ordinations, letters dimissory
and dispensations from illegitimacy or other obstacles to canonical
ordination where applicable.

2. Reg.Wayn. I fo.A
MAP OF THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER SHOWING SOME PLACES MENTIONED IN THE ITINERARY

1. Archbishop's peculiar of Croydon
quatuor tempora fell - Esher, Southwark, Marwell, Waltham or Winchester. His practice altered with the appointment of William Westcarre as his suffragan bishop in 1457. Since Waynflete was chancellor at this period the handing-over of the regular and quite possibly tedious duties of ordination is understandable but in fact he never returned to carrying out ordinations himself on a regular basis, even after his chancellorship had ceased. Throughout the remainder of his lengthy episcopate he presided at only two ordination ceremonies. In view of his evident preference to be involved in other spheres of diocesan business this was a strange neglect of opportunities to preach and influence the clergy and it may be an indication that his interest lay in the administrative rather than the pastoral side of affairs. It is not, however, impossible that he could have been in attendance on some of the occasions when Westcarre carried out the ordinations for his itinerary shows that he was occasionally in residence in the place where the ordination was taking place.

In the fourteenth century the diocese of Winchester was notable for the ratio of secular to religious clergy being

3. The quatuor tempora or ember days were the days canonically prescribed for the holding of ordinations; on feast days lesser orders up to and including acolytes could be conferred, H.S. Bennett, 'Medieval ordination lists in the English episcopal record', Studies presented to Jenkinson, pp.20-34; Waynflete adhered strictly to this ruling, rarely were orders conferred on any occasion except the ember days.

4. Westcarre was commissioned as suffragan in early December 1457 and conducted his first ordination on 17 November 1457, Reg.Wayn. I fos 45*; N.

5. 23 May 1467, ibid., fo.L*; 23 September 1480, Reg.Wayn. II fo.203.

6. For example 26 May 1464, Waynflete was in residence in Wolvesey palace when Westcarre held an ordination in Winchester cathedral; similarly on 22 December 1464 Waynflete was at Waltham manor when Westcarre conducted an ordination in the manor chapel there, Reg. Wayn. I fos F*; G*.
ordained. With numerous religious houses in the dioceses, including houses of friars in both Winchester and Southampton, the numbers of religious tended to far outnumber the secular ordainees. This contrast was less sharp by the early years of Waynflete's episcopate and continued to diminish. Of the forty years of his episcopate in only thirteen did the total numbers of regulars ordained outnumber seculars; this was the case primarily in the earlier years of his episcopate. If the figures for the ordination of priests only are taken, then regulars only outnumbered seculars in 1448, 1452, 1456, 1460 (for which the figures are incomplete), 1469, 1470 and 1474. Total recruitment levels, averaging fifty-eight men per year, remained low throughout the 1450s - only six men were ordained to the priesthood each year in the half-decade 1451-6. The 1460s and 1470s, averaging 73 and 70 men per year in total respectively were a little better but in the early 1480s a dramatic rise in the figures is discernable, especially for secular priests. The average number of secular priests ordained in the 1380s had been fourteen per year; an average level not reached again until the 1480s (excluding 1459 when the figures were inflated by an influx of men with letters dimissory from the neighbouring diocese of Salisbury). In the period 1476-80 an average of thirteen secular priests were ordained each year, in the half-decade 1481-5 there were twenty-five each year. In 1483 there were over ninety seculars ordained in all - a figure not found previously in Waynflete's episcopate, except in the exceptional year of 1459. Between 1460 and 1483 in every year there had been

8. Reg. Wayn. I fos. A-RQ- and II fos. 66-R-203V. See Appendix VI. (c) which depicts the ratio of secular to religious priests' ordinations.
at least one ordination, and frequently three or four, where no acolytes were ordained at all - not a promising prospect for the future.

The bulk of men being ordained were in fact ordained to the title of a religious house. Of 778 priests ordained between 1451-85 only thirty-six were ordained to the title of their own benefices; eight to the title of their own patrimony and forty-three to the title of a collegiate fellowship. This last figure rose distinctly in the period 1475-85, during which time half of these were ordained - forty-three in all.

Throughout his episcopate William Wykeham had conducted ordinations in person; this was a duty which, as mentioned above, Waynflete tended to delegate to a suffragan despite his almost constant residence within his diocesan boundaries. However, he could hardly have failed to be conscious of the problems caused by the low recruitment levels of the clergy, although, since inadequate clerical recruitment had been a chronic problem since the last decades of the previous century, it was perhaps a state of affairs which would not have seemed to Waynflete particularly unusual or striking.

9. See Appendix VI (d) - a breakdown of the means of support of the clergy being ordained in the diocese during Waynflete's episcopate.

10. The bulk of men being ordained to the title of their own patrimony came from the island of Jersey. They produced evidence of their income which was recorded in the episcopal register in the following way - 'Thomas Costyll de insula de Gersey 'Constan' diocese per suam episcopum sufficiens dimissorie ad titulum xv librarum de terris', Reg. Wayn. II fo.185v, 1480.

11. The breakdown of figures for the colleges concerned is as follows: New College 3; All Souls 2; Merton College 2; King's College 1; Magdalen College 3. These figures relate only to priests being ordained and do not include those being ordained to other orders.


Nonetheless a combination of low recruitment levels and the expansion of non-parochial means for clergy to earn their living, (serving chantries for example) could mean that it was difficult to find men, especially to fill the poorer parochial livings. In this context pluralism may have been less of an abuse than might appear at first sight, if benefices were going to be left vacant for lack of priests. There is no evidence that Waynflete conducted any sort of recruitment campaign within his diocese but his reluctance to issue *cum ex eo* licences \(^\text{14}\) may reflect his concern that men holding benefices should reside and carry out their parochial duties, as does his attack on absenteeism. If suitable deputies were difficult to obtain, this is all the more understandable. Against this background of continuing decline of recruits for the church, which seems to have been at its worst in mid-century, Waynflete's re-iteration of Wykeham's statement in the New College foundation charter, in his own for Magdalen College \(^\text{15}\) issued in 1448, rings true as an authentic desire and should not be summarily dismissed as having been adopted unthinkingly along with Wykeham's administrative directions. Men educated at Magdalen College appear in the ordination lists in Winchester from \(^\text{16}\) although it is not until the early 1480s that men are found being ordained to the title of Waynflete's Oxford foundation. \(^\text{17}\)

Although only about 20% of the parishes were in the bishop's gift, \(^\text{18}\) as ordinary the recommended incumbents had to be presented to him prior to institution. Since the issue of an episcopal mandate

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14. Discussed below, pp.149
17. The first occurrence of this is in \(\text{June}^\text{1484}\) when John Porter of Worcester diocese was ordained to the collegiate title, *Reg. Wayn. II fo. 195r*.
18. See appendix III.
was necessary to AUTHORISE induction into benefices all candidates had to be 'filtered' through the bishop's hands or those of his representatives. As even a brief glance at his episcopal register shows, with over 360 benefices in the diocese there were constantly institutions to be made. These were usually done in the presence of the bishop, 'Item quarto die mensis Novembris 1461 apud Suthwerk per prefatum reverendum patrem ad ecclesiam parochiam de Wodeton...dominus Willelmus Stratford admissus fuit et rectoratem institutus canonice in eadem...'. Similarly resignations, both by parochial clergy and by heads of religious houses, frequently took place in the presence of Waynflete. The exact location of the event was often recorded by the registrar which adds verisimilitude to the account.

Relatively little is known of the procedure for assessing the suitability of candidates both in the case of ordinands and presentees, for the episcopal register rarely refers to an examination process. For presentees to fulfill canonical requirements they had to be at least twenty-five years old and known for the quality of their learning and the commendable nature of the lives. Over a thousand presentations are recorded in Waynflete's register, but in only three is particular mention made of examination. In August 1448 the presentee to Shirfield parish, Richard Glover, was described as being deficient in his knowledge of grammar and he was ordered to study for a period before being examined again by the bishop or a deputy.

19. Reg.Wayn. I fo.112r; this single example is representative of many, in 1453 for example, forty-one institutions were carried out, all of them in the presence of the bishop.

20. '...coram reverendo in Christo...in camera sua principali infra manerium suum de Suthwerk', Reg.Wayn. I fo.19r; '...coram reverendo in Christo ... in oratorio ex orientali parte camerae sue infra palacium suum de Wolvesey...', Reg. Wayn. I fo.37r.


22. Reg.Wayn. I fo.7r.
In July 1471 the vicar of Walton-on-Thames was commissioned to examine John Flete who had been promoted to Little Bookham. In September 1478 a presentee of Westminster Abbey to the Surrey parish of Wandsworth, John Jordan, was ordered to appear before either the bishop or his chancellor to undergo examination of his knowledge. He was ordered to spend some time studying before he appeared. These three cases of examination seem to be exceptional; it may be that presentees were examined as a matter of course but that the registrar only recorded this when some particular problem arose. Despite Waynflete's personal interest in education seen elsewhere there is no evidence that he made special efforts to check the educational standards of prospective incumbents of parishes.

Vetting of men inducted into parochial benefices for canonical, educational and moral suitability was one side of controlling the clerical population; the necessary corollary, ensuring that they diligently fulfilled their duties was more difficult.

General visitations gave the bishop the opportunity to see for himself the state of his diocese. Few fifteenth century bishops strictly adhered to the requirement that such visitations should be held triennally and Waynflete was no exception. However, he was in residence in the diocese for most of his episcopate and fairly itinerant, particularly in the eastern half (Surrey and east Hampshire), and his journeys between manors enabled him to observe the diocese on a casual basis.

23. Reg. Wayn. II fo. 6r
24. Ibid., fo. 63v
25. Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham 1406–37, only carried out one general visitation during his episcopate although he paid less formal visits on other occasions, R. L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the bishopric of Durham (London 1961), p. 183.
basis. His mere presence within the diocese would help to keep the clergy on their toes. In the fourteenth century Langland had written, 'Every bishop who carries a crozier is thereby bound to travel through his diocese and show himself to his people!' In the early years of the sixteenth century bishop Smith of Lincoln was concerned about the welfare of his diocese because he was being called from it too frequently to fulfill his responsibilities on the Welsh Marches.

While deputies had the authority to act for the bishop, their dutiful carrying out of tasks would not have had the same weight as personal action by the bishop himself.

The only general visitation recorded in the episcopal register was ordered, but not carried out, by bishop Waynflete. In 1451 he wrote to his official-principal Richard Manning explaining that he had been detained by '...variis et arduis domini nostri Regis et regni inopinatis negociis...' and ordering Manning to undertake a general visitation of the clergy and people of the diocese. Although no other visitations are referred to as such in the episcopal register, Waynflete's itinerary shows that on occasion he deviated from his normal routes between manors to visit the more out-of-the-way parts of his diocese. In the summer of 1464 he visited Cheriton, East Meon, Chertsey and Highclere. Highclere lay in the north-western area of the diocese in which he was otherwise rarely seen. Before Christmas of 1463 he visited Ropley (in the

extreme south-west) and Alresford. In October 1465 he went to Romsey parish, again in the more neglected west of the diocese, although his visit there may have been occasioned by the recent election of an abbess for the Benedictine house of nuns there. Clearly he did make an effort to visit areas of the diocese which he did not pass through on a regular basis. The episcopal register does not indicate any great increase in judicial activity as a result of these travels, but since many of the matters arising would be dealt with in the consistory court, rather than in the audience court, the lack of surviving records for the former means that it is difficult to be sure of the direct effects of his peregrinations. However, these trips to out of the way areas must have been made with the welfare of the diocese in mind.

One advantage of Waynflete's constant presence within his diocese was that he was accessible to complaints and able to hear news and rumours. This is particularly reflected in sequestration commissions, many of which contain phrases such as, '...ad aures nostras relacione fidedigna iam nuper pervenit...' or '...clamosa et fidedigna relacione ad nostrum pervenit auditum...' which indicate how the matter came to the bishop's attention.

Sequestration, the main episcopal sanction against negligent clergy was the episcopal equivalent of distraint; the fruits of the benefice were taken by commissioners appointed by the bishop for the duration of the sequestration, usually until the defect in question had been remedied. Only one relaxation of a sequestration was recorded.

29. See itinerary, appendix I.

30. Cases could not be transferred from the consistory court to the audience court (i.e. before the bishop in person) for the official-principal possessed all the authority of the bishop in conducting the consistory court; only the most serious matters came before the bishop, thereby being recorded in the episcopal register.

31. Reg.Wayn. I fos 15*V, 75*V.
in Waynflete's episcopal register, that of Colmer in Hampshire. It was sequestered in November 1463, because the vicar was neglecting his pastoral duties, and it was not released until the following July at which time it was noted that matters had improved, 'ad satisfacionem sequestratorum'. This type of drastic action which deprived the incumbent of his income was more likely to be taken with confidence by a bishop than by his deputies. The most common causes of the twenty-six sequestrations which are recorded in the register were neglect of the divine services, neglect of ecclesiastical buildings (which must often have reflected the general neglect of the cure of souls) and unlicenced absence by the rector or vicar.

Non-residence by clergy was a perennial problem in the English church but it was no less serious for that. Thomas Gascoigne, a severe critic of the church hierarchy, pointed out that a parish needed a good rector just as much as a sinking ship required a good sailor. From the point of view of Waynflete and his fellow members of the episcopate the problem was two-fold. Firstly it meant the neglect of the spiritual needs of the people for whom the bishop was ultimately responsible and secondly, since there existed a licencing system, to overlook unlicenced absence by parish clergy was to undermine his own authority. Waynflete himself set a good example by his regular residence in the diocese. In sees where the bishop was rarely present it must have been difficult for his administrators to emphasise the dangers of non-residence to the lesser clergy.

32. Reg. Wayn. I fos 80r, 83r
A commission from bishop Waynflete to the archdeacon of Surrey on 9 April 1453 launched an attack on both non-residence and the holding of incompatible benefices which was a concomitant abuse. The archdeacon was sent a list of rectors and vicars who were absent from their benefices without permission and was ordered to cite them to appear before the bishop himself in his chapel at Southwark manor on 11 May. In this commission Waynflete warned that a parish with an absent vicar is left open to 'lupus rapax'. Fifteen men were listed in the attached list. The success of this attack on the abuse is unclear, but one of the men cited on this occasion, Thomas Copte, rector of Streatham, proved obdurate and had to be cited to appear again before the bishop later the same year. Another, master John Concham, was subsequently refused a licence to be absent.

This appears to have been an isolated mass attack on the abuse, but throughout his episcopate action was taken on Waynflete's orders against individual examples of non-residence and in obstinate cases sequestration was initiated; in December 1464 the goods of Rotherhithe were seized because the rector was absent; in 1468 the absence of the vicar of Morden resulted in the same action. In 1463 the goods of Henton church were taken, although the rector William Horne was licenced to be absent, because he had failed to provide a substitute. Waynflete attempted to ensure that the parishes in his diocese were adequately served. The case of William Horne suggests that it was

34. Reg.Wayn. I fo.25*:v
35. Ibid., fo.28*:v
36. Ibid., fo.30*:v
37. Ibid., fo.84*:v
38. Ibid., fo.95*:v
39. Ibid., fo.75*:v
not just the notorious unlicensed absentees whom he attacked.

While non-residence was frowned upon the existence of a licencing system meant that it was seen as acceptable under certain circumstances. In 1453 Waynflete's attack was on those absent without reasonable cause. The most common reasonable causes were the service of a bishop or king or for the purposes of study. **Cum ex eo** licences introduced by Pope Boniface VIII to enable clerks to use their benefices as a source of support while at university, were declining in number in the fifteenth century. Only nine were issued by Waynflete during his forty year episcopate and these were all for short periods, one, two or three years, not for the maximum of seven years.

In the early years of his episcopate Waynflete apparently pursued a policy of encouraging study by the issue of **cum ex eo** licences - seven of the nine licences were issued prior to 1455. The first of these was issued to John Chamber, a master of arts from Durham, whom Waynflete collated to the parish of Michaelmarch on 18 December 1450 and who was given a licence the following day to enable him to study for one year in Oxford. In 1452 he was granted a second one-year licence to continue at Oxford. The decline in the number of licences issued after 1455 may have been a result of the bishop's experience of parochial problems which could arise from


41. Ibid., fos 9*V, 16*F, 19*F, 26*F, 30*V, 32*F.

42. Ibid., fos 9*V, 16*F; Chamber is subsequently to be found in charge of a school in Oxford rented from University College, B.R.U.O., p.384.
non-residence. There is, of course, a problem of how far he
turned a blind eye to absences, but he certainly did not exercise a
'rubber-stamp' approach to petitioners for licences. Master John
Southell, one of the rectors cited for absence in 1453, was refused
a cum ex eo licence in 1454. 43

Much of the problem of non-residence was closely tied to the
holding of multiple benefices, although the vicarage system and the
existence of benefices not involving cure of souls, which could help
to support students and administrators, mitigated some of the evils
which could arise from a single cleric simultaneously amassing a
number of benefices. Although the poor value of many rural parishes
has been adduced as a justification for this practice, it was more
often the case that it was the valuable benefices which were held
together. The other justification, that the collection of benefices
was necessary to support adequately men performing valuable services
within the church and central government, should not be dismissed
so summarily since it was widely accepted at the time.

Waynflete in this, as in the case of non-residence, set a good
example to his clergy; upon taking office as bishop he resigned the
single mastership which was all that he held. His major officials
had dispensations allowing them to hold two or three incompatible
benefices, but they were not serious abusers of the system. There is
no evidence that Waynflete attacked such pluralists or excluded them
from the benefices he collated to; to feel that he should have done
so would be to expect him to undermine the accepted church structure.

43. Reg. Wayn. I fo.30*

44. An exception was Vincent Clement, the papal choice as archdeacon
of Surrey (1459-75) whose absences and pluralism were notorious -
he attracted the disapprobation of Gascoigne - but his appointment
was out of Waynflete's control.
Appropriations which acted like leeches on parishes were few in number during Waynflete's episcopate. Only four were concluded; the appropriation of Fordingbridge church to King's College Cambridge; that of Nether Wallop to the dean and chapter of York minster; that of Cobham church to Chertsey Abbey and that of Chilworth church to Newark Priory. Of these two were made with the active encouragement of the king. Henry VI gave the advowson of Fordingbridge church (as he had done with the Hampshire church of Ringwood some years earlier) to King's College Cambridge, stating that '...it was his intention that the church could be annexed to the College.' After an inquiry Waynflete as ordinary granted a licence to permit the appropriation. Similarly Edward IV gave the advowson of Cobham to the monks of Chertsey Abbey, intending that it be appropriated. Nether Wallop was appropriated by the dean and chapter of York Minster in order to supplement their income. In these three cases the move toward appropriation came from a person other than bishop Waynflete. Only in the case of the appropriation of Chilworth church to the Augustinian priory at Newark did Waynflete initiate the action, in order he said, to supplement the revenues allocated for the canon's table. In every case careful provision was made for the serving of the cure so that the parishioners would not suffer. In the case of Chilworth parish the abbey was to pay fourteen marks a year to a vicar and

49. Register of the common seal, p.120.
50. Ibid., p.122.
51. Ibid., p.142.
Waynflete emphasised in the composition that a suitable person should be provided as perpetual vicar.

Poverty of vicarages, another considerable problem, Waynflete tackled on a number of occasions by the augmentation of the revenues attached to the vicarages. Early in his episcopate, in January 1451, Waynflete ordered the official principal to conduct an inquiry into the poverty of vicarages and to augment the revenues where necessary; ‘...inquirendum super exilitate et defectu vicariarum quarumcumque dioecese Wynton’ et ad augmentandum easdem...’

It was a problem which continued to concern him, one of the last acts of his episcopate was to order the augmentation of the revenues of East Meon church. A number of parish clergy who were prevented by infirmity or old age from fulfilling their duties properly were permitted coadjutors.

Waynflete as bishop of Winchester was conscious of the problems which could arise within the parochial system and he attempted to hold them in check. Action against abuses was taken by his deputies, but it was initiated by personal episcopal mandates and numerous commissaries were authorised to act on his behalf. Incumbents of parishes were instituted in his presence. Similarly Waynflete's personal interest was demonstrated when he himself witnessed such actions as the signing of compositions between religious houses and appropriated parishes. Such conscientious attention seems to have been rewarded, for no really major or notorious problems arose amongst the parochial clergy during his episcopate. Waynflete

52. Reg.Wayn. I fo.83r-v
53. Ibid., fo.9v.
54. Reg. Wayn. II fo.140r
initiated no innovations during his episcopate but instead upheld the existing system to the best of his ability, paying considerable personal attention to the maintenance of a good parochial system.

Waynflete's episcopal register contains a considerable number of entries concerning the delivery of men claiming benefit of clergy from a royal prison to the episcopal one in Winchester and their subsequent purgation and release. By the early fifteenth century the accepted practice in such cases was that the religious authorities were not involved until after indictment, trial and conviction had taken place in the royal courts. It was only after a man had been found guilty in the secular courts that he would claim benefit of clergy. The ordinary then had to determine if he was entitled to do so and if this was the case the prisoner would be transferred to the episcopal prison until the bishop saw fit to allow him to be tried by means of compurgation. Commissioners were appointed by the bishop in the matter of claiming the prisoners and their duties were summed up in the wording of their commissions which instructed them to "ad petendum, exigendum et recipiendum" these men.

The number of entries in Waynflete's register relating to gaol delivery is greater than is often to be found elsewhere, even allowing for the lengthy period covered by the register. This can partly be accounted for by the fact that Waynflete was the ordinary


for that part of south London which included the borough of Southwark which was one of the areas of England where crime was most prevalent. Waynflete issued regular commissions appointing men to receive convicted clerks in Surrey; usually he appointed clerks from the Southwark area, suggesting that this was the area in which the services of gaol delivery commissioners were most required.

A further reason may be the fact that during the second half of the fifteenth century benefit of clergy was a contentious and much discussed issue. Debates on the subject had begun in the 1450s with discussions in parliament of the problem of dealing with men who committed a second felony after having claimed benefit successfully once. There was also a feeling that there existed persecution of the clergy by the laity which caused the unjust imprisonment of churchmen on occasion. A charter granted by Edward IV in 1462, when he was anxious to win and to retain the support of the church, stated that secular judges were not to enquire into felonies supposedly committed by men in religious orders. If a jury should accuse an ecclesiastic it was the duty of the lay official to inform the ordinary immediately. Although the remainder of the century saw constant complaints that this stipulation was not being observed, the fact that there was greater emphasis on speedily informing the ordinary about men claiming benefit of clergy may partly account for the increase in the number of references to gaol delivery.

58. Wykeham's register similarly contains regular commissions of this sort directed to Surrey clergy, Wykeham's register II, pp.14, 144.
59. Three commissions to claim convicted clerks in Hampshire were appointed during Waynflete's episcopate (1453, 1461, 1469) while ten were appointed for Surrey, of which five were dominated by Southwark clergy, usually from the parish churches of St. Olaf, St. Mary and St. Mary Magdalen there.
60. Bellamy, Criminal law, pp.124-5.
61. Ibid., pp.125-6; the charter is printed in Wilkins Concilia III, pp.583-4. Bellamy suggests that one reason behind its issue may have been a desire to free ecclesiastics from the threat of judicial proceedings against them for their misdeeds during the political confrontations of the period 1459-61.
in the Winchester episcopal register.

The episcopal prison of the diocese of Winchester was in Wolvesey palace in the cathedral city of Winchester. Once they had been handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities prisoners were escorted there from other parts of the diocese. That these men frequently came from Southwark can be seen from the ministers' accounts of the episcopal manor in Southwark which refer regularly under the heading of foreign expenses, to the cost of escorting convicted clerks from Southwark to Wolvesey prison. In 1451 for example, an allowance of 17s 7d was made for this purpose.

The regular appointments of commissioners to claim criminous clerks are couched in general terms, telling little either of the accused or of the charges against them. In a number of cases where details of the compurgation process have survived, slightly more information is available for they list the names of the accused. Their actual crimes remain vague, however, being usually summed up by the phrase *feloniis et roberiis*. A few cases are better documented where the details of the original indictment are recorded. John

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62. There is one further reason which, although speculative, may help to explain the large number of entries in Waynflete's register relating to gaol delivery. This is a reason personal to Waynflete. It was left to the judgement of the ordinary to decide how soon after imprisonment convicted clerks should be allowed to proceed to purgation and be given their freedom. Many men spent lengthy periods in an episcopal prison before this was permitted. It may be that Waynflete's own period of 'house arrest' at the hands of the Yorkists in the spring of 1461 may have led him to think with more sympathy of those incarcerated in the episcopal prison.

63. The prison was a considerable responsibility for the bishop; in 1457 it was described as being a great charge and a great expense, *C.P.R. 1452-61*, p.368. There was a charter allowing the bishops of Winchester to be quit of the escapes of felons but Waynflete was so concerned that the terms of the charter would not be seen as ambiguous that, when chancellor in 1457 and later in 1466, he obtained a royal grant removing any ambiguities which might lie in the terms of the charter, *C.P.R. 1452-61*, p.368; *C.P.R. 1461-67*, p.539.

64. H.R.O. EC/2/159441.
Cawsy of Essex was convicted of breaking and entering and stealing a number of items of clothing. A number of men who underwent purgation in the autumn of 1473 were accused of similar crimes - breaking and entering accompanied by thefts of clothing, silver cups and other such goods.

The compurgation process is well illustrated by the details of the cases recorded in Waynflete's register. The actual compurgation took place before an ecclesiastical judge deputed by Waynflete from among his jurisprudents. The ritual took place in the chapel dedicated to St. Elizabeth which was attached to Wolvesey palace. The normal practice was that the prisoner swore to his innocence and this was backed up by sworn statements as to his credibility made by the panel of compurgators who numbered between ten and twelve men. They often included several members of the clergy. On one occasion, in 1454, half of the twelve compurgators were clergy; this high proportion may be accounted for by the fact that one of the prisoners was actually a cleric, Thomas Reymond. Friars were frequently numbered amongst the compurgators - in 1461 seven were on the panel when Thomas Blackmore, also a cleric, was purging himself.

Being released to the ecclesiastical authorities was not necessarily a lenient option. Although convicted clerks had the

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65. Reg.Wayn. I fos. 10*, 13*
66. Ibid., II fos 163v-164v
67. This was frequently the official principal of the diocese or Waynflete's household chancellor - Richard Hayward and William Darsett, both of whom acted as official-principal, on occasion acted as the bishop's special commissioner in compurgation cases, as did David Husband, Waynflete's household chancellor.
68. Reg.Wayn. I fo.38*
69. As is well known, by the end of the fourteenth century benefit of clergy was being successfully claimed by many men who had not even tenuous connections with the church. Waynflete's register amply illustrates this - labourers, mercers, taylors and yeomen are all recorded there, claiming privilegium fori.
70. Reg. Wayn. I fo.69*
opportunity to proceed to purgation they could not do so until permitted by the bishop and he might not let them do so until they had spent some years in prison. Details have been recorded for men who underwent purgation in 1473. Their crimes were of breaking and entering and theft and a number of them had been indicted in 1456, eighteen years earlier. None had been in prison less than seven years.

As already mentioned the location of part of the diocese in Southwark appears to have increased the number of men who had to be claimed by Waynflete as ordinary. In addition, the proximity of the royal court occasionally brought to his attention a prisoner from the royal household. One case of homicide stands out - the murder of John Blakeney by Nicholas Harpysfield. Both men were clerks of the signet and thus members of the royal household. Nicholas Harpysfield had won considerable favour under the Yorkists and was rewarded for good service to Edward IV and his father, the Duke of York, by being given a number of grants during the 1460s. John Blakeney was similarly rewarded for his service. In August 1471 Harpysfield killed Blakeney with a dagger in what must have been a brawl. The following day he was convicted of homicide before the coroner of the court of the marshall of the royal household. Having pleaded his clergy he was claimed and transferred to Wolsey prison. Some pressure must have been brought to bear on his behalf for he

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was allowed to proceed to purgation remarkably quickly; this was carried out the following spring. On 29 March 1472 Waynflete appointed the official-principal of Winchester, Richard Hayward, to allow this to take place. An agreement made some years later seems to relate to some form of compensation being paid to Blakeney's widow by Harpysfield.

Most of the other men who came to Wolvesey prison were less prominent than Harpysfield. Even when their names are known, rarely can they be traced in other records. The Thomas Philip allowed to proceed to purgation in March 1470 may be the same man as the Thomas Philip arrested for felonies in 1456. Thomas Chylde, released after compurgation in September 1459, may be the same man of whom inquisition concerning his felonies was made again in November 1460. Neither of these, however, is an uncommon name. The case of Harpysfield is an unusual rather than a typical one; other prisoners' connections with the royal household, if any, have not been able to be traced.

The gaol delivery entries in Waynflete's register illustrate comprehensively the whole procedure as it was in operation during his episcopate. It was another routine matter with which Waynflete as bishop had to deal and he appears to have done so effectively.

74. Reg.Wayn. II fo.153r-v
75. C.C.R. 1468-76, p.415
76. Reg. Wayn. II fo. 140r; C.P.R. 1452-61, p.310.
77. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.656.
appointing commissions on a regular basis, both to claim so-called
criminous clerks and to allow men incarcerated in the episcopal
prison to proceed to purgation.

b) Relations with religious houses

The religious - monks, nuns and friars - comprised the other
major body of ecclesiastics within the diocese. Their control
posed a different problem for a bishop from that of the parish
clergy; he had less contact with them and they came firstly under
the jurisdiction of their own house and the general chapters of
their orders. As ordinary of the diocese, however, he was concerned
to maintain the standard of their behaviour and see to the
effective running and administration of the houses.

Evidence from the accounts of election proceedings recorded in
the episcopal register suggests that as far as possible William
Waynflete expedited election proceedings, causing no unnecessary
delays. The house of Augustinian canons at Southwark fell vacant on

78. A potential source of conflict for a bishop of a see with a
monastic chapter such as Winchester was his relationship with
the cathedral priory. This was increasingly true as, despite
formal elections bishops were usually papal or royal nominees.
Norwich was particularly beset by such problems under bishop
Brouns in the early fifteenth century but it was not unique. With
delicate issues such as respective rights and jurisdictions at
stake it was not to be expected that the see of Winchester
escaped controversies. Major issues of dispute had largely been
settled during the thirteenth century when the priory achieved
the right to elect its own prior and choose its own officials
and novices; the bishop, although accepted as patron had to
renounce his abbatial rights and his powers were merely those of
of a custodian or guardian. Thus lines of demarcation had been
accepted by the fifteenth century but despite this both Wykeham
and Beaufort appear to have had some disputes with the priory,
Register of the common seal, pp.xxiii. Waynflete's relationship
with the priory throughout his episcopate appears to have been
cordial and there is no evidence that he attempted to meddle
in their affairs. In 1476, on an occasion of great ceremony,
bishop and chapter together took part in a procession to honour
the relics of St. Swithun, D.Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae
3 February 1462 when John Bottesham resigned as prior and his successor had been chosen and the episcopal mandate for his installation issued by 10th of the same month. 79 Similarly the abbess of Wherwell abbey died on 1 November 1451 and her successor had been elected and confirmed by the bishop by 27 November. 80

Normally on receipt of the news of the death of the head of a religious house Waynflete would appoint a commissioner to oversee the election proceedings, to ensure that they accorded with the canonical procedure. Subsequently persons with an interest in or objection to the election were cited to appear either before the bishop in person or his chancellor. If no difficulties arose the bishop would then issue a mandate authorising the induction of the chosen candidate. By the 1460s it seems that Waynflete had within his household people who specialised in such business; master William de Lagunna in particular was frequently appointed to supervise election proceedings. 81

Thus in Winchester, as elsewhere, there was a well-defined procedure which did not require the presence of the bishop, although his co-operation was required. The bishop's personal appearance, as a powerful and possibly intimidating influence, would not have been welcomed at the election stage. If necessary his commissary would express the bishop's wishes. If a house wanted direct episcopal involvement in their election they could approach him directly, as, for example, the canons of Tandridge did in 1463 when, failing to agree among themselves on a new prior, they opted for the method of via

80. Ibid., fos 40v- 41r.
81. B.R.U.O., p.1084; in 1462-3 he acted for Waynflete at the elections to the houses of Romsey, Chertsey, Southwark, Tandridge, Newark, Reg.Wayn. I fos 119v, 113v- 115r, 128v, 118r, 126v-135v.
compromissaria and left the choice to the bishop. Waynflete acted speedily and effectively on such occasions. For Tandridge Priory he selected John Odierne, one of the four remaining canons; on other similar occasions he selected an outsider if necessary. When placed in such a position he acted in the best interests of the house concerned; he would have had little to gain by not doing so. Thus his role was one of a conscientious diocesan who expedited a good and canonical election in accordance with customary procedures.

Evidence from Waynflete's episcopal register suggests that few visitations of religious houses took place during his episcopate. Only two are mentioned, one for the priories of Reigate and Tandridge and one for Chertsey Abbey. This contrasts with the fourteenth century when bishop Wykeham appears to have regularly carried out visitations of the houses which fell within his jurisdiction.

Other dealings between the bishop and the religious houses arose occasionally. Individual religious had occasional contacts with him when they requested licences either to preach or to reside outside the diocese. Confessors, most often friars, were given licences to act within specified deaneries within the diocese. Sometimes Waynflete carried out the benediction of newly-elected heads of houses or received resignations by abbots and priors, but frequently his chancellor or some other deputy acted in his stead. Sometimes, however, serious

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82. Reg.Wayn. I fos 126v-128r.
83. Ibid., fo.128v; for the choice of outsiders see the case of Selborne priory cited below.
84. Reg.Wayn. I fo.28r. While it is possible that visitations may have been recorded in a separate section of the register which has not survived, this is not very probable in view of the existence of these two references.
86. Friars were also licenced to hear the confessions of Italians in Southampton, Reg.Wayn. I fos 7*,38*, 92v.
problems faced a house in his jurisdiction, forcing his direct intervention in their internal affairs. There were four cases of particular note.

i) Chertsey Abbey

This Benedictine house was amongst the largest and most important houses in Surrey. Problems arose after the election of Thomas Angewyn as abbot in 1458. In 1462 Waynflete ordered master William Wroughton, a monk of St. Swithin's priory, to visit the house and he reported serious delapidations. It is not clear whether the visiatation was a matter of routine or had been provoked by news of such problems, but in view of the serious conditions found by Wroughton the latter must be suspected. Angewyn resigned and Waynflete, at the request of the other monks, selected Wroughton as his successor. Within two years however, in somewhat mysterious circumstances, Wroughton was deprived and the monks re-elected Angewyn. Waynflete intervened to declare the election uncanonical and promoted one John May abbot. This seems to have settled matters for May held the position with no apparent problems until his death in 1479. Wroughton seems not to have had acrimonious relations with his ex-house, for in November 1471 it presented him to the benefice of Clandon Abbot. While the matter of dispute is obscure (it may have been partly one of personality), Waynflete acted decisively, in the best interests of the house - first appointing a commission to inquire into the state of the house and subsequently depriving Wroughton

88. Ibid., fo.69v, II fo.9v.
89. Calendar of ancient deeds 6, no.5915; C.P.R. 1461-7, pp.180-1; Reg.Wayn. I fos 116v- 117v.
90. Reg.Wayn. I fo.137v; May had been a monk of Chertsey Abbey until at some date before 1462 he had been promoted to be prior of Cardigan Priory, Calendar of ancient deeds 6, no.5915.
92. Ibid., fo.9v.
and replacing him with an outsider, although initially he must have had confidence in Wroughton, which may have been misplaced.

ii) Hyde Abbey

The second major problem arose in the Benedictine abbey of Hyde which lay just outside the walls of Winchester city. In 1465 Henry Bonville was elected abbot, but he quickly seems to have upset the other monks who had lived in peace for the previous twenty-five years. However, since his election was canonically valid, he could not be easily deprived; Waynflete's solution was to move him to a Sussex house, Boxgrove priory, although he remained abbot of Hyde in name. Bonville must have threatened to return to Hyde Abbey in 1471 for an agreement was then drawn up which allowed him £50 per year and permitted him to attend both convocation and parliament as the abbey's representative on condition that he did not return to the abbey. His death the following year prevented any recurrence of trouble and the prior, who had been abbot in all but name, was elected in his place. Again Waynflete acted decisively and successfully to ensure harmony within the house.

iii) Selborne Priory

A combination of reasons contributed to the problems which arose in the Augustinian Selborne Priory during Waynflete's episcopate; it had a history of bad management, and by the mid-fifteenth century was

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93. Reg.Wayn. I fos 137r- 140v; he was elected by the five most senior monks of the house who had been chosen by the others as electors after the whole body of monks had failed to agree.
95. Ibid., fo.148r.
96. Ibid., fos 19v- 20v, C.P.R. 1467-77, p.365.
97. Wykeham's register I, pp.258-9, 9 August 1376 - the prior of Selborne was under suspension for wasting the revenues of the house.
declining in size. In 1454 when the prior died Waynflete appointed Peter Berne to be 'keeper' of the house and four years later, no prior having been elected, Waynflete confirmed Berne as prior.

The appointment of Berne may have been an error of judgement on the bishop's part, for he was not a successful prior, although it may be that decades of bad management had left the house in an irremediable situation. On 8 February 1463 Waynflete ordered the rector of Hertley and the vicars of Newtown Valence and Selborne to sequester the priory, on account of its delapidated state. Waynflete personally received an estimate of the revenues and debts of the house. No record survives of the relaxation of the sequestration but control of the house must have returned to Berne for six years later he resigned the priorship, '... in quadam alia camera iuxta magnam portam maneri de Waltham coram reverendo episcopo...'. The four remaining canons allowed the bishop to select their new prior and an outsider was chosen, John Moreton, canon of Reigate Priory. Moreton's death in the summer of 1471 necessitated a fresh election; again the canons disagreed among themselves and Waynflete was left to select Thomas Fairwise from Mottisfont Priory. This choice may have been suggested by William Westcarre, Waynflete's suffragan bishop, who was prior of Mottisfont. Fairwise died within a year and this time the canons selected Berne again and Waynflete confirmed their choice. A visitation of Selborne Priory carried out by the Augustinian chapter in

98. Reg.Wayn. I fos 64r-v 69r.
99. Ibid., fo.75v
102. Ibid., fo.159r
103. Reg.Wayn. II fos 8v- 9r.
104. Ibid., fos 15r- 16v.
April 1478 revealed that Berne's administrative abilities had not improved with age and he resigned for a second time, again in the presence of the bishop personally, at Waltham. Berne, aged and infirm, was granted a pension and his successor was another outsider, John Scherpe.

Clearly Selborne Priory with its dwindling numbers of canons and increasing debts was no longer a viable institution. The suggestion that Magdalen College appropriate it is likely to have come from Waynflete, although it is not referred to in the appropriation proceedings. By 1484 when these proceedings were instituted only one canon, Thomas Ashford aged 72, was in residence. The college gained possession of the priory, pensioning off Ashford, the first step towards appropriation. The proceedings were repeated again in August 1485 and the appropriation was finally confirmed by the pope just before Waynflete's death, in June 1486.

There is no suggestion here that Waynflete was unduly anxious to seize the property of a declining religious house to increase the revenues of his college. On the contrary, he had made successive attempts to try to restore the fortunes of the priory by appointing outsiders as prior, all of which attempts were rendered unsuccessful by the deaths of his appointees. Berne was perhaps a bad choice as prior, especially for a second time in view of his poor record, but it may have been difficult to find a good candidate to fill the position of prior in a small and declining house. Waynflete took a personal interest in the welfare of the priory; the prior resigned in his presence twice and

105. Charters and documents relating to Selborne, p.118; Reg.Wayn. II, fos 55v - 56r.
106. Charters and documents relating to Selborne, pp.119-44.
the bishop himself reviewed the estimate of revenues. Despite these efforts the convent continued to decline and when it had fallen to a single canon the bishop acted decisively in allowing it to be appropriated by Magdalen College.

iv) Romsey Abbey

Waynflete faced major problems with regard to the house of Benedictine nuns at Romsey, both concerning the state of the house and with enforcing his authority there. The trouble seems to have attracted the bishop's attention in the summer of 1478. On 7 August of that year Waynflete, accompanied by his chancellor master David Husband and other members of his household, travelled to the abbey at Romsey which lay in a part of the diocese he did not often visit. Presumably rumours as to the state of the abbey had reached him. On arrival he interviewed the abbess Elizabeth Brooke in her chamber and she swore that she would not hinder his efforts to reform the house. On 9 August, at a formal meeting in the chapter house, she resigned as abbess on account of having committed both perjury and adultery. The abbey being vacant there was a delay while a licence to elect was obtained from the king, but when it arrived in September Elizabeth Brooke was re-elected, apparently partly due to the requests and 'prayers of many of the nobles of those parts...' Waynflete confirmed her position on condition that she should mend her life; she was not permitted to distribute corrodies in the abbey without his agreement and she was denied the use of her abbatial staff, the symbol of her

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108. His only other recorded visit there had been in the summer of 1465, see itinerary, appendix I.

109. Reg.Wayn. II fos 64r-66v; it would have been adultery in the sense that as a nun Elizabeth Brooke was a bride of Christ.

110. Reg.Wayn. II fos 64r-81v; C.Pap.L. 1471-84, p.804; C.P.R.1476-85, p.120.
111 authority, for seven years.

Her reformed state did not last long. In July 1481 she obtained a papal indult allowing her to be absolved for her past sins by a confessor of her own choice; 'Elizabeth...who has recently allowed herself to be carnally known wherby she fears she is pregnant...' The indult specifically inhibited the bishop from proceeding against her after the absolution, on pain of interdict. It seems that abbess Elizabeth continued to flaunt her way of living in the bishop's face. In order to assert his authority over the convent, where by this time the secular and worldly nature of its way of life had become notorious, Waynflete had himself to petition the Pope. He obtained a decree to use against the abbess, which stated that she was only protected from persecution for sins committed prior to the absolution, not for all sins committed since then.

Nothing more is recorded in Waynflete's register about the abbey of Romsey. Elizabeth clearly knew how to use the law in her favour and she seems also to have had powerful friends, both of which presented problems to bishop Waynflete. Both the indult and the papal decree refer to her as '...being of a noble race of barons.' Waynflete did not succeed in depriving her for she was still abbess in 1492 when the community underwent a visitation which censured her for loose living. Waynflete, however, had felt strongly enough about the evils of her behaviour not only to make a personal

111. Reg.Wayn. II fos 64r-81r; C.P.R. 1476-85, p.116; apparently she had been granting corrodies to members of her personal and secular household.
113. Ibid., pp.803-4.
114. Ibid., pp.107, 803.
visit to the abbey but also to go to the trouble and expense of obtaining a papal indult to count that held by the abbess. He was not prepared to permit such defiance of his authority to go unchallenged.

In his relations with the religious houses within the diocese of Winchester, as in the case of his relations with the parochial clergy, Waynflete was not an innovator but can be seen to be actively upholding the established system with conscientious attention. In this sphere he seems to have been less successful in that a number of his appointees as heads of religious houses - Berne, Wroughton, Brooke - proved to be disappointments, suggesting errors of judgement on his part. He was clearly concerned for the welfare of the religious houses within the diocese and while much of the work was carried on by commissioners mandated by the bishop, on occasion Waynflete gave greater weight to the arrangements worked out under his guidance by his personal presence, as at Romsey in 1478 or by his attendance at Wroughton's installation as abbot of Chertsey in 1464.

c) The Laity

Records surviving in episcopal registers are not as a rule of a kind to demonstrate extensive contact between the bishop and the laity in his diocese. Relations between the bishop and the laity on a personal level were mainly restricted to gentry families; there is little evidence of contact with the lesser laity. Some of the gentry were involved in his temporal administration as members of his council, others were called upon to act as sequestrators and occasional commissioners on the bishop's behalf. Families who held advowsons

116. For example on 6 March 1463 Waynflete ordered Henry Uvedale esq. and Thomas Cook of Henton to sequester the goods of the parish, Reg.Wayn. I fo.75v; on 19 June 1467 Thomas Uvedale together with the rural dean of Basingstoke was ordered to sequester the fruits of Bramshill chapel, Reg.Wayn. I fo.89v.
within the diocese would also have had some personal contact with Waynflete on the occasion of presentations of incumbents.

It was to this section of the laity, the Uvedale, Wallop, Brocas, Paulet and other important local families, that bishop Waynflete granted licences conferring on them privileges to conduct their religious life away from the parish church, in the privacy of their own homes. Licences were issued to permit them to have portable altars or to hear mass in private manorial chapels or oratories; in February 1454 William Uvedale and his wife were granted a licence to have a portable altar; a similar grant was made to John and Elizabeth Paulet in September 1459, while John Wallop was given the privilege of being allowed to hear mass celebrated in his manor at Fralé and John Calcote in the oratory of Le Chekker hospital. The grants of such licences had a dual purpose - on the one hand they encouraged private devotions, on the other they were a mark of privilege which enabled gentry families to fulfil their religious obligations privately. While not all the people involved can be identified, the names - Seymour, Wallop, Trenchard - show that they were of the gentry, not of humbler standing. The relatively small number of licences issued suggests that they were not handed out indiscriminately by bishop Waynflete. Licences were also issued allowing private marriage

118. Ibid., fo.59r.
119. Ibid., fo.80r.
120. Ibid., fo.36r.
121. He granted eleven licences permitting individuals to have private altars, Reg.Wayn. I fos 14r(2), 25r, 29r, 58r, 58v, 59r, 60r, 73r, 76r, 85r. Similarly eleven licences permitting families or individuals to hear mass privately were granted, ibid., fos 1r, 7v, 29r, 36r, 37r, 57v, 67v(2), 69r, 80v, II, fo.149r.
ceremonies, again to a select few gentry families; two to John Wallop, three to the Brocas family.

Probate jurisdiction and grants of administration of the goods of intestates also fell within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and this was another area in which the bishop could come in contact with the laity of the diocese. Although as a routine matter it could have been carried out by an episcopal commissioner Waynflete was frequently present at the making of grants of probate for both lay and clerical wills.

Disciplinary jurisdiction brought the bishop’s officials into contact with the laity of the diocese at a local level, but the bishop was rarely personally involved with this. Those committing misdemeanours or otherwise offending against ecclesiastical law were likely to be dealt with by his official—principal in the consistory court and to know the bishop only as a distant figure who wielded considerable authority. Excommunications were usually carried out by either the archdeacon or the official—principal, but again the bishop was rarely involved except as the figure as ultimate authority, although in one case, the absolving of Alice Shipstere from excommunication in 1449 was done by the bishop himself. Later, when Waynflete had a regular suffragan bishop he is likely to have taken over the task of absolving excommunicants. The entries in the episcopal register and in the significations of excommunications directed to the

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123. For example in 1462 ten grants of probates or administrations of the goods of intestates were made, five of which were made by Waynflete personally, Reg.Wayn. I fos 73*Y, 74*Y.
124. Of the twenty-one excommunications recorded in the episcopal register, thirteen were carried out by the official—principal, three by the archdeacon and details are not given for the remainder.
125. Reg.Wayn. I fo.4*Y.
chancery are rarely specific as to the offences, but heresy was not a problem in the diocese of Winchester in this period.

During his episcopate Waynflete issued over sixty indulgences, usually to raise money for churches and other good causes. These can be divided into two categories - those relating to places or people outside his own diocese and those which were issued to raise money for causes within the diocese of Winchester. Extra-diocesan indulgences were dominated by those which raised money for three institutions, the Hospital dedicated to St. Mary of Bethlehem in London which catered for the poor and insane; the Hospital of St. Anthony in Threadneedle Street in London and for the English Hospice in Rome which was dedicated to St. Thomas. This category also included two indulgences issued to help two Lincolnshire churches, the guild of St. Mary in Boston and Bensington chapel in Lincoln, a reminder of the close links Waynflete retained with his native diocese.

Within his own diocese Waynflete issued indulgences for a number of practical causes. The majority of these involved the visiting of a particular altar or attendance at mass on a certain feast day and the concomitant payment of alms. Indulgences were issued in support of the guild of St. Thomas in Winchester Cathedral; for the repair of

126. By the fifteenth century this hospital catered primarily for the insane; its name was later abbreviated to 'Bedlam', D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, Medieval religious houses: England and Wales (London 1953), p.373.
127. This was the English house of the order of St. Anthony of Vienne; R.Graham, 'The order of St. Antoine de Viennois and its English commendery', Archaeological Journal 84 (1927), pp.341-406.
128. See G.W.Tickle, ed. The English hospice in Rome, The Venerabile (Sexcentenary issue, May 1962). A number of Waynflete's proctors to Rome stayed in the hospice - William Darsett was there between 7April-8 December 1452, ibid,p.67. Others of his proctors stayed in the hospice of St. Edmund which was closely connected with that of St. Thomas (they were united in 1464); John Lacy, Thomas Hope and Darsett were all members of the confraternity of St.Edmund, ibid., pp.95-6.
130. Ibid., fo.14r.
the Winchester city churches of St. Peter Marcellis and St. Mary Kalends; for the sustenance of paupers in Aulton parish. Waynflete also seemed particularly concerned with the upkeep of bridges — an important public duty — for indulgences were issued to raise money for the repair of a number of bridges and for the support of individual bridge hermits who undertook to keep the bridge in repair. A forty-day indulgence was the maximum that a bishop could offer; most of those issued by Waynflete granted fifteen days indulgence and were of a temporary nature, available only on certain days or within certain periods.

Conclusion

Waynflete was not only a consistent resident within his diocese but also took an active interest in diocesan affairs. While many of his contemporaries were careerists for whom a bishopric was a reward offered for political services and a means of support for a man involved in politics, Waynflete proved himself a conscientious episcopal figure. In neither parochial affairs nor those of religious houses was he an innovator or reformer but he upheld the status quo to the best of his ability, issuing mandates to his administrators and intervening personally where necessary. In general he made his

131. Reg.Wayn. I fo.9r, December 1450; Reg.Wayn. II fo.147r, Dept September 1471.


133. Waynflete issued indulgences for the repairs of the bridges of Stonebridge (September 1452), Beddington (October 1462), Mulbrook (October 1471) and Farnham and its hermit, Richard Hole (February 1473), Reg.Wayn. I fos 16r; 74r; Reg.Wayn. II fos 147r, 157r. For bridge hermits in general see R.M.Clay, Hermits and anchorites in medieval England (London 1914),pp.57-65.

134. In 1215 Innocent III limited the powers of bishops to grant indulgences to 40 days, or a year if granted at the dedication of a church.

135. cf the careers of episcopal contemporaries such as George Neville, Robert Stillington and John Morton whose political activities dominated their lives at the expense of their diocesan responsibilities.
presence felt within the diocese of Winchester and his vigilance was rewarded in that few major or widespread problems arose during his episcopate. Abuses did arise but they were personal, due to individuals, not general and due to lax episcopal supervision. Waynflete's actions in diocesan affairs bear out the suggestion that he was conscientious in fulfilling his duties as bishop even if, as his record of intervention in the affairs of religious houses shows, he was not always as successful as he would have wished. The diocese of Winchester during his episcopate saw no great flowering of religious devotion but was efficiently and quite effectively administered.

1. The vicar-general of Robert Brackington, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1446-61) kept a register of his acts, separate from the episcopal register itself. Although the vicar-general's register records many institutions whose incumbents were presented by other patrons, collections were almost exclusively in the episcopal register, many of them owed from places outside the diocese. Calendar of Brackington's Register, ed. R.G.M.Lotse, (Somerset Record Society, 51, 1974).

2. See appendix A.
Within the diocese of Winchester the most important single figure in the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage was the bishop. A clerk could acquire a benefice through either institution or collation - two terms which distinguish between presentation by the ordinary and other patrons. Collation described the case where the advowson of the benefice was held by the bishop of the diocese in which it lay. Such patronage was jealously guarded by bishops and it was rare for a vicar-general or other deputy to be given the opportunity to exercise the rights of episcopal collation even where the bishop was an habitual absentee.¹ But not all advowsons were in the gift of the bishop; the right to present to many benefices belonged in other hands, individual and institutional, lay and religious. Religious houses, academic colleges, ecclesiastical officials, nobles, gentry and the king all possessed the right in certain benefices to present a potential incumbent to the ordinary for approval and subsequent induction.²

William Waynflete is recorded as presenting to over sixty benefices, about one fifth of the total number of benefices in the diocese. In addition he held the advowsons of a number of benefices scattered throughout other dioceses, primarily in neighbouring Salisbury but also in the dioceses of Bath and Wells, Norwich and Lincoln. In all,

¹ The vicar-general of Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells (1466-91) kept a register of his acts, separate from the episcopal register itself. Although the vicar-general's register records many institutions when incumbents were presented by other patrons, collations appear almost exclusively in the episcopal register, many of them dated from places outside the diocese, Calendar of Stillington's register, ed. H.C.M.Lyte, (Somerset Record Society 52 1938).
² See appendix III.
his register records his presentation of one hundred and seventy-six men which represents somewhere between 65-80% of the total number of his presentees. As ordinary he also possessed the right of collation when the usual patron was absent or negligent, as in 1475 when during a vacancy in the priorship of the Augustinian house of Southwic in Hampshire the bishop collated William Hallywell to the vicarage of Portchester. This situation usually only arose in relation to patronage held by ecclesiastics and religious houses; where the patron was a layman the right of presentation during a minority was grasped by a superior lord and thus was not available to the bishop. A question which remains unanswered is whether, when the right of patronage was exercised by the bishop in lieu of another, the resulting incumbent was one likely to have been selected by the normal patron.

A consideration of the group of one hundred and seventy-six men presented by Waynflete provides a general idea of the type of men he favoured. They sub-divide easily on educational lines into graduates and non-graduates. Almost 60% of the men presented were graduates, largely of Oxford and Cambridge; only a handful of continental graduates are mentioned. Waynflete's own training was as a theologian and men with a theological training had a slight preponderance over legists (30% : 27% of all the graduates). Those described simply as magister or master of arts accounted for 31% of all graduates.

3. This figure is based on lists of collated incumbents by benefice compiled from the information in Waynflete's episcopal register, supplemented with references to holders of benefices in the diocese drawn from papal letters, patent and close rolls and the register of St. Swithun's priory.


5. As in December 1485 when king Henry VII presented to the benefice of Ockham because the Duke of Buckingham, who was the usual patron, was a minor, Reg.Wayn. II fo.111v.
presented. Canon lawyers (13.5%) and those with a knowledge of both laws (8.7%) far outnume civil lawyers (4.8).

While at first sight the ratio of graduate to non-graduate (c.60%-40%) seems not to give graduates a huge advantage, of those collated to more than one benefice by Waynflete the great majority were graduates. Forty men held more than one of the bishop's benefices and 80% of these were graduates. With one possible exception no non-graduate held more than two collated benefices. Of the non-graduates 85% held only one of the benefices in the bishop's gift. Additionally as might be expected, the more valuable benefices tended to go to the better qualified men. Meonstoke and Droxford, valued at fifty marks and sixty marks per annum respectively, were held solely by graduates in this period while High Clere, valued at only twelve marks, had no graduate incumbents. Others of the richer parishes had an occasional non-graduate incumbent but the impression given by the benefice lists viewed in toto is of a predominance of graduates holding the more valuable livings.

Considered geographically, in terms of the birthplaces of Waynflete's presentees, little of significance emerges. Information is especially limited here, being available for only thirty of the one hundred and three graduates. 27% of these came from within the diocese of Winchester, 10% from the adjacent dioceses of Salisbury and Bath and

6. The possible exception is one Walter Dyer who is found holding in succession five collated benefices in Winchester. Dyer is not an uncommon name, and this, combined with the fact that two different men of this name are found holding benefices in contemporary Bath and Wells makes it unlikely, although not impossible, that the entries in Waynflete's register refer to a single individual; Lyte, Stillington's Register, p.92.

7. The valuations are based on the 1291 Taxatio Ecclesiastica which is most conveniently printed in Wykeham's Register I, pp.361-82. While these thirteenth century values cannot be regarded as reflecting the true income provided by the fruits of the benefices by the later fifteenth century, they do indicate the value of the benefices relative to one another, showing which were the wealthiest and which the poorest.
Wells, 7% from each of Carlisle, Coventry and Lichfield, Durham, Worcester and York and a single representative from a number of other dioceses. No favouritism appears to have been shown towards men from Lincolnshire, Waynflete's own birthplace. The relatively high percentage of local men from within the diocese was probably weighted by the preference shown towards men who had been educated at Winchester College. Such men were not, of course, exclusively from within the see but the geographical location of the school, reinforced by provisions in the collegiate statutes, made their numerical superiority inevitable.

More important by far than geographical origins was the place of education. 70 of the collated graduates had been to Oxford, 12.5% to Cambridge while only one or two had experience of studia on the continent. That Waynflete relied heavily on personal knowledge of candidates for the benefices in his gift seems clear. 24% of the graduates he presented had attended Wykeham's dual foundation, first Winchester College and then New College Oxford. Half of the old Wykehamists Waynflete presented had been at the college during Waynflete's period as headmaster there. The same pattern of promotion of boys that he had taught, can be seen to a greater extent in the case of Eton College. 55% of the Etonians he presented had been at the College during the relatively short period during which Waynflete

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8. This contrasts with the relative size of the two universities in the later fifteenth century as estimated by Emden in B.R.U.C., p. xxx, '... by the second half of the fifteenth century the total number of degree candidates at Cambridge was not far below that of Oxford...' and would therefore suggest a definite preference towards Oxford by Waynflete. Traditionally Winchester's links had been with Oxford, with two previous bishops of Winchester founding colleges there - Walter de Merton established Merton College and Wykeham founded New College.

was provost. This is all the more surprising because these were the earliest years of the college; it was only established in 1440 and began initially with small numbers of pupils, not attaining its full complement of seventy boys until 1447. By comparison other colleges were only represented by a sprinkling of graduates; 3% of the graduates presented were from Queen's College, 3% from Lincoln College, 2% from Merton College. Such figures, while they deal only with small numbers of people, do suggest an emphasis being placed on personal knowledge.

A final question posed when considering the presentees as a group was, to what extent did Waynflete use his reserves of patronage to reward members of his household and diocesan administrators? A surprisingly small number (16.5%) of the men collated to benefices are recorded as playing a part in Waynflete's household.\textsuperscript{10} Again the graduate-non-graduate division is marked, twenty-seven graduates to two non-graduates. Even among the most senior of episcopal administrators not all were rewarded for their services with collated benefices. Of the six officials—principal, master Richard Colvet was not rewarded thus. All the men who acted as chancellor to Waynflete received benefices but a number of his chaplains did not. Some of these held benefices within the diocese to which they had been presented by other patrons; William Tympany, chaplain to the bishop in the late 1460s, held three benefices in the gift of the Benedictine Hyde Abbey.\textsuperscript{11} Among the notaries the same was the case; some received benefices while others did not. The notaries' position was slightly

\textsuperscript{10} This is taking the household in its widest sense, including men whose names are associated with Waynflete or his chief administrators in witness lists but whose precise position within the household is unknown.

\textsuperscript{11} The benefices with the dates of presentation were; Michaeldever 1461, Reg.Wayn. I fo.112r; St. Bartholomew 1464, ibid., fo.135v; Coveham 1476, Reg.Wayn. II fo. 39r.
different from that of the chaplains. Not all of them were in a position to avail of rewards of this type, for an increasing number of them were laymen and perhaps married. Simon Aylward, M.A. who had been educated at Eton College and King's College Cambridge was presented to Patney, a Wiltshire benefice of which Waynflete held the advowson. In 1503 on his death he is described as having been married and it may have been this marriage which led him to resign Patney in 1465. In any case once married the bishop could no longer reward him with ecclesiastical livings and had to pay for his services in some other way.

The above briefly describes the type of men promoted by William Waynflete to the benefices within his gift. I now want to look in more detail first at the men collated to benefices of varied values and then at the relatively small number of men who were specially favoured to the extent of being collated to a number of the livings at Waynflete's disposal.

Among the most valuable benefices in the diocese of Winchester was the precentorship or rectory of St. Mary in Southampton. Of the five men who held it during Waynflete's episcopate four died holding it, which suggests that it was considered a valuable living, to be seen as an end in itself, not to be lightly resigned or exchanged. William Whitney, the first of the five (died 1453) was the only one of its incumbents in the later fifteenth century not a graduate. (Many of the men who died or resigned Winchester benefices in the early years of Waynflete's episcopate were not graduates and these were men who must have been promoted during Beaufort's episcopate.) Master John Holland, rector of St. Mary's 1453-60, resigned it to accept a prebend from the house of Nunaminster in Winchester. He was a D.Th. of B.R.U.C., p.26; Reg.Wayn. I fo.134.  
B.R.U.C., p.309; Reg.Wayn. I fos 60, 94.
King's College Cambridge. Occasionally he acted as commissary for bishop Waynflete as in 1454 when, together with the next holder of this church, William Darset, he received the confession of heretics. Darset, who held the benefice for the next decade (1460-70), was one of the major figures in the household and diocesan administration: being in turn chaplain, official-principal, chancellor and finally confidential agent on a mission to the papal curia where he died. Darset had been one of Waynflete's pupils at Winchester College. Throughout his career he held three collated benefices within the Winchester patrimony as well as a number of churches in other dioceses. He was succeeded at St. Mary's by master John Waynflete, Dean of Chichester, Waynflete's brother. He held a number of benefices in Winchester and elsewhere, but although his career was evidently boosted by the influential position of his brother, he appears to have already obtained one benefice in the diocese of Winchester before Waynflete's appointment as bishop. The final presentee to St. Mary's Southampton was Stephen Tyler, M.A., again the recipient of a number of the benefices at Waynflete's disposal. Tyler may initially have come in contact with Waynflete through Eton College rather than via diocesan affairs. In 1469 Tyler was paid by the College in connection with some building works there and this was the same time that Waynflete was closely involved in the completion of buildings at Eton which had been planned by Henry VI. Tyler became supervisor of the bishop's temporal

15. B.R.U.O., p.544; Reg.Wayn. I fos 34v, 71v, 77r; for his mission to the papal curia see M.C.Deeds, Sele 90, 91, Shoreham 33.
17. Ibid., p.1922.
lordship and his links with Waynflete remained close, for he was named among the executors of the bishop's will in 1486.

Another valuable benefice was the parish church of Wonston, Hampshire worth sixty marks a year. This fell vacant within the first year of Waynflete's episcopate and his first choice of incumbent was master Richard Manning, D.Cn.L.\(^{18}\) Manning served him as proctor at Convocation the following year, 1449 and from the same year until his death in 1452 was official-principal. Manning was not a local man and his service in Winchester marked the conclusion of a career spent in the service of a number of Southern English bishops. Following Manning's death, William Darset was collated\(^{19}\) Darset held Wonston for thirteen years before relinquishing it to the man who remained its incumbent for the next thirty years, master Walter Felde.\(^{20}\) Felde's benefices were both numerous and geographically scattered, but his most important ones came from the hands of Waynflete, including in addition to Wonston, the mastership of the College of St. Elizabeth in Winchester and Patney rectory, Wiltshire.

There is no reference in the episcopal register to the use of parochial chaplains in either Wonston or St. Mary's Southampton. They must have been used however, for the men who held these rectories were not only involved in non-pastoral activities -primarily administrative in royal diocesan or educational circles - but were also pluralists. Their pluralism did not reach the heights of that of the archdeacon of Winchester, Vincent Clement (1459-75) whose collection of livings provoked the sarcasm of Thomas Gascoigne but they had all obtained papal dispensations to hold two or three incompatible

18. B.R.U.O., p.1216; Reg.Wayn. I fo.4^v
20. B.R.U.C., p.223; Reg.Wayn. I fo.150^v
The evidence from St. Mary's and Wonston and the scattering of information available for others of the more valuable benefices in the diocese, suggests that the cream of the benefices in Waynflete's gift went, not surprisingly, to those men who were closest to him. Overton, valued at seventy marks, was held from 1458 by a man who ten years later became vice-president of Waynflete's foundation, Magdalen College Oxford, Richard Bernys. He is recorded as using chaplains in his stead. Allington in Wiltshire, value fifty marks, the advowson of which belonged to the bishop of Winchester, similarly was held from 1472-91 by Waynflete's long-standing chancellor, master David Husband, D.Cn.L., again the recipient of a number of Winchester collations.

The position of the less well-endowed benefices is a contrast. Buttermere, Wiltshire, valued at only five and a half marks, was held during Waynflete's episcopate by seven men, none of whom received any other benefice, collated or otherwise, within the diocese and none of whom is recorded as having a degree. The three recorded incumbents of Highclere, value seventeen marks, were likewise degree-less and without other livings. How these men came to the bishop's attention is unknown but there are a number of possibilities; exchanges into the diocese from benefices elsewhere, in which case the bishop had

21. Michael Cliffe, a member of Waynflete's household during the last years of his episcopate, was granted a dispensation in 1477 to hold two incompatible benefices and a similar dispensation to hold three such benefices in 1480, C.Pap.L. 1471-85, p.571,728.


23. Reg.Wayn. I fos 70r, 94r, 144v.


little say in his choice, although in the case of an unsuitable candidate presumably he could refuse to sanction the exchange; recommendation by a member of the episcopal household or other acquaintance; as a result of a personal petition to the bishop by a hopeful candidate; as the son of a tenant on one of the episcopal manors.

The above examples perhaps suggest too clear-cut a distinction between benefices held by graduates and non-graduates. Some of them were held by a mixture of graduates and non-graduates. Avington, of medium value at forty marks, is recorded as having had fourteen incumbents between c.1450 and 1486, five graduates among them. These included the president of Magdalen College, master William Tibard and one of Waynflete's officials—principal, Robert Peverell. One of the non-graduates, William Coyn (subsequently the recipient of Hamme rectory from Waynflete), was described as being 'capellani paternitati'. For the majority of the non-graduates this was the only benefice they held in Winchester. Such men presumably attended to the pastoral duties personally, but those with commitments elsewhere such as Tibard must have appointed vicars.

Studying the people presented to individual livings gives an idea of the pattern of Waynflete's patronage. To what type of men he favoured most the question must be approached from another angle, through the elite group of men who received a number of collated benefices.

Only fifteen men held three or more collated benefices. Most

27. Reg.Wyn. I fos 93, 100, 104, 119, 133, 135, 163; II fos 29, 36, 84, 105; the other graduates not mentioned in the text were master Ralph Carlisle, Robert Parker, B.A., and Edmund Hampden, B.Th.
though not all of these were members of Waynflete's household and administration, including his chaplain Thomas Chaundler, William Darset, Michael Cliffe, Robert Peverell and John Waynflete. Three benefices were held by Stephen Tyler, already referred to as being one of Waynflete's executors, Walter Felde the provost of King's College, master Thomas Smyth alias Bolty, who held no known position within the episcopal household but who was successively rector of a number of Winchester city benefices, master Robert Dalton, another Winchester city figure, and master Thomas Kirkby, master of the chancery rolls.28

The men holding more than three of Waynflete's benefices were an even more exclusive group, comprising four men. Brian Holme, B.A. from Howedenshire had been a secular scholar at the monastic Durham College between 1454-61. He has no recorded connection with either the diocese of Winchester or with Waynflete personally but he owed to the bishop all his promotion within the church, four benefices which he held between 1476-1501.29 David Husband, chancellor was more highly educated and geographically speaking more widely beneficed than Holme. Originally from the Welsh diocese of St. David's, he was successively principal of the canon law and then the civil law school in Oxford. His ecclesiastical career began as a canon of Chichester and he later became a canon of Hereford cathedral. As the

28. See B.R.U.O. for all of these men except Kirkby who is not recorded as a graduate either there or in B.R.U.C. but who is described as 'master' on four separate occasions in the episcopal register, Reg.Wayn. I fos 59, 60v, 125v, Reg.Wayn. II, fo.42v.

29. B.R.U.O., p.952; the benefices were Fonthill (in the diocese of Salisbury but in the gift of the bishop of Winchester), Millbrook and Alresford, Reg.Wayn. II fos 39v, 50, 111v. He may have been related to John Holme, baron of the Exchequer in the latter part of the reign of Henry VI.
Winchester episcopal registers testify, however, his time was spent primarily with bishop Waynflete. Of the four benefices he held in the diocese of Winchester, three were of the bishop's patronage and in addition Waynflete presented him to Allington in Wiltshire.  

The other two members of this exclusive group, master Edmund Hampden and master Thomas Halle both had pre-episcopal contacts with bishop Waynflete. Hampden had attended Eton College from 1443-5, during Waynflete's provostship and later, at King's College Cambridge he became a licentiate in theology. Although he went on to hold a variety of benefices in a number of dioceses, his early ecclesiastical career was developed under Waynflete's patronage in Winchester. After he obtained his B.Th in 1464 he resigned his fellowship at King's College and successively held Avington, Millbrook, East Standen, St. Mary Magdalen chapel, Kingston-upon-Thames and Wyke Regis.  

A long-standing chaplain of the bishop, master Thomas Halle, completes the quartet. He had been at Winchester College during the 1430s and then proceeded to Oxford where by 1450 he had become a B.Th. Throughout the 1450s Halle was bursar in Winchester College. His benefices were scattered throughout a number of dioceses - beginning with the Oxford church of St. Ebbe's. His first living in Winchester he owed to the patronage of a layman, Robert Drummer, who presented him to the family advowson of Drummer, but from 1450 until his death he benefitted from Waynflete's patronage. The first reference to Halle as the bishop's chaplain occurs in 1455, but he probably held this position earlier. By 1456 he was dean of Waynflete's chapel and in

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1458 witnessed the foundation charter of Magdalen College. Thomas Chaundler, later warden of Winchester College, numbered Halle among his 'amicis dilectissimi'.

Bishop William Waynflete spread his patronage across a variety of men in accordance with the diversity of the parishes in his gift. His preference, which can be seen in the careers of the men whom he favoured most highly, was for men whose background was quite similar to his own. Of undistinguished birth (neither noble nor particularly humble) his proteges were highly educated, a number with theological training, men who were primarily administrators in either the diocesan or educational sphere.

9. ESTATES, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

A bishop was not only the spiritual head of a diocese but also a temporal lord, often a very wealthy one, who drew revenues from and had jurisdiction over wide areas of land. These lands not only gave the bishop status as a landowner but also provided him with the income necessary to maintain his household and his position as one of the foremost lords of the realm.

a) The estates of the bishopric and the bishop's income

The estates attached to the see of Winchester were some fifty in number, scattered over the southern counties of England. The bulk lay in Hampshire, the heartland of the see, but there were also lands in Surrey (also part of the diocese), Wiltshire, Somerset, Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. In addition to supplying revenues to support the bishop and his household some were the seats of important residential manors.

Waynflete resided almost exclusively on his own manors in his diocese throughout his episcopate. With the exception of several visits to Taunton in Somerset and Witney in Oxfordshire, most of his time was spent on manors within the confines of the diocese. The most important of these Southwark, Farnham, Esher, Wolvesey and Bishop's Waltham. All these residences were visited regularly; in the earlier part of his episcopate his preference seems to have been for Southwark, Esher and Farnham - he built extensively at the latter two - but as he grew older and particularly in the 1470s and 1480s as his involvement in politics declined, he spent an increasing amount of time at Bishop's Waltham, seven miles from Winchester.

1. See Map II; it is difficult to be exact about the number of estates because sometimes groups of manors were accounted for together, sometimes separately, J.Z. Titow, *Agrarian yields* (Cambridge 1972) pp.38-9.

2. See itinerary, appendix I; Waynflete's death took place at Bishop's Waltham in August 1486; he had been there constantly since the previous December - the longest period he ever spent in one place during his episcopate.
Map II  THE MAIN EPISCOPAL MANORS OF WINCHESTER

KEY

1. Taunton
2. Rimpton
3. Knoyle
4. Fonthill
5. Bishopstone
6. Downton
7. Bitterne
8. Stoke
9. Mardon
10. Twyford
11. Winchester (Wolvesey)
12. Crawley
13. North Waltham
14. Overton
15. Burghclere
16. Ecchinsworth
17. Ashmansworth
18. Highclere
19. Woodhay
20. Harwell
21. Brightwell
22. Oxford
23. Witney
24. Adderbury
25. Ivinghoe
26. Morton
27. West Wykecombe
28. Esher
29. Farnham
30. Bently
31. Wield
32. Sutton
33. Alresford
34. Cheriton
35. Beaumerth
36. Waltham
37. East Meon
38. Hambledon
39. Fareham
40. Calborne

Based on the map in Titow, Winchester yields, p.38.
The dual sources of a bishop's income reflected his position as both diocesan and landowner. Dues and fees collected for the performance of his pastoral work - from institutions, consecrations, probate cases and visitations - made up his spiritual revenues. The total sum derived from this source was a very small portion of his total income, although to the individuals paying the fees they may often have appeared heavy. In 1535 the spiritualities of Winchester provided £154 4s 3d out of a total income of just over £4000.3

The estates of the bishopric of Winchester were not only widespread, they were spread across the richest area of England. Their geographic situation helps to account for the position of the bishop of Winchester as the richest of England's prelates. The see was wealthier than that of Canterbury where the annual value of the estates during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century was £3178.4

For Winchester as for the other sees of England, there are two sources for its medieval income, the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas of 1291 and the Valor Ecclesiasticus compiled by Henry VIII's commissioners in 1535. £2977 15s 10d was the estimated value of the estates of the bishopric in 1291, by 1535 this sum had risen by just over a third, to £4037 19s 1ld.5 In addition to these records of clerical taxation which are available for all the English dioceses, the survival of a lengthy run of ministers' accounts for the temporal estates of the

5. Taxatio ecclesiastica 1291 (London 1802), p.206; Valor ecclesiasticus II, p.2. This increase was considerably less than that of some other episcopal estates - those of Bath and Wells increased from £511 to £1939 in the same period - and must reflect the fact that Winchester was an old and well-established see which had benefitted from the generosity of early medieval kings. A late fifteenth century statement of the income of the bishopric gives the total income as £4354 with arrears owing to a total of £587, H.R.O. EC/2/159519/30, Box 157.
The bishopric of Winchester mean that the see is exceptionally well documented. Twenty-five of these accounts survive for the forty years of Waynflete's episcopate. Each pipe roll covers a single year and contains a transcript of the accounts for each manor, borough or liberty for that year. These accounts, which run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, were rendered to the bishop's receiver-general (the 'Treasurer of Wolvesey') at the episcopal exchequer in Wolvesey palace in Winchester. The accounts provide a substantial quantity of information - about rents of assize, leases, farm stock, grain prices, costs of demesne management and building works - but the pipe rolls do not provide a straightforward answer to the question, what was the annual income of the bishop of Winchester? No proficium maneriorum account is extant for the bishopric and in no way can the manorial accounts be regarded as a profit-and-loss account. They were not intended to show the total manorial surplus but rather to record the charges and discharges of the receiver, to establish his liability. An additional problem is that by the fifteenth century the form of

6. The ministers' accounts for the episcopal estates of Winchester are extant from 1208. With their detailed coverage of many aspects of manorial life they have been widely used, particularly by agrarian historians. See for example, A.E. Levett, The black death on the estates of the see of Winchester (Oxford 1916); J.Z. Titow, Winchester yields (Cambridge 1972); W. Beveridge, 'Wages on the Winchester manors', Economic History Review 8 (1936), pp. 22-43. The basic article which has been written on their dating is misleading in that it gives the impression that this run of accounts ceases to exist in 1453, H. Hall, 'A list of the rent rolls of the bishopric of Winchester', Economica 10 (1924), pp. 52-61. In fact the late 1450s marks a dramatic change in the physical form of the accounts, see below, pp.

7. H.R.O. EC/2/159438-44 and EC/2/155827-45. There are no accounts for the following years - 1441, 1450, 1455, 1456, 1458, 1459, 1464, 1468, 1469, 1471, 1482, 1485, 1486. That for 1481 consists only of a few loose gatherings.

the accounts, which had been established in the thirteenth century, had become stereotyped and had not changed as agricultural practices had changed. Frequently 'dead' sums were recorded under receipts and then subtracted under allowances.9

The most accurate indication of the quantity of disposable income actually available to Waynflete as bishop of Winchester is to be found in the sums of money surplus to manorial requirements which were paid over to the central episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey.10 These occur in the accounts for each manor under the heading liberacio denarii. This represents the 'profit' remaining after the payment of manorial running costs, wages to officials and other fixed expenses such as fees and pensions. This was the money available to William Waynflete which he could use to meet other commitments.11 When estimating his income in this manner it is also necessary to include the sums of money paid out by manorial officials directly to Magdalen College or to the Treasurer of the episcopal household and authorised by letters under the episcopal signet seal. These sums are not for manorial expenditure and must be added in with his disposable income.12

9. The Winchester pipe rolls, for example, record at great length decayed rents dating from the time of the black death. These can be found in the accounts for the latter part of the fifteenth century.

10. This is a far more useful figure for the purposes of estimating the amounts of money available to Waynflete than the figures described as Summa totalis cum arragiis which bear little relation to the sums of money actually at his disposal and which are particularly inflated in the fifteenth century by accumulated arrears. In 1480 for example, the total plus arrears for Downton manor was £294; manorial expenses totalled £41, arrears were £118 and only £135 was actually paid over to the treasurer of Wolvesey.

11. See Appendix VIII which details the payments made to the episcopal treasurer from each manor and borough for a sample of years during his episcopate.

12. These figures have been included in the figures given in Appendix VIII.
As can be seen from Appendix VIII the sums of disposable income varied slightly from year to year but totalled between £3200 – £3700 per annum. When other costs such as manorial expenses, stipends for manorial officials and domestic building costs are taken into consideration this figure accords reasonably well with the estimates for the episcopal income of Winchester derived from other sources. 13

The totals of disposable income given in Appendix VIII represent only a sample of years for which ministers' accounts are available, but they do span Waynflete's episcopate. The totals of disposable income show a slight increase in total income during Waynflete's episcopate. While some of this increase may be attributed to assiduous enforcement of rights and an efficient administrative system, it is also true that the period of his episcopate saw the beginnings of an improvement in general economic conditions in England. From c. 1470 manorial incomes were beginning to rise in many parts of England, 14 and this small increase to be seen in the Winchester accounts would seem to reflect this.

Income produced by individual estates fluctuated from year to year but not usually by any substantial amount. Gross receipts could be affected by the incidence of poor harvests, outbreaks of disease among either humans and animals or other localised problems. The amount of cash delivery made to Waynflete's exchequer might also be substantially reduced if a major building or maintenance programme was being undertaken. In 1470 for example

13. See above, the figures taken from the Valor ecclesiasticus and the 1291 taxatio.

14. This can be seen, for example, in the diocese of Worcester where, from 1476 an upward trend in manorial profits can be seen and arrears lessened , C.Dyer, Lords and peasants in a changing society: the bishopric of Worcester 680-1640 (Cambridge 1978), pp.188-90. See also J.Hatcher, Plague, population and the English economy 1348-1530 (London 1977), which suggests that the nadir of economic decline was reached in the mid-century.
the manor of Merwell, an occasional residence of
Bishop Waynflete's, produced only £12 in cash instead of its more
usual sum which was in excess of £30. This abrupt drop was due to
the fact that £25 had been spent in that year on repairs of the
manor and of the chapel attached to it, thus increasing the total
manorial expenses for the year from the normal £13-£20 to £44.\textsuperscript{15} By
1472, however, the building works were more or less finished although
£6 lls 4d was spent on roofing the chapel and other minor works
and £33 was paid to the episcopal treasurer in that year.\textsuperscript{16} The same
substantial drop in income can be seen in the accounts for Farnham
castle in the early 1470s when a major reconstruction of the castle
in brick was undertaken.\textsuperscript{17}

The income of bishop Waynflete was drawn from a total of
seventy-eight manors, boroughs and liberties. Of these, however,
fewer than half produced annual cash deliveries in excess of £35 and
over half of the £3000+ he actually received was drawn from the
twelve richest manors. Of these Meon, Farnham, Bishop's Waltham and
Downton were the most important.\textsuperscript{18} The receiver of Taunton Castle
delivered over £300 each year to the treasurer of Wolvesey but the
bulk of this was drawn from the other Somerset manors which belonged
to the bishopric. In 1472, for example, the £330 included £281 drawn
from the provosts of the other manors - £89 from Holf~way, £37 from

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} H.R.O. EC/2/155835
  \item \textsuperscript{16} H.R.O. EC/2/155836
  \item \textsuperscript{17} H.R.O. EC/2/155835-41. In 1466 £11 was spent on castle repairs
    and this represents the normal sort of sum spent annually on
    such matters. In 1472 this had jumped to £53. See below pp.360-62
    for a discussion of the building works carried out at Farnham
    Castle in the 1470s.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} See Appendix VIII
\end{itemize}
Poundisford, £53 from Hulle, £42 from Staplegrove, £35 from Nailsborne, £15 from Otterford and £10 from Taunton borough.  

On the different episcopal estates the sources of income varied slightly but as a rule income from the payment of customary rents and the commutation of labour services provided the largest sums. This was not an untypical division of income; it can be paralleled widely elsewhere. This was income which fluctuated little and could be predicted with accuracy from year to year. Witney manor in Oxfordshire is a typical example. The accounts for Witney show that real income from rents (after allowance had been made for decayed rents) fluctuated only by a matter of shillings during Waynflete's episcopate – 1449 £38 11s 11d; 1451 £38 11s 11d; 1454 £38 11s 8d; 1466 £38 16s 11d; 1472 £38 5s 5d.

Individual parts of many manors were farmed out, especially areas of pasture and mills and warrents. This too was a source of predictable income. Stock could also be leased out and in this area Waynflete instituted some changes. Under bishop Beaufort sheep farming had been important on a number of manors, particularly the Oxfordshire manors of Witney and Adderbury. Waynflete made no attempt to continue this policy and he leased out the sheep already on the manors until by 1461 no sheep remained. Clearly he preferred the assured income to be drawn from leasing to the trouble and vicissitudes of direct farming.

19. H.R.O. EC/2/155836. In 1449 the amounts received had been £100 from Holloway, £56 from Poundisford, £68 from Staplegrove, £50 from Hulle, £36 from Nailsborne with smaller amounts from the other manors to a total of £328, H.R.O. EC/2/159439.

20. See Appendix X


In most sees 85% of the temporal revenues came from rents and farms and Winchester would fall into this pattern. The income derived from direct farming and the casual income which came to him by right of his seigneurial position - entry fines, heriots, customary payments, perquisites of the manorial courts - was more difficult to predict. All, however, yielded sums of money which went to swell his income. The manor of Southwark, by reason of its situation and its jurisdictional rights derived an abnormally large amount of revenue from the pleas of its court. In 1451 court revenues totalled £17, in 1466 and 1467 £21 and in 1472 £14 while during the same period customary rents were only yielding £20 a year.

In addition to the piecemeal leasing out of parts of individual manors, a small number of manors were farmed out as entities. These tended to be those which were small and whose administration could be tedious and possibly financially unrewarding or those in far-flung places on the periphery of the diocesan heartland. Demesne leasing was not instituted by Waynflete; many of the manors had already been leased out by the end of the fourteenth century under bishop Wykeham. One manor which Waynflete did lease out for the first time was Knoyle in Wiltshire. At the beginning of his episcopate Knoyle was being directly farmed. Money was derived from customary rents (£12), the sale of works (£8), sale of pasture (£14), sale of stock (£19) and the sale of corn (£22). Expenses, however, were high (£26) and its cash yield only £49. Two years later, by 1451,

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25. H.R.O. EC/2/159439
Waynflete had farmed out the manor as an entity at an annual rent of £83 and henceforth the manor could be relied upon to produce a cash surplus of £74–£81 annually.\(^{26}\) With regard to leasing of manors Waynflete also increased the annual rent of a number of manors which had been leased out by his predecessors but these increases were usually moderate.\(^{27}\)

Copies of some leases made by Waynflete, both of entire manors and of smaller pieces of land, are to be found in the temporal section of his episcopal register\(^ {28}\) and in the register of the Dean and chapter of the cathedral priory.\(^ {29}\) These, although relatively few in number,\(^ {30}\) do span the whole period of Waynflete’s episcopate, ranging in date from 1448 to 1486. Such leases are valuable for two reasons. Firstly because leases were one way in which the bishop was directly involved with the temporal administration of the diocese and secondly because they gave him an opportunity to exercise a form of patronage – generous leases could be given to relatives or favoured servants on the one hand and to men with political influence on the other. In view of the small number of leases available for Waynflete, however, it is difficult to analyse them in these terms, although two particular leases are worth mentioning in this context. In September 1461 Waynflete leased seven properties

\(^{26}\) In 1454 it delivered £70 to the treasurer of Wolvesey, H.R.O. EC/2/159443; in 1466 £82, EC/2/155833; in 1467 £74, EC/2/155834; in 1470 £75, EC/2/155835; in 1472 £79, EC/2/155836; in 1480 £67 EC/2/155844.

\(^{27}\) The rent of Fonthill, for example, was increased from its 1449 level of £20 6s 8d to £21 by 1454; that of Longwood warren was increased from £9 to £9 6s 8d in the same period, H.R.O. EC/2/159441, 159443.

\(^{28}\) Reg. Wayn. I fos.1^r-8v(2nd s), II fos.25^r-40r(2nd s).

\(^{29}\) They occur in the register of the dean and chapter of the cathedral priory because the bishop and his chapter were viewed as a single legal entity under common law and thus the consent of both parties was needed. Register of the common seal, pp.102,112,117,123,131,139,145-6.

\(^{30}\) There are only thirteen in all.
to his servant John Bishop in perpetuity. The duration of this is unique among surviving leases and it demonstrates the regard that bishop Waynflete had for John Bishop who had served him in a number of capacities in his temporal administration, regularly represented the borough of Taunton in parliament and had contributed to the endowment of Magdalen College. Long leases were much sought after, especially since rising labour costs did not work in favour of the lessee.

The second lease was that of Longwood Warren granted by Waynflete in the last months of his life to John Titchborne, a member of the Hampshire gentry who had held various positons in the temporal administration of the episcopal estates. The lease itself states that it was given as a reward for service. It was for twenty years at an annual rent of £9 6s 8d and Waynflete undertook to be responsible for the costs of any heavy timber work which might be necessary.

Many of the men recorded as farmers in the ministers' accounts had already served Waynflete as bailiffs or rent collectors on one or other of his estates. Henry Goldsborough, for example, who was farmer of Upton manor in the 1460s had previously served as bailiff of the manor of Charleton.

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31. Register of the common seal p.117.
32. M.C. Deeds Ford 2, Hilhampton 34. For further biographical details see Appendix IV.
33. Tichborne was bailiff of the bailiwick of Bishop's Waltham, appointed in April 1478 and in the same month was also appointed as bailiff of the Soke of Winchester and of the Liberty of the bishop within Hampshire, Register of the common seal, pp.129-30.
34. Register of the common seal, p.150.
35. H.R.O. EC/2/159441. The manumission of Henry Goldsborough was granted by Waynflete in 1475, Reg. Wayn. II fo.39r(2s).
A careful use of leases could increase a bishop's income. Waynflete's slight increase in the sums due for farms has already been mentioned. His leases follow a clear pattern and few though they are, they seem to represent a policy. Although they are long—mostly for periods in excess of sixty years—their terms shift the burden of repairs and maintenance, which could be a drain on the temporal administration, onto the tenant. In addition their terms show a concern that arrears should not be allowed to accumulate. Distraint and then re-entry was to follow quickly if rents were not rendered on time, and in this aspect their stipulations were more detailed than those found in similar leases made by his predecessor, Bishop Beaufort.

Another potential source of profit which could be realised at the bishop's discretion was the wood on his land. The right to cut and carry away wood was a valuable one and could be sold accordingly. In April 1449 Waynflete sold the wood rights of three manors for seven years to Nicholas Holmhegg for the substantial sum of £40. This may have been intended partly to defray some of the costs involved in visiting his diocese at the beginning of his episcopate when extensive and lavish hospitality would have been expected of him. The large sums of extra revenue which could be raised from the ad hoc sale of wood can be seen from figures taken from the early sixteenth century when some years the revenue from this source exceeded £100.

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36. The majority of Waynflete's surviving leases make provision for distraint if the rent was not paid within three months and re-entry is it became six months in arrears.

37. Although Beaufort's episcopal register is not extant for most of his episcopate some of the leases of temporal estates that he made are recorded in the Register of the common seal.

38. Register of the common seal, p.107.

Waynflete, as bishop of Winchester, also drew income from a number of boroughs which were situated on his land.\(^{40}\) Some of these - Downton, Taunton, Hindon and Farnham - were represented in parliament and therefore carried with them the bishop's point of view, of allowing him to exert influence over the election of a number of men to the commons. Otherwise these boroughs were primarily a source of income, largely from customary rents but also from assorted customary payments and more especially from the pleas and perquisites of justice.

Taunton was the most important of these boroughs. In terms of cash delivery it was worth approximately £30 per annum, a sum which included £5 - £6 drawn from the profits of justice.\(^{41}\) The town was dominated by the episcopal castle and the bishop would have been the most important figure in the town. Even if he rarely visited it, as was the case with Waynflete, the exercise of his jurisdictional rights by his officials must have ensured that the townspeople were conscious of his existence. The image they must have had of him is encapsulated in an agreement made in connection with a grant of land which Waynflete made to the perpetual vicar of the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen Taunton. A portion of land was granted to the vicar on condition that he constructed a court-house in the town to which the bishop and his servants and officials could have free ingress and egress.\(^{42}\) This, the agreement

\(^{40}\) See Appendix VII which includes a list of the boroughs and their income.

\(^{41}\) The cash deliveries were as follows, (the income derived from the perquisites of the court is given in brackets). 1449 £41 (£9), H.R.O. EC/2/159439; 1451 £40 (£9), EC/2/159441; 1454 £37 (£8), EC/2/159443; 1466 £46 (£7), EC/2/155833; 1470 £35 (£5), EC/2/155835; 1472 £41 (£6) EC/2/155836.

\(^{42}\) Register of the common seal, p.123.
stated, would be a perpetual memorial to bishop Waynflete and it sums up the image of the bishop as a judicial lord that the majority of his tenants would have had of him.

Another place in which Waynflete had important jurisdictional rights was in the Soke of Winchester. Again this was more valuable for the authority and prestige involved than for the sums it rendered annually to the episcopal exchequer which were about £12. The authority of the bishop was exercised on his behalf by a bailiff who was responsible for holding the burgmoots and courts and for raising and recovering the rents and fines due to him. Richard Hunte, appointed by Beaufort just prior to the Cardinal's death, acted for bishop Waynflete in this capacity until the 1460s. He was succeeded in this position by John Tichborne, a member of an important Hampshire gentry family who had hitherto acted for Waynflete in several aspects of the diocesan temporal administration. Like many of Waynflete's other officials Tichborne served him for a long period and in fact remained bailiff of the Soke until Waynflete's death in 1486.

In his cathedral city Waynflete also had the right to hold a pavilion or 'pie powder' court for the duration of St. Giles' fair which was held in the city each year. The appointment of a justice to preside over the affairs of this court was a useful

43. The details of the duties expected of the bailiff of the Soke are stated in the grant of office to Tichborne, Register of the common seal, p.130.

44. Hunte was appointed in February 1447, Register of the common seal, p.93.; H.R.O. EC/2/159439-44; 155827-32.

45. V.C.H. Hampshire III, p.377 for details of the family; also Register of the common seal p.130. Tichborne was a co-feoffee for some of the transactions relating to the gathering together of the Magdalen College endowment, M.C. Deeds, Ford 10, East Bridgeford 30.

46. He accounts in this capacity from 1466-86, H.R.O. EC/2/155833-45

47. Accounts for the fair appear each year in the ministers' accounts under the heading Feria, immediately after the accounts for the Soke and the Liberty of Winchester.
piece of minor patronage which bishop Waynflete used to reward men of his acquaintance who had legal experience.

Thomas Haydock, a Hampshire lawyer who had acted as justice during Beaufort's episcopate, continued to do so in the early years of Waynflete's episcopate. On his death in 1452 he was succeeded as justice by another member of the Hampshire gentry, Michael Skillyng. Skillyng had a substantial local reputation as a judge. In 1456 he presided over the case of the notorious appealer Thomas Whytehorne in Winchester when Whytehorne fought a duel with a pedlar. Recounting the details of this case, Gregory's chronicle described Skillyng as, 'A notabylle man and the moste petefullyste juge of al thys londe in syttyng a-pon lyffe and defte.'

Skillyng remained justice of the Winchester pavilion court until his death in 1461. Again Waynflete looked to the gentry of his diocese to replace him and selected Nicholas Harvey who was a lawyer from Godalming in Surrey. Harvey was already known to Waynflete and in 1459 he had represented Hindon in the notorious Coventry parliament. He had also been one of the men appointed by Waynflete to the commission of the peace in Surrey. He was a staunch Lancastrian supporter and was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. His appointment as justice here enabled Waynflete to reward him for past services and to ensure his support in the future.

48. Register of the common seal, no.235 n.1.
49. H.R.O. EC/2/159439
50. Reg.Wayn. I (2s) fo.4* r, 26 August 1452; for a brief account of his career see Wedgewood, Biographies, p.772.
52. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.679; see below pp. for details of other men appointed by Waynflete during his chancellorship as justices of the peace.
The man who served as justice of the 'pie powder' court for the last fifteen years of Waynflete’s episcopate was unusual in that he was not a local figure. This was William Danvers who came of an Oxfordshire family. He was, however, closely connected with Waynflete through his older brother Thomas who served Waynflete throughout much of his episcopate as adviser on the collection of an endowment for Magdalen College and later, as treasurer of Wolvesey. William Danvers' Winchester connections came through Waynflete rather than vice-versa. He also served the bishop as representative in the commons in a number of parliaments and acted on occasion for Waynflete in matters connected with the endowment of Magdalen College.

St. Giles' fair was held for sixteen days each September. It usually yielded about £8-£10 annually in surplus revenue but the cost involved in organising the pavilion court were high in themselves. The justice of the court was paid 40s for fulfilling his duties. A number of members of the episcopal household were involved in its organisation - acting as usher, chamberlain and proclaimer - and had to be paid for carrying out these extra duties. Substantial hospitality costs were also involved; in 1467 for example, £3 11s 9d was spent on hospitality during the brief duration of the fair. The fair was more important to bishop Waynflete as a matter of prestige than as a source of income.

53. He first appears as justice in the accounts for 1472 and payments to him as justice are recorded in the accounts for the remainder of Waynflete's episcopate, H.R.O. EC/2/155836-45.

54. See below p400.

55. In 1467 for example a total of 16s was paid to four officials - Richard Burton the chamberlain, Richard Rede the usher, John Shrewsbury warden of the pavilion and the mayor, John Dunning, H.R.O. EC/2/155834.

56. H.R.O. EC/2/155834.
In the case of the fair as in other matters Waynflete was zealous in preserving his rights intact. In 1451, not long after he had become bishop his zeal in this sphere led to an angry dispute between himself and the mayor and burgesses of Winchester concerning their respective jurisdictions. The agreement which delimited their rights in this matter was carefully copied into the episcopal register for future reference. Further problems do not appear to have arisen but there is no doubt that Waynflete was not prepared to let any of his rights lapse.

As can be seen from the above description, the temporal income of the bishop of Winchester was drawn from widespread and numerous estates and boroughs. The amount of money being received in the episcopal treasury each year remained fairly constant, at around £3100-£3400. Waynflete's temporal administration appears to have been both efficient and closely supervised but the slight upward trend which can be observed in the last decades of his episcopate must have been due as much to the general upturn in the economy as to any particular aspect of his temporal administration. What is clear, however, is that bishop Waynflete had a substantial amount of surplus cash throughout his episcopate which could be used to support projects in which he was interested. This is true even for the beginning of the episcopate, despite the fact that the middle years of the century are usually considered to have been the nadir of the fifteenth century English economy. The sheer scale of his temporal lands insulated him from the worst effects of this.

57. The indenture, dated 3 July 1431, is in English. It is given in full in Appendix X.

58. This remark is based on study of a number of pipe rolls drawn from various periods of Waynflete's episcopate not a detailed study of all the available accounts. The rolls chosen, however, were intended to span his episcopate and identify major trends and developments during that period.
b) Expenditure

The pipe rolls with their largely stereotyped format are not very helpful in indicating the level of episcopal expenditure. They are concerned primarily with recording the day-to-day running expenses of the individual manors. Payments to bailiffs and other officials directly involved with the temporal administration are recorded but references to non-manorial officials are rare. No payments, for example, are referred to for the lawyers who must have been retained by Waynflete; similarly pensions being paid to men unconnected with the minutiae of daily administration also go unrecorded. Payments of this kind must have been made directly from the central episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey. Unfortunately no household accounts or accounts of the treasurer of Wolvesey are extant. Occasional references confirm that such payments were made directly, as, for example, in the grant of an annual pension to William Lord Hastings in 1461, the terms of which state that £10 was to be paid directly to him by the treasurer of Wolvesey. The building accounts of Magdalen College also record the receipt of money directly from the episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey.

In a few particular instances money was paid directly from manors to an individual or institution under the authorisation of the bishop's signet. These payments were recorded in the accounts under the heading Solucio per warranto and relate primarily to money being paid to Magdalen College and to a lesser extent, Eton College. Money was also paid by manorial officials to the treasurer of the household to meet household expenses.

59. Reg. Wayn. I fo. 33V(2s)
60. M.C.Archives, CP/2/67 (1,2).
61. See above, pp. 10 for details of such payments.
62. Occasionally the reasons for the payments are mentioned, a common reason being the cost of transporting food or wood. Sometimes it is not money but the cash equivalent of goods which is being accounted for.
The running expenses of his household was a major charge on the bishop's income. In addition to the major household officials there were also numerous lesser servants. The prestigious position of the bishop of Winchester demanded that he maintain a substantial retinue. In his declining years as bishop of Winchester, Waynflete's successor Richard Fox was said to have had about two hundred servants and retainers. Some idea of the size of Waynflete's household can be gathered from a lengthy codicil to his will which instructed payments to be made to one hundred and twenty-five persons, servants and chaplains, at a total cost of more than £270.

In the absence of household accounts the cost of feeding his extended household can only be surmised. In addition to food and drink, cloth for liveries and the cost of fuel were major household expenses. It has been estimated that in the early sixteenth century bishops were generally spending something between one-quarter and one-third of their income on food and maintenance. London, where Waynflete spent much of his time, was acknowledged as being more expensive to live in. In view of Waynflete's obligations as one of England's foremost prelates and his frequent sojourns in London, it can be reasonably assumed that he was spending towards the upper end of this scale and he may therefore have been spending up to £1000 per annum on his household. Some of this would have consisted of supplies drawn directly from the episcopal manors and wood, for fuel, could also come from the same source, although the transportation costs of bulky, heavy goods could be high.

63. Heal, Of prelates and princes, p.75.
65. Heal, Of prelates and princes, p.83.
Major costs must have been incurred at the beginning of his episcopate by Waynflete when hospitality within the diocese on his first visit to it, celebrations of his consecration, common services and petty services to the papacy and payments to the king on his promotion all had to be covered. However the length of time that Waynflete remained bishop of Winchester enabled him to recoup these sums; bishops who were translated from see to see frequently often suffered badly from the initial costs. Financial demands from the crown, of course, continued throughout his episcopate - both directly as taxation and indirectly, as the bishop absorbed the costs of being involved in royal government, as a justice of the peace, as a tax collector. Loans to the crown could also be a drain on his resources, with repayment being both slow and uncertain.

His own family was another possible source of expenditure although the fact that Waynflete had only a single brother minimised such expenses. However, the substantial alabaster tomb, now in Magdalen College chapel but once in the church of Wainfleet All Saints, which was erected for his father, was probably paid for by Waynflete. Accounts have survived concerning the funeral expenses of John Waynflete, Dean of Chichester who died in 1479. These show that his funeral which was a lavish affair, was paid for by his brother, bishop Waynflete at a cost of £110 14s.

However, the main areas to which Waynflete directed his attention and which must have absorbed the major proportion of his

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66. Waynflete paid 14000 florins into the papal treasury after his elevation to the episcopate, W.E.Lunt, Financial relations of the papacy with England 1327-1534 (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), p.830. This was the equivalent of approximately £2000.

67. Heal, Of prelates and princes, p.93 discusses the strain on the resources of many of the early Tudor episcopate by such costs.

68. Some of Waynflete's loans to the crown are discussed below, pp.234-300

69. M.C.Archives CP/2/55.
disposable income were two-fold—his educational projects and his building works which took place both on his manors and in Winchester Cathedral and in connection with his educational foundations.

Waynflete's main area of expenditure was for Magdalen College. While the endowment worth £600 per annum which he gathered together for the college was largely obtained at favourable prices it did not come cheap. Building works at the college were a further drain on his resources. They were paid for partly by money sent directly by the treasurer of Wolvesey and partly by payments made to Richard Bernys, supervisor of the building works, from four manors in or near Oxfordshire. These payments were made by the bishop's warrant. In the years 1467–85 the manors of Witney, Adderbury, Harwell and Brightwell contributed a total of £2328 to the works, an average of £123 per annum. In addition surviving building accounts of Richard Bernys show that approximately 30% of the money for which he was accounting came directly from the treasurer of Wolvesey. It has been estimated that between 1467–85 approximately £220–£230 was being spent on building works in Oxford each year by Waynflete, a sums which represents about 9% of his net income.

At the same time Waynflete was contributing towards the costs of building works at Eton College. Early in his episcopate, in 1451, an episcopal warrant ordered £28 to be paid to the college from the manor to Adderbury for works at Eton College accounts show that in 1449 Waynflete had paid £75 15s to the college which covered

70. Mills, 'The foundation, endowment and early administration', pp.34-82.
71. Sums paid in this way were recorded in the manorial accounts and thus can be traced.
73. Ibid., p.24.
74. H.R.O. EC/2/159442.
the cost of the wages of twenty men working on the new church.\textsuperscript{75} The 1451 payment is likely to have been for the same project since building work on the church was being carried on throughout the 1450s. From the late 1460s Waynflete was again supporting the building works on the collegiate church which had been left unfinished at Henry VI's deposition.\textsuperscript{76}

To these major projects must be added the costs of his building works at Wainfleet in Lincolnshire and also his extensive works at the episcopal manors of Esher and Farnham. The accounts for Farnham manor indicate that a proportion of the cost was drawn from the manorial revenues but more must have come from the episcopal exchequer. The major constructions at Esher\textsuperscript{77} have left no surviving accounts but again the money is most likely to have been drawn from the resources of the treasurer of Wolvesey. In addition there is the magnificent perpendicular gothic chantry chapel which Waynflete had constructed for himself in Winchester Cathedral. Again no accounts have survived but no expense seems to have been spared in its construction. It must have been completed by the time of his death for in his will, made only a few months before he died, he requested that he be buried there.

The fact that so much of Waynflete's expenditure was done through the episcopal treasurer - a process which enabled him to monitor it closely - makes it impossible to calculate his total expenditure.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{75} Willis and Clark, Architectural History I p.401  
\textsuperscript{76} See above pp.40-46  
\textsuperscript{77} M.Thompson, 'The dating of Fox's tower', Surrey Archaeological Collections 70 (1957), pp.86-7.  
\textsuperscript{78} See below, chapter 18.  
\textsuperscript{79} 'Lego corpum meum sepeliendum in ecclesia mea in quattuor tumulus preparatus est.' Chandler, Life, p.380.}
outgoings on particular projects. What is clear, however, is that after the household expenses had been covered the bulk of his remaining disposable income was being used for the benefit of Magdalen College and his building works. In particular, from the late 1460s when a number of projects were under way at the same time, his resources must have been almost fully expended. His will which contains numerous small bequests does not contain any major ones. This is explicable in that it is clear from the level of his expenditure throughout his episcopate that he cannot have been hoarding money to disperse on his death but rather spent it lavishly, although under his close direction, during his lifetime.

80. They added up, of course, to a substantial sum; it is difficult to calculate it precisely because it included bequests to each monk in a number of monasteries without stipulating the number of people involved. If, however, we take as a minimum what the monasteries would have had at least the same number of monks as were recorded at the dissolution of the monasteries Waynflete's bequests totalled in the region of £600, including the £271 bequeathed to members of his household.
10. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPORAL ESTATES

The temporal estates were attached to the bishopric but their administration was not, in theory, an integral part of the bishop's episcopal function. At the same time, his behaviour towards them was limited in a way not experienced by secular lords; the bishop was only God's steward of the lands and therefore could not alienate or dispose of inconvenient or unprofitable lands.

In this chapter I want to look briefly at the process of administration of the estates, not as a whole but only insofar as bishop Waynflete was personally concerned. I want to discuss a single well-documented incident in the relations between the bishop and his tenants on one manor to see how he was regarded by them as an overlord and finally look briefly at his administration in the manor of Southwark.

The estates had to be carefully managed to provide the revenues required by the bishop. Just as a comprehensive system of diocesan administration had evolved by the fifteenth century, so there was also a matured, developed system of administration for the temporal estates. This was separate from that of the diocesan administration and had its own hierarchy of officials to cope with the running and upkeep of the manors, the collection of revenues and the exercise of the bishop's jurisdictional rights. The administrative hierarchy was complex, extending from the main financial officers down to bailiffs, local parkers and gatekeepers. The machinery of manorial administration is outside the scope of this thesis - it could be carried on almost independently of the bishop although as the source of his revenue it was clearly of great interest to him.

1. cf. R. Dunning, 'Policy towards the estates' probably concerned the bishop little; if he could not spare much time for spiritual activities, his temporal estates must have troubled him even less, provided that money and food were forthcoming.' 'The administration of the diocese of Bath and Wells 1401-91', (Bristol Ph. D. thesis 1963, unpublished.), p. 229
The administration of the temporal estates of the bishopric was carried on on two distinct levels - local and central. Locally each manor was managed by a reeve while groups of manors were overseen by bailiffs. The real direction of affairs and ultimate responsibility remained with the central administration; the bishop's council and the officials with specific financial responsibilities.

i) The bishop's council

The consilium domini of Waynflete although frequently mentioned in the ministers' accounts remains a shadowy body for while its role in general terms can be determined, nowhere is there a clue to its composition. It was not a body unique to the diocese of Winchester; other lords, secular and religious, maintained similar bodies of advisors. What is known of its composition elsewhere can be assumed to apply to Winchester; it must have been composed of the main estate officials and legal advisors and also included prominent local landowners. The grants of offices, which were in effect sinecures or which at least could be filled by deputies, to members of local gentry families must have been one way of rewarding those who served on the bishop's council. The advice of local men about the customs and conditions affecting manorial administration would be especially valuable to a bishop who had come into the diocese as a newcomer and would not be familiar with local practices.


3. John Titchborne, a member of a local gentry family was made bailiff of the soke of Winchester and of the bishop's liberties in Hampshire, Register of the common seal, p.130; Humphrey Stafford, lord of Southwick was made warden of the castle and manor of Taunton, ibid., p.122; such appointments are made throughout Waynflete's episcopate.
The role of the council was primarily advisory; it made decisions of policy towards the estates and on details of the management of the bishop's lands and it was also responsible for dealing with any legal disputes which might arise. References in the ministers' accounts enable us to see the council at work. Rents were fixed, 'per consideracionem concilii domini'. In 1453 the council agreed to pay the rent collector at Highclere manor in Wiltshire £3 10d, 'ex certa convencione facta dum senescalii et consilio domini'. The actions of the council were mainly manorial and territorial, although it must be remembered that such a picture may be distorted by the sources for the evidence for the activities of this body comes solely from the manorial accounts. Beaufort's council apparently acted for the bishop in matters not concerning the bishopric. For advice in other spheres of his interests, however, it is more probable that bishop Waynflete turned to the appropriate figures within his immediate household - his chancellor for example - rather than to the more cumbersome council.

ii) Treasurer of Wolvesey

'Bishops in the period for which our accounts survive presumably had an important influence over the administration of the estates, though the extent to which they were involved in detailed decision making cannot be known.' The most important way in which a bishop could

5. H.R.O. EC/A/159444, fo. 8^v.
ensure that the temporal administration would be conducted in accordance
with his wishes even when his attention had to be elsewhere, was by
careful choice of his major officials. The most important of these in
Winchester, the man who controlled the cash flow into and out of the
bishop's exchequer was the Treasurer of Wolvesey, a receiver-general
who took his name from the episcopal palace in Winchester which was the
seat of the bishop's exchequer. In his hands lay overall responsibility
for the episcopal revenues; the receipt of cash and rents and the
payment of the lesser officials. It was he who authorised the
allocation of money to the treasurer of the bishop's household for its
daily expenses. The treasurer of Wolvesey can be equated in terms of
rank and importance with the chancellor of the household or the
diocesan vicar-general.

Waynflete's first choice as treasurer reflects his own awareness
that he was a newcomer to the administration, temporal as well as
ecclesiastical, of the bishopric of Winchester. William Porte,
appointed in January 1448, had been a trusted member of the household
of Cardinal Beaufort and was one of his executors. A layman, like all
the treasurers under Waynflete, he was an educated man who had been
a fellow of New College Oxford. By the time of his appointment he was
a mature man in his late forties, more or less the same age as the
bishop himself. With his educational background he would have been
congenial to Waynflete but at the same time would have been familiar

8. For example the account for 1460 records £43 6s 8d being paid to
Thomas Walkington, treasurer of the bishop's household, by Hugh
Pakenham, treasurer of Wolvesey, H.R.O. EC/A/155828; the
sums involved were frequently much smaller than this.
9. cf. Waynflete's choice of Richard Manning as an experienced diocesan
administrator to act as his first official-principal, above p.106.
with both the personnel of the estates and the procedures for their management.

William Porte was replaced in 1454 by Hugh Pakenham, a member of an important local gentry family from Hartley Waspall. As treasurer of Wolvesey Pakenham was an important local figure in Hampshire and is found in 1458 organising the defence of Southampton against possible French attack. He proved however to be the one man chosen by bishop Waynflete for a position of trust for whom the bishop's judgement was shown to be in error – in 1461 he was dismissed from the bishop's service for fraud relating to the sale of the manor of Otterburne to the bishop as part of the endowment being gathered together for Magdalen College. It is significant that this one case of fraud took place during the time when Waynflete was chancellor of England, the only time in his episcopate when his attention was concentrated outside the diocese for considerable stretches of time. Pakenham evidently over-reached himself in taking advantage of the opportunities for gain which lack of the bishop's vigilant eye may have presented.

Thomas Gyan, the third of Waynflete's treasurers of Wolvesey was also a local man; trained as a notary-public he had been attached to the bishop's household in that capacity for some ten years prior to his

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11. Reg.Wayn. I fo.1* where Pakenham is described as the son of John Pakenham of Hartley Waspall; also V.C.H.Hampshire III, p.42.

12. Letter from Waynflete to Pakenham, dated 7 September [1458], 'We praye you to comune with gentilmen of the cuntre and also with the Maire and summe other trusty and sadde men of the same towne in this matier [The defence of the south coast] and to praye thayn forto see wysely about thaym...' Letters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the archives of Southampton, ed. R.C. Anderson (Southampton Record Society 22, 1921), pp.12-13.


14. The treasurer of Wolvesey was in a good position to benefit from the bishop's purchase of land; 20% of the total endowment given by Waynflete to Magdalen College came from the lands of Thomas Danvers, his family and associates.
15 appointment as treasurer. He wrote and witnessed the foundation charter of Magdalen College in 1458. This link with the foundation of the college is an indication of the increasing involvement of the treasurer of Wolvesey with this project of Waynflete's. The treasurers of Wolvesey henceforth are rarely excluded from the witness lists of documents relating to the acquisition of land for the college. In addition, money was paid to Magdalen College which did not become financially independent until 1481, from the revenues of the diocese of Winchester. These payments were made either directly from diocesan manors situated in Oxfordshire such as Adderbury and Witney, by warrant of the bishop, or from the central diocesan exchequer by order of the treasurer of Wolvesey.

Gyan remained treasurer of Wolvesey until not long before his death in 1469. He was succeeded by Thomas Pounde who held the position between 1468 and 1478. Pounde had been one of the tellers of receipt in the Exchequer in the 1440s. The treasurer of Wolvesey was in a position to be a close confidant and adviser to Waynflete. No man fulfilled this role more fully than Thomas Danvers, treasurer 1478 until Waynflete's death in 1486. Danvers had been in the bishop's service since the mid 1450s and was his principal agent in gathering together the endowment for Magdalen College. On three occasions, 1460, 1472 and 1477 he also represented the bishop's borough of Downton (Wiltshire) in the Commons.

18. Episcopal warrants were addressed directly to the receivers on the Oxfordshire manors as can be seen in the account for 1483 - payment was made to Richard Bernys for the use of the college authorised by a writ, '...under his signet...',H.R.O. EC/A/155844, fo.21.
18a. C.P.R.1441-6, p.335. Pounde was an important local figure in Hampshire before becoming treasurer of Wolvesey; he was customer of Southampton and had some responsibility for royal farms in the county, see the references given in PRO Lists and Indexes, Warrants for issues.
20. Wedgwood, Register, pp.677, 708-9; see below appendix IV.
All these men were laymen, part of the growing body of lay administrators and bureaucrats which was rapidly developing in England in the course of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{21} The treasurer acted as confidant and adviser to the bishop, as his paymaster and as the purchaser of lands for the future endowment of Magdalen College. The treasurer of Wolvesey formed the single most important and consistent link between the bishop and the men who managed his temporal estates. His duties however extended beyond the boundaries of the diocese; due to his position as the bishop's treasurer he was involved in all of his master's activities, which in Waynflete's case meant particularly his educational foundations.

iii) The auditor

In order to prevent peculation and other such abuses, the accounts of the treasurer of Wolvesey, like any other important accounts, had to be audited annually. In the first half of the fifteenth century this annual audit was carried out by a body of men\textsuperscript{22} but in 1448 there appears for the first time a single professional auditor. This was a late development compared to other dioceses; in Canterbury a succession of professional auditors can be traced from c.1412.\textsuperscript{24} There they were paid £15 annually which included a sum of £5 to cover the costs of the parchment, ink, green baize and counters necessary for carrying out the audits.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} See R.L.Storey, 'Gentleman bureaucrats' in Clough, ed. Profession vocation and culture, pp.90-129.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Swift, 'The machineriy of manorial administration', p.59ff.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p.72.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Du Boulay, Lordship of Canterbury, p.273.
\end{itemize}
The appointment of Nicholas Sharpe as auditor of the diocese of Winchester was the first of two important changes made by Waynflete in the temporal administration of his diocese. In his professional capacity Sharpe had been known to the bishop as auditor of the accounts of Eton College and King's College in 1446, when Waynflete was still provost of Eton. Sharpe's appointment, for which he received £10 a year described him as auditor of all the accounts of the treasurer, receivers, bailiffs, provosts, farmers and all officials and ministers. The appointment appears in the episcopal register dated October 1451 but Sharpe must have come directly from Eton College to the diocese with Waynflete for he appears in the ministers' accounts as early as 1448, '...xvi d pro expensis Nicholai Sharpe auditur domini, equitans de London usque Wynton' pro compotus ministrorum...'. The audit took place in the central episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey.

Sharpe is the only auditor under Waynflete of whom there is record, but several appointments of auditors made by his successor, bishop Courtney, show that the post had become well established by then as a regular position within the manorial administration. The form of Courtney's appointments, for life and in return for past good services, and the fact that the post could be filled by a deputy suggests that

25. C.P.R. 1446–52, p.60; Swift, 'The machinery of manorial administration', pp.54n, 72 suggests that since Waynflete had been provost of Eton College, '...there might have been some personal interest in this appointment. In that case it would not indicate so radical a change.' It is more in keeping with Waynflete's whole approach to his diocese to suggest that the appointment shows Waynflete making use of the experience he had gained while at Eton to professionalize his diocesan administration.

26. Reg.Wayn. I fo.2v
27. H.R.O. EC/2/159439, fo.22v
28. Register of the common seal, pp.158, 179.
by the late 1480s the job of auditor had become one which could be used to reward retainers, who could employ others to carry out the duties attached to the office.

Waynflete also introduced into his manorial administration the position of supervisor or surveyor of the episcopal estates, but unlike the treasurer of Wolvesey or the auditor, the man who filled this position throughout the later part of Waynflete's episcopate was a clerk, master Stephen Tyler. Tyler seems to have been as much part of the bishop's household as he was of the structure of manorial administration; many of his duties involved the rapidly growing endowment for Magdalen College. He was named among Waynflete's executors in 1486.

The appearance of a professional auditor and a surveyor reflects the trend in the fifteenth century towards a distinct professional class of administrators. Waynflete had had experience of such men while provost of Eton College and he used this experience to 'modernise' the estate management of his diocese, which under Cardinal Beaufort seems to have continued very much along lines laid down in the fourteenth century.

iv) The ministers' accounts

The employment of a professional auditor was the first evident impact of the new bishop on the estate management of Winchester. Another alteration made by Waynflete was also designed to aid the smooth running of the administrative machinery - this was a change in the physical form of the ministers' accounts from the traditional Pipe roll

form to bound volumes.

The ministers' accounts for the episcopal estates of Winchester are extant from 1208. With their detailed coverage of many aspects of manorial life they have been widely used, particularly by agrarian historians. The ones used however, are primarily those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with little more than casual references being made to those of the fifteenth century - by which time they are of less use for agrarian conditions and prices due to extensive demesne leasing. The basic article which has been written on their dating is misleading in that it gives the impression that this run of ministers' accounts ceases to exist in 1453. In fact 1454 marks a dramatic change in the physical form of the accounts. The Pipe rolls consisted, as is implied by the descriptive name, of large membranes closely written on front and dorse, sewn together at the head and rolled up. By reason of their large size and bulk these are difficult to work with; a practical difficulty which must have been encountered more frequently in the fifteenth century than today when they are only occasionally consulted.

The change made in 1454 was one of form not content; from Michaelmas of that year onwards the accounts were bound into volumes, still with large pages and closely written on both sides but now in book form with a soft vellum cover. This alteration must have greatly facilitated consultation of the accounts. At first the main


31. H. Hall, 'A list of the rent rolls of the bishopric of Winchester', Economicia 10 (1924), pp.52-61; the ministers' accounts are now in the Hampshire Record Office, EC/2/159438-159444 and EC/2/155827-155845; the former numbers refer to the rolls for Waynflete episcopate, the latter to the bound volumes.
a) Pipe Roll 1454  H.R.O. EC/2/159444

b) Ministers' accounts in bound form 1470  
H.R.O. EC/2/155833

The Pipe Rolls pre and post 1454
guide to the contents of each folio consists only of a marginal note giving the name of the manor concerned while the matter being dealt with is indicated by larger and darker script within the text. Quickly, however, the marginal guide is expanded to include details of the accounts, arrears, farms, allowances for writs.

The change from roll form to book form in itself was not a new idea; episcopal registers were originally kept on rolls but they fairly rapidly made the transition to books. In making this change in the manorial accounts the diocese of Winchester seems to have been ahead of many other lordships; the accounts of the Duke of Clarence for 1480 were still being enrolled on large membrances. This change in Winchester in 1454 coincided with the replacement of William Porte, who had served Beaufort, with Hugo Pakenham as treasurer of Wolvesey. Pakenham was Waynflete's choice and while there is no direct evidence for the change being the result of the bishop's initiative it must have had his sanction. Since he can elsewhere be seen to be personally concerned in all affairs touching his interests as bishop, it is reasonable to assume that he was the instigator of the new-style accounts or at least approved and encouraged the change.

Waynflete clearly took as much of a personal interest in the administration of his temporal estates as he did in the diocesan administration. Without a comprehensive study of the ministers' accounts it is impossible to quantify how successful his attempts to increase the efficiency of the administration were. A look at the relations

32. This was the case by the end of the 1450s as can be seen in the volume for 39 Henry VI, H.R.O. EC/2/155828.
33. None of the surviving Winchester registers (which exist from 1282) are in the form of rolls, but rolls are found for thirteenth century York and Lincoln, Smith, Guide to bishops' registers, pp.105 9, 234.
34. R.H.Hilton, Ministers' accounts of the Warwickshire estates of the Duke of Clarence 1479-80, (Dugdale society 1952), p.lx,n.1;
between the bishop and his tenants on the manor of East Meon does suggest that pressure was being put on some of his tenants as a result of the bishop's personal interest in the running of the estates.

c) The tenants of East Meon

In addition to the widespread risings such as those of 1381 and 1450 which exploded in England in the later middle ages, there were numerous local expressions of rural discontent which indicate a growing tension between a seignorial administration trying to hold on to their traditional rights and a peasantry in which there was little economic differentiation between customary tenantry and serfs. In the fifteenth century there were numerous rent strikes and other collective actions, especially against the payment of dues such as recognitions and common fines. A recent study of the estates of the bishopric of Worcester showed the tenantry of the fifteenth century adopting a more assertive and less servile attitude towards their lords and concluded that 'there was a good deal of tension between lords and tenants'.

This tension can also be found on the estates in Winchester during Waynflete's episcopate. It was most marked in the relationship between the bishop and his tenants on the Hampshire manor of East Meon although it also occurred elsewhere.

36. In May 1462 both Waynflete and representatives of the tenants of the episcopal manor of Alwarstoke in Hampshire appeared before the Southampton justices of assize at Westminster to settle a dispute concerning 'certain rents, services and duties asked by him [Waynflete] of the tenants'. Both sides produced written evidence to support their case, but Waynflete was able to counter the tenants' claim that they possessed a charter of exemption dating from the late twelfth century by showing that the charter was void - not only were the priors of St. Swithin's who had made the grant, only priors datife, removable by the bishop and unable to grant away his rights, but also the tenants had not the right to enjoy such grants. He supported his claim with evidence that the tenants had paid the sum regularly in the period between the supposed grant and his own day. The Alwarstoke tenants accepted the bishop's evidence and the justices decided in his favour which seems to have settled the matter satisfactorily, C.C.R. 1461-68, pp.230-34.
The tenants of East Meon were a source of trouble to Waynflete from the very beginning of his episcopate. In 1448, within a year of his becoming bishop, they withdrew the services due to him from their holdings. Subsequently Waynflete held a lengthy inquisition at Winchester which ascertained in minute detail all the services owed to him. As the new incumbent of the see Waynflete was evidently determined to discover and enforce his rights in this matter. 37

Waynflete may have gained the upper hand in 1448 for the tenants appear to have been quiescent during the 1450s, but trouble arose again in the late summer of 1461. On that occasion the East Meon tenants made a complaint to the king which was adjudged serious enough to be referred to the judgement of parliament and, although the Lords upheld Waynflete's case, the matter was followed up by the tenants who made a second complaint the following year.

After his coronation in June 1461 Edward IV made a lengthy progress through southern and western England. By August he had reached Hampshire and the tenants of East Meon, which was one of the larger episcopal manors of Winchester, seized their opportunity to place a list of their grievances before him, perhaps encouraged by a feeling that Waynflete's known support for the Lancastrians might lead the king to view the bishop's position less favourably. One chronicle states that the peasants had actually imprisoned the bishop and that he had to be rescued by the king: '...ubi Willelmmum episcopum Wintoniensem eripuit, insectatores suos graviter redarguít et eorum capitaneos carcerali custodie mancipavit...' 38

37. M.C.Deeds Hilhampton 39, an exemplification made by Edward IV on 20 November 1461, in connection with the dispute discussed below, of the proceedings of the 1448 Winchester inquisition.

The immediate response of the king was to order them to continue to pay the disputed rents and services until the case could be considered by the forthcoming parliament. Parliament met in November 1461 and several days in December were given over to the consideration of the grievances of the East Meon peasants. In the first instance they were heard by three serjeants-at-law, the king's attorney and others. This committee reported to the lords on 14 December and the following day the matter was discussed by them, aided by,  

'The great evidences and proof layd for the party of the said reverend father the ould bookees evidences writings custumarie court rolls particular accountte bookees called the pipes of the dayes of xv bishoppes successivelie on after other divers records also exemplified under the kinges great seale and under the seale of his Exchequere...'  

The lords concluded that;  

'no sufficient cause or matter is shewd by the party of the tenaunntts of East Meon to the countarie...that the bishop had the things above claimed tyme oute of mind...'  

and they ordered the tenantry to pay the disputed rents and dues. On 16 December the king in parliament was informed by the chancellor George Neville, of the decision of the lords and '... the said highness was agreed well contented and pleased...'  

This should have concluded the matter but the following May the tenants of East Meon complained again of the bishop's actions; this time '...certaine of their neighbours were imprisoned by the said reverend fadre...'. Both parties were told to send representatives before the king's council; the tenants however lost their case by default, departing from the court before the case was heard. On 3 July

39. R.P.V., p.476; the two quotations are taken from this source.
1462 the king's council issued a writ of proclamation to the Sheriff of Hampshire, ordering him to declare to the tenants of the bishop's lordship that:

'... they paye their rentes, doo and contunue their seutes, services werkes and custumes, as they aught and have be accustumed to doo in tyme passed, soo that in their defaute we be noo more vexed...'  

Just as the peasantry were at a disadvantage before the parliament because they could not compete with the episcopal administration in producing evidence to support their case, their case is even more difficult to consider today when the oral testimony of their representatives has not survived. Their grievances were five-fold: they wished to be relieved from the exactions of shirsette, tithing penny, custom pannage; they objected to the holding of the bishop's court in the parsonage rather than the manor of East Meon and finally, they claimed that they were freeholders, not copy holders, and that their land was charter land, not copy land.

It seems that the action of the bishop in encouraging a vigorous administration of his estates had led to an attempted (and evidently successful) imposition of levies which had been allowed to lapse. Similar administrative activity in the diocese of Worcester during the 1450s and 1460s, at a time when the economy was depressed, led to an increase in the sum of arrears when the tenants refused to pay and the officials were not prepared to compromise. The bishop had the

41. Select cases before the king's council, p.115.
42. Charter land was a form of tenure under which tenants were exempt from a number of services; if the peasants were copy-holders their tenure depended on custom and the lord's will and they were obliged to carry out services, but if they were, as they claimed, freeholders they were subject to neither the custom of the manor nor the will of the bishop. This was the essence of their complaints; the payments to which they objected were normally only exacted from customary tenants.
43. Dyer, Lords and peasants, p.189.
the upper hand in any such dispute owing to the mass of evidence, muniments and accounts which he could produce to support his position. In addition he could expect his peers who had the ultimate decision to support his position in order not to undermine their own.

Such complaints of the tenantry, which display considerable resentment and animosity, bear out the suggestion that there was a new, more efficient, temporal administrative policy which, while it may have been producing financial dividends, caused considerable ill-feeling. The tenants of East Meon may also have resented the fact that unlike his predecessors, Waynflete did not use the manor as a residence and thus any benefits which might have accrued to them by reason of the presence of the episcopal household would have been lost.

d) Southwark: the liberty of the clink

Evidence of increased administrative activity during Waynflete's episcopate can also be found on the bishop's manor in Southwark, popularly known as the liberty of the clink. A manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library contains a collection of ordinances from the latter part of the fifteenth century, drawn up, according to notes on the last folio of the manuscript, by Nicholas Corun, steward of the manor 1461-85. The bulk of the document consists of a transcript of a twelfth century customary dealing with the good ordering of the Southwark stews, the principal brothel area of the city of London, which lay within the bishop's jurisdiction. That it was transcribed at this period suggests that it was in active use, perhaps in a response to the

complaints being made against the stews throughout the century.  

The remainder of the manuscript contains brief details of court leets held on the manor during the 1450s - 1450, 1451, 1452, 1454, 1455, 1457, 1459. The articles are concerned in particular with matters which relate to the running of the stews and relating to the position of the bishop's officers and their powers in the court leet. 

During this period there were also a number of complaints addressed to the chancellor directed against the officials of the bishop's liberty, requesting writs of corpus cum causa or certiori. While such complaints are not exclusive to the episcopate of Waynflete they are being made in considerable numbers during this time. All this combines to suggest considerable activity on the part of Waynflete's officials of the manor of Southwark. Since it was a residence particularly favoured by the bishop, he would have been in a position to encourage and initiate this activity.

Conclusion

Although the administration of the temporal estates of Winchester, like the ecclesiastical administration of the diocese, could be carried on on a day-to-day basis without his direct participation, its smooth and efficient running was important to

45. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.610, 3 June 1460 - the appointment of a commission to remove prostitutes from the borough of Southwark on the grounds that their presence caused numerous homicides, plunderings and improper occurrences. 

46. 'A fifteenth century customary', p.429. 

47. The main statements regulating the position of the bishop's officers were (i) all matters in the leet were to be tried by a jury of twelve men and finished without delay; (ii) all actions were to be tried and judged according to the customs of the city of London; (iii) no bailiff was to make an arrest unless accompanied by a constable; in addition the old customs relating to the amount of amercements were reaffirmed.

48. P.R.O. C1/31/325, 46/127, 227, 343, 467, 48/52, 64/897.
him if maximum income was to be gleaned from his lands. These estates produced the revenues necessary not only to maintain his household and comfortable lifestyle but also to carry out projects dear to his heart - in Waynflete's case the foundation of Magdalen college and building works at Eton college and elsewhere.

Waynflete clearly took a personal interest in the estate administration; during his episcopate a professional auditor was introduced and the form of accounting was changed to make it easier to handle. While without a comprehensive study of the ministers' accounts it is impossible to say, as has been said of contemporary Worcester, that there was 'an orgy of administrative activity', bishop Waynflete was evidently attempting to increase the efficiency of the temporal administration. His success is perhaps reflected in the complaints of the East Meon tenants for whom increased efficiency meant heavier burdens.

The same characteristic of a desire to be involved personally in all matters relating to the diocese of Winchester can be seen in the temporal as well as in the ecclesiastical administration of Winchester during William Waynflete's episcopate.

49. Dyer, Lords and peasants, p.159.
III WAYNFLETE'S POLITICAL CAREER

11. Politics 1447 - 1456

12. Chancellorship and politics 1456 - 1461

13. Political Connections and Appointments

14. Politics 1461 - 1486

1. [Reference not provided]

2. [Reference not provided]
We are accustomed to hearing of the political involvements of medieval bishops, of, for example, the political, 'king-making' role such as George Neville, archbishop of York and Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells. The support of at least a sector of the episcopate was seen as necessary for an aspirant to the crown. The motives of the men who became the political allies of kings and magnates were diverse; some like Neville were involved by virtue of their family connections; others aimed for preferment within the church hierarchy. Thus for some bishops their position as members of the aristocracy led to the neglect or at least the delegation of their duties as spiritual lords, particularly within their own dioceses. At the same time a bishop in the fifteenth century could not go to the other extreme and divorce himself from public affairs; his role as a spiritual lord carried with it obligations as part of the 'body politic'. Duties as councillor and adviser to the king as well as the safeguarding of the liberties and the peace of the realm were almost as much part of a bishop's role as were his diocesan and pastoral cares.

As bishop of Winchester, therefore, Waynflete could hardly avoid being caught up in the political affairs of Lancastrian England. At the same time it is clear that political activities, plotting and scheming were not his driving interest; he applied himself conscientiously to the public and political duties expected of himself and seems, during the period of his involvement to have been successful in political affairs.


2. Stillington owed his elevation to the see of Bath and Wells to his support of Edward IV in 1461.
Waynflete himself stated that his primary interests lay elsewhere, outside the political sphere. A privy council minute relating to the protectorate of Richard, Duke of York in 1454, recorded the responses of the lords, lay and spiritual, to a request that they should serve the Duke in council. Bishop Waynflete's reaction was to propose a rota of councillors stating that, while he was prepared to serve for a period, 'his consyence [concerning his involvements elsewhere and particularly his diocesan interests] wold not suffer hym contynualy to serve.' While this reply may have been an excuse to escape an irksome political burden, combined with his active participation in diocesan affairs, it rings true. Henry VI's political troubles forced Waynflete's involvement in English politics throughout the 1450s but politics was never at the forefront of his interests.

a) Personal relationship with King Henry VI

Although the evidence of his political involvement shows Waynflete to have been dutiful rather than ambitious in that sphere he was closely identified with the Lancastrian monarchy in one way - through his personal relationship with Henry VI. This involvement with the king and by extension with the king's advisers arose from Waynflete's connections with the embryonic foundation of Eton College. Their relationship was a personal rather than a political one and it continued on an apolitical basis throughout Henry VI's reign and asserted itself again during the king's brief re-adeption in 1471.

Henry VI's personal affection for Waynflete was demonstrated in a number of ways. The presentation of Waynflete to the see of Winchester was the most material expression of the king's good will but there is other evidence of the affection and trust shown by Henry towards his friend.

The document commonly if erroneously known as the 'King's Will', drafted in 1448 contained Henry's intentions concerning the future development of Eton College. In this the king refers to Waynflete, by then bishop of Winchester for just under a year, with evident confidence:

'For the final performing of my said will to be put effectually in execution I, considering the great discretion of the said worshipful father in God, William now bishop of Winchester, his high trust and fervant zeal which at all times he hath unto my my will and which I have proved in him and for the great and whole confidence which I have unto him, will that he, not only as surveyor but also as executor and director of my said will, be privy unto all the performing of my said will.'

A later document of 1455 which empowered Waynflete (together with John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln) to reform the collegiate statutes of both Eton and King's colleges suggests that the king still relied heavily on the bishop at least in matters concerning his educational foundations.

That the relationship between the king and William Waynflete was personal rather than political was a distinction which was appreciated by contemporaries. He was not seen by the contemporary critics of Henry VI's court and council as being unduly influential or at least his influence does not appear to have provoked popular resentment. He was not listed among those whom the commons of the

5. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.341.
the parliament of 1450-51 desired to be removed from the king's presence. Neither did he suffer from attacks such as those which resulted in the deaths of the keeper of the privy seal, Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester and the king's confessor William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, in 1450 in an extreme expression of popular disapproval of their role in government and their responsibility for England's reversal of fortune in French affairs.

b) Waynflete as a councillor

Waynflete was a member of the continual council from November 1447 and between that date and July 1460 was recorded as being present more often than any other prelate with the exceptions of archbishops Kempe and Bourchier during their periods as chancellor. Of those members of the council recorded as being present regularly in the years 1449-1460 for which there is information, the highest attenders were the Dean of St. Severin who was at seventy sessions, Waynflete at sixty-eight and the Earl of Worcester at sixty-seven. In his early years as prelate, however, his role as a councillor played a fairly meagre role in his life. He was only present at sixteen sessions between November 1447 and December 1449.

The late 1440s were, however, the nadir of the council's history; by and large it was concerned with matters of routine - as surviving warrants issued by it suggest - rather than political decisions.

6. R.P.V, p. 216–7
8. Peter Tastar; St.Sevrin was in Bordeaux, Tastar was a refugee in England where his experience as a councillor in Gascony made him a valuable asset, Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.290.
9. 'Composition of the king's council', appendix B, pp.157-60.
10. Ibid., p.158.
Increasingly Suffolk and his clients were responsible for the real policy. Until his withdrawal from politics in 1446 Cardinal Beaufort had been a crucial figure in this small group of influential advisors who had usurped many of the functions of the council. Waynflete did not adopt this role when he became bishop of Winchester. His political activities seem to have been restricted to serving on the council.

His first recorded attendance at a council meeting was in November 1447, six months after he had become bishop. On 25th of that month he was in attendance when Richard Langport and John Fostor were appointed clerks of the council. His attendance over the next few years appears to have been fairly sporadic in so far as it can be reconstructed from accounts of council meetings or signatures on council warrants. During 1449 he hardly attended at all, although he was present at a meeting, held in Winchester during the period when parliament was in session there, on 11 June 1449. This particular meeting was concerned with a matter which is likely to have been of interest to Waynflete. It resulted in a decree that aliens who resided in London and its suburbs should not be allowed to be

11. Neither did he follow Cardinal Beaufort in shoring up the government financially. Beaufort's financial contribution to the Lancastrian government had been exceptional and was not to be repeated by his successors. Waynflete did not have any private resources and the early years after being promoted to a bishopric tended to be expensive, see F. Heal, Of prelates and princes, p.74. Despite this, in the late 1440s and early 1450s Waynflete did lent money to the government on several occasions - £100 in 1449, Issues of the Exchequer, p.465; £300 in 1451 C.P.R. 1446-52, p.452 and £87 in 1453, P.R.O. E404/69/163.


13. He attended sixteen of fifty-seven known sessions between November 1447 and December 1449, 'Composition of the king's council', p.158. His attendance can be traced in the Proceedings of the Privy Council VI and by his signature on warrants issued by the council, P.R.O. C81/1546 and P.R.O. E28. Many of the issues discussed when he was present were routine, as for example on 28 January 1448 when safe-conducts were issued for two Norwegian ambassadors, C81/1546/26 or in September 1451 when Geneoese merchants were discussed, C81/1546/54.
threatened and intimidated. 14 Southwark lay within the diocese of Winchester and on other occasions Waynflete demonstrated his concern for the maintenance of good order there. 15

The domestic crisis of 1449 and the murder of Suffolk and others of his circle initiated some changes with regard to the council but it was still a weak and not very influential body. Archbishop Kempe and Andrew Holes (keeper of the privy seal) dominated it and Viscount Beaumont and Ralph Lord Cromwell, a fellow Lincolnshire man, were also important. 16 Waynflete's attendance continued to be occasional and sporadic. 17 There seems little pattern in the items discussed at the meetings he attended. He was present when many routine matters were discussed: 18 he was also present on a number of occasions when the war with France or the defence of other parts of the realm were discussed. 19 His diocese encompassed an area which was vulnerable to attack from the sea by the French. 20

It was only from the latter months of 1453, with the onset of the king's illness, that Waynflete began to play a far greater role in council business. Despite his apparent reluctance to

15. See below, pp.226-7
16. These changes are discussed in detail in Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, pp.228-90.
17. He attended only eighteen of fifty sessions between 22 March 1450 and 19 August 1453, 'Composition of the king's council', p.159.
18. Again these included numerous minor matters - on 14 October 1452 a safe conduct for William Cannings of Bristol, P.R.O. C81/1546/57; on 29 October 1452 a safe conduct for Thomas Esclope of Galway, P.R.O. C81/1546/59; a grant of six oaks for the rebuilding of the parish church of Odiham /in the diocese of Winchester/ on 28 April 1450, P.R.O. E28/80/43.
19. As for example, on 9 February 1454 when the council discussed the defence of the Scottish marches, P.R.O. C81/1546/74 or again on 6 February 1454 when the matter discussed was who was the rightful lieutenant of Ireland, P.R.O. C81/1546/73.
20. One major problem was the defence of the Isle of Wight which could be numbered amongst Waynflete's concerns since it lay within the diocese of Winchester.
serve continuously during the protectorate of the Duke of York, it is clear that in fact during this period his attendance at meetings became much more frequent. In 1454-5 he was present at forty-four meetings out of a total of sixty-four. No other bishop, excepting Archbishop Bourghchier who was chancellor, was at so many meetings in this period. The council was beginning to reassert its authority under Richard Duke of York and a wide range of matters, both routine and of major importance were discussed.

The king's recovery did not change Waynflete's new-found activity as a councillor and he remained a constant attender at meetings. It was this period, from late 1453 onwards, which laid the ground of his political experience for his later appointment as chancellor in 1456.

c) The parliament of 1449

'The lily is both faire and grene' was the description of Waynflete in a vernacular poem written in 1449; presumably it refers to his position as the newest member of the episcopate, perhaps in connection with the parliament of that year which opened at Westminster on 12 February 1449. This was the first parliament attended by Waynflete as bishop of Winchester. The internal activity of the lords in this parliament is better documented than for any other parliament of Henry VI's reign - in addition to the official rolls of parliament there are a number of fragmentary materials which

21. 'The composition of the king's council', p.159.
22. 'Prelude to the wars', 1.21, Historical poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ed. R.H.Robbins (New York 1959); this is usually taken as referring to Thomas Daniell, one of the lords of the household but in fact the lily was recognised by contemporaries as Waynflete's device. Derived from the lilies of Eton it was prominent on his episcopal arms, Blazon of episcopacy, plate LX. Another poem was written in the early 1450s referring to Waynflete's lilies, see E.Wilson, 'A poem presented to William Waynflete as bishop of Winchester' in E.G. Stanley & D.Gray, Middle English studies presented to Norman Davis (Oxford 1983), pp.127-51; the poem is printed in full as an appendix to the article.
round out the official accounts of its proceedings. These materials include accounts of two debates or exchanges of views between the lords in parliament. Waynflete can be seen expressing his opinion on both occasions.

On 20 March 1449 the debate concerned the question, 'whether the Earl of Arundel in the parliament held 12 Henry VI [1433] should there be earl by new creation or else by admission to his his old inheritance.' In 1433 the decision had been made that possession of the castle of Arundel carried with it the right to the earldom of Arundel. Now apparently the pedigree of the title itself seemed to be in dispute. Twenty-six lords were present at the debate and the document records the opinions of twenty of them. Nineteen stated that the decision of 1433 should be taken as an affirmation of an existing title; Waynflete alone 'was of the contrary opinion'. Why he should hold this view is unclear but the fact that he disagreed with his fellows does demonstrate that he was of independent mind and capable of thinking for himself.

The second exchange of views between the lords dates from the beginning of the session of this parliament which was held in Winchester, 16 June – 16 July. The central issue throughout the 1449 parliament was the recent successful assaults of the French king, Charles VII against English possessions in France and this second debate was concerned with how best to defend English possessions in Normandy and Guienne. The account of the debate shows a wide range

23. It seems as if a corpus of material relating to this period survived into the sixteenth century when it was copied by antiquaries whose manuscripts have come down to us, R.Virgoe, 'A list of the members of the parliament of February 1449', B.I.H.R. 34 (1961), p.206.


of views, the most extreme being that of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, William Booth, who proposed that those holding French lands should forfeit a year's revenue, which could help to finance an armed expedition. An additional problem faced by the lords was the extensive popular unrest in the localities of England. Waynflete proposed that the two problems should be dealt with together: 'The bishopp of Winton holdeth that if dew justis mey be had and then toordeyn other of the shiere archiers.' Cardinal Kempe and the Duke of Suffolk supported his suggestion. Again this debate shows that Waynflete played an active and constructive part in parliamentary debates; it also suggests that he was more concerned with the welfare and the maintenance of peace and order in England than with foreign affairs.

d) 1450 - Jack Cade's revolt

If chronicler's references to an individual's involvement in political events can be taken as an indication of popular awareness of the political role of that person Waynflete appears to be neither a controversial nor a well-known public figure. He is mentioned only rarely in the English chronicles which deal with the events of the 1450s and when he does appear it was usually as a mediator, attempting to bring together not to divide differing parties.


27. The final decision was to adopt the usual methods of raising money, a rather feeble response, Griffiths, 'The Winchester session',p.188.

28. His actions are referred to in chronicles on three separate and specific occasions - i) as a negotiator between the royal administration and the insurgents led by Cade; ii) as a mediator between the king and the Duke of York in 1452; iii) as one of the persons involved in the brief reconciliation between the Lancastrians and Yorkist factions in 1458. Each of these incidents will be discussed in more detail below.
Waynflete's first involvement in public affairs as a mediator predated the polarisation of the political factions of Lancastrians and Yorkists but the role he played during Cade's revolt demonstrated his ability and acceptability as a mediator.

In May 1450 Waynflete was in Leicester in attendance at the parliament there and he may still have been there in early June when news of the rebellion came to the king. Waynflete's itinerary gives little indication of his movements at this time, but the bishop probably accompanied the king and other members of the council to London, for on 16 June Waynflete was one of the emissaries sent to persuade the rebels to seek pardons. Little came of this mission except a clarification of the issues which moved the rebels.

Unsuccessful attempts at repression followed this mission. By 23 June Henry VI had decided to withdraw again from London and he left for the midlands on 25 June. Waynflete and Archbishop Stafford remained in or around London, an act of considerable bravery in the face of increasing discontent. Where Waynflete was residing at this time is unknown, probably not at his Southwark manor since the rebels broke into Southwark in the early days of July. A battle between the Londoners and Cade's forces took place on London bridge on 5 July and was followed by a short truce. Waynflete and the two archbishops took advantage of

30. The most recent account of Cade's revolt is in Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, pp.610-65. I have used this for points of chronology.
32. Ibid., p.613-4.
33. Ibid., p.615-6.
the lull in the fighting to meet with the rebels in St. Margaret's church in Southwark:

'Et in crastino episcopus Wyntoniae et alii domini de consilio domini regis in ecclesia Sanctae Margaretae de Southwerke praedicto cum dicto capitaneo Kantiae colloquuti sunt et ibidem receperunt billas petitionis ejusdem. Et similiter ibidem idem episcopus praedicto capitaneo et suis adhaerentibus deliberavit cartam domini regis de pardonatione eorum omnium.'

This was successful and the rebels withdrew from the city although Cade subsequently made an attempt to hold out in north Kent.

At this stage Waynflete left the capital for Wolvesey; he was in residence there, involved in routine diocesan business by 20 July.

He may have been at the great council held in St. Albans on 24 July but he was certainly back in Southwark by the end of the month.

In view of his heavy involvement in negotiations and conciliatory action towards the insurgents it is not surprising to find Waynflete listed among those heading the commission of oyer and terminer issued on 1 August 1450. The other chief figures were those involved similarly in previous negotiations - the two archbishops and the Duke of Buckingham.

According to King's Bench file 46 presentments were made to commissioners on a number of occasions - at Rochester 20-22 August, Maidstone 16-19 September, Canterbury 22-24 September and Dartford 22 October. The commissioners of oyer and terminer in attendance on each occasion were listed at the top of the presentments; these show that

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34. 'Wilhelmi Wyrcester annales rerum anglicarum' in Letters and papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI, ed. J. Stevenson (2 vols Rolls series 1861-4) II, p.768.

35. Reg.Wayn. I fo.37\textsuperscript{v}, '...vicesimo de mensis Julii 1451 in palacio suo de Wolvesey reverendus in Christo pater et dominus dominus Wilhelmus dei gratia Wynton' episcopus ...'

36. Ibid., fo.21\textsuperscript{v}22r

37. C.P.R. 1446-52, p.388.

Waynflete was never personally present. On one of the relevant dates, 22 August, he was at Eton College. It seems that once the revolt had been quashed Waynflete retired from the scene and returned to his own affairs.

Dartford 1452

'Et misit rex episcopum Wyncestrensem, comitem la Ewe et baronem de Stoorton ad ducem Eboraci. Mandans sibi quod non insurgeret contra eum qui respondens commendavit se sue bone gratie dicens quod numquam insurgeret contra regem sed obediret regi semper.'

This entry in the chronicle of John Benet for February 1452 describes the beginning of bishop Waynflete's second set of negotiations with potential insurgents, this time men with more avowed political aims led by Richard Duke of York.

Waynflete spent January and the early part of February 1452 in residence in the Hospital of St. James in the Fields Westminster; Henry VI was also at Westminster in this period. On 16 February Henry and a number of lords including Waynflete left London for a council to be held at Coventry. York refused to attend and furthermore raised men with whom to march on London. It was therefore in an atmosphere of growing political tension that the king dispatched a delegation consisting of Waynflete, Lord Stourton and Henry Bourghchier to dissuade York from hasty action. This mission met with no success and Henry VI returned to London where he lodged at Waynflete's Southwark manor, where he was conveniently situated outside the walls of the city should he...

41. Reg.Wayn. I fos 8* 15*F-V
42. Wolffe, Henry VI, p.365.
43. Waynflete's last recorded acta from Southwark at this time was dated 15 February, Reg.Wayn. I fo.8* (2nd series)
44. Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.695.
wish to leave the city in a hurry. By 1 March Henry's forces were drawn up at Blackheath, facing those of the Duke of York which were positioned at Dartford. Between the two sides rode emissaries, negotiating for York's submission to royal authority. The delegation which was led by Waynflete and bishop Bourgchier of Ely eventually persuaded York that the king would consider his petition against the Duke of Somerset and confine him to the Tower pending an inquiry.

According to the chroniclers York, having submitted, was escorted back to London between two bishops, presumably Waynflete and Bourgchier. Waynflete's involvement continued until the affair came to a conclusion; he was one of the arbitrators mentioned in the recognisance concluded between Somerset and York on 13 March 1452.

This incident clearly illustrates bishop Waynflete's position in the early 1450s; a trusted agent of the king he was at the same time acceptable to the Duke of York at a period when the rift between the two parties was widening.

6) 1453 - The king's illness

The lapse of Henry VI into some form of insanity in the autumn of 1453 threw the political scene into confusion. Parliament which had been due to reassemble was prorogued while the council continued to meet, trying to limit the spread of news of the king's condition and to maintain, as far as was possible, the government of the kingdom.

46. Ibid., p.697; On 1 March, '...concessit rex peticionem ducis fieri et sic concordati sunt super Nigrum Bruarium', 'Benet's chronicle', p.207
47. Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.697.
crisis point was reached with the death of Kempe, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor. Some sort of indication of the king's will with regard to the choice of Kempe's successor in both roles was imperative. 'Certeyn lords' were chosen, 'to ride to Windsore to the Kinges highe presence to shewe and declare to his highness the said matters and other certeyn matters the which of necessittie must be ordaigned.' The instructions given to the lords were to bring greetings to the king and to request his advice about two problems, that of Kempe's successor and that of the council which the Commons had been promised at the beginning of the 1453 parliament.

Waynflete led this delegation which had been chosen by the lords in parliament; while at Windsor castle much of the talking seems to have been done by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield but it was Waynflete who reported back to the lords on the delegation's return that their mission had been of no avail, '...to the whiche maters no to eny of theim they cowde gete noo answere ne signe...'

The initiative thus reverted to the lords and on 23 April 1454 bishop Bourchier of Ely was elevated to the see of Canterbury. The Duke of York headed the council during his protectorate and Waynflete remained among the councillors during this period, one of a number of 'non-Yorkists' in the council. His attitude to the request that he serve York as a councillor has already been noted; he was prepared to do his duty but his 'consyence' would not permit him to devote himself exclusively to political affairs. It was perhaps a mŏre honest answer to the request

50. Ibid., p.240.
51. Ibid., p.241.
than that given by many of the councillors who excused themselves on the grounds of ill health.

Waynflete maintained cordial personal relations with the Lancastrian court throughout Henry VI's illness. He baptised the new born heir Edward, Prince of Wales who was born in October 1453. When the king recovered his sanity in January 1455 Waynflete was one of the first lords to visit him, as reported by John Paston:

'And my lord of Wynchestre and my Lord of Saint James were with him on the morrow after twelfth daye and he spake to them as well as ever he did; and when thei come out thei wept for joye ...' 54

Waynflete remained involved in government and political decision making through the brief period of Henry VI's recovery; he attended council meetings and together with the bishop of Lincoln was chosen by the commons to regulate the royal household in 1454.55 It is from the period of Henry's illness then that Waynflete's involvement in politics can be dated and it provided the foundation for his increased participation in government throughout the decade.

52. 'The king's council and the first protectorate of the Duke of York', p.75.
55. R P. V. p. 244
The second protectorate of the Duke of York ended in February 1456 and although the Duke remained among the royal councillors until the early autumn of that year, his influence as a political adviser was in decline. The council held at Coventry in September–October 1456 marked the end of his period of power and at this same council there was a re-distribution of the three major offices of state – the Keepership of the Privy Seal, the Treasurership and the Chancellorship. This re-organisation of Henry VI's advisers in which William Waynflete was appointed chancellor brought the bishop to the forefront of the royal administration. The chancellor was the king's foremost adviser, a central figure of the Privy Council and potentially a man of great influence in the political sphere.\(^1\) The new administration of 1456, made at a council held in the Lancastrian stronghold of the midlands, has been described as replacing 'the spirit of accommodation' between the Yorkist lords and the royal court which the previous officers had represented.\(^2\) In fact it is difficult to view the members of the new administration as fervent Lancastrian partisans although they were undoubtedly loyal to the king. Booth, the Queen's chancellor who became the keeper of the privy seal was the most extreme Lancastrian of the three, but neither John Talbot, the new treasurer, nor Waynflete were fervent partisans or courtiers although they were staunchly loyal to the crown and to Henry VI personally.

The chancellorship was the last of the three offices to be filled; the seal was conveyed to William Waynflete during a session

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1. The importance of the chancellor in the government is illustrated by the fact that during the early period of the king's first illness government was continued without him but a crisis was provoked by the death in March 1454 of Kempe who was chancellor.

'Memorandum that on 11 October of this year in the presence of Thomas bishop of London...and great number of other lords spiritual and temporal, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, did produce to the king in his chamber within the priory of Coventry his three seals sealed up in three leather bags under the chancellor's seal...which bags the chancellor did cause to be opened and with his own hands delivered the several seals to the king and the king took them and discharged the archbishop of the office of chancellor and of these seals and delivered the same to the custody of William bishop of Winchester whom he did then appoint chancellor.' 3

Contemporary opinion does not appear to have been critical of his appointment. Benet's chronicle is the only one to mention it and he merely refers to the new appointment in passing. 4 According to the Pastons, the Duke of Buckingham, '... taketh it right straungely that both his brethern arn so sodently discharged...',5 but the Duke himself remained part of the council and showed by his actions no signs of pique.

Waynflete was not a surprising choice to fill the position of chancellor. He was bishop of England's richest see, was an experienced administrator, had been known to the king and many members of the court since his days as provost of Eton College and finally, was not a factional Lancastrian partisan but was a man whose loyalty lay unswervingly with the king. The parliament of 1455 had chosen him to be one of the commissioners to investigate and regulate the workings of the royal household. 6 Thus his experience and his position as a senior and respected member of the episcopate and of the council made Waynflete an uncontroversial choice as chancellor in October 1456.

3. C.C.R. 1454-61, p.211.
5. P.L. no.567.
6. R.P.V, pp.279-80
As chancellor Waynflete was the chief political adviser to the king and he had to keep in close contact with the Lancastrian court, which resided primarily in the midlands during these final years of Henry VI's reign. Waynflete's itinerary for the period during which he was chancellor shows that his path crossed that of the king regularly but the constant residence of the royal court outside the capital presented the chancellor with some problems for the administrative and judicial aspects of his position were centred on Westminster. The patent and close roll entries however, are more often dated from Westminster than from anywhere else and his itinerary shows that his primary residence during these four years was in his Southwark palace. The surviving files of signet letters and the entries in the patent rolls which occur with a warranty clause attributing the authorisation of letters under the Great Seal directly to the king, demonstrate that Henry VI was in direct contact with Waynflete on a regular basis, even when the latter was away from the court. The bulk of these letters relate to the issue of safe conducts, grants of pardons and of positions in the royal gift and routine matters such as the issue of conge d'elire for religious houses. The fact that Waynflete's itinerary shows that the bulk of his time was spent in London suggests that his presence was more often required there than at the court with the king. He could, of course, reach

7. See appendix I.
8. P.R.O. C81/1375-76
9. In 1457 for example, signet letters addressed to Waynflete dealt with the payment of fees to William Seypling, clerk of the exchequer; the issue of letters of pardon to William Grene of Wainfleet; the grant of an office as forester to Robert Denhaunt, yeoman of the chamber and the issue of a licence to allow the appropriation of a church by King's College Cambridge, P.R.O. C81/1375 nos. 1-7.
the king fairly quickly if the need arose - the Pastons, arriving in London to speak to him on 28 January 1460 found that, '...he was departed fro London and was ridyn to the kyng ii dayes or we were come to London; and as we understand, he hastened hym to the kyng because of my Lord Ryvers takyng at Sandwyche...'.

The fact that he spent so much time away from court did not mean that Waynflete was able to detach himself from political affairs; his absence from the court may also indicate a dislike of the atmosphere of partisanship and factionalism which prevailed at the court which was dominated by the queen, Margaret of Anjou.

Waynflete's assumption of the chancellorship in October 1456 meant that henceforth he had to shoulder considerable political responsibility as chief political adviser to the king and as the leading member of his council. The responsibility spanned both political policy and the ordinary running of the government of the country. A major problem was the discord among the magnates which threatened to undermine the maintenance of law and order; the growing political tension of the later 1450s was not eased by the widespread lawlessness endemic in many localities in England. As chancellor Waynflete was concerned with the attempts to combat this problem. A council held at Coventry in July 1457 granted wide-ranging military powers to a group of influential courtier magnates. At the same time extensive use was made of commissions of the peace over much of the country. While specific policies or actions emanating from the council or the court cannot be directly traced to Waynflete's own initiative, it is

of interest to look at the men appointed as justices of the peace during his term as chancellor to see on whom he was relying.

Many loyal Lancastrians were already serving on commissions of the peace but a consideration of the group of men who had not served in the recent past and who were appointed between October 1456 and June 1460 gives an idea of the type of men Waynflete favoured. Initially the most striking thing is Waynflete's extensive use of his fellow prelates as justices of the peace. The bishop of Salisbury was appointed to Dorset and Somerset; the bishop of Ely to Essex, Norfolk and Huntingdonshire; the bishop of Hereford to Gloucester and Hereford; the bishop of Lincoln to Middlesex, Northamptonshire and Rutland and the bishop of Durham (keeper of the privy seal) to Northumbria and Yorkshire. Waynflete himself served on commissions in seven counties between January 1456 and July 1460, including in four counties - Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex and Wiltshire - where he had not previously served in this capacity. The prelates he chose were loyal Lancastrians; a point emphasised by the omission of another important prelate, George Neville, bishop of Exeter. He was not to be appointed until the Yorkist earls had gained power in late 1460. Waynflete was clearly following a deliberate policy, not found during the chancellorship of his predecessor, in consistently appointing members of the episcopate as justices of the peace. It was a policy which was continued by Edward IV who also regularly and extensively used bishops as justices of the peace from early in his reign.

12. C.P.R. 1452-61, pp.660-84.
13. Ibid., pp. 668-1, 671, 674-5, 581; see Appendix XII.
14. Neville was appointed to serve as a justice of the peace in Cornwall and Devon in November and August 1460 respectively, after Waynflete had ceased to be chancellor, C.P.R. 1452-61, pp.663.
The staunchly Lancastrian character of Waynflete's appointees is indicated by the fact that a substantial majority of them — over 70% — were not to serve Edward IV in this capacity during the first five years of his reign.\textsuperscript{15} Many of them died in battle, went into exile or were attainted by the Yorkists in 1461. Devon is a good example; there seven commissions of the peace were appointed during Waynflete's chancellorship. Ten of the men on these were new appointees and of these only three subsequently served Edward IV on similar commissions. In the summer of 1457 Waynflete appointed as new justices of the peace Henry, Duke of Exeter, James, Earl of Wiltshire and William Duke, the mayor of Exeter.\textsuperscript{16} The following year he added Richard Hals who had been sheriff in 1454 and who was re-appointed sheriff in November 1458 — a further mark of trust — and John Orchard.\textsuperscript{17} Also that summer he appointed William Boef, a member of the affinity of Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devon.\textsuperscript{18} The last of Waynflete's new appointees were John More and Roger Champernon, both of whom were re-appointed by Edward IV and Baldwin Fulford, sheriff of Devon and commander of the fleet amassed in 1459 to stand up to the fleet of the Earl of Warwick.\textsuperscript{19} The example of Devon can be paralleled elsewhere.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{enumerate}
    \item Waynflete appointed 169 new figures as justices of the peace during his period as chancellor. Of these men 117 of them were not to serve Edward IV in the early years of his reign.\textsuperscript{C.P.R. 1452-61, p.664.}
    \item Ibid.; C.P.R. 1461-67, pp.562-3.\textsuperscript{C.P.R. 1461-67, pp.562-3.}
    \item Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.840.\textsuperscript{Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.840.}
    \item Ibid., p.857.\textsuperscript{Ibid., p.857.}
    \item In Northamptonshire Waynflete appointed in addition to John, bishop of Lincoln, two men — Robert Danvers, brother to his confident Thomas Danvers and John Lovell, a Lancastrian local magnate. Neither of these men were re-appointed in the early years of Edward IV's reign. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.673.\textsuperscript{C.P.R. 1452-61, p.673.}
\end{enumerate}
Waynflete can be seen everywhere clearly appointing men either close to the royal court themselves (such as the Earl of Wiltshire) or in the affinity of men close to the royal court, Boef for example.

As might be expected Waynflete also appointed men known to him personally. He did not flood the commissions with his own friends but a number of men with close connections with him can be traced. In Lincoln, where of course he had strong family connections, his appointees included Robert Tilney who had represented a number of his boroughs in the Commons. Thomas Danvers, an agent for him in matters relating to Magdalen College and subsequently an important financial confidant, who represented Downton borough in 1458, served as a justice of the peace in Oxfordshire from 1458. Thomas Chandler who had been chaplain to Waynflete and was now master of New College Oxford was appointed for Oxford town. John Godmanston, who acted as the bishop's chief agent in gathering together the initial endowment for Magdalen Hall and whose son Simon was one of Waynflete's chaplains served on a number of Essex commissions from 1457. Godmanston and Tilney were not to serve Edward IV on such commissions while Danvers was not re-appointed a commissioner of the peace until 1474 and Chandler until 1471.

At the same time, while chancellor, Waynflete seized the opportunity to ensure that there was a major effort to enforce law and order in

21. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.669. Tilney represented Downton borough in the parliament of 1449-50 and Hinton in those of 1453-4 and 1455-6, see appendix
22. C.P.R. 1452-61, pp.674-5.
23. Ibid., p. 674.
24. Ibid., p.665.
25. C.P.R. 1467-77, p.625.
26. Ibid., p.626.
his own diocese. In January 1458 he appointed a special commission, ‘... to arrest and commit to the gaol of the county all suspected persons calling themselves gentlemen and of noble birth though they have not wherewithal to live who wander about in great companies and unlawful gatherings through various parts of the county [i.e. Hampshire] robbing the king’s lieges journeying therein.’ 27

In June 1460 another commission was appointed, this time in the optimistic hope that they would rid the borough of Southwark of prostitutes. The notorious stews area lay within the diocese of Winchester, close to the bishop’s manor of Southwark. Evidently the presence of the prostitutes was causing considerable problems - it was a perennial problem 28- and the order appointing the commission explained that the bishop’s officers were unable to exercise their authority because ‘... the church cannot compel them to appear for their crimes by ecclesiastical censure alone.’ 29 The members of the commission were empowered to remove them and all persons who are named by certificate of the officers of the bishop of Winchester who have refused to submit to ecclesiastical coercion. Waynflete was wielding the greater coercive power of the secular arm which as chancellor he had access to, to deal with a long-term problem sited in his diocese.

As chancellor Waynflete had an unique opportunity both to promote matters in which he had a personal interest and to benefit from grants of royal patronage. He could also aid supplicants - as can be seen in the successful efforts of the town of Wainfleet to

27. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.411.
29. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.610.
obtain a charter of incorporation for their town. Most of the letters patent issued concerning matters of especial interest to Waynflete in this period were authorised by the signet, that is, the order for the issue of the appropriate letters patent came directly from the king, bypassing the office of privy seal and going directly to the chancery. These letters dealt with a variety of issues of considerable personal interest to Waynflete. In June 1457 he was allowed to be quit of all escapes of felons who had been entrusted to his episcopal prison; later that summer, in August, Waynflete together with the men who had been his fellow feoffees-to-use for Ralph Lord Cromwell, was pardoned for intrusions made into royal lands and for unlicensed purchases and other land transactions; in November 1457 a grant of money from customs collected at the ports of London and Boston in Lincolnshire was made to Waynflete, as repayment of a loan of £220 he had made to the king.

Others of Waynflete's interests benefitted from his period as chancellor. Shortly after his appointment Magdalen Hall in Oxford received letters patent enabling it to be re-founded in more substantial form as a college. In May 1457 Waynflete and Ralph Legh, a member of his household, were licenced to found a chantry in the

30. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.368.
31. Ibid., p.341
32. Ibid., p.420.
33. Ibid., p.343. In September 1456, just before Waynflete became chancellor but at a period when he was in favour, the Hall had been granted a mortmain licence, ibid., p.324.
church of St. Mary in Lambeth, within the diocese of Winchester. The chantry, to be known as 'Wynter's Chauntre', was permitted to acquire lands up to the value of £10 per annum in mortmain. No money changed hands for the issue of this licence unlike the grant of many other such licences in this period which were only issued after sums of money had been paid into the hanaper. In addition, throughout his period as chancellor bishop Waynflete received several grants of the right to present to benefices of which the king held the patronage.

Men close to Waynflete or in his entourage also benefitted in this period. Thomas Yon, one of his chaplains, was pardoned in October 1457 for the purchase of lands for St. Mary Magdalen Hospital in Winchester, of which he was master. William Darset, the bishop's chancellor, received a grant of the advowson of the deanship of the free chapel of St. Martin le Grand in London while the bishop's treasurer of Wolvesey, Hugh Pakenham, was appointed to the royal office of park-keeper in Fremantell park in Hampshire.

As a result of his influential position the chancellor was also regularly besieged by petitioners who hoped that he would forward their causes. The process can be seen at work during Waynflete's chancellorship through the Paston letters in the matter of obtaining a mortmain licence for Sir John Fastolf's proposed foundation at

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33. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.343.
34. For example the grant of a similar licence at this period for the foundation of a chantry in the chapel of Kingston-on-Thames where beneficiaries of the prayers were to include in addition to the souls of the founder and his relations, the king, queen and Waynflete (as diocesan bishop and chancellor), for which 10 marks had to be paid to the hanaper, C.P.R. 1452-61, p.499.
35. Ibid., pp.531, 592.
36. Ibid., p.397. Waynflete had collated Yon to the mastership of the hospital in 1447, Reg.Wayn. I fo.27.
37. Ibid., p.399.
38. Ibid., p.505.
Caistre Castle in Norfolk. Just five weeks after Waynflete's appointment Fastolf wrote to John Paston, his agent in London,

'... for the foundacion of my college I am soore sette therupon; and that is the cause I write now to remembre yow agayn to meve my lordees of Canterbury and Wynchestre for the licence to be opteyned that I myght have the morteising withowte ony grete fyne...' 39

Fastolf proposed that Paston should approach one of Waynflete's household chaplains and put his case to the chaplain so that '... in your abcence [he] may remembre me.' The following year Fastolf was still attempting to obtain the requisite licence and one of his agents wrote to him that,

'I have spoken wyth my lord chaunceler and put the bylle by-for hym ... My lord chaunceler told me they sped no partycler mater yet syn they cam nor han no leyser to attend swych maters ...' 40

At the same time the agent took the opportunity to speak to Waynflete about '... how my maister Fastolf and ye and your frended were put owte of the comysson of pees.' Clearly the agent felt that supplication to Waynflete might help their case and he pointed out that with regard to the appointment of commissions of the peace, '... he hath not graunted yet non newe.' The agent must have had a number of matters to discuss with the chancellor for he concluded his letter apologetically, '... and as for the questyon that ye wylled me to aske my lord I fond hym yet at no good leyser.' That the bishop had little leisure is hardly surprising; the Fastolf and Paston attempts to seek favours are but isolated examples of what must have been widespread

40. Ibid., no.573.
practices and the bishop must have been constantly approached by supplicants in this way, either directly or through his chaplains and household officials.

Many of the duties required of the chancellor were routine matters and much of his activity had little direct political significance. Waynflete was chancellor precisely at the time when the administrative and more especially the jurisdictional activities attached to that office were rapidly increasing. The most striking development was the increasing importance of the equitable jurisdiction; the chancellor was increasingly exercising on behalf of the king, the reserves of justice which lay in the crown. The growing importance of the chancery as a court can be gauged by the dramatic increase in the number of petitions addressed to it; prior to 1426 the annual average was twenty cases, by the late 1450s it was one hundred and thirty a year while by the 1480s it had reached over five hundred and twenty per annum. The majority of those dealt with uses and between 1456 and 1460 while Waynflete was chancellor, 90% of the cases coming to his court were related to uses. Waynflete's period as chancellor coincided with the beginning of a period of growth which was to continue for the remainder of the century.

Cases sent to the court of chancery were usually heard by the chancellor, either sitting alone or in the company of a number of officials.

41. At an earlier period such cases had been dealt with by the Council but their increasing number made this impractical and they became the preserve of the chancellor although particularly difficult cases could be dealt with in a session of the Council if necessary.


43. This figure is based on a study of the petitions addressed to the chancellor from the counties of Essex and Kent, M.Avery, 'Proceedings in the court of chancery up to c.1460', (Unpublished M.A. thesis, London 1958 ), p.56.
justices but the growth in the number of cases meant that the chancellor could no longer deal with each one personally. His chief assistant was the Master of the Rolls who was in his turn aided by six masters. Thomas Kirkby, B.C.L. was master of the rolls during Waynflete's period as chancellor. His appointment marked another innovation in that he was the first in a long line of civilian masters who held that position. Waynflete must have worked closely with Kirkby who had, in fact, already been known to him prior to 1456. In the early years of the decade Waynflete had collated Kirkby to Brighton and East Meon parishes. Later, in 1463, Waynflete was to further reward Kirkby by collating him to Portsmouth Hospital.

Although Waynflete was not a lawyer by training he must have acquired a good deal of practical legal knowledge during his career. Accounts of cases brought to the court of chancery during his chancellorship suggest that there was little consistency in the occasions when he was assisted and when he acted alone. Frequently it may merely have been a matter of convenience.

Despite the quantity of equitable justice to be dealt with, much was routine and could be left to the officials of the chancery. The most important element of the chancellor's office lay in its

44. See illustration p.159 which dates from this period. It shows the chancery court with the chancellor seated on a dais, aided by another figure.
45. Pronay, 'The chancellor', p.90. Pronay states that Kirkby does not appear to have had a university education but in fact he is described both as 'magister' and as a B.C.L. on a number of occasions in the episcopal register, Reg.Wayn. I fos.59^v,125v.
46. Ibid., I fo.59^v.
47. Ibid., I fo. 125v.
48. Examples of Waynflete acting both alone and with the aid of royal justices are cited in Avery, 'Proceedings in the court of chancery', p.162ff.
political involvements. Waynflete's chancellorship coincided with a period of increasing and unavoidable political polarisation but there are some suggestions that for a time at any rate, Waynflete did exert his efforts to try to reconcile opposing factions.

c) Political activities as chancellor

A major meeting of the great council took place in London between November 1457 and March 1458 at which the arrival of Yorkist and Lancastrian lords, each with groups of armed retainers, threatened to upset the already uneasy capital. The result of this meeting however, was the so-called 'Love-Day' of March 1458 which found its way into contemporary verse:

'... our soveraigne lord Kinge God kepe alway, 
the queen and the archibhsop of Canterbury, 
and the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of Englond, 
and others that hav laboured to this love-day...'49

The following year bishop Waynflete was to preach at the opening of Parliament a sermon on the text, 'Let peace and unity be given unto you'; this reflects what he saw as the aim of his endeavours whether as J.P. or as chancellor and he must have seen the great ceremonial procession to St. Paul's Cathedral as a triumph and a hopeful sign for the future. While the prospect of restoring peace to his kingdom was close to the king's heart he was hardly in a fit state to contribute actively to its achievement; Margaret of Anjou was more often antagonistic than conciliatory. Under these circumstances much of the delicate work of negotiation which lay behind the apparent reconciliation seen at the Love-day procession must have been the work, as the vernacular poem quoted above suggests, of Waynflete as chancellor and Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury.

49. B.L. Ms. Vesp. Cotton B.XVI, fo.4v
Court of Chancery c.1460

Illustration reproduced from Archaeologia 39 (1863), p.358
Waynflete's opening sermon, preached to the representatives assembled in St. Mary's abbey, Coventry, on 20 November 1459, was centered around the text, 'Let peace and unity be given unto you'.  

No information as to the content of his sermon has survived but at first sight such a theme seems at odds with the action of the parliament which passed a vicious act of attainder on the Yorkists. On the other hand it was a theme which seems in keeping with Waynflete's previous actions as a mediator. In its context, only weeks after the battle of Blore Heath (23 September 1459) and the rout at Ludford Bridge (12-13 October 1459) at which over two thousand men had died, the chancellor's speech may have been meant as an appeal for peace and unity in the face of recent dissensions.

It is difficult to determine just how closely William Waynflete was involved with the preparation of the bill of attainder which had been drawn up by a group of lawyers led by Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench. However there can be no doubt that he must have supported it for had he not done so he could have resigned the chancellorship. Earlier in the 1450s the Earl of Salisbury had resigned as chancellor rather than fulfil the king's request that he release Somerset from prison. That Waynflete presided over the parliament of 1459 as chancellor and thus supervised the carrying through of the bill of attainder must be taken as at least tacit support for its action.

50. R.P.V, p.345; 'Gratia vobis et pax multiplicetur', 1 Peter I, 2.
51. Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.824; Fortescue may also have been responsible for the Somnium Vigilantis which was composed to persuade Henry VI (and Waynflete?) of the necessity for attainder, M.Kekewich, 'The attaint of the Yorkists in 1459: two contemporary accounts', B.I.H.R. 65, (1981), pp.25-34.
Although Waynflete had previously been active as a mediator and had worked with the council of the Duke of York during the protectorate, this support and involvement with the attainder of men who had been his political colleagues must not be viewed as a sudden attack of Lancastrian partisanship. His loyalties lay, personally and politically, with king Henry VI whose authority had been threatened and undermined by the recent actions of the Yorkist forces. Friar John Brackley, in a letter to John Paston written in October 1459, summed up Waynflete's position when he wrote, 'The chauncelere is not good to these lordys Yorkists for he feryth the Erle of Marche wyl clayme be inheritauns of the Erldam of Ha... of which mater I herd gret speche in Somercedes-chyre...' The divisions among the aristocracy in the late 1450s left men who were loyal to the king in the position of being seen as court partisans. Waynflete as chancellor upheld his loyalty to crown and government in his association with the bill of attainder, but at the same time his opening sermon suggests that he still hoped for the restoration of unity.

The parliament of October 1460 which repealed the proceedings of that of 1459, described the latter as being 'unduly summoned' and stated that many of the commons had been named, returned and accepted, some of them without due and true elections and some without any election at all, '... by the procuring and labouring of the said seditious persons.' Modern examination of the composition of the commons in this parliament bears out the accusation that it was 'packed', and an examination of the boroughs where Waynflete could

53. P.L., no.582.
55. For details of the elections and the extensions of the terms of office of loyal sheriffs in order to secure favourable shire representation see Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, pp.823-4.
exercise powerful influence shows that he too did what he could to ensure a friendly house.

No details are available for Taunton, one of the three boroughs where the bishop exercised influence as a magnate but both Downton and Hinton in Wiltshire were represented by members of the bishop's household. Downton's representatives were John Wolfe and Thomas Danvers while Richard Chaundre and Nicholas Hervy appeared for Hinton. The men representing these boroughs usually had some connection with the bishop, but in 1459 the emphasis was stronger than usual - Wolfe, Danvers and Chaundre were prominent members of the episcopal household while Hervy was an avowed Lancastrian supporter. Danvers, Chaundre and Hervy were not regular representatives of the bishop's boroughs in parliament at this time and they had not represented them before. Waynflete must also have exercised his influence within the county of Surrey for Ralph Legh, one of the knights returned for the shire, was among the bishop's important household officials. Unfortunately no returns have survived for Hampshire, the other shire where Waynflete's influence as bishop could have made itself felt. But clearly Waynflete was able to open this parliament in the knowledge that those members of the commons representing areas over which he exercised some control would be staunchly behind him.

This parliament was a brief one, the session dominated by the act of attainder. Its impact was reinforced on 11 December when Waynflete as chancellor administered an oath to all members of the aristocracy present who had to swear loyalty both to Henry VI and to the young

57. They were either members of county families with whom Waynflete had connections or peripheral members of his household; see Appendix IV which lists the men who represented Waynflete's areas of influence in parliament.
Waynflete dissolved parliament on 20 December 1459. The court remained in the Midlands, feeling more secure there than in the capital. Henry VI spent Christmas and January in Leicester Abbey. Waynflete on the other hand returned to his diocese to spend Christmas at Farnham. He was at Westminster by 9 January. There is no suggestion that he feared retribution from the Londoners for his actions at Coventry and he was not specifically named in contemporary criticism of the actions of this parliament, although at this period the Yorkist propagandists were active in their criticism of Henry VI's councillors.

Waynflete's formal political connection with the Lancastrians was broken by the bishop himself when he resigned the chancellorship on the eve of the battle of Northampton:

'... on Monday 7 July [1460] about the fifth hour after noon, W. bishop of Winchester, then chancellor did deliver to the king in his tent at Hardyngstonefeld by the abbey de Pratis near Northampton, one great seal of his of silver and by the command of the king, the seal was put in a chest of his in his tent and the key thereof was delivered to the king.'

The same day a general pardon was granted to Waynflete and also to the other two bishops present in the tent, John bishop of Hereford and Laurence, bishop of Durham. This resignation on the eve of the battle may well have been as much an admission of his failure to prevent a final rift between the parties as a desire not to become physically embroiled in the battle. Waynflete's behaviour on the occasion of Cade's revolt and in other moments of personal danger suggests that

59. R.P.V., p.351
60. Wolffe, Henry VI, p.371.
61: See itinerary; C.C.R. 1452-61 is dated from Farnham, 26 December 1459.
62. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.534.
63. See for example, 'The ballade set on the gates of Canterbury' and 'The battle of Northampton' in Historical poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, pp.207-15.
64. C.C.R. 1454-61, p.459.
65. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.599
he did not lack physical courage. Benet's chronicle refers to his flight from the scene of the battle of Northampton, 'Episcopus Wyntonensis cancellarius ... fugerunt.' His 'flight' was hardly in the same class as that of the Earl of Wiltshire who made directly for Holland for Waynflete could be found openly at his manor in Southwark at least until the end of September when he moved to Winchester.

Waynflete's talents for political survival were displayed in his activities during the next six months. He appears to have come to an accord with the Yorkist lords who dominated the scene after the battle of Northampton, with what might be regarded as remarkable speed and subsequently managed the transition to life under Edward IV with equal facility.

d) Winter-Spring 1460-61

Henry VI was in the custody of the Yorkist earls in the early autumn; they summoned parliament to meet at Westminster on 7 October which was to repeal the acts of its notorious predecessor. According to the chronicle of the pseudo-Worcester most of the ecclesiastical peers were in attendance but the evidence of Waynflete's episcopal register which records him largely at Farnham and Wolvesey during this period suggests that he did not play much part in it. He was not one of the triers of petitions in this parliament although previously he had regularly been included among them. He may have attended parliament during a brief stay in Southwark, 10–13 November. The only evidence of

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66. Waynflete's physical courage was also demonstrated by the fact that he was one of the lords who intervened to try to stop riots which broke out in Fleet Street in April 1459, Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, pp.795-6, n.146.


68. Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.862.

69. Reg. Wayn. I fo.64r records a grant of probate made before him at Wolvesey on 30 September 1460.

his being out of favour apart from his exclusion from the position from the position of trier of petitions, was his exclusion from the list of justices of the peace appointed in Oxfordshire on 17 August 1460. He had served on each of the previous five commissions in that county, from March 1458. Waynflete was, however, included amongst the justices of the peace for Surrey who were appointed on 24 December 1460—an indication of renewed trust being placed in him by the men who had been attainted by the parliament over which he had presided as chancellor just twelve months previously.

A number of choices of action faced Waynflete in the autumn of 1460—he could follow the example of some of his erstwhile political colleagues and flee into exile; he could lie low and hope that little notice would be taken of him or he could take positive action to establish good relations with the men now surrounding the king. That he rejected the idea of following Queen Margaret into exile reinforces the impression already gained that he was not an intimate member of the Queen's inner circle. To what extent he may have tried the second course of action and found it impossible is not known. He chose to come to an accord with the Yorkists. He did so by taking a positive and emphatic step using the means he had at his disposal to safeguard his own personal and political survival.

On 15 November 1460 Waynflete appointed Humphrey Stafford, a rising follower of Edward, Earl of March, to the constableship of the important strategic castle of Taunton which lay in his gift. Taunton was in a defensible state, having withstood a siege in the

71. C.P.R. 1452-61, pp.674-5.
72. Ibid., p.678.
73. See below, pp.81 for details of Waynflete's appointments to the constableship of Taunton castle viewed in their political context.
recent past during the Courtenay-Bonville dispute in the early 1450s. It lay in the south-west, an area of considerable strategic importance and one where, moreover, there was no important royal castle to act as a Yorkist base. His action therefore gave the Yorkists an important foothold in an area where they were not at their strongest. It also removed the castle from Lancastrian hands - previously it had been in the charge of Alexander Hody. He was a Lancastrian lawyer who had been among the commissioners who drew up the act of attainder of 1459. He remained loyal to Queen Margaret and the same month that Waynflete relieved him of the deputy-constableship he was occupied in gathering together an army of tenantry to march towards Hull.

Waynflete's appointment of Stafford as constable of Taunton must have eased his position. It was rewarded by a show of favour from the Yorkist earls. The same month a letter in Waynflete's favour, was issued by the chancery, directed to Pope Pius II.

This letter was written in the king's name but the king was beyond taking any independent action and it must have been authorised by George Neville, bishop of Exeter and chancellor. The letter took the form of a general defence of Waynflete: it stated that he had not behaved in any way which might damage his hitherto unblemished reputation and denied that there was any truth in evil rumours which were apparently being circulated against him.

74. Storey, The end of the house of Lancaster, pp.84-92.
75. Hody was Waynflete's deputy as constable of the castle, not constable himself, see below p.277-8
76. Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.824
77. Wedgewood, Biographies, p.460
78. Corpus Christi Camb. Ms. 170, no.167; it is printed in Chandler, Life, appendix 15, pp.346-8;
These rumours are not mentioned in any other source but the letter may well have been intended to protect Waynflete in the face of the papal legate in England at the time, Francis Coppini, bishop of Terni, who on a number of occasions exceeded the instructions Pius II had given him. The issue of this letter indicates that Waynflete was not out of favour with the Yorkists while the coincidence of dates suggests that it must have been part of a quid pro quo connected with the grant of the constableship.

The suggestion that Waynflete was in some trouble at this period is supported by a comment in an undated petition directed to the chancellor in the early 1460s by Waynflete and his brother John Waynflete, Dean of Chichester. The letter was a request for the issue of a writ sub pena against a ship owner, Richard Grayle. In their petition Waynflete and his brother stated that Grayle had been hounding them for payment due to him for the supplying of ships and mariners to Earl Rivers for an expedition against France in 1451. The bishop explained that he had tried to obtain Grayle's money for him, had aided him and had even let him eat with his own household during Grayle's efforts to obtain the money due to him. The petition goes on to state, '... And afterwardes and in tyme of trouble of the seid bisshopp for the matiere of hys churche the same Richard came to hym...' While this is no more than a passing reference it does reinforce the idea that Waynflete was in a vulnerable position, most probably from the efforts of the papal legate in conjunction with the Yorkists.

80. P.R.O. C81/31/367
Waynflete's behaviour over the remainder of the winter and early spring 1460-61 suggests that despite his apparent accord with the Yorkists, his position was still difficult. His actions in this period are not easy to interpret. At the beginning of 1461, with the king still in the custody of the earls and Margaret of Anjou regrouping her forces, the political situation was very unsettled. Waynflete began the new year in residence at Farnham manor in Surrey where he had been since late November of the previous year. In mid-January information as to his whereabouts suddenly ceases. Normally each act recorded in the register was dated and the place of residence of the bishop given. Where the details of residence can be checked against other sources they have proved to be reliable and the register is the main source for Waynflete's itinerary.

The business for 11 January is cited as having taken place at Farnham but from that date until 8 July following, with a single exception, no place of residence is recorded. The volume of entries in the register has not appreciably diminished and neither can the omission be explained by the employment of a new and perhaps inexperienced clerk for the hand of the scribe does not change. Where was Waynflete then during the final months of Henry VI's first reign? Although at Farnham on 11 January 1461 he did not spend the whole of these critical months there. Two clues point to his place of residence being Taunton in Somerset, outside

his diocesan boundaries. These clues are the exceptional place reference already mentioned which refers to the bishop being at Taunton on 18 March 1461\(^{82}\) and a chance reference in the register of the common seal kept by the monks of St. Swithun's priory. This records the inspeximus and ratification by the prior and convent of a grant of office in letters patent of Waynflete, dated Taunton 24 January 1461\(^{83}\).

It is most uncharacteristic to find Waynflete spending such a long period beyond the boundaries of his own diocese. Although Taunton was the richest and one of the most important of the episcopal manors of Winchester, it was not one regularly visited by bishop Waynflete. His only other recorded visit to it in his forty year episcopate was for a brief period in August 1449\(^{84}\) when, as a fairly newly appointed bishop, he may have been surveying his assets. In addition, since Taunton was now in staunch Yorkist hands, it is unlikely that Waynflete would have been eager to spend a lengthy period of time voluntarily at this period. Yet in view of the speed with which he had come to an accord with the Yorkists the previous autumn it is likely that they were loath to place great trust in him at this critical period of the war. The timing of his move from Farnham to Taunton, in mid-January, is significant. The Duke of York who had been acknowledged heir to the throne at the end of November, was killed in a skirmish near Wakefield on 30 December 1460. This made

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82. Reg.Wayn, I fo.108v
83. Register of the common seal, p.115; the grant of office also occurs in the brief section of temporal business which comes at the end of Waynflete's episcopal register.
84. Reg.Wayn. I fo.16r
the political situation more volatile and Queen Margaret seized her opportunity to begin a determined march towards London. In London the Earl of Warwick and the Yorkists made frantic efforts to array men and assemble provisions in south-east and eastern England to resist the Lancastrians. In such a delicate position it is not surprising that Waynflete would have been made to move away from the capital and into Somerset where, in Taunton castle where there was a Yorkist garrison, he would be politically hobbled. There must have been doubts about the sincerity of his accord with the Yorkists and this led to his being placed in what amounted to 'house arrest' during these critical months. He was able to continue with his pastoral duties as his episcopal register demonstrates but he was in no position either to attempt to join forces with the Lancastrian army or to act as a rallying point for Lancastrian sympathisers in his own diocese.

By April 1461, after the Yorkist victory at Towton, Edward of York's hold on the throne was reasonably secure. Henry and the remnants of his court were in exile. Waynflete's register does not revert to its normal practice of citing the bishop's place of residence along with the date of each piece of business transacted until 7 July 1461, but it is likely that he was 'released' slightly earlier. He was appointed to a commission of the peace for Buckinghamshire on 10 June 1461. He received a writ summoning him to attend parliament on 6 July, and although this meeting

85. Reg. Wayn. I fo. 110\textsuperscript{r-v} authorising an exchange of benefices; the appropriation of the parish of Nether Wallop to York Minster was also witnessed by the bishop at Southwark on the same date, ibid., fos 65\textsuperscript{v} - 67\textsuperscript{r}.

86. C.P.R. 1461-67, p.560.

87. Reports from the lords' committees...touching the dignity of a peer (5 vols London 1820-29), IV, pp.950, 953.
was adjourned until November Waynflete was certainly back at his Southwark residence by late June for he attended the young king's coronation at St. Paul's cathedral on 28 June. On 23 July Waynflete was one of the commissioners appointed to urge the people of Southampton to supply ships for defence against the French—an indication that Edward IV felt able to rely on him again by this time. Under Edward IV however, Waynflete's role in active political and court life was to be of much lesser account than that he played under the Lancastrians.

88. See below pp.289-90
13. POLITICAL CONNECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

Waynflete's political affinities in the period between his elevation to the episcopate and 1461 were tied in with his close relationship with the person of the king and he cannot be individually identified with any of the magnatial factions which appeared on the political scene in these years. His loyalties lay with Henry VI personally and as king, yet he was not identified with the court in the sense that his fellow-bishops Ayscough or Moleyns were. He seems also in the late 1440s and early 1450s to have been favoured in minor ways by Queen Margaret of Anjou. In her early years in England she gave New Years' gifts to a number of people whom she considered important. Waynflete was a recipient from 1446 when he was still only provost of Eton College. She also made gifts to the servants of other great persons and in the surviving account for her household for 1453 only two bishops are numbered among them - Cardinal Kemp and Bishop Waynflete. Later in the 1450s however, there is no evidence that there was any particularly close relationship between the queen and Waynflete.

There were of course some men with whom Waynflete had close connections. While he neither attached himself to any particular magnatial group nor formed his own affinity, many of his interests were centred in Lincolnshire and to a lesser extent in East Anglia. His Lincolnshire interests arose out of his own family links with the

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2. Ibid., p.119
area. His appointment of Lincolnshire men to represent his
boroughs in parliament in the late 1440s demonstrates that,
despite his already lengthy sojourn in Southern England, he still
turned to Lincolnshire to seek reliable men for such a position. 3

His connection with Lincolnshire must have been strengthened by his
close association with two men from the area - Ralph, Lord Cromwell 4
and Viscount Beaumont. Beaumont, with whom Waynflete co-founded a gild
in Conningsby, Lincolnshire 5, was one of the most influential figures
in the realm, as chief steward of Queen Margaret's lands and as
confidant of Henry VI, a role which must have thrown the two men
together. Waynflete managed to associate successfully with both
men despite their political and personal rivalry with each other. 6

The second area with which Waynflete can be seen to have had
particularly close connections was East Anglia. These connections
arose out of his links with Sir John Fastolf. 7 A surviving letter
addressed by Robert Hungerford, Lord Moleyns, to Waynflete shows the
bishop being involved in the dispute which had arisen between John
Paston I and Lord Moleyns. Moleyns, a member of Suffolk's clique,
had seized the Paston manor of Gresham in February 1448. 8 '...I
have resayvyed your lettre; ... y am at the reverens of your lordschyp
wel afreyd and have sent to my counsayle at Loundon after the seyng of
thys your last lettre as for the trete by-twyt hyme.' 9

3. See below, pp. 26-29 for further details of this.
4. For Waynflete's close connection with Cromwell's project of
establishing a college at Tattershall, see below pp. 14-15.
5. C.P.R. 1452-61, p. 104; PRO SC/3/251.
7. See below, chapter 14.
Its tone does suggest previous contact and perhaps a certain friendship between the two men. Waynflete's efforts on Paston's behalf, however, contrast with the subsequent attempts made by the king to delay the legal proceedings (in 1450-51) so that Moleyns could retain the manor. 10

Waynflete's involvement in East Anglia also took place on an official level. He was a member of the oyer and terminer commission appointed for the area in September 1448,11 directed against the activities of the Duke of Norfolk and others. Earlier that same year, in April 1448, Waynflete had been amongst the feoffees to use for land being granted by the Duke of Norfolk.12 Waynflete's connections with East Anglia were not only personal and political but also ecclesiastical, for he was a guardian of the house of Friars Preachers in Norwich.13 His involvement with King's College Cambridge, which dated from his period as Provost of Eton was to continue after his promotion to the episcopate14 another link with East Anglia. William Yelverton, the Norfolk justice, in 1450 wrote to Fastolf in a letter which reflects his view of Waynflete as an important figure.

Also, ser, ... it please yow to sey for me yn savacion of my pore worshyp, whych I wote well they may not hurt but they doo me wrong to the Kyng, my lord Chaunceller, my lord of Wynchestre, my Lord Cromewell, and yn othyr places as ye semyth, that no credence be yoven to myne hurt yn myne absence. 15


11. C.P.R. 1446-52, p.236

12. Ibid., p.415.

13. Ibid., p.218.

14. In 1455 Waynflete was appointed to reform the statutes of both Eton and King's colleges, see above, p.35. His efforts towards King's College were such that he was to be remembered as a benefactor, Winchester Cathedral Archives, Ms. 293.

Waynflete's position was dramatically undermined by the deposition of Henry VI in 1461. Instead of being intimately connected with the king he was now outside the favoured circle, regarded with some suspicion by the Yorkists and he had to work to win favour, to gain 'insurance' through a judicious choice of friends and careful use of the patronage at his disposal. His efforts in this direction can be seen in his choice of men to fill the major positions in his secular and ecclesiastical administration - the constableships of Taunton and Farnham castles and the archdeacons of Surrey and Hampshire.

Taunton castle lay in Somerset outside the boundaries of the bishopric of Winchester but the bailiwick in which it lay comprised one of the richest areas of the episcopal estates. In addition to the income which the bishop derived from it, the castle itself was a valuable asset, being of considerable strategic value and in a good state of repair. It lay in an area surprisingly devoid of royal castles - the nearest were Exeter and Salisbury, both of which were in an neglected condition. Thus it was important for royal security that the constableship of the castle be in reliable and friendly hands while it was an important position from the episcopal point of view since the position included responsibility for the bailiwick as well as for the castle. Appointments made by Waynflete to the constableship, especially at times of crisis, can be used to provide some indication of the bishop's changing political stance.

16. H.M. Colvin, History of the king's works - the middle ages (London 1963, 2 vols), I, p.239.
17. 'The post ... includes responsibility for both the castle and the manor of Taunton...', Register of the Common Seal, no.214. A full description of the duties of the constable is given in Wykeham's Register, II, p.299.
When Waynflete became bishop of Winchester in 1447 the constable of Taunton Castle was Edward Stradelyng, bishop Beaufort's son-in-law. 18 Stradelyng had been appointed for life in 1434 19 — one of a number of appointments of Beaufort's protégés and supporters made in the west country during this period. 20 Payment of the annual fee of £20 was recorded as being made to him in the pipe rolls of 1447 and 1448 21 but in those for 1449 and 1451 no constable is referred to and no payments were recorded. 22 This is an unfortunate lacuna for what is a critical period in the Bonville-Courtenay dispute which involved a siege of Taunton Castle. Stradelyng died in June 1452 23 This provided Waynflete's first opportunity to appoint a constable. Thomas Ormond, a younger brother of the Earl of Wiltshire was appointed 'at the bishop's pleasure' on 16 July 1451. 24 Ormond's appointment is of interest, not only because, as might have been expected, he was of a family closely connected with the court circle, but also in the context of local political rivalries in the south-west which were very heated throughout this period. 25 In 1451 the rivalry between Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, whose

18. Stradelyng was married to Beaufort's bastard daughter, Jane, Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.71.
19. Register of the common seal, no.214.
20. The 1430s and early 1440s were a period of growing ascendancy of Cardinal Beaufort and his friends and relations over government and royal patronage, M. Cherry, 'The struggle for power in mid-fifteenth century Devon' in Griffiths, ed. Patronage the crown and the provinces (Gloucester 1981), p.215.
21. H.R.O. EC/2/159439-40
22. H.R.O. EC/2/159441-42, In 1457 however, the accounts record the payment of arrears of £30 to Stradelyng, now described as 'late constable' which may cover part of this period, H.R.O. EC/2/15944
23. A writ of diem clausit extremum for Stradelyng was issued on 27 of June 1452, C.C.R. 1447-54, p.3.
24. H.R.O. EC/2/159443, Reg.Wayn. I fo.3 r, 16 July 1451
family traditionally dominated the area and the newly-elevated William Bonville, supported by the Earl of Wiltshire, had exploded into large scale violence which culminated in a three day siege of Taunton Castle in September 1451. Bonville was inside the castle, supported by James Ormond, Earl of Wiltshire and Courtenay was the besieger. Against this background Waynflete's choice of the Earl of Wiltshire's younger brother to be the new constable of Taunton Castle displays his support of and participation in the court policy which was to continue to support the exercise of Bonville's authority in the area.27

No ministers' accounts have survived for the period 1454-56 and no further mention is to be found of Thomas Ormond as constable. The next extant account, that of 1457, names no-one as constable.28 The same is true of the account for 1460 but in both there is a reference to a deputy constable, Alexander Hody. He is described as 'deputatus domini occupantum officium'.29 In view of this unusual reference it appears that Waynflete must have resumed the position of constable of Taunton into his own hands at some time in the mid 1450s, perhaps in the period after he had become chancellor an office which laid upon him some of the onus for maintaining law and order. This would also fit in with the Earl of Devon's 'conversion' to the

26. Bonville was promoted to the peerage in March 1449 as a reward for his service as seneschal of Gascony. He flourished under Suffolk's regime and his growing influence in the south-west challenged the traditional hegemony of the Courtenay family in that area.

27. See, Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p.577 and Cherry, 'The struggle for power in mid fifteenth-century Devon' pp.132-3 for this.

28. H.R.O. EC/2/155827

29. H.R.O. EC/2/155828; this is the first such reference under Waynflete. The office of deputy was not normally mentioned in the pipe rolls and the constable was allowed to appoint a deputy to carry out the routine duties. It occurs now because the deputy involved must have been the bishop's deputy.
Lancastrian cause in 1456-57 by means of the resumption the castle was removed from the hands of Ormond who would have been objectionable to the Earl of Devon, yet its control was retained in safe hands.

The deputy constable Alexander Hody was a substantial member of the local gentry, a lawyer and, most importantly in view of the growing political polarisation in England, a staunch Lancastrian. He seems likely also to have been acceptable to the Courtenay family who henceforth were to serve the Lancastrians well in 1460 after the battle of Northampton, Hody, in association with the earls of Somerset and Devon, gathered together an army of tenantry and marched to join the queen.

The above helps to demonstrate the importance of the castle of Taunton to the court or government. The constableship changed hands again in the wake of the Yorkist assertion of dominance in the autumn of 1460. It was at this critical juncture, in November 1460, that Humphrey Stafford, as loyal a Yorkist as Hody was a Lancastrian, was appointed. Stafford's appointment was the most overtly political and expedient of Waynflete's appointments to any position; its significance has already been discussed in considerable detail above.

The appointment of Stafford to the constableship of Taunton carried out with the co-operation of Waynflete was of great advantage

31. He served frequently as a J.P. in the area, C.P.R. 1452-61, p.676; in addition he was on the legal commission which drew up the attainders against the Yorkists for the 1459 parliament in Coventry, Griffiths, Reign of Henry VI, p. 914.
32. The Earl of Devon who inherited from his father in 1458, fought for the Lancastrians at both Northampton and Towton. He died in 1461, shortly after the battle of Towton.
33. Wedgewood, Biographies, p.460.
34. See above, pp.165-7
to the Yorkist forces. For Stafford this appointment was one of a
large number of political and administrative commissions in the
south-west of England which made him a crucial, if disliked, figure
in that area.\textsuperscript{35} Waynflete continued to display his support for him,
retaining him as constable until his death in 1469. In 1465 he had
confirmed Stafford's appointment for life\textsuperscript{36}, perhaps as an acknowledge-
ment of Stafford's continued rise in royal favour.

The constableship fell vacant once more with the murder of
Stafford, by then Duke of Devon, in 1469.\textsuperscript{37} Edward Assheton who
replaced him was a figure of less stature than Stafford. He was
probably a relation of Nicholas Assheton, a justice of the common
pleas who acted as a commissioner of the peace in Somerset in the
1450s and 1460s.\textsuperscript{38} Assheton held the position of constable throughout
the critical period of the re-ademption without an apparent challenge
and his appointment, which had been made at the bishop's pleasure,
was confirmed for life on 20 February 1474.\textsuperscript{39} In fact 1474 was a year
in which Waynflete confirmed and extended the terms of many appointments
in his temporal administration, perhaps foreseeing his own death which
was not, however, to occur for another twelve years.

Judicious selection of the constable with due regard to the
current political situation again marks the appointments to Taunton

\textsuperscript{35} Ross, Edward IV, p.78.
\textsuperscript{36} 24 March 1465, Register of the common seal' no.356.
\textsuperscript{37} Stafford was murdered by his tenants at Bridgewater in 1469, Ross,
Edward IV, p.132. In his will he named Waynflete as one of his
executors and described him as a man, 'in whom is all my trust',
Somerset Medieval Wills, ed. F.W.Weaver (Somerset Record Society
\textsuperscript{38} Assheton is described as constable in 1470, H.R.O. EC/2/155835.
\textsuperscript{39} H.R.O. EC/2/155838.
Castle in the uncertain years of the 1480s. Giles Daubeney who replaced Assheton in 1476 was a rising star of the Yorkist circle. From 1474 he served regularly as a member of the Commons, a justice of the peace and a sheriff in south-west England. By June 1477 at the latest, he was an esquire of the body. Initially Daubeney appeared to accept Richard III's accession in 1483 and was in attendance at the coronation. In the autumn of 1483, however, he joined Buckingham's rebellion, was attainted and fled overseas.

Waynflete replaced him with a man closely identified with the new king, Richard Ratcliffe. The ministers' account for Taunton detailing Ratcliffe's appointment suggests haste, in that Ratcliffe is recorded as having been appointed by letters patent of the bishop but a blank has been left for the insertion of the date of appointment. Like Stafford before him, many of the positions Ratcliffe obtained through royal patronage and influence lay in south-western England - Devon, Dorset and Wiltshire. Gaps in the series of pipe rolls at this point mean that there is no further evidence of when Ratcliffe ceased to hold the constableship but it is most probable that he retained it until his death at the battle of Bosworth in August 1485.

The account for 1487, which is the next extant one, records the payment of the constable's annual fee to Giles Daubenay again, who is described as constable for life. Daubenay had returned to England.

40. H.R.O. EC/2/155840; the appointment was confirmed in March 1478, Reg. Wayn. II, fo. 23.
44. H.R.O. EC/2/155845
45. Ross, Richard III, p. 156; Ratcliffe's grants of land from the king in the south-west were worth 1000 marks per annum.
46. Ibid., p. 225.
47. H.R.O. EC/2/155846.
with Henry Tudor and presumably resumed where he had left off. Waynflete is unlikely to have had any reason for not wishing to restore him to his former position, especially when Daubenay was so closely identified with the new king.

In some ways then, the important constableship of Taunton Castle can be seen as a barometer to Waynflete's changing political allegiances. On two occasions of extreme political crisis, in 1460-61 and 1483, Waynflete seized his opportunity to display his support for the dominant faction by the appointment of a man close to the king as constable of a castle which was part of the key to the control of south-western England.

Farnham Castle in Surrey, although not quite so important as Taunton, was both defensible and strategic in that it controlled an important route from London to Winchester. Extensive building works at this site in the 1460s and 1470s were primarily concerned with improving the domestic accommodation of this old motte and bailey castle but a substantial brick gatehouse was constructed. Again Waynflete can be seen to be selecting men with care to fill the position of constable.

In 1440 Cardinal Beaufort had appointed Sir John Seymour as constable of Farnham for life. He was an important local figure who had been M.P. for Wiltshire several times during the 1430s and 1440s. He does not appear to have been affected by the events of 1460-61 and he appears, with Waynflete, on a commission ordered to gather together ships to resist the French in July 1461. His death

48. See chapter 18 below.
49. Register of the common seal nos. 259-60
50. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.31; Wedgewood, Biographies, pp.756-7;
in November 1464 gave Waynflete his first opportunity to appoint a constable of Farnham Castle. Again a local man was chosen - Nicholas Carewe whose father had been a royal household servant. Nicholas, himself a king's serjeant, was escheator in Hampshire and Wiltshire in the late 1450s. In 1457 he had been chosen as a dependable Lancastrian figure to be constable of the royal castle at Southampton. His Lancastrian sympathies caused his arrest in March 1461 but he was subsequently pardoned and in 1469 was appointed sheriff of Devon and acted on a Devonshire commission of array against Warwick and the Duke of Clarence.

Carewe held the office until his death in 1471. Waynflete made the next appointment in October 1471. In its political context - the re-adeption of Henry VI and Edward IV's subsequent return - it must have seemed politically expedient for Waynflete to use this opportunity to choose the new constable carefully. The appointment of Thomas St. Leger on 4 October 1471 reflects this. St. Leger, an esquire of the body from the late 1460s, had remained loyal to Edward IV throughout the re-adeption period. In addition he had personal ties with the king - he was the lover of the king's sister Ann Holland whom he was to marry in 1472. By choosing him as constable Waynflete was gaining a valuable supporter in the court circle.

51. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.679; C.P.R. 1461-67, p.32.
52. C.P.R. 1452-61, pp.390, 511.
54. C.P.R. 1467-77, p.220.
55. H.R.O. EC/2/155836; Reg.Wayn. II, fo.38(2).
St. Leger remained constable for the remainder of Edward IV's reign but his close identification with the king was not to stand him in good stead with the accession of Richard III to the throne. He was dropped from the commission of the peace appointed on 26 June 1483, the first Surrey commission of Richard's reign. Neither was he appointed to the Southampton commission of Edward V in May 1483 or any of Richard III's Southampton, Devonshire or Somersetshire commissions although he had been a regular member of these under Edward IV. 57

The rebellion of St. Leger against Richard III in the autumn of 1483 58 left the constableship of Farnham vacant once more. Unlike the appointment of St. Leger in 1471 and that to Taunton made in this year the appointment of John Legh as constable was not overtly political. 59 While Legh must have been acceptable to Richard III he was a close associate of Waynflete and had already been appointed to several positions in Waynflete's gift. 60 He was a member of a Surrey gentry family who came from Stockwell.

Although Farnham castle was less important than that of Taunton it was a useful reserve of patronage which was used by bishop Waynflete on occasion - as in 1471 - to make friends at court and ease his own position.

57. C.P.R. 1476-85, pp.557-8, 571-2, 574. 
59. H.R.O. EC/2/155845; Register of the common seal, p.153.
60. In April 1478 Legh was appointed bailiff of Wargrave manor in Berkshire with overall responsibility for all the episcopal manors in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, Register of the common seal, p.109. He was also involved in a number of the land transactions which contributed towards the endowment of Magdalen College Oxford, M.C. Deeds,
The most important and prestigious benefices in Waynflete's gift as bishop of Winchester were the archdeaconries of Winchester and of Surrey. Waynflete's appointments to these positions in the Yorkist period display efforts to select rising men, prominent in the royal circle or in government to fill these positions. The routine archidiaconal duties attached to the post could be carried out by a deputy, the archdeacon's official, whose activities are partially recorded in the episcopal register.  

Three of the seven appointments made by Waynflete during his episcopate occurred before 1461; those of John Pakenham, archdeacon of Winchester 1450-59, Vincent Clement, archdeacon of Winchester 1459-75 and John Waynflete, archdeacon of Surrey 1448-79. Of these, the appointment of the bishop's brother to the archdeaconry of Surrey has already been discussed. Clement's appointment was really a papal appointment; he had no previous Hampshire connection although he would have been well known to Waynflete as a result of both his royal service and his activities as papal collector-general in England.

Of the four appointments made in the Yorkist era three of the men were to become bishops - a measure of their importance. All were closely involved with the royal court and government. In the 1470s the archdeanery of Winchester must have seemed to have acquired an almost hereditary appearance since it was held in succession by John Morton who became bishop of Ely in 1478 and Robert Morton his brother to the archdeacon of Surrey has already been discussed. Clement's appointment was really a papal appointment; he had no previous Hampshire connection although he would have been well known to Waynflete as a result of both his royal service and his activities as papal collector-general in England.

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61. John Pakenham, the first archdeacon appointed by Waynflete had a papal indult to visit his archdeaconry by deputy, C.Pap.L. 1447-55, p.101. Letters are addressed by Waynflete to the archdeacons or their officials, for example Reg. I fo.25v. They are not often referred to by name but in 1468 William Elys was the official of Vincent Clement, Reg. II fo. 62. Le Neve, Fasti ecclesiae Anglicae 1300-1541: IV Monastic cathedrals, ed. B.Jones (1963), p.51. 63. See above pp.94 64. B.R.U.O. pp.43-3; Reg.Wayn. I fo.99v, II fo.30v. 65. R.R.U.O.. dp.1318-20.
nephew, who took over his uncle's position as master of the rolls as well as this archdeaconry.  

The archdeaconry of Surrey had a more personal royal connection. On the death of John Waynflete in 1479 it went to the king's brother-in-law, Lionel Wodeville (aged 26), already a well beneficed figure and a man to whom Waynflete had already given the Oxfordshire benefice of Witney. The grant by Waynflete of the archdeanery of Surrey to such a notorious pluralist and a man with close royal connections, suggests a greater regard for the political advantages to be gleaned from the royal connection than concern for the ecclesiastical duties to be carried out. In making this choice Waynflete may well have been influenced by the fact that earlier that year Wodeville had been elected chancellor of the University of Oxford, a position he held until Richard III removed him in 1483. In this position he would be a powerful friend for Magdalen College, a consideration which dominated a number of Waynflete's actions in the last decade of his life.

Wodeville relinquished the archdeaconry on being elevated to the bishopric of Salisbury in 1482. To replace him Waynflete again looked to the circle around the king. His choice fell on Oliver Dynham, a king's chaplain. He had already made Dynham a prebendary of Romsey Abbey in 1478. Dynham, who outlived Waynflete, clearly came to identify with his archidiaconal church - in his will he

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67. Ibid., pp. 2083-4; Reg.Wayn. II, fo.88r
69. B.R.U.O., pp.618-9; Reg.Wayn. II fo.88r.
70. Reg.Wayn. II fo. 63r.
requested burial in Farnham church in Surrey, before the statue of St. Swithun, the patron saint of the diocese of Winchester.\textsuperscript{71}

One further striking example of Waynflete's efforts to win powerful and influential friends is recorded in the temporal affairs section of Waynflete's episcopal register. This is the grant of an annuity of £10 to William Lord Hastings. It is described as having being made for 'assistentia auxilio et savore nobus impensis et impostus impendendi...'.\textsuperscript{72} This grant was made early in the reign of Edward IV, on 20 December 1461, a period when Waynflete although not actually out of royal favour, was in need of powerful friends. He had had previous contact with Lord Hastings who had served on a number of commissions of the peace appointed for the midlands during Waynflete's chancellorship\textsuperscript{73} but this grant is unique. In addition to this annuity Waynflete retained a connection with the influential figure of Hastings through the person of the treasurer of Wolvesey, Thomas Danvers, who was amongst Hastings' indentured retainers.\textsuperscript{74}

Such grants were exceptional. Further down the social scale Waynflete was able to make use of positions within his temporal administration as a reservoir of patronage. While positions such as those of receivers or auditors required personal involvement, other posts, particularly keeperships of parks and warrens, could be exercised through deputies. In addition to the fees paid, these

\textsuperscript{71} B.R.U.O., p.619.
\textsuperscript{72} Reg.Wayn.II fo. 33(2)\textsuperscript{V}
\textsuperscript{73} C.P.R. 1452-61, p.669.
\textsuperscript{74} W.H.Dunham, Lord Hastings' indentured retainers 1461-83 (New Haven, Connecticut 1955), p.118. Danvers is the only member of Waynflete's household who appears among Hastings' known retainers although the bishop did know Maurice Berkeley, a member of the Hampshire gentry, who also appears as a retainer.
positions also carried an important and prestigious fringe benefit, the right to hunt. Although the duties attached to these jobs could be exercised by deputies, nonetheless it was to the local gentry - not to men from the court circle - that Waynflete turned to fill them. Waynflete's grants to positions on his temporal estates were almost exclusively made to men from his own household entourage or to members of the Hampshire and Surrey gentry. Again and again it is local men, from the families of Brocas, Uvedale, Wallop, Tichbourne and White (of Farnham) whose names occur of secular appointees, as parkers, warren keepers and bailiffs. More especially after 1460 this was the case and although it is difficult to demonstrate conclusively because substantially more details survive for appointments after that date than before it, it does seem as though Waynflete were trying to build up a local affinity and turn to these local men for support. While little involved in central government, many of these men were of importance locally. William Uvedale, appointed parker of Hame~don in 1486 was sheriff of Hampshire in 1479. John Titchbourne, appointed bailiff of Waltham, bailiff of the Soke of Winchester and of the liberties of the bishop in Hampshire in the 1470s was frequently a justice of the peace. Some of these men also represented the bishop's boroughs in parliament. None of the major gentry families in the area seem to have been neglected. Despite his earlier Lincolnshire connections and his continued connection with educational projects there, territorially Waynflete's base lay in Hampshire and Surrey and he was not so foolish as to neglect the opportunities to

75. Dates of appointments of many of these can be found in Register of the common seal and Reg. Wayn. I fos.1*7-8*9, II fos.25*7-40*2(2s).
76. PRO Lists and Indexes 9(1898), p55. He was sheriff again in 1486.
77. C.P.R. 1467-77, p629, C.P.R. 1476-85 p.572
78. John Wolfe, Robert Anketill, John Bishop, see appendix IV
ensure a staunch allegiance to him from local gentry families.

Waynflete displayed a considerable ability for political survival in 1461. In the subsequent period he used the plums of patronage at his disposal in retaining powerful friends. Lesser positions were used to build up close connections with local gentry families and to reward long serving household members. His activities in 1447 when he was chiefly responsible for his own elevation to the episcopate and in 1461 when he was under severe political pressure demonstrate that he was a capable politician when the occasion arose. His talents were not widely used in this direction in the sense that apart from his period as chancellor he did not involve himself greatly in central government affairs but they certainly existed and were important in ensuring his comfortable survival in the dynastic upheavals of the second half of the fifteenth century.
a) Relations with Edward IV

Despite his apparent timidity in the face of the accession of Edward IV Waynflete quickly established formal and amicable relations with the new king. There is no evidence that he was made to suffer by Edward IV for his earlier support of the Lancastrian cause although this is hardly surprising for the new king was wooing the support of the episcopate and was reluctant to alienate it unnecessarily. He was summoned to Edward's first parliament on 23 May 1461, although the parliament which was originally summoned to meet in July did not actually convene until November. When it finally met Waynflete was present and his continued presence was recorded for each of the days for which the Fane Fragment of the Lords' Journal provides evidence. Edward's coronation was held in St. Paul's cathedral on 28 June 1461. According to the Burgundian chronicler Jean Waurin, after the ceremony:

'...puis parla l'evesque de Wincestre pour tous les estas du royaume d'Engleterre, disant qu'il estoit ordonne, conclut et arreste par tous les prelatz, barons, nobles et communes d'Engleterre qu'ilz recevroient Edouard, conte La Marche, pour roy, souverain seigneur et gouverneur-general de toutes les dependences su royaume d'Engleterre,lesqueles paroles propheres par la bouche du dit evesque, commencerent tous les assistens, generalment a cryer tous ensemble a haulte voix;'Vive le roy Edouard, nostre souverain seigneur'" 4

Waurin's description should be treated with some caution for in a previous reference to the bishop of Winchester (on the occasion of the

1. C.P.R. 1461-7, p.163.
Dartford incident in 1452) he referred to Waynflete, whose part in the proceedings he accurately describes, as 'le cardinal de Wincestre'. Evidently he conflated him with Beaufort who had then been dead for five years. On this occasion, however, Waynflete may have made such a speech, for while he had been a loyal Lancastrian its sentiments of reconciliation were in keeping with Waynflete's attempts to mediate between rival factions in the 1450s.

Edward IV's support for bishop Waynflete in his controversy with the tenants of the episcopal manor at East Meon cannot be seen in terms of personal support for Waynflete; rather the king was merely asserting the status quo after the lords had considered the evidence presented by Waynflete and his tenants in support of their respective claims. It does show, however, that Waynflete was not experiencing any difficulties with the royal government.

Waynflete was no longer part of the court circle. He had never been an avid court habituee but now, with his personal link with the crown through Henry VI broken, his connections with the court and royal government lessened still further and his itinerary shows him spending an ever-increasing amount of time within his diocese.

Neither did he take part in the extensive diplomatic activities of the Yorkists. This withdrawal from Yorkist politics must have come from the bishop himself, rather than occurring as a result of deliberate exclusion of ex-Lancastrians by Edward IV. Laurence Booth, for example, who had been the Lancastrian Keeper of the Privy Seal during Waynflete's

8. See above pp.191-5.
9. Most of his time was spent at Wolvesey, Farnham and Waltham unlike in the 1450s when Southwark was a very frequent residence. In 1463 for example, he spent most of the year in Wolvesey, except for the period 27 April - c.26 May and 9-16 July when he was in Southwark. The April-May dates coincide with the session of parliament at Westminster, Wedgewood, Register, p.692.
chancellorship, was appointed to treat with the Lord of the Isles and others as early as 8 February 1462. Apart from regular attendance at parliament, as befitted his position as a senior member of the episcopate, Waynflete remained uninvolved in political life, preferring to devote his energies to his diocese and his educational projects.

The surviving rolls of parliament suggest that he did not play any more than a minimal part in its affairs: he seems to have attended conscientiously and acted when required as one of the triers of English petitions, but he is otherwise not mentioned in connection with its business. Unfortunately the records for the membership of Edward IV's privy council are few in number, but Waynflete's name does not occur as a member of the council prior to 1473.

As bishop of Winchester Waynflete was ex officio prelate to the Order of the Garter. His primary function was to officiate at the annual St. George's Day celebrations. King Henry VI had not been particularly interested in this chivalric order, preferring to lavish his attention on his collegiate foundations at Eton and Cambridge. Waynflete had, however, carried out his duties as prelate conscientiously. Edward IV's attitude towards the order was more enthusiastic than that of his predecessor. During his reign Waynflete

12. Waynflete was listed as present at a session of the council in 1473 when bishop Booth was appointed chancellor, C.C.R. 1468-77, pp.319-20.
continued to fulfill his prescribed duties. He was present at
the first meeting of Edward's reign on 17 May 1462 although
one of his fellow-ecclesiastics was rebuked for non-attendance.  

The Black Book of the Order records his regular presence until
c.1477, when his advanced age would have been sufficient to excuse
him. Henceforth Waynflete's absences may also reflect the fact
that his role as prelate and foremost ecclesiastic must have been
diminished by the creation of a new position of honour to be
filled by a bishop - the chancellorship of the order. The first
chancellor of the Order of the Garter was Richard Beauchamp,
bishop of Salisbury 1450-81, one of the few Lancastrian bishops
in Edward's confidence. He first appeared in this role at a
meeting on 10 May 1477; Waynflete was present on that occasion
but it was the last that he attended.

Contemporary accounts of great Yorkist ceremonial occasions
do not indicate that bishop Waynflete played any great part in them.
Instead it was younger men such as Stillington who had risen with
Yorkist patronage who feature prominently. At the coronation of
Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, the place of the bishop of Bath
and Wells (whose duty it was to flank the queen in the procession)
was taken by the bishop of Salisbury since the see of Bath and Wells
was vacant. It might have been expected that Waynflete would have

15. Order of the Garter, p.173, 'The bishop of Winchester and
abbot Towyrshill were present but prior'edemenan was censured
for his absense.'

16. Ibid., pp.173, 177, 184, 201.


18. Waynflete's absence is recorded for the meetings of 1478,

19. G.Smith, The coronation of Elizabeth Wyderville (London
1935); Bath and Wells was vacant due to the death of
Thomas Beckington in January 1465.
filled this place in view of his seniority on the episcopal bench and of the importance of his see. It is not even certain that he attended the queen's coronation celebrations; contemporary accounts do not refer to the bishops present by name but only thirteen bishops and abbots were numbered among those present at the celebratory feast.\(^{20}\)

During the 1460s Waynflete received a number of charters from the king which confirmed both ancient episcopal rights pertaining to his see and more recent ones. On 1 July 1462 three charters detailing ancient episcopal rights were confirmed; unlike in the late 1450s when he obtained such privileges free of any charge, on this occasion Waynflete had to pay 20 marks to the hanaper.\(^{21}\) On 16 November 1466 a grant made under the privy seal removed ambiguities in the matter of escapes of felons from the episcopal gaol in Winchester.\(^{22}\) On 10 October 1467 Magdalen College was granted an inspeximus of charters relating to the possessions of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, of letters patent concerning the transference of the advowson of the Hospital to Waynflete and hence to the College and a licence for the foundation of Magdalen College.\(^{23}\)

b) The 'Cook affair' and the re-adoption: 1468-71

The 1460s were troubled years for the Yorkist administration with a number of local plots and rebellions breaking out, especially in Northern England. The South of the country was fairly quiescent

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21. C.P.R. 1461-7, p.252; the prior and convent of St. Swithun's had to pay £40 for the confirmation of the same charter, suggesting that Waynflete could perhaps exercise more influence.
22. Ibid., p.539.
23. C.P.R. 1467-77, pp.63-4.
however and Waynflete was not involved with these northern rebellions which dogged the first half of Edward IV's reign.

It is likely that Waynflete was involved in, or at least had knowledge of, a potential plot in London in 1468. The Cook affair was a 'cause celebre' of the period. The plot was discovered when in Whit week 1468 a servant of one Robert Whittingham, a man who was in exile with Queen Margaret of Anjou, was arrested and found to have been carrying letters on the queen's behalf. Sir Thomas Cook, a London alderman whose name has become firmly entangled with the affair was the most prominent of the men subsequently arrested and tried, but he was by no means the only person implicated. A number of the men involved were associates of Waynflete and two had intimate connections with him.

One of the letters seized when Whittingham's servant was arrested was addressed to Thomas Danvers, Waynflete's right-hand man in many financial dealings. Under torture the servant implicated a number of other men, included a previous treasurer of Wolvesey, Hugh Pakenham. Danvers was arrested and imprisoned in the tower of London but he was eventually released because there was not enough evidence to indict him.

The chief purpose of these letters appears to have been to collect money for the Lancastrian cause. It is likely that Waynflete was


25. Waynflete was associated throughout the 1450s with Hugh Mulle, Gervase Clyfton and Robert Whittingham in a number of deeds relating to land destined for Magdalen College's endowment; M.C.Deeds, Stainswyke 65 (1457), Multon 59 (1459) and Misc.124 (1457).

In December 1459 Waynflete was co-recipient with Cook of the goods and chattles of a Southampton merchant, Thomas Ravan, C.C.R. 1454-61, p.433.

26. 'Sir Thomas Cook and his "troubles"', p.93.
involved in the plot, Margaret of Anjou may have felt that he was a potential supporter of her cause. It is significant that Waynflete felt it necessary to obtain a general pardon for himself in the immediate aftermath of the affair. It was issued on 11 October 1468 and specifically excluded contact with a number of men involved in the 'Cook affair'. A second pardon was granted to Waynflete on 1 February 1469.

In view of Waynflete's close personal connections with Henry VI in the 1440s and 1450s it might have been expected that he would play a prominent part in the Lancastrian re-adoption. In reality, reinforcing his essentially non-political image, his part was restricted to escorting the king from his place of imprisonment in the tower. The chronicler John Warkworth described this incident:

> 'Here is to knowe that in the begynnynge of the moneth of Octobre the yere of oure Lorde 1470 the bisshoppe of Wynchestre, be the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke went to the toure of Londene where Kynge Herry was in preseon by kynge Edwardes commandement and there tike hyme from his kepers, which was not worshipfully arayed as a prynce and not so clenly kepte as schuld seme suche a prynce; thei hade hym oute and new arayed hym and dyde to hyme grete reverens and brought hyme to the palys of Westmynster and so he was restorede to the crowne ageyne...'  

Waynflete had not been among the instigators of the revolt which arose primarily out the Neville family's dissatisfaction with their declining influence over Edward IV. By 1470 Waynflete was an elderly man who for over a decade had had little involvement

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27. M.C.Deeds Chartae Regie 7 no.80; contact was forbidden with Hugh Mulle, Gervase Clyfton, Sir Humphrey Neville and all persons attainted of high treason.
28. C.P.R. 1467-77, p.130.
with political affairs. Warkworth's use of words is significant here, 'Waynflete...be the assent of the Duke of Clarence...'; this indicates that Waynflete was merely their agent in this matter. It is not difficult to see why Waynflete, an old friend and familiar face to the king, was chosen to rescue the bemused monarch from his long imprisonment and conduct him to the residence of the bishop of London where he remained throughout his second 'reign'.

Although he remained resident at his Southwark manor for much of the winter of 1470-71 Waynflete played little part in the remaining events of the re-adeption. Henry VI was little more than a puppet in Neville hands and Waynflete was not involved with the conspirators, whatever his personal feelings of loyalty towards Henry VI.

Writs attested by the king and council were sent out on 15 October 1470 summoning a parliament to meet at Westminster on 26 November. No details of its proceedings have survived but a partial list of the members of the commons on that occasion has been reconstructed. Representing Waynflete's boroughs in this parliament were men who had close ties with the bishop but those men who are definitely known to have been present had also represented the same boroughs in the immediately preceding parliaments and cannot therefore be said to have been elected especially for this parliament. Wedgewood also states that three other men represented boroughs over which Waynflete had control. One was John Wolfe, a man with connections with the episcopal household who had certainly represented this area.

31. Wedgewood, Register, p.374.
32. Ibid., pp.384-92.
33. Ibid., pp.388, 390. William Danvers sat for Taunton while his brother Thomas represented Downton in Wiltshire; for their other periods as representatives of these boroughs see Appendix IV.
previous occasions. The other two men listed by Wedgewood, however, had no connection with Waynflete and were on the contrary closely connected with the re-adaption party. They were David John, a yeoman of Essex and Richard Hyde, a servant of the Duke of Clarence.

Wedgewood does not cite his reasons for his assignment of these men to represent these boroughs but if this was indeed the case, it does suggest that Waynflete may have put some of his parliamentary patronage at the disposal of the Lancastrian rebels.

During the period of the re-adaption Waynflete was appointed to commissions of the peace in six southern counties - Somerset, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Surrey, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. These were all counties where he had served in this same capacity previously and they do not indicate any extension of his influence on behalf of the re-adaption government.

There is no evidence that any of Waynflete's household or close connections were appointed to positions or otherwise benefitted from the re-adaption. The only interest of Waynflete's which directly benefitted from the change of monarch seems to have been his efforts on behalf of the Paston family. The Duke of Norfolk was persuaded to release the manors claimed by the Pastons with which William Yelverton had enfeoffed him. The deed of demise stated that Norfolk had done this because the bishop of Winchester had...

34. Wolfe had sat for Downton in 1459, Wedgewood, Register, p.264.
35. Wedgewood, Register, p.392.
36. C.P.R. 1468-76, pp. 163-5; see also Table
37. None of those listed in the calendars of patent and close rolls as recipients of favours from the re-adaption government had connections with Waynflete.
38. See below, chapter 16
informed him that the bargain had been made contary to Fastolf's will.\(^{39}\) It was the unspoken change of circumstances (which are not directly referred to in the agreement) with Waynflete now in favour while the Duke as a Yorkist supporter was vulnerable, which must have forced the latter to accede finally to Waynflete's demands.

Edward IV landed in England from Flanders on 14 March 1471; on 11 April he entered the capital. It is unclear exactly what happened to Waynflete when Edward reached London. Henry VI apparently greeted his rival warmly and was returned to imprisonment in the tower, together with George Neville and a number of other bishops. Some doubt arises as to whether or not Waynflete was among the bishops imprisoned.\(^ {40}\) If he was, his imprisonment must have been of short duration; on 19 and 20 April he was carrying out episcopal business at his Southwark manor.\(^ {41}\) Writing to his mother just four days after the battle of Barnet (14 April), John Paston II apparently knew nothing of any imprisonment, as he wrote that '...my lorde Arch-bysshop [Neville] is in the Towre...\(^ {42}\) but he made no reference to Waynflete. Were Waynflete imprisoned such an omission is surprising for in these years the Paston family was intimately connected with the bishop in an attempt to sort out the problems which had arisen out of Sir John Fastolf's nuncupative will.\(^ {43}\)

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40. Scofield, Life and reign of Edward IV, p.576 lists Waynflete among the bishops imprisoned in the tower by Edward but the only source which supports this is an undated (?late medieval) French list which refers to 'l'evesque de Wircestre' as among the prisoners; the editor strangely identifies this person as bishop of Winchester, Le Roux de Lincy, Chants historiques et populaires du temps de Charles VII et Louis XI, (Paris 1857), p.174. Waynflete is not listed among the imprisoned bishops in a letter written from London on 17 April 1471 by Gerhard von Wesel, Hanserecesse von 1431-1476, ed. G.F.von der Ropp (2nd series Leipzig 1890), VI, p.416.
41. Reg.Wayn. II, fo.5v-6r.
42. P.L. no.261, 18 April 1471.
43. See below chapter I~
Waynflete abandoned Southwark for Esher again about the beginning of May, remaining there until the end of the month.\textsuperscript{44} Thus he was safely out of the borough of Southwark when Fauconberg and the men of Kent sacked it in an attempt to storm London.

On 30 May 1471 Waynflete was granted a general pardon. He was the first member of the episcopate (excluding Neville) to obtain one.\textsuperscript{45} He seems to have paid heavily for it however; the receipt rolls of the exchequer for Easter Term 1471 record a payment of £1333 to the exchequer from the bishop of Winchester at that time.\textsuperscript{46}

The death of Henry VI in the tower of London on 21–22 May 1471, within a few days of the death of his son at Tewksbury, brought the Lancastrian dynasty to an end. The king's body, after lying at St. Paul's Cathedral, was brought down the Thames on a barge and buried at the Benedictine abbey of Chertsey within the diocese of Winchester.\textsuperscript{47} Whether Waynflete took part in the funeral ceremony is unknown; he could have done so for he was in residence at nearby Esher. The choice of Chertsey Abbey must have been influenced both by its convenient geographical location which allowed access from the Thames and by the sympathy of the bishop of the diocese.

c) 1472–1486

For Waynflete the remainder of the 1470s, like much of the 1460s, were dominated by non-political interests; the acquisition of lands for the endowment of Magdalen College; the conclusion of legal

\textsuperscript{44} See itinerary, appendix I.
\textsuperscript{45} C.P.R. 1467–77, p.259.
\textsuperscript{46} J.Ramsay, Lancaster and York ( 2 vols London 1892), II, p.391.
\textsuperscript{47} F.Devon, Issues of the Exchequer (London 1837), p.495; Wolffe, Henry VI, p.346.
\textsuperscript{48} See itinerary, appendix I.
problems relating to Fastolf's property; building works at Eton and
Magdalen Colleges and elsewhere. He continued to attend parliament
and act as a trier of petitions, but during this decade parliament
met infrequently. He did serve as a commissioner of the peace, being
regularly appointed as such in Hampshire, Surrey, Wiltshire, Bucking-
hamshire, Sussex and Oxfordshire. A reference in July 1473 suggests
that he was by this time a member of Edward IV's privy council, but
this is an isolated reference and he was not among Edward's inner
circle of advisors.

On occasion, as one of the richest members of the episcopate,
Waynflete was called upon to lend sums of money to the exchequer.
Prior to the re-adoption, on 7 April 1470, he had lent £40. Two
letters in the Magdalen College archives relate to further loans made
to the king in the 1480s. One from John Woode, the under-treasurer
of the exchequer, acknowledged receipt of 100 marks and promised that
200 marks already lent would be repaid the following Easter. Waynflete
seems to have been exerting his influence to have the repayment made
sooner, for Woode ended the letter saying that he shall expect the
bishop's thanks if the money is repaid sooner. The other letter is
from Waynflete's servant John Legh and and states that Legh has paid
over 300 marks as a loan from the bishop to the king; again repayment
was promised for the following Easter. Such lending to the king was

49. The position of a 'trier' was a routine administrative one but
appointment to it suggests a measure of royal confidence.
50. C.P.R. 1467-76, pp.608, 628-9; C.P.R. 1476-85, pp.554, 572, 574-5.
51. C.C.R. 1468-77, pp.319-20; J.Lander, 'Council, administration
52. P.R.O. E 404/74/3/6; this was nothing new for Waynflete had
lent money to Henry VI on occasion as in 1453 when he lent £87
towards the cost of an expedition to Normandy, E 404/69/163;
also C.P.R. 1446-52, p.452, £300; C.P.R. 1452-61, p.420, £220,
November 1457; E 404/71/2/68, 1457-8.
53. M.C.Ms. 367 no.9.
54. Ibid., no.10;
a regular part of the financial dealings of most of the episcopate, richer magnates and particularly the alien merchants; in his letter
Legh stated that, '...many more merchants, rich men and Lombards are
sent for to the king and his council daily to borrow much more money.'

Waynflete's relationship with Edward IV became increasingly
cordial as the 1470s progressed. He acted as godfather to Edward's
youngest daughter Bridget who was christened at Eltham Palace on 11
November 1480; '... and at the sayd parclos the godfather and
godmothers [the queen and Cecily, duchess of York] gave greate gyftes
to the sayde princesse...'. The following year, in September 1481,
the king visited Magdalen College and was received with great
ceremony by the bishop and the community.

On 9 April 1483 after a short illness Edward IV died. He was
buried at Windsor in the chapel he had built there, with
sumptious funeral rites which cost £1,496 17s 2d. The body lay in
state in St. Stephen's chapel Westminster for eight days before being transferred to Windsor, '... when at Eton the bishops of Lincoln
and Ely with the college met the body and censed the corps. And so
proceeded to the castel gate [where] the archbishop of Yorke and
the bishop of Winchester censed the corps...'. Waynflete was
subsequently present at the sequestration of the goods, jewels and
seals of the king which took place on 7 May 1483, made necessary in
view of hesitation on the part of the executors to act.

from B.L. Add Ms. 6113.
56. See above p.70; an account of the visit is in M.C.Register A
fo.81.
58. 'The funeral of Edward IV: a contemporary account', Archaeologia
I, p.350.
59. Registrum Thome Bourghier, pp.52-3; Nichols, Royal Wills, p.345.
This hesitation was probably due to the uncertain situation which prevailed immediately after the king's death. Waynflete was unlikely to be affected personally by whatever happened; he was an elderly and respected member of the episcopate. Some of his interests were in a more vulnerable position. A letter written to Waynflete on 26 April [1483] reflects the uncertainty. The writer, John Gygyour, was concerned for the future of Tattershall College (Lord Cromwell's foundation with which Waynflete was closely concerned as one of Cromwell's executors), '...for nowe oure lord the Kyng is dede and it is not knowne who should have rule overe theym...'. In fact Waynflete appears to have quickly established an amicable relationship with Richard III. The royal progress of the new king included Oxford where Richard was entertained with feasts and disputations at Magdalen College in Waynflete's presence. Waynflete was nothing if not pragmatic where the future welfare of his foundation was concerned. His own death was advancing and thus he asserted himself to attract the goodwill of the new king.

Richard's visit to Magdalen College marked Waynflete's final contact with royalty. Waynflete played no part in the political events of Richard's reign or in his overthrow. By now he was over eighty and increasingly sedentary. He continued to be appointed to commissions of the peace under both Richard III and in the first months of Henry VII's reign; his final appointment in this sphere was on 28 February 1486, but it is unlikely that he was active in this role.

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60. See below pp.261-165.
61. M.C.Ms. 367, no.4.
62. See above p.71; M.C. Register A, fo.27v.
63. C.P.R. 1476-85, pp.554, 569, 572, 574-5.
Conclusion

As incumbent of the see of Winchester William Waynflete was potentially an important force in English political life. That for more than half his episcopate—from 1460 onwards, he played little part in politics reflects his personal preference. Other Lancastrian sympathisers had active political careers under Edward IV and his earlier loyalty to Henry VI would have been of little disadvantage had Waynflete wished to follow suit. In fact under the Yorkists Waynflete largely withdrew from politics, although he did attend parliament and fulfill his public duties such as being a commissioner of the peace. His relations with Edward IV were cordial for most of his reign. Evidently, however, his interests lay elsewhere and from 1460 Waynflete can be seen to be focussing his attention on diocesan affairs, Magdalen College and other non-political commitments, only occasionally involving himself in national or court affairs.
IV  SIDELIGHTS ON WAYNFLETE

15. Waynflete and Lincolnshire
16. Relationship with Sir John Fastolf and the Pastons
17. Books, humanism and printing
18. Waynflete's building projects
SIDELIGHTS ON WAYNFLETE: INTRODUCTION

Few people lead such a well-defined and regular life that it can be neatly categorized and divided up into sections and chapters. While such an approach may be possible when discussing the development of institutions or buildings, it is inadequate in a study of a human being, a person who in addition to the main aspects of his career had other interests and concerns. This section will deal with four aspects of William Waynflete's life not covered elsewhere, which I hope will help to round-out his personality - firstly the connections he retained with Lincolnshire, the county of his birth; secondly demonstrating the business shrewdness he could display in the interests of Magdalen College in the story of the inheritance of Sir John Fastolf; thirdly a brief look at his literary interests and his patronage of the new learning and of printing and finally a consideration of his extensive building interests and in particular his promotion of building in brick.

The picture I want to portray therefore is not one of a man whose life can be coldly divided out into educational, political and episcopal sections but of a real person whose interests were multidimensional and scattered - a three-dimensional human figure, not a cardboard cut-out.
Although his family name was Barbour, like many of his contemporaries William, bishop of Winchester was better known by the place of his birth, Wainfleet, a small port on the Lincolnshire coast near Boston.

William Waynflete broke his direct personal connection with his native Lincolnshire at an early stage in his career. It can reasonably be assumed that his early schooling took place at one of the many schools in the county but then he went to Oxford, being supported during this period by his benefice of Salomy. He does not seem to have returned to Lincolnshire; instead he made a living teaching in Winchester College from 1429 and henceforth his physical presence was concentrated in southern England. This did not mean that all his links with his native county and in particular with the area of his birthplace were broken. His family continued to live there and Waynflete's continuing connection with Lincolnshire can be seen in a number of ways throughout his career: as a benefactor to the town of Wainfleet and its inhabitants; as executor to Ralph Lord Cromwell, a commitment which involved him closely with Cromwell's foundation, Tattershall College; as a founder of a chantry in Coningsby and by the promotion of Lincolnshire men within his household circle.

a) Benefactor to Wainfleet

Many successful men look back to their birth-place from a position of new found prosperity to bestow some material benefit on the area. Pope Pius II, Waynflete's contemporary, entirely rebuilt his home town of Corsignano during the early 1460s, renaming

1. See above p.4.
it Pienza. Closer to home the existence of substantial schools in small English villages such as Higham Ferrers and Rotherham testify to the generosity and rise to the episcopate of Henry Chichele and Thomas Rotherham. William Waynflete remembered the place of his birth in a similar way, founding there a grammar school which he linked to his other foundation, Magdalen College Oxford.

Chandler states that Wainfleet school was founded in 1459 but no evidence has survived to support this tradition. It may well be correct, however, for the school was certainly in operation by 1461 for there is a record of John Michell being paid as grammar master in that year. Michell, who was described as a clerk, had a stipend of £10 annually. The details of the form the school was to take were described in the statutes issued for Magdalen College in the 1480s.

This school was to have a considerable chantry element which was not found in its Oxford counterpart but there was also emphasis on the teaching of grammar. The master had to be in priest's orders and was to say mass daily for Waynflete, his parents, William Aulekar, and all the benefactors of the school. The school was tied to the surrounding area in that the annual salary of the master was to be drawn "...de proventibus et redditibus in dicto comitatu Lincolniae"

3. Chichele was archbishop of Canterbury 1414-43; Rotherham archbishop of York 1480-1500; for details of these schools and others founded by episcopal benefactors see N. Orme, English schools in the middle ages (London 1973).
5. M.C. Estate Papers 165/6; I am grateful to Mrs B. Parry-Jones, archivist, Magdalen College, for giving me this reference.
6. Aulekar, together with a Richard Bennington had devised some lands in Wainfleet to bishop Waynflete on 10 May 1474, possibly with the school in mind, Oldfield, Account of Wainfleet, p. 46.
TWO VIEWS OF WAYNFLETE'S SCHOOL IN WAINFLEET, LINCOLNSHIRE

Photograph: NMR (Wainfleet)
Waynflete planned a substantial, almost monumental building for his school. He took an active personal interest in its construction as surviving letters written to the bishop by John Gygour, his local agent in this matter show. He may well have seen it as a monument to himself; he was certainly concerned that it should be built to last, as is suggested by one letter which referred to '...the tymbur wold be secure to contynue in tyme to come...'9 The large and solid building must have dominated the village which was beginning to fall into economic decline as the river mouth silted up. In the sixteenth century it was described by the antiquarian Leland as '...the most notable thing...' in the area.10

The grammar school is the most visible testament to Waynflete's generosity but he showed the area favour in other ways. The people of Wainfleet saw Waynflete's period as chancellor as an opportunity to improve their legal position and he responded favourably.

Wainfleet lay within the Duchy of Lancaster and in March 1457, just six months after Waynflete had been appointed chancellor, the king granted a charter of incorporation to the inhabitants of the town. This grant was made in response to a petition from the town which set out how;

'...an ancient port of the sea for all the friends of our realm of England formerly existed there and now seems about to become an easy and ready place of call for the ships of our enemies ... our aforesaid town being already in great ruin and as it were deserted by the inhabitants, seems to be coming to a complete destruction and perpetual desolation...'11

10. 'The schole that Wainflete bishop of Winchester made there and endowed with £10 of land is the most notable thing of that town', John Leland, Itineraries V, p.35.
11. The charter is printed in full in Lincolnshire notes and queries II (1890-91), pp.11-14.
The townspeople's expectation that Waynflete's position would aid their case was not misplaced. In addition to the actual incorporation a concomitant grant of freedom from customs and taxes was made and the inhabitants were granted the right to hold three fairs annually in addition to a weekly market. The royal grant was signed by the king personally at a meeting of the privy council at Westminster on 20 March 1457. Waynflete was one of the witnesses. The charge made for its issue was nominal, only two marks, which also suggests that the chancellor had used his influence on behalf of his birthplace.

The following year, still during Waynflete's chancellorship, the inhabitants of Wainfleet again made use of their valuable connection to have their rights to fairs and markets confirmed. The names of the chief inhabitants or petitioners are not given so it is not known whether the bishop's immediate family was involved with the petition, but if, as Chandler suggests in his biography, Waynflete's father had been a merchant, the bishop would have had considerable knowledge of the port and its trading needs.

b) Lord Cromwell and Tattershall College

In his capacity as bishop William Waynflete was frequently called upon to act either as a feoffee to use or an executor (or both) to many members of the gentry and nobility. Within Lincolnshire Waynflete's prime involvement of this sort was with Ralph Lord Cromwell, soldier and administrator under both Henry V and Henry VI, who by the

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13. P.R.O., C53/190, m.11; C54/28, m.29.
15. Among others, in March 1465 he was one of the feoffees to use of John Dudley, knight, C.P.R.1461-67, p.444; in March 1475, of the Duke of Norfolk, B.L.Add.Ch.7,629; of Robert, Lord Moleyns in e1460 , P.R.O. C1/28/111; of John Leynham in November 1480, C.C.R. 1476-85, no.725.
time of his death was one of the richest men in England.

Suggestions that Waynflete may have known Lord Cromwell in his youth and that his later involvement with Cromwell was due to an early friendship have no basis in fact. As Lord Treasurer, Cromwell may have been acquainted with Waynflete while the latter was provost of Eton College but their first documented association occurs in 1449 when both men appear as co-acquisitors of one of John Fastolf's Norfolk manors.

The use of profits acquired during a career as a soldier for charitable and religious purposes was common in the fifteenth century. Realph, Lord Cromwell planned a collegiate church at his newly-built castle at Tattershall in Lincolnshire. He initiated the project towards the end of the 1430s, issuing a foundation charter in November 1440. 'Henry, bishop of Winchester and cardinal' headed the list of patrons. It is not therefore surprising that after Beaufort's death in 1447, the new bishop of Winchester, born less than fifteen miles from Tattershall and with continuing family connections there, should replace his predecessor among those involved with Cromwell's projected college.

The first reference to Waynflete's involvement occurs in 1454 when Cromwell received a licence enabling him to grant a substantial parcel of land including the manor and castle of Tattershall, to the bishops of Winchester and Ely and a number of laymen. Other bishops

17. He was treasurer 1433-43, H.B.C., p.102.
18. C.P.R. 1446-52, p.300; on 25 November 1449 a pardon was granted to Waynflete and others for a feoffment made to them by Fastolf without a royal licence.
20. C.P.R. 1446-52, pp.199-200, 1 November 1454.
were involved in these feoffments to use, but Waynflete was the sole representative of the episcopate among Cromwell's executors. One of his major duties as Cromwell's executor was to ensure the completion of the embryonic collegiate foundation at Tattershall. For the remainder of his life Waynflete played an active and personal role in supervising the welfare of Tattershall College. The day-to-day running and maintenance of the college was in the hands of a warden; John Leynton, another of the executors and a lawyer from Lincoln's Inn dealt with the bulk of the legal affairs of the college while others of the executors, especially Sir Thomas Tirell, took an active interest, but the bishop of Winchester remained the guiding figure and was frequently turned to for advice.

Two periods stand out as times when Waynflete was particularly involved with the affairs of this Lincolnshire foundation. The first is from Cromwell's death in 1456 until c.1460 when the statutes of the college were drawn up; the second is the late 1470s and 1480s. A number of letters written by John Gygour, warden of the college, to Waynflete survive for this latter period although since there appears to be no reason why Tattershall should be particularly in contact with the leading executor at this time a false impression may be being created by the chance survival of letters from this period. Occasional references at other times suggest that Waynflete was concerned

21. i.e. Reginald Boulers, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1453-9 and Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Ely 1444-54.
23. The first warden was William Moore whose name occurs in the early accounts relating to the college, De L'Isle manuscripts, pp.173, 190-1; In 1458 he was succeeded by John Gygour who was also master of Merton College Oxford. Gygour held the position until his death in 1504, B.R.U.O., p.841.
24. M.C.Ms. 367, nos 4,5,6; M.C.Deeds East Bridgeford 10,25.
with the affairs of the college on a regular basis.  

Lord Cromwell died at his manor of Collyweston on 4 January 1456. Under his will the executors were required to deal with his estates in three ways. Since he had no direct heir the estates which were settled were to be divided between his nieces Maud Willoughby and Joan Bourgchier. Those lands of which Cromwell had free disposition were to be used to complete the building of the college - to be sold to defray the building expenses. A third group of manors were to be managed by the executors and vested in the college as a permanent endowment.

This first period of activity concluded with the statutes proclaimed in c.1460. These were drawn up by Waynflete, Sir John Fortescue and Sir Thomas Tirell but were partly based on Cromwell's own ideas which survive in a memorandum dated c.1450, 'Articles touching the foundation of the college of Tattershall'. This is in the form of questions addressed to the founder with his answers. It included a scale of fees and salaries for the master and priests. The college was to consist of seven chaplains (including the master), six secular clerks, six choristers and an almshouse for thirteen poor people, male or female. Essentially it was a chantry for the souls of

25. De L'Isle manuscripts I, pp.174-5 is a quitclaim by Cromwell's feoffees (including Waynflete) of all rights in certain manors, 4 August 1468; M.C.Deeds Candlesby 50A is a release from Lady Willoughby to Waynflete of all rights to Cromwell's estates.
27. Complications arose over the inheritance in the 147Os after Maud Willoughby's third husband Sir Gervase Clifton was attainted after the battle of Tewksbury, Curzon, Tattershall Castle, p.98.
28. Ibid., p.179.
30. Ibid., p.179.
Henry VI, Lord Cromwell and his wife Maud but one section of the statutes reflects Bishop Waynflete's own particular interest; 'The master shall hire a clerk or priest to teach grammar to the choristers and to all the sons of the tenants of the lordship of Tattershall and of the college without charge...' 31

This emphasis on the teaching of grammar, not only to the choristers but to boys from the surrounding neighbourhood is a hallmark of other statutes with which the bishop was involved.

Occasional quitclaim and lease references during the 1460s demonstrate a continuing link between Waynflete and Tattershall college during this period. 32 Towards the end of the 1470s problems over finance seem to have necessitated increased participation by Waynflete in its affairs - money had not been received in full from the Earl of Warwick who had bought the manor of Collyweston from the executors; 33 in addition finance was required for the substantial building operations which were being undertaken at this time. 34 The warden John Gygour made several journeys to consult with Waynflete during this period. 35

The sale of portions of Cromwell's inheritance to finance Tattershall college continued to cause problems. Waynflete himself bought some of the lands as part of his endowment for Magdalen College 36 and also acquired the reversion of the important manor of Candlesby

32. See above, note 25.
34. Ibid., pp.198-9 where details of receipts and accounts for building works and the glazing of the chapel are given. Also R.Marks, 'The glazing of the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity', Archaeologia 106 (1979), pp.133-56.
35. In 1479 £10 19s 3d was paid to Gygour to cover his expenses on journeys to London to consult Waynflete and the other executors, De L'Isle manuscripts I, p.198.
from Lady Willoughby. Lady Willoughby's discontent with her share of her uncle's estates was also a source of problems during this period and several of Gygour's letters to Waynflete refer to continuing attempts to make a final settlement with her. William Waynflete's importance as a protector of the rights and endowments of the foundation is reflected in Gygour's fear of what might happen to it if Francis Lord Lovel, who laid claim to a number of valuable lands, should outlive the bishop of Winchester.

Tattershall college was one of two chantry-style collegiate foundations with which Waynflete was involved as an executor, the other being that of Fastolf at Caister Castle. Although the evidence for Cromwell's exact intentions is limited, as far as can be seen Waynflete carried out the founder's wishes and exerted himself to aid and protect the college. At the same time he managed to purchase some of the inheritance to add to the endowment he was amassing for his own foundation in Oxford, thus taking advantage of his privileged position as executor.

Waynflete's links with Tattershall served another purpose; they kept him in touch with his native area. Gygour was a valuable friend and contact. He subsequently proved very useful to the bishop when Waynflete was building his own school in Wainfleet.

37. M.C. Deeds, Candlesby 43A.  
38. M.C. Ms. 367, no. 6.  
39. M.C. Deeds, East Bridgeford 11, 21; in fact this problem did not arise because Lovel died in 1487, very shortly after Waynflete.  
40. See below, chapter 16.
c) Religious Connections

Two of the indulgences issued by Waynflete in the early years of his episcopate were intended to attract benefactors for two Lincolnshire churches. The first was issued in May 1453 for the upkeep of the Guild of St. Mary in Boston parish church, the second, issued two years later in May 1455, was for the support of the chapel of St. James in Bensington parish church. Both of these churches lay in the same part of Lincolnshire as Wainfleet.

In the same decade Waynflete was involved with the foundation of a chantry in the chapel of St. Mary in Coningsby church, situated some three miles from Tattershall. Two chaplains were to celebrate divine service in the chapel for the souls of the founders, the king and queen and the king's progenitors. Waynflete was one of seven founders who, on 20 August 1453 were granted two licences, one to permit the foundation of the chantry, the other to acquire lands in mortmain worth £10 per year for its endowment. His co-founders were Lord Cromwell, Viscount Beaumont, John Perche and John Belle who were both chaplains in Waynflete's household and two local men John Smyth and William Cote.

Waynflete's involvement with this chantry appears to have lapsed very quickly, perhaps as his responsibilities elsewhere increased. He may even have only acted as a sort of 'sponsor' to enable

41. Reg. Wayn. I fo. 26 R
42. Ibid., fo. 36 V
44. C.P.R. 1452-61, p. 104.
45. Ibid.
46. Waynflete was also a co-feoffee with Beaumont for some of Fastolf's property.
47. 'Chantry certificates', p. 282.
MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF PLACES IN LINCOLNSHIRE CONNECTED WITH WILLIAM WAYNFLETE

Note: The coastline shown is that of modern Lincolnshire which has changed slightly since the fifteenth century due to reclamation. Wainfleet would have been closer to the coast; it was an important port.
the local men to obtain the requisite licences for the foundation. Nothing more is heard of his connection with it; in 1476 John Smyth was issued with a licence to acquire a further £10 worth of land to maintain the chantry. That Waynflete was involved at all, however, is of interest since it showed that he retained strong local connections with his native area of Lincolnshire.

d) Promotion of Lincolnshire men

As bishop of Winchester Waynflete had considerable patronage at his disposal which gave him numerous opportunities to promote men from his own area of the country if he wished to do so. Clerks could be collated to benefices or given positions within his personal household, while laymen could hold administrative positions or otherwise serve the bishop in the secular sphere.

In considering the promotion of clerks by Waynflete a major problem arises; even when the diocese of birth or ordination is known to be Lincoln, since it was a huge diocese, the largest in England spanning five counties, a man described as a clerk of Lincoln is as likely to come from Oxford or Buckinghamshire as from Waynflete's own native area. In addition very little information is available for the geographical origins of the men collated to benefices by William Waynflete. The graduates are the best documented but even among these information about their birthplace is only available for thirty of a total of 103 men collated. Of these thirty only four were described as coming from the diocese of Lincoln which hardly suggests that the bishop was filling the benefices within his diocese with Lincolnshire men.

The same problem of the vagueness of geographical descriptions arises when considering the men closest to Waynflete within his household. Three important household figures were Lincolnshire men - William Darset, successively chaplain, official-principal and chancellor; Simon Aylward, scribe, notary and agent for the bishop in matters connected with Magdalen College; Robert Peverell, notary and official-principal. While nothing is known of Peverell's background, both Darset and Aylward had been pupils of Waynflete - Darset at Winchester College and Aylward at Eton - and this personal contact with Waynflete through educational links must have been at least as important for their promotion as their Lincolnshire connection.

In the political sphere a slightly greater emphasis on Lincolnshire men is evident. Three parliamentary boroughs were under the control of the bishop of Winchester - Hindon, Taunton and Downton. The first parliaments where Waynflete had the opportunity of exercising his patronage in this field were those of February and November 1449. In all eleven men represented these boroughs for the bishop in these two parliaments. Three of these (28%) came, not just from Lincolnshire but from the same coastal area of the county as the bishop himself - John Gibthorpe of Thorpe by Wainfleet, Hugh Witham of Kirton in Holland and Robert Tilney of Boston. None of these men had ever sat in

51. Peverell describes himself as a clerk of Lincoln when he acts as notary for Waynflete, as in Reg.Wayn. II fo.231r; nothing else is known of his background but for the part he played in Waynflete's household and administration see above p.108, n.36.
52. For an expansion of this point see above pp.164-5.
53. Hindon and Taunton were in Somerset, Downton in Wiltshire, Wedgewood, Register, pp.676, 707, 709. The borough of Farnham was also controlled by the bishop of Winchester but it only returned representatives to parliament once during the fifteenth century, in 1461.
54. Wedgewood, Register, pp.109-12, 139, 142; Biographies, pp. 61, 373, 856.
parliament prior to this date.

Tilney continued to represent the borough of Hindon during the 1450s but no other Lincolnshire man subsequently represented any of Waynflete's boroughs for the remaining thirty-five years of his episcopate. It seems that Waynflete, who had little previous political experience and therefore perhaps knew few suitable representatives, had to fall back upon men from his native area in the earliest years of his episcopate. During his forty-year episcopate thirty-three men in all represented these boroughs - three from Lincolnshire, the remainder almost exclusively from southern England. 56 It was only initially, while he was still 'finding his feet' that Waynflete made use of his connections in Lincolnshire to fill out his representation in the Commons.

Conclusion

Throughout his adult career William Waynflete's connections with his native Lincolnshire were private rather than public; he never, for example, served on any royal commissions or as a justice of the peace in the area. He can be seen favouring the town of Wainfleet during his period as chancellor to Henry VI and benevolence towards his birthplace culminated in his foundation of a grammar school there towards the end of his life. Waynflete also continued to be associated with Lincolnshire as feoffee and executor for Ralph Lord Cromwell. While the evidence of his itinerary does not suggest that he visited the area, his correspondence with John Gygour shows that he remained in close touch with the conduct of affairs there. Despite the fact that

55. Wedgewood, Register, p.708.
56. See appendix IV, List of men who represented Waynflete's boroughs in parliament.
Waynflete had few physical links with his birthplace during his lengthy career, it is clear that it remained important to him and that he actively promoted its interests where possible.

Waynflete's involvement with Pastoill Vinet was long after his promotion to the episcopate, in July 1449 when he was using people who were granted lands by Pastoill as a footman to fortify. In February 1449 Waynflete and his fellow footmen were pardoned by the king for having acquired these lands without a licence. This footman to see and others like it were made as part of Pastoill's attempt to fulfill the desire which dominated the last decades of his life: the foundation and endowment of a college of seven priests and seven poor men to pray for his soul; at Calstock Castle in Devon.

The fact that he left no house of the body of his
i6. RELATIONSHIP WITH SIR JOHN FASTOLF AND THE PASTONS

34% of the land with which Waynflete endowed Magdalen College came from the estates of two wealthy men, Sir John Fastolf and Ralph, Lord Cromwell. Waynflete acted as one of the executors for the wills of both men and, particularly in the case of the Fastolf inheritance, used his position for the ultimate advantage of his own foundation, Magdalen College. This chapter deals with the role played by Waynflete in the disputes which arose after the death of Fastolf in 1459.

Waynflete's involvement with Fastolf began not long after his promotion to the episcopate, in July 1449 when he was among people who were granted lands by Fastolf as a feoffment to use. In November 1449 Waynflete and his fellow feoffees were pardoned by the king for having acquired these lands without a licence. This feoffment to use and others like it were made as part of Fastolf's attempt to fulfill the desire which dominated the last decades of his life the foundation and endowment of a college of seven priests and seven poor-men to pray for his souls, at Caister Castle in Norfolk.

The fact that he left no heirs of the body doubtless

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2. Both cases are relatively well documented - papers relating to the estates of Fastolf and Cromwell are preserved in the archives of Magdalen College; in addition the Paston letters are a major source for the controversy which ensued after Fastolf's death, Paston letters and papers of the fifteenth century, ed. N.Davis (2 vols Oxford 1971,1976).
4. For his wealth and its sources see K.McFarlane, 'The investment of Sir John Fastolf's profits of war', in England in the fifteenth century: collected essays (London 1981), pp.175-97. Jurors who took part in the inquisition post-mortem on John Paston I in 1466 swore that Fastolf had enfeoffed a large number of people by the end of the 1440s; in the early 1450s Fastolf proposed that his advisor John Paston I should make himself responsible for the establishment of the college and he reduced the number of feoffees to those with whom he had fairly intimate links, P.L. no.900.
increased his enthusiasm for the project.

Fastolf did not content himself with making provision for the establishment of Caister College after his death; throughout the 1450s he made repeated attempts to obtain a licence to amortise land for its endowment in order to set up the foundation under his personal guidance. As Chancellor Waynflete was among the people whose aid Fastolf invoked in repeated attempts to obtain the required licence:

'I write now to remembre yow agayn to meve my lorde of Caunterbury and Wynchestre for the licence to be opteyned that I myght haue the morteisyng withowte ony grete fyne in recompence for my longe seruice contynued and doon vnto the Kyng and to his noble fader...I pray yow acqueynte me and yow with a chapelleyn of ... my lorde Chaunceller; for seyng the Kynges disposicion.' 5

It is not clear why this licence was never forthcoming. Perhaps the sum involved was considered too great; Waynflete while chancellor did not succeed in granting this request and there is no evidence that he actually made any efforts on Fastolf's behalf.

Fastolf died in November 1459 leaving a nuncupative will under which John Paston I was to receive the bulk of his property in Norfolk and Suffolk on condition that he established the chantry-style college at Caister7. It seems that Paston expected and was prepared to face some opposition (hardly surprising since the nuncupative will superseded a written one made in June of the same year8). Within a week of Fastolf's death, John Paston's brother William and William Worcester, who had

5. P.L., no.570.
6. Later the Pastons were under an obligation to provide 4000 marks for the college which gives some idea of the scale of the sums involved.
7. Nuncupative wills were not unusual; in the seventeenth century they were restricted by law to be valid only when they concerned property worth less than £30 but no such limit existed in the fifteenth century, G.Gibson, Codex juris ecclesiastici Anglicani (Reprint, London 1969), p.464. According to the Provincial of William Lyndwood completed in 1430 such wills were valid if there were at least two honest witnesses. Register of Henry Chichele 1414-43 (4 vols Canterbury and York Society, 1943-7), II, p.xxi.
been secretary to Fastolf, arrived in London to discuss the matter with Waynflete who was still chancellor and was the most important of the executors. A letter written back to John Paston I described the visit:

"Wurceter and I were come to London be 8 of the cloak; and we spak wyth myn lord Chancelere and I fund hym well dysposyd in all thung and ye shall fynd hym ryth profytably to yow. And he desyryd me to wrythe yow a letter in hys name and put trust in yow in gaderyng of the good togeder ... and ley it secretly were ye thowth best at yowre assynement... tyll that he speke wyth yow hym-selff; and he seyd ye schulld haue all laf\W\ full fauore.' 10

This prompt visit to the bishop resulted in Waynflete issuing a statement in which he set out his advice to the executors. He seems at this point to have taken upon himself the role of chief executor; as a bishop he would have been thoroughly familiar with the procedures relating to the granting of probate, while as chancellor he was in a position to authorise the issue of writs. He advised that the goods be kept in a safe place until the executors or 'the moste part of tho that he pyt hys grete trust vppon speke wyth me and make declaracion to me of hys last wille, to the accomplyshment whereoff I wolde be special goode lord...' He also ordered that Fastolf be buried in accordance with his rank and that alms and rewards to the servants should be paid immediately so the recipients '...be better disposed and to praye for the wellfare of hys soule...'


10. P.L. no.86.

11. Ibid., no.887.

12. William Paston also wrote in the above cited letter that he would ask for the issue of a writ of Diem Clausit Extremum, directed to the escheators in the counties where a deceased tenant-in-chief had held land to direct them to hold an inquisition post mortem, P.L. no.86.

As yet there is no suggestion that Waynflete even considered having designs on some of Fastolf's estates for the endowment of Magdalen College. That seems to have arisen later out of the deadlock reached over the administration of the property. After his initial appearance as foremost executor Waynflete faded from the scene and remained aloof from the disputes which arose over the validity of the nuncupative will. As Fastolf's estates and goods extended beyond the bounds of the diocese of Norwich they came into the category of bona notabilia and thus it fell to the Archbishop's court to grant the probate of his will. Since the will was challenged by William Yelverton and several of the other executors the matter came before the auditor in the archbishop's court of audience at Lambeth. It is referred to as being in the Court of Audience as early as May 1460 and the dispute dragged on there intermittently until 1467 without any satisfactory conclusion having been reached: as the amount of evidence increased so did the confusion, particularly since a number of witnesses swore to totally different stories on different occasions.

Waynflete was not the only one of the executors to have steered clear of the controversy, Lord Beauchamp, the Abbot of Langley and John Stokes did likewise. The first evidence of possible involvement by Waynflete in an attempt to resolve the stalemate reached in the Court of Audience can be seen in a letter of 29 January 1467 written by Thomas Danvers to John Paston II. Unfortunately the letter states that, as was often the case, the messenger has been entrusted with the

14. P.L., no.889, a letter from the abbot of Langley to his fellow-executor John Stokes refers to a meeting of the executors held in London 12 May 1460 but no details of its decisions have survived and it is not known if Waynflete attended, although he was in London at the time.

15. Ibid., no.745.

16. Ibid., no.745.
most important information but Danvers wrote:

'I understand by yow that money shuld cause you conclusion in youre matter this next terme and that ye wull be at London on Monday night er Tuesday by noon. I trust I haue studyed such a mene that upon surete as ye may make to gete you £100 or 200 marks to be lante un-to you...' 17

While it is nowhere stated that Danver's arrangement had been made at the behest of Waynflete, in view of the close relationship between the two men it is likely that this was the case. No more is heard of Waynflete's involvement for the rest of 1467 but the money, if Danver's offer was availed of, seems to have achieved its aim. On 26 August 1467 Paston and Thomas Howes were awarded probate of Fastolf's will in accordance with the nuncupative will which named them as chief executors. 18 Two days after this grant was made, on 28 August Waynflete, the archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Beauchamp as feoffees of Fastolf, formally released certain of Fastolf's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk including Caister Castle 19 to John Paston II; an action suggesting that they concurred with the grant of probate.

It may be that Waynflete was already considering utilisation of Fastolf's lands for the endowment of Magdalen College. This is suggested by a letter written by Worcester to Margaret Paston which has been tentatively dated to January 1468:

'...I comyned late wyth your entier welbelouyd son Ser John Paston of the fundacion of my maister Fastolf college myght ben at Cambyrgge yn case hyt shall nat bee at Castre nether at Seynt Benetts be-cause that uniurersyte lyeth neere the cuntree of Norfolk and Suffolk; for albet my lord of Wynchestre ys disposed to found a collage yn Oxford for my seid maister to be prayd for, yhyt wyth moch lesse cost he myght make som othyr memoriall also yn Cambyrgge...' 20

17. John Paston had died in 1466 but his case was carried on by his sons John Paston II and John Paston III.
18. M.C.Deeds, Chartae Regiae; P.L. no.92, headnote.
19. M.C.Deeds, Norfolk and Suffolk 47.
Since this letter is the sole reference to such a proposal prior to 1470 it seems much more probable that the letter belongs to January 1470.

Although Waynflete, Yelverton and other feoffees released many of the disputed manors to Paston in 1468 this settlement did not last. In October of the same year some of the feoffees enfeoffed the Duke of Norfolk with Caister, the nucleus of the Fastolf inheritance, and this was the start of another half-decade of disputes which continued until the Duke's death in 1476.

It is at this stage that Waynflete can be seen taking positive action to bring the disputes to an end; ten years had passed since Fastolf's death and his hoped-for college was as far away as ever. Authority to settle the multiplicity of disputes was granted to Waynflete by Thomas Bourgchier, archbishop of Canterbury. On 5 May 1469 the archbishop cited Waynflete and Lord Beauchamp to appear before him on 20 May, 'to take upon them charge of Sir John Fastolf's will if they will do so...' The grant of administration was made on 13 February 1470 and Waynflete became sole executor on the grounds that,

'...nullis aliis executoribus in testamento dicti defuncti nominatis ad administracionem bonorum eiusdem de jure admittendis protunc existentibus...' 23

Such a move was in keeping with the archbishop's jurisdiction for he regularly reserved to himself the right to re-commit the administration of an estate if the first-appointed administrators failed in their duties. In the instance of Fastolf Bourgchier was conscious both of Fastolf's own wishes and of the delays in carrying them out, for he had been

23. M.C.Deeds, Fastolf papers 93; P.L. no.248, headnote.
among the feoffees to use.  

John Paston II approved of this move. By this time he must have been so sick of the disputes and uncertainties which had deprived him of his home at Caister and resulted in the death of at least one member of his household that one gets the impression that he was ready to grasp at any hope of a settlement. William Worcester on the other hand counselled the Pastons (in vain) to be wary of Waynflete, writing to John Paston II that '...he wenyth that the Byshop wyl be a-yenst you, in so myche that <he>advysyd my modyr to counsell yow that ye shold labor to my lord Cardynall that the seyd Byshop shold not be admyttyd to take admynstracyon.' It is in this context that the above quoted letter of Worcester concerning the possible use of Fastolf's endowment in Oxford should be seen.

An agreement was signed between Waynflete and Paston in the Priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark on 14 July 1470. The preamble to this set out the bishop's position, reciting Fastolf's intentions and explaining that the issues of the land were wasted due to 'grete variances' having arisen between the feoffees. Waynflete cited four reasons to justify his involvement: (i) Fastolf had placed special trust in him both as a feoffee and as an executor; (ii) the other living executors had renounced their rights; (iii) he pitied the unfulfilled charitable intentions of Fastolf; (iv) the lands were being wasted and the disputes were very complex. The intention of the

25. 'Ther is a weye mevyd by the meane off my lorde off Wynchester betwen Syr William Yeluerton and me and bothe Syr William Yeluerton and I agreyd to abyde hys awarde; wherffore I hope thys next terme ther schall be a weye taken and an ende.' P.L., no.248.
27. Ibid., 252; Waynflete often used this priory as the headquarters of his administration whenever he was in London.
the agreement was to end the disputes and accomplish at least part of Fastolf's intentions. It carefully divided the lands of Fastolf's estates between John Paston II and the bishop; all the relevant documents (the whereabouts of which had been one of the matters of dispute), were to be stored in the priory of St. Mary Overy and both parties were to have keys and access at will; finally Waynflete undertook to obtain at his own expense a papal dispensation to move the place of Fastolf's college from Caister and within six months of getting seisin of the lands, he was to endow in perpetuity at Magdalen College Oxford, seven priests and seven poor scholars who would pray for Fastolf's soul.

Over the next few months Waynflete can be seen to be actively fulfilling his side of the agreement, in particular relating to the expulsion of the Duke of Norfolk from Caister Castle. 28 With regard to Caister College Waynflete had in fact set in motion the action necessary to obtain the papal dispensation even before he had himself appointed sole executor. In January 1470 William Darset, his chaplain, left England to obtain the dispensation from Rome. The stature of the messenger indicates the importance Waynflete attached to his mission as does the fact that his destination and the purpose of his journey were kept secret. Publicly Darset was supposed to be on a pilgrimage; he died in Rome 29 and even several years later a number of Waynflete's circle believed that he had died in Rome en route to the Holy Land. 30 Darset's visit was successful; several bulls were issued

28. In December 1470 Waynflete came to an agreement with the Duke of Norfolk who undertook to release Caister to the bishop on payment of 500 marks, Hist.Mss.Comm.IV, p.461. The Duke's co-operation may have been related to Henry VI's re-adaption which placed the Duke in a weaker position vis-a-vis Waynflete; he seized Caister again after Edward's restoration in 1471, P.L., introduction, p.lxxx.
30. M.C.Deeds, Sele 90,91.
to Waynflete on 13 and 14 April, including a dispensation to permit Magdalen College to appropriate the revenues assigned by Fastolf for his foundation. Once he had obtained the necessary licence 
agreement it was obviously worth while for Waynflete to reach an amicable agreement with the Paston family as soon as possible.

Among the Fastolf papers in Magdalen College is a document which although undated evidently belongs to this period. It is a statement about the transfer of Fastolf's foundation to Oxford. While it is largely concerned with Paston's reasons for agreeing to the transfer, at the same time it seeks to justify Waynflete's position and it has been suggested that it was a legal opinion prepared in the bishop's interest. It is self-contradictory in places, rather as if those who drew it up were seeking to answer in advance all possible objections which might be brought against the scheme. It begins by making clear that Waynflete had the right to dispose of lands which came from Fastolf's inheritance, not as a feoffee or executor but a purchaser of the lands, 'by a newe bargayn made by-twixt hym and Ser John Paston...'. It is careful to emphasise that the charge of founding a college had been laid by Fastolf on Paston personally, not attached to possession of the land. Thus Waynflete is not under an obligation as a result of his acquisition of these lands, to undertake the foundation at Caister. Subsequently it is stated that the executors of Fastolf had the power to interpret and determine his wishes in the case of any difficulties and as Waynflete is now sole executor his approval alone is adequate justification for the transference of the foundation to Oxford. In addition it is pointed out that under the 1467 grant of probate, responsibility for the

32. P.L., no.914.
foundation rested with John Paston II alone, the other executors having no authority in the matter. Overall the emphasis in the document is on justifying the transfer of Fastolf's endowment to Oxford on all possible grounds.

This legal opinion disregards the facts at least once; the Pastons are exonerated from failing to establish a college at Caister Castle because they could not obtain a mortmain licence, 'by any means', despite their efforts. This clearly disregards the fact that Edward IV granted a licence in 1464 after the Pastons had petitioned him.  

The statement set out six 'considerations' concerning the proposed transfer. The first three articles are largely lost through the mutilation of the document. The fourth stated that the increase of learning of the law of God will be the result of the transfer and that this consideration has made 'the claymers and occupiers ... more tretable and better willed...'. The fifth suggested that the support of colleges in Oxford is of more merit than many other deeds of piety. This opinion was certainly in accord with Waynflete's own beliefs but not Fastolf's whose will (and the alternatives he laid down to be followed if a college at Caister proved impossible to establish), show that he favoured the older idea of a chantry-type college rather than the support of educational foundations which were becoming increasingly popular. The final consideration was a pragmatic one, Magdalen College already possessed a suitable mortmain licence.

No problems appear to have arisen to hinder the transfer of Fastolf's inheritance to Oxford once the requisite papal dispensation had been issued. Due to the absence of collegiate records prior to

1480 it is difficult to be sure exactly when the endowment began to be utilised by the college; there are however at least six men who came to the college during the latter half of the 1470s who are referred to as 'Fastolf fellows'. In Waynflete's statutes for the college provision was made for (i) four chaplains and two fellows of the college to say masses for the souls of Fastolf and his wife; (ii) a junior fellow in priest's orders to remember them in his masses; (iii) seven senior Deans to pray for them in return for battles of one penny per week. Fastolf's name was included in the general list of collegiate benefactors who were to be prayed for daily.

Waynflete may have achieved his aims by these agreements of 1470 but the Paston family's troubles were far from being over. Waynflete can be seen occasionally trying to help them; suing for the release of lands in chancery and negotiating with the Duke of Norfolk who was proving obdurate. John Paston II continued to trust in the bishop's aid and in February 1471 he bound himself to fulfill his obligations towards Waynflete as best he could. Other members of his family had less faith in Waynflete's efficacy and good will and several letters of 1472 suggest that Waynflete had never handed over the acquittance for Fastolf's goods. A further amended agreement in 1473, of which few details have survived, seems to have been no more advantageous to the family.

34. Edward Lupton, Thomas Brampton, William Bawdry, John Cowper, William Picter and William Nutbeam. They are described as Fastolf fellows from 1476 onwards, see M.C.P/8/49 fo.35–v
38. Ibid., nos 216,270,271.
39. Ibid., no.277.
The failure of Waynflete's agreement of 1470 to solve the problems of the Pastons and in particular to restore Caister castle to them can be attributed to several factors. The Duke of Norfolk was in an advantageous position, since he possessed the force necessary to hold Caister physically while politically he was greatly in favour with Edward IV. The character of John Paston II who 'seems to have had little heart for hard bargaining and little competence in it' did not help. Perhaps most important, however, was the fact that after the endowment was actually transferred to his foundation Waynflete's own efforts to resolve the disputes were not as energetic as they had been hitherto. On one occasion John Paston II described him as the 'slave Bishop of Winchester', a good description of the way he acted on behalf of the Pastons after 1470.

What advantage accrued to Waynflete as a result of his activities as executor to Fastolf? As shown, he remained aloof until the controversies and disputes over the various wills attributed to Fastolf had reached stalemate in the court of audience. Once involved however, he moved quickly and shrewdly, obtaining the necessary papal dispensation, being appointed sole executor and coming to terms with John Paston II. Magdalen College was the beneficiary of his efforts, but its gain required not only considerable trouble on Waynflete's part but also a substantial financial investment. It has been estimated that Waynflete paid out £1036 to twelve separate claimants to Fastolf's lands. In addition there would have been substantial legal costs and expenses relating to acquiring the papal dispensation.

41. Ibid.,no.292.
42. 'The Fastolf estates acquired by Waynflete were neither expensive nor an absolute bargain but they were a sound long-term investment.' Mills, 'The foundation, endowment and early administration', p.57.
How far were John Fastolf's wishes observed? With regard to this question the settlement made by Waynflete must certainly be criticised. Throughout the last ten years of his life and in all his feoffements and wills Fastolf continually expressed his desire to found a chantry-style college with seven priests and seven poor men. As the same time he pragmatically recognised that his executors might be as unsuccessful as he himself had been in attempts to obtain a mortmain licence and so he made provision for an alternative scheme. This included the provision of three priests in St. Benet's monastery near Caister who would pray for his soul and that of his wife and also the support of priests in several other religious houses in Norfolk. Waynflete certainly knew of this alternative scheme for details of it were recited in the 1470 papal dispensation and there appear to have been no particular obstacles hindering it, yet it was ignored. Waynflete's use of the lands from the Fastolf inheritance for the endowment of his own college in Oxford ran completely contrary to Fastolf's wish that he might be commemorated and prayed for locally in Norfolk by chantry priests.

The manifestation of humanism in England during the second half of the fifteenth century took a very different form from that seen in contemporary Italy, where classical values and the cult of the antique predominated. In England the approach was more practical - humanistic ideas were not seen as ends in themselves but were applied, especially within the universities, to further scholasticism. Ideas were drawn from Italy to further theology, philosophy or diplomacy. Humanism was a medium for improving and enriching other studies, not the sole object of study.

A major landmark in the spread of practical humanism was the introduction of Greek as a subject in Oxford and Cambridge but this development was preceded by a revolution in the teaching of Latin. Although the first half of the fifteenth century saw a renewed interest in and concern about the teaching of grammar, and ecclesiastics and laymen alike founded schools to provide education at a popular level, methods changed little; texts such as Donatus and the Doctrinale of Alexander which had been the staple grammar works since the late twelfth century were still in use and boys being taught in the 1470s would have used books and exercises similar to those being used by Waynflete teaching in Winchester College a half-century earlier. In the early 1480s a 'revolution' in grammar teaching began, partly based on books by contemporary Italian grammarians and spread by means of the printing press. This revolution was led by Magdalen College school and actively encouraged by William Waynflete.

Printing was crucial for the dissemination of the early works of the Magdalen grammarians. A press existed in Oxford from 1478; by 1479 Theodoric Rood, the town's first printer was living in a tenement rented from Magdalen College. Thus Rood had from the first a connection with Waynflete's college and it is not therefore surprising that his press played such an important role in publishing works which helped to spread continental ideas about the teaching of grammar in England.

The first of the three grammar books printed in Waynflete's lifetime, the Longe Parvula, has survived only as an anonymous fragment. It may have been the work of John Anwykyll, headmaster of Magdalen College School. Anwykyll was certainly responsible for the second and most important of these works emanating from Magdalen, the Compendium totius grammaticae. Two editions of this, neither of which survive in full, were printed in Oxford in 1483. One of these editions also included the Vulgaria Terentii which Rood also produced separately in these years. It was a short work, only thirty-two leaves and consisted of sentences derived from the plays of Terence together with English translations. It was in effect a phrase book.

2. Cart. St. John III, pp.272, 276; Rood was from Cologne and is described as 'Dyryke Doucheman' or Dyryke Rood' in the rentals; for details of his career see H.Carter, Oxford University Press: a history (Oxford 1975), pp.6-7.

3. F.Maddan, The early Oxford press 1468-1640 (Oxford 1895), pp.3, 257; it has been attributed to John Stanbridge subsequently usher and then master at Magdalen College School who was later to write a number of grammatical textbooks, B.R.U.O., pp.1754-5. In 1479, however, Stanbridge was aged only twelve and was still a pupil at Winchester College.

4. B.R.U.C., p.39; Anwykyll is not referred to as headmaster until 1483 but in 1474-5 he was granted permission at Cambridge to incept in grammar in two years time and then in 1475-6 he was fined 13s 4d for not incepting, Grace Book A 1454-88, ed. S.M.Leathes (Cambridge 1897), pp.106-11. He may have come to Oxford shortly after this.


of classical Latin which would be useful for general conversations such as those of schoolboys or young students.

Little is known of Anwykyll personally beyond the fact that he was a master of grammar from Cambridge. The full title of his work however is significant - Compendium totius grammaticae ex variis autoribus, Laurentio, Servio, Perotto, diligententer collectum et versibus cum eorum interpretatione conscruptum, totius barbariei destructorum et latine lingue ornamentum non minus preceptoribus quam puere nece necessarium. Anwykyll could have become familiar with the works of the Latin authors mentioned in Oxford. Perotti's own grammar, only printed two years previously in 1473, was in the library of John Neele, Waynflete's chaplain. Valla's treatise Elegantiae was in the libraries of both Lincoln College and Balliol College. That Magdalen College appointed a man familiar with these humanistic grammarians, no doubt with Waynflete's approval in view of the founder's interest in the proper teaching of grammar which he reiterated in the collegiate statutes, suggests that the college and the bishop were open and welcoming to ideas and influences from contemporary Italy.

William Waynflete was personally connected with this revolution in the teaching of grammar, not just as the founder of the body which played such a leading role in these changes, but as a direct patron of the Compendium totius grammaticae. The earliest surviving complete edition of Anwykyll's work, printed at Deventer in 1489, contains

7. B.R.U.O., p.39. Anwykyll was a layman not a clerk and married.
10. Magdalen statutes, p.16.
a dedicatory preface which praised Waynflete as patron of the work:

Te Gulielme pater multum celebriissimus qui nunc
Ecclesie presul vintoniensis ades
Fama canet tantos et te celebrabit ad annos
Dum fuerit stabili firmis in ace polus
Hoc opus auctor enim te persuadente joannes [Anwykyll]
Edidit unde tibi fama perennis erit.12

The tradition of grammatical innovation established by Waynflete at Magdalen was continued after his death. In June 1487 an agreement was drawn up between Anwykyll and the college under which Magdalen was to pay to him an annual pension of £10.

'...et ob excellentiam scientie et aliorum meritorum dicti Magistri Johannis et ad dicte schole et scholarium communem utilitatem, continuationem et profectum, consideratis multimodi vigiliis et laboribus quos idem Magister Johannes perpessus est circa novam et perutilem formam docendi pro eadem schola conceptam et perscriptum per eundem...' 13

The wording of the agreement which was made less than a year after the bishop's death suggests that it followed his wishes; the president and fellows swore to uphold the mind of the lord founder.

The foremost grammarians of the early sixteenth century, Stanbridge and Lily were both products of this Oxford tradition.14 In addition the first teacher of Greek in the University of Oxford, William Groceyn, was intimately connected with Magdalen College as reader in divinity there between 1483-88. He featured prominently in the disputation arranged by Waynflete and the college for the entertainment of King Richard III in 1483.15

12. Anwykyll, Compendium totius grammaticae (Deventer 1489), p.1; the dedication was composed by Pietro Carmeliano, an Italian who assisted first Rood and later Caxton with editorial work; subsequently he became Latin secretary to Henry VII, see W.Nelson, John Skelton: laureate (Columbia 1939), pp.20-21; B.R.U.O., p.358.
13. M.C.Register A, fo.54v; printed in Bloxam, Register of Magdalen III, pp.7-8.
15. M.C.Register A, fo.27v; '...facta est alia solemnis disputatio theologica, etiam in praesentia regis, per magistrum Willemum Groceyn responsalem...'; printed in Macray, Register of Magdalen I, pp.11-12
A PAGE OF ANWYKyll’S GRAMMAR

There is no evidence that Richard Mayew, president of Magdalen College 1480-1508, had any special interest in grammar. This reinforces the importance of the founder in establishing a strong grammatical tradition. Waynflete's involvement in the introduction of the new learning is reflected in the sixteenth century tradition that he introduced the study of Greek into the College.\textsuperscript{16} Although unfounded and erroneous, the very existence of such a tradition reflects the bishop's prominent position in the new developments as seen by his immediate successors.

Others among his contemporaries recognised Waynflete as a person of importance in English humanistic circles of the period. He was highly complemented as a patron of learning when Lorenzo da Savona dedicated a work to him in the 1480s. Lorenzo, an Italian franciscan, had studied in Padua and Bologna before coming to England, where he lectured in theology at Cambridge University.\textsuperscript{17} While in Cambridge Lorenzo completed his Rhetorica (1478) which has been described as 'constructed on modern lines and obviously inspired by classical models'.\textsuperscript{18} Lorenzo was not only familiar with continental educational developments but was probably the leading Italian rhetorician in England in the 1470s and 1480s. His choice of Waynflete as dedicatee of the second of his works written in England indicates that, despite his advanced age, the bishop was considered an important patron of learning.

This work was the Triumphus Amoris Jesus Christi; it was a poem and has as a preface a lengthy dedicatory epistle addressed to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{16} L.Humphridus, Epistola de Graecis literis et homeri lectione (Basle 1558); cited in H.L.Gray, 'Greek visitors to England 1455-1456',\textit{Anniversary essays in medieval history by students of C.H. Haskins, ed. C.H.Taylor and J.L.LaMonte, (Boston 1929), p.111.}
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Humanism in England in the fifteenth century, pp.162-3, 199; A.G. Little, \textit{The grey friars in Oxford (Oxf. Hist. Soc. 20 1892), pp.265-6.}
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Humanism in England in the fifteenth century, p.162.
\end{itemize}
Waynflete. The language is distinctively neo-classical and while the references to Waynflete are couched in classical allusions, it is clear that Lorenzo saw the foundation of Magdalen College as Waynflete's major contribution to humanistic study in England. The work survives in an autograph manuscript, which is beautifully written in a careful humanistic script. This must have been the manuscript written for presentation to Waynflete for the bishop's arms with their distinctive lilies form part of the illuminated 'O' which is the first letter of the epistle.

The humanistic leanings of many of the members of the episcopate can be deduced from the contents of their libraries. While Waynflete is known to have possessed a large number of books we know the titles of very few of them. Wills are often important sources for the contents of medieval libraries, but Waynflete had disposed of all of his books before April 1486, for his will drawn up in that month does not mention any books, or indeed any personal possessions; the bequests are restricted to varying sums of money. Most of his books must have been transferred to Magdalen College prior to that, most probably in 1483 when he sent cart-loads of muniments and eight hundred books to Oxford. Some may also have been transferred directly from the episcopal palace at Waltham to President Mayew during the latter's visits to bishop Waynflete in the last months of Waynflete's life.

19. Lambe, MS. 450, fo. 2r.
20. Ibid., fo. 1r.
22. M.C. Register A, fo. 7v; eight hundred is a rounded number but clearly it indicates an enormous number of items being transferred to the college; it is possible that the figure may include separate items of deeds and charters which would reduce the number of books destined for the library; the register merely refers to '...diversos libros quamplurimos pro nova libraria...'
23. M.C. Liber Computi I, fos 99v-100r.
Magdalen College is not exceptional in that many of the books bequeathed by medieval benefactors are no longer in its library. Some may be there but have have no distinguishing marks or ownership or 'ex dono' notes; others may have been lost, stolen or sold. Only three of the manuscripts in the college library are noted as being of the gift of the founde$4and none of the incunabula can be attributed to his possession, although it is not unlikely that he owned some. However, a short list of books which were at one time or another in Waynflete's possession can be compiled from a variety of sources.

Albertus Magnus, *Libri Octo* and *Albertus Magnus, Opera Physica*. Both of these manuscripts contain notes stating that they were of the gift of the founder. Together they contain the complete works of the thirteenth century Dominican friar Albertus Magnus on natural philosophy, including both Albertus' interpretations and explanations of Aristotelian ideas and his own additions. Although the writings of Albertus spanned all of Aristotle's ideas Waynflete is not known to have possessed any of his other works. His ownership of these particular manuscripts which contained the information central to the study of natural philosophy in the fifteenth century, fits in well with his interests as reflected in his foundation of a lectureship in that subject at Magdalen College.

*Liber Collectionum* is the third manuscript Waynflete is

24. Details of the manuscripts in the college library are given in H.O.Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniiensibus adervantur* (2 vols Oxford 1852), II.
26. On Albertus Magnus see J.A.Weisheipl, *Albertus Magnus and the sciences ; commemorative essays* (Toronto 1980); his works on the natural sciences are listed in appendix I, pp.565-77.
27. Magdalen statutes, p.47.
known to have given to the college library. It is a collection of sermons which draw heavily on St. Augustine, which were designed to be read aloud during Lent.

The manuscript of Jacobus de Cressolis, De Ludo Scacchorum was written in a humanistic hand by Simon Aylward in 1456, a fellow of King's College Cambridge and a member of Waynflete's household. He may have written De Ludo Scacchorum at the bishop's behest for it subsequently belonged to Waynflete. While the script is humanistic in style the book is far from being in such a category. It was a moral tale dating from the thirteenth century which used the pieces of a chess board allegorically to describe the duties of various sections of society. It was evidently popular in England in the late fifteenth century for in 1474 William Caxton printed an English translation of the work taken from a French version.

A number of the other books which are known to have been in Waynflete's possession came to him by means of bequests from people from whom he acted as an executor. Into this category falls a bible said to have belonged to St. Louis of France which was bequeathed to him by John Stanbury, confessor to Henry VI and bishop of Hereford who died in 1474. Waynflete obtained one of Sir John Fastolf's books in a similar manner; a manuscript which contains the Imago Mundi of Henry

29. M.C. Ms. Latin 12; Duke Humphrey and English humanism in the fifteenth century (Catalogue of an exhibition held in the Bodleian Library Oxford 1970), pp.54-5, plate xxi illustrates Aylward's hand as seen in this manuscript. For Aylward see B.R.U.C., p.12.
30. There is a note 'Winton episcopi' on the front flyleaf.
31. Fifteenth century English books, no.81.
32. Registrum Johannis Stanbury episcopi Herefordensis, ed. A.T. Bannister (Canterbury and York Society 1919), p.ix; this bible is the only book mentioned in the will and Waynflete's fellow executors were left sums of money, not possessions.
HUMANISTIC SCRIPT OF SIMON AYLWARD SEEN IN M.C.

Ms. LATIN 12, De Ludo Scacchorum

Taken from: Duke Humphrey and English humanism in the fifteenth century (Bodleian Library catalogue 1970), plate xxi.
Huntingdon, Isidore of Seville's *Originum Libri* and two short anonymous chronicles, has a note on the final folio which describes it as having come from Waynflete, 'de testamento' of Fastolf. 33

Two further works came to Waynflete from Fastolf's secretary William Worcester. The first was Boccaccio's *De Casibus Illustrium* a didactic work retelling stories of famous people whose pride brought them to unhappy ends; the other *De Sacramentis Ecclesiae sive de Convenientis Veteris et Novi Testamenti* was presented to Waynflete by Worcester in memory of Fastolf on 16 December 1473. 35 The inscription marking this occasion in interesting for its reflection of Worcester's eclectic interests as an antiquary 36 although there is no evidence that Waynflete shared these interests:

Suó domino colendísimo magístró Willelmus Wynton;
sedis ecclesie cathedralis sancti Swythun Wynton' epíscopo
que olim ante tempus consecrationis dicte ecclesie Templum
Dagon vocabatur, tempore Paganorum gencium.' 37

Worcester may have been seeking to attract the patronage of Waynflete for later the same year he presented the bishop with another book. This time it was an English version of Cicero's *De Senectute* which he claimed to have translated himself. It may have been based on a copy belonging to John Paston II which occurs in an inventory of his library in the early 1470s. 38 Worcester's attempt to benefit from the patronage of Waynflete was unsuccessful for he laments in his account of this visit to the episcopal palace at Esher, 'But I got no

33. M.C.Ms. Latin 8.
34. M.C.Ms. Latin 198.
38. P.L. no.316, an inventory of the library of John Paston II; many of the works listed are romances and most were in the vernacular but it included, 'Tully, de Senetute' and 'Tull or Cypio de Ami...
leffe wyth william Worcester valet..."
reward from the bishop. In view of Waynflete's personal devotion to the saint this may well have come from his library although it has no distinguishing marks. It is unfortunate that there is no surviving fifteenth-century inventory of the college library, such as those which exist for the other collegiate libraries, which might enable us to pinpoint more accurately a larger number of Waynflete's books.

Magdalen College Library today contains 146 incunabula, many of which had been acquired by 1500. In addition many of those in the library in the late fifteenth century have since been lost. None are known to have belonged to bishop Waynflete but a number could possibly have done so, for there is other evidence of his appreciation of printing. The college certainly possessed a number of printed books in Waynflete's lifetime, including Alexander de Hales, *Expositio super tres libris Aristotelis* which was printed in Oxford by Theodoric Rood.

40. This work is wrongly ascribed to Rabanus Maurus although the correct author is not known, H.M. Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalen in medieval literature* (Baltimore 1950), p.12.
42. For example, only a handful of the books listed in the fifteenth century as being the gift of John Neele are in the library today, Fletcher, 'A fifteenth century benefactor', p.169.
43. See above pp.336-7.
in October 1481 and purchased by the college in the same year.  

Information about too few of the books owned by Waynflete has survived to enable a judgement of his tastes in reading to be made. However, the manuscripts of Albertus Magnus combined with the endowment of the natural philosophy lectureship suggests a genuine interest in the subject. This, the moralising De Ludo Scacchorum, the Lenten sermons and the absence of any works by either contemporary humanists or the re-discovered classical authors all suggest that his reading lay within the accepted traditions of medieval scholarship.

Among the men who surrounded Waynflete on a daily basis few seem to have had a specific interest in the 'new learning'. Waynflete himself never left England, not even to make his ad limina visit to Rome. He must have been made aware of contemporary continental developments both through his fellow members of the episcopate and through the men who were in Italy, as his proctors at the papal curia.

Among his chaplains only Thomas Chandler, chaplain and simultaneously warden of New College Oxford, had a wide interest in humanistic developments. Some indication of the interests of the other chaplains and household members can be determined from their bequests to Magdalen College. Richard Bernys, vice-president of the college, left a fifteenth century copy of the psalms; a copy of the commentary of Thomas Aquinas on Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics came from master

44. Catalogue of Oxford incunabula, no.55C; in 1485-6 the college paid 12d for binding an edition of Antonius Andrea, printed in London in 1480, which had been the gift of Thomas Rushdall, ibid., no.80. Waynflete himself was an important patron of binding - a number of bindings done in Oxford in the late fifteenth century have been ascribed to his patronage, see G.Pollard, 'The names of some English fifteenth century binders', The Library 25 (1970), pp.201-3.


47. Bernys was not actually a member of the intimate household but had close ties with Waynflete concerning Magdalen, B.R.U.O., p.179.
Thomas Halle, Dean of Waynflete’s chapel, Master John Neele, chaplain to Waynflete from 1460 to his death, left a substantial number of both manuscripts and printed books to the college in 1491, but their contents were primarily theological and devotional. Among the notaries Simon Aylward wrote a humanistic hand but, as his copying of the De Ludo Scacchorum already mentioned above shows, an ability to write humanistic scripts is not in itself indicative of humanistic intellectual interests. Thomas Danvers, Waynflete’s right-hand man for almost thirty years read Cicero and Ovid. Clearly Waynflete was not like his predecessor in the see Henry Beaufort who had Italian scribes in his household and who maintained regular correspondence with contemporary Italian humanists.

Waynflete was ready to accept and promote new ideas and developments. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is the indulgence which he issued in the early 1480s, which is of note because it was printed. Several printed indulgences have survived which were addressed to people in England by Pope Sixtus IV but the earliest known printed indulgence to be issued by a member of the English episcopate was that issued by Waynflete in conjunction with the bishops of Ely, Norwich and Chichester. It begins:

'Whosoever being in the state of grace thei devoutly shall say the psalter of our Lady in the worship of the fifteen grete passions whiche our Lord suffered before his death. And in the worship of the fifteen joyes of his blessed moder and lady speically in remembrance of the same passion...'

51. Fifteenth century English books nos 209, 210; the earliest document printed in England by Caxton was an indulgence issued by the abbot of Abingdon in December 1476, P.R.O. E 135/6/56.
52. Lambeth Library, Maitland fragment 5.
This indulgence was printed in Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde at some time between 1479-83. Of the four bishops concerned with it Waynflete was the oldest; Goldwell and Morton were relatively young men and both had explicit interests in humanistic developments on the continent. Storey, bishop of Chichester was also considerably younger than Waynflete. Waynflete's name appears as the first of the four named in the indulgence. That a man in his eighties should take advantage of the opportunities offered by new mechanical developments suggests that he was forward looking and open-minded to the end of his life.

Conclusion

The fifteenth century was one during which England was open to extensive continental influences in the field of scholarship. Some members of the English episcopate, men such as Flemming and Grey travelled to Italy and forged close connections with Italian scholars. Waynflete did not have these personal connections and neither did he have Italian scribes in his household or maintain regular correspondence with contemporary Italian humanists. In Waynflete, however, can be seen a mingling of the old and the new. He promoted the teaching of grammar in Oxford reflecting his own training as a schoolmaster but using new continental-style texts; although 'humanist' texts have not survived among his books we know that he appreciated the value of the new printing presses. Above all he was open to these new developments. Compared with Grey and Flemming he seems almost divorced from the 'new learning', but that such an impression is totally misleading is seen by the praise heaped upon him by Lorenzo da Savona.

53. This is the only period in which these four bishops acting together could have issued the indulgence.
Many bishops, with considerable resources at their disposal and without families to inherit their wealth, invested a substantial amount of their income in building works, which could remain as monuments to posterity. Had William Waynflete left no other monuments to his episcopate, he would still deserve to be remembered as an important patron of building and as the earliest of the episcopal builders in brick whose works were to dominate Tudor architecture. Taken as a whole Waynflete's building projects in brick and stone show him to have been an active patron of building - he extended the Winchester episcopal palaces at Farnham and Esher; constructed a grammar school in Wainfleet and a lavish chantry in Winchester cathedral while the nucleus of Magdalen College Oxford was designed and completed in his lifetime under his watchful eye. In addition Waynflete played a major part overseeing the completion of two projects begun by other patrons - Eton College chapel and Tattershall College. Waynflete was not merely the paymaster, employing architect-masons and leaving them to 'get on with it'; what little documentary evidence survives shows that he was personally involved to the extent of making contracts with masons and carpenters and specifying features of the design.

The second half of the fifteenth century was a transitional period in English architectural style; on the one hand buildings such as the magnificent chapel of King's College Cambridge, begun by Henry VI and completed by Henry VII, marked the pinnacle of the perpendicular gothic style in England; on the other, these latter years of the century saw the gradual influx of brick as a popular building material. Used at first primarily for dressing stone buildings, by the early years of the Tudors it was coming to transform the
Waynflete's earliest involvement with building works occurred more by accident than by personal choice. As provost of Eton College during its early years when Henry VI was pouring money into the construction of the church and the other collegiate buildings, Waynflete became acquainted with the practical details of building - the employment of masons and carpenters, the drawing up of contracts and the payment of labourers. This experience was to stand him in good stead when he became a patron of such works himself.

Waynflete did not undertake major building projects until the second half of his episcopate, from the mid 1460s. It was only then perhaps that having shed his political commitments, he had the necessary leisure to apply himself to these building works, for as seen elsewhere he wished to be closely involved with whatever he undertook. In the twenty years which remained of his episcopate he was to show himself a lavish and up-to-date patron of architecture.

a) Eton College and Tattershall College

Two of the buildings with which Waynflete was associated had been initiated by others and he was only involved with them by virtue of his responsibilities as an executor. At Eton College Waynflete's prime concern was to complete the chapel envisaged by Henry VI although this was done on a smaller scale than the king had planned, dictated by the reduced funds available for the job.

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1. For the growing importance of brick in English architecture see J. Wight, Brick building in England to 1550 (London 1972) and A. Clifton-Taylor, English brickwork (London 1979).

2. Waynflete's other involvements with Eton and Tattershall have been discussed above chapters 2, 3 and pp. 247-52.
Waynflete's involvement in the completion of the building of Tattershall chapel, the central building of Lord Cromwell's collegiate foundation, was also in an executive capacity. As already seen, Waynflete as chief executor, carried through the foundation of Cromwell's desired college of bedesmen there. In a codicil to his will Cromwell had left directions for the sale of manors, the proceeds of which were to be applied to the construction of the church and the other collegiate buildings. While the building accounts show that the domestic buildings were in the process of construction from the late 1450s it was not until the early 1470s that work on the church began, under the direction of John Cowper, a master mason from Winchester. Gygour, warden of the college, was in charge of the day-to-day progress of the works but Waynflete was involved in a consultative capacity and clearly felt that he had contributed to the construction extensively enough to justify having his episcopal arms carved in stone over the north porch entrance to the chapel.

b) Magdalen College Oxford

Waynflete's Oxford foundation began its life in rented buildings and after its re-foundation in 1458 it was housed in the buildings which had belonged to the Augustinian hospital of St. John the Baptist. This was to be only a temporary situation. According to a late sixteenth century president of the college:

5. 'The glazing of the collegiate church', p.137.
THE FOUNDER'S TOWER, MAGDALEN COLLEGE OXFORD

Photograph: NMR (Magdalen)
...all the edifices of the hospital were raised in the founder's time, one chapel only excepted ... and under the said chapel a stone vault very low under the ground and therby unwholesome which has borne the name of almshouse...6

Rebuilding commenced in 1468 although between this date and the early 1470s the main achievement was the construction of a wall and ditch which defined the college site.7 Construction of the collegiate buildings proper began formally on 5 May 1474 with a ceremony during which Robert Tully, bishop of St. David's blessed the foundation stone before it was laid in the centre of the high altar by William Tibard, president of the college.8

Magdalen College as built in the bishop's lifetime did not depart in any radical way from the contemporary norm of Oxford collegiate architecture. Its plan, the central element of which was the long building made up of the chapel and great hall backing onto one another, had been pioneered at New College. Like that of New College, Waynflete's chapel had a transeptal ante-chapel which is also found at All Souls College built in the 1430s.9 Likewise the idea of a gate-way tower derived from New College, while the Founder's tower was built on a pattern similar to that of All Souls.10 Essentially Magdalen College was designed and built along the lines of its fifteenth century predecessors. Except in minor details such as the bay window in the great hall which was the earliest bay window in Oxford, it was not an innovative building but it was a substantial and practical college building, built with little apparent regard as to the cost.

10. Ibid., p.284.
It was Waynflete rather than the president and fellows of the college who controlled the progress of the building.\textsuperscript{12} Money for the works was allocated directly from the episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey to Richard Bernys (the vice-president) who had to account directly back to the bishop for his expenditure.\textsuperscript{13} While Bernys dealt with the administrative and financial side of the building project, filling the position of a clerk of the works, the chief architect-mason was William Orchard.\textsuperscript{14} On occasion Bernys would only make the initial payment for a contract and the remainder of the money was obtained from the hands of the bishop by William Orchard who was in direct personal contact with the bishop.

Sometimes Orchard, accompanied by Richard Baron, one of the fellows\textsuperscript{15}, rode to London to consult with the bishop and if necessary rose to one or other of his episcopal manors to find him. It would have been on such occasions that Orchard and Waynflete discussed the plans for the buildings and drew up contracts.

\textsuperscript{12} The first surviving accounts show vast quantities of stone being quarried and brought to the college together with the fuel for the kilns, scaffolding and tools. This was for the construction of the chapel and adjoining hall which together formed the south side of a great quadrangle; the accounts later show payments for the making of windows in the nave and chancel of the church and the insertion of an oratory in the wall next to the altar. Once begun the work proceeded quickly; shortly afterwards the construction of chambers around the other sides of the great quadrangle above the monastic style cloister began. This cloister-chamber arrangement was new to collegiate architecture - at New College there was a cloistered quadrangle but the fellows were lodged below the great hall. A tower was being constructed in these early years for carpenters and slaters were paid for work on its roof although it is not clear from the accounts whether this was the founder's tower or the gatehouse tower, probably the former. Accounts for the early building works predate the keeping of formal college accounts, M.C.CP/2/67, 1,2,; extracts from these have been printed as an appendix to Bloxam, \textit{Register of Magdalen II}, pp.227-34.

\textsuperscript{13} This is made clear in the opening phrases of the early building accounts, M.C.CP/2/67/1.

\textsuperscript{14} Harvey, \textit{English medieval architects}, pp.199-200.

\textsuperscript{15} Baron was Bernys' chief assistant in the supervision of the works.
A number of building contracts made by Waynflete have survived from the late 1470s. The first, of September 1475 dealt with the construction of a 'window of seven lights' at the western end of the chapel; in addition agreements were made for cloister windows with buttresses, windows and doors for the chambers which were to be as good or better than those at All Souls and a window for the library.\textsuperscript{16} In January 1479 a further contract was made for battlements and buttresses for the church, great hall, library, two towers and cloister chambers\textsuperscript{17} while in April of the same year Waynflete contracted with Orchard for a 'vise' or spiral staircase in the tower and agreed payments for the finishing touches on buildings already constructed - pinacles for the church, hall and two towers\textsuperscript{18}.

Unlike Wykeham who never visited his foundation of New College, Waynflete paid a number of visits to his college. The description of the first of these, in the autumn of 1481, explicitly states that the founder came, '\ldots ad supervidendum statum sui collegii et nova edificia.'\textsuperscript{20} By this date a substantial part of the collegiate buildings had been completed and he could safely bring cart-loads of books and muniments to give to the college.

c) The Waynflete chantry in Winchester Cathedral

The only documentary reference to Waynflete's tomb and chantry during his lifetime occurs in his will where he requested that his body be buried in the chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen which he

\textsuperscript{16} M.C.Deeds, Misc. 349, no.1.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., no.3.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., no.4.
\textsuperscript{20} M.C.Register A, fo.7.
EXTERIOR OF WAYNFLETE'S CHANTRY IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Photograph: NMR (Winchester)
had had constructed in his cathedral church. This chantry chapel is situated at the eastern end of the nave of the cathedral, opposite that of Cardinal Beaufort. It is in late gothic style with a multi-pinnacled roof; although more ornate it is designed along similar lines to that of Beaufort. The design is delicate, almost lace-like in places. In the centre of the roof is an angel who holds a shield on which is depicted the bishop's coat of arms, while the tomb, placed in the centre of the chantry, has an effigy of the bishop on it. No records have survived relating to its construction and nothing is known of either the men who worked on it or of when it was built.

d) Brick buildings; Esher, Farnham and Wainfleet

Pre 1440 few buildings were constructed entirely in brick; more commonly brick was only one material of several and was primarily used for dressings on stone-built buildings. The key decades for the influx of brick into England were the 1440s and 1450s when Flemish and German craftsmen came to work in England. Despite this growing availability of bricks only a handful of brick buildings were constructed over the next quarter century - Caister castle (1430s/40s), Tattershall castle (1440s/50s), Hurstmonceux castle (1440s). Brick was to become popular among episcopal builders in the last fifteen years or so of the century when men such as Morton, Fox and Rotherham built or extended episcopal palaces using brick, but it was little

22. See illustrations pp.97,311.
23. Brick making was not as yet a native English skill; Henry VI employed a German brickmaker William Vesey, in the 1440s and Lord Cromwell imported brickmakers from the same area for his works at Tattershall, Brick building in England, pp.30-52.
24. Ibid., pp. 116-32;
used by them prior to this date. Thus in his extensive use of brick in his episcopal palaces at Esher and Farnham and for Wainfleet school Waynflete was ahead of his peers.

Waynflete's choice of brick must have been influenced by the fact that he was familiar with at least two of the three major brick buildings referred to above, Caister and Tattershall. In addition brick had been used to a limited extent at Eton College during his provostship. He would have been familiar with the advantages of building in brick - since the bricks could be made on the site the cost of transportation of materials was considerably reduced; it was suitable for 'domestic' buildings yet could provided defensive positions- it could be moulded with relative ease where necessary.

The early dates of his works at Esher (1460s) and Farnham (1470s) makes him the earliest of the great episcopal builders. He was also to be very influential. A recent discussion of the development of brick building in England commented that, 'there seems to be only one coherent, identifiable group of fifteenth-century people who stimulated the simultaneous fashions for brick, domesticity and comfort; that is the bishops'.

His successors in the bishopric of Winchester, Fox, Langton, and Wolsey together with Alcock (Ely), Morton (Ely and Canterbury) and Rotherham (York) were the foremost brick builders in the early Tudor period.

The most important of the episcopal palaces in the diocese of Winchester had been built in the twelfth century by Henry of Blois - Esher, Farnham and Bishop's Waltham. This determined the basic form in which they were to remain for several centuries. Some alterations

and repairs had been made over the intervening period, but Waynflete clearly found a number of them unsatisfactory in terms of standards of comfort, for he rebuilt extensively at Esher and Farnham, two of his most frequented palaces.

Less is known of Waynflete's buildings at Esher than at Farnham or Wainfleet because no accounts for the building works have survived. Beginning in the mid 1460s however much of the manorial living accommodation at Esher was rebuilt. Only the gate house has survived of this rebuilding but its form is known from a plan of 1606. This shows a substantial gate-house through which lay a large courtyard, where the church and a number of domestic buildings were situated. The main residential buildings lay across the courtyard on the right, back ing onto the river Mote. Exactly how much of this complex can be attributed to Waynflete is uncertain, but he was certainly responsible for the great hall, part of the living quarters and the gate-house which were built entirely in brick. The gate-house contained some living quarters as was common in many fifteenth century constructions. The tower-house was among the supreme examples of its type, 'Its subtle symmetry is in a way more typical of a renaissance intellect than the formality which Henry VIII imposed on his palaces in the name of the Renaissance.'

Considerably more is known about the building of Farnham, for much of the expenditure is detailed in the manorial accounts for the 1470s. Here Waynflete faced the same problems as at Esher Place, of an old palace in need of repair. The castle consisted of a twelfth

century keep and motte which still dominated the site, although numerous additions and alterations had been made in the ensuing centuries. Waynflete's contribution consisted of the replacement of a bridge and earlier gate-house by a brick gate-house which could provide domestic accommodation.  

Brick-making commenced on the site in 1469; the brick-makers seem, like those employed for the construction of Tattershall Castle some thirty years earlier, to have been from the Netherlands— their names —Cornelius, Florence and Jacob— are not commonly found in England in this period. Work on the tower did not begin in earnest until the following year when an older wooden hall was dismantled and the foundations for the new brick tower were dug. Work continued throughout the 1470s; the accounts are primarily concerned with labour and materials but they do refer to the hall, kitchen and buttery of the new tower, which indicates that the tower was a complete residential building. It was a comfortable building, designed to be lived in. The ground floor was divided into two rooms, while above there were two stories each containing suites of rooms. Not only did it provide comfortable living quarters, it was also a building which expressed in its imposing form the exalted position of the bishop of Winchester. In it stylish renaissance brickwork was combined with a formidable facade which included false machiolations, turrets and a portcullis. Pevsner has described it as 'extraordinarily'  

30. Pevsner and Nairn, Surrey, pp.201; 'The date of "Fox's Tower"', pp.85-89.  
31. 'The date of "Fox's Tower"', p.88; in 1470 alone 240,000 bricks are recorded as having been made at the 'breakplace'. This was the first year of building works there but for the remainder of the decade there was a substantial output of bricks, ranging from 30,000 to 128,000 annually.  
32. 'The date of "Fox's Tower"', p.89.
sophisticated—it makes Hampton Court \(\text{begun 1514}\) in the same idiom, look like nouveau-riche ostentation.'

Work on the building designed to house Waynflete's grammar school in Wainfleet commenced in the early 1480s. The statutes drawn up for Magdalen College at the beginning of the decade ensured the school's income of £10 a year from the Lincolnshire lands held by the college. It was built entirely in brick and was an imposing building with the west front flanked by two three storey towers.

The extent of Waynflete's personal interest in the construction of the building at Wainfleet is better documented than for his works at Esher or Farnham for two documents survive which show that he was actively concerned with the design and the work itself.

The first of these is a letter from John Gygour, warden of Tattershall college, who acted generally as the bishop's agent in his native county. The letter began by referring to a recent discussion Gygour had had with Waynflete and continued:

'...the house that was ordeyned to have be brought for your scule and chapel at Wainfleet ys don a way and so I was wyth mayster Tontoft and John Robenson to let tham wyte howe your lordschip trustyth upon tham to help you ye myght have a house and thei say thei can have non that the tymbur wold be secure to contynue in tyme to come but thei thynkth that here must be ordeyned for a new rofe...'

Gygour then explained that he had sent Henry Alresbroke, a carpenter, to speak to Waynflete personally because, '...ye lordschip can best understond whether his perycion be resonably, I beseche you to commune rypli with hym and to express the measurements...'. Clearly Gygour was familiar with Waynflete's other building projects, for he concluded

33. Pevsner and Nairn, Surrey, p.200
34. M.C.Deeds, Multon 157; Magdalen statutes, p.77.
WAYNFLETE'S BRICK GATEHOUSE AT FARNHAM CASTLE, SURREY
(Note distinctive diaper pattern)

Photograph: NMR BB 70/4372
WAYNFLETE'S TOWER, ESHER PLACE, SURREY

(Note distinctive diapier pattern)

Photograph: NMR (Esher)
the letter by suggesting that Waynflete should show Alresbroke Esher Place, '...that may be example to hym'. Waynflete seems to have followed this suggestion for the indenture which he subsequently concluded with Alresbroke was for a roof, floor, stairs, desks, reredoses and other necessary carpentry work in the building, 'after the patron and facyon of the flore of the chambre in the towre on the gate of the manor of Escher...'.

The survival of these documents demonstrates Waynflete's concern with the details of his building projects. He must have been equally involved with the works at Esher and Farnham which were manors he visited regularly.

e) Waynflete's masons and architects

Relatively little is known of the men who were employed on the various building works of which Waynflete was the patron. It is not clear whether he followed the example of his predecessor William Wykeham who kept a regular team of builders and craftsmen almost constantly in his employment. However the little that is known of Waynflete's masons and architects suggests that this might well have been the case for master craftsmen at least. Few contracts naming craftsmen have survived and the lack of information is exacerbated by the fact that the bulk of the payments for building works seem to have come directly from the central episcopal exchequer at Wolvesey and were not recorded on the manorial account rolls, which are the only surviving accounts for Waynflete's episcopate.

36. M.C.Deeds, Candlesby .16, printed in ibid., appendix 24, p.370.
37. 'The building of the medieval college' in New College Oxford 1379-1979, pp.151, 163.
ESHER PLACE, A PLAN OF 1606

The man who can be seen to have been most closely involved with a number of the bishop's building projects was William Orchard. From the late 1460s until Waynflete's death he acted as architect and chief mason at Magdalen College. The bishop provided him with a livery and paid him for his services, not only as architect-mason but also as supervisor and paymaster of the other workmen on the site. Orchard was a designer as well as a mason; one of the few surviving contracts stated that he was to build the western window of the chapel, 'according to the portraiture which he had provided...' Orchard also leased a quarry from which he sent stone, not only to the works at Magdalen College but also to Eton College for the completion of the chapel there.

A second mason, John Cowper, may also have worked on several of Waynflete's projects. A man of this name who worked at Tattershall college in the 1470s has been identified as the same man who worked at Winchester College in the 1450s and whose son worked at Eton College in the same decade. A John Cowper, 'mason of Winchester' was employed by Waynflete in April 1477 to repair Bamber bridge in Sussex, but it is not possible to identify him conclusively with the John Cowper who worked at Tattershall and built a brick castle at Kirkby Muxloe for Lord Hastings, particularly since it is not an uncommon name. Harvey asserts that Cowper was Waynflete's architect for the buildings at both Esher and Farnham, but there is no evidence for this assertion. It is not certain that the same man acted as architect for both of these brick buildings, for despite a superficial similarity between them created by the use of a diaper pattern common

39. M.C. Ms. CP/2/67/1, fo.18v.
40. M.C.Deeds, Misc. 349, no.1.
41. English medieval architects, p.77.
to both, they differ considerably in style. 43

Henry Alresbrooke, a Lincolnshire carpenter, was employed at both of Waynflete's projects within that county - Wainfleet and Tattershall - but again there is no evidence for Harvey's assertion that Alresbrooke was the carpenter at Esher. 44 In fact this is most unlikely in view of the phrasing of Gygour's letter to Waynflete cited above in which he recommended that Waynflete show Alresbrooke, '...sum maner house in your nobly place of Asher that may be example to hym...'. 45 Waynflete is known to have employed at least two other carpenters. David Orton who worked on Witney manor in Oxfordshire on a number of small projects - the roof of the manor chapel, the grange, the great kitchen - in the period 1462-72. 46 The second carpenter, Walter Nicholl, was from Southwark, possibly from the bishop's manor there; he was responsible for the construction of the rood loft in Eton College chapel. 47

It is unfortunate that more is not known of the men who were responsible for designing and building Waynflete's brick buildings. The John Cowper who worked at Kirby Muxloe may well have been involved with the project at nearby Tattershall at least, but this can be only speculation. What is clear however is that the men employed by Waynflete were extremely talented in their use of brick; in the half century after Waynflete's death their original ideas were to be followed by a number of episcopal builders, in Winchester and elsewhere.

43. 'The design of Farnham has no close equivalent ... the obvious place to look is at Esher but the character of this is quite different...', Pevsner and Nairn, Surrey, p.201.
44. English medieval architects, p.20.
45. M.C.Deeds, Candlesby, no.19.
46. English medieval architects, p.201.
47. Ibid., p.179; ECR 38/309, see above pp.41-43.
Conclusion

Waynflete was a generous patron to the building trade in the third quarter of the fifteenth century; the range and scale of his works surpass those of his contemporaries. Of particular importance was his role in the dissemination of the use of brick to areas both north and south-west of the area in which hitherto it had been in popular use. Although the 1450s had seen a fairly widespread introduction of brick, outside the eastern counties of England which had the closest links with the Netherlands and northern Europe it was not commonly used except for facade dressings and crenellations. All of Waynflete's brick buildings were built on the periphery of the area where brick was common and he set a pattern for later renaissance use of brick for domestic purposes in England. The very fact that his buildings at Esher and Farnham were commonly attributed to his successors in the see - known as 'Wolsey's tower' and Fox's tower - respectively - indicates how much he was ahead of his contemporaries with his preference for building in brick.
CONCLUSION

Administrative sources however plentiful do not directly illuminate a man's character. It is difficult to penetrate behind the facade of formulaic documents to gain an impression of the personality of an individual, to answer the question, what sort of a person was William Waynflete?

By training William Waynflete was a theologian, by vocation he was a schoolmaster and his interest in education in general and in grammar in particular was to dominate his career. A schoolmaster bishop was an unusual phenomenon in the fifteenth century and most of Waynflete's contemporaries as bishops had risen to their positions by participation in the royal civil service. Study of his educational activities illuminates a number of aspects of his character, in particular the enormous energy and enthusiasm which he brought to all of his projects and his open-mindedness which is reflected in his readiness to accept new ideas about the teaching of grammar and the new medium of printing. Above all he excelled as an administrator and it was this aspect of his abilities which originally brought him to the attention of Henry VI and subsequently led Henry to support his elevation as bishop of Winchester.

Waynflete's loyalty as well as his conscientiousness can be seen in the history of his later relations with Eton College when despite heavy commitments elsewhere he helped to support the college and fulfilled the moral obligation which had been laid upon him by Henry VI in his 'Will'.

The manner of Waynflete's promotion to Winchester suggests that he was a shrewd worker and his shrewdness was also demonstrated in his dealings with his fellow executors in the disputes which arose over Sir John Fastolf's inheritance. Within his diocese
Waynflete's priorities would seem to have been administrative ones and under his strict eye the diocese was effectively administered with particular concern being paid to the cure of souls in parishes. There is no evidence that Waynflete was a great spiritual figure; he was not, for example, known as a great preacher and no spiritual writings or even sermons of his have survived. He was, however, loyally committed to his diocese and his cathedral. The legal and physical attack made on him by his tenants on East Meon manor in 1461 arose out the the efficiency of his temporal administration under his supervision; this incident reinforces an impression of Waynflete as an efficient administrator but it also suggests that he could be harsh and overzealous as steward of God's temporal lands. The chapter of St. Swithun's cathedral would seem to have been correct when in 1447 they assured the pope that Waynflete's 'prudence in both spiritual and secular affairs and his remarkable virtues and abilities will enable him to defend the rights of their church'.

Secular affairs were an important part of a bishop's life. Bishops varied as to the extent of their involvement in politics - some made it their prime concern while the primary interests of others lay elsewhere. Waynflete falls into this second category. His involvement in politics was dominated by his personal relationship with and loyalty to Henry VI. Had the king not been deposed it is possible that Waynflete might have continued to play a diligent if minor role in public affairs; as it was, after his resignation at the battle of Northampton Waynflete withdrew from politics and court life almost entirely and from 1461, having made his peace with Edward IV, he turned his attention to his two major spheres of interest, his

1. *Register of the coronal seal*, p.100.
Energetic, enthusiastic, open-minded in accepting new developments, conscientious, shrewd in business affairs and perhaps not a little dogmatic in his views William Waynflete measures up well against his contemporaries on the episcopal bench. His most striking characteristic was his reluctance to relinquish control over any aspect of his affairs and while he did delegate tasks to others his commissions were usually specific, enabling him to keep his subordinates on a tight rein. Perhaps most remarkable was the consistent success and range of his interests – diocesan, educational, architectural. St. Paul, in his epistle to Titus, portrayed the ideal bishop, an image which would have been both familiar and accepted in the fifteenth century: 'The bishop must be blameless as the steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, not given to filthy lucre but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayer.'\(^2\) Waynflete did not fill all the criteria, in particular he appears likely to have been self-willed and his vocational interests lead one to feel that he was primarily interested in convincing gainsayers on points of good grammar rather than doctrine, despite his theological training. Yet Waynflete played a valuable role as a conscientious bishop strongly committed to the interests of his diocese and was accepted as such by his contemporaries.

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2. Epistle of Paul to Titus, Titus I, 7.
TOMB OF WILLIAM WAYNFLETE WITH EFFIGY OF THE BISHOP

(Winchester Cathedral)
APPENDIXES

I  William Waynflete's itinerary 1447-1486.
II  William Waynflete's episcopal register.
III  The division of parochial patronage within the diocese of Winchester.
IV  Parliamentary representatives of the boroughs where William Waynflete exercised influence.
V  Household and other officials
VI  Ordinations
VII  Manorial cash delivery figures
VIII  Manors at farm
IX  Breakdown of manorial income
X  Agreement with the city of Winchester 1451
XI  Waynflete as a justice of the peace
### APPENDIX I  William Waynflete's Itinerary 1447 - 1486

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1. Abbreviations peculiar to the itinerary are explained on p. 394 of ECR 39/75.
### Itinerary 1449-50

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1. This was the London residence of Eton College, the Hospital of St. James in the Fields, Westminster.

2. In late June 1450 Waynflete was in London and the surrounding area in negotiations with Cade and the rebels, *Reign of Henry VI* pp.610-65.
1451 cont.

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PRO E28/81/12
Reg. I fo. 10x^\textsuperscript{v}
QC, p. 137
PRO E28/81/27
Reg. 12x^\textsuperscript{r-v}
PRO E28/81/30
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1453

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Esher
Southwark
Esher
FEB: Southwark
MAR: " 
Esher
Reading
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APR: " 
Southwark
MAY: " 
JUN: " /W'min
JUL: " / W'min
AUG: Esher
SEP: Winchester
OCT: 
WESTMINSTER
NOV: Southwark
Esher
Southwark
DEC: "/W'min
Esher

1454

JAN: Esher
Southwark
FEB: " 
Esher
Southwark
MAR: 
Southwark/W'min
APR: W'min/Southwark
Esher
MAY: " 
Southwark/W'min
JUN: Esher
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Westminster
Southwark
JUL: Southwark/W'min

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JAN: W'min/Southwark
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Winchester 30

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Farnham 3
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Highclere 31

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Winchester 24, 25

Bp's Waltham 5

WINCHESTER 13, 18
Bp's Waltham 18

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JUN: Southwark 27

JUL: Esher 1, 5, 9, 14

AUG: 2, 6, 8, 9

SEP: Southwark 13, 14, 19

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APR: Esher 9

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JUN: Esher 6, 8

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JUL: Southwark 4, 12

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Southwark 18, 22

MAR: Bp's Waltham 3, 11, 14

APR: Southwark 12, 16

Eton 24

MAY: Bp's Waltham 29, 31

JUN: Southwark 1, 4

JUL: Farnham 19, 25

Esher 6, 8

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Reg. II fo.
Reg. II fo.36<sup>r</sup>, Gx, p.142

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Gx, p.126
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Reg. II fo. 93<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 93<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 94<sup>R</sup>
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Reg. II fo. 94<sup>R</sup>
Reg. II fo. 94<sup>R</sup>
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Reg. II fo. 101<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 103<sup>R</sup>
Reg. II fos. 103<sup>R</sup>, 104<sup>R</sup>, Gx p. 143<sup>T</sup>
Reg. II fo. 93<sup>V</sup>
Gx p. 149
Reg. II fo. 104<sup>R</sup>-v
Reg. II fo. 104<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 104<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 105<sup>R</sup>
Reg. II fos. 104<sup>V</sup>, 105<sup>R</sup>, Gx p. 145<sup>T</sup>
Reg. II fos. 106<sup>R</sup>, 110<sup>V</sup>, 112<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fos. 110<sup>V</sup>, 111<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 111<sup>V</sup>, Gx p. 143<sup>T</sup>
Reg. II fo. 111<sup>V</sup>
Reg. II fo. 111<sup>V</sup>
**1486**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAN:</th>
<th>Bp's Waltham</th>
<th>3,4,8,11,12,31</th>
<th>Reg. II fos. 112r-113r, Gx, p.144,147.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FEB:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,4,14,23,24,25</td>
<td>Reg. II fos. 113r-112r, 121v, 116r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25,26</td>
<td>Gx, p.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAR:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>Reg. II fo. 116r, Gx, p.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4,8,11,12,13</td>
<td>Reg. II fos. 116v, 117v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAY:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>6,9,23</td>
<td>Reg. II fo. 117v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUN:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Reg. II fo. 140v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUL:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>19,20,26,29</td>
<td>Reg. II fo. 118r, Gx, pp.149,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7,9,11</td>
<td>Reg. II fo. 140r, Gx, p.149-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Waynflete died on 11 August at Bishop's Waltham.

Abbreviations peculiar to the itinerary

C Calendar of Close Rolls  
Gx Register of the common seal, ed. J.Greatrex  
P Calendar of Patent Rolls  
OG Register of the most noble order of the garter, ed. J.Anstis  
T Thesis text, with page reference  
W'min Westminster

**NOTE:** The major source for Waynflete's itinerary has been his episcopal register but other information as to his whereabouts has been added where known in detail. His attendance at parliaments has not been noted except for the fairly rare occasions where there is evidence that he was present on a specific day. For the period of his chancellorship the patent and close rolls have proved valuable, dating under the great seal usually being a good indicator of the location of the chancellor on that date, (Wolffe, Henry VI, p.361). However this evidence is confused by the number of routine acts dated from Westminster and Waynflete is unlikely to have been present there on all of these occasions, for example in November 1459 when acts were dated from Westminster and Coventry on alternate days or even on the same day. In the case of clashes of evidence between the dating of the patent rolls and the Winchester episcopal register I have used the evidence of the register - these clashes are not common; usually the different sources compliment each other.
William Waynflete's episcopal register is in the Hampshire
Record Office in Winchester. The total bulk, some six hundred folios,
is bound into two volumes, each volume with leather covered wooden
boards. The material has been divided into the two volumes on a
chronological rather than a thematic basis, thus each volume contains
the following sections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol I</th>
<th>Vol II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutions and Collations</td>
<td>Oct. 1447-Aug. 1469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General memoranda</td>
<td>April 1470-Aug. 1486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinations</td>
<td>Jan. 1448-Apr. 1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal writs, subsidy business</td>
<td>July 1470-Nov. 1473 (and some later material).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal business</td>
<td>Oct. 1449-Oct. 1468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1470-May 1486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 1469-June 1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1461-Aug. 1486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 1469-June 1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1470-May 1486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 1470-Aug. 1486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1470-Nov. 1473 (and some later material).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The major gap in the comprehensiveness of the material is to
be found in the general memoranda section in which was recorded a
wide range of material concerning general diocesan business - the
appointments of officials, suffragan bishops, commissaries; sequestrations,
excommunications, augmentations, appropriations and grants of licences.
In the second volume of the register (A/14) this section ceases abruptly
in mid entry in November 1473 \[\text{fo.165}^v\]. There are some general
memoranda entries dating from post 1473 scattered throughout this
section and in general the order of the whole section is confused.

The numbering of the folios in volume one seems to have been
done at the time when it was written. Numbers, in a fifteenth century
hand, can be found at the top right hand side of each folio. In volume
II this is true at the beginning of the volume but this run of numbers

2. Reg.Wayn. II fos.138\textsuperscript{v}-140\textsuperscript{v} contain entries dating from 1486.
ceases at fo.24\textsuperscript{v} and a sequence of Arabic numerals in a later hand, which began concurrently with the original numerals, continues. This suggests that there was an arbitrary later division of the original ordering of the register into two volumes. The last folio dealing with institutions in volume I is numbered fo.164; the first institutions folio in volume II is numbered fo.171 and fo.1 in the later hand.\textsuperscript{v}Allowing for the fact that some pages are evidently missing because the respective sections end and begin in mid entry six months apart, it would seem that originally this was all part of one, thematic section. The same arbitrary division into chronological parts can be seen in the temporal business quires - Reg.Wayn. I fo.\textsuperscript{8} ends with an incomplete entry which is completed by the words at the top of Reg.Wayn. II fo.\textsuperscript{33} which begins one of the two separate quires of temporal business in the second volume of the register.

With the exception of the general memoranda for the last thirteen years of Waynflete's episcopate the register seems more or less complete. There are references to the deaths or resignations of rectors whose institution to parishes has not been recorded but they are not many and this may have been partly a fault of the registration process. A comparison of the significations of excommunication in the Public Record Office\textsuperscript{3} with those recorded in the register bears out this general impression of completeness. Of the nineteen significations in the Public Record Office relating to the diocese of Winchester during Waynflete's episcopate, only two do not occur in the episcopal register.

The relative completeness of Waynflete's register may well be due to his personal concern with diocesan business. The absence of a vicar-general who would have kept a separate register as was the case in some other dioceses, means that all the information relating to diocesan

3. P.R.O. C/81.
business was recorded in the bishop's own register and thus not dispersed.

Pagination of the register

1r-164v Institutions and collations, Oct.1447-August 1469.
1r-98v General memoranda, Jan.1448-Apr.1470
A r–Q r Ordinations Dec.1447-Dec.1470
1r-24v (second series) Royal writs and subsidy business Oct.1449-Oct.1468
1r-8v Miscellaneous temporal business

Vol.11
1r-126v Institutions and collations Apr.1470-Aug.1486
127r-165v General memoranda July 1470-Nov.1473 and some later material
166r-203v Ordinations Sept.1470-May 1486
1r-24v (second series) Royal writs and subsidy business Oct.1469-June 1485
25r-40r Temporal business (in two quires; confused)

4. For a more detailed description see Smith, Guide to bishop's registers, p.208.
The Division of Parochial Patronage Within the Diocese of Winchester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious houses</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laymen</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collations</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ecclesiastics</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Information is available for 364 benefices but patrons have only been identified for 314 of these. The percentages are expressed as part of the latter figure.

2. In addition Waynflete is recorded as presenting to 14 benefices in other English dioceses.

3. These include other bishops who had the right to present to benefices within the diocese of Winchester and a number of other ecclesiastical figures such as the dean of Salisbury, the archdeacon of Surrey and the treasurer of York. The dean of Salisbury had the right to present to three benefices - Chiddingford, Godalming and St. Nicholas Guildford. The men who filled the deanship were all senior ecclesiastics, highly educated men and their patronage as observed in these three livings reflects this; half of the men presented to these benefices were graduates and in the case of the church of St. Nicholas all three presentees were graduates, Reg. Wayn. I fos 80r, 100r.

4. That is there is more than one type of patron recorded over the period 1447-86.
APPENDIX IV: Parliamentary Representatives of the Boroughs where William Waynflete exercised influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PARL. DATE</th>
<th>CONNECTION WITH WAYNFLETE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANKETILL, Robert</td>
<td>T 1467-8</td>
<td>Bailiff of episcopal manor of Twyford, appointed 1478 for life; is probably the same as Robert Amptyll, treasurer of Wolvesey 1455; attorney for Magdalen and co-feoffee with Waynflete 1469-85.²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASHWELL, Edward</td>
<td>D 1455-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSHETON, Edward</td>
<td>T 1472-5,1478</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISHOP, John</td>
<td>T 1453-4</td>
<td>Reeve for Taunton borough 1438-77; Keeper of Poundsiford park, Somerset in May 1452; attorney for Waynflete 1461; leased land in Taunton from Waynflete in 1461, described as episcopal 'serviens'; gave land to Magdalen 1465; co-founder of chantry in Taunton with Waynflete in 1476.³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Register of the common seal no.373; appointed 'on account of his good and faithful service in the past which is to be maintained in the future'. The appointment is also recorded in Reg.Wayn. II fo.25. Anketill is described as 'gentleman' in Register of the common seal, no.382.

2. M.C.Deeds, Southwark 6,7,26,57c; Sele 17; Norfolk and Suffolk 1,5,37; Somborne Regis A10; Otterburne 161; Enham B 205; Boyton 14; Cowfold 27; Skyres 11, 85, 89,110; Guton 283, 292. In Guton 292 (1473) he is described as a servant of the bishop.

3. Wedgewood, Biographies, p.79.

4. Ibid., from the pardon roll of 1452.

5. P.R.O. E 326 B/7990.

6. Register of the common seal, no.347.

7. M.C.Deeds, Ford 2, Hilhampton 34. He was dead by 1479.

8. P.R.O. E 328/180
BRIDGES, William  D 1455-6  Probably to be identified with William Brygges, witness to Magdalen college deeds 1455-6; Escheator in Surrey and Sussex 1457-8.  
BURGH, Walter  D 1450-1  Tenant of Downton manor.
CHAUNDRE, Richard  H 1459  Co-feoffee with Waynflete in Magdalen college deeds 1459.
COBERLY, Thomas  H 1449-50  ?Surrey lawyer.
DANVERS, Thomas  D 1459, 1470-1, 1472-5, 1478, 1483, 1484, H 1467-8. Close associate with Waynflete as his main agent in the collection of an endowment for Magdalen College. Treasurer of Wolvesey 1478-86.
DANVERS, William  T 1467-8, 1470  Brother of Thomas Danvers. Connected with Waynflete in a number of land transactions relating to Magdalen 1471-85.
DRIFFIELD, Thomas  T 1450-1  A Winchester family
DRUMMER, Robert  T 1449  From Thorpe-by-Wainfleet, Lincolnshire.
GIBTHORPE, John  T 1449  Steward of the bishop's court in Southwark; Co-feoffee in Magdalen land transactions 1459.
HERVEY, Nicholas  H 1459  1467-8

10. Wedgwood, Biographies, p.112.
11. Ibid., p.137.
12. M.C.Deeds Saltfleetby 14,35.
15. M.C.Deeds, Southwark 6,7,24,26,44,57,68, Sele 58,59, Boyton 6, Henton 48, Titchwell 5.
17. P.R.O. Cl /30/67; Bodleian Ms.e.Mus.229.
18. M.C.Deeds Misc.224.
JAY, Richard  
D 1472-5  
1478  
Witness to Magdalen college deeds 1471-74;  
19 a William Jay, 'serviens' of the bishop was appointed Farnham Castle door-keeper in 1478.  

LAWLEY, John  
D 1449  

LEGH, Ralph  
D 1442, 1453-4  
1455-6, D 1467  
168. Surrey  
1459  
His son John was bailiff of several lordships and constable of Farnham;  
21 Ralph stood pledge for Waynflete in a petition to chancery.  

LEVELORD, Robert  
T 1478  

PLUSH, William  
T 1449-50  
1450-51  

PROUT, William  
H 1449-50  

ROKES, John  
H 1449, D 1449  
1449-50  
Escheator in Wiltshire and Hampshire.  

SEYMOUR, John  
H 1450-1  

SPARROW, Andrew  
D 1449  

SPILMAN, Henry  
H 1472-5  

SULYARD, John  
H 1472-5  

TILNEY, Robert  
H 1453-4  
1455-6  
Of Boston Lincolnshire; a Hugh Tilney was a Magdalen deed witness 1476-7.  
25 Waynflete purchased land from Hugh.  
26

19. M.C.Deeds, Southwark 6, 7, 26, 44c, 57c, 68c.  
20. Register of the common seal no. 376.  
21. Ibid., nos 328, 436, 437.  
22. P.R.O. CI/42/104  
24. Ibid., p. 724.  
25. M.C.Deeds Multon 150, Southwark 21a  
TUDENHAM, Henry  F 1460
TROUTBECK, John  H 1449
WALLER, Richard  H 1453-4
WING, John  D 1450-1
WITHAM, Hugh  T 1449-50
WOLFE, John  T 1453-4

Chief steward for Cardinal Beaufort and granted pension by Waynflete; 27 Witness to Magdalen deeds 1455-58. 28

Of Kirton in Holland, Lincolnshire. 29

Appointed parker of episcopal park at Marwell 1478 and described as 'serviens and armiger'. 30

BEAUFITZ, Richard  F 1460

? Waynflete's servant. 31

27. Register of the common seal no.320,n.2; Reg.Wayn. I fo.1.r.
29. Wedgewood, Biographies, p.961.
31. Wedgewood, Biographies, p.56.
APPENDIX V (a)  Household and Diocesan Officials

Official-principal
1449-52  Richard Manning
1453-58  Thomas Forest (acting 1452-3)
1458-60  Richard Colvet
1461    Thomas Forest
1461-65  Robert Peverell
1465    William Darsett
1467 -  Richard Hayward

Commissary-general
1449-52  John Denton
1452-53  William North
1453-55  John Denton
1455-58  William North
1463    Robert Peverell
1472    David Husband
1472 -  Henry Grimm

Chancellor
1458-67  William Darsett
1467-86  David Husband

Registrar
1453-?61 Thomas Gyan
?1461-75 Robert Peverell
1475-77 Robert Horclyll
1485-86 Thomas Somercotes

Treasurer of the Household
1447-66 Thomas Walkington
1466-86 John Nele

Treasurer of Wolvesey
1448-54 William Porte
1454-61 Hugh Pakenham
1461-69 Thomas Gyan
1468-78 Thomas Pounde
1478-86 Thomas Danvers

These lists indicate known dates of tenure of offices; in some cases the holder may have held them for a longer period. Full references to dates of appointment where known will be found in the text.
APPENDIX V (b)  

Secular Appointments

i) Constables of Taunton Castle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1434 - 1451</td>
<td>Edward Stradelyng</td>
<td>Register of common seal, no.214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1452</td>
<td>Thomas Ormond</td>
<td>Reg. Wayn. I fo.3*V(2s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1457 - 1460</td>
<td>Alexander Hody (as bishop's deputy)</td>
<td>confirmed Reg. Wayn. II fo.34v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1460 - 1469</td>
<td>Humphrey Stafford</td>
<td>Reg. Wayn. I fo.8*V(2s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1469 - 1476</td>
<td>Edward Assheton</td>
<td>H.R.O. EC/2/ 155845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1476 - 1483</td>
<td>Giles Daubeney</td>
<td>Reg. Wayn. II fo.39*r(2s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1483 - 1485</td>
<td>Richard Ratcliffe</td>
<td>Reg. Wayn. II fo.38*r(2s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1485 -</td>
<td>Giles Daubeney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Constables of Farnham Castle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1440 - 1464</td>
<td>John Seymour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1464 - 1471</td>
<td>Nicholas Carewe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1471 - 1483</td>
<td>Thomas St. Leger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1483</td>
<td>John Legh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) Justices of the Pavilion Court

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Justice</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1447 - 1452</td>
<td>Thomas Haydock</td>
<td>Reg. Wayn. I fo.4*F(2s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1452 - 1461</td>
<td>Michael Skilling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1461 - 1471</td>
<td>Nicholas Harvey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1471 - 1486</td>
<td>William Damvers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References to appointments are given where known. Where they have not survived the details of the period of office are derived from the series of pipe rolls in which their activities are recorded.
APPENDIX VI  Ordinations

a) The annual totals of men ordained in the diocese of Winchester during Waynflete's episcopate expressed as a percentage of the total number of ordinations in that period.

This is intended to indicate the fluctuations in ordination figures during the episcopate and to show the increase in the numbers being ordained in the last decade of Waynflete's episcopate.

N.B. The figures for 1459 were substantially inflated by an influx of ordinands from the neighbouring diocese of Salisbury.
Ordinations

b) Figures, averaged over half-decades, for the numbers of regular priests, secular priests, total priests and acolytes ordained in the diocese of Winchester 1451 - 1486

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Numbers of Priests</th>
<th>Regular Priests Ordained</th>
<th>Secular Priests Ordained</th>
<th>Acolytes Ordained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1451-55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1456-60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1461-65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1466-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1471-75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1476-80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1481-85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY

- - - - - total numbers of priests ordained
-- regular priests ordained
...... secular priests ordained
-x-x-x- acolytes ordained
c) The numbers of men being ordained 1448-85 to show the relative numbers of seculars and seculars.
d) The means of support for priests ordained in the diocese of Winchester 1451 - 1485 as stated at the time of their ordination
## APPENDIX VII

Manorial cash delivery figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>1451</th>
<th>1466 (1467)</th>
<th>1472</th>
<th>1480</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alresford</td>
<td>£76</td>
<td>£39 (£71)</td>
<td>£72</td>
<td>£85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alverstoke</td>
<td>£53</td>
<td>£65 (£55)</td>
<td>£43</td>
<td>£60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmansworth</td>
<td>£14</td>
<td>£11 (£11)</td>
<td>£6</td>
<td>£14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>£4 (£4)</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>£4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauworth</td>
<td>£11</td>
<td>£14 (£5)</td>
<td>£11</td>
<td>£14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentley</td>
<td>£11</td>
<td>£32 (£33)</td>
<td>£29</td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binsted</td>
<td>£7</td>
<td>£10 (£3)</td>
<td>£7</td>
<td>£10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishopstoke</td>
<td>£46</td>
<td>£37 (£48)</td>
<td>£51</td>
<td>£50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop's Waltham</td>
<td>£129</td>
<td>£154 (£149)</td>
<td>£216</td>
<td>£147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop's Sutton</td>
<td>£66</td>
<td>£75 (£64)</td>
<td>£72</td>
<td>£76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitterne</td>
<td>£34</td>
<td>£60 (£48)</td>
<td>£27</td>
<td>£24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burghclere</td>
<td>£32</td>
<td>£42 (£- )</td>
<td>£51</td>
<td>£48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burley</td>
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These years have been chosen as samples from the beginning, central decades and end of Waynflete's episcopate. The figure for 1467 has been included to show the sort of temporary fluctuations in cash delivery income which could occur from one year to the next.

1. H.R.O. EC/2/159442
2. EC/2/155833
3. EC/2/155836
4. EC/2/155842
5. Cash delivery figures not given since the treasurer of Wolvesey accounts.
6. Farnham and West Wycombe figures are missing but they could have added at least another £150 to this total.
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<td>W. Wycombe</td>
<td>£66 13s 4d Richard Carter</td>
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1. H.R.O. EC/2/159439
2. H.R.O. EC/2/155833
3. Newport was a member of Beaufort's household and had served him as bailiff of both Waltham and Twyford manors, Register of the Common Seal, p.87.
4. In July 1486, just prior to his own death, Waynflete granted a 20 year lease of Longwood Warren to John Tychborne, the son of the 1449 holder, Register of the Common Seal, p.150.
5. Bishop Courtney granted a 41 year farm of Upton to Thomas Doleman, husbandman, in April 1491, at the substantially increased rent of £22 9s 4d; possibly this increase was due to the very favourable length of the lease, Register of the Common Seal, pp.172-3.
6. Goldsborough was in fact a serf; in 1475 Waynflete granted a charter of manumission to him on the grounds of 'his good and faithful service in the past and in the future', Reg. Wayn. II fo.39
7. H.R.O. EC/2/159441 for 1451, the Henrley account for 1449 is missing. The rent here remained the same throughout Waynflete's episcopate - in January 1486 he leased it to Hugh Walton, still at £4 13s 4d, Register of the Common Seal, p.147.

8. Knoyle was being farmed out as a single unity by 1451 when Robert Sutton was the farmer and paid an annual rent of £83, H.R.O. EC/2/159441.

This table is intended to indicate the major sources of income on a number of Waynflete's manors. The figures are taken from the ministers' accounts for 1466 in the central period of Waynflete's episcopate. Downton, Witney and East Meon were the richest of the manors, Southwark was also wealthy while Cheriton, Twyford and Marwell are representative of medium-sized manors. Details of arrears owing, and outgoings on the maintenance of the manor have also been shown.

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N.B. This table shows the major figures but does not include all the petty sources of income; therefore the accounts as presented here will not balance.
APPENDIX X  Agreement between bishop Waynflete and Winchester city
3 July 1451  Reg.Wayn. I fo.3* r-v

This endenture witnesseth that where debate was bytwene William by the soofferance of god Bisshop of Wynchestre on the oon partie and the Maire and the Comune of the Cite of Wynchestre on the other partie upon the frauncherie and the custumes of the faire of Seynt Gile that is to seye where the seide Bisshop owght to have and he and his predecessours hav hadde fro tyme that no mynde remmeth the kepyng of the Cite of Wynchestre byxve seide by xvi dayes with the trone and all the profites and custumes as to take amendes of Brede and ale and all other maner mesures, that is to seye as to takes Busshelles, Galons and all other mesures and weyghtes and to bere thaim to the pavilon and there to make assaye by the syght of iii goode persones of the citee and there to dampil the eyll and to deluyer ayen the goode. And that the people of the cite afore seide shulde come to the Pavilon to presente and croyndered and blode shedde and all other thinges touchyng the pees of our Lorde the kyng and ther to have knowleche of all maner plees touchyng the Cite after the usages of the seide cite hadde and used in the tyme of the seide faire, with all other ryghtes and custumes, that is to seye, the Daye of the vigile of seint Gile by xvi dayes to endure. And the Maire and commune aforeside in parte hav distourbed the seide Bisshop at his faire of seint Gile laste passed, in his seide fraunchises and custumes. Thei ben accorded in fourme that foloweth, that the seide Maire and comune knowlegen the seide distourbans. And the seide Maire and comune maken covenante and graunten that by theme no their successours the seide Bisshop no his succesors shall not be fro hens forthwarde distourbed to have the kepyng of the seide Cite and the custumes aboveside and all other profites touchyng the seide faire and the right of his chirche duryng the xvi dayes aforeside in the maner that he and his predecessours have hade and used afore this daye. And the seide Bisshop for hym and his successors maketh covenante remitteth and pardoneth the forseide offence to the Maire and comune afore rehersyde. In witness of whiche thyng to the one parte of this endenture remaynyng anenste the seide Maire and comune have put their commyn seale; to the other parte of this seide endenture remaynyng the seide Maire comune the seide Bisshop hath putte his seall. Geoven at Wyncestre the thirdde daye of Julye... the yere of Grace MCCCCLI And of the reigne of kyng harry the sexte aftre the conqueste.
Waynflete as a Commissioner of the Peace 1447-1486

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Key
Y - Commission of the peace appointed for this year and Waynflete as a member of it.
X - Commission of the peace appointed for this year but Waynflete omitted from it.

N.B. Commissions appointed for years before Waynflete's first appearance as a J.P. in that county have not been included in the table.

* - Period of Yorkist domination Winter-Spring 1460-61
** - Re-adaption
*** - Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III successively
**** - Richard III, Henry VII
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Manuscript Sources

(Note: I have not described miscellaneous collections of material or single items, with certain important exceptions)

London

a) British Library

Additional charters - various
Additional mss 4839-44
Additional mss 15381-5
Egerton mss 2031           Winchester register index, 18 cent.
Egerton mss 2576
Harleian mss 670           Formulary
Harleian mss 2077
Cotton Vesp. B.XVI

b) Lambeth Palace Library

Archbishop Kempe's Register
Archbishop Stafford's Register
Ms.450  Triumphus amoris Jesus Christi

c) Public Record Office

C1  Early chancery proceedings
C81  Warrants for the Great Seal
C85  Significations of excommunication
E28  Council and Privy Seal Records
E101 Accounts, various
E135 Ecclesiastical documents
E328  Deeds (belonging to religious houses)
E404  Warrants for issues
SCI  Ancient correspondence
SC8  Ancient petitions

d) Westminster Abbey Muniments

Ms. 32,378

Winchester

a) Hampshire Record Office

A/14, 15  Waynflete's episcopal register
EC/2/159436-42  Pipe rolls [ministers' accounts]
EC/2/155827-42  Ministers' accounts in bound form
EC/2/159516, box 157

b) Winchester College

W.C.M. 22992  Liber Albus
W.C.M. 22118-25  Bursars' accounts
W.C.M. 22824-30  Hall books
W.C.M. 829-31

Lincoln: record office

Register XIV  Episcopal register, Bishop Repingdon
Register XV  Episcopal register, Bishop Lumley
Register XVI  Episcopal register, Bishop Fleming
Cambridge

a) Trinity College
Account books of King's Hall, vols 7,8

b) Corpus Christi College
Ms. 170 Letter book

Oxford

a) Bodleian Library
Ms. Rawl. Q.C.14 Statutes of Magdalen College
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Lincoln Coll. Ms.117 Gascoigne's theological dictionary

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CP/2/55 Funeral expenses, John Waynflete
Ms.Latin 277 College statutes
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Ch.Reg.43 Waynflete's will
M.C.Estate papers 165/5
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C.Woolgar, Typescript index to estate archives

c) Eton College
ECR 38 Building documents
ECR 39 Patent letters
ECR 61 Account rolls etc.
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