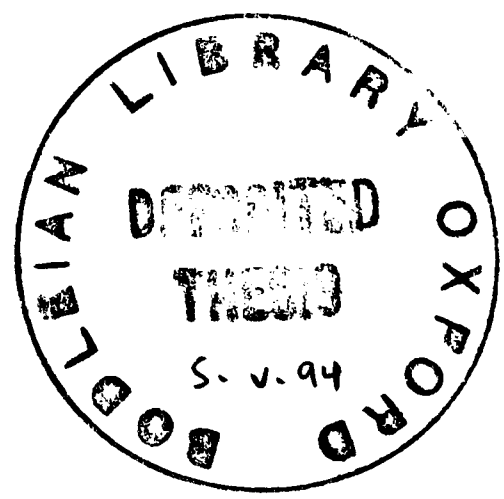
THE ROLE OF ETON COLLEGE AND KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, IN THE POLITY OF THE LANCASTRIAN MONARCHY

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Katherine E. Selway
Michaelmas 1993



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ABSTRACT

For too many years the common assumption has been that both Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were simply the pious endeavours of a young and unworldly king, and were united in aim and conception in much the same way that the double foundation of William of Wykeham had been over six decades before. It is the aim of this thesis to show that this is a misconception, and to prove that far from being the private acts of a pious king, the foundations were, on the contrary, public acts of the Lancastrian monarchy, with their motivation owing more to the needs of government than to Henry VI's personal will. The availability of alien priory resources, the anxiety felt by certain groups that such resources should be used towards socially useful purposes, the political legacy of Henry V, the burgeoning of humanistic studies in Italy and their uptake in England, and the key roles played by the Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Bekynton, and William Waynflete, all helped to shape the religious motives which lay behind royal patronage towards an educational end.

The thesis examines the way in which the aims of royal pious founders developed into a mature public concept of the religion of the state, reaching its apogee at Sheen Charterhouse and Syon Abbey, founded by Henry V in 1415. What has hitherto remained obscure is the way in which this vibrant state inspired religion developed after Henry V's death, in the absence of a mature king, and during the turbulent closing stages of the Hundred Years War. The thesis presents an examination of these concepts.

The thesis also reappraises the progress of the works at Henry VI's foundations, offering fresh insight into the reasons why the plans were changed and enlarged at both colleges, and drawing a vital but hitherto virtually ignored distinction between the two royal foundations.

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ABSTRACT

For too many years the common assumption has been that both Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were simply the pious endeavours of a young and unworldly king, and were united in aim and conception in much the same way that the double foundation of William of Wykeham had been over six decades before. The fault of other, older, studies on Henry VI's royal foundations is that they have been addressed from too narrow a standpoint, so that while being informative about many of the factual and topographical aspects of foundation, they have consistently sought to portray Eton and King's College merely as acts of royal piety. Consequently the importance of the role of Eton and King's College in Lancastrian polity has been unwittingly passed over.

It is the aim of this thesis to dispel these misconceptions, and to prove that far from being the private acts of a pious king, the foundations were, on the contrary, public acts of the Lancastrian monarchy, with their motivation owing more to the needs of government than to the personal will of the king. The thesis identifies and examines the diverse range of catalysts which lay behind the foundations, allowing conclusions to be drawn about the nature of Lancastrian kingship.

In order to understand fully the place of Henry VI's royal colleges in the polity of the Lancastrian monarchy it is necessary to assess the role played by the alien priories. This forms the starting point of the thesis, and is the subject of the extensive Appendices at the end. The seizure of public wealth, which the alien priories represented, explains not only how the royal foundations were made possible, but is also the key to understanding the motivation behind them. A relatively fixed proportion of public wealth had been invested in religious foundations until the later fourteenth century, but from this time a significant change occurred with the diversion of funds from one kind of monastic or charitable house, the alien priories, to another; first the foundations of Henry V and then, the subject of the present study, Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge.

Chapter Two is a retrospective of royal foundations from Henry III to the first Lancastrian king, Henry IV. One of the prime purposes of pious foundations was to elevate the image and standing of its founder. The public expression of personal piety may, however, assume many different forms. By examining the types of royal foundation established by Henry VI's predecessors, the foundations of Eton and

King's College and the public manifestations of royal piety at this time, may be placed into context. The chapter highlights the shift in emphasis between traditional royal piety and Lancastrian piety, of which Henry V's public religion and his foundation of the Lancastrian "powerhouses of prayer" are the most striking example. Attention is drawn to the familial piety of the Lancastrians centred on the College of St Mary-in-the-Newarke in Leicester, in order to add an important further dimension to our perceptions of Lancastrian royal piety and its preoccupations.

The pious and political legacy of Henry V is drawn out in Chapter Three where the foundations of Sheen and Syon are discussed, with particular attention devoted to the portrayal of Henry V as a founder closely involved in every aspect of his foundation. The chapter seeks to demonstrate how the character and achievements, the early death, and future wishes of Henry V, comprised a potent force in the minds of those, like his brother, the Duke of Bedford, in whose care he left the governance of his realms, and how the forces contributing to the founding of Henry VI's colleges were not least the legacy of Henry V, and the need to uphold the royal dignity in troubled times.

Part Two of the thesis comprises four chapters dealing with the more immediate influences on Henry VI and his circle of counsellors. Chapter Four is concerned with the piety of the young king himself and points out that the king's reputation for piety and sanctity was more a phenomenon of the later years of the fifteenth century, rather than the earlier. This has led to misinformed perceptions of Henry VI, a problem which this chapter seeks to redress by presenting a more realistic picture of the young adult king and suggesting why his piety should not be regarded as the prime motivating force behind the foundations.

Chapter Five examines the contemporary pedagogic interest in classical antiquity and its development in Italy, particularly in the schools of Vittorino Da Feltre and Guarino of Verona, and the extent to which this filtered through to the English intellectual circles at Oxford, and to the household of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. The chapter points out the gulf between such ideals and those of William of Wykeham in his educational establishments at Winchester and New College, and shows that while Eton and King's College cannot be regarded as examples of institutions where Vittorino's methods had been adopted, nor should they be regarded as anachronisms of an older Wykehamical world, for such would be to misunderstand the forces behind their foundation.

Chapter Six dwells upon the influence in the foundation projects of Thomas Bekynton, who became the king's Secretary, and later, the

Bishop of Bath and Wells. His education and formative career under Archbishop Chichele, and in the service of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, are analysed in order to reach an understanding of how and why he became so influential in the foundations of Eton and King's College. The chapter provides examples of Bekynton's educational and pastoral concerns by reference to the statutes he drew up for the Wells Cathedral Choir later in his life.

Chapter Seven deals with the role of another individual, the Earl of Suffolk, and how and why his household clique comprised the group of trustees for the king's foundation projects, as both alien priory commissioners, to facilitate the endowment of both colleges, and as trustees for the Duchy of Lancaster feoffment, established to fund the building works. The chapter examines the implication that the foundation projects were a deliberate attempt by Suffolk to bolster his own political position, by binding together these trustees into a cohesive and self-supporting group at the heart of government.

Part Three of the thesis is an exhaustive analysis of the foundation, endowment, and progress of the works at Eton and King's College, using extensive archival material from both colleges. The role of the king is reassessed. Chapter Eight analyses the objectives of the Eton College foundation as set out in various charters, which provides a further platform from which to assess the motives of various people involved in the foundation process. The chapter goes on to discuss the royal endowment of the college with considerable alien priory resources, particularly those which the late Queen Joan of Navarre enjoyed as part of her dowry, and which, since her death, had in many cases been farmed out to royal householders. The significance of this is explained.

Chapters Nine and Ten chart the progress of the works at Eton College from foundation through to the reign of Edward IV. Chapter Nine addresses certain shortcomings and confusions in the ways in which historians have presented their views of the progress of the works, and offers an alternative explanation for the enlargement of the plans at Eton in the 1440s, paying attention to documentary evidence which suggests that certain structural problems may have played a not insignificant part in the reasons for the proposed changes. A noteworthy development of the 1440s is the growing importance of educational objectives, which had not been the main concern at the date of initial foundation.

Chapter Ten details the decline of the College's fortunes under Edward IV, that king's alleged hostility to his predecessor's project, the Resumption of many of the College's estates and what became of these, the proposed union of the College with the College of St George at

Windsor, and the role of Provost William Westbury during this turbulent period, considering whether or not he was really responsible for 'saving' Eton College as has been suggested. Finally the effort and expense of William Waynflete in finishing the building works is considered. The attempt to explain Waynflete's loyal response to the wretched state into which Eton had fallen by the late 1460s is dealt with more fully in the closing chapter.

Chapter Eleven focusses upon the foundation of King's College and the role of John Langton. One of the most significant aspects of the foundation projects is drawn out in this chapter for the first time; the fact that the Eton and King's College projects were conceived of separately. Their foundations were not the joint endeavour that historians have delighted in portraying; the Cambridge foundation was instead a product of the university environment and the evidence suggests that the king had no plans himself to found a royal college there in the late 1430s. It was the Eton project which was closest to the king's heart, not least since the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge distanced King's College from direct royal influence.

Chapter Twelve details the King's College endowment. Using archival material from the Muniment Room at King's College it has been possible to present fuller evidence of the royal endowment than that available in the patent and charter rolls. The archives have also helped to confirm the importance to the King's College endowment of the group known as the alien priory commissioners which was so instrumental at Eton, as well as the proliferation of alien priory grants to householders in the later 1430s. The pattern of endowments to King's College reinforces the claim that the Cambridge college lagged behind Eton in the king's affections.

Chapter Thirteen charts the progress of the works at King's College, concentrating on the changing nature of royal intentions *circa* 1443. Within three years of the foundation the moderate plans had been superseded by a greatly enlarged scheme. This development was simultaneous with two other important changes: the enlargement of the College at Eton, and the forging of closer links between the king's two foundations. The relationship between these events is carefully examined. It has been assumed that the enlargement plans at both colleges were specifically connected to the intention to link the two colleges more closely. The chapter discusses why such a view should be modified. Another important aspect to consider regarding the Cambridge foundation is the jurisdiction of the University. It would appear that what had started as a university inspired foundation was taken over by the king, from 1443 onwards when the plans to enlarge the College were discussed. This development lay at the heart of the

jurisdictional clashes between the College and the University until the quarrel was settled in 1457. The tribulations and controversial sacking of Provost William Millington during this controversy are discussed here.

Part Four comprises four concluding chapters, the first of which demonstrates the relationship of the two colleges with the potential resources available to the Crown for the purposes of foundation. These resources, the alien priories, discussed in chapter one and analysed in the Appendices, passed to the foundations via the alien priory commissioners, whose significance as a group has never been sufficiently explained. It was a group composed of public figures well known for their connection with the Eton College foundation. It is important to understand the extent to which the commission represented a deviation from the past. The situation in the late 1430s forms a stark contrast to the earlier treatment of alien priory resources under Henry V. This chapter analyses the origin and role of the alien priory commission and concludes that it should be regarded as the key to understanding the place of the Eton and King's College foundations in Lancastrian polity.

Chapter Fifteen builds on the notion of the alien priory commission and the role of the Earl, later Duke, of Suffolk, and draws together the evidence suggesting that, rather than being the private acts of a pious king, the foundations should be seen primarily as statements of public policy. The beautifully illuminated parliamentary charters of 1446, illustrated at the beginning of the thesis, are compelling examples of this. The illuminations emphasise the role of the king in parliament, and firmly unite the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, with the king, his patron saints, and his foundations. The chapter reinforces this image of corporate intent with further examples. The conclusion which may be implied from this is the concern of the Suffolk regime for the educational needs of government; and if such was the regime's motivation, it provides an example of a much more forward thinking strategy than is commonly attributed to it.

The last two chapters of the thesis return to the roles played by key individuals, in particular Bekynton and Waynflete; to the importance of educational motives in the origin and development of the foundation projects; and to the supposed link between Henry VI's foundations and those of William of Wykeham. In the light of this analysis it is hoped that the concerns and intentions of these individuals will now be more fully understood, and that the Wykehamical influence will no longer be misinterpreted as it has so often been in the past. The chapter begins with an explanation of why the Wykehamists were apparently so prominent in fifteenth century political and ecclesiastical

life and goes on to examine the extent to which two key foundation figures, Bekynton and Waynflete, may have been Wykehamist in outlook. The *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444, the treaty by which Eton, King's College, Winchester and New College, promised each other mutual amity and protection, is reassessed.

The final chapter concerns William Waynflete, whose career is an essential component in understanding and assessing the development of the king's educational schemes at Eton College subsequent to its foundation in 1441. He took over as the king's central adviser in the foundation processes while Bekynton grew old in his diocese. His role has been misunderstood in the past. Attention is drawn to an unjustly neglected section of the king's 'Will' of 1448 which illustrates the extent to which Henry VI's relationship with Waynflete had developed since 1441. The hasty election of Waynflete to the ranks of the episcopate, and the bishop's continuing interest in education, are both discussed.

Eton College was originally intended as a Lancastrian chantry or prayer house having more in common with Sheen and Syon than establishments like Winchester College. Education, although a motive from the outset, was nonetheless a modest part of the foundation plans. It was largely Waynflete who changed this when he was brought into royal service by his emphasis on teaching which soon eclipsed the chantry and almshouse motives, and which linked Henry VI's two colleges in double foundation. Other members of the episcopate were involved in educational projects during this period, but it was Bekynton and Waynflete above all whose vision and industry was responsible for the foundation and development of Eton and King's College, and their significance in Lancastrian polity.

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"By philosophy we learn the essential truth of things which by eloquence we so exhibit in orderly adornment as to bring conviction to differing minds."

Vergerius, ***De Ingenuis Moribus***

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K.E.S.
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ABBREVIATIONS

(i) in the text

Anstey, *Epist. Acad.*	*Epistolae Academicae Oxoniensis,* ed. H. Anstey, 2 vols., (Oxford Historical Society, 1898).
Anstey, *Mun. Acad.*	*Munimenta Academica,* ed. H. Anstey, 2 vols., (Rolls Series, 1868).
Bek., *Corr.*	Bekynton, Thomas, *Official Correspondence*, ed. G. Williams, 2 vols., (Rolls Series, 1872).
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
CChR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*
CClR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
Colvin	Colvin, H. M., *A History of the King's Works*, 2 vols., (London, 1963).
CPL	*Calendar of Papal Letters*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
ECR	Eton College Records
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Emden, *Cambridge*	Emden, A. B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, (Cambridge, 1963).
Emden, *Oxford*	Emden, A. B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D.1500*, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1957-9).
Foedera	*Foedera, Conventiones, et Litterae*, ed. T. Rymer, 20 vols., (London, 1869).
Fontes Harleiani	Wright, C. E., *Fontes Harleiani; A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, (London, 1972).
Griffiths, *Henry VI*	Griffiths, R. A., *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority*, (London, 1981).
H & W	*The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College*, ed. J. Heywood and T. Wright, (London, 1850).
KCM	King's College Muniments
Kirby, *Annals*	Kirby, T. F., *Annals of Winchester College*, (London, 1892).
Maxwell-Lyte	Maxwell-Lyte, H. C., *A History of Eton College 1440-1875*, (London, 1911; 4th edn.).
Monasticon	Dugdale, W., *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols., (London, 1817-30).
Nichols, *Royal Wills*	*A Collection of All the Wills Now Known to be*

	Extant of the Kings and Queens of England, ed. J. Nichols, (London, 1780).
PPC	*Proceedings of the Privy Council*
RP	*Rotuli Parliamentorum*
Rashdall, *Universities*	Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1936).
Statutes of the Realm	*Statutes of the Realm*, ed. Sir T. E. Tompkins, J Raithby, J. Caley, and W. Elliot, 10 vols, (Record Commission, 1810-28).
VCH	*Victoria County History of England*
W & C	Willis, R. W., and Clark, J. W., *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, 4 vols., (Cambridge, 1886).
Wilkins, *Concilia*	*Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. D. Wilkins, 4 vols., (London, 1733-7).
Wylie, *Henry IV*	Wylie, J. H., *History of England Under Henry IV,* 4 vols., (London, 1884-98).
Wylie, *Henry V*	Wylie, J. H., and Waugh, W. T., *The Reign of Henry V*, 3 vols., (Cambridge, 1914-29).

(ii) in the Appendices

Abp.	Archbishop
adv.	advowson
APC	alien priory commissioners
AS	All Souls College, Oxford
Bp.	Bishop
ch.	church
ch'hse	charterhouse
clk.	clerk
coll.	college
DH	Duke Humphrey of Gloucester
EC	Eton College
esq.	esquire
G	grant; usually preceded by a number or followed by a date
GH	Godshouse, Cambridge
KCC	King's College, Cambridge
KH	King's Hall, Cambridge
kt.	knight
LG	life grant
m	marks
MG	Mountgrace Charterhouse
Polsue	*Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, 4 vols., (Truro, 1867-72; reprinted, Wakefield, 1974).
QJ	Queen Joan of Navarre, wife of Henry IV
rev.	reversion
sec.	secretary
1441E	Eton College Endowment Charter, 25 March 1441
11G	grant for 11 years; eg 7G, 8G etc

PART ONE:
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE
Resources Available For Foundation: The Alien Priories

In the autumn of 1440, in the early years of Henry VI's majority rule, the royal college of Eton was founded near Windsor by the River Thames. Within five months a second royal college had been established at Cambridge. For too many years the common assumption has been that both Eton and King's College were simply the pious endeavours of a young and unworldly king, and were united in aim and conception in much the same way that the double foundation of William of Wykeham had been over six decades before. It is the aim of this thesis to dispel these misconceptions for good, and to prove that far from being the private acts of a pious king, the foundations were, on the contrary, very public acts of the Lancastrian monarchy, with their motivation owing little to the king himself and far more to a range of other catalysts, which are discussed and analysed in the chapters which follow. It is hoped that this will firmly establish the importance of the role of Henry VI's two foundations in Lancastrian polity.

Pious foundations traditionally had an important part to play in mediaeval kingship. Henry III and Richard II spent a great deal of money on Westminster Abbey. Edward III was an active pious founder who favoured the older monastic orders, in comparison with his grandson Richard II who chose to endow the more ascetic Carthusians.

What is remarkable, however, is not that English kings endowed pious foundations at all, but rather that their aims developed from a desire to promote monarchical prestige in order to rival the alleged sanctity of the French monarchy,[1] to a mature public concept of the religion of the state. The very public, indeed propagandist, piety of Henry V, expressed in the foundations of Sheen Charterhouse and Syon Abbey in 1415, is evidence of the creation of such a vibrant state religion. What has hitherto remained obscure is the way in which such state inspired concepts developed after Henry V's death, in the absence of a mature king, and during the turbulent closing stages of the Hundred Years War. This thesis presents an examination of these concepts.

A relatively fixed proportion of public wealth had been invested in religious foundations until the later fourteenth century, but from this time a significant change occurred with the diversion of funds from one kind of monastic or charitable house, the alien priories, to another; first the foundations of Henry V and then, the subject of the present study, Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge. In order to understand fully the place of Henry VI's royal colleges in the polity of the Lancastrian monarchy it is necessary to assess the role played by the alien priories. This seizure of public wealth, which the alien priories represented, explains not only how the royal foundations were made possible, but is also the key to understanding the motivation behind

[1] See p.23 below.

them. For this reason a discussion of the alien priories forms the starting point of this thesis and is also the detailed focus of the Appendices given at the end.[1] The fault of other, older, studies on Henry VI's royal foundations is that they have been addressed from too narrow a standpoint, so that while being informative about many of the factual and topographical aspects of foundation, they have consistently sought to portray Eton and King's College merely as acts of royal piety; they have drawn little valid distinction between Henry VI's foundations and preexisting examples of such piety, and consequently the importance of their role in Lancastrian polity has been unwittingly passed over.

The remainder of this introductory chapter provides a survey of the fate of the alien priories from the time of King John to the Act of Suppression passed by Henry V in 1414. The alien priories had, in fact, been a phenomenon of English religious life since the Norman Conquest, when William I and his sons had offered Norman monasteries the opportunity to extend their network of cells or daughter houses across the Channel. For centuries most of these cells retained very close links with their mother houses, being staffed with their brethren and paying them annual fees known as apports. For their part the Norman houses regarded their English estates as extensions of their domain, and because they were directly valuable to them the mother houses always

[1] The extensive Appendices chart and cross-reference the fate of all the alien priories in England and Wales from early in the reign of Edward III to the 1480s. References to the Appendices are cited frequently throughout the thesis; they are vital adjuncts to the many propositions raised.

intended their cells to remain fully subordinate to them. Over the course of time however, many English cells developed conventual lives of their own, their links with France became weaker, and in many cases the annual apport became a mere token of former dependency. The result was twofold; many of the larger English cells began to seek and obtain denizen status to exist as conventual houses in England,[1] and secondly, during periods of hostility between England and France, the mother houses found that the apports due to them had been appropriated by the English king. In time, and as hostilities increased, this led to a number of French houses attempting to cut their losses by selling off their English possessions.[2]

Alien priory revenues were first seized by King John in 1204 or soon after.[3] John attempted a second partial seizure but it was not until the time of Edward III that the alien priories came under any sustained attack. After 1294 hardly a decade passed without royal interference in alien priory properties. In August of that year Edward I ordered a nationwide survey of all alien priory property including movables; the returns of which were to reach the Exchequer by 7 December that year.[4] Once the inquests had been made the priors were generally granted the custody of their own houses, having to pay a fine for this privilege, and being obliged to account for their revenues at the

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1 The possessions of French priories in England are listed in Appendix III below, pp. 306-309. Those which became denizen during this period are given in Appendix IV, Table 1, pp. 311-312.

2 William of Wykeham's alien priory acquisitions for Winchester and New College were obtained largely in this way; see Appendix IV, Tables 3g and 3l, pp. 322-323, and Appendix I, pp. 245-296.

3 D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and Their English Possessions*, (Oxford, 1962), 72-3.

4 PRO E 106/2/1-6, 9.

Exchequer. In September 1295 Edward I went further with his appointment of "guardians" to prevent the foreign monks from speaking with strangers, and his intention to find English monks or secular priests to perform services in place of the aliens.[1] Early in 1297 custody was again removed from the priors, while the values of the properties were reassessed, until May of that year.[2] Edward's seizure in 1295 was occasioned ostensibly by the treason of Thomas de Turberville, but had its real causes in the scale of the king's multi-fronted military offensives, and the desperate financial needs of the Exchequer, as well as fears of espionage and treason aggravated by the threat of French invasion.

Edward I's policy was revived in 1324 after the renewed outbreak of war, and on a more significant scale under Edward III. All priories were seized in the summer of 1337, although this does not seem to have been immediately enforced in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire or Rutland.[3] A common feature of these years was the increasing number of laymen farming the priories, rather than the priors themselves. This was due to the pecuniary burden being placed on the priors for the privilege of farming their own property. In many cases the amount had become too much for them to bear, although the threat of the king offering the farm to his clerks was often enough to persuade the monks to shoulder the increased burden.[4]

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1 PRO E 106/3/19, p.3, dated 21 September 1295.

2 *CPR 1292-1301*, 241, 270.

3 Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 90.

4 Appendix I, pp. 245-296, columns Edward II and Richard II, reveal the extent of this tendency.

From Edward III's reign the interference of the Commons became an increasingly important factor in the fate of the alien priories. In 1346 the Commons requested the expulsion of all alien monks so that Englishmen could be put in their place. The king resented such interference but the Commons were not readily silenced. They continued to demand that no-one, English or otherwise, should be allowed to farm or buy the alien priory properties, undoubtedly in the hope that direct royal administration would spare the English some direct taxation. The Commons also insisted that the alien monks should no longer be allowed to enjoy the privileges of clerical status, since their revenues had been appropriated by the king and they no longer enjoyed the regular life of the convent. In 1346 Edward III had little difficulty in pointing out to parliament that the alien monks were spiritual officers not laymen. However, once it was clearly in the lay interest to disappropriate the alien priories the ability of the monarchy to protect the clerical privilege of the alien monks came under increasing threat.

The late fourteenth century pressure on the temporalities of the church may be partly attributed to the effects of the the Black Death and the recurring episodes of plague: there were fewer laymen to bear the burden of taxation and landowners' incomes had fallen. In addition there was an increased need for taxation due to the war with France. What had previously been inviolate now came under threat. Following the clerical resistance to be taxed in 1369 and the subsequent collapse of

Wykeham's ministry in 1371 laymen came to office with more urgent cries, reflecting those voiced by John Wyclif that the Church should not be allowed to exercise temporal lordship. Wyclif argued on many occasions that the alien priories should be confiscated and put at the permanent disposal of the state.[1]

The priories had been restored in 1360 but when war began again in 1369 the aliens again received their lands at farm from the king. The trend of lay farming was increasing. Expected alien revenues were often assigned to the king's creditors, while some royal clerks received the farms as part of their salaries, or as a personal reward for their services to the king.[2] John Darcy of Knayth, for example, received part of his annuity from the proctor of the lands of Lire.[3]

At the outset of Richard II's reign parliament vehemently petitioned for the expulsion of all aliens during wartime, arguing that the profits drawn from the alien priories could be put to the war effort,

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[1] Wyclif's *Tractatus De Ecclesia*, ed J. Loserth, (Wyclif Society, London, 1886), 332; chapter xv discusses whether the king may withdraw church temporalities on account of clerical abuse; *De Eucharistia Tractatus Maior*, ed. J. Loserth, (Wyclif Society, London, 1892), 320, where Wyclif recounts royal seizures of bishops' temporalities and advocates disendowment to cure clerical sin; and *Tractatus De Blasphemia*, ed. M. H. Dziewicki, (Wyclif Society, London, 1893), 156. *De Ecclesia* is held to have been written in 1378-9 (introduction to volume p. xxiv), *De Eucharistia* some time before 1382-3 (introduction to volume p. lxii), and *De Blasphemia* in late 1381 (introduction to volume, p. viii).

[2] See Appendix I, pp. 245-296, columns Edward III and Richard II, for many examples of this. Appendix IV, Table 2, pp. 312-316, reveals the extent to which alien priory resources were utilised to provide royal annuities in the later fourteenth century. Edward III's daughter, Isabel, Countess of Bedford, received income from the lands of Fontevrault: Corsham and Weedon Pinkney (Table 2g) and £140 from the farmers of Eye, £200 from the farmers of the nuns of Caen, and 64 marks from the farmers of Ivry, *CPR 1354-8*, 518; *CPR 1358-61*, 474. Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham and Duke of Gloucester, received a £1,000 annuity in 1379, of which alien priory resources formed a significant part (Table 2d). Richard II's wife, Queen Anne, received the farms of half a dozen alien priories in part satisfaction of a dower grant made to her in 1382 (Table 2e), while Richard II's half-brother, John, Duke of Exeter, benefited from alien priory revenues in 1397 (Table 2f).

[3] *CPR 1338-40*, 305; *CPR 1343-5*, 426.

and that the aliens would have no excuse for staying if Englishmen were allowed to perform their divine offices. The king accepted this although an exception was to be made for conventual houses,

> "et autres persones q'ount title a terme de vie en lour Benefices ou offices et conuz pur bones persones et loiaulx et nyent suspectes d'espiaill ne d'autre prejudice au Roi ne au Roiaulme."[1]

The expulsion was fixed for Candlemas 1378. Some priories continued to be farmed by monks but most fell into the hands of laymen. Englishmen were to replace the alien religious sent into exile; the spiritualities would be farmed to churchmen whilst the temporalities would be offered to anyone

> "suffisant les vorra prendre a ferme de nostre Seigneur le Roi a plus haut pris." [2]

The new farmers were to accept the responsibility for maintaining divine service.[3] Despite the fact that the king's seizure of the alien priories was temporary, and for only as long as the war should last, the recent developments prompted a number of French abbeys to sell their English properties. The chief beneficiaries of this were William of Wykeham and the English Charterhouses, although purchases were also made by a number of miscellaneous religious houses.[4]

With England and France supporting a different Pope, and

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[1] *RP* III, 22-3, Petition no. 50, 1377.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, has described the laity in this respect as neither "patrons [nor] protectors of the monks stepping between them and an oppressive government, but transient despoilers on whose behalf the expulsion had been decided," 112.

[4] Wykeham's purchases were on behalf of his collegiate foundations, for which see Appendix IV, Tables 3g and 3l, pp. 322-323; for Carthusian purchases see Tables 4a (Mountgrace), 4b (St Anne's), 4j (Witham), and 4k (London, Beauvale and Axholme), pp. 324, 327-8. Table 4k also lists purchases by miscellaneous abbeys, for example, Aldgate, Durham, Kirkstead, Hulton, and Westminster.

relations between French abbeys and their English dependencies made more difficult, it is not surprising that by the end of the century alien priory possessions were becoming increasingly less secure in the hands of foreign abbeys. In some cases manors began to be farmed by laymen, and French abbots started to sell houses or manors with royal permission. The larger conventual houses began to seek letters of denization; the Cluniac Priory of Lewes had already obtained such letters in 1351. The monks were expelled in 1378 not primarily due to anti-French feeling,[1] or due to the influence of the papal schism,[2] but rather because of the desire for personal profit by members of the king's council who could become farmers of the properties. This would explain the petition presented by the Commons of Richard's first parliament that no grant of royal lands should be made without the consent of the Commons. This is indicative of suspicion, not against the king, but against his councillors acting for him during the minority.[3] This would also explain the reaction in the following reign when in 1399 Henry IV decided to grant the custody to the priors again[4] and allow more French monks into England in an attempt to recover the royal monopoly of taxing the aliens as had been the case under Edward III. This caused a clamour in the Commons that a tighter definition of

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1 This is the tenor of M. M. Morgan's article, "The Suppression of the Alien Priories," *History*, XXVI, (1941), 204-12.

2 As E. Perroy has suggested in his *L'Angleterre et Le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, (Paris, 1933), 392-401.

3 See J.G. Edwards, "Some Common Petitions in Richard II's First Parliament," *BIHR*, XXVI (1953), 200-13.

4 See Appendix I, pp. 245-296, column Henry IV, for these restorations.

conventuality was necessary,[1] and led to an enquiry into conventuality, as a result of which only about a third of those which had been restored survived.[2] In February 1401 conventual alien houses were exempted from the Commons' call for the resumption of alien lands.[3] Henry IV permitted these houses to enjoy their revenues in full provided that they paid into the Exchequer the pension or apport that they had previously paid to the French mother house. By January 1404, however, the expulsion order had been more precisely defined.[4]

The Commons petitioned in 1402:

> "que toutes les priories aliens ovesque toutes lour possessions, fees & advoesons, terres, tenementz, rentes, services, franchises, libertees & toutes autres commodites a ycelles regardantes, forsprises les priories conventuelx, soient resumez & entierment resseizez en les maynes du roy, et sur ceo mesme nostre seigneur le roy, appellez a luy tielx come luy semblera de son conseil, voet dispenser par sa discretion ove tielx come luy plerra."[5]

The second petition even more clearly indicates the lay interest in the alien priory possessions and the belief that the king should utilise such resources to pay off his debts:

> "Item, priount les communes, que toutz moignes & autres religious aliens nees Fraunceys, esteantz & receauntz deinz le roialme d'Engleterre, soient voidez, & banniz hors du dit roialme d'Engleterre, si semble a vostre très gracious seigneurie & as seigneurs du dit parlement, que ceo purra estre fait saunz enfreindre de trieves par entre vous & vostre adversaire de France. Et que toutz les priories aliens ovesque toutes les fees & advoesons, terres, tenementz, rentz, services, franchises, libertees & toutz autres commodites a ycelles priories appurtenantz ou regardantz soient resumez & entierment seisez en voz mayns, en autielle manere come ils feurent seisez en les mayns de le darrein roi Richard, en eide d'acquiter voz dettes, & en relevement & supportation de vos ditz communes: protestantz que par celles causes voz ditz communes ne soient tenuz a les guerres de France, ne causates

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1 *RP* III, 457, 469, 491, 499.

2 *CClR 1402-5*, 25-6, 155; *PPC* I, 190-6; *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2.

3 *RP* III, 457.

4 *Ibid.*, 529.

5 *RP* III, 491, petition 23.

> d'enfreindre les ditz trieves. Purveux & sauvez tout foitz, que toutz ceux des vos lieges quelx ount estate par grante, relesse, ratification, ou confirmation de ceux de par delea, ou par faitz a autres que estate ils ount des terres, tenementz, ou possessions des aliens avaunt ditz, par purchace, en fee, ou pur terme de vie, ou pur terme des ans, ou en ascun autre manere, par licence, confirmation, ou ratification de vous, ou de roi E. vostre aiel, que dieux assoile, ou du dit roi Richard, ou doun fait as persones seculers par vous et voz progenitours, ne soient mye oustez de lour droitz, terres, tenementz, ou possessions par cest estatut, ne par colour du cest estatut, en nulle manere."[1]

The attitude of the Commons in Henry IV's reign should also be seen against the backdrop of the king's financial difficulties. In 1400 Henry had been warned by his councillors to keep some lordships in hand lest the wasteful nature of grants made should prejudice his chances of a generous parliamentary aid.[2] In the Coventry parliament of 1404 the Commons launched an outspoken attack on the king's lavish grants of lands and annuities and on the high costs of his household.[3] Indeed, by the summer of 1404 the king's financial embarrassment had become so acute that he was forced to suspend Exchequer payments of annuities.[4] The Coventry parliament, in a petition dated 25 October, proposed to

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1 *Ibid.*, 499, no. 48.

2 *PPC* I, 108.

3 *RP* III, 523-4. For further evidence of the attitude of the Commons at this time see the Lollard Disendowment Bill in *Selections From English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. A. Hudson, (Cambridge, 1978), 135-7, which the editor has ascribed to 1410 and which proposed the disendowment of episcopal temporalities and religious houses, primarily of the Benedictine Order, as well as the Augustinian Canons and the Cistercians. In the Bill the value of spiritualities is estimated at £143,734.10.4. The resources were to create fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, and six thousand two hundred squires. Interestingly, the Bill did not propose the disendowment of colleges, chantries, White Canons, cathedral churches with temporalities, charterhouses, French monks (ie alien priories), hospitals, hermitages, or Crouched Friars. Hudson argues that Wyciffite beliefs were still largely acceptable at the beginning of the fifteenth century: A. Hudson, "The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401", *EHR*, XC (1975), 1-18, which suggests "that questions raised by Wyclif could still be debated openly in the early years of the fifteenth century in Oxford ... the hardening of attitudes, and definition of the bounds of orthodoxy, took place, not at the departure of Wyclif for Lutterworth in 1382, but nearly twenty-five years later under the zeal of Arundel. In 1401 the question of biblical translation could be debated openly, without accusations of heresy being levelled against defenders of the view, and without identification of the proponents of translation as Wycliffites", 16-17.

4 *CCIR 1402-5*, 377, 382.

resume all landed resources since 1366, and from the revenues arising from this payments were to be made for the royal household's wardrobe, the queen's dowry, and the allowances of the princes. Any surplus revenues were to be used to compensate the current holders; those who could show that they paid for their grants might have the option of retaining them in payment of a fair rent for the future. Grants made before 1367 were not included but if they fell in they were to be kept in Crown hands.[1] This plan was not put into effect; nevertheless plans to reorganise the king's landed revenues were incorporated into the scheme of constitutional reform in 1406.[2] The same parliament proposed the seizure of church temporalities, although this was modified to the suggestion that the Crown should have the temporalities for one year. Arundel condemned the Commons for persuading the king to confiscate the alien priories on the grounds that they would provide useful extra income for the Crown, and then successfully demanding to take the proceeds themselves.

The attack on church temporalities, not just alien priory revenues, continued when, on 21 February 1408, the Commons proposed that all the income from vacant bishoprics, as well as the alien priories, should in future be appropriated to supply funds for the expenses of the royal

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1 *RP* III, 547; the petition was to be considered before any grant of taxation was made.

2 The resumption proposal was a culmination of the pressure from earlier parliaments (*RP* III, 433, 458, 495). On the proposal see B.P. Wolffe, "Acts of Resumption in the Lancastrian Parliaments 1399-1456", *EHR*, LXXIII (1958), 583-613, and for a more complete treatment of the subject see the same author's thesis "The Crown Lands and the Parliamentary Acts of Resumption 1399-1495", D.Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1954).

household.[1] This sacrilege, that the funds of English bishoprics should be stolen and secularised, seems to have been borne without a murmur. The attempt to solve the king's financial problems resulted, on 22 November 1408, in the assignment of the following sums to cover the expenses of the household until the following Michaelmas: £10,000 from the remainder of the parliamentary fifteenth, £2,000 from tonnage and poundage in London, Southampton, and Bristol, £1,000 from the alien priories, wards and marriages, £1,000 from issues of the hanaper, £2,000 from the wool customs of London, Southampton, Boston and Kingston-Upon-Hull, and one thousand marks from the petty customs of London and Southampton.[2]

After providing for his son and wife Henry IV was allowed to appropriate alien priory revenues for household expenses.[3] The Commons now wanted legal guarantees that the restoration of peace with France would not restore the alien monks to their possessions; less, perhaps, to help the king but rather to perpetuate the position of those lay farmers who currently enjoyed possession, such as the king's brother-in-law, Sir John Cornewaille, who had secured the joint farm of all Fécamp's English lands in 1403.[4]

By the accession of Henry V, therefore, many foreign monks had

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1 *RP* III, 654 (and see p.586 for the temporary seizure of 1408).

2 However, even as late as 19 March 1411 the estimated yield from the alien priories seems only to have been about £100, *PPC* II, 10.

3 *Ibid.*, 586; *CPR 1408-13*, 459; *CPR 1416-22*, 40.

4 *CPR 1401-5*, 205, 240; and see Appendix IV, Table 5a, pp. 329-330, for further grants to Cornewaille. In this period important grants were also held by Thomas Erpingham, Steward of the Household, and Ralph Rocheford, for which see Appendix I, pp. 245-296, column Henry IV.

left England, and many foreign abbeys had either lost control of their English possessions or else had sold them off. Nevertheless, in Henry V's first parliament the Commons declared themselves unsatisfied that the statute of 1404 was being properly enforced. The Commons also asked for a strict enforcement of the ordinance of Richard II's reign depriving aliens of English benefices.[1] Further, they requested that all alien priories, whether conventual or not, should be resumed into the king's hand from Michaelmas 1413

> "en reliefment et supportation de la communes."[2]

Interestingly, the petitioners made no other proposals as to what the king should do with the lands once he had resumed them for himself.[3] They argued that to make peace with France and be obliged to restore the alien priory possessions would be a grievous loss to the kingdom. The king accepted the petition but again exempted conventual priories.[4] The Leicester parliament of 1414 advised the king to take the alien priory lands into his own hands, except in cases where the houses were conventual, or where the priors had rights of institution and induction, and excluding those properties which had been granted to Fotheringhay College, founded by Edward Duke of York in 1411 from the alien possessions of the abbeys of Cormeilles and Saint-Georges

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1 *RP* IV, 5, dated May 1413.

2 *Ibid.*, 13-15, no 20, par. 38.

3 No doubt they anticipated a long term continuation of lay farming to their benefit. As Appendix I and the Tables in Appendix IV reveal, between 1414 and 1440 most of the alien priory possessions did indeed continue to be farmed by laymen. Until Henry VI's majority the only significant transfer of property to pious uses was that granted to Sheen and Syon.

4 This should of course have made little difference since only conventual priories were supposed to be left by this time.

Boscherville.[1] The preamble to the Act of Suppression makes it clear that a permanent dissolution was intended.[2]

The Act meant that Henry V could now make grants for life or in fee simple, whereas before he had been able to make grants only for the duration of the war. Within months of the Act he had founded Sheen and Syon, endowing them with lands of the alien priories.[3] Although considerable endowments, the allocation of revenues to Sheen and Syon was the only effort made by Henry V, with the exception of alien priory lands already granted to Fotheringhay College, to distribute the vast reservoir of alien priory resources he had just accumulated to pious uses. It was the lay supporters of the Lancastrians who benefited immediately from the Act of Suppression, and while virtually all the alien priory resources were eventually distributed to pious uses, as the Appendices demonstrate, the desire to endow religious and educational establishments was not the motivation for dissolution. The initial expulsions under Richard II were bullied out of the king by those who had begun to enjoy the taste of monastic property; lay farmers had no desire to see their vested interests evaporate when and if peace should be made. The Act of Suppression itself laid down no criteria for the the

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[1] See Appendix IV, Table 3c, p. 320.

[2] *RP* IV, 22, petition ix, 26 June 1414; also in *Monasticon* VI, 986-7.

[3] See Appendix IV, Tables 4f and 4g, pp. 325-6, and Appendix I, pp. 245-296; in its first foundation charter Sheen was granted the reversion of the English lands of Fécamp currently being enjoyed by John Cornewaille, and was granted the lands of Saint-Pierre, Ghent, in Lewisham, *CChR 1341-1417*, 469-70. In April 1415 Sheen received the property of St Evroul, Jumièges and Lire (except Hinckley). Sheen had to pay Mountgrace £100p.a. for the loss of Ware, *CChR 1341-1417*, 479-80. On 3 March 1415 Syon was founded with reversion of some of the English lands of Séez, Mont Saint-Michel, La Trinité, Caen. The lands of Fécamp were taken from Sheen and instead granted in reversion to Syon's trustees, 20 April 1416, *CPR 1416-22*, 34-5, although even as late as 1474 Syon was not in possession of all of Fécamp's properties.

utilisation of the resources, but rather stressed,

> "que toutz les possessions des Priories Aliens en Engleterre esteantz purront demurrer en vos mains [ie the king's] a vous et a vos heires pur toutz jours a l'entent que divines services en les lieux avaunt ditz purront pluis duement estre faitz par gentz Englois en temps a venir que n'ont este faitz avaunt ces heures en ycelles par gentz Fraunceys." [1]

Laymen benefited from the alien priory resources for many decades after the Suppression, and this included the huge dower annuities to Queen Joan of Navarre, the substantial annuities to Humphrey of Gloucester, as well as the dozens of grants for term of years, and often for life, to eager royal servants and particularly, in the early majority years of Henry VI, to members of the king's household.[2] One historian has suggested that Lancastrian royal piety saved the alien priory properties from falling permanently into lay hands,[3] but this view should be modified; Henry V utilised only a portion of the available alien priory revenues.[4] Moreover his example was not followed by his son, despite the assumption to the contrary that Henry VI entered into mature rule with the plan to emulate his father by founding two colleges.[5] Such a view is completely erroneous. If, in 1436-7, Henry VI's pious intentions had been formulated it is scarcely conceivable that

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[1] *RP* IV, 22; *Monasticon*, VI, 987.

[2] See Appendix IV, Tables 2a, 2b, 5a-d, pp. 312-314, 329-332.

[3] Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 141.

[4] Perhaps this may be partly explained by the legal difficulties and strong protests which resulted from Henry's endowment of Sheen. In 1416 the French abbey of Saint-Evroul made an earnest appeal to Sheen for the restoration of their property, arguing that their English possessions (Charlton-On-Otmoor and Ware) had been their chief source of revenue and had at one time supplied them £2,000 p.a. (*VCH Surrey* II, 89). They argued that no state policy or fear of foreign wars could justify the Carthusians' permanent retention of their property. Saint-Evroul protested for eleven years, in vain, in 1427 even taking their case to Rome.

[5] Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 141: "In the long run, this property was recovered for religious or educational purposes by royal foundations of monasteries and colleges, but it was Lancastrian royal piety alone which salvaged something from the dissolution."

he would have permitted the reckless alienation of dozens of alien priory properties into lay hands, often for terms of life.[1] He did not resist the mounting pressure of lay petitions at the onset of his majority rule, and, with no plans for foundation, there must have seemed to be no valid excuse to deny such grants. This raises the strong suspicion that the impetus for the Eton and King's College foundations lay not with the king himself.

It was not, however, lay pressure alone which influenced the attitude towards the alien priory properties. Richard II had suggested, for example, that the Pope might sponsor the conversion of the alien priories in England into secular colleges. The causes of the suppression in 1414 should not be confused with the particular Lollard cry for the confiscation of all church property, since the Leicester Parliament of that year also passed anti-Lollard legislation.[2] The suppression was, nevertheless, related to lay demands of this sort. While the Act of Suppression sought to play into lay hands by offering no advice on how the properties might best be utilised, certain other interest groups had very definite ideas on this. The authorities of Oxford University, for example, were adamant that the sanctity of land granted to the church should be upheld, and were naturally hostile to any form of lay exploitation:

> "Vineam haereditarium sancti Naboth noluit Deus impune transferris quanto magis nec patrimonium crucifixi. Scriptum quippe est, 'Reddite quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo.' Tributum Caesaris, inquit Ambrosius, non negatur, et quod ecclesiae Dei est, Caesari utique non debetur, quia jus Caesaris esse non potest templum Dei. A majori

[1] Appendix IV, Tables 5c and 7, pp. 330-331,334-336.

[2] *RP* IV, 24-5; *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 184.

> ergo, ut credimus, temporalibus viris tradenda non est Christi haereditas possidenda. Placeat igitur, ut in manus vivorum seu dominorum temporalium prioratus alienigenarum non tradantur cum ecclesiis Domino consecratis." [1]

In the same year, 1414, Henry V summoned a meeting of the Oxford University authorities to draw up a new list of petitions for reforms to be taken to the Council of Constance. The University compiled a list of forty-six petitions and sent them to the king. The list included pleas against traditional abuses such as simony, pluralism, non-residence and a request for the better provision of university graduates to the ranks of the beneficed clergy. The alien priories also formed the subject of some of these petitions. Article Three was a demand that the lands of the alien priories should not not be given to secular lords; this was perhaps due less to any desire to uphold the sanctity of ecclesiastical land, but was rather in the hope that the university might benefit from the alien priory spoils itself; New College had, after all been endowed with alien priory properties, and Oxford evidently enjoyed some hope that Henry V would endow a college for theologians at Oxford.[2] Of the petitions submitted to Henry V, Article Four was entitled *De Promocione Universitatum*, thus making an obvious connection with the fate of the alien priories. This petition was undoubtedly prompted by the Commons' request in 1413 that the king should take into his hands all alien priory lands in order to safeguard the existing lay farmers. With the Commons' probable intention being to provide for general lay

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 361.

[2] See below p.48 and note 1.

farming the University must have feared that their interests would be subordinated to lay greed.[1]

By this date a considerable pressure had built up for the pious utilisation of the resources, as the potential hostility of the Council of Basle well illustrates. A copy of the instructions given to English envoys to Basle by the king's council in 1434 is included in the correspondence of Thomas Bekynton.[2] The instructions anticipate unpleasant questions and how to deal with them. Article Six relates specifically to the suppression of the alien priories and the possible demand for the restitution of the property.[3] The envoys were to justify the alienation on the grounds of public policy, the abuse of the revenues to anti-national purposes during the wars with France, and because Henry V, instead of appropriating the revenues, as he might lawfully have done, to his own private uses, had applied for permission from Martin V to convert them to the endowment of monasteries, churches, and other pious purposes, and this he had, in fact, done. The envoys were also to remind the council that liberal compensation had been offered to the churches and monasteries in France and the duchy of Normandy for any losses they might have sustained from the diversion of revenues derivable from their possessions in England.

It is important to remember, therefore, that a pressure for the alien resources to be used for a worthy, and preferably pious, purpose

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[1] For the petitions see M. M. Harvey, "English Views on the Reforms to be Undertaken in the General Councils 1400-1418," D.Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1963), 175.

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, II, Appendix, CCLXXIII, CCLXXIV, 259ff.

[3] Notice of this embassy is given in *PPC* IV, 217; 28 May 1434.

already existed when the young king was reaching his majority. Without the availability of such resources it is doubtful that the plans for either Eton or King's College would have been conceived. When considering to whom to attribute responsibility for the foundation plans this preexisting pressure must be considered. The tensions which the royal council of the mid 1430s expected to surface at the council of Basle reinforces the contemporary importance attached to the fulfilment of public and international expectation regarding the alien priory resources.

The Eton College and King's College foundations were not an idea which the king plucked from his dreams. There were strong preexisting conditions guiding him towards such a decision. The bishops and councillors at Basle were aware of such pressures and would have returned home to advise that a royal utilisation of the alien priory resources would be a fitting opening gesture to Henry's adult rule. Unlike Henry VIII a century later Henry VI was obliged to perform a 'good work' and, although historians have been reluctant to admit it, Henry VI's decision had in actual fact already been made for him; forged by decades of Anglo-French rivalry resulting in the suppression of the alien priories by a monarch whose exploitation of nascent English nationalism had promoted propagandist attitudes and intentions. Pious though Henry V's foundations obviously were, they were not least powerful expressions of nationalism, houses of prayer for the successful prosecution of the king's martial aims in France. When

Henry V died he entrusted the government of the realm and the upbringing of his infant son to those who had served him in peace and in war; to men who wished to preserve and extend this successful Lancastrian identity. It is fundamentally this which explains why the alien resources could not be squandered but had to be put to a use that would promote the monarchical and Lancastrian image at home and abroad.

These then were the resources with which Eton College and King's College Cambridge were endowed in 1441 and thereafter. It was the availability of such resources which enabled the royal foundations to be made. Indeed, there is legitimate reason for supposing that their availability was a motivating factor, rather than being merely an enabling one. This short survey has introduced the key uncertainty of the foundation equation; namely, from where did the motivation for the project emanate ? From those concerned about the entrenchment of lay farming in spiritual property ? From those who believed that such pious resources should be utilised to fund important public projects like the foundation of colleges ? From the king himself ? The following pages devote themselves to the answering of these and other questions. It is a goal that may be achieved through an examination and an understanding of the diverse influences at work upon the young king Henry VI.

CHAPTER TWO
Retrospective of Royal Foundations

(i) Henry III to Richard II

The prime purpose of pious foundations was to elevate the image and standing of its founder. The public expression of personal piety may, however, assume many different forms. By examining the types of royal foundation established by Henry VI's predecessors, the foundations of Eton and King's College and the public manifestations of royal piety at this time, may be placed into context.

The desire to promote monarchical prestige through pious works had long been on display in England and was influenced, not least, by the alleged sanctity of the French monarchy. Henry III may have embarked upon the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey in 1245 in the knowledge of the series of churches which had recently been built in France.[1] Additionally, the problem of where English kings should be buried had arisen. After the loss of Normandy and Anjou the Abbey of Fontevrault was no longer a suitable resting place, as it had been for Richard I. Henry III must have felt the need to establish a royal mausoleum to rival Reims and Saint-Denis as shrines to the house of Capet. It seems that as early as 1246 Henry III had determined to be buried at Westminster.[2] The heraldic displays in the nave of the abbey

[1] Reims in 1211, Amiens in 1220, Beauvais in 1225 and Sainte-Chapelle begun in 1239-40.

[2] *CChR I 1226-57*, 306, which he reaffirmed in his will of 1253, Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 15.

illustrate the king's intention to glorify the Plantagenet inheritance as well as to unite the monarchy with its English vassals.[1] The nave was adorned with shields bearing the arms of the great English baronial houses of Bigod, Bohun, and de Montfort, as well as those of the royal houses with which Henry was related by marriage; namely those of the Empire, Provence, France, and Scotland. The climax of Henry's work at Westminster was the translation of Edward the Confessor in 1269, although the shrine was not quite finished by this date. Henry enriched it with fresh images and jewels. It is estimated that between 1245 and 1272 Henry III spent in excess of £50,000 at Westminster.[2]

Subsequent kings also took a great interest in Westminster as the visible symbol of their kingly dignity. Under Edward I three marble columns were added to the Confessor's shrine and Edward II's coronation saw a royal offering of a pound of gold in the Confessor's likeness and eight ounces of gold in the likeness of St John the Evangelist. Edward I commissioned work on the new chapel of St Stephen's in 1292 in a deliberate conceptual imitation of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris by publicly commemorating his ancestors.[3] Fire badly damaged Westminster Palace in 1298 and, due to Edward I's onerous military commitments, repairs were not undertaken until

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[1] An aspect of kingship which Henry nevertheless found very difficult to achieve due his reliance on Savoyard and Provençal ministers.

[2] Colvin, I, 155-7.

[3] St Louis had chosen to venerate the Capetian monarchy in 1263-4 by commissioning a set of sixteen effigies of his ancestors at Saint-Denis. This public commemoration of ancestors by St Louis and Edward I was copied by Richard II who in c.1385-6 ordered a series of statues of English kings to decorate Westminster Hall in proclamation of his own royal descent.

Edward II's imminent coronation rendered the matter urgent.

Edward I's piety was also expressed in the erection of the twelve Eleanor Crosses in various areas of the Midlands in England, of which only three now survive. These were commissioned by the king in memory of his wife Eleanor of Castile who died in 1291. This idea may also have been borrowed from France since twenty years earlier similar memorials had been erected to mark the funeral procession which carried the bones of St Louis from Paris to Saint-Denis.[1]

Edward III was an active pious founder who tended to favour the older monastic orders, whereas his grandson later came to turn his attention to the newly popular and ascetic Carthusians. Edward endowed a house of Dominican nuns at Dartford in Kent in 1346 in fulfilment of the vows of his grandmother Queen Eleanor and his father Edward II who had intended to establish a female house subordinate to the Dominican friars of King's Langley. Edward III also established the Cistercians in the Abbey of St Mary Graces near the Tower of London in 1350.

Perhaps even more important in an assessment of Edward III's piety was its dynastic element expressed in his refoundation of St Stephen's Chapel in Westminster as a college of canons and vicars with four clerks and six choristers and his establishment of secular canons at St George's, Windsor in 1348. The collegiate statutes of St Stephen's issued in 1348 permitted an assured annual income of £500.[2] That

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[1] See J. Evans, "A Prototype of the Eleanor Crosses," *Burlington Magazine*, XCI (1949), 96-7.

[2] *VCH London*, I, 566 note 19.

Edward's interest was maintained in subsequent years is evident from the indulgences he procured from the pope in 1349, 1354, and 1361.[1] St Stephen's marked the culmination of a building plan initiated by Edward I and was intended to be the religious heart of the Plantagenet dynasty, as Sainte-Chapelle was to the Capetian house of France. St George's too was to reflect the pious image of the monarchy; specifically as an indulgence to the cult of St George which attracted Edward III's special interest. Windsor was intended by Edward to be the centre of his court and chivalric order. During his reign Edward III spent approximately £29,000 on Westminster Palace, forming a significant part of the prolific building projects undertaken in the reign.[2]

Richard II further elevated the monarchy in public consciousness by making extensive use of heraldry and by promoting the kingly dignity through his own aloof bearing. From this reign too may be dated the development of the conviction that English kings were the most Christian kings on earth and their subjects God's chosen people.[3]

The educational interests of the Plantagenet kings were more limited in scale and ambition. Henry III gave various scholarships to

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1 *Ibid.*, 567.

2 Well over £50,000 was spent at Windsor and £25,000 on the new castle and town of Queenborough. Smaller amounts of a few thousand pounds were spent on numerous other favoured residences: Langley (£3,000), Rochester (£2,250), Eltham, Sheen, Hadleigh, Leeds, Rotherhithe, Gravesend, Moor End, and Henley-on-the-Heath, Colvin, I, 162, and for further details on Queenborough see *ibid.*, II, 800; Langley, *ibid.*, I, 258-63; Rochester, *ibid.*, II, 811.

3 Griffiths has ascribed this development to a compelling desire to surpass the French monarchy in majesty and monarchical prestige, R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*, (London, 1991), 8; and see also J.W. McKenna, "How God Became an Englishman," *Tudor Rule and Revolution*, ed. D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna, (Cambridge, 1982), 25-43.

individuals to study at university, although this was less out of enlightened educational motives and more due to ties of kinship, such as the money given for study to his half brother Aymer of Lusignan. The king's motives were not charitable; rather he was rewarding the faithful service of devoted civil servants.[1] Edward II founded the King's Hall in Cambridge, and his son completed the project, issuing a royal charter in 1337 raising the society to the status of a properly endowed college.[2]

(ii) Henry IV and Early Lancastrian Piety

Lancastrian piety, while it maintained concerns for St Stephen's Chapel and Westminster,[3] was of a different flavour. Henry V's public religion and his foundation of the Lancastrian "powerhouses of prayer"[4] are the most striking example of the shift in emphasis, away from patronage of traditional monastic orders towards the more vogueish contemplative orders such as the Carthusians and the Bridgettines. Richard II had bridged this gap in patronage by the favour he had shown to the Carthusians,[5] but he had not founded any pious establishments himself

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1 F. Pegues, "Royal Support of Students in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, XXXI (1956), 454-62.

2 A.B. Cobban, *The King's Hall Within the University of Cambridge in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1969), 9-28.

3 Henry IV continued the rebuilding of the Great Hall. The Dean of St Stephen's claimed in 1437 that at least £100 more per year was required for the discharge of all obligations and Henry VI responded by granting St Stephen's the alien priory of Frampton, value £166.13.4.; see Appendix I, pp. 245-296, and Appendix IV, Table 4e, p. 325.

4 The phrase is used by M. B. Tait in his thesis, "The Brigittine Monastery of Syon With Special Reference to its Monastic Uses," D.Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1975).

5 See Appendix I, pp. 245-296, column Richard II, and Appendix IV, Tables 4a, 4b, 4j, 4k, pp. 324, 327-8.

and had certainly not conceived of a dual pious foundation on his own doorstep as a powerful expression of royal piety. Sheen and Syon plainly stood for the personal and public asceticism and the military aspirations of Henry V.

The pious convictions of Henry V's father are much less easy to analyse; nevertheless, in an estimation of Lancastrian polity and piety this problem must be addressed. Apparently Henry Bolingbroke's visit to Jerusalem in the winter of 1392 left such a deep impression on his mind that two years after his return he promised to help Philippe de Mezières start his proposed new Order of the Passion, the aim of which was to teach a practical knowledge of the languages and habits of the East - Greek, Tartar, Arabic, and Armenian - as well as Latin, to prevent ignorance when the time came to drive the Infidel out. Henry's interest should not be exaggerated, however, since, unlike Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Ralph Percy, and Sir Henry Fitzhugh, he did not lend his name to the proposed new order, and the whole idea faded after the death of de Mezières in 1405. His visit to Jerusalem, nevertheless, seems to have had a lasting impression upon him, for in the early years of his reign he wrote to the Prince of Abkazia expressing his longing to see the Holy Sepulchre.[1]

Henry IV's will reveals the traditional piety expressed by his kingly forbears, but also the more fashionable piety associated with

[1] The letter is undated but the editor has assigned it to the period 1399-1404, see *Royal and Historical Letters During the Reign of Henry IV*, Vol I, 1399-1404, ed. F. C. Hingeston, (London, 1860), 421.

favour towards hermits.[1] He granted pensions to many religious houses, both in England and Ireland: fifty marks each to the Franciscans and Dominicans at Oxford, twenty-five marks to the Franciscans at Cambridge, £20 each to the Dominicans in London and the Prior of the Principal Chapter of Dominicans in England, and to the Dominicans in Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, Waterford and Limerick.[2] Henry also paid an annual stipend to several anchorets and anchoresses, although in this he was just continuing payments made by his father.[3]

Details of Henry's character remain elusive. All that Monstrelet had to say was that Henry had been

> "vaillant chevalier, aigre et subtil contre ses ennemis."[4]

After his wife, Mary Bohun, died, he is said to have lived a chaste life until his second marriage nine years later to Joan of Navarre to whom he remained faithful. Contemporary writers Gower and Capgrave described Henry IV as a man of piety, the latter noting his devout interest in the relics displayed in the churches of Venice and Milan.[5] He was a frequent pilgrim to saints' shrines. On the battlefield at Shrewsbury it is said that he wept over the dead body of Hotspur, and

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1 On this trend see J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Mediaeval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, 1988), particularly chapter one which deals with testamentary bequests of the nobility.

2 Wylie, *Henry IV*, IV, 144.

3 For example he granted the hospital of Warnford near Bamborough to Richard Hayzaund, hermit; he gave five timber oaks to another hermit named Thurstan de Okenshaw to repair a bridge at Warrington; he gave six marks annually to Maud Wardesale, a recluse at St Peter's, Leicester, and gave gifts to an anchoress at Lynn in 1392 and to a recluse at Kennington, *ibid.*, 145.

4 *La Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet 1400-1440*, ed. L. Douët D'Arcq, Societé de L'Histoire de France, Vol II, (Paris, 1857-62), 337-8.

5 For Gower see *Political Poems and Songs... from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard II*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols., (London, 1858-61), I, 448, 452, 453. On Capgrave see *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, (London, 1858), 101.

that, offering thanks for his victory, he vowed to build a hospice or cell on behalf of all the slain.[1]

Henry also believed in having his sons well educated. On his accession Gower wrote:

> "Thus tellen thei whiche olde bookes conne
> Whereof, my lord, y wot wel thou art lerned."[2]

Two years after he came to the throne Henry IV engaged to pay a chaplain £5 a year for teaching grammar to the boys of the royal chapel. Unfortunately little else is known about this arrangement other than that the chaplain, John Bugby, seems to have had to wait at least three years before he received any payment for the task.[3] Henry also showed favour to Oxford University. He permitted the extension of the Chancellor's jurisdiction to the suburbs at the expense of the mayor and burgesses of Oxford.[4] In 1405 he presented a large gilt cross to the University at Chancellor Courtenay's request.[5] Courtenay also secured the king's help in improving the University Library.[6] Henry, and later his four sons, were named principal benefactors to the Library.[7] Henry evidently chose his confessors for their high reputation for learning, and advised his sons to do the same. Robert Mascal, for example, was a Carmelite friar conversant with French, Latin, and

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1 *Chronicon Adae De Usk A.D. 1377-1421*, ed. and trans. E. M. Thompson, 2nd edition, (Oxford, 1904), 83, 252-3.

2 *Political Poems*, ed. T. Wright, II, 5.

3 Wylie, *Henry IV*, II, 487.

4 Anstey, *Mun. Acad.*, 345.

5 *Ibid.*, 250.

6 *Ibid.*, 267, 375.

7 *Ibid.*, 266.

Spanish, and had travelled widely.[1]

Henry nevertheless always put political expediency above his religious preferences,[2] the execution of Archbishop Scrope in 1405 being the most notorious example. Henry IV was exonerated from the Archbishop's death by a Bull of Gregory XII, dated 12 April 1408, on the grounds that he had not actually been present when Scrope was seized and that he consented to the death penalty due to pressure from those around him. Henry is said to have undertaken to found three monasteries of the strictest orders (that is the Carthusians, the Bridgettines, and the Celestines) in recompense for the execution. It has been assumed that Henry made no effort to carry out this undertaking, if he had indeed made such a promise, and no provision for such was

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[1] Henry's confessors were Hugh Herlee 1390-2, Robert Mascall from 1399 who became Bishop of Hereford in 1404, Nichols Bubwith, later Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1403, and from the same date Friar Robert Kendal, Philip Repingdon, the former Lollard sympathiser from 1404; he was four times Chancellor of Oxford University and became Bishop of Lincoln in 1405. He was considered one of the most learned men of his day and was an intimate friend of Henry IV. Roger Coringham, Archdeacon of York since 1405, was the king's chaplain from 1409 to 1411, and from 1412 the king was served in this capacity by the Dominican Dr John Tille, who was granted an annuity of forty marks on 4 January 1413, *CPR 1408-13*, 452.

[2] Wylie's history of Henry IV is full of such examples; in October 1399 Henry made a public statement in parliament criticising the bishops for their greediness, fraud, and abuses committed in their name in the ecclesiastical courts, (I, 37); for his execution of a hermit see I, 368; his execution of Archbishop Scrope; his outspoken contempt for fawning clerks who loitered at his court, II, 352; his attitude towards the sentence of excommunication passed by Innocent in 1405, II, 346; his execution of the friars, I, 278 - the heads of seven greyfriars were sent to be fixed on walls and pillories at Coventry, Northampton, York, Nottingham, Stamford, Leicester, and Aylesbury until removed for burial on 10 November 1404, *CCIR 1402-5*, 388-9. Indeed in Prague John Hus had praised Henry IV for laying his hands on the Church's wealth, hanging rebellious monks, and executing Archbishop Scrope, Wylie, *Henry IV*, IV, 146 note 8.

included in the king's will.[1] Evidence does exist, however, to suggest that a Bridgettine foundation was in fact being planned during the reign of Henry IV and that this was initiated as early as 1406, before the alleged promise to the pope to found three monasteries. The first hint of this may be detected when Henry IV's daughter, Philippa, married Eric, the king of Sweden, Norway and Denmark in 1406. She was accompanied to Sweden by Henry Fitzhugh and the two visited the Bridgettine mother house of Vadstena. Fitzhugh took with him a charter in which he granted his manor of Cherry Hinton as an endowment for a proposed Bridgettine house in England. The terms of the charter make it obvious that the idea had been discussed in high circles before Fitzhugh left England. For example one of the trustees was to be Bishop Langley who must already have known. In addition the charter also envisaged grants by the king and other magnates to complement that made by Fitzhugh.[2] Although there were no tangible results at this time - Fitzhugh's property did not pass to Syon until 1444 and in 1408 two Swedish monks arrived and were looked after by Fitzhugh but they waited in England for seven years without seeing any results - Henry IV was more interested in the project that has commonly been suggested. In a letter written from Pontefract, dated 26 April

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[1] The will he made on 21 January 1409 was short and concise and does not even mention the bestowal of his personal effects or funeral arrangements. Presumably the brevity of the will was related to the king's bouts of severe illness which he was forced to endure during the last several years of the reign. The illness may have sharpened dramatically, preventing a detailed will from being made. The will nevertheless expressed the king's desire to be buried in Canterbury Cathedral, not in St Paul's where the bodies of his parents lay. Henry had favoured St Paul's in other ways: he had given land and houses in London for the maintenance there of an obit for his parents, and he had also given a chalice, a missal, and a Sarum portos.

[2] For the charter see Tait, D. Phil. thesis, 52-4.

1408, for example, Henry IV told the Swedish Bridgettines that he approved of Fitzhugh's plan and that he wished to be the special friend and Protector of the Order.[1] In addition, a letter from John and Katullus, the two Swedish monks, revealed that in the autumn of 1408 Henry was petitioning the Pope for permission to turn the hospital of St Leonard in York into a Bridgettine house.[2] These letters show Henry IV in a much more active light, and the delay was not due to lack of interest on the part of the king, but to illness, financial problems, political division, and to problems in Sweden too. By Henry V's reign these problems had been resolved, and the position of Fitzhugh, the Bridgettine patron, had improved, since, from 1415 he was Lord Chamberlain. Moreover, Henry V tended to ignore the problems of the mother house in Sweden. He did not cooperate closely with the Bridgettine authorities in Sweden over the foundation at Syon, as he was supposed to do.[3] Despite the interest shown by Henry IV, his son developed the project as very much his own along with the help of his chamberlain, and from 1431 it was for Henry V and Fitzhugh that the monastery kept obits, not for Henry IV.

Henry IV's interest in the Bridgettine order, nevertheless seems genuine enough, although whether this interest was fostered solely by Fitzhugh is difficult to know. Henry IV was involved in other foundations too including Pontefract College and the chantry at

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1 *Ibid.*, 54.

2 *Ibid.*, citing BL Add Ms 24062, f.150.

3 See below pp. 41-44.

Shrewsbury. Pontefract College had been founded in 1388 by Sir Robert Knolles for thirteen old men or women who had come to poverty through misadventure. Knolles had endowed the almshouse liberally. On 9 November 1408, when he was very ill, Henry IV refounded the almshouse as the College of the Holy Trinity of Pontefract, and declared himself the founder.[1] During this period of his illness the king evidently thought again about his proposal to build a shrine at Shrewsbury where the dead had been buried in a number of large pits. The owner of the land, Richard Hussee esquire, had declared himself willing to give up the two acres of land to Roger Ive, the rector, on condition that a chapel should be built on it and daily masses said for the slain. Henry had given his consent to this three years previously but nothing had yet come of the project. Henry's final consent was granted on 17 March 1409 for a chantry with six chaplains.[2] In August 1409 lead for the roof was sent from Derbyshire at the king's expense and work was begun in earnest. The chapel erected was named the Chantry of St Mary Magdalene in Shrewsbury. Henry IV long enjoyed the reputation of being the founder but in reality he did very little to justify the claim, and his efforts were certainly a poor comparison to those of his half sister, Joan Beaufort, and her husband the Earl of Westmoreland at Staindrop, or to those of his cousin the Duke of York at Fotheringhay.

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[1] The grant of this date gave licence for the college to acquire £10 worth of land in mortmain and declared "of which the king is at present the founder and he and his heirs the Dukes of Lancaster will be for ever founders," *CPR 1408-13*, 32-3.

[2] *CPR 1408-13*, 59.

What is perhaps more revealing of Henry's piety is a religious fervour rooted in the familial piety of the Lancastrians and centred around the College of St Mary-in-the-Newarke in Leicester. Originally this had been established as a hospital by Henry Earl of Lancaster in 1330. Lancaster's purpose had been to provide a fitting burial place and chantry establishment for himself and his family. Lancaster had intended to found a chantry at his castle at Higham Ferrers but this did not occur, in part due to the family's disgrace following the execution of Thomas of Lancaster in 1322.[1] The political fortunes of the House of Lancaster revived in 1330 with the death of Mortimer and the favour of Edward III, and Lancaster decided upon a more ambitious foundation at Leicester. The ordinances were written under his close supervision and are testimony to his high moral and religious zeal. There were to be five permanent chaplains, of whom one was also to be the Warden. The clerks were to serve in church and there were to be fifty poor and infirm men and women, with twenty of these as permanent inmates in a house adjoining the church. The inmates were to be looked after by five women who were to live in a house adjoining the church.[2]

Lancaster died in 1345. His son Henry, Earl of Derby since 1335, became Duke of Lancaster when the earldom was converted into a duchy in 1350. On his return from fighting in Gascony Lancaster brought home with him what was claimed to be a thorn from the Holy

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[1] Earl Henry's familial pride was such that he made efforts to have his disgraced and attainted brother canonised; on this see A. H. Thompson, *The History of the Hospital of the New College of the Annunciation of St Mary-in-the-Newarke, Leicester*, (Leicester, 1937), 12 and note 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14.

Cross which St Louis had enshrined in the Sainte-Chapelle. Henry presented this relic to his hospital at Leicester. On 28 November 1351 he received letters patent to enlarge the hospital into a college with a dean and canons. A papal bull to this effect was granted 14 December 1353.[1] On 4 October 1354 a dean was appointed with twelve canons, thirteen vicars, six choristers, three clerks, a hundred poor men and ten women to tend the poor. The charter of foundation and endowment dates from 1355 when the hospital was finally converted into a college. This was confirmed by letters patent dated 18 May 1356.[2]

The Duke died in 1361 leaving two daughters Maud and Blanche. Maud survived her father for only a short time and so the entire inheritance passed to Blanche and her husband John of Gaunt who proved to be generous benefactors to the college. The works there progressed without a break for some years after the death of the Duke in 1361. Letters of protection issued by Edward III in 1361 were confirmed by Richard II.[3] On 2 July 1392 the college was granted a licence to acquire £40 worth of lands and rents in mortmain for a payment of £50.[4] The buildings, however, remained incomplete, for although John of Gaunt showed interest in the project he did not share the devotion of his father-in-law, and for twenty-five years after 1374 there is no evidence of any active connection with the college until a short time before his death. On 16 February 1397 he obtained a writ of

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1 *CPL III 1342-62*, 490.

2 *CPR 1354-8*, 405.

3 On 14 November 1378, *CPR 1377-81*, 294.

4 *CPR 1391-6*, 106.

aid for the hiring of men and materials to complete the work at his own expense.[1] After Gaunt's death in 1399 the dean and canons petitioned Richard II to continue payments to the college out of the Duke's escheated lands, custody of which had been granted to Edward, Duke of Aumâle, later Duke of York, on the forfeiture of Bolingbroke's estates. Gaunt's will provided for the foundation of two chantries, one in St Paul's where he and his wife were buried, the other in the college at Leicester where his second wife, Constance of Castile, lay.[2]

Following his seizure of the throne Henry IV reconfirmed to the college the 1361 letters of protection on 10 November 1399,[3] and on 9 March 1400 issued a writ of aid for men and materials so that work at the college might continue.[4] A similar writ of 26 March states that Gaunt had desired to complete the buildings.[5] On 4 July 1400 Henry IV granted the church of Preston in Lancashire for the chantry founded at the college for Gaunt and his second wife Constance.[6] In June 1404 Henry exempted the college from all extraordinary contributions during the Glyndwr rebellion, due to the college being hindered in receiving the fruits of its property in Camaerthen.[7]

Neither John of Gaunt nor Henry IV was buried at the college,

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1 *CPR 1396-9*, 74.

2 Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 159-60.

3 *CPR 1399-1401*, 139.

4 *Ibid.*, 230.

5 *Ibid.*, 247.

6 *Ibid.*, 341; licensed by letters patent of 8 March 1403, *CPR 1401-5*, 210.

7 *CPR 1401-5*, 397, dated 5 June 1404. For further grants of privilege see *CPR 1408-13*, 171, 196-7; *CChR 1341-1417*, 432-3, 451-2.

but each of them buried a wife there.[1] In addition Gaunt had buried three of his sons there, all of whom had died in infancy, Edward, John, and John, so, although the Dukes of Lancaster themselves were not buried at the college it was very much a family mausoleum, in which succeeding generations maintained a strong interest. Indeed one of Henry V's first acts after becoming king in 1413 was to commission a London coppersmith named William Godezer to make an effigy of his mother "ornated with divers arms of the kings of England" to be placed over her tomb.[2]

The buildings of the college were still incomplete when Henry V came to the throne. He issued a writ to hire workmen on 8 November 1414.[3] This is the last such writ so it seems likely that the works were finally finished soon after this date. On 16 March 1416 Henry granted the church of Bradford in Yorkshire to the college, with licence to appropriate.[4] This was especially for the maintenance of the obit for his mother Mary Bohun. Continuing familial interest in the college was also shown by Henry's brother the Duke of Clarence, whose will of 1417 specified provision for the purchase of a church, the fruits of which, worth forty marks, were to be applied to the maintenance of a chantry of two priests at the college.[5] The minority council of Henry

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1 Mary Bohun had died in 1394.

2 Colvin, I, 267.

3 *CPR 1413-16*, 265.

4 *Ibid.*, 382-3.

5 This does not seem to have taken effect, see A. H. Thompson, *History*, 96-7.

VI confirmed a number of earlier favours.[1]

The importance of highlighting this familial piety is that it adds an important further dimension to the perceptions of Lancastrian royal piety and its preoccupations. When the Lancastrians ascended the throne in 1399 they did so with a ducal not a monarchical heritage. Their dynastic lineage and aspirations had consequently been less publicly expressed than that of their late Plantagenet forbears. It is the nature of this familial piety which contributed to a differently adorned public face of kingship at the opening of the fifteenth century; one which reached its apogee under Henry V.

[1] The charters granted to the college by Henry IV on 13 July 1407 and by Henry V on 20 May 1413 were confirmed on 4 December 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 162. On 6 May 1424 two licences were issued to the college granting certain property for the maintenance of a chantry and two chaplains, *ibid.*, 200.

CHAPTER THREE
The Pious and Political Legacy of Henry V

Henry V's involvement in the establishment of the two religious houses of Sheen and Syon on the Thames was personal, industrious, and guided firmly by his own hand. While he had associates such as his chamberlain Henry, Lord Fitzhugh who showed similar religious and pious preferences, indeed Fitzhugh's role in establishing the Bridgettines in England since 1406 was paramount, it is obvious that the two foundations were most definitely "the king's own houses".[1] Many royal founders, on a closer examination of their dealings, can be seen to have neglected the day to day business of endowment in favour of lavish spending on the trappings as a means of self-advertisement.[2] Such a claim cannot be made of Henry V. All manner of his arrangements for the Sheen and Syon foundations are lucid illustrations of his well known characteristics: self-assertiveness, self-confidence, intelligence, dynamism, and a profound personal piety. He intended work to begin at Sheen very shortly after ascending the throne on 20 March 1413. By 7 April John Strange had been appointed Clerk of Works; by 18 July John Skipton was surveyor; and by 28 September John Hertishorne had become controller.[3] In a letter to the Prior of the Grand Chartreuse

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[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, eds. F. Taylor and J.S. Roskell, (Oxford, 1975), 146-7.

[2] W.M. Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum*, LXIV (1989), 875-6.

[3] *CPR 1413-16*, 11, 59, 99.

Henry expressed his wish to make the foundation and requested help with it.[1] No date survives for the letter although its wording twice suggests that it was issued before Sheen's first foundation charter dated 15 September 1414.[2] This again testifies to the king's sense of urgency; according to a statute of the first Carthusian General Chapter in 1142 its approval had to be sought before work on any new foundation could begin,[3] a procedure which was apparently still followed in the fifteenth century to judge by correspondence between the authorities at Grand Chartreuse and the founder of the Scottish charterhouse at Perth, James I of Scotland.[4]

A similar turn of events may be witnessed at Syon. Henry laid the foundation stone on 22 February 1415, but it was not until after he issued its foundation charter dated 3 March 1415 that he wrote to the authorities of the Swedish mother house of Vadstena requesting assistance with the project.[5] Nor does there seem to have been anyone with whom Henry regularly consulted regarding the building process at Syon, since two English brothers had to be sent to Vadstena to seek advice on the matter in 1427, returning with exact specifications.[6] St Bridget had left very specific instructions on the form of foundations which were afterwards to carry her name, and Henry's foundation at

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1 BL Add. MS. 24062, f.145, quoted by Neil Beckett in his thesis, "Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation to its Dissolution," D. Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1992), Appendix I, pp.193-4.

2 On the dating of this letter see *ibid.*, 193.

3 *Ibid.*, 16 n.43 quoting J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLIII (Paris, 1880), 1126.

4 N.R. Beckett, "The Perth Charterhouse Before 1500," *Analecta Cartusiana*, 128 (Salzburg, 1988), 2.

5 Tait, D. Phil. thesis, 58. Nor did Henry obtain the Pope's permission in advance which St Bridget had demanded, Beckett, D. Phil. thesis, 17 note 49.

6 *Ibid.*, 18, n.56.

Syon appears not to have conformed to the standard pattern. Indeed, Henry acknowledged in his Supplica for Syon's foundation, addressed to Pope martin V in 1417, that mistakes might well have been made.[1] His forcefulness in promoting the foundation schemes was the subject of reproach by Bridgettine authorities in 1418, which claimed that following the procurement of Martin V's approval for the Syon foundation the king was not making an equal effort to seek confirmation of the Bridgettine Rule.[2]

Plans for the proposed Celestine house offer a similar insight into Henry's attitudes, for here the foundation had progressed to quite an advanced stage before negotiations with the appropriate authorities collapsed in July 1415 and hundreds of pounds had been wasted.[3]

If further proof were required of Henry V's determination to be in charge of affairs of church as well as affairs of state, and of the degree to which he was deeply and personally committed to the foundation projects, an examination of the enrolled clerk of works accounts will reveal that the source of funding for the foundations came from the Chamber, a more flexible source of royal finance than the Exchequer. From a total of £63,651 accounted for by the clerks of works between 1378 and 1485 only £8,171 (approximately 12%) was drawn from the Chamber, and virtually all of this (£7,363 or 90%) was

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1 Particularly in regard to architecture: "supplentes omnes defectus si qui forsan intervenerint," *The Incendium Amoris*, ed. M. Deanesley, (Manchester, 1915), Appendix I, 133.

2 Tait, D. Phil. thesis, 59.

3 PRO E 364/58, 6d-7d, Beckett, D. Phil. thesis, 21, 36-9.

accounted for by John Strange between 1413 and 1419 for the works at Sheen.[1]

Bequests to Sheen and Syon in Henry V's last will, dated 10 June 1421, further reveal the depth of the king's commitment to his foundation projects. The comparatively weaker state of the royal finances in 1421 obliged Henry to be less generous in his last will than he had been in his first. For example, the total left to the royal household was down by 60% from £10,000 to £4,000, but the bequest to Sheen was as before, 10,000 marks, while the bequest to Syon as actually larger.[2]

Henry's involvement in and pronouncements upon the governance of his foundation provide further evidence of his commitment, and reveal also a certain high-handedness in his dealings. Sheen's first prior, John Widrington, former procurator of the London Charterhouse, was apparently appointed by the king before permission had been obtained from the Grand Chartreuse.[3] He behaved similarly in his appointment of Matilda Newton as Abbess of Syon, and William Alnwick as Confessor-General. There appears to have been a conflict, or at the least a disagreement, over the extent of the jurisdiction to be exercised between Newton and Alnwick. Henry chose not to refer the matter to the Bridgettine authorities, but dealt with it himself.[4] Nor

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1 PRO E 364/58, 7-7d.. Henry also organised his campaigns in England, Wales and France largely through the Chamber, G. L. Harriss, "Financial Policy", *The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss, (Oxford, 1985), 159-79.

2 P. Strong, "The Last Will and Codicils of Henry V", *EHR*, XCVI (1981), 79-102, p.83.

3 Beckett, D. Phil. thesis, 23-4.

4 *Ibid.*, 29.

did he allow the Syon community to choose its own abbess, Joan North, or its own confessor-general, Thomas Fishbourne, until 1420.

With regard to Henry's desire to staff his foundation as quickly as possible, his hope in soon being able to fill Sheen with forty monks should be seen as evidence of his keenness rather than indicative of his immediate expectations, considering the difficulties he encountered in finding just a dozen monks, and that the two next largest charterhouses in England, Mountgrace and London, eventually accommodated only twenty-five monks apiece.

The arrangements Henry V made for the endowments of Sheen and Syon, while indicating the strength of his commitment and the depth of his intent, reveal the means by which the foundations were facilitated, both being extensively endowed with the properties of alien priories. In the case of Sheen these may be examined in the three foundation charters, the first dated 25 September 1414, and the second and third both dated 1 April 1415. Provision for endowments to Syon may be found in the first foundation charter dated 3 March 1415, and in letters patent issued to the abbey's trustees dated 20 April 1416.[1] Henry's industry echoes that of William of Wykeham who purchased a quantity of alien priories for his collegiate foundations at Winchester and Oxford.[2]

In addition to the protracted and complicated transactions

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[1] Appendix IV, Tables 4f (Sheen) and 4g (Syon), pp. 325-326, show the extent to which Henry made use of alien priory resources.

[2] Appendix IV, Tables 3g (New) and 3l (Winchester), pp. 322-323; 1391 was a particularly active year for the bishop in this respect.

necessary to procure the alien priory properties Henry was also careful to make extensive provision for the loss to his foundations of any of these possessions. In the case of Sheen the monks were to be assigned £400 according to the second foundation charter, and £466 according to the third such charter, from miscellaneous royal sources, in case of loss, until they were endowed with other properties of equal worth. As far as Syon was concerned, the foundation charter stated that the abbey was to draw one thousand marks annually from the Exchequer until it too was provided with possessions of equal worth. Henry V went as far as to assert that nothing at all should be distributed at the Exchequer, even to his own or to his successors' use, until the Syon community had been fully satisfied.[1]

The foregoing account is ample testimony to Henry V's generosity, insight, determination, and deep personal commitment to his foundation projects. His example was a powerful demonstration of what the pious founder might achieve, given the personal drive and necessary resources. Henry spent large sums of money on the detailed series of physical arrangements, and incurred further costs from his commitment to a plan for compensation and contingency payments. It was he who corresponded with the Grand Chartreuse. It was against him that the Bridgettine authorities lodged complaints with Martin V against a disregard of Bridgettine regulations. Above all it was he who had put the alien priory resources to some national use, to strengthen and

[1] *Monasticon*, VI, 543.

enhance the image and achievements of the Lancastrian monarchy.

This image was central to Henry V's political preoccupations and is manifested in the king's striking propagandist concerns. These are revealed in the wording of the Sheen and Syon foundation charters in which the king's involvement is plain. Although he is unlikely to have composed the documents himself in their entirety there is convincing evidence to suggest that the style and substance of the charters were the result of the king's direct influence. It is well known that the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* was an officially sanctioned work whose purposes were largely propagandist and motivated by an overriding desire to convince both the political community at home, and the Emperor Sigismund as well as representatives of the Council of Constance abroad, of the justice of the king's cause in pursuance of his aims across the Channel.[1] There are striking similarities between a number of phrases in the *Gesta* and the Sheen and Syon foundation charters. It may well be that the author of the *Gesta* also had a hand in the composition of the foundation charters.[2] Even if it was not the same man the close parallels in phraseology between the *Gesta* and the charters are persuasively indicative of royal scrutiny over all the documents, and given the king's temperament and concerns it seems extremely doubtful that his guidance was not at the heart of these compositions. The Prologue to Sheen's

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[1] For a full discussion of the propagandist intent of the *Gesta* see *Gesta*, editors' introduction, xviii - xlix.

[2] On the authorship see *ibid.*, introduction, p. xviii; it is known that the author was a cleric, a clerk of the king's chapel at least during the period 1414-16, possibly a royal chaplain, who was present in the clerical retinue accompanying Henry V on the first campaign, to judge by the *Gesta*'s eyewitness account of the battle of Agincourt.

foundation charters offers as forceful a written expression of Henry's style of kingship as is found in the *Gesta*, albeit on a smaller scale. Both have many themes and scriptural allusions in common.[1] The Prologue contains references to success against opponents at home as well as those abroad, and to the subjection of men.[2] In outlining the reasons for calling the new charterhouse "The House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Shene" the Prologue explains that this is because, like Jesus, Henry V had cast down heretics, preserved the true faith, and given peace abroad and security at home.[3] In almost identical vein the dedication of the Syon foundation calls Henry "a true son of the God of peace, who gave peace and taught peace, and chose St Bridget as a lover of peace and tranquillity."[4] In both cases Henry is presented as the just warrior rather than the warmongerer; a monarch who sought only his rights, and who would go to war only when the way of peace had been denied him. This exact image of Henry V is in evidence throughout the entire text of the *Gesta*:

> "He began his reign like the true elect of God savouring the things that are above, he applied his mind with all devotion to encompass what could promote the honour of God, the extension of the church, the deliverance of his country, and the peace and tranquillity of kingdoms."[5]

Henry V's foundation processes at Sheen and Syon are not the only way in which he may have influenced subsequent royal founders,

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[1] For the scriptural allusions in the Sheen charters see Beckett, D. Phil. thesis, 84-5, which discusses Henry's use of the name Jesus as a way of making Henry more Christ like by representing Jesus as a man, and also see *ibid.*, Appendix II notes.

[2] *Ibid.*, Appendix II, 198-242.

[3] "pacificat aemulos exteriores et domat intrinsecos", *ibid.*, 84-5, and Wylie, *Henry V*, I, 215 n.7.

[4] J.G. Aungier, *The Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, (London, 1840), 26.

[5] *Gesta*, 3.

for it is alleged that he intended to establish a theological college at Oxford.[1] The example provided by Henry V as a pious founder is a valuable yardstick by which to measure the sincerity of other founders, but it is not the industry of Henry V alone which may have influenced others. It is necessary to examine not merely the outward manifestations of Henry's commitment to his foundation projects but the motives which underpinned them. The thematic similarities between both the Sheen and Syon foundation charters and the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* is the obvious example of Henry V's wider purpose in founding two religious houses. He was not simply following the traditional type of pious patronage practised by his forbears, nor was he looking for a quick way of disposing of the alien priories in England.[2] In fact, the idea to found Sheen and Syon lay at the very heart of the king's

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[1] Dugdale attributes Henry VI's foundation plans entirely to his father's plans for an Oxford college when he argues that Henry VI endowed Eton and King's College with alien priories "in pursuance of his father's design to appropriate them all to a noble college at Oxford", *Monasticon*, VI, 985. The claim is based on that made by Thomas Gascoigne: "Sic rex Henricus Quintus proposuit firmiter reformasse universitatem Oxoniensem et eorum statuta, edita per juvenes, ita quod regentes nunquam dispensassent cum aliquo statuto universitatis; et idem rex dixit se facturum collegium theologorum in artistarum in castro Oxoniae et annectare eis omnes prioratus in Anglia quae pertinebant alienigenis extra regnum; et hoc voluit ex licencia papae, sed morte praeventus est: et filius suus Henricus Sextus, in juventute sua dedit dictos prioratus collegio de Eton juxta Windesore et collegio Sancti Nicholai in Cantibrigia", Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, J.E.T. Rogers, (Oxford, 1881), 218-9.

[2] It is probable that Henry would have founded Sheen and Syon even if he had not been able to endow them with foreign abbeys, since he was willing to finance the projects from other sources, such as the Chamber mentioned above. In addition, the contingency payments and plans for compensation were to be likewise funded from sources other than alien priory revenues. Henry V did not suppress the alien priories so that he could establish two new religious houses; the impetus for suppression came from the Commons rather than the king; see above pp. 7-15. Of course the alien priory revenues did prove to be invaluable to both foundations; this is clear from the arrangement of the Sheen archive and its Register which begins with a memorandum of the 1414 Act of Suppression and is organised under the headings of the foreign abbeys, Beckett, D. Phil. thesis, 43 note 4. Sheen's subsequent long struggle with Saint-Evroul over its alien possessions reflects this importance, *ibid.*, 62-6. By the first of Sheen's foundation charters the monastery would have had the English lands of Fécamp, but in the second charter Sheen was instead granted the lands of Lire; those of Fécamp had been granted by the king to Syon's trustees by letters patent dated 20 April 1416, *CPR 1416-22*, 34-5.

governmental scheme. The variety of motives that have been put forward to explain the king's actions have their origin in just one aim: the promotion of the English monarchy. The pious, spiritual, charitable, political, propagandist intentions stem from this single priority.[1] It was a powerful preoccupation, and one which he had entertained before ascending the throne to judge by the following passage in the *Gesta*:

> "And so, amid the storms and stresses caused by these painful experiences, the mind of the king remained firm and was unshakable; nay rather, abiding by his former most devout intention to extend the Church and encompass the peace of kingdoms, he first began the foundation of three monasteries ... all near his manor house of Sheen which, razed to the ground ever since the time of the death of Queen Anne, he had resolved to restore to a better, a more sumptuous, and a far grander state than before." [2]

As the *Gesta* was the literary expression of Henry V's kingship, so were Sheen and Syon intended as important physical representations of that kingship. Henry's exaltation of English kingship was the keynote of his reign, and as a result of his military achievements and the responsibilities incurred by the Dual Monarchy, as well as the

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[1] Beckett has analysed a variety of the king's alleged motives in chapter 3 of his thesis, 67ff., including a discussion of the 'expiation theory'; whether Henry V was carrying out the foundations in fulfilment of his father's promise to the Pope to found three religious houses in atonement for the murder of Archbishop Scrope. Beckett concludes that it would be a mistake to ignore this motive, although he might usefully have emphasised that this motive may also be seen as part of Henry V's plan for the promotion of the image of his dynasty. The most valuable assessment of Henry V's motives for foundation is that given by Jeremy Catto in his article "Religious Change Under Henry V" in *The Practice of Kingship*, ed. Harriss, 97-115, in which he argues that Sheen and Syon should be seen as a "spiritual household for the king", *ibid.*, 111, a "double foundation", *ibid.*, 106, designed to reassert royal authority in the wake of his father's troubled later years by validating a new stage of the war effort against the French; this would be achieved by having the prayers of devout men and women sung constantly for the king and his military companions-in-arms in two houses situated closely together on the Thames near the seat of the Lancastrian dynasty: "In conception ... it was by far the most ambitious monastic foundation attempted by an English king, and one designed to place the monarchy at the spiritual centre of English life", *ibid.*, 110.

[2] *Gesta*, 12-13.

potentially harmful effects that might accrue from a long period of minority rule, it was something that was destined to exert a significant influence upon his political heirs.[1]

It is well known what strain the martial achievements of Henry V placed upon those who remained to govern the realm. Many of the men who had served on the battlefield and in the council chamber were now invested with the weighty responsibilities of protecting Henry V's territorial gains in France, his young son, and both the theoretical notion and the physical actuality of the Dual Monarchy. The evocative memories of Henry V's achievements, and the need to do them justice in the face of a long period of minority rule figured large in the minds of those who had so recently served him and provoked much thought about the image of the Lancastrian monarchy.

Henry V had been a master in the art of propaganda. One need look no further than the royally sanctioned *Gesta Henrici Quinti* which championed the justice of the English cause, portrayed Henry V as the paragon of Christian virtue, and bemoaned the perfidious nature of the French; or the skilful exploitation of the Agincourt victory on the streets of London and in the Commons; as well as the very public reflection of the king's piety expressed at Sheen and Syon.

The physical and emotional legacy of Henry V was such a potent force in the minds of those who had served him that, just as they sought

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[1] On the English monarchy's development of its divinely sanctioned authority see J.W. McKenna, "How God Became an Englishman", *Tudor Rule and Revolution*, ed. D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna, (Cambridge, 1982), 25-43.

to uphold and protect his actual achievements, detailed in his will and in the terms of the Treaty of Troyes, so did they also seek to perpetuate that pride in the Lancastrian name he had so gloriously kindled, a desire strongly fostered by the king's early death which threatened to undermine all for which he had striven.

Historians have recorded in minute detail the factionalism and the rivalries of the minority councillors. What is less often remarked upon, however, is the real consensus behind the bickering facade; the councillors were not frivolously indulging in idle slander and petty backbiting, but on the contrary, were taking their responsibilities very seriously indeed. While it is true that Gloucester and Beaufort harboured considerable personal animosity towards each other, this stemmed primarily from Gloucester's interpretation of his role, as set out in his brother's will, and then escalated because his ideas on how relations with France ought to have been conducted differed markedly from those of Beaufort and others.

Bedford's concern for the governance of both realms was no less sincere. His presence in England was required on numerous occasions to mediate between Gloucester and Beaufort, despite his primary sphere of activity after the death of his brother being in English dominions in France. Bedford was in many ways a worthy successor to Henry V, not least in his appreciation and application of propagandist tools. He can clearly be seen to have regarded the image of the Lancastrian monarchy as being of paramount importance, a concern which manifested itself in

his propagandist attempts to dispose Henry VI's French subjects more favourably to the idea of acknowledging a Lancastrian as their ruler. Under Bedford, the regency government made great efforts to convince the French of the legitimacy of Henry VI's claims, whilst also trying to reassure the English that the Dual Monarchy could be to their greater glory rather than prejudicial to their interests.

In the 1420s Anglo-Gallic coin issues began to depart more radically from the designs struck by French mints. Bedford introduced disciplinary ordinances into France in 1423 in which he used an anti-Dauphinist propaganda, by ordering, for example, that the disinherited Charles VII and his followers were never to be referred to as 'the French' but rather as the Armagnacs. In the same year Bedford also commissioned verses from an Anglo-French royal notary named Laurence Calot setting forth Henry VI's dual descent from the French as well as the English royal house, evidently to complement a pictorial genealogy, which he probably had hung side by side in Notre Dame. There is evidence to suggest that he had multiple copies made and therefore intended to distribute them throughout the country. Bedford was here concerned with French rather than English public opinion, for he did not trouble about an English translation. It was left to the Earl of Warwick in 1426 to mobilise English opinion in favour of the Dual Monarchy:

> "This figure makith clere demonstracione .. That this Herry .. is justly borne .. For to be kyng of Englond and of Fraunce."[1]

[1] B.J.H. Rowe, "King Henry's Claim to France in Picture and Poem", *The Library*, 4th series, XIII (1933), 77-89.

The French version was written within a few months of Bedford's coming to France as regent. In an attempt to rally the Burgundians the poem tells of the Dauphin's responsibility for the death of John the Fearless, and as an appeal to the French the poem emphasises that Henry VI was the grandson of Charles VI, therefore all who loved Charles should transfer their affections to Henry. Bedford's shrewd grasp of dynastic advertisement was demonstrated again in pageant form in 1429 when he caused to be staged a reenactment of the Montereau murder of John the Fearless by the Armagnacs whilst entertaining the Duke of Burgundy in Paris. The coronation ceremonies of the young Henry VI both in London, and in Paris in 1431, were themselves propaganda exercises. Whether or not these were really antecedents and models "for later Yorkist and Tudor attempts to create a public opinion favourable to their own dubious claims of dynastic legitimacy," these publicist techniques were certainly developed to bolster the minority government of the last Lancastrian monarch, both in England and France.[1]

Gloucester too had a keen sense of the royal dignity and an ability to raise this concern in propagandist outlooks. Whether the literary efforts he promoted enjoyed anything more than a limited appeal is of secondary importance here. What is worth noting is that like his elder brothers Gloucester also sought to promote the name of the House of Lancaster. He patronised such works as Lydgate's *Fall Of Princes* in the

[1] J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy; Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII (1965), 145-62, 162.

1430s, and caused the poet to add many passages of moral commentary and didactic injunctions spoken by 'envoys'.[1] Another example is Gloucester's commission for his poet and orator Tito Livio Frulovisi to write a biography of Henry V, in which Henry was portrayed as the hero king. It was an eminently propagandist biography which appeared in c.1437/8 when Gloucester was in need of a political boost; note the eulogy to Gloucester at the beginning of the volume, and also the encouragement to Henry VI to emulate the glories of his father, a plea to the king to see things Gloucester's way, but also echoing the more unselfish sentiment of good kingship. The Prologue of Tito Livio is directed to Henry VI thus:

> "I hard thee, skarse of two yeares, to be left Successor and heire of so greate a Kinge, and to be committed to the gouernaunce and tuition of the most noble and famous Prince, Humphrie the Duke of Gloucester, thine vncle, who was to thie father the youngest brother amongst foure, and most was fauoured and beloued of him, and also expert and in doctryned in his studies and disciplines. He was the Councellor; the helper and follower of all acts of thie father the Kinge, and after his departure from this present life he nourished thee tenderly and faithfullie .. This Duke Humphrie exceeded all princes that then lived in the studie of Letters as well in diuine as in humane sciences, whose glorious fame, and the desire I had to laboure .. mooued me to come into this realme unto thie saide vncle."

Gloucester's attitude to the war, and how Henry VI should react in regard to it, is voiced by Livio in the last part of the Prologue:

> ".. not that I prefer and laude warr and discention, rather then tranquillitie and peace; but if thou mayest haue none honest peace, that then thou shalt seeke peace and rest wth victorie to both thie realmes by thy vertue and battaile, and by those feates by wch thie Father attamed both his aduersaries and thine. And euer in all works intend thou to ensue the vertuous manners of that Godly Kinge, thie Father."[2]

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[1] A.S.G. Edwards, "The Influence of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* c.1440-59: A Survey", *Medieval Studies*, XXXIX (1977), 424-39.

[2] *The First English Life of Henry V*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, (Oxford, 1911), 6-7. For the Latin source see *Titi Livii Forojuliensis Vita Henrici Quinti*, ed. T. Hearne, (Oxford, 1716), 1-3.

Another didactic work of a similar nature is known to us from this period. This is the *Tractatus De Regimine Principum.*[1] It too was written for Henry VI and places great emphasis on the dignity of the prince and his responsibilities. Particular importance is attached to the king's need to consult wise and experienced councillors. It is entirely possible that this clerically composed tract[2] was also inspired by Gloucester, particularly if the view is accepted that the date of the tract's composition was the late 1430s at a time when Gloucester was trying to win back lost political influence.[3] Evidence for this may be cited from a passage at the very beginning of the work in which the author mentions an event perpetrated by Gloucester: the prestige of the king's victorious father has been passed on to the son, and the setback experienced by the English negotiators at Arras in the summer of 1435 has been offset by more recent successes, notably the raising of the siege of Calais by the Duke of Gloucester in July 1436. Peace is a recurring theme in the tract,[4] but peace which would not be detrimental to English honour, nor to the conquests which the English held justly, a

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1 *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J.-Ph. Genet, *Camden Society*, 4th series, XVIII (1977).

2 *Ibid.*, 42-4.

3 *Ibid.*, 44-5. But see M. L. Kekewich, "Books of Advice For Princes in Fifteenth Century England With Particular Reference to the Period 1450-85", Ph.D. thesis, (Open University, 1987), 61-3, who hypothesises what Genet did not; that the work should be assigned to the period following the king's marriage, since it mentions the king's wife: "However, you may be fortunate in having offspring, for children contribute to the common good. For that reason man and wife are joined. For the purpose of expediting procuration you should cleave inseparably to your most gracious queen" (Part II, Chapter I, Genet, 107). Kekewich also cites the passage: "Perpetual fortune for your most splendid family and for your most imperial queen," (Genet, 103), and believes it likely that the author of the tract used, as his starting point, Stafford's sermon at the opening of the 1442 parliament, which advocated a virtuous life, peace with France, and the necessity of taking counsel before decision making. Kekewich believes such policies were characteristic of the Beaufort faction, rather than from Gloucester.

4 Genet, 67-71; chapter three is, in its entirety, a commendation of peace.

sentiment echoed in the Prologue of Tito Livio's *Life*. The fourth chapter of the tract contains a justification for war,[1] an emphasis quite in keeping with the unsatisfactory situation created by the failure of English diplomacy at the Congress of Arras,[2] and a view shared wholeheartedly by the Duke of Gloucester.

The tract places a particular emphasis upon formal education; praise is lavished upon the English universities and on those who study there.[3] Again, this might point to backing by Gloucester: his interest in learning and scholarship is well documented as are his generous book bequests to Oxford University. Whether patronage of the *Tractatus* belongs to Gloucester as part of a propaganda assault on the mind of the young king,[4] must, however, remain largely a matter of speculation. The *Tractatus* may have been inspired by others seeking to influence the young king; the advice it offers for Henry to maintain wise counsel might well have been directed against the sort of attitudes which Gloucester represented. In considering this it must be remembered,

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1 *Ibid.*, 79ff.

2 J. Ferguson, *English Diplomacy 1422-61*, (Oxford, 1972), 21ff.; J.G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras*, (Oxford, 1955), *passim.*

3 Genet, 156: "What could promote the more stable and more abundant support of the university if not ... the foundation and erection of colleges to the promotion of the orthodox faith ? What nourishment of the liberal sciences, what defence of the faith, what support of civil or canon law, what marvellous sustenance of the faculty of theology, what perpetual relief for doctors, graduates and poor clergy, than the erection of the aforementioned places ... in the universities ? Because of the salubrious renown of these universities and the profound sciences of the innumerable clergy, your kingdom of England will be raised up in the Roman Curia and other foreign places by your most renowned clerical ambassadors. Thus, perpetual glory will accrue to your royal highness, which exalts and elevates learning on high, and which hastens to erect shining candles in the house of the Lord in order to snuff out the darkness of vices and the vicious. In return for the support of the universities and the solace of the colleges, may your royal Highness hear the angelic chorus singing melodies on high, when he is removed from the inconstant miseries of the present life ..."

4 Gloucester's use of literary weapons did not stop with Tito Livio of Frulovisi, and possibly the tract, as his suspected patronage of the *Libelle of Englishe Policye* suggests, ed. G. Warner, (Oxford, 1926).

however, that in its comments on war and diplomacy the *Tractatus* closely resembles the political outlook of Gloucester.

The foregoing argument has sought to demonstrate that the character and achievements, the early death, and future wishes of Henry V comprised a potent force in the minds of those in whose care he left the governance of both realms and the upbringing of his infant son. The martial achievements of Henry V had been territorially impressive but were to prove a financial and logistic liability. While the immediate post Agincourt years enabled the king to promote the name of the House of Lancaster, the perpetuation and increase of this fame was, after his death, a tall order indeed. It was, nevertheless, a task which the minority government took very much to heart. The decline of English fortunes in France, the deaths of commanders such as Salisbury and Bedford, and the revival of French fortunes under Charles VII, all compounded to make the successful steering of the minority government towards majority rule that much more burdensome an obligation. It is in such a light that the activities and attitudes of the young king's uncles and other chief councillors should be viewed. Henry VI was consequently brought up into a fraught political arena. His uncles argued as to how the war against France should best be prosecuted, and thus how the royal dignity could best be maintained. The politicians of the late 1430s were full of advice for the young king as the opposing factions sought to win him to their views. The minority councillors saw that they must soon relinquish their control of the government and hand

it back to its rightful possessor. With English fortunes in France at a demoralisingly low ebb they were therefore desperate to ensure that the king acted with wise counsel and was fully appraised of the tasks ahead and the weight of his responsibilities.

Against this background of grave concern on the part of the minority councillors and the increasingly perilous state of the English position in France came the decision to found two royal colleges. The reason for highlighting these tensions and problems is to demonstrate that the plans for the foundation of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were far from being an idle whim on the part of a young, idealistic, and pious king. There were potent forces at work leading the king towards such a decision, and not least of these was the pious and political legacy of Henry V and the need to uphold the royal dignity in troubled times.

PART TWO:
INFLUENCES ON HENRY VI AND HIS CIRCLE

CHAPTER FOUR
The Piety of the Young King Henry VI

It has commonly been assumed that the foundations of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were in large part due to the predilections of the young king himself, and particularly to his pious and saintly disposition.[1] The source of this belief is the work of John Blacman, the king's confessor, fellow of Eton c.1443-53, and subsequent biographer, who credited Henry with the closest possible involvement in the Eton foundation. His work, *A Compilation of the Meekness and Good Life of King Henry VI*, describes the king as supervising every detail of the foundation, involving himself not only in the choice of teachers, but also in the spiritual lives of individual pupils. Blacman clearly saw the foundations as central manifestations of the king's piety. He wrote:

> "Also to enlarge the House of God and His worship ... he founded the two noble Colleges ... which he endowed with large lands and revenues, for the maintenance of poor scholars not a few; wherein not only are the divine offices celebrated daily in the most devout manner, to the praise of Almighty God, but also scholastic teaching and the other arts pertaining thereto are constantly carried on to the increase of knowledge ...He sought out everywhere the best living stones, that is, boys excellently equipped with virtue and knowledge ... and as concerned the getting of priests the King said to him whom he employed in that behalf: 'I would rather have them somewhat weak in music than defective in knowledge of the Scriptures.' And with regard to the boys or youths who were brought to him to be put to school, the King's wish was that they should be thoroughly educated and nourished up both in virtue and the sciences. So it was that whenever he met any of them at times in the castle of Windsor ... he would advise them concerning the following of the path of virtue ... saying 'Be you good boys, gentle and teachable servants of the Lord.' And if he discovered that any of them visited his court, he sometimes restrained them with a rebuke, bidding them not to do so again, lest his young lambs should come to relish the

[1] Secondary sources abound with claims of this sort, for example see Cardinal Gasquet's *The Religious Life of Henry VI*, (London, 1923), 41.

> corrupt deeds and habits of his courtiers."[1]

It is vital to distinguish, however, between what chroniclers opined of the king after his deposition and death, and the true nature of Henry's character as he emerged from childhood into majority rule. Were such pious manifestations of character evident in the later 1430s, or have such claims been exaggerated by chroniclers, like the hagiographic Blacman, whose pity had been aroused due to the unfortunate circumstances and disastrous events of the reign, the mildness and ineffectiveness of the king, his final sorry years as a fugitive, and ultimately his murder at the hands of a rival dynasty ?

By the early sixteenth century the written image of Henry VI had become imbued with qualities more representative of sainthood than of manhood. Polydore Vergil dwelt eulogistically on the king's other-worldly qualities:

> "Kinge Henry was a man of milde and plaine dealing disposition, who preferred pace before warres, quietnes before troubles, honestie before utilitie, and leysure before busines; and to be short there was not in this world a more pure, more honest, and more holye creature. There was in him honest shamefastness, modestie, innocencie, and perfect patience, taking all humane chances, miseries, and all afflictions of this life in so good part as though he had justly by some offence deserved the same. He ruled his owne affections that he might more easily rule his owne subjects; he gasped not after riches, nor thirsted for honour and worldly estimation, but was careful only for his soul's health, such things as tended to the salvation thereof he only esteemed for good, and that very wisely, such againe as procured the loss thereof he only accompted evil ... He did of his owne naturall inclynation abhorre all vices both of body and mynde, be reason wherof he was of honest conversation eaven from a chylde, pure and clene, partaken of none evell, ready to conceave all that was good, a contemner of all those thinges whiche commonly corrupt the myndes of men, so patient also in sufferyng of injuryes, receavyed now and then, as that he covetyd in his hart no revenge, but for the very same gave God Almighty most humble thankes, because thereby he thowghte all his sinnes to be wasshyd away; yea, what shalle we say, that this good, gratious, holy, sober, and wyse man, wold affirme all these myseryes to have happenyd unto

[1] *Henry VI: A Reprint of John Blacman's Memoir*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, (Cambridge, 1919), 12.

> him both for his owne and his ancestors manyfold offences; wherfor he dyd not muche account what dignitie, what honor, what state of lyfe, what soone, what friends he had lost, nor made muche dole for the same; but yf in any thing he had offendyd God, that had he regard of, that did he morne for, that was he sorry for. These and suche lyke actions and offices of parfyte holynes made, that for his cause God shewyd many myracles in his lyfe time."[1]

Such fulsome praise was borne out of a growing popular veneration for Henry which began soon after his death, and was focussed upon the shrines at Chertsey and Windsor and in York, and which came to assume the form of miracles allegedly performed as a result of the dead king's intercessions.[2] The resurgence of Henry's reputation was subsequently enhanced by a royal policy of rehabilitation; in August 1484 Richard III had Henry's body transferred from Chertsey to a new shrine in St George's Chapel, Windsor; a political move not unlike the ceremony performed by Henry V on Richard II's body in 1413, and undoubtedly an effort to exercise more control over the spread of the cult. Henry VII proposed a second reinterment in Westminster Chapel, and petitioned the Pope for his uncle's canonisation. It was during this reign that the miracles allegedly

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[1] *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History*, ed. H. Ellis, (Camden Society, London, 1844), 70-1, 156-7.

[2] As early as 1476 a chantry was established at York Minster for two chaplains to pray for Henry VI's soul in the face of strong official discouragement. In 1479 the Archbishop of York forbade the public veneration of a statue of Henry VI in the Minster as an insult to Edward IV. The first alleged miracle occurred in 1481. A compilation of the miracles, the *Miracula*, refer largely to the period after 1484, when Henry's body had been transferred to Windsor. These were compiled at the instigation of the Windsor Canons, partly as an attempt to discredit the monks of Chertsey. See J.W. McKenna, "Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of King Henry VI", *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of R.H. Robbins*, ed. B. Rowland, (London, 1974), 72-88; *The Miracles of Henry VI*, ed. R. Knox and S. Leslie, (Cambridge, 1923); *Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma*, ed. P. Grosjean, (Brussels, 1935).

performed by Henry VI were written up into English,[1] and that a variety of chroniclers began to heap praise upon him, noting in particular his piety:

> "I would pass over in silence the fact that at this period king Henry was found dead in the Tower of London, may God spare and grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who thus dared to lay sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed. Hence it is that he who perpetrated this has justly earned the title of tyrant, while he who thus suffered has gained that of a glorious martyr. The body was exhibited for some days in St Paul's church at London, and was carried thence by the river Thames to the conventual church of the monks at Chertsey, in the diocese of Winchester, fifteen miles from the city; a kind of barge having been solemnly been prepared for the purpose, provided with lighted torches. How great his deserts were by reason of his innocence of life, his love of God and of the Church, his patience in adversity, and his other remarkable virtues, is abundantly testified by the miracles which God has wrought in favour of those who have, with devout hearts, implored his intercession."[2]

It is from this period too that John Blacman's work *A Compilation of the Meekness and Good Life of King Henry VI* dates. Blacman was undoubtedly writing to encourage the growth of the developing cult. It is also possible that Blacman compiled the biography at the request of Henry VII during negotiations for the canonisation.[3] His account is certainly far from unbiased. Royal traits are interpreted in terms of

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[1] The miracles were copied into Latin soon after 1500 in what is now British Library Royal MS. 13c VIII, from which British Library Harleian MS. 423 was copied in the early sixteenth century.

[2] *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H. T. Riley, (London, 1854), 468; written c.1486. For the comments of a variety of lay chroniclers see J.L. Watts, "Domestic Politics and the Constitution in the Reign of Henry VI c.1435-61", Ph.D. Thesis, (Cambridge, 1990), 8; and James Ryman's poem of 1492, "A Remembrance of King Henry VI" in *Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. R. H. Robbins, (New York, 1959), 199-201. Ryman's poem of eight verses portrays Henry as merciful, mild, faithful, and scornful of worldly goods: "A prince thou were meke, benigne, / Pacient in aduersite..." (verse five); and each verse ends with the couplet "Wherefore in blisse the king of grace / Hath graunted the a ioyefull place." A prayer on Henry VI was allegedly written by Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84), perhaps suggesting that the cult was authorised by Rome, J. Mescal, *Henry VI* , (London, 1980), 40.

[3] An assumption which has led to claims that the work was just a mere panegyric and Blacman himself "an unreliable hagiographer", C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1913), 149; K.B. McFarlane, "At the Deathbed of Cardinal Beaufort", *Studies in Mediaeval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, eds. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W, Southern, (Oxford, 1948), 405-28, 422.

devotional fervour; Henry's apathy towards many of the public duties of kingship is attributed to a detached sense of reality. Blacman alleges that the king was

> "more given to God and devout prayer rather than to handling worldly and temporal things, or practising vain sports or pursuits: these he despised as trifling."[1]

Blacman interpreted the king's bouts of ill health as occasions of spiritual rapture, as if the king were

> "not conscious of himself or of those about him, as if he was a man in a trance ... on the verge of heaven, having his conversation in heaven."[2]

The cumulative effect of these semi-propagandist, hagiographical, sanctified interpretations of Henry VI's character have led to misinformed perceptions of the king. While such stylised impressions are invaluable for an understanding of the cult which blossomed after the king's death, they cloud judgments of the young king emerging into majority rule with an apology for the trials and torments of the old.

Fortunately there are opinions of the king which date from the 1430s. These refer less to his saintliness, and rather more to his passivity, introspection, and political naïvete. Piero Da Monte, the papal collector in England wrote a portrait of Henry VI in 1437 to this effect and commented on the king's piety:

> "Observers are astonished there should be in a ruler so young so religious and devout a mind."[3]

John Rous, whose report is important since his link with the Beauforts

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[1] M.R. James, *Henry VI*, 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, 16.

[3] A.N.E.D. Schofield, "England, the Pope and the Council of Basle 1435-1449", *Church History*, XXXIII (1964), 248-78, 256.

suggests he may have been able to witness Henry VI first hand, also commented on Henry's piety for the effect it had upon his kingly duties:

> "Deo et beate Virgini Mariae devotissimus, sed mundo et mundanis operibus minime deditus, ea semper committens Concilio."[1]

Abbot Whethamstede was more blatant still:

> "Hic fuit in verbis Rex mitis, Rex pietatis
> Attamen in factis nimiae, vir simplicitatis."[2]

To a great extent chronicle accounts of Henry's reign ascribe the king's actions to other people.[3] It is known however that the king was capable of taking an active interest in state affairs which contradicts the other-worldliness described by Blacman. The council, for example, found itself having to reprimand the king on numerous occasions in the later 1430s for the king's indiscreet use of his patronage.[4] Such indiscretion is the keynote of the king's involvement in political affairs; it seems petitions were to be granted simply for the asking. This is reflected in the fact that those who had most continuous access to the king, the members of the royal household, enjoyed the majority of grants. A

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1 J. Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hearne, (Oxford, 1745), 210.

2 *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols., (Rolls Series, London, 1872-3), I, 414-5.

3 John Watts enumerates many examples in his thesis, "Domestic Politics and the Constitution in the Reign of Henry VI c.1435-61," Ph.D. thesis, (Cambridge, 1990), 10; most of these refer to the dominance of Suffolk in the 1440s and Somerset in the 1450s.

4 Council minutes from the late 1430s reveal the extent of the concern for the king's generosity in making grants. The alienation of crown revenues in which such a practice resulted was a particular source of anxiety. On 21 November 1436 the council advised "to advertise to the king that he give offices to such persons as the offices were convenient to, not to high estate a small office, neither to low estate a great office", *PPC* V, 1436-43, 3. On 3 February 1438 the minutes noted "remember to speak [to] the king that no man be made receiver for time of life neither to occupy that office by deputy, *ibid.*, 87. On 12 February a reprimand was due: "remember to speak unto the king what loss he hath had by the grant that he made to Inglefeld of the constableship and stewardship of the castle and lordship of Chirk to the loss of one thousand marks", *ibid.*, 89-90. On the previous day the minutes recorded "remember to speak unto the king to be warned how that he granteth pardons or else how that he doeth them to be amended for he doeth to himself therein great disavaille and how late in a pardon that he granted a custom the which disavailled the king two thousand marks", *ibid.*, 88-9.

startlingly large number of grants were made to householders from 1436.[1] Moreover, grants to particular people were often concentrated on occasions when they were in close proximity to the king.[2] The claim that Henry rarely refused a petitioner is also testified by his notorious propensity for making a grant of the same office more than once.[3] While the king was therefore neither the saintly recluse nor as removed from political life as chroniclers have portrayed, he was certainly extremely vulnerable to the influence of his courtiers and councillors. His prodigality betrayed political naïvete and lack of judgment; this is evident from administrative records. What is more difficult to determine is whether Henry feebly assented to particular policies, such as the decision not to marry the daughter of the Count of Armagnac in 1442, the cession of Maine a few years later, and even the royal foundation projects themselves, or whether such projects had in fact aroused his active interest.[4]

The king's piety is traditionally held responsible as the motivation behind the royal foundations, but it is clear that neither the king's piety, nor perhaps even the king himself, lay at the heart of the matter.

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[1] For the period 1436/7 see *CPR 1436-41*, 1-91.

[2] For example on 20 September 1437 the Earl of Salisbury received a series of life grants from the king during a period that he was in London, *PPC* V, 64-73, *CFR 1437-45*, 18.

[3] For example the stewardship of the Duchy of Cornwall lands in Cornwall was granted twice; *CPR 1436-41*, 133, 532. The stewardship of Wallingford was granted to William Philip whilst Suffolk still held the post, *ibid.*, 32; and the keeping of the council chamber was granted to both John Trevilian and William Norton, *CPR 1446-52*, 79.

[4] In his thesis John Watts ascribes major policy decisions to Suffolk and comments: "Given the weight of evidence in favour of the king's pliability and lack of substance, it seems reasonable to doubt whether he was even the source of those avowedly 'personal' projects - the foundations [of Eton and King's College] and the pursuit of peace - in which he has always been credited with a pressing interest ... If Henry's vulnerability to demands for secular patronage is accepted, why not an equivalent weakness for spiritual pressure from courtier clerics ?", Watts, Ph.D. thesis, 12 and note 63.

CHAPTER FIVE
The Influence of Educational Ideas

It has been claimed that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not a period of great educational advance, and that educational reform, and the introduction of humanistic studies into this country, were not witnessed on any significant scale until the sixteenth century.[1] The fifteenth century was not, however, an uneventful prelude to the flowering of humanism in the sixteenth century; ideas from Italy were circulating in England, albeit in limited spheres, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[2] The role played by such influences from abroad is important in our understanding of the forces which led to the foundation of Eton and King's College, Cambridge.

Henry VI's two collegiate foundations have been repeatedly compared to the foundations of William of Wykeham. The analogy is understandable, but in a number of respects, erroneous. Approximately six decades separate the Wykehamical from the Henrician foundations. It is contended here that Wykeham's desire to train undergraduates primarily for the parochial clergy had given way, by 1440, to a belief in the merits of the professional cultivation of eloquence; a belief harboured by certain members of the ruling elite and fostered by the

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[1] See in particular, C.R. Potter, "Education in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *CMH* VIII, 688-717; M. Creighton, *The Early Renaissance in England*, (Cambridge, 1895), 34: "England looked coldly on the New Learning until it forced its way into the universities and proved its practical utility".

[2] See R. Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1941).

influence of Italian rhetorical models.

Vaguer definitions of humanism have been loosely applied to describe a cultural movement; in a stricter sense the term describes a type of intellectual development based upon a thorough grounding in Latin grammar, and experience in using Latin for both speaking and writing. This might be achieved by studying the rhetorical writings of classical antiquity.[1] Two classical authors in particular were valued in this respect; Cicero and Quintilian. The latter's influence was magnified by Poggio's rediscovery of the *Institutio Oratoria* in 1416 at St Gall.[2] This provided, for the first time, an invaluable insight into Roman oratory and educational principles. Central to Quintilian's ideas on education was the belief that education should offer more than academic instruction alone and should also embrace the teaching of manners and the development of character. Quintilian's stance was both moral and intellectual; truthfulness should be the foundation of an education drawn from all fields of available knowledge. Above all, Quintilian harboured the belief that the ultimate purpose of education was to produce competent, logical and persuasive speakers who would place themselves at the service of the state.

The developing enthusiasm for humanist educational methods did

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[1] P.O. Kristeller, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance", *Byzantion*, XVII (1944-5), 346-74. Kristeller defines a humanist in the strictest sense as a new type of Latin grammarian, one who promoted or taught the educational and moral program that was rooted in classical antiquity, p.350.

[2] P.S. Boskoff has questioned whether Poggio can be credited with the rediscovery of the complete text of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* and has suggested that the credit ought perhaps to lie with Nicholas de Clémanges twenty years earlier in 1396. Boskoff nevertheless concludes that it was Poggio who made the work known to the world of scholarship; P.S. Boskoff, "Quintilian in the Late Middle Ages", *Speculum*, XXVII (1952), 71-8.

not find its sole influence in the discovery and rapid transcriptions of Quintilian.[1] In 1411 Guarino Guarini of Verona had translated Plutarch's *On The Education of Children*, and in 1422 the entire text of Cicero's *De Oratore* was discovered at Lodi; a work which, although known to scholars for at least a century, had existed in a fragmented state only. Other principal treatises upon education written before 1450 were *De Ingenuis Moribus Et Studiis Liberalibus* written by Vergerius in around 1393, *De Studiis Et Literis* by Leonardo Bruni around 1405, *De Liberorum Educatione*, a chapter of Francesco Barbaro's tract *De Re Uxoria*, composed at Guarino's house in 1428, and a letter written by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, to Archduke Sigismund about 1445.[2] Again, the general purpose of these humanist educators was the development of the complete citizen. The work of Vergerius was dedicated to the perfection of Man as Citizen. Citizenship was viewed as the highest end of education. Vergerius espoused a scheme of education that gave first place to History due to its attractiveness and utility, then to Moral Philosophy whose purpose was to teach man the secret of true freedom, and then to Eloquence; "By philosophy", he wrote, "we learn the essential truth of things, which by eloquence we so exhibit in orderly adornment as to bring conviction to differing minds."[3]

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[1] Eg by Barzizza.

[2] W.H. Woodward has given Piccolomini's letter the title "Upon the Right Education of a Prince", *Vittorino Da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, (Cambridge, 1897), 180.

[3] *Ibid.*, 107; the treatise *De Ingenuis Moribus* by Petrus Paulus Vergerius is translated by Woodward in *ibid.*, 96-118.

De Ingenuis Moribus influenced particularly the scholars of the Paduan school and the Florentine humanists Palmieri and Traversari. The most distinguished of all the teachers of the early Renaissance, however, were Vittorino Da Feltre and Guarino Guarini. Vittorino, born in 1378, was a student at Padua which, unlike Bologna, was sympathetic to the study of ancient literature. He worked under Barzizza, learnt Greek from Guarino whilst in Venice from 1414-18, and by 1420 had set up a boarding house in Padua offering students tuition in Latin and Mathematics. In 1422 he received the Paduan Chair of Rhetoric, vacant on the departure of Barzizza, and in the same year set up a school in Mantua, initially for the children of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Mantua, but later incorporating between forty and seventy poor scholars. Vittorino taught here until his death in 1446 along lines laid out by Quintilian. He wrote, "Not everyone is called to be a lawyer, a physician, a philosopher, to live in the public eye, nor has everyone outstanding gifts of natural capacity, but all of us are created for the life of social duty, all are responsible for the personal influence which goes forth from us."[1] Vittorino laid great stress on how to speak properly, teaching that eloquence of address should at all times

[1] W.H. Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600*, (Cambridge, 1906), 12-13. Annoyingly, Woodward does not acknowledge his authority here, a trend followed throughout this volume. He cites a list of authorities on pp. xi-xii and it is possible that the source is one of Vittorino's letters to the Marchioness Paola Gonzaga from the Mantuan archives. I have been unable to trace the source in the other likely possibilities: neither in Francesco Prendilacqua's *Intorno alla Vita di Vittorino Da Feltre*, ed. and trans. G. Brambilla, (Como, 1871), nor in the small amount of Vittorino's correspondence which survives, for which see the article by A. Bellodi, "Per L'Epistolario di Vittorino Da Feltre", *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XVI (1973), 337-45, and note 1 below p. 71. For a full, modern treatment of Vittorino see N. Giannetto, *Vittorino Da Feltre e la Scuola: Umanesimo, Pedagogia, Arti*, (Florence, 1981).

accompany dignity of bearing and refinement of manners. His emphasis on the active life of the citizen permeates his correspondence as well as his methods of teaching.[1]

Guarino Guarini of Verona, born in 1374, travelled to Constantinople in 1403. He remained there almost five years, learning Greek under Chrysoloras who had taught Greek at Florence and Pavia. On his return Guarino spent two years in Venice then went to Bologna in 1410 where he met Poggio and Leonardo Bruni, the latter inviting him to Florence where he opened a school. In 1412 Guarino was nominated to the Chair of Greek in Florence but due to friction with Niccolí[2] departed for Venice in 1414 where he opened a school for young patricians, and where enthusiasts for the Greek language, such as Vittorino, came to study under him. In 1418 Guarino returned to Verona where he was elected Civic Professor of Rhetoric, remaining there until 1429 when he accepted Niccolo D'Este's offer to come to Ferrara to teach his son Leonello. Guarino soon began taking in other pupils too and by 1436 was teaching a host of distinguished scholars. In time, and with the help of Leonello, now Marquis, the school was broadened and in 1442 attained the status of university. Guarino remained in Ferrara until his death, aged eighty-six, in 1460.

Like Vittorino, Guarino derived his educational methods from

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[1] For example he wrote to Ambrogio Traversari, quoting Cicero, that learning was not to be used as an excuse for withdrawal from active life: "Virtutis laus omnis in actione consistat"; the letter is reproduced in G. B. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca Codicum Manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum*, ed. J. Ceruti, (Venice, 1779), 1207-8. On the general purpose of the Humanist educator see Woodward, *Vittorino*, 182-92.

[2] For which see Woodward, *Studies In Education*, 30.

Quintilian, although Guarino conceived of classical instruction as an end in itself and aimed at producing clever and eloquent scholars, whereas Vittorino stressed such education as an instrument for a moral and professional training in order to produce young men who would "serve God in Church and State in whatever position they might be called upon to occupy."[1] Vittorino also attached higher relative importance to the teaching of mathematics, music, and Greek.

Guarino's educational method was composed of three essential stages: elementary, grammatical, and rhetorical. These stages mirrored the three tier structure adopted by Quintilian; grammar, composition, construing and philosophy. Guarino's elementary stage involved reading, including Latin and Italian, enunciation and correct pronunciation, and the rudiments of grammar. The grammatical stage was composed of Method and History, terms used by Quintilian; the former representing the formal side of Latin teaching, that is, verbal inflections, syntax, and oral composition, the latter including construing prose authors, historians, and certain poets, with an emphasis on the contents and subject matter. Guarino chose texts to serve moral purposes from a wide range of authors including Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Seneca, Juvenal, Terence, Homer, Plutarch, Aristotle, Theocritus, and St Augustine. Once the grammatical stage had been mastered the student could progress to the rhetorical stage, in which Cicero and

[1] Quoted from the *Dialogue of Francesco Prendilacqua*; Woodward's translation, *Vittorino*, 86. Francesco had been Vittorino's pupil, c.1440; the *Dialogue* was written some time after Vittorino's death.

Quintilian were used as guides to prose composition,[1] to which great importance was attached for the cultivation of eloquence and sincerity and the training of a public speaker.

This brief sketch of the two most famous teachers of the early Renaissance in Italy, and their schools, reveals clearly the gulf between the humanist ideal of education and the theological and legal training in evidence at William of Wykeham's two foundations in England. This was a gulf that was not bridged by the foundations of Henry VI. Indeed the notion that education was primarily the concern of the layman and the citizen was not to find fruit in England until the sixteenth century and the labours of Colet. Nevertheless, to dismiss the foundations of Eton and King's Colleges as anachronisms of an older, Wykehamical world is to misunderstand the forces at work behind their foundation.

In assessing whether there was any appreciable acceptance of Italian humanistic studies in England during the fifteenth century historians have looked to the university environment and to a collection of individuals who showed humanist tendencies of essentially a bibliophilic nature. It is now well established that the persistent predominance of logic at Oxford precluded any acceptance of humanistic studies into the curricula there until the sixteenth century,[2] and that individuals like Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and Andrew Holes cannot be called humanists in any sense except the most limited,

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[1] Cicero's *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*; *De Oratore*; *De Officiis*; *Tusculans*; the speeches. Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria.*

[2] On the strength of logic at Oxford see J.M. Fletcher, "The Teaching and Study of Arts at Oxford c.1400-1520", D.Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1961), 49-56.

for, whilst they had abundant enthusiasm for collecting humanist texts and encouraging the flow of Greek works into England, they were certainly not humanist pedagogues.[1]

It is nevertheless worth dwelling briefly upon the alleged attempt in the 1430s to revamp the Arts course at Oxford along humanistic lines for an insight into the preoccupations of Duke Humphrey and an appreciation of the extent to which Italian humanist principles and methods of study were known in England at this time. Correspondence between Duke Humphrey and the University of Oxford dating from the late 1420s and early 1430s reveals that both parties were familiar with the aims and methods of the Italian humanists.[2] The letters to the Duke point to a rediscovery of "the original majesty of Greek and Latin discourse" and an excitement at finding a lost heritage which could lead to new standards in humane studies.[3] A number of the letters mention the institution of new lectures which would revive the seven liberal arts and the three philosophies which had "almost fallen into oblivion".[4] Statutes were indeed passed in December 1431, some of which dealt with the arts course and a proposed series of new lectures.[5] The statutes provided a list of works to be heard in each of the years before

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1 On English proto-humanists see Weiss, *Humanism, passim* and *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century*, Bodleian Library Exhibition Catalogue, 1970.

2 The correspondence between Duke Humphrey and the University is recorded in *Epistolae Academicae Oxoniensis*, ed. H. Anstey, (Oxford Historical Society, 1898), Vol I, pp. 35, 61, 64, 76-9, 81-3, 105-8, 110, 114-5, 119, 128, 133, 136, 139-40, 151-3, 162, 165-6, 177, 179, 197, 202-4, 216, 227, 232, 240, 244-5, 254-5.

3 *Ibid.*, 245, 203-4.

4 *Ibid.*, 139, and for similar letters see 77-9, 81-2, 106-8, 139-40, 152-3.

5 For the statutes see S. Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, (Oxford, 1931), 234-6, xciv-v.

inception which included Ovid's Metamorphoses, works by Vergil, and the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* attributed to Cicero which was the basis of Guarino's third and most advanced course, rhetoric, at his school in Verona. Moreover, the provisions made in the statutes describing teaching share close similarities with the improved methods of such humanist teachers as Vittorino, whose approach called for "partly dictation of text, notes, and translation; partly of oral questioning."[1] The statutes reflect this requirement: the masters should first read the text, next explain it, make any necessary remarks upon the style, then finally deal with "*questiones*" whilst always keeping close to the meaning of the text itself.[2]

A letter of February 1433 mentions that the series of lectures recently instituted was at Duke Humphrey's command.[3] Three times they are described as his "heavenly inspiration".[4] The Duke played a much more active role in University affairs at this date than merely inspiring a series of new lectures. Shortly before December 1430 he gave assistance to the University which probably ended the dispute between the University and the town,[5] putting him in a favoured position and enabling him to intervene in University affairs. In the summer of 1431 he was sent a letter which thanked him for his support and expressed the University's anxiety to carry out the three reforms he

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[1] Woodward, *Vittorino*, 62.

[2] *Statuta Antiqua*, 235.

[3] Anstey, *Epist. Acad.*, I, 77-9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 107, 139, 241. The lectures became the focus of appeals for financial aid in order that they might continue, 77-9, 81-2, 106-8, 139-40, 152-3; the appeals continued until 2 April 1437, 152-3.

[5] *Ibid.*, 42-3, 47-9.

had suggested.[1] The letter does not mention what these three reforms were, but between February and June 1433 an appeal was made to the Duke of Bedford asking him to help in three ways; firstly money was needed to provide a stipend for masters lecturing, secondly help was needed in providing sufficient books, and thirdly assistance was required to make possible the building of schools in which to teach.[2] The relationship between Duke Humphrey and the University was undoubtedly facilitated by the election of Dr Gilbert Kymer as Chancellor of the University at this time. He had entered the Duke's service in 1420 as his physician and had remained there since. As chancellor, he especially would have been in a particularly good position to know his patron's mind.[3]

The idea that these proposed changes in the Arts course represented the first burgeoning of humanistic studies at Oxford, however needs to be tempered. Had there been no need to attract the Duke's attention in 1431 it is questionable whether the statutes of that date would have been established. Moreover, the changes prescribed by the statutes should not be viewed as a significant show of humanist sympathy, for although the provisions call for the reading of Cicero's *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, most of the works suggested, such as those by Vergil and Ovid, were to be a mere supplement to normal studies, and were in any case fairly common works in late mediaeval Oxford. Nor

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[1] *Ibid.*, 64-5, dated 6 July 1431.

[2] *Ibid.*, 81-2.

[3] Kymer was Chancellor on 10 December 1431, vacated by March 1434, reelected February 1447, resigned 11 May 1453, Emden, *Oxford*, 1068-9.

do the statutes seem to have been taken that seriously. There is no mention of lectures on Ovid in any of the University records of the fifteenth century, and there seems to have been no further attempt to accommodate classical studies at Oxford by changes in statutory regulations.[1] The course for the Arts student in 1500 differed little from that of a century earlier. The pleas of financial aid from the University to Duke Humphrey until 1437 also indicate that if the lectures enjoyed any existence at all this was but brief. A letter written to Duke Humphrey on 5 December 1435 described, albeit with rhetorical exaggeration, the desolate state of the university; the schools were empty and all learning had ceased. No lectures had been going on in any subject since August 1435 due to a dispute regarding the claims of Bachelors of Law to be called Masters.[2] The statutes indicate the ideal of classical studies which was served thereafter in private study not in public lectures.

Responsibility for first introducing the values of humanist scholarship to Oxford has also been ascribed to Duke Humphrey in respect of his gifts of books to the University.[3] Such influence, however, is very hard to assess. Many of the books donated by the Duke remained outside the normal course of study, so it is unlikely that they would have been read on any considerable scale, and certainly not

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[1] J.M. Fletcher, D. Phil. thesis, 6, 48; see also Fletcher, "Developments in the faculty of Arts", *The History of the University of Oxford II: Late Mediaeval Oxford*, eds. J.I. Catto and R. Evans, (Oxford, 1992), 315-45.

[2] Anstey, *Epist. Acad.*, 115-6.

[3] Weiss, *Humanism*, 139.

unless the reader was predisposed towards books of that nature. Nevertheless, whilst the statutory curriculum remained little altered by the New Learning, the book donations of Duke Humphrey undoubtedly provided opportunities for such studies to be pursued by individuals.[1] Moreover, what is more important is not whether or not the University instituted humanistic models of study in the 1430s but rather that, in attempting to attract the patronage of the Duke, the University had an accurate appreciation, perhaps facilitated by Gilbert Kymer, of the Duke's literary and intellectual interests. The fact that the University did not adopt a humanist curriculum, either in the early and middle decades of the fifteenth century or for a long time afterwards, is not an indication that Italian humanistic studies and the activities of pedagogues like Vittorino and Guarino were unknown, unsolicited or unwanted in England. The activities of Duke Humphrey reveal quite the contrary,[2] and it is to his household that attention must be drawn for an understanding of the influences at work upon a man who served Henry VI in an intimate capacity during the period 1437-43, when the ideas

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[1] The most important early example was Thomas Chaundler, for which see S. Bridges, "Thomas Chaundler", B. Litt. thesis, (Oxford, 1949). Bridges concludes, "Chaundler was only on the threshold of humanism. It appears that desire outran performance ... although to some extent he succeeded in reproducing the forms [of humanism], he could not catch the spirit", 151; and "the characteristic which most clearly distinguished a humanist was his devotion to the study of classical authors, in which he was profoundly versed. This is conspicuously lacking in Chaundler", 150.

[2] The bibliophilic activities of the Duke are well known, as are the visits and sojourns to his household of a variety of Italian poets, orators and scholars, such as Tito Livio Frulovisi, Poggio Bracciolini and Antonio Beccaria; see in particular Weiss, *Humanism*, M. Creighton, *The Early Renaissance In England*, (Cambridge, 1895), M. Creighton, "Some Literary Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester", *EHR*, X (1895), 99-104, K.H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, (London, 1907), *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism*, Bodleian Library Exhibition Catalogue, 1970. The Duke enjoyed a regular correspondence with, among others, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, whom he commissioned to send him books from Italy, and with Piero Da Monte, papal collector in England 1435-40. Antonio Beccaria had studied at Mantua under Vittorino Da Feltre, providing the only apparent link between the teacher and Duke Humphrey, Woodward, *Vittorino*, 88.

for the royal foundations were formulated and executed: Thomas Bekynton.

CHAPTER SIX
The Role of Thomas Bekynton

Arguments for a Wykehamical influence on the Eton College and King's College foundations have usually focussed upon Thomas Bekynton who became king's secretary in the later 1430s,[1] and who was therefore in a prime position to influence the king. This argument has rested on the fact that Bekynton attended Winchester College and New College, forged and maintained links with a number of other Wykehamists during his professional career, was the subject of Thomas Chaundler's praise along with these other eminent Wykehamists, and because the Eton and King's foundations have seemed to emulate the earlier joint foundations of William of Wykeham.

There is no doubt that Bekynton did act as the lynch pin in the king's foundation projects. To seek out a Wykehamical influence is, however, to misinterpret the *raison d'etre* of Eton and King's College and the pattern of their development. A more accurate means of assessing Bekynton's contribution to the foundation process would involve an examination of his career upon leaving New College looking at his various administrative responsibilities, particularly in the service of two men; Archbishop Chichele and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

Chichele was served by a series of distinguished legal advisers

[1] He was first specifically described as the king's secretary in February 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 134.

who constituted the *Curia Cantuariensis*. This was the main practising centre of the canon law in England and acted as a training ground for the episcopate. Many who served Chichele passed into royal service as a result of this training in ecclesiastical administration. In addition to Bekynton, others who served Chichele and who later received episcopal sees were Philip Morgan, Henry Ware, John Kemp, and Thomas Brouns, and the eminent canonist William Lyndwood who became Keeper of the Privy Seal. Bekynton served Chichele during most of the latter's archiepiscopate from 1414-43 as Dean of the Court of Arches from 1422, and as Official of the Court of Canterbury from 1434. During this period there was much detailed administrative work to be handled relating to the Council of Basel, heresy in the dioceses, as well as royal diplomatic business at home and abroad. Bekynton became Prolocutor of the Convocation of Canterbury by virtue of his familiarity with canon law, and as an accomplished legist he was naturally employed in diplomatic negotiations. He went to France in 1432 to negotiate the peace treaty, to the Congress of Arras in 1435, with Beaufort to Calais in 1439, and to the Count of Armagnac in 1442.

On the home front Bekynton dealt with various cases in secular courts and was concerned with the surrender of the alien priories, and also would have been witness to the discontent expressed by university clerks with the Second Statute of Provisors which forbade the acceptance, except by royal licence, of papal provisions. As a result of this clerks saw themselves debarred from seeking and obtaining

preferment by petitioning the Curia for benefices. Bekynton would have been aware of Chichele's concern for the promotion of graduates and his intention to found a college in an attempt to ease the situation. He would have also witnessed Chichele's opponents at home accusing the Archbishop of anti-papal sympathies, and the suspension of Chichele from his legatine powers by Martin V, early in 1427, as a consequence of the dispute over the Statute of Provisors.

In the September session of Convocation in 1432 the interests of graduates were considered as a result of the complaint that diocesan offices were being held by persons "minime graduate sed valde exiliter litterate." It was decided that henceforth only graduates could exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the province of Canterbury.[1]

The legal and theological difficulties at the Council of Basel, such as the problem of the council remaining in session after a Bull of Dissolution had been issued by the Pope, or the debates on the possibility of an anti-Pope being elected, also reinforced the need for a learned and intelligent Convocation. The urgency for well trained university men was constantly being brought home to Bekynton and his associates. Concern was also manifested in the 1420s for the quality of proctors in instructions to cathedral chapters and colleges in 1426. They were to be represented by a graduate, or, failing this, by a suitable person. Diocesan clergy were to be represented by two graduate proctors, or by two of the more gifted (*habiliores*) of the diocese

[1] *Register of Henry Chichele*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols., (Canterbury and York Society, 1943-7), III, 234.

resident in their benefices.[1]

Chichele was also concerned to relieve the poverty of the beneficed clergy, who were suffering from the encroachments of stipendiary chaplains, the high fees payable at institution and induction, and the economic deterioration of vicarages in appropriated livings.[2] Both the qualitative and quantitative effects of the Black Death on university life in England in the later fourteenth century have been exaggerated by historians.[3] The balance has been redressed in more recent years although it has been shown that the plague was responsible for affecting the quality of preparation among incoming students during the later fourteenth century.[4] Due to the death rate amongst grammar masters in 1348-9, whose training determined the educational future of most boys in a given town, the quality of basic education in the decade 1350-60 was probably impaired markedly,[5] causing a gradual decay, moving from the bottom upwards, that manifested itself in university ranks during the succeeding decades. What is regarded as a drop in quality by some, however, has been seen by others as a shift in interest.

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1 *Ibid.*, 174.

2 A.F. Judd, *The Life of Thomas Bekynton*, (Chichester, 1961), 31.

3 A. Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning*, (New York 1931), especially pp. 146-80.

4 W. Courtenay, "The Effect of the Black Death on English Higher Education", *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 696-714. Some of the main reasons cited are that the plague was harsher during the summer months when the students tended not to be resident in Oxford, than in the winter; that students could leave Oxford quickly for rural retreats during outbreaks of plague; that their diet and living conditions were probably above average, and that the younger university age group of between fifteen and thirty-five is suggestive of a low mortality rate in 1348-9, 702-3. But see T.A.R. Evans, "The Number, Origins, and Careers of Scholars" in *The History of the University of Oxford II: Late Medieval Oxford*, eds. J.I. Catto and R. Evans, (Oxford, 1992), 485-538, who has cast doubt on the accuracy of both contemporary and modern estimates of the numbers of students at Oxford, and who has consequently found it impossible to calculate an exact mortality rate during the Black Death, p.493.

5 Courtenay, "Effect of the Black Death", 706.

The levelling off, and even slight decline, in enrolments in the theology faculty from c.1325 have been attributed to shifts in patronage patterns reducing sources of funding at Oxford for theology students and a worsening picture for career opportunities for theology graduates in the church.[1]

English clerical opinion attributed the decline in university numbers to the lack of benefices available to university clerks, in spite of the post plague increase in enrolments in the Theology Faculty, no doubt due to the high death rate amongst the parish clergy, which was as much as 40% and the offer of employment from chantry endowments. Hoccleve wrote:

> "Allas ! so manny a worthi clerk famouse
> In Oxenford and in Cambrigge also
> Stonde unvanced, wher the viciouse
> Favel hath chirches and preuendres, moo
> Than God is plesid withe; Allase ! of thoo
> That weiuen vertu so to be promoted;
> And thei helples in whom vertu is rooted." [2]

At the report of Canterbury Convocation Archbishop Chichele put forward a plan in 1417 for the promotion of graduates by ecclesiastical patrons.[3] The University of Oxford objected to the scheme because it ran counter to the customary method of writing for benefices, even though it had, by then, been more than twelve years since the last *rotulus* had been sent to Rome. A plan was produced in 1421 with the assent of the universities but patrons did not adopt it with

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[1] G.F. Lytle, "Patronage Patterns and Oxford Colleges c.1300-1530", *The University In Society*, I, ed. L. Stone, (Princeton, 1975), 111-149.

[2] *Hoccleve's Works*, III, ed. F. J. Furnivall, (Early English Text Society, extra series, 72, 1892), lines 5272-5278.

[3] *Reg. Chichele*, III, 50.

consistency or for any duration. The plan was reissued in 1438 with certain modifications.[1] The spate of colleges founded in this period were the projects of men, and particularly churchmen, who saw the need for the successful promotion of graduates and an educated clergy: William of Wykeham at New College in 1384, Bishop Richard Fleming at Lincoln College in 1427, and Archbishop Chichele at All Souls in 1438. That Henry VI was made aware of this climate is well illustrated by his letters patent of 13 July 1439 to William Bingham, the founder of Godshouse in Cambridge:

> "On the lamentable assertion of William Bingham, parson of the church of St. Zachary, London, and other credible persons, it appears that the grammar schools which used to be flourishing and numerous have decayed for want of masters and that the faculty of grammar is much neglected both in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and in the country generally, whereby not merely is the knowledge of sacred scripture and of the Latin requisite for the pursuit of law and the affairs of the realm likely to perish but also the power of communicating with foreigners; the king, desiring to reform this matter, grants licence to the said William to grant the mansion called 'Godshouse' ... to the master and scholars of Clare Hall ... and to educate the said [twenty-four] scholars up to the degree of master in grammar and the taking of priests' orders, and then to dispatch them to the schools which have become deserted."[2]

This foundation impetus was continued by men who had been involved with Henry VI's foundations. Robert Wodelarke who had been Master of the Works at King's College went on to found St Catherine's College, Cambridge.[3] William Waynflete, Eton Provost, later founded

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[1] E.F. Jacob, "On the Promotion of English University Clerks During the Later Middle Ages", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, I (1950), 172-186.

[2] *CPR 1436-41*, 295-6.

[3] H. Philpott, *Documents Relating to St Catherine's College in the University of Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1861), 1-6; W.H.S. Jones, *A History of St Catherine's College, Once Catherine Hall, Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1936), 3-4, 45.

Magdalen College.[1] The realisation of the need for the successful promotion of graduates is manifested in the following royal letter to the Convocation of Canterbury, which was probably drafted by Bekynton and strongly echoes the sentiments of Chichele on the matter:

> "It is now publicly said that unless we choose to succour our universities both of them are likely to fall into extreme desolation. the number of students in them is greatly diminished, as indeed, there is none, or scarcely any, gain or advantage to be hoped for from study. The only way we can think of pouring oil into the almost extinguished lamps is by causing them to have some better provision made for them from the patrimony of the church..... The Lord in the gospel gave his vine - that is, the Catholic church - to be tended by learned and skilful husbandmen, so that we feel ashamed to see so many learned men as are to be found in our universities growing old without any promotion or any fruit of their studies. On this ground we exhort your fatherhoods and require of you that you should take effectual measures for the promotion of those who are graduates, and of those about to become so. By doing so you shall deserve well of the Lord of the vineyard and of us."[2]

The possible role of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in Henry VI's foundations is relevant here. When considering influences on Henry VI, Gloucester's political alliance with Chichele, the founder of All Souls, the most recent foundation project, should not be neglected. According to one historian their relationship was based on "a strongly nationalistic upholding of the anti-Papal statutes,"[3] a view which stood opposed to their political enemy Cardinal Beaufort who was committed to an alliance with Rome. Considering the former relationship of Thomas Bekynton with Gloucester, with whom he still remained in contact, and Bekynton's former position in the archiepiscopal circle of

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[1] There is a great deal of secondary literature on Waynflete and Magdalen College, but see in particular J. Mills, *The Foundations, Endowments, and Early Administration of Magdalen College, Oxford*, B.Litt. thesis, (Oxford, 1977).

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, I, 56; letter sent from Woodstock, 13 October 1438.

[3] L.R. Betcherman, "The Making of Bishops in the Lancastrian period", *Speculum*, XLI (1966), 397-419, 407.

Chichele, and that Bekynton became the king's secretary and was instrumental in the foundation process at Eton, the impetus for foundation is likely to have manifested itself to Henry VI through this channel.

From 1420 Bekynton served in the household of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, whom he mentioned in his will as the first of his four chief benefactors,[1] becoming his chancellor in 1423. It remains difficult to determine exactly when Bekynton ceased to act as Gloucester's chancellor. Judd has been tempted to coincide it with the Duke's political eclipse and the return to England of Bedford in July 1433, shortly after which Bekynton was appointed Official of the Court of Canterbury in 1434.[2] It is likely, however, that he maintained contact with the Duke even after he entered royal service in about 1437 since his formulary contains a copy of the beginning of the correspondence about Decembrio's translation of the *Republic* for Duke Humphrey in 1437-8.[3]

Bekynton owed many of his ecclesiastical preferments to his position in Gloucester's household, such as the Archdeaconry of Buckingham to which he was appointed in 1424, and of which he was still in possession during the early years of the foundation process at Eton.[4] As a member of Gloucester's household Bekynton would have

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[1] The others being William of Wykeham, Master John Elmer, and Walter Thurstorp.

[2] A.F. Judd, *Life of Bekynton*, 15.

[3] Bodleian MS Ashmole 789 fo. 218v-219r; and see *Duke Humphrey*, Bodleian Library Exhibition Catalogue.

[4] ECR 39/21; indenture of a grant by Waynflete to the archdeacon of a yearly rent of 5s for turning the parish church of Eton into a collegiate church, 2 May 1443.

been exposed to the Duke's italianate interests and correspondence, and the humanist outlooks of the literary minded foreigners resident there.[1] He would have come into contact with Piero Da Monte, the papal collector, Tito Livio Frulovisi, the Duke's secretary and poet c.1437-8, and Antonio Beccaria of Verona, the Duke's secretary from 1439-46, both of whom had been recommended by Da Monte. Bekynton would no doubt also have come into contact with Poggio Bracciolini during the latter's trip to England and temporary residence in the Duke's household. As the Duke's Chancellor, and subsequently as secretary to the king, Bekynton was greatly concerned with standards of Latinity in both private correspondence and official letter writing.[2] He was a prolific writer and a public servant of great industry. He wrote a treatise on the right of the English king to the French throne, *De Jure Regum Anglorum Ad Regnum Franciae*[3] as well as many narratives and diaries from embassies in 1435 and 1439, and a journal of his

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[1] Weiss, *Humanism*, 39ff.

[2] His insistence on correct usage of grammar is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in his acrimonious correspondence with the former provost of King's College, William Millington, who blamed the bishop for his deprivation in 1446. One letter in particular illustrates Bekynton's pedantic attachment to eloquence, and his vigorous denials of inelegant language speak for themselves: "Here you are clearly making a grammatical mistake since if there was not either then or before such a leader it clearly follows that there never was. However far from the truth this may be, even the blind can see it clearly. The writings of your predecessors, if they are worth your consideration, show you clearly enough the meaning of the term 'before' [*in antea*]. You write elsewhere these words .... master Provost, this remark, 'bound themselves on an oath to observing of the statutes', those are your words not mine. You have not found anything like that in any of my letters ... So when you say I have written what I have not written, it is much more likely that you have lost your judgment or fallen asleep in your writing than that I should be guilty of the inelegant phraseology you impute to me", Bek., *Corr.*, II, 157-74.

[3] Contained in Bekynton's *Opus Collectum et Compilatum* in Bodleian MS Ashmole 1114 (XI); the work was intended as a propagandist address to European opinion. For the *Opus Collectum* see below p. 89 note 1.

mission to Bordeaux in 1442 known as the *Iter*.[1] Some have sought to ascribe to Bekynton responsibility for the reform of the Latinity of English official letter writing. Certainly he was aware of the use of "tu" instead of "vos" in familiar letters but the wider claim has never been sufficiently substantiated.[2] What may be ascribed to Bekynton with certainty is a mind that was receptive to the intellectual currents prevalent in Duke Humphrey's household and an interest moral education as a prelude to the development of the type of individual which Guarino and Vittorino were aiming to produce in Italy; an eloquent orator with a well rounded academic and moral education, who might bring his talents to bear upon the varied diplomatic and administrative tasks of government. As a Wykehamist Bekynton had been instilled with the founder's pedagogic concern in producing men who could serve the state, but whereas Wykeham sought primarily to produce churchmen for the parochial clergy, Bekynton envisioned a different sort of academic training; one with increased emphasis on the moral formation of character during pre-university schooling.

By the late 1430s therefore Bekynton had been trained in both lay and ecclesiastical administration, was a confidential adviser of the Archbishop, a friend to humanist scholars, and experienced in the demands of international diplomacy. If one is seeking to ascribe a

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[1] Bodleian MS Ashmole 789. The diaries from the 1435 and 1439 embassies are in a work by Bekynton entitled *Opus Collectum et Compilatum per Ven. Patrem Thomam Bathon. et Wellens. Episcopum*, and can be found in British Library MSS Tiberius b xii, Harleian 861, Harleian 4763. Possibly one of these may contain the original, but all may be copies. Lambeth Palace MS 211 was compiled under Bekynton's direction and contains many of his letters and others sent to him as secretary. For a discussion of the mss. see Judd, *Life of Bekynton*, 40-1.

[2] *Duke Humphrey*, Bodleian Library Catalogue, no.27.

Wykehamist influence to motives for Henry VI's foundations one should look, not directly to Bekynton, but to the milieux of his professional upbringing, and especially to the Canterbury court over which Chichele presided, into which arrived a gifted influx of legists and administrators: among them William Lyndwood, author of the *Provinciale*, a great compendium of canon law comprising five books of the synodial Constitutions of Canterbury, completed by 1430; and Richard Andrew, a fellow Wykehamist, whom Chichele later selected to become the first warden of All Souls College, Oxford. One should also look to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and his political alliance with Chichele, the founder of All Souls, the most recent foundation project. According to one historian their relationship was based on "a strongly nationalistic upholding of the anti-Papal statutes,"[1] a view which stood opposed to their political enemy Cardinal Beaufort who was committed to an alliance with Rome. Considering Bekynton's continuing relationship with Gloucester, his former position in the archiepiscopal circle of Chichele, his post as king's secretary and instrumental role in the foundation process at Eton, the impetus for foundation is likely to have manifested itself to Henry VI through this channel. If Gloucester had a role in influencing the king towards the concept of foundation it was Bekynton through whom he would have filtered his ideas to the king. When Gloucester was out in the political cold Bekynton would have been the ideal channel of approach.

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[1] L.R. Betcherman, "The Making of Bishops", 407.

The strength of Bekynton's own educational outlook is amply demonstrated in the ordinances he personally drew up for the Wells Cathedral Choir in February 1459, which are imbued throughout with a compelling pastoral care.[1] While echoing the collegiate tradition in the sections on disciplinary details, the saying of prayers, behaviour in hall, the concern for the welfare of the students and their future careers, the ordinances, which were the fruit of Bekynton's years of accumulated intellectual and educational experiences, also reflect that concern for the moral welfare and instruction for the young demonstrated by the Italian humanists. The ordinances offer very detailed instructions as to the care and guidance to be offered to the young choristers. Bekynton's intention, as set out in the first lines, was to

> "direct them in the way of knowledge and good behaviour that in them they may always become the more and more perfect and at length be made worthy to receive the crown of an everlasting reward."[2]

This association of knowledge and good behaviour reflects the aims of the Italian educators who sought to offer both academic instruction and moral guidance and is a concern in evidence throughout the ordinances, for example in Bekynton's recommendations for the choice of Master of the Choristers:

> "Above all let the Master be chaste in his life that he may give a stainless example of purity to his boys and that he may the more firmly correct them in the event of any impurity. Also let the Master be someone who always sober, keeping and ever observing discretion, temperance and moderation, punishing according to the gravity of the fault and the

[1] These were the Ordinances of February 1459 for the governance of the Vicar's College. They do not survive in Bekynton's *Register* but transcriptions may be found in A. Watkin, "Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea", *Somerset Record Society*, LVI (1941): "Ordinances and Statutes of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Wells", 98-109; "Statutes for the Vicars' Choral", 139-49.

[2] Watkin, 98-9, fo. 174.

> exigencies of the time, ever having regard to both places and persons; and let him guide and teach with all diligence, lest through lack of the milk of doctrine and rule of conduct the lambs should perish under his hands or not grow to perfection as they should."[1]

The Undermaster was to share the same qualities as the Master.[2] Both were to be vigilant against any forms of immoral or vulgar behaviour which,

> "if it be tolerated even for a little while, in short time goes from bad to worse and is with the more difficulty uprooted."[3]

Bekynton's advice on the style and methods of teaching reveals a real understanding of the young and is evidence of his own experience in educational matters:

> "Let both [the Master and Undermaster] ... conform to each other as far as possible in their manner of teaching, not differing or being opposed one to the other, being plain and not obscure, being brief yet full of matter, for too much prolixity is wont sometimes to bring about weariness, boredom and diffidence in the learner and, above all things, forgetfulness."[4]

Bekynton's practical advice on the lack of discipline and concentration, which he calls stupidity or dullness, also appears the product of experience. His remedy is as follows:

> "First ... the lesson given to such a boy shall be short and brief and most carefully explained both for his information and that the lesson may be imprinted the more surely on his memory, and secondly that he have frequent and encouraging recourse to one of his companions whose intelligence is more bright and who is really anxious for the correction and improvement of this boy ... Such boys are first to be warned kindly, secondly, if they neglect these warnings, sharply to be

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[1] *Ibid.*, 99; fo. 174. Bekynton's advice closely follows Statute Fourteen of the Eton College Statutes: "a man of good report and honest conversation ... who is diligently and assiduously to instruct and teach in the knowledge of grammar the scholars ... and the by choristers ... and is diligently to direct them and promptly and carefully to supervise their life and morals ... and he is to seize those who are idle in their studies, negligent or otherwise delinquent ... But he must always be restrained by this caution, that in his chastisement he must in no wise be immoderate," ECR 58/14.

[2] *Ibid.*, 101-2, fo. 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, 102, fo. 175v.

[4] *Ibid.*, 102, fo. 175.

rebuked and thirdly, if necessity arise, to be flogged."[1]

Bekynton appreciated the need for the choristers to be permitted recreation time and he recommended up to an hour on normal days, with extra time to be provided on feast days.[2]

The sense of pastoral care displayed in these statutes is more outspoken than in Wykeham's statutes for his college at Winchester. It is inaccurate to regard Bekynton as a Wykehamist in the sense that he clung to the pedagogic traditions of the past; a far more valid pursuit is to consider not only the Wykehamical influence at work upon him, although his intellectual formation within Wykeham's collegiate tradition was certainly important, but to reflect too upon the time spent in Humphrey of Gloucester's household, and such Italian humanist beliefs as the pedagogic tradition and the professional cultivation of eloquence, to which this exposed him; and to look further back to his legal service in the *Curia Cantuariensis* under Archbishop Henry Chichele, during which his diplomatic, legal and administrative responsibilities, would have been a constant and potent reminder to him, of the need for well educated university graduates to serve the state.

The potential of Thomas Bekynton to influence the educational projects of the early 1440s should not be underestimated. As secretary Bekynton accompanied the king on his various itinerations.[3] The many patents relating to the foundation of Eton College reveal the extent to

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[1] *Ibid.*, 103, fo. 175v.

[2] *Ibid.*, 107, fo. 177v.

[3] The often quoted claim that Bekynton was "appointed his reader nearly every day" serves to illustrate the permanent proximity to the king which he seemed to enjoy during this period, Bek., *Corr.*, I, clxviii.

which the king used Bekynton as his instrument for carrying out the practical aspects of foundation.[1] Along with others Bekynton received various tenements on behalf of the College,[2] which were no doubt granted with Bekynton's inclusion on the committee dealing with the possessions of the alien priories in mind. Along with Richard Andrew and William Aiscough he acted as the king's agent to treat with commissioners of the Bishop of Lincoln to initiate the foundation proceedings.[3] It is interesting to note the presence here of two men with whom he had worked in the Canterbury court under Chichele: Richard Andrew was his co-commissioner, and William Lynde acted as the king's proctor delivering commissary letters to both sets of commissioners requiring them to execute such royal desires as the appropriation of the parish church of Eton to the College. Such business represents exactly the sort of legal and administrative transactions with which Bekynton and his associates would have been entirely at home. As Official of the Court of Canterbury he had also dealt with the surrender of alien priories and grants of land which, in addition to his position as king's secretary, no doubt accounts for his inclusion in the commission set up to deal with the administration of the alien priories, in preparation for the regranting of much of such property to Eton and King's College.[4] The character of this

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[1] ECR 39 *passim*.

[2] ECR 39/1 with James Fiennes.

[3] ECR 39/5A.

[4] *CClR 1435-41*, 493-96, 24 February 1441; the alien priory commission is discussed in Chapter Fourteen below pp. 192-206.

commission had a dual face. There were men like Bekynton, Stafford and Andrew, who had served in the Court of Canterbury under Chichele,[1] and those whose influences lay in the household sphere under Suffolk. Aiscough and Moleyns were particularly associated with Suffolk, Lowe was king's confessor by 25 February 1432,[2] and while he became bishop of St Asaph in 1433,[3] had his background in the household. John Somerset served in the household as the king's physician and teacher, and the three esquires mentioned also occupied household positions.

Many of the original endowment patents are to be found addressed to these men in their capacity as alien priory commissioners.[4] During this same period Bekynton was also archdeacon of Buckingham, Official of the Court of Canterbury, a member of Convocation, and occasionally Prolocutor, and twice served on diplomatic missions, to Calais in 1439 and to Armagnac in 1442. Apart from his legal work Bekynton had long concerned himself in foreign matters, especially regarding the English cause against France and Scotland.[5]

All this is to suggest that Bekynton was a royal servant of great industry, and as such it is doubtful whether he can have been fully involved in the process by which the Eton foundation became a much

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1 Stafford had been Advocate of the Court of Arches, 5 December 1414, *Reg. Chichele*, IV, 110, and Auditor of Causes by 1419, *ibid.*, 641.

2 *CPR 1429-36*, 196.

3 *Reg. Chichele*, I, 117; *CPR 1429-36*, 262.

4 For example ECR 39/13, 14, 38, 39.

5 His authorship of the treatise *De Jure Regum Anglorum Ad Regnum Franciae*, his narratives and diaries from embassies in 1435 and 1439, and the *Iter* of 1442, have been noted above, p. 88 note 3 and p. 89 note 1.

more grandiose conception, and by which it came to lean more towards educational ends than towards a chantry purpose.[1] Bekynton's long absences from the country must also be considered. From May until October in 1439 he was in Calais, and he was also abroad for eight months of 1442. He was closely interested in the progress at Eton; very probably it was he who raised Waynflete's name with the king. Bekynton's role, however, must be put into perspective. In 1443 he left the household milieu, firstly to serve as Keeper of the Privy Seal, although this was for less than a year due to Suffolk's promotion of Adam Moleyns to that position, and latterly to take up his episcopal position as Bishop of Bath and Wells. He spent just under fourteen of his twenty-one years as bishop resident in his diocese, where he arrived on 29 March 1444, after having resigned his Keepership on 11 February 1444. He was not exempted from public duties and continued to attend parliament, although he does not seem to have been very active on that front beyond acting as a trier of petitions in several parliaments. On six occasions he was unable to attend and so appointed proctors. In later life he showed much less interest in Henry VI's foundations, unlike Waynflete, who used the resources of his episcopal treasury, to complete the building works at Eton.[2] His will, proved in the Canterbury Court on 23 January 1465 did not include any bequests to Eton or King's College, despite all the bequests going to pious uses. Those that did benefit were Wells church, New College, Winchester

[1] On the developments at Eton after 1441 see below Chapter Nine, pp. 123-143.

[2] See below Chapter Ten, pp. 144-157.

College, the hospital of St. Katherine By The Tower in London, the church of Sutton Courtenay, the poor of Bedwin and Beckington, the Austin Friars in Bristol, the Friars Minor in Bridgewater, ten honest priests to study at Oxford, his serving men, yeomen and household, his successor as Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his native village of Beckington. Other colleges which received his benefactions were Merton and Lincoln at Oxford. Masses were also to be said for his benefactors Gloucester and Wykeham.[1]

Bekynton's interest in Eton College cannot, however, be doubted. Before his mission to Bordeaux he wrote to Suffolk on 12 June 1442 commending himself to the provost and fellows of the College.[2] He was consecrated in the half finished chapel on 13 October 1443 with Aiscough and Alnwick, both foundation associates officiating. In December 1443 he attended at Eton, along with Suffolk, for the purpose of formally opening the college. While his will did not include any bequests to Eton, at some stage in his episcopal career he made a gift to the college of sixty-three silver spoons with gilt knobs and engraved with his episcopal insignia.[3]

Bekynton was the lynchpin between the circle of lawyer-ecclesiastics, a number of whom were Wykehamists, promoted by Archbishop Chichele to the Court of Canterbury, and the development

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[1] Judd, *Life of Bekynton*, 163.

[2] *The Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou, Bishop Bekynton and Others*, ed. C. Monro, (Camden Society, old series, LXXXVI, 1863), 79. Indeed all the letters written by Bekynton in that collection were to people who were either feoffees in 1441 or Duchy feoffees for both colleges 1443-9.

[3] From a sixteenth century inventory, Judd, *Life of Bekynton*, 50. & see ECR chapel inventory.

of Eton and King's College under the aegis of William Waynflete. There is no definite proof that Bekynton was responsible for bringing Waynflete to the king's notice, although the hard working secretary would certainly have been aware of Waynflete's headmastership at Winchester, and the value of the king making a visit there.

Coming from the circles of Chichele and Gloucester, after resigning his fellowship at New College, he must have been invested with a strong sense of the importance of education, evident from his own later statutes at Wells, and therefore have been pressing the king to emphasise the educational aspect of his foundation. It is more than likely that he recommended Waynflete, whether before or after the king's visit to Winchester, as a man well placed to advise Henry on educational developments at Eton. Had Bekynton not been on the scene in the late 1430s it not impossible that Eton would have remained in the style of a pious chantry foundation, and current discussions about the Wykehamist influences on Eton and King's would hardly have taken root. It was primarily Bekynton's academic and professional background, and the position of confidence he attained with the Henry, which pushed the king that way.

CHAPTER SEVEN
The Role of the Earl of Suffolk

The prominence of the Earl of Suffolk in government and household was a key feature of political life in the later 1430s and 1440s. His position was underpinned by the connections he developed to provide political credibility in the eyes of his peers, such as those with William Philip in East Anglia, and Richard Alred and Henry Somer in the Thames Valley.[1] Suffolk had achieved prominence in the household by 1436. This is amply demonstrated by his acquisition of numerous grants and privileges by that date.[2] Other interests in the household soon became associated with Suffolk; that of Sir Ralph Butler, who had been Bedford's chief chamberlain and a knight of the body from 1430; that of Sir John Beauchamp of Powick, another of Bedford's councillors and a king's carver by 1432; and that of James Fiennes, who owed his introduction in the household to his brother Roger who had served as a king's knight since the days of Henry V,[3] and had since become Treasurer of the Household. This household group entrenched itself further by taking over many of the key Duchy of Lancaster appointments in the later 1430s. Suffolk and Philip were appointed to the chief stewardships which enabled them to staff Duchy offices with

1 Watts, Ph.D. thesis, 180-3.
2 *CPR 1429-36*, 508-9, 514, 590.
3 *CPR 1416-22*, 54.

other household men. When William Philip died in the summer of 1441 his replacement was Roger Fiennes. Richard Alred became Receiver-General,[1] Walter Sherrington was granted the office of Chancellor for life,[2] and when Sir Walter Hungerford relinquished the post of Chamberlain in 1441 it was granted to his son Sir Edmund Hungerford, the king's carver.[3]

All these men became feoffees in the king's foundation projects, as well as having received grants and reversions of the properties of the alien priories during the early period of the king's majority rule.[4] Two further foundation feoffees were householders given offices in the Duchy of Lancaster; in 1442 the reversions of the chancellorship of both duchy and county palatine were granted to William Tresham,[5] and in 1443 Thomas Tuddenham joined Suffolk as Chief Steward of the north parts.[6]

Given this, a significant household influence on the king concerning the foundation projects of Eton and King's College is a possibility requiring examination.[7] A corporate design can perhaps be

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1 R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, (London, 1953),398-9.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, 417.

4 See Appendix IV, Table 5c, pp. 330-331.

5 Somerville, *Duchy*, 390, 476.

6 *Ibid.*, 420-1. For the household domination of offices in the Duchy see G.L. Harriss, "The Finance of the Royal Household 1437-60", D.Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1953), 43, 51.

7 Watts has argued, "It should be accepted that the royal interest in this area [ie of the foundations] should be treated with caution. The fact that the colleges were the product of almost the only piece of consistent and sustained policy in the entire reign is not a reason to assume that they emanated, uniquely, from the will of Henry of Windsor. The project was an ideal vehicle for drawing together lay and clerical members of the household and involving them in the corporate deployment of the personal power of the king: the only sufficient authority for the vast expenditure of semi-public money which the plan involved," Watts, Ph.D. thesis, 191.

detected when the plans for funding the projects are taken into consideration, for, while the endowments were drawn from the resources of the alien priories, the building works were funded by a series of Duchy of Lancaster feoffments.[1] The composition of men who formed the alien priory commission appointed to receive all alien priory lands of 3 and 12 September 1440 were all men to be found close to the king, and were almost all closely associated with Suffolk.[2] Bekynton was the king's secretary, Richard Andrew became the king's secretary and was the first Warden of All Souls, John Lowe had been the king's confessor since 1432, Alnwick and Aiscough were also king's confessors, James Fiennes and John Hampton were householders frequently about the king,[3] Adam Moleyns was clerk of the council, John Somerset was Chancellor of the Exchequer and the king's physician and teacher and from January 1441 served as the king's almoner,[4] and William Tresham was also a household esquire. Suffolk himself played a significant role in the foundation processes; he too was an alien priory commissioner, he was present with Bekynton at the opening ceremony at Eton, and stood in for the king in laying the first stone of King's College Chapel. He also headed the group of bishops who brought the royal statutes to King's College in 1447,[5] and headed the list of those appointed, in 1446, to hear the oath of William

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1 Somerville, *Duchy*, 210, 221.
2 *CPR 1436-41*, 454, 471.
3 For Hampton see *CPR 1436-41*, 45, 76, 221, 232, 285.
4 Emden, *Oxford*, 1727-8.
5 *VCH Cambridge* II, 378.

Millington, the first provost of King's College.[1] A number of Suffolk's personal, as opposed to household, connections were also actively involved in the foundations: John Ulveston, Suffolk's Steward, was receiver of Eton's revenues, and Henry Somer, a Thames Valley associate of Suffolk's, was one of the royal agents in the foundation of King's College.[2]

Even after the 1440 feoffment was ended these men continued to work together in a variety of ways, notably the duchy feoffments of 1443-5 to fund the building works at Eton and King's College. This larger body of feoffees contained all those of 1440-1 with the exceptions of Chichele, who had died, and John Lowe, soon to be bishop of Rochester. There are numerous other examples of the ways in which the feoffees continued to act together:[3] Aiscough, Bekynton and Hampton received a forfeiture for the building of Eton on 23 January 1442,[4] four days later Aiscough, Suffolk, Bekynton, Sever, Carpenter and Hampton were involved together in the levying of taxation on Cheshire, and of a fine on the Duchess of Norfolk.[5] On 16 February 1442 the same group received farms paid by the Earl of Devon and others for the keeping of the Bodrugan heir,[6] and on 19 December 1444 Suffolk, Waynflete and Hampton received the wardship and

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[1] PRO C.81/1370/32.

[2] *VCH Cambridgeshire* II, 379.

[3] I am indebted here to John Watts for pointing out many of the following examples.

[4] *CPR 1441-6*, 35.

[5] *Ibid.*, 32, 50.

[6] *Ibid.*, 54.

marriage of the Speke heir and a fine to be paid by the widow.[1] In October 1441 Aiscough, Suffolk, Bekynton, John Golafre, John Noreys and others formed a group for the purpose of repairing the road from Abingdon to Dorchester.[2]

Watts suggests that a guild-like structure had developed, centred on the household,[3] whose purpose was to facilitate the foundation processes and bind together those involved into a cohesive group at the heart of government. The implication is that the Eton and King's College projects were part of a deliberate effort by Suffolk to strengthen his own position by involving his entourage in a series of feoffments which would necessitate close working relationships and a personal stake in a certain aspect of Lancastrian statecraft, in this case the royal foundations. This is probably too rigid an interpretation for the alliance networks which existed, and the motives for foundation were undoubtedly more amorphous than Watts had the space to suggest; nevertheless his suggestion that the timing of the foundations was related to an effort to reinforce the king's emergence into majority rule is important, and there is no doubt that Suffolk played a significant role in the foundation processes, even if his was not the original inspiration. He was certainly present when decisions about the foundations were being made; for example when letters patent were issued late in March 1441 for the Eton endowment,[4] and, along with James Fiennes and John

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[1] *Ibid.*, 316.

[2] *Ibid.*, 36-7.

[3] Watts, Ph.D. thesis, 193.

[4] PRO E28/67/28-43; for the patent, *CPR 1436-41*, 556.

Somerset, in mid February 1441 when the patents for the foundation of King's College were issued.[1] Suffolk's attack on the Duchy of Lancaster feoffment should also be regarded as evidence of his involvement in the foundation projects, as well as, and if not more importantly, a desire to perpetuate his own position in government. A Commons petition of 1442 emphatically demanded the cessation of the feoffment,[2] at a parliament in which Suffolk's associate William Tresham was officiating as Speaker. Indeed he had also been Speaker during earlier attacks by the Commons on the feoffment.[3] Almost as soon as the surviving feoffees, Beaufort, Hungerford, and Chichele, had surrendered in 1443 a valuation was begun on 25 May.[4] It had been declared that the resources were to be used to stabilise household finances, but in actual fact the funds were destined to be used on the royal foundations. In December 1444 £1,000 p.a. was granted to each college out of named duchy lands. In July 1446 the terms were raised to provide an extra four hundred marks for Eton and £400 for King's College from Michaelmas 1444.[5] Of course, the winding up of the feoffment may also be seen as an attempt to undermine Cardinal Beaufort's power, and its bases in the council and the Duchy of Lancaster.

Suffolk's domination of government is also one likely explanation

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[1] PRO E28/66/29-67; for the patent, *CPR 1436-41*, 521-3.

[2] *RP* V, 56-9.

[3] Eg in 1439-40, *RP* V, 4, 36.

[4] Harriss, D. Phil. thesis, 67; Somerville, *Duchy*, 206.

[5] *Ibid.*, 221 note 6.

for the treatment meted out to Duke Humphrey regarding the interference with his endowment. The Duke had received a series of endowments in the late 1430s of which income from alien priory properties formed a significant part.[1] In 1443 the Duke was suddenly obliged to make over the revenues to Eton College.[2] Alternative sources of income were arranged between Gloucester and Cromwell, so the move should not necessarily be viewed as a punitive measure against Gloucester. What it does represent, however, is a concerted effort to bring forward the reversions of a number of the alien priory properties granted to Eton College; the College was destined to enjoy the Duke Humphrey revenues by the terms of its original endowment charter of 25 March 1441. The Duke's 1443 handover was in effect a resumption in order to achieve a more immediate transfer of property so that Eton might more fully enjoy the munificence of its endowment. This, as the chapter on the progress of the works demonstrates, was not an example of hostility to Gloucester, but was rather a response to the enlargement of the college plans in 1443 and the formal linking of the king's two

[1] See Appendix IV,Table 2b, p. 314.

[2] See Appendix IV, Tables 3b and 7, pp. 317-319, 334-336.

foundations.[3]

[3] Watts, Ph.D. thesis, 217-8, sees the plans for the enlargement of the royal foundations along with the Duchy feoffments in November 1443 as a consequence of household officers moving into the key offices of state in July 1443 (for example Lord Sudeley replacing Lord Cromwell as Treasurer, *CPR 1441-6*, 158,180, and Thomas Cromwell becoming Keeper of the Privy Seal); a period which also saw a decline in the activity of the council. The 1443 feoffees indeed reflected the household and Duchy establishment such as Sudeley, Sir John Beauchamp of Powick and Sir John Noreys, and a number of lords associated with Beaufort power and the council: Archbishop Kemp, the Earl of Northumberland, Viscount Beaumont, and Lords Cromwell and Hungerford. Kemp was also appointed one of the conservators of the lands of King's College (*VCH Cambridgeshire* III, 377). Bishop Gilbert of London, another feoffee, was a friend of Kemp's (Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 66 note 53). Northumberland's inclusion was part of his rehabilitation following trouble earlier in 1443 (Watts, Ph.D. thesis, 202). It is probable that Watts has placed too much emphasis on the idea that the household feoffees were responsible for these initiatives, particularly with regard to the enlargement of the Colleges, where the influences were of a quite different provenance. The enlargement plans at both colleges are discussed below in Chapters Nine and Thirteen.

PART THREE:
THE FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER EIGHT
The Stated Objectives of the Eton Foundation and the Original Endowment

The previous section highlighted the various influences which may have prompted the foundation of Eton and King's College and shaped their development. An important consideration is the way in which these influences worked upon Henry VI. Some historians have sought to deny the king any initiative or even any active role in the foundation process, arguing that his lack of interest and ability in the political spheres of government extended to other aspects of his kingship too.[1] A basic level of interest on the part of the king is suggested by the numerous royal signatures 'R.H.' on many of the foundation documents,[2] although the possibility must exist that the king may have signed such documents without being intimate with their contents, or perhaps without even having read them. The proximity of Eton to Windsor Castle, however, where the king spent much of his time, must have encouraged him to monitor progress on the building works.

The influence of the household on the king was certainly a potent factor of political life from the late 1430s.[3] The other primary influence at work on the king was what has been called the

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[1] This is implied by Watts in his thesis, as discussed in Chapter Seven above.

[2] See especially ECR 39/74, 75, 78, 81.

[3] McFarlane has suggested that it was Henry's delicate health which threw him back on the household, since he was forced to spend so much of his time in the country, remote from the rest of the councillors in London,*Cambridge Medieval History* VIII, 399-400.

Wykehamical force. Such influences should more accurately be interpreted as the influence of two individuals: Thomas Bekynton and William Waynflete.[1]

There is much evidence to suggest that Henry was in fact closely concerned with the progress of his foundation at Eton. There are the more lyrical accounts of this interest, such as the passages in Blacman's eulogy, which reveal the king as a devoted patron, zealous in his concern for the welfare of his Eton scholars, but there is also more sober evidence, like the concern evinced by the founder for papal approval of his project, and his employment of his secretary, Thomas Bekynton, to conduct negotiations with the Holy See in the search for ratification. On 13 May 1443 in a letter to Rome Henry told the Pope that Eton was "the first earnest of his devotion to God,"[2] and in his 'Will' of 1448 he called the foundations "the prymer notable werk" of his reign.[3] Nevertheless, when Henry is compared to his father as a royal founder it is immediately apparent that while the Sheen and Syon foundation processes involved few men in addition to the king himself, Henry VI's foundations involved a large number of royal servants.

An examination of the stated objectives of the Eton foundation will provide a further platform from which to develop an analysis of the motives of the various people involved in the process. It is worth recording here the stated aims of the founder as set out in three royal

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[1] For Bekynton see Chapter Six above, pp. 80-98, and for Waynflete see Chapter Seventeen below, pp. 232-243.

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, I, 231.

[3] ECR 39/78. It may of course be argued that Henry's ardour was manufactured by Bekynton's own enthusiasm for the project.

documents: the preamble to the Foundation Charter dated 11 October 1440, the Endowment Charter in letters patent of 25 March 1441 and confirmed in the parliament of 1442, and the first statute of the Eton College Statutes compiled c.1452-3 and entitled "The Intention and Plan of the Founder".

(i) Preamble to the Foundation Charter, 11 October 1440

"The triumphant church that reigneth on high, whose head is the eternal father, and to whom hosts of saints minister, while choirs of angels sing the glory of her praise, hath appointed as her vicar on earth the church militant, which the only-begotten Son of the same God hath so united to Himself in the bond of eternal love as to deign to name her His most beloved Bride; and in accordance with the dignity of so great a name, He, as a true and most loving Bridegroom, hath endowed her with gifts of His grace so ample that she is called and is the mother and mistress of all who are born again in Christ, having power as a mother over each of them; and all the faithful honour her with filial obedience as mother and mistress. With this lofty ideal before them, saintly princes in times past, and most particularly our forbears, have always so endeavoured to pay the highest honour and devout worship to the same Holy Church that, besides many other glorious works of their goodness in her praise and in honour of her Spouse, their royal devotion hath founded monasteries, churches, and other places of piety richly established in abundance of property and goods, not only in this our realm of England, but also in divers foreign lands. Wherefore, we also, who, by the disposition of the same King of kings (through whom all kings do reign), have now taken into our own hands the government of both our realms, have from the very beginning of our riper age carefully turned over in our mind how, or in what manner, or by what royal gift, according to the measure of our devotion and the example of our ancestors, we could do fitting honour to that our same mistress and most holy mother, to the pleasure of that her great Spouse. And at length, while we were inwardly pondering these things, it hath become a fixed purpose in our heart to found a college, in honour and support of that our mother, who is so great and so holy, in the parochial church of Eton beside Windsor, not far from our birthplace."[1]

(ii) The Endowment Charter, 25 March 1441

"Henry by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that, whereas we lately, according to a vow which we conceived from the time of our entering upon a mature age, instituted, founded, and with the authority, licence and assent of all whom it interests, as in our letters then drawn up is more fully contained, established a certain college, to the glory and honour of the crucified name, and the praise and veneration of the Most Blessed Virgin, his mother, the exaltation

[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 556; H & W, 388-9; Bek., *Corr.*, II, 279; Maxwell-Lyte, 5.

and adornment of the church militant, our most holy mother, and the establishment of the Christian faith, in the church of the said Blessed Virgin Mary of Eton, next to Windsor, the place of our nativity, and on a site contiguous to the same to be called Collegium Regale Beatae Mariae de Etona juxta Wyndesoram ... to endure by God's grace, as we fervently hope, for all future time: we, lest such a pious work initiated by our love should now be defrauded of the results of its due consummation, which we should altogether deplore, or at anytime, and may it not happen, through lack of sufficient endowment and provision, decline from its perpetuity, or be unable to support the burdens incumbent on it, of our mere liberality, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given, granted, and by this our present charter confirmed to our beloved in Christ Henry Sever, now provost of the said College ... and his successors, a yearly pension of ... (then follows the endowment)."[1]

(iii) Statute One: The Intention and Plan of the Founder, c.1452-3

"...we Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland ... trusting in the goodness of the highest maker of things, who knows, directs and disposes the wishes of all who believe in him, desiring to transfer our temporal royal treasures into eternal treasures, have by apostolic and our own royal authority, ordained, instituted, founded, and established, from the goods which in this life God by the grace of his plenitude has abundantly bestowed upon us, two perpetual colleges, one, to wit ... in the diocese of Ely ... and a certain other perpetual college of other poor and indigent scholar clerks to learn grammar, and of other persons described below, in the town of Eton, near Windsor, the place of our nativity ... to the praise, glory, and honour of the name of the crucified, and of the most glorious Virgin Mary, his mother, and the maintenance and exaltation of the Christian faith, the profit of holy church, and the increase of divine worship, and of the liberal arts, sciences and faculties, as is more fully contained in apostolic bulls and our charters and letters patent made concerning the ordinances, institutions and foundations of the said colleges."[2]

The aims expressed in the Foundation and Endowment Charters are of a formulaic nature and deeply religious in tone, in which the king dedicates his College to the praise, honour and glory of God and the Virgin Mary. This was an objective shared by all founders. It was not until the statutes were produced that the more detailed religious motives

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[1] *RP* V, 47a-49b.

[2] ECR Audit Roll 1452-3; "pro scriptorum libri statutorum et correctione alterius libri statutorum 20s"; ECR 56 for the statutes.

were fully set down, suggesting that in 1440 and 1441, it was the material endowment of the college which was paramount.

In both the Foundation and the Endowment Charters it is recounted that Henry had been "thinking over these things with the most profound attention." What this means is not that the king had been formulating a detailed exposition of all the religious and other motives involved, but more simply that, in conjunction with his advisers, he had reached the decision that to found a college would be a good idea, and a solution to the fate of the alien priory properties. The detailed motives were worked out by others in the king's name. Such details had not been worked out in 1440, and therefore the Foundation Charter of 11 October 1440, and the Endowment Charter of 25 March 1441, are adorned with conventional religious rhetoric. In the first of the statutes, compiled c.1452-3 but undoubtedly modelled on an earlier working copy, the intentions of the founder go further than the conventional claims of the earlier documents, and now included "... the increase of divine worship, and of the liberal arts and sciences and faculties." In 1440, any educational aims were veiled indeed, and encompassed by the phrase "[to the] exaltation and adornment of the church militant." The needs of the church were outlined as the spreading of sacred theology, the propagation of the faith, and the extirpation of heresy. The need for learning was obviously implied in these desires but was not specifically stated. By the time the statutes had been compiled, however, learning was mentioned as an end in itself. It has been suggested that by this time

the so-called 'Wykehamists' had had a chance to get to work on the statutes, and that they were men whose aims were more secular, more practical, more earthbound, less spiritually motivated, and concerned, rather, in educating men for the government and administration.[1] The Wykehamist argument is discussed in depth below, but here it should be stated that such secular claims ought not to be exaggerated; the Eton Statutes are inspired throughout by religious and moral purpose, and consist of minutely detailed instructions for the religious and administrative rituals to be observed in the new foundation.

Another purpose common in pious foundations was the chantry element and the desire for the prayers of men of learning. The lengthy thirty-first statute focusses in intricate detail on the manner in which masses were to be said, and desires that the priests were

> "to keep and have ... a special remembrance for our welfare while we are in this life among the living, and for our soul when we are among the dead, and for the souls of our parents and of all benefactors of the said royal college whose names we have recited and inscribed on a tablet."[2]

Henry V and Queen Katherine are mentioned by name for an obit on the anniversaries of their death. William Waynflete is also mentioned in person: "for the soul of the reverend father in Christ, William Bishop of Winchester, late provost of our royal college."[3]

Henry VI was well aware of the value of such prayers and intercessions. This is demonstrated in his licence to William Bingham

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[1] J. Saltmarsh, *Henry VI and the Royal Foundations*, (Cambridge, 1972), 10.

[2] ECR 58, Statute 31: 110-27; extract 122-3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 126.

for the foundation of Godshouse, Cambridge:

> "Observing by divine inspiration that the founders of sacred places are most faithfully commended by the prayers and intercessions of the same before all the other benefactors and enjoy the same intercessions almost as first fruits for ever and resolving to alleviate by prayers and devotions the great dangers ... for ourselves and the realm ... know that we graciously assenting to the prayers and supplication of the said William Bingham ... deign to found a certain perpetual college of a proctor and certain scholars in grammar and the other liberal faculties in our said town of Cambridge, to study and to pray for our healthful state and that of William Bingham himself while we live and for our souls when we shall have departed from this light and for the souls of our most illustrious parents and progenitors sometime Kings and Queens of England and for the souls of the parents of the said William Bingham and of other benefactors of the same college and of all the faithful departed."[1]

The passages from the Foundation and Endowment Charters quoted above emphasise, not only Henry's desire to demonstrate his devotion to the church, but, more importantly, reveal that he saw, or was made to regard his collegiate foundation as a potent symbol of his having grasped the full reins of power, which he had done formally in November 1437.[2] The passage in the 'Will' of 1448 which refers to the foundations as "the prymer notable werk" of the reign has commonly been assumed to mean that Henry considered his foundations as the main achievement of his reign. A more accurate interpretation of the word 'prymer' might, however, be 'first' or 'earliest'. The details of the plan had not been fully conceived; no matter, it was the gesture of foundation that mattered at the onset of Henry's maturity; a propagandist play for confidence in, and support for, mature Lancastrian kingship.

That the shift towards educational objectives occurred

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[1] A.H. Lloyd, *The Early History of Christ's College, Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1934), 30.

[2] *PPC* V, 70; 12 November 1437.

subsequently reflects the partially conceived status of the proposed foundation. The Charter of Foundation goes on to sketch out a constitution for the college[1] and nominates ten of the original members. The reference to the grammar master seems to come as something of an afterthought; certainly no-one was nominated in the Foundation Charter to fill the position, unlike the positions of the provost, priest and choristers.

In the autumn of 1440 Henry VI did not envisage Eton's development primarily along the lines of an educational institution, but rather conceived it in imitation of the foundations of his ancestors. If the educational purpose was not initially emphasised this was because either there was not perceived to be any need for the king to establish such an institution, and that the royal chapel school and the King's Hall at Cambridge were regarded as providing sufficient schooling for court protegés and future servants of the Crown,[2] or more probably, not that there was no need for a school, but that all the aspects of the foundation had not yet been considered, and it was therefore the traditional motives which were first espoused.

In considering these early objectives the example of Wykeham's two colleges deserve mention. By 1445 Winchester and New College were closely linked with Eton and King's College, a fact given public expression in the *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444. The non-educational tone of the 1440 Foundation Charter suggests, however, that an

[1] H & W, 388-93.

[2] Cobban, *The King's Hall Within the University of Cambridge in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1969), 1.

emulation of Wykeham's educational establishments did not yet exist in the mind of the king or his associates. Had the Eton and King's College projects been conceived from the outset as two halves of a single endeavour, mention would surely have been made of a university foundation in the autumn of 1440. When, a few months later in February 1441, the king did establish a college at Cambridge a reference to some connection with Eton might have been expected; there was none.

The earliest evidence that a royal foundation was being planned at Eton may be detected in the acquisition, by the king, of the advowson of the parish church of Eton in August 1440. A document extant in the College archives begins: "Here ensuen the desyrys of Ric' Lovell for the Recompence of his advowson of the Chirche of Eaton."[1] Three further patents, dated 27 and 29 August, and 3 September, 1440, permitted William Whaplode, Nicholas Clopton, and John Faringdon the advowson of the church of Great Billing in Northamptonshire in exchange for an acre of land in Eton, and the advowson of the church there.[2] Letters patent of 3 September further appointed Thomas Bekynton, clerk, and James Fiennes, esquire, as king's attorneys to receive this acre, and to receive from Hugh Aylewyn, alias Dyer, two tenements in Eton.[3] The same date saw the appointment, during

[1] ECR 54/3, dated September 1440, when the advowson became the king's property, *CPR 1436-41*, 454.

[2] ECR 54/4, 5, 6.

[3] *CPR 1436-41*, 454, 3 September 1440; ECR 39/1.

pleasure, of the following men "to fulfil the king's intent and will": Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Lowe, Bishop of St. Asaph, William Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, John Somerset, Thomas Bekynton, clerk and king's secretary, and two esquires, John Hampton and James Fiennes. These men were charged with the responsibility of

> "the keeping of all priories, possessions and portions of aliens in England to whatsoever foreign religious houses belonging, which are in the king's hands at present,"

and to them was also granted:

> "rents, farms, issues, profits, of all such priories ... as are in the hands of farmers or tenants for term of life or years; and of all apports, pensions and portions sometime belonging to the said houses abroad, and now of the king, to hold from Easter last, and the said grantees shall also have the premises so in the hands of farmers, or others as these fall in."[1]

The establishment of this group to administer the lands of the former alien priories which had passed into Crown hands has been unjustifiably neglected by historians writing about the royal foundations of Henry VI at Eton and Cambridge. It was the very lands administered by this group which formed the bulk of the royal endowment to Eton College. The format of this commission, and the roles played by its members, reflects not only the corporate intent of the foundation project but highlights the importance of analysing the fate of the alien priories.[2]

The earliest manifestation of the king's design was revealed in

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] This is discussed more fully in Chapter Fourteen below, pp. 192-206.

letters patent of 12 September 1440, written at Windsor Castle.[1] The letters appointed three men, master Robert Kent, William Lynde, and William Waryn, to declare to William Alnwick, the Bishop of Lincoln, within whose diocesan jurisdiction the parish of Eton lay, the king's intention to

> "found a college of a provost, fellows, priests, clerks, boys, and poor and indigent scholars and other poor men, and of a master in grammar."

The three men were to

> "obtain the bishop's consent thereto, and to carry out the business of the said foundation."

The patent is vague. No numbers are specified, and, indeed, what the business of the said foundation was actually to be, is left unsaid.

The Bishop of Lincoln in turn appointed men to act on his behalf. These were William Aiscough, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the legally trained William Lyndwood, Thomas Bekynton, and Richard Andrew. This group received authority from Alnwick to convert the parochial church of Eton into a collegiate church, governed by a provost and fellows, and to receive the resignation of the rector, and then to give corporal investiture to the provost designate.[2]

The royal and episcopal proctors delayed the execution of their respective functions until 13 October 1440 by which time they were in possession of the foundation charter, dated 11 October 1440.[3] They met in Eton church, and, after declaring that the building was

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[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 455.

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, II, 274-8.

[3] ECR 39/3, 4; *CPR 1436-41*, 556; Bek., *Corr.*, II, 279-85; H & W, 388-93.

henceforth a collegiate church, they adjourned for one week.[1] At the second meeting Bekynton, as Archdeacon of Buckingham, gave his assent to the appropriation of the church to the provost, fellows, and college. The proctors then accepted the resignation of the rector, John Kette, who had been appointed one of the original fellows in the foundation charter. Henry Sever was then formally inducted as provost.[2]

The letters patent by which Eton received its original, and largest, endowment are dated 25 March 1441. These do not survive at Eton College but their contents are extant in the form in which they were confirmed in the parliament of 1442.[3] Too little attention has been devoted to the endowments of Eton College, which has led to the neglect of such important aspects as the large household element involved in the king's alien priory grants, during the transition period from minority to early majority rule, in the period before these resources were made over to Eton and King's College, Cambridge.[4]

Henry VI also obtained many properties and lands in the parishes of Eton and Windsor, although the accumulation of such lands throughout the 1440s was more often the initiative of the college itself

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[1] The public instrument relating the meeting of the commissioners is preserved as ECR 39/5A.

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, II, 285-7, 290-2.

[3] *RP* V, 47a-49b; H & W, 393-403; English translation by Noel Blakiston ECR 3.

[4] On the household element see Appendix IV, Tables 5a-c, and 7, pp. 329-331, 334-336.

rather then the result of royal grants.[1] The royal endowments to Eton are detailed in full in the Appendices below.[2]

An examination of the estates, manors, alien priories, and other lands granted to Eton College in the original endowment of 1441, and a discussion of who held them previously, and how they came to be granted to the college, reveals a striking pattern, the significance of which has not been previously exploited, nor even sufficiently explained. That the endowment was made possible by the royal acquisition of the alien priories during the reign of Henry V is well known. To explain away the endowment so simply is, however, far from satisfactory.

Many alien revenues were granted to Queen Joan of Navarre, wife of Henry IV, as part of her dowry, by letters patent of 1 July 1409, and renewed by Henry V on 27 January 1414,[3] which were forfeited when she fell into disfavour and became embroiled in a witchcraft charge in 1419. When she died in 1437 these dower lands, which had

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[1] The ECR catalogues 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 contain a vast number of deeds concerning these parishes. By letters patent of 24 January 1445, part of the manor of Eton, known as the fee of Oliver of Burdeux, was obtained (*CPR 1441-6*, 334). Another part of the manor was known as Moleyns fee, and, although no patent was enrolled recording this grant, the college had nevertheless received the property by 1446, since the court roll of 5 December that year records college ownership as the result of an exchange between the king and Robert, Lord Moleyns, and Eleanor, his wife (ECR 9, no.2 m.4, Appx. p.53). The grant in frankalmoign of all the lands of the late Robert Hungerford, Lord Moleyns, in Eton and New and Old Windsor, was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1447 (*RP* V, 130). The Eton part of this fee became known as Bridge Street. Some courts of the Windsor fee of La Mote for 1447 and 1448 also appear on these rolls. The grant of this manor and its appurtenances appears on the parliamentary roll for 5 March 1444 (*ibid.*, 89a). The manor had been obtained from William, Marquess of Suffolk, and others. It is evident that the college had to surrender its manorial jurisdiction in Eton and Windsor to Edward IV, although only the Moleyns fee is mentioned in the revocation of 3 August 1462 (*CPR 1461-7*, 196); the court rolls end, and the word manor disappears from the rentals (see ECR 9, ECR 39/23, 25, 26, 36, 40, 42, 49, 52, 53, 62, 72, 83-9, 91, 92; in the 1450s ECR 39/110, 111, 120; and also ECR 38/217, 31/416, 13/795.

[2] See especially Appendix IV, Tables 3b, 7, 8a, pp. 317-319, 334-336, 337 below.

[3] *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7; *CPR 1413-16*, 164-7.

largely been restored to her by 1431, became available again for patronage distribution. This occurred during the period that Henry VI was attaining majority rule and initiating the escalating series of patronage grants to favoured servants, particularly those of his household amongst whom he had been raised.[1]

The previous histories of many of the estates which came to Eton College share similar characteristics; they became available in the late 1430s as alien resources in crown hands; they were at the disposal of a young king reaching majority rule who wished to reward his loyal followers. The result was a spate of grants, mainly to household servants, which only a few years later were reversed by these recipients and regranted to the king for his royal foundation at Eton. The patent rolls of the late 1430s are littered with grants concerning alien properties which subsequently passed to Eton and which in many cases were held by householders. These developments are fully documented in the Appendices which list and cross reference the fate of the alien priories.

This series of life grants, and grants during pleasure which later became life grants, are in keeping with what has long been known about the profligate distribution of patronage by the king in the late 1430s. This has been universally interpreted as the wanton squandering of royal resources, and the granting away, in many cases permanently, of valuable sources of income and patronage, and has been condemned for

[1] On Queen Joan's dower lands see below: Appendix II, pp. 297-303, and Appendix IV, Tables 2a, 5a-d, 7, 8a-c, pp. 312-313, 329-332, 334-336, 337-339.

the loss of royal influence which it is alleged to have caused, especially in the localities. The series of Welsh grants are a particularly notorious example of this trend.[1]

The motives for and the reasons behind the granting away of the alien priory resources to householders should, however, be considered carefully. Were they simply part of the great royal handout of the later 1430s ? Was the king bent on the permanent alienation from the crown of the resources of all the alien priories ? The need to utilise these resources towards some pious purpose would have been impressed upon him from a very young age. The grants to householders of alien priory resources during pleasure offer a straightforward explanation: the king was rewarding his favoured servants with a temporary revenue, while at the same time reserving to himself the opportunity to do something pious with the resources at some time in the future. The life grants of alien resources are less easy to explain. The most obvious explanation is that Henry did indeed make such grants irresponsibly, and that the resources were soon diverted to Eton College because the king had been persuaded to act with greater sense and political maturity before it was too late and he had granted away the bulk of the revenue intended for pious uses.

[1] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 336-9.

CHAPTER NINE
The Progress of the Works at Eton

In contrast with the endowment process, the building of the college is an aspect of the endowment that has been minutely focussed upon by historians. They have, however, dealt largely with the physical processes alone.[1] That is, they have concentrated on such aspects as the labour force for the works at Eton, its impressment and its changing composition over time; wages, and how this varied between types of artisan; the types of stone used and the various places of its acquisition; and how consignments of stone can be shown to reflect the degree of progress achieved. Historians have also addressed the problem of how to explain the series of changed plans for the physical appearance of the college which were produced in the late 1440s, and it is this which warrants close attention.

The present task is not to confute the considerable body of evidence that has been put forward to assess the building progress in terms of manpower and wages. This has been done admirably by Knoop and Jones and others. There are, however, certain shortcomings and confusions in some lines of argument presented by these historians

[1] Most notably by H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *A History of Eton College*, (London, 1911); R. Willis & J.W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 3 Vols., (Cambridge, 1886); H.M. Colvin, *A History of the King's Works*, 2 vols., (London, 1963); A.H.R. Martindale, "The Early History of the Choir of Eton College Chapel", *Archeaologia*, CII (1971), 179-88; D. Knoop & G.P. Jones, "The Building of Eton College", *Ars Quatuor Coronatum, transactions*, XLV-XLVI (1934-7), 70-117; J. Saltmarsh, *King Henry VI and the Royal Foundations*, (Cambridge, 1972).

which need to be addressed and clarified.

In 1899, when Maxwell-Lyte's and Willis and Clark's books on Eton were already in print, Lionel Cust prefaced his *History of Eton College* with the question:

> "... it may fairly be asked, why write another book when there is nothing new to be said, no new record to be discovered; why try and glean in a field which has already been reaped close, and swept clean ... by other gleaners before ?"[1]

Nearly a century later there is still very much more to be said.

Knoop and Jones made good use of the comparatively full building documents which survive at Eton, although these do not begin until 3 July 1441, several months after the actual commencement of the work. The documents fall into two categories; the account books, which give details of wages, receipts, and expenses, and the compotus rolls, which are beautifully written parchment rolls of usually three membranes sewn end to end, and prepared from the journals or account books. These are annual statements of receipt and expenditure which give a good idea of the scale of operations since they reveal the source of stone used, the costs of transport, and although they do not give the numbers of each kind of workman employed, they do permit an estimate of their numbers since total wages are given.

Knoop and Jones found it possible, from the extant records at Eton, to study the details of weekly wages for eight and a half years during the period 1442-60. They have tabulated the scale of building operations by showing how many men were actively working at Eton at

[1] Lionel Cust, *A History Of Eton College*, (London, 1899), preface p.v.

any one time. They reveal substantial fluctuations in building activity and a gradual decline which set in towards the end of the 1440s and into the succeeding decade.[1] They also highlight the marked preponderance of short-term service men, with the vast majority of masons serving for twelve months or less.[2] The most active period of recruitment amongst masons appears to have been 1448, when sixty-nine new names were added between 27 July and 19 October, with as many as twenty newcomers in one week, which points to a vigorous period of impressment.[3]

In their assessment of the building progress at Eton Willis and Clark also looked to quantitative evidence by estimating the quantity of bricks brought into the college in particular years.[4] They record a peak of over a million bricks in the twelve month period 1443-4, with a considerable decline in the subsequent two year period, and an upsurge again to 300,000 in 1446-7. No figures are available for 1447-8. The following year saw the lowest figure of 60,000, although there was a slight upsurge in the two years following to 132,000 and 135,500.

While there is plenty of evidence to show that much work was being carried out at Eton during the 1440s, assessing the extent of progress, the completion of certain buildings, and indeed the exact nature of the plans for the college, is a much more difficult process. Contracts with carpenters show that in some parts of the college the

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[1] Knoop and Jones, 78-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, 97.
[3] *Ibid.*, 104.
[4] W & C, I, 385 n.1.

stonework was complete. On 30 November 1443 Provost Waynflete and William Lynde, clerk of the works, made a contract with Robert Whetelay, the chief carpenter, for all carpentry work in ten chambers on the east side of the college, a hall with cloisters adjoining, and seven towers and turrets.[1] Outside evidence can also be used to shed light on the progress. Thomas Bekynton's episcopal register recalls the bishop's episcopal consecration at Eton in 1443:

> "He proceeded to the new church of St. Mary in the same place, which was not as yet half finished; and there under a pavilion at an altar, set up exactly at the spot where king Henry VI laid the first stone, he celebrated his first mass in pontificals. Afterwards he gave a banquet on the ground floor of the new buildings of the college, on the north side, where the chambers had not as yet been subdivided by partitions."[2]

Willis and Clark concluded that between 1445-7 the chancel was pulled down and rebuilt on a larger scale, a new roof was put on to the rest of the church, and the interior was provided with new fittings. The rood loft and stalls were fitted before the Assumption on 5 August 1446, and the chancel and nave were paved with tiles, and glass was ordered for the windows in the chancel. The almshouse was begun in 1445-6 and completed in the following year requiring 16,000 tiles to cover the roof.[3] A library and chamber for the Vice-Provost was finished in 1445-6 when "floryshed" glass was provided, at which time the doors of six chambers were fitted with locks and rings.[4] The old

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[1] W & C, I, 389-90; extant because repeated in the final payment for the carpenter in the accounts of 1445-6.

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, I, cxx.

[3] W & C, I, 394-5.

[4] ECR Vady's Accounts 1445-6; W & C, I, 393.

church was still being decorated at the end of the decade.[1] The hall seems to have become available for use in 1448-9 when a high table was purchased for the provost and fellows, and rushes were purchased twice for the floor.[2] The windows of the hall were fitted with 191 feet of stained glass in 1450.[3]

The Earl of Suffolk was intimately involved with the progress of the building works at Eton. In fact nothing seems to have been undertaken there without his prior knowledge or approval. On 7 February and 8 June 1441 Robert Westerley was empowered by letters patent to impress men for the works at Eton.[4] He was informed by Suffolk to get at least fifty of the best stone hewers in England. In 1445 the chief stonemason was sent to London to consult Suffolk about the construction of the hall.[5] Numerous payments noted in the accounts were made "by the authority of the marquess of Suffolk" or "by order of the provost and marquess of Suffolk." In 1448 he promised £666 of his own resources to the building fund.[6]

Other figures involved with the building works at Eton included William Lynde, a member of the alien priory commission, who served as Clerk of the Works from 1441-3.[7] Lynde had also held the post of Steward of the Savoy manor in the Duchy of Lancaster, the

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[1] W & C, I, 402.
[2] ECR Audit Roll 1448-9; W & C, I, 403.
[3] ECR Keys' Accounts 1449-50; W & C, I, 403.
[4] *CPR 1436-41*, 525.
[5] ECR Vady's Accounts 1445-6; W & C, I, 393.
[6] ECR Vady's Accounts 1445-6; W & C, I, 393.
[7] *CPR 1436-41*, 494.

household/Suffolk connection of which is discussed below. In the enlarged plans of 1448 Henry VI provided for a Master of the Works with two clerks under him, a post which was given to Roger Keys. In 1441 Keys had taken charge of the building works at All Souls and had since become its warden.[1] In 1450 Keys was promoted to a canonry in Exeter after which the post of Master of the Works was allowed to lapse, which suggests that the post may have been created specifically with Keys in mind. This supposition is borne out by the intentions raised in the revised building plans produced in 1448.[2] After Keys left, John Medehill assumed control as Clerk of the Works. He had served under Keys at both All Souls and Eton.[3]

None of the early accounts contain any detailed descriptions of the exact nature of the plan which was put into execution in 1441, although the seven towers and turrets mentioned in Robert Whetelay's commission cited above correspond with those of that period which now exist. Of the three specifications for the college preserved none is earlier than 1448. For the early period intermittent examples of progress, such as those cited above, must be relied upon. The king intended from the first to build a new church, although, as outlined, money was spent on adapting the fabric of the existing church to accommodate both the parochial and collegiate need for the time being.

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[1] E.F. Jacob, "The Building of All Souls College 1438-53", *Historical Essays In Honour of James Tait*, ed. J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacob, (Manchester, 1933), 121-143, 122.

[2] Discussed below p. 129 ff.

[3] Knoop & Jones, 8.

Construction of the new church was proceeding simultaneously.[1] When completion should have been in sight, however, the existing plans were abandoned. It was this change of plan which was responsible for the series of specifications produced in 1448. The most startling difference between the existing structures and the new plans was their suddenly much more ambitious nature, which involved the demolition of much of the work already completed. The plans, as revealed in four extant documents at Eton, offer a comprehensive account of the royal intentions. Below are brief descriptions of these four documents.

(1) ECR 39/75

This is dated 7 February 1448 and is entitled "For the edification of the Quere of the Kyng's College of our lady there assigned by the Kyng, the demensions of the same." It is composed of three sections: (i) "the appointment ... as touchin certain demensions of the church," (ii) "the appointment ... for the edification of the quere," and (iii) "the ordinance for the edification of the quere." The dimensions in (i) and (ii) have been substituted for larger ones. The preamble in (iii) gives dimensions which are the same as the original dimensions given in (ii), but (iii) is in fact either an estimate, or perhaps an account, of the costs involved. Willis and Clark describe it as a draft of the 'Will', described below, and call it A. It is a book of twelve folios in a parchment cover. The text begins on folio three, marked 'c' at the foot of the page, and is

[1] W & C, I, 392.

signed 'R.H.' at the top, and at the foot of folio four, marked 'd'. The next part of the document begins on folio five, marked 'b'. It is witnessed by Waynflete and Suffolk and signed 'R. Henricus'. The next part begins on folio six, marked 'e', and is signed at its end on folio nine, 'R. Henricus'. On folio 9d there is a note of *vadia annua officiariorum dictorum operum* with which the text ends.[1]

(2) ECR 39/74

This is undated but was undoubtedly produced in 1447/8 and is entitled "appointment ... touching the demensions of the housing of his College Roial." Willis and Clark include this with 'A' and imply that it is bound with ECR 39/75, which it is not. It is, however, reasonable to assume that it was indeed associated with 39/75 as a draft of the 'Will'. It is signed at the top and foot by the king, 'R.H.'

(3) ECR 39/78

This is dated 12 March 1448 and is a long document of two large membranes known as the "Will and Intent" of Henry VI. The dimensions are those of 39/75 before correction.

(4) ECR 39/81

This was written some time in 1448-9 and is entitled "The Kynges owne avyse as touchyng certayne demensions as well of the Quere as of the

[1] This document is analysed and printed in W & C, I, 351-2, 398-401.

body of the Church, with the yles of his College Royall of oure blessed lady of Eton." It is a document of six folios with a parchment cover. Only two folios have been written on.[1] Willis and Clark have called this document B, and it gives dimensions even larger than the amendments made to 39/75. The existing chapel corresponds with the eastern part of the church described.

The only building corresponding to the new specifications was the hall, which was nearing completion. The present design for the hall was probably settled in November 1446 when the Clerk of the Works went to London to consult the Marquess of Suffolk about it (*super facturam aule*), and it was subsequently carried on in accordance with that design, which was inserted in the 'Will' together with a new scheme for the entire college.

With the exception of the hall the 'Will' ignores all the buildings erected between 1441-8, including those around the cloister court and the present Lower School and Long Chamber. This grand new scheme implied that the king was prepared to sweep away all the work of the previous seven years in favour of a much more ambitious project which was expected to take at least twenty years to complete. This is evident from one of the main objects of the 'Will' which was to provide for an annual payment of £1,000 during that period and for longer if necessary. The money was to be paid from the revenues of the Duchy

[1] W & C, I, 352; Maxwell-Lyte, 47.

of Lancaster. The 'Will' was, however, never implemented, at least as far as the collegiate buildings were concerned. The existing buildings consist partly of those constructed before 1448. Subsequent circumstances were to make the full execution of the 'Will' impossible.

The documents listed above reveal that the king and his associates revised their ideas about the chapel more than once during the period of their composition. The following table illustrates the various schemes that were being conceived for Eton in the later 1440s. The form adopted follows that given in Willis and Clark,[1] the object being to highlight a few shortcomings in their considerations. Firstly, there are many blanks on the table they have given, which have not been clarified. In some cases, the blank spaces exist because no figures are given in the document. In other cases, however, blanks are due to the measurements in that particular document being duplicated by those in the 'Will'. In what Willis and Clark call their second design A, for instance, they do not list any measurements for the cloister, garden and tower, although these are available in the text of the document.[2] In the table below all measurements found in the documents have been tabulated. Measurements not appearing in Willis and Clark have been entered in bold type. All measurements are given in feet. Figures in parentheses are given where their contents have superseded an original entry that has been crossed out.

Another problem created by Willis and Clark is their treatment of

[1] W & C, I, 365.
[2] ECR 39/75.

Revised Dimensions of the Church and Other Eton College Buildings in the Plans of c.1448

		39/75	39/74	39/78	39/81
	Length	103 (118)		103	(149)150
	Breadth between respond	32 (35)		32	40
	Space behind high altar	8		8	12
CHOIR	High altar to choir door	95 (110)		95	150
	Height to battlements	**80**		80	80
	Height of buttresses			100	100
ALTAR	Length	**12**		12	18
	Breadth	**5**		5	4.5
VESTRY	Length	**50**		50	
	Breadth	**23**		24	
	Height	**20**		20	
NAVE	Length	104 (119)		104	168
	Breadth	32 (35)		32	40
	Excess over choir	(7) 9		9	
AISLES	Length	104 (119, 115)		104	168
	Breadth	16		15	20
TOTAL LENGTH OF CHURCH		207 (237, 233)		207	318
	Length e to w	**200**		200	
	Length n to s	**160**		160	
CLOISTER	Deambulatory width	**15**		15	
	Deambulatory height	**20**		20	
GARDEN BETWEEN CHURCH AND CLOISTER		**38**		38	
TOWER	Breadth	**20**		20	
	Height	**140**		140	
	E pane, length		**230**	230	
	E pane, breadth		**18**	18	
	W pane, length		230		
	W pane, breadth				
QUADRANT	S pane, length		**155**	155	
	S pane, breadth				
	N pane, length		**160**	155	
	N pane, breadth		**24**	24	
GATEWAY	Length			40	
TOWER	Breadth			24	
LIBRARY	Length		**52**	52	
	Breadth		**24**	24	
HALL	Length		**82**	82	
	Breadth		**32**	32	
SCHOOLHSE	Length	**70**	70		
	Breadth		**24**	24	

the chronology of the above documents. They place the 'Will' (ECR 39/78) in their first column, the 'second design A' (ECR 39/75, 39/74) in their second column, and the 'third design B' in their third column, leading the reader to suppose that the 'Will' was the earliest in the series of contemplated changes, followed by designs A and B. This is highly misleading. The 'Will' is a long, formal, tripartite indenture which raises many other aspects of the foundation besides the proposed dimensions. It concentrates very fully, for example, on the king's feoffees, and on financial provisions for both the king's new colleges. The 'Will' is a formal statement of the king's intentions dated 12 March 1448, fully a month after ECR 39/75 and 39/74 which Willis and Clark lump together as their 'second design A'.[1] These two latter documents were drafts of the 'Will' not the subsequent compositions that the table in Willis and Clark suggests. This is evident particularly in the case of ECR 39/75 which seems to have been used as a working copy as far as discussions on the dimensions were concerned. The dimensions in parts (a) and (b) of 39/75 have been crossed out and larger ones substituted. Willis and Clark do not show this as does the table above.

Another oversight of Willis and Clark regarding ECR 39/75 is that they have dated this document 12 February 1448. This date is correct only for the third part of the document (c) "the ordinance for the edification of the quere." Parts (a) and (b) are clearly dated at the beginning of the document 7 February 1448. ECR 39/74 is not bound

[1] Others have followed Willis & Clark's lumping together of ECR 39/75 and 39/74, for example Colvin, I, 284-5.

with 39/75 as Willis and Clarke imply by their inclusion of it in A, although it is certainly associated with it as a draft of the "Will". The dimensions given there correspond almost exactly with those of the "Will" with one exception that Willis and Clarke omit. There is a difference in the measurements of the length of the north pane in the quadrant which is shown in the table above.

The "Kynge's owne avyse" (ECR 39/81 or 'third design B') contains even larger dimensions than those given in the amended draft 39/75. Whether the 'Avyse' was meant to supersede the 'Will' entirely is unclear. The existing chapel, however, does correspond to the eastern part of the church described in ECR 39/81. This document represents the most advanced design for the new church. The total length was now projected at three hundred and eighteen feet. Particular directions were now provided regarding the nave which was to be of eight bays with a corresponding number of windows in each aisle. It was also to have a west window of nine lights, like the east window of the choir. Other instructions are also now present with greater clarity, such as those concerning the altar, reredos, and stalls. As the furthest stage in the revision of the dimensions, it would therefore seem likely that ECR 39/81 was composed in the months following the compilation of the 'Will'.

In the quest for a larger design the existing chapel at New College was drawn upon for comparison. The Oxford college is mentioned specifically in ECR 39/75 and 39/81 reinforcing the claim that this

series of documents under discussion represents a thought process in action over a condensed period of time. ECR 39/75 compares the two choirs:

> "and so the seid quere is longer than the quere of the newe college at Oxonford by ~~iii~~ xviii fete and brodder by ~~ii~~ v fete and the wall heyer by xx fete, the pennacles by x fete."

The final part of the 'Avyse' makes a similar comparison stating that the revised Eton choir would now be longer than the New College choir by forty-seven feet, broader by eight feet and higher by twenty feet.

The largest dimensions of ECR 39/81 would have produced a church of cathedral like proportions. From a related entry in the accounts of Roger Keys it is likely that the dimensions given in the 'Avyse' were not settled upon until at least the spring of 1449. In January 1449 Keys was sent to measure the choirs and naves of Salisbury and Winchester cathedrals. In March 1449 Keys submitted to the king a drawing or *portratura super conclusione edificii Collegii*.[1] The existing chapel was finally built in accordance with the 'Avyse' since its dimensions match those laid down for the chancel. The nave was never built; it is more than possible that a molded plinth on the north wall of the ante chapel may represent its beginning.[2] If this is the case then the nave would have been on a reduced scale.

The estimates given for the new church in these four documents extant at Eton do not reveal the size of the new church which had already been undertaken. It must have been considerably smaller. The

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[1] W & C, I, 398.

[2] *Ibid.*, 428-9.

dimensions in ECR 39/75 before correction are given as one hundred and three feet by thirty-two feet "if hit please the kyng"[1] implying that this proposal was just that: a suggestion rather than a statement of what was already in existence at that time. The enlarged dimensions contemplated in the revision of 39/75, and the even larger dimensions of ECR 39/81, reinforce this. Surely the king would not have contemplated tearing down a structure of one hundred and three feet by thirty-two feet for one only fifteen feet longer and three feet wider ? If, on the other hand, the church under construction was considerably smaller, and for whatever reason the decision had been made to tear it down, the alternative dimensions offered in ECR 39/75, 74, 78 and 81 make sense; it was a question of choosing a new design. Whatever the size of the original chapel it was indeed pulled down since the 'Avyse' talks of new foundations to be laid beside the old ones:

> " ... so that the growndes newe to be takyn ~~with oute~~ be syde the oold growndes for the enlargeyng of the seid quere."[2]

There have been a number of suggestions made as to why such drastic changes were initiated. One theory suggests that the revised design for the chapel was in some way due to the Indulgence granted by Pope Nicholas V in 1447.[3] This Bull, however, merely confirmed the privileges to the college granted by the Pope's predecessor Eugenius IV. It is most unlikely that such a straightforward confirmation would have

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[1] ECR 39/75 fo.6.

[2] ECR 39/81.

[3] ECR 5; Bull 16, 20 April 1447.

given rise to plans for such large scale alterations at Eton.[1] Another suggestion has been that the demolition of the uncompleted new church was due to the king's mental state. This claim has no basis in fact; the king's first documented bout of mental depression did not occur until 1453 and there is no evidence to suggest that he showed any signs of mental instability before that date.[2] The theory has been employed as a convenient explanation for a problem which otherwise has no obvious answer.

Maxwell-Lyte offers a very weak explanation for the large scale proposed changes at Eton:

> "That similar changes were not introduced into the plan for King's College chapel which, with only one important difference agrees with the dimensions given in the will, is probably due to the fact that Cambridge was far away from the founder's favourite residence."[3]

It is certainly true that Henry spent a great deal of his time at Windsor Castle, but therein does not lie the reason for the Eton changes. This is not to ignore the possibility that the king may have had different attitudes towards his two foundations.[4] On this occasion, however, the assumption that the king's Cambridge foundation was in a sense an outcast of secondary importance is both inaccurate and untenable. The evidence extant at Eton contained in the four documents under discussion does, however, suggest an alternative explanation for the

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[1] For more on this argument see J. Evans, *English Art 1307-1461*, (Oxford, 1949), 198; and C. Hussey, *Eton College*, 4th edn., (London, 1952).

[2] D. Huyler, "The Character And Personality of King Henry VI as Factors in the Lancastrian-Yorkist Struggle", Ph.D. thesis, (Michigan, 1964). For a discussion of the king's first illness see pp. 83-92, and for the second illness, pp. 126-30, 212.

[3] Maxwell-Lyte, 50.

[4] This idea is discussed extensively below in Chapters Eleven and Twelve, pp. 158-173.

abandonment of the first church and the production of various schemes and dimensions for a new construction. Advice and directions in these schemes suggest the existence of some structural defect in the new church which had manifested itself only when progress on the church had reached an advanced stage. The following passages drawn from the documents in question relate to foundations, flood levels, and the types of stone to be used, reflecting the problems which must have been encountered.

(i) ECR 39/75, fo.4

"Itm that the water at Baldewyn brigge be turned ... in to the Thames with a dych of xl fete of brood and the grounde betwyn the same dych. And the college resed of agrete heght so that hit may at al flodes be pleine and drie grounde where than wol be in distaunce fro the halle to the water at altymes of drie grounde [80] fete. R.H."

(ii) ECR 39/78; the 'Will'

"Itm that the water at Baldewynebrigge be turned overthwart into the river of Thamyse with a diche of xl fete of brede. And the grounde betwene the same dyche and the college arreised of a grete height so thet hit may at alle flodes be pleyn and drie grounde. Where thanne wol be in distaunce fro the halle to the water at al tymes of drie grounde [80] fete."

(iii) ECR 39/78; the 'Will'

"And I wol that bothe my seid colleges be edified of the most substantial and best abidyng stuffe of stone ledde glass and iren that may goodly be had and pvided thereto."

(iv) ECR 39/81 the 'Avyse'

"Itm that the grownde of the qwere which be nowe taken be nott removed ne stored for drede of hurtyng and enpeyryng of the seid grownde but hitt be in tho places as schall be seen be hovfull or necessarye so that the grownde newe to be takyn ~~with oute~~ be syde the oold grownde for the enlargeyng of the seid quere be take lowe att the bottom of the fundement with ii courses first i cours of platt Yorkschire stane playne and well bedded. After with the secunde course of Yorkschire and Teynton ston medlyd and couched togyder and ther upon the grownde a rysyng to be made with large substanciall fre stone of Teynton wt. hethston and flynt y leyd and couched with good and mighty morter made with fyne stone lyme and gravell sonde unto the

> clere wall. And fro thens upward the walles to be made with Yorkeschyre and Teynton ston the same walles to be filled with the same ston and with hard and durable heth ston and flynt with good morter to be made as hit is before reherced so that neyther in the seid growndes ne walles schall in any wise be occupied chalke bryke ne Reygate stone other wise y called Mestham stone ... but oonly of the stuff be fore reherced."

Structural failure would explain the otherwise extraordinary abandonment of a church well advanced, and also why the detailed comments above were deemed necessary. In the light of the directions given in ECR 39/75 and 39/78 which advise the artificial raising of the church site above the flood level it is possible that the walls of the first chancel were undermined by water. The later 'Avyse' (ECR 39/81) emphasises this point in its discussion of suitable materials. Its prohibition of chalk, brick, and Reigate or Mestham stone in favour of other types of stone mentioned, and its concern with the exact nature of the laying of the foundations, indicate that earlier problems may have been caused by those prohibited substances and weaker foundations. In February 1448 the king sent to Westminster to obtain information as to the soil in which the foundations were laid at Eton, and asked for an actual specimen of it, an enquiry undoubtedly related to the structural problems encountered at Eton.[1]

The extract from ECR 39/81 above directs that the first courses, that is those above the foundations, were to be of Taynton stone, which in the upper courses was to be mixed with York stone. This is significant since Taynton stone was not acquired for the building of the

[1] Kirby, *Annals*, 193.

college until this time, proving that the existing walls of the church could not have begun before 1448 or 1449.

Willis and Clark note the detailed instructions given in ECR 39/75 and the 'Will' (ECR 39/78), regarding the artificial raising of the different buildings to various levels. They offer a diagram which shows the new and old levels, or the 'enhancing' of the site.[1] They do not, however, link this concern to prevent flooding with the destruction of the existing church.

In addition to the increased dimensions of the proposed new church, the documents also suggest a revision of architectural style. This change of heart may be witnessed in the following extracts:

(i) ECR 39/75 fo. 5v
"And the king wol that the edificacion of his seid college pcede in large forme clene and substantial well replenysshed with goodly wyndowes and vawtes leyng aparte supfluite of to grete curiose werks of entaile and bese molding."

(ii) ECR 39/78 the 'Will'
"And I wol that the edificacion of my seid college of Eton pcede in large fourme clene and substantial well replenysshed with goodly wyndowes and vautes leyng a parte superfluite of to grete and curiouse werkes of entaile and besy moldyng."

(iii) ECR 39/78 the 'Will' (referring to King's College)
"And I wol that the edificacion of my same college pcede in large fourme clene and substantial settyng a part supfluite of too gret curious werkes of entaille and besy molding."

(iv) ECR 39/81 the 'Avyse'
"Itm on evy side of the same quere to be sett viii wyndowes evy wyndowe of v dayes clanly and substancially wroght."

The above extracts imply that a less elaborate style was now

[1] W & C, I, 364.

under consideration, not just at Eton, but at King's College too. If the style of the building work already carried out between 1441-8 now no longer found favour with the patron, the structural problems encountered provided a fortuitous occasion for new architectural forms to be considered. Examples of superfluous mouldings of the type to be avoided in the documents of 1448-9 are still to be found at Eton in the oriel window of the hall which had already been completed. These are in Caen stone and must therefore have predated 1449 until which time that material was still available.

The appointment of Roger Keys to the newly created position of Master of the Works in 1448 may well reflect the contemporary trend towards the simplification of the English Gothic, for he had been supervising the works at All Souls College where the style was much plainer.[1] There can be little doubt that the appointment of Keys was associated with a more ambitious architectural policy. His expenditure of £3,336 during two and a half years was exceeded on average only in the early 1440s, and in 1452-3, after which the annual totals fell to a mere £400-500.

After 1452-3 funds for the whole project languished, although work of some sort went on until the king's deposition in 1461, when all activity came to a complete halt. By this date the level of the main windows of the church had been reached at the east end and the lower parts of the existing interior of the choir, which should be regarded as

[1] On the simplification of English Gothic during this period see R.H.C. Davis, "The Chronology Of Perpendicular Architecture In Oxford", *Oxoniensia*, XI-XII (1946-7), 80.

the intention set out in the 'Avyse', rather than belonging to William Waynflete's subsequent operations.[1]

When work began again in c.1468-9 it must already have been clear that a large part of Henry VI's grandiose plans would have to be abandoned. This included the vast nave which was to be assigned as a parish church, with a twelve foot thick wall, presumably of stone, specified in both the 'Will' and the 'Avyse', which was to enable the parish church to function independently of the collegiate one. Had both Eton and King's Colleges been carried out according to the last designs of the founder (the 'Will' for King's, the 'Avyse' for Eton) the nave at Eton would have been thirty feet longer than that at King's College.

[1] W & C, I, 403, citing Keys' Accounts.

CHAPTER TEN
The Progress of the Works After the Deposition of the Founder

Willis and Clark estimate Henry VI's expenditure on Eton College at £15-16,000.[1] The total recorded in the surviving accounts is £15,570.2.4.,[2] but since no accounts survive for the first, fifteenth, and sixteenth years of the work, with only imperfect records for the third and eleventh years, the total sum was probably nearer £17-18,000.[3]

Work in the 1450s was carried out on a much reduced scale. The accounts of John Medehill, who was Clerk of the Works at Eton during the last decade of the founder's reign, although fragmentary, offer some insight into the progress of the works during this period.[4] They reveal that the sum spent on materials had dwindled to almost nothing in comparison with previous years. Several entries reveal or confirm the buildings then in existence. In 1454-5 a repair to the great west window of the hall confirms that the stonework must have been completed.[5] At least the eastern portion of the chapel must have been completed by the end of the decade according to entries in the Audit Rolls paying John Sylvester, the smith, for the ironwork of new windows in the choir, the

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[1] W & C, I, 405.

[2] Colvin, 292 n.1.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Preserved in the Eton College Records, they have disappeared entirely for the years 1454-5, and 1455-6, and are very imperfect for the year 1456-7.

[5] ECR Audit Roll 1454-5.

lower portion of the great east window in the choir, and later for the upper portion of the same window.[1] The Audit Roll of 1459-60 mentions the Choristers' School and the college cloister as buildings already in existence in references to payments for the repair of the former and the cleaning of the latter.[2]

During most of the 1460s the building works came to a complete standstill. College fortunes reached their nadir under Edward IV despite his written promise of protection on 27 February 1461,[3] and an exemption, a year after his accession, by which he excused Eton from all fines, scutages etc., and regranted to the college many of the estates resumed in his first parliament.[4]

Extant records at Eton permit a detailed foray into the fate of many of the college estates which fell victim to both Lancastrian and Yorkist Acts of Resumption. The Eton endowments were at risk as early as the Commons' petition of 1451 which, revised from the Parliament and Act of Resumption passed in 1450, described the endowments of the two new royal colleges as

> "to your Highness prejudiciall, and over chargefull and noyus unto your liege people of this your Roialme."[5]

Edward IV's hostility towards Eton is well documented; the hostility of

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[1] W & C, I, 405 n.2.

[2] The Audit Roll is undated, but is probably for the period 1459-60 from the allusion to the Parliament at Coventry.

[3] ECR 39/124; and on Edward's attitude see below, Appendix 1V, Tables 9a-b, pp. 341-343, and Appendix I, pp. 245-296.

[4] 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73; grant to King's College, 22 Feb 1462, *ibid.*, 74; and Appendix IV, Tables 9a-b, pp. 341-343.

[5] *RP* V, 218a.

the Commons in 1451 has gone largely unnoticed but it is important in any consideration of the place which it was intended the king's colleges should hold, and that which they came to assume.

Six estates, and one which never seems to have been in the hands of the college, were resumed in 1455. The only evidence existing for their resumption is the 1457 patent of regrant. No record at Eton shows how or why these estates were regranted by the king to the college in 1457. The estates in question were Horned Weir and Wraysbury, in Bucks., the Crane in Vintry, London, the Lamb in Distaff Lane, London, which was apparently never enjoyed by the college, Colemere in Hampshire which appears in the 1457 rent roll,[1] Yenston in Somerset,[2] and Beggar in Yorkshire.

Maxwell-Lyte is mistaken in his assumption that Eton College was not affected by the sweeping Act of Resumption passed by the first parliament of Edward IV in November 1461. It is certainly true that the college was not specifically mentioned.[3] Many of the college estates did, however, come under fire. Edward IV granted away several estates in November 1461 with others following over the next few months. Letters patent of 24 February 1462 implicitly confirmed the

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[1] EC R[ent]R[olls]/B/5r4.

[2] ECR 39/116; PRO E159/235; *CPR 1452-61*, 417.

[3] *RP* V, 463-75.

college in the possession of its estates *not* resumed.[1]

The *Patent Rolls* are a useful source for highlighting the fate of other Eton College estates. A search for the new grantee of Brimpsfield Priory, which Henry VI had given to the widowed duchess of York in 1459, shows that William Beaufitz was granted for ten, and then for twenty years, from Michaelmas 1461, the following Eton estates by letters patent of 26 February 1462: Weedon Bec, Brimpsfield, Blakenham, Northmundham, Compton, and Wheely, Charlton-Near-Upavon, Povington, and Montacute.[2] Brimpsfield and Charlton-Near-Upavon never came back to the college; the others eventually did.

The Act of 1451 included exemptions for Eton and King's Colleges.[3] The Act of 1455 recorded petitions for exemptions including Eton.[4] Four estates were nevertheless resumed, although soon after they were regranted to Eton.[5] The Act of 1455 exempted Tooting Bec,

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[1] ECR 39/127; PRO E159/239; Appendix IV, Tables 9a-b below, pp. 341-343. Eight lists of estates resumed by the 1461 Act have been discovered at Eton, all differing in arrangement and detail. These have been calendared in separate volumes by Noel Blakiston. Four of these were lists were rediscovered between 1976-80; these have been calendared in ECR 60 as 60/RSM/L/1-4, one of which Blakiston calendared as ECR 49/176. The other lists are catalogued as ECR 39/129, ECR 39/140, ECR 47/83, and ECR 49/296. None of the lists is dated and only ECR 47/83 directly mentions the 1461 parliament in its heading. It is probable that all except ECR 39/129, ECR 49/296 in the same hand, and ECR 60/RSM/L/4 were written in the 1460s. The others appear to date from the reign of Richard III and Henry VII. ECR 60/RSM/L/4 ends with the estates exchanged with Henry VIII and Edward VI. ECR 47/83 is a list of lands granted by Henry VI to Eton College and resumed and taken from the college by Edward IV by an Act in his first parliament. It was presumably composed before 17 July 1467 when some of these properties were restored by letters patent ECR 39/129. The document ECR 49/296 is a list of manors and other properties granted by the king to Henry Sever, first provost of Eton, on 4 March 1441, which was three weeks before the Endowment Charter was dated. These lists are not complete. An entry in the *Patent Rolls* is the only source confirming that many estates which dropped out of the rent rolls were in fact resumed in 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 108, 150-1.

[2] *CPR 1461-7*, 150-1.

[3] *RP* V, 218b, paragraph 2.

[4] *RP* V, 306b, paragraph 1.

[5] ECR 39/115, 116; PRO E159/235; *CPR 1452-61*, 417, Wraysbury & Colemere.

an original endowment of the college. Its income was part of Duke Humphrey's annuity made over to the college in 1443.[1] It was resumed by the Act of 1461 and granted to the Chapel of Barking church by the Tower.[2] The Act of 1467 also included a clause exempting Eton,[3] while the Act of 1473 included a proviso that its resumptions should not extend to Eton.[4]

The table below has been drawn up from a transcription of the document ECR 39/140. It shows the considerable extent to which Edward IV was bent upon undoing the Eton endowment, and should be studied in conjunction with Table 9a in the Appendices.

As the table on the following page reveals Edward IV regranted Eton College some of its estates after the Resumptions of 1461,[5] but shortly after this he petitioned the Pope for the College's suppression and its annexation to the College of St George in his castle at Windsor. He claimed that Henry VI's college buildings had never been finished and the church of the Blessed Mary hardly begun, and that both were of little use. Even if they were finished, he argued, the propinquity of St. George's would allow Eton only marginal increase of divine worship and benefit to its neighbours. Edward IV appears to have had no difficulty at all in persuading the Pope to suppress the institution upon which previous popes had bestowed several favourable Bulls. Pius II's

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[1] For Duke Humphrey's annuity see Appendix IV, Tables 2b, 7, pp. 314, 334-6, and Appendix II, pp. 301-304.

[2] *RP* V, 518a-b.

[3] ECR 49/176 includes a clause exempting Eton College; *RP* V, 606a; text of Act, *ibid.*, 572b.

[4] *RP* VI, 79b, paragraph 1.

[5] 23 February 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

A list of alien priories and manors belonging to Eton and granted by Edward IV to other persons and places

PROPERTY	RECIPIENT	DATE	VALUE	REGRANT TO EC
Balbek Abbey lands	Fotheringhay			
Banstead & Walton-On-The-Hill	Q. Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV	5/7/65		
Beckford	Fotheringhay			
Beggar	Mountgrace	22/2/62	£13.6.8	18/4/72
Blakenham	William Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant
Brimpsfield	William Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant
Charlton-Near-Upavon	Wm Beaufitz	26/2/62	£75.6.8	
	Fotheringhay			
Chisenbury & Quarley	St.Katherine's Hospital by the Tower, London	5/2/62	£25	
Colemere	Not known	14/5/66	£7.18.5	
Cowick	Tavistock	12/11/62	£65.13.4	17/7/67
Deerhurst	Tewkesbury Abbey	1/2/62	£266.13.4	
Folkstone apport	Ralph Saintleger	1/3/62		17/7/67
Goldcliff	Tewkesbury Abbey	1/2/62	£266.13.4	17/7/67
Grovebury	St. George's, Windsor	6/12/80	£260.13.4	
Hooe and Preston	Thos. Wylmote for a chantry in Ashford ch.	22/2/62	£28.16.4	
Horned Weir, Eton	John Gough of Eton	6/6/62		5/7/65
Horstead	KCC	22/2/62	£9	
Lessingham	KCC	22/2/62	£96	
Lewes	Thos. Wylmote for a chantry in Ashford ch.	22/2/62		
Modbury	Wm. Beuslyn	29/5/62		
	Tavistock	25/11/66		17/7/67
Monks Sherborne	St. Julian's Hospital, Southampton	16/2/62	£20	23/3/73
Monkton Farleigh	Roger Grandorge & John Thomson	25/2/62		17/7/67
Montacute	Wm. Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant
Moreton church	Not known	29/7/61	18m	
Northmundham etc	Wm. Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant
Ogbourne,Goring mill	Edw. Ellismere			17/7/67
Ogbourne, London properties	John Wyatt	13/8/61		
Panfield, tithes	Not known			
Povington	Wm. Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant
St.Albans Abbey pension	Q. Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV	31/1/66		
St Helen's	Wm. Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant

continued

PROPERTY	RECIPIENT	DATE	VALUE	REGRANT TO EC
St John's Hospital, Dorchester	Ric. Hill & Wm. Brown	6/2/62	£13.6.8.	
Thames fishery, New Windsor	Not known			
Tickford & Fulston apports	Not known		40s	17/7/67
Toft Monks	KCC	22/2/62	£96	
Tooting Bec	John, Earl of Worcester for All Hallows Chapel, Barking	1466	£22	
Upavon	Ivychurch Priory by Clarendon	3/7/61		
Weedon Bec	Thos. Seyntleger	25/2/62		
	Wm. Beaufitz	26/2/62		17/7/67
	St George's, Windsor	17/5/74		No further regrant

Bull of Union of 13 November 1463[1] reserved only certain rights to the existing members of Eton College. They were to be on equal footing with persons holding analogous positions at Windsor. The site of the college, being consecrated ground, was not to be turned to profane uses. It remains unclear when the Bull was due to take effect, and probable that it did not.

Provost Westbury issued two protests in response to this Bull.[2] They are public instruments written in the chapel of St Martin-Le-Grand in London, and certified by John Lord, a notary public, on 15 July 1465. One is an appeal for papal and archiepiscopal protection against the presumed threat; Westbury feared "grave prejudice". The other is a protest against the annexation of Eton College to St George's.

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[1] *CPL XI 1455-64*, 656.

[2] Both protests survive at Eton and there are translations of both in ECR 24.

Westbury argued that he had never intended to consent to the Bull and had only done so through fear.

Maxwell-Lyte has exaggerated both the significance of these documents, and the role of Westbury, whom he calls "the Camillus of Eton".[1] The vivid language of these documents should not be regarded as idiosyncrasies of Westbury's own speech. The elaborate style was a form well known to John Lord and one which he would have used in similar documents before. The purpose of both documents was, in fact, precautionary. Westbury was certainly not forcing the issue; neither document in itself initiated any type of court proceeding. Westbury was, according to the words of his appeal, still in peaceful and quiet possession of his college. The decree of Pius II had not been carried out to the letter; there had been no need, since the extinction of the college seemed certain due to Edward IV's confiscation of the bulk of its revenues. Further evidence that the Bull of Union was never carried out is that no copy of Pius II's Bull exists either among the archives of St George's or among the Papal Bulls preserved in the Public Record Office. The only document at Windsor regarding the suppression is a draft of an Edward IV ordinance for the suppression and union with the College of St George.[2]

When assessing Westbury's role in 'saving' Eton College from extinction it is important to realise that these public protests were public

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[1] Maxwell-Lyte, 72.

[2] *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts in Various Collections* (London, 1914), vol. VII, "Muniments of the Dean and Canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor", 32.

only in a very limited sense. It is quite possible that neither the Pope, the king, nor the archbishop were aware of their existence. Westbury's role may be characterised as one of discretion and patience rather than defiance. His protests do show an unwillingness to capitulate, but his behaviour does not warrant the laudations expressed by Maxwell-Lyte.

The college at Windsor probably knew of Westbury's visit to St Martin-Le-Grand, for the following month the Dean and a canon from Windsor went to London and obtained, amongst other things, royal authority for the transfer of jewels, bells, and other property from Eton to Windsor.[1] The amalgamation can never have been completed, however, since the accounts always remained separate. Unfortunately, many of the Eton College rolls are missing from this period. Those rolls that do survive from the 1460s reveal the extent to which the College fortunes had sunk. By 1468, as a result of the Resumptions, the annual revenues had declined from £1,500 to £370, which necessitated the abolition of the bedesmen, the reduction in the number of scholars, and meant that vacant fellowships were left unfilled. In 1468 the Provost and Fellows did not receive any stipend at all. The Schoolmaster's salary was down from £16 to £10, that of the Usher from 10 marks to £4, while the commons at every table in hall had to be reduced from £7 per week to £3.10.0.

How Eton College eventually recovered the king's favour remains largely unrecorded. Westbury was frequently in London and

[1] An inventory of this is still extant on a roll in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter of St George's, Windsor, and is quoted by, Maxwell-Lyte, 64-5 note 4; the roll is marked "pro Eton" in the margin.

undoubtedly pleading the College's cause to royal and episcopal listeners. In 1467 Edward IV restored a portion of Eton's former landed possessions,[1] although the following day his clergy at Windsor were was granted some estates from King's College.[2] Eventually Edward IV's attitude towards Eton softened. Perhaps he had been influenced by Anthony Earl Rivers from the Queen's family, a man who favoured learning. Claiming that he had been misinformed about the state of affairs at Eton he finally directed his agents at Rome to work for the revocation of the Bull of Suppression, and in 1470 he gave the Archbishop of Canterbury full power to look into the case. The Bull annulling the former letters and reestablishing Eton College was issued on 13 April 1470.[3] Westbury caused two copies of this Bull to be transcribed,[4] and was also involved in negotiations in London for the enrolment of a royal writ whose purpose was to secure the College against molestation.[5] Edward IV is known to have visited Eton during the second and third weeks in July, and in September 1471, and appears to have ordered a boat to be kept at the college for his use.[6] Archbishop Bourchier of Canterbury finally pronounced judgment in favour of Eton on 30 August 1476 by which the chapter of Windsor, under pain of excommunication, was warned against any form of

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1 27 December 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 59.

2 *Monasticon* VI, 1368.

3 *CPL XII 1458-71*, 342.

4 ECR 61 BR (Bursar's Roll) 1469-70.

5 ECR Audit Roll 1469-70, 1470-71; Memoranda Roll, Exchequer, KR 9 Edw. IV, m.14; Maxwell-Lyte, 67 note 5.

6 ECR Bursar's Roll, undated, probably 12 Edward IV, but see Maxwell-Lyte, 69 note 3.

molestation. In May 1479 Sixtus IV renewed some of the earlier indulgences.

Regarding Eton's endowments, however, Edward IV can at best be called inconsistent. As late as 1474 Eton interests were again subsumed by the king's desire to endow St George's. The Windsor college was given many of the lands which Edward himself had given or confirmed to Eton seven years previously.[1] The likeliest interpretation of Edward IV's attitude is not that he sought actively to crush Eton because of any inherent ties with Lancastrianism, but rather that his own tastes were closer to the chivalric values behind the Order of the Garter and St George's Chapel at Windsor than to the pious and educational aspirations attached to Eton and King's College.[2]

Another figure who has been credited with saving Eton was William Waynflete. Maxwell-Lyte has asserted that "... we may probably ascribe the eventual preservation of Eton to his unceasing exertions."[3] This claim requires clarification. While it is true that the 'Will' of 1448 gave Waynflete the deciding voice in any dispute, the power to select new feoffees if required, and displays the high esteem in which Waynflete was held by Henry VI, by the late 1450s the connection between Waynflete and Eton was weakening. His last recorded visits to the college were in 1450 and 1451.[4] While it is true that he was involved with the reform of the College statutes with John

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[1] 17 May 1474, *CPR 1467-77*, 461.

[2] On Edward IV's interests see Charles Ross, *Edward IV*, (London, 1974), 274.

[3] Maxwell-Lyte, 64.

[4] V.G. Davis, *William Waynflete*, Ph.D. thesis, (Dublin, 1984), Appendix 1: Itinerary.

Chedworth, the Bishop of Lincoln, in 1455,[1] and that as Chancellor of England, from October 1456, he was approached by the college on several occasions,[2] his personal ties with the college must, nevertheless, have weakened with the passage of time. His own foundations of Magdalen Hall in 1448 and Magdalen College in 1458 would have provided a new channel for his educational interests, and the securing of his new college's endowment would have absorbed much of his time, which must have been already burdened with the weight of episcopal duties. Thus, his attention was drawn away from Eton and Cambridge, and towards Oxford, where he was the episcopal Visitor of New College, and to his own foundations. This was compounded with the accession of Edward IV; Waynflete, a known Lancastrian supporter, would no longer have enjoyed the same influence at court, in spite of the new king's placatory attitude towards his episcopate.[3] His itinerary shows him spending an increasing amount of time within his diocese.[4]

Nevertheless, Waynflete's response to the wretched state of Eton College by the late 1460s would suggest that considerable loyalty, or at the least a sense of duty towards the wishes of Henry VI, remained. It would appear that Waynflete renewed his connection with Eton in February 1467 when he visited the College. The connection may have been made earlier than this, but lack of evidence obscures such a

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[1] *CPR 1452-61*, 241.

[2] Two visits made to him in 1458, and one in 1459, are recorded in the Bursar's Accounts, ECR 61/AR/B/1 m.5, which culminated in the confirmation of royal grants to the College made on 20 November 1459, ECR 39/122.

[3] For example, Lawrence Booth, Keeper of the Privy Seal, was appointed to treat with the Lord of the Isles and others as early as 8 February 1462, *Fœdera*, X, 692.

[4] V.G. Davis, Ph. D. thesis, Appendix 1: Itinerary.

possibility. It has been suggested that Waynflete's political position improved in 1467 which allowed him to favour Eton openly again. The circumstances of the dismissal George Neville, Archbishop of York, as Chancellor on 8 June 1467 meant that Waynflete, who was closer to the Woodvilles, could take advantage of that family's ascendancy. Waynflete's initial renewal of links with Eton, however, took place even before Neville's dismissal.

The Eton College Audit Rolls from 1468 onwards record frequent visits of the Provost and Fellows of Eton to Waynflete with seven such visits taking place in the period 1479-80.[1] The frequency suggests that Waynflete retained tight control over the progress of the building works which were resumed at this time. Waynflete paid for the building materials and labour, concentrating his resources on the chapel, and taking considerable care in design and decoration. The Audit Rolls do not record the amounts given to the college, although on occasion isolated contracts refer to specific sums.[2] This reluctance to relinquish control over the works may be seen at Magdalen College which did not gain full control over the endowment amassed for it until after the founder's death.[3] No building accounts survive from Edward IV's reign. Waynflete was over seventy by this time and he abandoned the founder's scheme for an enormous nave in an attempt to ensure that

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[1] ECR 61/BD/C/8 m.6.

[2] Waynflete's personal direction of the building progress at Eton is in evidence in the contracts he made with building workers personally, for example with Walter Nichol for the erection of a rood loft in the chapel, ECR 38/309.

[3] V.G. Davis, Ph. D. thesis, 41.

he himself could see through to completion as much of the work as possible. Evidence of certain short cuts may still be seen today; the stones round the curved head of the great east window had originally been prepared for an arch of smaller span.[1] The Audit Roll of 1476 shows that the new church must have been nearly finished by that date; Waynflete's glazier came three times to Eton to take measurements, especially of the east window.[2] Willis and Clark demonstrate how difficult it is to discover precisely what Waynflete undertook when work upon the church was resumed in 1468, but conclude that the ante-chapel alone was entirely the work of Waynflete between 1479 and 1482.[3]

The extent of the personal debt which Waynflete no doubt felt towards the College and its founder is illustrated further below.[4] That Eton College had been an integral part of his professional life is reflected in his adoption of the lilies of the college as part of his episcopal arms which may be seen still in the stonework of Magdalen College.

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[1] W & C, I, 427.

[2] ECR Audit Roll 1475-6; W & C, I, 408-9.

[3] W & C, I, 428.

[4] In Chapter Seventeen.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
The Foundation of King's College and the Role of John Langton

The foundation of the Royal College of St Nicholas of Cambridge was set out in letters patent dated 12 February 1441, a little over four months after the foundation of Eton College.[1] Preparations were, however, already underway at the site of the Cambridge foundation when the Eton preparations were taking place during the autumn of 1440.

A garden belonging to Trinity Hall was conveyed to the king's three commissioners, John Fray, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, John Somerset, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and John Langton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, on 14 September 1440.[2] Shortly afterwards, on 10 October 1440, 'a void ground' extending from Milne Street to School Street, formerly known as the Crouched Hostel, and once belonging to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, was conveyed to the commissioners by the University which had bought the property from the Prior of the Order.[3] An adjacent building, a tenement called 'Gramerscole' in School Street, passed to the commissioners in a conveyance of 16 November 1440.[4] These properties composed what

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[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 521-3.

[2] KCM A.68.

[3] KCM A.72: "unam vacuam placeam terre pertinent' priori et confratribus sancti Johannis in Anglia nuper vocat' Crouched hostell."

[4] KCM A.74.

Willis and Clark have called 'The Old Court of King's', and were conveyed by the commissioners to the king in a single deed dated 22 January 1441.[1] The king then granted this property to the College in the Foundation Charter, confirmed by Act of Parliament, of 12 February 1441. The Charter sets out the site acquired for the college thus:

> "Foundation by the King of a college in Cambridge ... on a piece of ground by the new schools of canon law in School Street, Cambridge, on a portion whereof is built a bakery with other houses annexed; which piece of ground towards the east abuts on a vacant place belonging to the chantry of the church of St Mary by the market place, and on the tenements of Corpus Christi College, of the master and brethren of the Hospital of St John and of Robert Lincoln of Cambridge; and towards the west on the king's highway called Milnestrete in the parish of St John the Baptist opposite Trinity Hall and Clare Hall; and towards the north on a small lane by the garden of St Mary College called 'Gunwilhalle' which leads to 'Scolelanes' and on a [tenement] pertaining to the University; and towards the east on a tenement of Thomas Fordham, late of John Chaucers, and a tenement of William Byngham, clerk, called Goddeshous; which whole piece of ground John Fray, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, John Somerseth and John Langton gave to the king and his heirs for ever to found such a college."[2]

A small part of the site to the north of the theological school remained unconfirmed to the College until the Charter of 1449. It was made up of an area at the corner of Gonville Hall Lane and School Street which was obtained from Michaelhouse on 17 November 1447 upon which stood a building called the School of St Margaret.[3] The king conveyed it to the College on 10 February 1449 by letters patent recited in the Charter of 1449.[4]

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[1] KCM A.76; W & C, I, 318, where a translation of the commissioners' description of the property is also given.

[2] *CPR 1436-41*, 522.

[3] W & C, I, 320 n.2.

[4] H & W, 367.

The modesty of this initial scheme is immediately apparent, and comparison with the enlarged plan or second scheme of 1443 is striking.[1] The apparent ease with which the king's commissioners seem to have acquired the various properties that they conveyed to the new foundation is also to be noted, for it will be recalled that the site was composed of properties of diverse ownership. The role of the University of Cambridge must here be considered. The University's Chancellor, John Langton, was one of the three commissioners appointed by the king to secure the necessary conveyances for the College, and he would have been keen to ensure the removal of any obstacles in the way of a royal foundation at Cambridge.[2] Indeed King's College scheme may well have developed from an idea of Langton's to establish a new college at Cambridge under royal patronage. How earnest this alleged plan of the University's might have been is an important consideration in any appreciation of the development of the foundation plans at King's College.

Langton's supposed intention to found a university college at Cambridge rests on the existence of a petition presented by him to the king regarding the proposed site of William Bingham's foundation of Godshouse. Langton desired that Bingham should surrender his site and

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[1] The modesty of the initial scheme is illustrated to good effect in the map of the site provided in T.D. Atkinson, J.W. Clark, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*, (London, 1897), 355.

[2] In *VCH Cambridgeshire* III, John Saltmarsh has expressed the opinion, "the circumstances in which the King's scheme was conceived are obscure, but John Langton, Master of Pembroke, and Chancellor of the University, was from the first the King's chief agent in its execution and probably played a leading part in its origin," 376.

be granted another some distance away.[1] The petition begins:

> "Besechet lowely your pore oratour John Langton Chaunceller of the universite of Cantebrigge that where the seyd Chaunceller and universite by the assent and graunt of our soverain lord the Kyng have late ordeyned to founde and stablisse a college in the same toun it to be called the universite college and to endowe it with diverses possessiouns in relevyng of the sayd universite and encresing of clergie ther ..."

Regarding the dating of this petition, William Bingham obtained his first royal licence for Godshouse on 13 July 1439 which would have afforded royal protection for his college. It is therefore most probable that the petition dates from a period before 1439 but after 1436 when Langton became Chancellor. It is possible to confine the writing of the petition to an even more precise period in 1436/7 since on 25 April 1437 Bishop Alnwick conveyed a tenement and a garden, both on the alternative site offered to Bingham in the petition. Alnwick was evidently selling the property because Bingham had refused to take up the new site. This being the case, the petition cannot have been dated after 25 April 1437.[2]

The genuineness of Langton's claim that the University was indeed intending to establish a college at this time is by no means assured. There is no record of the king's approval of such a scheme in the *Patent Rolls*, although of course the alleged plans may not yet have reached such a formal stage in their development as to warrant inclusion in the *Patent Rolls*. More important is the University's financial

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[1] The petition in no. 55 of bundle 39 of the Early Chancery Proceedings, printed in W.T. Barbour, *The History of Contract In Early English Equity, IV: Oxford Studies In Social and Legal History*, ed. P. Vinogradoff, (Oxford, 1914), 221-2. Also in A.H. Lloyd, *History of Christ's College*, (Cambridge, 1934), 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, 24-5.

predicament in these years. How likely was it that the University's senior officials could be contemplating a new collegiate foundation, an involved and expensive undertaking, when in 1437/8 the same officials appealed to the king's mercy for financial aid ?[1] On 10 July 1438 Henry VI responded with a grant to the University of the reversion of the manor of Ruislip with a plot called 'Northwode' to help support the Schools of Theology and both Laws, the common library, and to aid the chaplains to celebrate divine service daily in the University Chapel. The University had other pressing commitments before it could have realistically contemplated the foundation of a college.[2]

The idea that Langton's petition was a downright lie, that the University had not the least intention of founding a college, but was using the claim as a mask to prevent the acquisition of a site near to its administrative heart, is very difficult to swallow. Certainly the

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[1] W & C, III, 11.

[2] See A.H. Lloyd, *History of Christ's College*, 31-2, for the building works on Schools Quadrangle. A.H. Lloyd has come to the conclusion that Langton's petition stemmed from a keen desire by the University to prevent the erection of a college in the heart of what had become "the centre of the administrative and teaching work of the university" (p. 34), making the interesting point that the site obtained by Bingham had been available before he had arrived in Cambridge, and yet the University made no efforts to acquire it until Bingham had intended it for his new college. Lloyd's theory is in some ways inconclusive. If the University did not want Bingham's foundation to be situated on what was later known as the Godshouse site, and if, moreover, it was not really intending to build a college of its own there, can Langton's petition be regarded as indicative of an attempt to secure the site for other, unspecified, university purposes ? If, as Lloyd suggests, there was no genuine plan for a university college, but rather the University valued the site for its proximity to other university buildings, then why did the petition not state this, instead of disguising these supposed intentions with plans for a college foundation ? If such was the case the University can hardly have been pleased with Henry VI's subsequent acquisition of the Godshouse site for the purpose of founding his own college. The King's College scheme would thus have been a major imposition on the University's administrative plans, much more so than Bingham's Godshouse scheme. Yet there was not a single objection to the royal acquisition of the Godshouse site. Indeed Langton was an active agent in the king's plans. Of course, by 1443 when the king was in the process of enlarging the plans for his college through the acquisition of the Godshouse site, the University may well have realised that any opposition would have been too little too late. The king had given licence to Bingham's foundation back in July 1439; further gestures of opposition from the University would have been futile and obstructive.

financial state of the University would seem to indicate that the plans to found a college by the University should not be taken too literally. Nevertheless, it seems even more unlikely that Langton would have lied about being granted royal permission to found a college.

A possible explanation is that the king had indeed granted royal permission for a college to be founded at Cambridge, and that the University officials, mindful of their finances, were hoping for, or angling towards, a considerable degree of royal munificence in the project. This theory also poses its problems. If the king had indeed formulated plans for his own foundation as early as 1437 then why did he wait three years to prosecute them ? Moreover, why would he have granted away the valuable Godshouse site to William Bingham in a royal licence of 13 July 1439 given the suitability of the site for his own plans ?[1] This last question has a more obvious answer. The king undoubtedly regarded Bingham's petition for a college to teach grammar masters as an extremely worthwhile endeavour, and would not have wished to thwart its progress, not least since the Godshouse 'mansion' had already been built. More importantly, however, is that if Henry's plans for King's College existed at this time, they did so on a modest scale only. The initial foundation of King's College was to be confined to the Old Court of King's acquired from Trinity Hall on 14 September 1440, and the Crouched Hostel site, acquired from the University on 19 October 1440. In 1439 either the king had no plans to

[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 303, 357, 14 July; translated by A.H. Lloyd, *History of Christ's College*, 40-1.

found a college, or if he did, he believed that the two colleges (Godshouse and his own) could co-exist on contiguous sites. Once Henry had decided to enlarge his college, however, he showed little concern for the upheavals which his intention to acquire the Godshouse site, from 1443 onwards, would cause Bingham to undertake.[1] It can be argued with some certainty that the king cannot have had any intention of enlargement in 1439 since it would then have been most unlikely that Bingham would have sought to enlarge his site.[2]

There is no record of a reply to Langton's petition. Certainly the Chancellor of England would have been able to throw further light on the University's intentions. Are we to believe Lloyd who argues that Langton and the University had no intentions of establishing a college ? If this were the case, would Langton have reminded the Chancellor of England in a formal petition that the king had recently granted permission for such an endeavour ? It is contended here that while Langton's desire for the University to found a college was unrealistic, his intention that it should, as revealed in the petition, was not a mere invention to thwart Bingham's plans. Rather, the University was hoping for a considerable amount of royal aid in what was to amount to a joint foundation. In this desire, the role of Langton was paramount. As Master of Pembroke from 1428-47 Langton would have known two other fellows of Pembroke, John Somerset and William Lyndwood.

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[1] Godshouse formed part of a conveyance in a deed of 25 July 1446, KCM A.84. The earliest purchase of land for the King's College extension was 26 August 1443, for which see W & C, I, 337.

[2] For example 1 March 1442 (CHR Gh.H) and 10 June 1442 (CHR Gh.I); both royal grants giving evidence of endowments.

Somerset, in particular, was part of the king's inner circle, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, King's physician and tutor, and it is through him that Langton may well have been encouraged to press for the king's help in a collegiate foundation at Cambridge. Both would have been aware of the alien priory resources at the Crown's disposal, and of the growing pressure to utilise them, and would have witnessed Archbishop Chichele's acquisition of alien priory revenues for his foundation of All Souls at Oxford. No college had been founded at Cambridge since Corpus Christi in 1352. A new foundation under Langton's Chancellorship would have won him and the University considerable prestige. Certainly, in the 1440s it was probably largely through the efforts of Langton and Somerset that the properties of alien priories were obtained to boost the income of Pembroke College.[1]

That the foundation of King's College was an initiative which stemmed from university rather than royal circles is indicated by the grant of a certain property to the college in its Foundation Charter; that of Ruislip with 'Northwode' attached. It will be remembered that this was the alien priory property which had been granted to the University after its financial plea to the king. This property, then, represented a gesture by the University signifying its part in the royal foundation.

The initial foundation of the College[2] was modest in its physical form at the Cambridge site, in its initial endowment, and in its founder's

[1] *VCH Cambridgeshire* III, 347; obtained in 1446: Linton priory; a cell at Isleham with 105 acres; the rectory and advowson of Saham, all in Cambridgeshire.

[2] The foundation charter was dated 12 February 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 521.

intentions concerning the number of scholars who were to reside there. The letters patent provided for one rector and twelve scholars. This was smaller than the numbers initially intended at Eton, where the foundation charter called for twenty-five scholars, four clerks, and six choristers. (This was also smaller than the recent foundation at All Souls whose statutes laid down that there were to be twenty scholars and a warden).

In the King's College Foundation Charter, however, a certain latitude in regard of the number of proposed scholars was allowed, which was not the case in the Eton Foundation Charter. The King's College Charter reads:

> "... one rector and twelve scholars *or more or less* according to the means and expenses of the college to be increased or diminished according to the statutes and ordinance of William, bishop of Lincoln, William, bishop of Salisbury, William Lyndwood, Keeper of the Privy Seal, John Somerseth, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and John Langton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge..."[1]

This should not be regarded as forming part of a plan by the king, at this early stage in the College's history, to provide for any numerical enlargement in his scholars attendant there. The endowment provided for in this charter would not have allowed for any significant increase in the number of scholars. The latitude should rather be seen as a sign of economic prudence: if the value of the endowment should happen to fall the rector was empowered to reduce the number of scholars. This raises the interesting question of why such a clause makes no appearance in the Eton College Foundation Charter, drafted less then six months

[1] *Ibid.* My italics.

previously.

It is tempting to see the answer in the dual regard of the king for his two foundations and to suppose that it was the Eton project which was closest to his heart. There was apparently no need for such caution at Eton, where the endowment was a very generous one, well capable of supporting the number of clerks, scholars, choristers, and bedesmen provided for. In the King's College Foundation Charter there is evidence to suggest that Henry VI's interest was less personal and fainter, for by allowing that the number of scholars may be permitted to fall in times of hardship, or rise, the king was partially dissociating himself from the venture. This allowance seems to discount any eventuality that royal funds would be injected during times of flagging fortunes.

A clue to this hint of apparent disregard may be discovered later in the same foundation charter:

> ".. and grant that they [rector and scholars] may elect more scholars and if the rector be removed for any cause, the scholars may elect another whose election shall be confirmed by the Chancellor of the University and not by the king; and if the scholars or any of them likewise be removed, the rector, scholars, and their successors may elect others ... without royal licence ..."[1]

Unlike Eton, which was subject only to the authority of the king, King's College also fell under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge, whereas Eton enjoyed the added advantage of being situated just below one of the King's favourite residences at Windsor. This is by no means to suggest that Henry had but scant regard for his university foundation.

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[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 522.

He did after all name the college after his personal saint, St Nicholas, and called upon the protection of that favourite of Lancastrian saints, Edward the Confessor. The jurisdiction of the University must nevertheless have distanced the College from Henry's direct influence.[1] At Eton there was no other authority, besides that of the king, which had a say in what, when, and how the scholars and choristers would learn. That the choice very much belonged to Henry and his circle is perfectly demonstrated by the search for an adequate administrator at Eton, which the King found in the person of William Waynflete.[2]

[1] On the controversies caused by this joint jurisdiction see below pp. 185-190.

[2] For whose role in the foundation processes see especially pp. 232-243.

CHAPTER TWELVE
The King's College Endowment

The King's College endowment is detailed in the table below.[1] Contrasts are immediately revealed between the nature of the King's College foundation and that of Eton. In a comparison of the original foundation charters, the endowment which accompanied the King's College charter of 12 February 1441 seems paltry indeed; while Eton was granted forty different rents, farms, priories, pensions, etc., King's College was endowed with just three manors. This initial King's College grant did contain a provision for the college to acquire lands and advowsons of churches to the value of £200 for maintenance in food and vesture, although compared with the minutely detailed Eton endowment, this seems indicative of a reduced personal concern on the part of the king. This is a theme which seems to colour the king's dealings with his Cambridge college, and is developed more fully in the pages which follow.

The second endowment grant to King's College, which followed six months later on 31 July 1441, was much more generous in nature. It was as if this endowment had been granted in fulfilment of the earlier promise to permit the acquisition of lands and advowsons to the value of £200, and that what the king had seemed to be telling the College to carry out for itself, was now being taken back into royal hands. There

[1] On pp. 173-178.

is nothing in the second endowment charter, however, which suggests this, and the obvious conclusion to draw is that the second endowment was an extra mark of royal favour, since the earlier endowment had not been particularly munificent.

Why the delay ? The impetus for the King's College foundation may well have come from a university source. If this were the case the impersonal nature of the first endowment is more readily understandable. Indeed the first property mentioned, Ruislip, was in fact one which had been granted by the king to the University only a few years earlier in recognition of certain financial difficulties. That Ruislip was included in the foundation grant to King's College is indicative of the University's involvement in the project. The first endowment was narrow and impersonal in scope because the impetus had not come from the royal circle, unlike the plans to found Eton College. Consequently, there had been no allocation of suppressed alien priory resources organised for King's College, whilst Eton benefited considerably from grants of the former dower lands of Queen Joan in its original foundation charter of 25 March 1441. Within six months of the King's College foundation, however, such arrangements had been made; alien priory resources were organised and allocated, and King's College received ten grants from this source in the charter of 31 July, of which four came from the former dowry.

The table provides full details of the royal endowment to King's College. The information is derived from the *Patent Rolls* and from

the King's College Muniments. When compared to the grants extant in the King's College Muniments it becomes clear that there are many small gaps in the *Patent Rolls*. The Table does not provide exhaustive evidence of all King's College properties and rents, since the College later bought and acquired many properties on its own behalf. These have been detailed by John Saltmarsh.[1] The table nevertheless represents the entire corpus of royal endowments to King's College made by Henry VI, and also include royal grants which later became abortive.

Further information concerning the endowment of King's College may be found in the Appendices which chart the fate of alien priory properties.[2] Many of the alien priory properties which later formed part of the Eton endowment were granted by the king in the late 1430s to laymen, many of whom were prominent household servants, before they were then granted to Eton College. A similar pattern exists regarding the future King's College endowments.[3] Many of those to whom the alien priory properties were temporarily granted were householders, in addition to which a number of such men went on to become Henry VI's alien priory commissioners. It is in such a light of corporate intent that the following should be regarded: the grant of Ruislip to John Somerset, of Cheshunt to John Somerset and John Carpenter, of Great and Little Ogbourne to John Saintlo, of Withiham

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[1] J. Saltmarsh, "Handlist of the Estates of King's College", *BIHR*, XII (1934), 32-8.

[2] See in particular Appendix IV, Tables 3e, 5a-c, 7, 8b, 9b, pp. 320-321, 329-331, 334-336, 338, 343, and Appendix I, pp. 245-296 for fuller details.

[3] See Appendix IV, Tables 5a-c, pp. 329-331.

or Monkencourt to James Fiennes, of St Buryan to Adam Moleyns, and of Corsham to Edmund Hungerford, a later feoffee for the foundations. Many other householders also benefited: John Middelton was granted the manor of Willoughton; Robert Osbern, the king's sergeant, and a signet clerk, received the life grant of the priory of Allerton Mauleverer. Another king's knight, Ralph Le Sage, received the life grant of Combe and Monxton, and Henry Beaumont received the £20 annuity paid by the abbot and convent of Roufford. Ralph Rocheford, also a king's knight, was granted the priory or manor of Stour Provost, and king's knight, John Stourton received the life grant of Brixton Deverill. Humphrey, earl of Stafford was granted the manors of Atherstone and Weedon Bec for life. John Delabere, king's clerk, received the life grant of the priory of St James By Exeter. Another king's knight, Lewis John, received a grant in tail male of the reversion of the manor of Dunton Wayletts. Of the six remaining grants made in this period, and included in Table Three, another three had definite household connections, one of which refers to the various properties held by Henry V's feoffees and marks a later stage in the attempt to wind up the feoffment of Henry V's executors, and release all the properties still held by the surviving feoffees.

The householders were able to enjoy the full term of their grants, whether these had been made for a term of years or for life, because, although most properties were granted to the king's foundations in the early 1440s, these grants were made in reversion, which meant that

properties could not fall in to Eton and King's College until the date of expiry of the previous grant, as is revealed by the annuity granted to Duke Humphrey.[1] In effect this meant that during the time the grantees held their alien priory properties they would pay their rents to Eton or King's College, whereas before they had paid them into the Crown, or, as many of them had, to Duke Humphrey by virtue of his royal annuity. When the reversions fell in, the two royal colleges would then assume full ownership of the properties as well as continuing to enjoy their rents.

Details of the King's College Endowment[2]

12 February 1441
Ruislip with "Northwode" 12 February 1441 (*CPR 1436-41*, 521), had been held by John Somerset for life with reversion to the king, 13 June 1439.
Ogbourne Magna & Parva (St George & St Andrew), Wilts. Had been held for life by esquire of the body, John Saintlo, with reversion to the king.
Permission to acquire lands and advowsons of churches to the value of £200 p.a., (*CPR 1436-41*, 286).

21 March 1441
Grantchester, from the executors of Henry Somer, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of Henry VI's foundation agents, (KCM GRA 1 & F.14, 15, 25).

6 July 1441
Lucerne Abbey possessions £5, **Willoughton, Allerton Mauleverer, Wenlock** apport, **Ogbourne's London rent** (St Mary's, Southwerk), **Combe & Monxton**, apports of **West Kington, Rotherham**, and **Blythe**; lands of **Préaux** priory; (KCE 11 & 12; *CPR 1436-41*, 557 dated 31 July 1441; *CPR 1441-6*, 160). **Wenghale** abortive; regranted to Michaelhouse in 1443 for tenements in School Street (KCE 12 granted all estates in KCE 11 except Ogbourne's London rent of 52s. See also KCE 136). Record of this grant in the patent rolls dated 31 July provides extra details, which may be found in Appendix 1 and the subsequent tables.

[1] See Appendix IV, Tables 2b, 5a-c, and 7, pp. 314, 329-331, 334-336.

[2] Alien priories are identified in bold type.

16 January 1442
St Michael's Mt., Tilshead, Felstead, lands in **Spalding, Corsham** church fruits, (KCE 133; *CPR 1441-6*, 111, dated 15/3/42. Also KCE 134, 135, 15/3/42, c.f. also KCE 257 for lands granted by Edmund Bp Exeter; *CPR 1441-46*, 111, 15 Mar 1442).
(Had previously been granted to the abbess and convent of the monastery of St. Saviour, Syon; *CPR 1441-46*, 256, 11 March 1444; 10 November 1444, *ibid.*, 313).

7 June 1443
Brixton Deverill, Wilts., 47 marks in arrears from Easter 1442 to Easter 1443 due to the king by John Westbury for the farm of the said manor, (BRD 3 & BRD 26, 7/ 6/43, *CPR 1441-46*, 181; 7/6/43; *CPR 1441-46*, 181).

12 December 1443
Remainder of **Atherstone**, granted on 11 June 1439 to Humphrey Stafford for life, along with Weedon Bec (*CPR 1436-41*, 275; and for the same grant on 2 May 1438, *ibid.*, 161; *CPR 1441-46*, 269); also **Wotton Wawen, West Wortham, Mockley,** (KCE 13 & 91, 12/12/43; *CPR 1441-6, 269*).

2 February 1444
Higham Ferrers manor, Rushden, Daventry, Desburgh, Dykeford manors,Walden lands; former lands of Stephen Runil & William Croyser; £120 fee farm in Godmanchester; £43 fee farm in Huntingdon; Glatton manor; Holme Lancett (Hunts); Wardington (Bucks); Aldbourne manor, Standen (Wilts); Aylsham, Wighton, Snettisham, Fakersham, Gimingham, Tunstead, Thetford manors; £28.6.8 fee farm from prior of Thetford; Rothmere by Methwold lands; 100s of North & South Erpingham, Gallow, Brotherosse, Nfk.; manors of Hungerford & East Garston (Berks); manor of Soham (Cambs), (ROY 4).

15 July 1444
Remainder of **St. James by Exeter**, Devon, now held by Edmund Hungerford kt., John Langton, clerk, William Walesby, clerk, John Waller esq., Drew Barantyne, gentleman, and John Skyrmot, gentleman, for the life of John Delabere, clerk of the great almonry, with remainder to the king.
Reversion of **Withiham** alias Monkencourt now held by Ralph Boteller, John Beauchamp kt., Roger Fiennes kt., Thomas Stanley kt., for the life of James Fiennes esq. and his wife Emelina, with remainder to the king. As compensation James Fiennes was granted the remainder of the manor of Wyttelet, Surrey, after the death of Brian Stapylton kt., by letters patent of 13 January 1443 (*CPR 1441-46*, 140).
(*CPR 1441-46*, 279; St James priory, Withiham, SJP 115, 15/ 7/44; see also KCE 14. Licence to John Delabere, Sir Edmund Hungerford to grant their term in the priory to King's College, SJP 116 & 117, 26/10/47).

26 September 1444
Indenture granting manors of: Somborne, Weston, Hartley, Longstock (Hants), Everley, Collingbourne, Trowbridge, Berwick, Easterton

(Wilts), Chipping Lambourne (Berks), Kingston Lacy, Wymbourne, Blandford, Shapwick (Dors), Minsterworth (Gloucs), Hodenak (Welsh March), Snaith (Yks), (ROY 3, 26/9/44. See also ROY 4).

8 March 1445
Cheshunt manor and advowson, (CHE 2, 8/3/45; reversion dated 15/6/45, CHE 5; *RP* V, 133a-b, *CPR 1452-61*, 502; also CHE 7 & 8). The licence to appropriate to KCC was granted by Elizabeth Norbury, 4/9/58, (CHE 3; *CPR 1452-61*, 466, 1/11/57). Grant abortive - the reversion did not fall in soon enough to be taken up by King's College before Henry VI was deposed.

23 March 1445
£10 p.a. from Cambridge's £70 fee farm; 37s6d p.a. from Prior Barnwell's £31 fee farm; reversions of £40 fee farm of Abbot of Bury St Edmund's now held by Henry Somer & Richard Alred, (CAM 65,66, 67).

6 August 1445
Prescot church adv. & lic. to appropriate, (PRE 4, 6/ 8/45; also PRE 3,5; 6/11/45; *CPR 1441-46*, 390, 6/11/45).

20 August 1445
Grant to the king's college at Eton and the College of St. Nicholas in Cambridge lands which Joyce, late the wife of John Lord Tiptoft, held of the king. Now in the king's hands by her death and the minority of her son and heir. Colleges to hold from the death of Joyce and during the minority for their use, (*CPR 1441-46*, 358).

11 November 1445
Alien deanery of **St Buryan**, Cornwall, diocese of Exeter, immediately after the death or cession of Peter Stucle, clerk, who holds the same for life, (SBU 1 & 2, 11/11/45; *CPR 1441-6*, 390, 11/11/45).

7 February 1446
Grant in frankalmoign of an acre of land in **Ringwood**, parcel of the manor of Ringwood, with the advowson of Ringwood church, dioc. Winchester, lying in the field of Ringwood, Southampton, called Northfield by the moor of Wolvernmor, held by Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Alesia. Licence also to appropriate the church. In return the king granted to Neville and his wife various lands which Duke Humphrey had held in Richmond, Yks, by letters patent of 25 November 1445 (*CPR 1441-46*, 429) for which the Duke was compensated with lands elsewhere, (*CPR 1441-46*, 409; RIN 32, 12/1/46; & lic. to appropriate, RIN 4, 7/2/46; also RIN 33).

9 February 1447
Sotes, Yonges, Marchalles, manors, Herts. in Standen, (STA 1, 9/ 2/47; grant abortive, see KCM Box M.21).

15 February 1447
Blakeley, royal ward of, in Waltham forest, (BLA 1 & 2).

17 February 1447
Wood in Orton, Suffolk, parcel of duchy of Lancaster, for KCC building works, (KCD 100).

23 February 1447
Garderobe Duke Humphrey, London, (GDH 12).

1 March 1447
Fordingbridge lands of the Duke of Buckingham, (FOR 7 & 44); for licence to appropriate see *RP* V, 132b. Appropriation not complete until 1463 - KCM M.28. Lands included the manor of Woodfidley according to handlist of Saltmarsh (*BIHR* 1934, 32-38).

3 March 1447
Charter confirming Waltham wood, Garderobe, Fordingbridge; new grant of Merton Hall & appurts, Cheshunt manor and reversion of advowson, (KCE 15, 3/ 3/47; see CHE 2,3,5,7,8).

4 March 1447
Thesdale quarry, Haslewood,Yks., granted by Henry Vavasour, (KCD 4).

12 May 1447
Kingston advowson, (KIN 24 & 25).

17 June 1447
Tenement in Stebenhithe, Middlesex, called Mewestenement, in the king's hands after the death of Duke Humphrey. (Mewestenement, Stepney; LON 2 & 3, 17/ 6/47; *CPR 1446-52*, 57, 85).
Lands in **Ludgershall**, Bucks, formerly of the Master and Brethren of Lutegarshale in Flanders, (LUD 1, 17/ 6/47; *CPR 1446-52*, 57, 128).
Lands of hosp Holy Trinity St. Inglehurst, in lordships of Farley, Luton, Wyperley, Priestley (Beds), Harpenden (Hants), Ludgershall (Bucks), Coverfield, Dover (Kent), Aweburton (Wales), (LUD 2 & 3, 24/ 2/48; *CPR 1446-52*, 128).

29 September 1447
Wardship of lands of Thomas, heir of Walter Huntingdon, in Duchy of Lancaster for KCC building works, (KCD 5).

24 February 1448
Grant of all lordships, manors, lands, rents, services, etc., with church advowsons, previously of the alien house or hospital of Holy Trinity in Santyngfield, in the lordships of: Farley, Luton, Wyperley, Prestley, Harpenden, Lutegershale, and Coverfield, and all lands within Dover and without, and all lands, meadows, woods, etc., within the lordship of Aweburton in Wales, (*CPR 1446-52*, 128).

4 July 1448
Foxton lands under guardianship of; Richard Castelly, (FOX 1, 4/ 7/48. Foxton lands forfeited by William Cay; FOX 2, 13/ 6/48).

13 September 1448
Grant of the advowsons of the prebends of **Chalk** and **Ewern**, Dorset. (CHA 15, 13/9/48; *CPR 1446-52*, 209-10. Appropriated 13/9/48, KCE 17; Ewern grant abortive; KCM Box M.51).

21 November 1448
Grant of the advowson of the parish church of Wednesbury, Staffs, (*CPR 1446-52*, 205).

10 February 1449
Tenements in Cambridge & Huntingdon (the Hert or the Hope), (KCE 18 & 19).

25 February 1449
Hudleston quarry granted by John Langton & son, (KCD 6).

6 March 1449
Berden priory advowson, (BER 1 & 2, 6/ 3/49; *CPR 1446-52*, 23; and see KER 647. Grant abortive; see *RP* V 162b).

17 June 1451
Dunton Wayletts and the advowson, (DUN 2, 17/ 6/51; *CPR 1446-52*, 428).

21 June 1451
All lands, rents, services and possessions of the abbot and convent of St. Peter, Shrewsbury, **Isleham**, and Tadlow, Cambridge, to hold from 1 October 1448, (*CPR 1446-52*, 450; ISL 5 & 6, 21/ 6/51).

17 September 1451
St Anthony's hospital advowson, (LON 1).

22 October 1452
Licence King's College to appropriate the priories of **Bricett** and **Kersey**, Suffolk., and **Berden**, Essex, pursuant to letters patent dated 16 March 1446, letters patent of Henry Grey, lord of Powes, dated 16 March 1447, granting them to the priory of Kersey, and letters patent dated 6 May 1449; grant of Berden was abortive; (*CPR 1452-61*, 23; Bricett, Kersey, Berden priories, licence to appropriate; KER 647, 22/10/52; see also KCE 21 & 23).

20 June 1453
St John the Baptist church advowson, Cambridge, (CAM 63 & 68, 20/ 6/53; *CPR 1452-61*, 113. Also CAM 69, 29/6/53).

21 June 1453
Barton manor & rectory, (BAR 254).

23 June 1453
Grant of the advowson and patronage of the parish church of **Stowe Quye**, Cambs., which John, earl of Worcester, granted in fee to the king on 16 June last, (*CPR 1452-61*, 82).

3 November 1458
Grant from Michaelmas last of all lands late of Nicholas Wodegrove in Chelleswode alias **Chellesworthy**, Devon, in the king's hands by the exile of the Jews, and of all the lands of Le Forde in **Ipplepen**, Devon, alienated without licence by the alien abbot of Fougères, Brittany, to Henry Atte Forde and his wife Juliana, and of a messuage and an acre of arable within the manor of Ipplepen which Henry Snell acquired in fee of the abbot, who held the said lands and messuage of Richard II, in lieu of a grant to the same of 50s rent and 6d p.a. of increment for the keeping of the premises by John Shapwyke from Michaelmas 1445 for ten years with reversion, by letters patent of 6 November 1452, annulled by Act of Resumption, Westminster parliament 33 Henry VI (1454-5), and surrendered, in lieu of a grant to William Okeden from Easter 1456 for 10 years by letters patent of 2 June 1456, (*CPR 1452-61*, 476; IPP 1, 3/11/58).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN
The Progress of the Works at King's College

Unfortunately, very little is known about the early history of the College and the progress of the works there due to the paucity of extant evidence. The earliest Bursar's Book[1] dates from 1447-8, and the only preexisting evidence is a fragment of a single building account. A set of verses, in Latin and English, appearing at the end of the College's Register of Papal Bulls, made by order of Provost Wodelarke, informs that the first stone was laid on Passion Sunday, 2 April 1441, by the king in person.[2] The mention of the Eton foundation in the verse comes undoubtedly as the result of the later association which the two colleges were to assume and should not be regarded as evidence of any formal link at foundation:

> "Seint Nicholas in whos day was born Henry the sext our souverain lord the king
> After that his excellence at Eton had leyd the anoynted stone
> Here stablished this werke hys clergy tenderly remembryng
> The yere of oure lorde a thousand and foure hundred forty and one
> The secunde day of Aprill that tyme sunday in the passion
> Lo xix yere of reigne here kneeling on his knee
> To the honour of seint Nicholas first founded this edificacion
> With whom in heven to be laureat graunt might the holy trinitee."

Although lack of knowledge during this early period hinders present understanding of the progress then made, the work cannot have progressed very far at all, for three years later on 16 June 1444, the

[1] KCM Mundum Book 1447-8.

[2] KCM Box M.9.

king issued letters patent to Reginald Ely, head mason, William Roskyn, and Henry Beverley, the two clerks of the works, requiring them to impress the workmen and materials necessary for the building of the college.[1] It remains impossible to assess the nature and extent of the original plans. From the time that the enlarged scheme was entertained the Old Court was evidently finished off in a temporary fashion.[2] The earliest *Mundum Book* of 1447-8 reveals that the establishment of college life must have proceeded swiftly. Headings are given for the various expenses of the Hall, Buttery and Kitchen, the Stable, the cost of the church, and the purchase of wine. The charges for the binding and chaining of books reveal that a library must have been in operation. Later *Mundum Book* volumes reveal that a pigeon house was built and stocked in 1449, and in 1451 the 'new garden' was planned and laid out.[3] The present concerns rest less with such developments and more with the changing nature of the king's intentions *circa* 1443.

Within three years of the foundation of the royal college at Cambridge the moderate plans had been superseded by a greatly enlarged scheme. In 1443 the king began to acquire properties from many individual owners and tenants on the territory south of the original site. He was not able to consolidate these new holdings until 1449 with the issue of letters patent granting the new ground to the college.[4] It ran to the High Street in the east, to the river in the west,

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[1] W & C, I, Appendix I A.

[2] *Ibid.*, 323-32.

[3] These and other developments may be traced more fully in W & C, I, 330 ff.

[4] *RP* V, 94a, 161b-162b.

to White Frerelane in the south, and up to Clare Hall and School Street in the north. The charter states that the breadth of the site was four hundred and ten feet on the eastern border, three hundred and eighty-four feet at the western border, and seven hundred feet in length.[1] The land acquired cut through a number of public streets and lanes. One of these, Milne Street, was a particularly busy thoroughfare. Many negotiations and transactions must have been necessary to acquire the various properties of which the site was composed.[2] Difficulties must also have been encountered. A draper named Robert Lincoln, for example, who owned a property consisting of two houses called 'Arundells', held out until 7 September 1452, evidently until he received his asking price for the property of one hundred marks.[3]

Other properties fell in much earlier. The first purchase for the new site was the house belonging to Thomas Fordham, a baker, on 26 August 1443.[4] William Bingham conveyed to the royal commissioners all the property on the land north of Piron Lane and east of Milne Street, which he had acquired in 1436 for his foundation of Godshouse. The commissioners transferred the property, along with other acquisitions, to the college on 25 July 1446.[5] In the area south of Piron Lane, variously owned tenements along the High Street were acquired by the commissioners during the later 1440s. Geoffrey Nevill, who let

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1 *Ibid.*, and see W & C, I, 334 note 3.

2 Various examples of this are given in W & C, I, 335-45.

3 KCM A.109.

4 KCM A.77.

5 KCM A.84: "tenementum nuper vocatum Goddeshous ac aliud tenementum vocatum Sainthomas hostel dicto mesuagio contiguum ... que ... nuper perquisivimus de Willelmo Byngham."

lodgings to scholars on the east side of Milne Street, demanded compensation for any loss he might sustain in addition to being provided with an alternative house for his use.[1]

On the west side of Milne Street lay the churchyard of St John, which ran from north to south, St Austin's Hostel, a tenement called St Edmund's Hostel, formerly belonging to Edmund Lyster, a tenement belonging to Elias Astley,[2] which had a small property owned by Ely Convent at its south-east corner, and St Nicholas's Hostel. St Austin's Hostel was purchased from Clare Hall on 28 June 1448.[3] St Edmund's Hostel was acquired from Simon Dallyng on the same date.[4] St Nicholas's Hostel was acquired by John Langton from Thomas Gray, a citizen and grocer of London on 16 November 1440.[5]

The town of Cambridge granted certain streets, lanes, and commons on 26 October 1445:

> "Milnestrete, alias Seynt Johnstrete, extending from the lane under the wall of the Carmelites called Chollislane, alias Whitefrerelane, on the south, as far as Clare Hall on the north; the portion of Scolelanes extending westward from the High Street for [185] feet; the whole of Pyron lane; the lane called Strawelane; and a certain bank called Salthith ... [and] ... all the common soil contained in the space by Chollislane and Clare Hall, Milnestrete, and the river bank."[6]

This must have caused considerable annoyance to the townspeople. In addition to the obvious dislocation which the closure of these busy thoroughfares would have produced, access to the river via Piron Lane

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[1] KCM A.79.

[2] KCM A.83.

[3] KCM A.97.

[4] Trinity Hall Muniments, No. 8; 28 June 1448.

[5] Trinity Hall Muniments, No. 24. See also W & C, I, 342 note 3.

[6] KCM A.87.

and Salthithe was effectively cut off. An alternative route to the river through the Henably ground north of Trinity Hall was not granted to the townspeople until 15 March 1455,[1] despite the fact that the town council had expressed its hopes in a memorandum to the College for an alternative route to be found as early as 9 January 1445.[2]

The southern boundary of the college site was limited by St Austin's Lane in the general grant of 1449.[3] The king had, nevertheless, acquired land beyond this point, and continued to do so. About seventy feet south of St Austin's Lane was Plots Lane or Nuts Lane, which opened onto the High Street. Between the two lanes was St Austin's Hostel which was granted to the College, along with some other houses in Plots Lane, by letters patent of 10 February 1449.[4] To the south of Plots Lane a tavern called Le Boreshede was conveyed to the College in 1444 along with houses there.[5]

It was around the time that the king was first contemplating these larger plans for his Cambridge foundation that two other important changes were also occurring. These were the enlargement of the College at Eton, and the forging of closer links between the king's two foundations. The relationship between these events requires careful examination.

The plans for the enlargement of both colleges have commonly

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[1] W & C, I, 212.
[2] KCM A.86.
[3] *RP* V, 94a, 161b-162b.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] For the charter of 1444 see H & W, 299-359.

been interpreted as a sign that the king now wished his colleges to be more closely united, and certainly, 1443 marked the year when enlargements at both colleges were first considered and also when letters patent were produced formally linking Eton and King's College. These were dated 10 July 1443 and stated the king's intention that when his Eton scholars were sufficiently grounded in grammar they should proceed to King's College.[1] The same letters patent wrought further changes intended to bring the colleges into closer harmony. For example, the title of the Cambridge college was changed from the Royal College of St Nicholas, Cambridge, to *Collegium Regale Beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai de Cantabrigia*, and the title of Rector was changed to that of Provost as at Eton. Within two years Henry had also petitioned the Pope for permission to increase the number of scholars at his Cambridge college from twelve to seventy, as the Pope's reply of December 1445 reveals.[2]

Two aspects of these changes stand out because they modify the view that the enlargement plans at both colleges were specifically connected to the intention to link the two colleges more closely. First, in the letters patent of 10 July, it is stated not merely that the king intended his Eton scholars to progress to King's College, but in fact that he had long since done so.[3] If the king had indeed been considering this for a while the intention is unlikely to have been connected with the plan to

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[1] *CPR 1441-6*, 197.

[2] *CPL 1431-7*, 479.

[3] "Iam pridem," *CPR 1441-6*, 197.

enlarge King's, which, as it has been demonstrated above, cannot have predated 1443 by any considerable period of time. Moreover, it may well be that members of the College itself were responsible for persuading the king that a larger site was necessary, and not the king's idea at all, for it was they who petitioned the king to consider

> "their own numbers and those of others daily flocking together to the said college."[1]

The letters patent of 10 July 1443 also contain evidence that the king's proposed changes clashed with the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge, for at their own request the commissioners appointed in 1441 were released from their statute making duties. The task devolved upon the king instead. The reason given in the letters patent was attributed to the lack of leisure on the part of the commissioners. It more readily indicates, however, that the changes intended by the king were ones which the commissioners, who had taken oaths to the University, could not accept.

When new statutes were brought to the College in 1447 the Provost, William Millington, refused to swear obedience to them, arguing that they were not advantageous to the College.[2] He objected to two statutes in particular; one concerning the election of those scholars chosen for Eton and King's College, and the other exempting the College from the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of the University. Millington was consequently deprived of his provostship, for which he

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[1] *RP* V, 163b-164a (the parliament of 1449).

[2] Bek., *Corr.*, II, 159.

blamed Bekynton, and with whom subsequently he entered into an acrimonious exchange of letters.[1] Clearly, Millington believed Bekynton to have played an important role in the foundation process at King's College, and indeed claimed that the king played no part whatsoever in his dismissal. He wrote:

> "But I ... will say how you have most unjustly robbed me by expelling me from my benefice [he means the provostship], which was of the value of a hundred pounds a year ... if you deny me [satisfaction] I accuse you before the most high judge, whom you cannot deceive ... For our most Christian King, though he had no part in my deposition, yet is deeply sorry for it. The Bishop of Norwich constantly affirms, and confirms with an oath, that he never gave his consent to my deposition. How is it that you alone endeavour to justify so detestable an act ? Bring me a man who supports you in this act, and I will bring you a thousand who shall speak against it."[2]

Bekynton's reply first sought to establish the facts of the dismissal. Suffolk, Alnwick, Aiscough, the Bishop of Norwich, Richard Andrew and Bekynton himself had required the Fellows and Scholars of King's College to take an oath to uphold the new statutes:

> "In this, all the Fellows and Scholars there, except you, my good man, obeyed the King's wishes without any contradiction whatever. You alone, as a man of your own head, were unwilling to admit them, or rather, utterly refused to do so. However the Duke and Prelates aforenamed, still hoping that you might be led by a spirit of sounder advice to comply with the King's wishes, as you ought, earnestly pleaded with you two whole days, if I remember right; using all possible endeavours to bend your mind, and incline you to accept the Statutes. But you, showing yourself inexorable to all, became more and more hardened and inflexible; and to confess the truth, I don't remember ever to have seen such a stiffnecked man. Then, despairing of your repentance, the Duke aforesaid, acting on the Royal authority, as was worthy and just, and seemed right to all there, without one dissentient,

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[1] *Ibid.*, 163-4. On the sacking of Millington see also G. Williams, "Notices of William Millington, First Provost of King's College, Cambridge," *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications*, I (1859), 287-328; Bek., *Corr*, II, 157-74; A. A. Leigh, *King's College*, (London, 1899), 14; G. G. Perry, "Bishop Beckington and Henry VI," *EHR*, IX (1894), 261-74. On the problems of dating Millington's resignation and Chedworth's subsequent elevation as Provost, see J. Saltmarsh, *VCH Cambridgeshire* III (London, 1959), 378 n.38. On the jurisdictional conflict between King's College and the University of Cambridge see Rashdall, *Universities*, III, 317-20; *Annals of Cambridge*, ed. C. H. Cooper, 5 vols., (Cambridge, 1842-1908), I, 206-8.

[2] G. Williams, "Notices", 295.

> pronounced sentence of deprivation against you in writing. But this was a long time ago, and two venerable men have already succeeded you,[1] freely and quietly accepting these statutes without any contradiction or murmur whatsoever. Now I wish you would review your letter, and see how far you have erred from all truth, reason, and civility."[2]

Millington's violent response to Bekynton's rendering of events was to suggest that the bishop's considerable age had caused a loss of memory. He claimed that because the Commissioners had been six in number, and only three had consented to the sentence, that it ought not to have taken effect. The Bishop of Lincoln, he said, had refused to sit in judgment lest the sentence was unjust, although the bishop evidently wished Millington to resign the provostship. Millington had also consulted the senior fellows who had unanimously desired him to persist in his opposition to the statutes, although they themselves all swore to accept and to observe them.

Millington's refusal to obey the statutes was based on a two-fold objection:

> "And how be it that mony of the statutes to the whiche I shuld swere be not made after grett policye, ne for grett avail of the Collage, as me semys, yitt I made difficulte but at ii: the first of eleccion of such persones as shuld be chosyn in to this Collage and in to the Collage of our Lady of Eton, to the replenyssyng of both Collages, the whiche, as I declared yow, includid accepsion of persones and dedyly synne agaynes Goddys lawe. The secunde statute was of exempcion frome the Chanseler of the Universite of Cambryge, of the which folowith opyn periury."[3]

In the King's College foundation charter of 1441 the jurisdiction and visitation of the College was vested in the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. The King's College Statutes of 1443 exempted the

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[1] John Chedworth 1446-52, Robert Wodelarke from 1452.

[2] G. Williams, "Notices", 296-7.

[3] *Ibid.*, 312-3.

members of College from swearing oaths of obedience to the Chancellor. Millington had played no part in the framing of these statutes, and, having taken a previous oath to the Chancellor before becoming provost of King's College in 1443 he refused to perjure himself by taking the oath to obey the statutes. In addition he had deep reservations that all the King's College scholars should be drawn from the royal College of Eton.

Millington's tribulations were part of a wider jurisdictional struggle between the College and the University which rumbled on for a number of years without satisfactory resolution. The problem has its roots in the original foundation of 1441, which was essentially a university inspired plan with munificent royal backing. By 1443, however, the King's College project had been developed by the king's associates into a much grander design, and one that was to have less to do with the University and far more with the king's other foundation at Eton. It was to be enlarged, due to necessary reconstruction work at Eton, which college it was to parallel, and the two colleges were to be linked as a dual foundation with the scholars of Eton proceeding to the Cambridge College. Thus the King's College project had been taken out of the University hands which had once spawned it and it is this development which produced the jurisdictional conflicts of the 1440s and 1450s.

Henry VI obtained papal bulls exempting King's College not only from episcopal and archiepiscopal jurisdiction but also from that of the

Chancellor of the University of Cambridge himself. The bulls are dated 29 November 1445.[1] These were not immediately accepted by the University. Further confirmatory bulls were granted by Nicholas V on 11 July 1448.[2] The papal bulls were not recited in full University Convocation until 31 January 1448.[3] Even then the University accepted the papal exemptions only with two conditions attached: firstly, that members of the College should remain subject to the Chancellor and Proctors concerning academical acts, while free from their judicial and disciplinary authority, and secondly that the whole agreement should be void if the Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Carlisle were to find that

> "it contained anything offensive to the consciences of the gremials, or contrary to the Statutes, privileges and laudable customs of the said University."[4]

The jurisdictional controversy did not end here however. On 26 June 1454 the University passed statutes preventing members of King's College from taking their degrees until they had renounced their privileges and sworn their obedience to the Chancellor.[5] Members of King's College refused and complained to the king, who on 1 July 1454 directed letters to be issued commanding the admission of those whose

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[1] *CPL IX 1431-47*, 482-3, 511-2.

[2] He succeeded Eugenius IV on 6 March 1447.

[3] H & W, 193-7 (from British Library MS Arundel 54, fo. 155v); dated incorrectly in H & W as 31 January 1449. For the correct date see KCM Box M.9 fo.14a and for papal confirmation on 21 June 1448 see *CPL X 1447-55*, 188.

[4] *Ibid.* This proviso was perhaps due to the fate of Millington who continued to exercise considerable influence within the University after his deposition.

[5] Rashdall, *Universities*, III, 319 note 1. The University was still enforcing these statutes in March 1455, for which see letters of 17 and 18 March 1455 from King's College to the Duke of Somerset, KCM Ledger Book, I, 6a-b.

degrees had been refused.[1] The issue was finally laid to rest when the College and the University came to an agreement on 14 February 1457, item six of which read:

> "That the members of the College should not, on taking their degrees, be required to take any oath inconsistent with this composition, and that they should be admitted to degrees and offices as freely as other members of the University."[2]

The College could have jurisdiction over members of the College, their tenants and servants, in civil or criminal cases, but only in matters arising out of acts committed within the precincts of the College.[3]

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[1] Cambridge UL MS Mm.1.36 (MS Baker 25): Item 17n (1) (p.438), dated 13 June 1454, a royal patent summoning William Yvers and William Aiscough to appear before the council for riotous attacks which had been made on King's College; Item 17qq (pp.447-8), petition from King's College to the King complaining of the violation of their privileges in admission to degrees. The annexed schedule recites certain statutes complained of. The Lords of the Council are directed to interpose by order of the council dated 1 July. A note on the Baker Mss.: Mss. 1-23 are now British Library MSS Harleian 7028-7050, and Mss. 24-42 are Cambridge UL MSS Mm.1.35-Mm.2.25. For Thomas Baker's manuscript collections see *Fontes Harleiani*, 60-1. MS Baker 25, under discussion here, is a folio volume of 467 pages of Cambridge material. Item 17 contains privy seals etc, concerning King's College, King's Hall, Queens' College and the University.

[2] *Ibid.*, 208; H & W, 193-7, from British Library MS Arundel, 53, fo. 160r.

[3] *CPR 1452-61*, 356. This was the king's confirmation of the composition dated at Coventry, 18 February 1457; and see also Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 207-8.

PART FOUR:
CONCLUDING REMARKS

CHAPTER FOURTEEN
The Alien Priory Commissioners

The previous section offered a detailed analysis of the objectives, endowments, and progress of the works, at Henry VI's colleges. New explanations have been put forward to challenge old perceptions of how and why the colleges were founded, and later changed and enlarged, and it is hoped that a more accurate assessment of these developments, as well as the relationship between the two colleges, is now available. What the preceding chapters have not fully demonstrated is the connection of the two colleges with the potential resources available to the Crown for the purposes of foundation. These resources, the alien priories, discussed in chapter one and analysed in the Appendices, passed to the foundations via the alien priory commissioners, whose significance as a group has never been sufficiently explained. It was a group composed of public figures well known for their connection with the Eton College foundation. This chapter analyses the origin and role of the alien priory commission and concludes that it should be regarded as the key to understanding the place of the Eton and King's College foundations in Lancastrian polity.

When Queen Joan of Navarre died in 1437 the Crown considerably added to its store of alien priory wealth.[1] For those who

[1] See Appendix II, pp. 297-301, and Appendix IV, Table 2a, pp. 312-313.

sowed the seeds of foundation in the king's mind these lands represented a ripe and accessible resource. The commission could not, of course, be formed until the king had reached maturity, for it was not part of the remit of the minority government to alienate the king's patronage; but that the commission was formed as early as 1440 is an illustration of the long perceived need to utilise the Crown's alien priory resources piously, and reveals the prevailing anxiety caused by the king's profligate grants and the fear that the alien priories might fall permanently into lay hands.[1]

Before turning to the commission itself it is important to understand the extent to which it represented a deviation from the past. Henry V endowed his foundations of Sheen and Syon very generously with alien priory resources,[2] but in no sense was there a group of commissioners at work. This was because Henry did not need a such a thing to secure alien priory resources for Sheen and Syon. The endowments to them were from a limited number of sources;[3] the need for trustees to facilitate such transfers would not have been apparent, not least since Henry V was a mature king and a dynamic man who had demonstrated that he was perfectly capable of putting his plans into effect himself. The situation in the late 1430s forms a stark contrast to

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[1] On the royal trend of granting alien priory rents and properties into lay hands (especially during the period 1437-9) see Appendix IV, Table 5c, pp. 330-331.

[2] See Appendix IV, Tables 4f and 4g, pp. 325-326. A few select laymen were favoured with alien priory grants (John Cornewaille, Roland Lenthall, Thomas Erpingham, and Richard Delabere; see Appendix IV, Table 5a, p. 329) but these were grants to private individuals, not to a commission to hold on trust for a pious institution.

[3] See Appendix IV, Tables 4f and 4g, pp. 325-326. Most alien priory resources were not actually available for distribution at this time; note for example the large amount of such property tied up in Queen Joan's dowry grant.

this earlier treatment of alien priory resources. Much alien priory property had fallen in to the Crown since then, especially since 1437, and a young, impressionable king of no great capacity was on the throne. The minority councillors could not alienate the king's patronage, but in his name the alien priory commissioners could facilitate the safe and orderly transfer of vulnerable property to pious public uses, thereby saving it from the permanent clutches of lay hands.

On 3 September 1440 by royal letters patent dated at Windsor, the king made the appointment during pleasure of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Lowe, Bishop of St. Asaph, William Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, John Somerset, Thomas Bekynton, clerk and king's secretary, John Hampton and James Fiennes, esquires,

> "to fulfil the king's intent and will, to the keeping of all priories, possessions and portions of aliens in England to whatsoever foreign religious houses belonging, which are in the king's hands at present; and grant to them also of rents, farms, issues, profits of all such priories etc., as are in the hands of farmers or tenants for term of life or years; and of all apports, pensions, and portions sometime belonging to the said houses abroad, and now of the king, to hold from Easter last, and the said grantees shall also have the premises so in the hands of farmers or others as these fall in."[1]

The date of this grant suggests that its purpose was to facilitate the acquisition of the various alien priory endowments about to be granted to the newly founded college. The king's intention to found a college was revealed scarcely more than a week later on 12 September 1440.

[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 454.

Membership of this group was enlarged slightly on 1 October 1440[1] with the addition of Richard Andrew, Adam Moleyns, and William Tresham, all notable figures in the royal household. Indeed, the composition of this committee reinforces the household element at work in the foundation.

Further evidence intimately binding the purpose of the commission with the foundation and endowment of Eton College may be detected in an entry of the *Close Rolls* dated 24 February 1441.[2] The entry, addressed to the king from the enlarged group of feoffees, is a surrender and quitclaim of all the possessions of the alien priories which the king had given to them by letters patent of 12 September 1440, and all rents and farms which any person was bound to render for the same. There then follows a list of rents and farms which corresponds exactly to the list in the Eton College Endowment Charter which is dated shortly after this *Close Rolls* entry on 25 March 1441.

In the months immediately following the foundation of Eton in the autumn of 1440 the king's commissioners had considerable dealings with the transfer of various alien priory properties. One of their earliest tasks was a life grant dated 3 October 1440 to William Philip, the king's chamberlain, of the manor of Horstead in Norfolk, an alien priory possession formerly of Holy Trinity Abbey, Caen, in Normandy, in recompense of £20 deducted from £40 p.a. at the Exchequer.[3] An

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[1] *Ibid.*, 512.

[2] *CClR 1435-41*, 493-6.

[3] *CPR 1436-41*, 512.

increased amount of such business was performed the following year. On 9 December 1441 the commissioners were seised of the advowson of the alien priory of Goldcliff, for which they were granted a royal licence to grant the advowson in mortmain to the Abbot and Convent of the church of St Mary of Tewkesbury.[1] Just over a week later on 18 December letters patent confirmed earlier letters of 22 September granting John Hampton, esquire of the body, and William Tresham, the keeping of all the lands, rents, and services, late of Thomas Wodehill, esquire, during the minority of John, his son and heir.[2] This suggests that the activities of the commissioners were not restricted solely to the administration of alien priory properties in the king's hands. This may be illustrated further by citing letters patent of 5 March 1442 addressed to Bishop William Aiscough, the Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Bekynton, John Carpenter, Henry Sever, the Provost of Eton, and John Hampton. They were granted three thousand marks which had been granted to the king as a subsidy by the commonalty of the county of Chester, to be paid in instalments of five hundred marks at Midsummer and Martinmas. They were also granted the fines due to the king from Katherine, Duchess of Norfolk, and Thomas Strangeways, for marriage without licence.[3] The inclusion of Henry Sever in these letters suggests that the resulting incomes were intended for Eton College. The commissioners appointed to administer the alien estates had thus

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[1] *CPR 1441-6*, 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, 28.

[3] *Ibid.*, 50. For the sum of £1,000 mentioned see *ibid.*, 56; 21 March 1442.

acquired wider fields of involvement, as a result of concern for the munificence of the Eton College endowment.

Of the later grants involving these commissioners is one dated 16 February 1442. By its terms they were to receive all issues, profits, farms and rents which Thomas Courtenay, the Earl of Devon, John Coplestone, William Beeff, William Hammond, clerk, and Thomas Welywroght were bound to pay for their keeping of the lands of the late William Bodrugan, knight, of Cornwall, held of the king by knight service, and of certain sums which they were bound to pay for the marriage of Henry, William's son and heir.[1]

After the early spring of 1442 all trace of this commission's activities vanishes from the *Patent Rolls*. If the prime purpose of the commission had been to secure and facilitate adequate and permanent endowment for the king's two colleges from the alien priory property in the king's hands, which it seems to have been, its utility must have been very nearly served by this time. By March 1442 the farms and rents granted out of alien priory resources had been bestowed either upon Eton or King's College. Only isolated rents and properties remained, and Duke Humphrey's annuity was granted to Eton in this year.

Bekynton's role in this commission is worthy of comment since he used his membership to further other interests. His part in the Eton foundation is well documented, and his constant proximity to the king

[1] *Ibid.*, 54.

during this period, as the king's secretary, provided him with the opportunity to influence the king's decision making. Indeed, he may well have been instrumental in the setting up of the commission, given his position and his legal and administrative talents. He certainly exploited his place on the commission to support his former college. Letters patent of 3 April 1441 reveal that on 12 September 1440 the king had granted the manors of Newton Longville to the feoffees of the alien priories on the death of Ralph Rocheford, knight. By their charter of 31 March 1441, the commissioners rendered the same to the king, who

> "considering the poverty of Saint Marie College of Winchestre in Oxenford, and at the instance of the king's clerk, master Thomas Bekynton, doctor of laws, has granted to master Nicholas Osulbury, warden of the said college, the said manors in frank almoin."[1]

Further evidence of Bekynton's support for New College is evident in letters patent of 18 August 1441 which record a grant made to Nicholas Osulbury

> "on the petition of the king's clerk and secretary ... of the manors of Newenton Longvyle ... rendering to the king for the same a red rose at Midsummer."[2]

Bekynton's position as feoffee on this commission presumably also explains his acquisition of the manors of Quarley and Chisenbury for St Katherine's Hospital by the Tower, in London, granted by letters patent of 8 April 1441.[3] Bekynton had been appointed warden of this hospital

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[1] *CPR 1436-41*, 516.

[2] *Ibid.*, 558.

[3] *Ibid.*, 529.

on 14 October 1438[1] and, shortly after the Quarley grant, had managed to obtain further privileges for the hospital in letters patent of 3 March 1442.[2] These letters state specifically that the grant had been obtained

> "at the instance of master Thomas Bekynton, in the presence of Lord Sudeley, the chamberlain."

Bekynton had considered

> "that the stipends, salaries, and other liveries for the sustenance of the chaplains and sisters, scholars and poor women are insufficient, and ... with the king's consent and aid has disposed of a more competent sustenance."

This included various privileges such as exemptions from certain secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, the enjoyment of certain liberties, such as a fair on Tower Hill, exemption from fines for trespass and other misdeeds in the precinct and from purveyance of their goods by the king's ministers, and cognizance of all pleas of tenants and residents.

Two grants made after the alien priory commission seems to have fallen into disuse, and after Bekynton had ceased to act as the king's secretary and had become Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1443, reveal the continuing active interest of the Bishop in Winchester College and New College. On 20 August 1445 a licence was granted for Thomas Bekynton, Nicholas Osulbury, and four named clerks to grant to Winchester College the manor of Farnhill and the moiety of the manor of Aldington or Allington in Southampton, for the finding of vesture for sixteen choristers within the college, according to the last will of

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[1] *Ibid.*, 220.

[2] *CPR 1441-6*, 110-11.

John Fromond, and for other charges.[1] Subsequent letters of 20 June 1446, regranting the licence in slightly fuller terms, also allowed Bekynton and the others to grant land in Otterborne and Andover.[2]

The influence of the alien priory commission in securing part of the King's College endowment may be seen in the second Endowment Charter of 31 July 1441. One of the grants in these letters patent is the reversion of the manor of Willoughton, previously of the alien house of St Nicholas, Angers. Latterly, it had been held by John Middelton, and was then granted for life to John Hardyng by Archbishop Chichele, Bishops Stafford, Lowe and Aiscough, the Earl of Suffolk, John Somerset, Thomas Bekynton, Richard Andrew, and Adam Moleyns, clerks, and John Hampton, James Fiennes, and William Tresham, esquires.[3]

Further evidence of the extent of the involvement of the commission may be discovered in the King's College Muniments. The same twelve names, together with their seals, appear on a charter of surrender to the founder by his feoffees, dated 6 July 1441, of the reversion of the following alien priory lands: the estates of Lucerne abbey, Wenghale, Willoughton, Allerton Mauleverer, Wenlock, fifty-two shillings of rent from the properties of Ogbourne in London, St Mary's Priory in Southwerk, Combe and Monxton, West Kington church, Rotherham church apport, Blythe apport, possessions of Préaux

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[1] *CPR 1441-6*, 367.

[2] *Ibid.*, 444.

[3] *CPR 1436-41*, 557.

in Normandy.[1]

The endowment in letters patent of 31 July 1441 follows exactly the same order as this charter, with the exception of the fifty-two shillings of rent from Ogbourne's property in London which does not appear. The King's College Muniments therefore highlight a more extensive involvement of the commission than that revealed by the corresponding charter in the *Patent Rolls*.

A much larger group of feoffees appears in an indenture of 26 September 1444 granting to the king the manors of Somborne, Weston, Hartley, and Longstock in Hampshire, Everley, Collingbourne, Trowbridge, Berwick, and Easterton in Wiltshire, Chipping Lambourne in Berkshire, Kingston Lacy, Wimborne, Blandford, and Shapwick in Dorset, Minsterworth in Gloucestershire, Hodenak in the Welsh March, and Snaith in Yorkshire.[2] The document contains the thirty-one seals of the following feoffees: ten of the previously named twelve feoffees, (the exceptions were Henry Chichele who was dead and John Lowe who was preoccupied with his episcopal duties by 1444), with the addition of John Kemp, Cardinal Archbishop of York, Robert Gilbert, Bishop of London, William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, John, Viscount Beaumont, William, Lord Hungerford, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, Henry Sever, John Langton, John Delabere, Walter

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[1] KCM KCE 11; KCE 136, a copy of letters patent of 31 July 1441, by which the properties of KCE 11 were granted by Henry VI to King's College.

[2] KCM ROY 3 and above pp. 174-175.

Lyhart, Walter Sherrington, clerks, Edmund Hungerford, John Beauchamp, and Edward Hull, knights, John Saintlo, John Noreys, John Vampage and Richard Alred, esquires.

A further very damaged grant exists amongst the King's College Muniments in which the king's feoffees enfeoffed King's College with further properties.[1] It is dated 24 July 1446 and is interesting because it reveals the continued utilisation of the alien priory commissioners in the acquisition of property for the King's College foundation. It will be recalled that the commission's utility seems to have been served out at Eton by as early as 1442. The names on this damaged and fragile document are only partially legible in places, whilst in others, large holes prevent any reading of the document. As far as can be determined the feoffees on this document are named as John Kemp, John Stafford, William Alnwick, William Aiscough, Thomas Bekynton, Viscount Beaumont, Lord Hungerford, Lord Cromwell, Lord Sudeley, John Beauchamp, James Fiennes, Edward Hull, John Saintlo, and John Hampton. Since, in addition to the holes in the document, there are also no seals attached to help determine the number of feoffees, it is certainly possible that a good many of the names are now lost for good. It is feasible that the number of feoffees involved in this grant may have approached the thirty-one names of the indenture discussed above.

It appears then that while the commission was undoubtedly created for the purpose of facilitating the endowment of the king's

[1] KCM KCE 265.

prime foundation at Eton, it was easily adapted for use at the King's College foundation, and for as long as necessary, to judge by the charter of 24 July 1446. It was not, however, Henry VI's two foundations alone which came to absorb the attention of his feoffees, for the commissioners also became involved in facilitating the acquisition of various alien priory possessions on behalf of All Souls College, founded in 1438 by Henry Chichele. Many of the estates acquired by All Souls were first purchased by Chichele or his executors, then surrendered to Henry VI and regranted to All Souls under the Great Seal. Among the deeds for Foxcote, one of the All Souls properties, is a receipt for £1,000 paid by Chichele to Henry VI, which may well have been the price necessary for securing various alien properties to All Souls.[1] It is interesting to note that this receipt, dated 31 January 1443, is signed by William Waynflete, Provost of Eton, although the sum was "for the use of the king." Henry had evidently granted the money to aid the progress of the building works at Eton, whilst King's College was passed by. This donation to Eton College should be considered along with other links between Eton and All Souls; in July 1441 or soon after seven masons were obliged to leave All Souls and go to work at Eton.[2] Various others employed at All Souls later went on to work at Eton, among whom may be numbered Roger Keys, John Medehill, and two

[1] Ms D.D. All Souls C.60, document 36 (Foxcote). Document 9 in this series, dated 28 January 1443 records confirmation by Henry VI of his charters of foundation and donation to All Souls, in consideration of the £1,000 paid by Chichele.

[2] All Souls Building Accounts, fo.69.

men named Jannings and Massingham.[1]

There are two documents extant amongst the All Souls archives which reveal the involvement of the alien priory commissioners in Chichele's foundation. This should cause little surprise for Chichele himself was, until his death in 1443, always part of the commission, and was always the first named; moreover Richard Andrew, first Warden of All Souls, was also an alien priory commissioner. Once the commission had been formed to facilitate the transition of alien priory properties to Eton College, Chichele was in a favourable position to secure alien priory properties for his own foundation. It was by this means that Chichele acquired for his College in 1441 and 1442 the priory of the Alberbury which had formerly been part of Queen Joan's dowry and later Duke Humphrey's annuity, and the priories of Llangennith, St Clears, and Penarth. St Clears had also been part of Queen Joan's dowry. The following twelve feoffees were involved in both grants: Henry Chichele, John Stafford, John Lowe, William Aiscough, William, Earl of Suffolk, John Somerset, Thomas Bekynton, Richard Andrew, Adam Moleyns, John Hampton, James Fiennes, and William Tresham.[2]

The association of Henry VI as co-founder of All Souls was a measure prompted by Chichele in order to facilitate the process of endowment at All Souls with various alien priory possessions which the Crown was making available from the resources of Queen Joan's

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[1] E.F. Jacob, "The Building Of All Souls College 1438-53", 133.

[2] Ms D.D. All Souls C.1, documents 127 (12 seals), 128 (1 seal), 128 dated 11 May 1441; all Alberbury; Ms D.D. All Souls, C.119, documents 2 (12 seals), 3 (1 seal); Llangennith, St Clears and Penarth; and see Appendix IV, Table 3a, p. 317, for All Souls.

former dowry. The College also acquired from the former dowry possessions of Upchurch and New Romney in 1438 and 1439.[1] These had also been part of Duke Humphrey's annuity.[2] It is interesting to note that these latter grants were made before the alien priory commission had been set up, which again reinforces the claim that the commission was established not to deal generally with the allocation of Queen Joan's dower lands, and the administration of alien resources in general, whether to Eton, King's College, All Souls, or others, but more specifically, to act on behalf of the king's foundation at Eton. The earliest known example of the commission acting remains 3 September 1440, the exact time of the announcement of the Eton foundation.

The commission did become involved in grants benefiting other institutions but this was due to the interests of some of the commissioners like Chichele at All Souls, and Bekynton on behalf of New College. The commission was not necessary for the distribution of the remainder of Queen Joan's dower lands destined neither for Eton nor King's College. The surplus properties were granted in individual transactions and recipients did not therefore require the watchful eyes of a royal enfeoffment to safeguard their interests. The remaining dower lands seem rather to have been intended as a small pool of alien resources from which to reward various pious institutions which showed themselves deserving of the need.

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[1] Ms. D.D. All Souls C.155, doc. 2, grant by Henry VI to All Souls of Upchurch, dated 21 November 1438; same series, doc. 3, grant by Henry VI to All Souls of New Romney, dated 20 May 1439.

[2] Ms. D.D. All Souls C.119, document 8 (a-h); a file of 8 receipts by Duke Humphrey from All Souls of £32.16.8. from the priories of Alberbury, St Clears, Upchurch, and New Romney; and for Duke Humphrey's annuity see Appendix II, pp. 301-304, and Appendix IV, Table 2b, p. 314.

Some further implications of the establishment of the alien priory commission are drawn out in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN
Henry VI's Foundations as Statements of Public Policy

> "... his was the noble ambition, resolute to equal and surpass the great works of Wykeham; his above all the vision which saw such a project as practically possible and willed it to be."[1]

The praise of Saltmarsh is misleading. Henry VI's desire to equal and surpass Wykeham's foundations was not expressed at the outset of his foundation plans and was prompted by others, notably Waynflete.[2] In 1440 Eton College was conceived on a modest scale with grandiose intentions not manifesting themselves until 1443, and then again later in the revised building schemes of the later 1440s. It must also be doubted whether Henry's was the vision which saw the project as practically possible, or that it was he who willed the project into existence. Certainly, the alien priory resources necessary for foundation were under the king's control, but, as previously stated, by the time Henry reached maturity there was a considerable weight of opinion in favour of utilising the alien resources as soon as possible towards pious ends. The vision was less Henry's and rather the result of a preexisting pressure. Moreover, the practicalities of foundation were put into effect by others whom Henry deputed to perform the various legal and administrative functions. Henry assumed the aspect of an interested and concerned patron, reading (perhaps) and initialling documents, visiting

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[1] J. Saltmarsh, *Henry VI and the Royal Foundations*, 7.

[2] For Waynflete see especially Chapter Seventeen below.

his colleges, having newly elected members of his episcopate consecrated there, recognising a need to reform the statutes and assigning loyal servants to perform the function for which he was allegedly too busy himself. Such concerns do not, however, imply that Henry's was the guiding light.

That Henry's foundation plans found physical form can be seen to have less to do with either the wishes of the king or the zeal of the so called Wykehamists[1] than the deep seated concerns of the ruling hierarchy to maintain the achievements of Henry V by upholding the Dual Monarchy and promoting the Lancastrian name at home and abroad. There is something very definitely corporate in the intention to found Eton and King's College which had nothing to do with the subsequent linking of the colleges to Winchester and New College.

In addressing and understanding this corporate issue, the question might first be asked, was the intention to found Eton and King's College a public or a private plan ? Regardless of what Eton was to become, in the original Foundation Charter much scope was given to the chantry element. Prayers were to be said for the founder, his wife and parents. This was typical of the pious benefactions of late medieval England which had generally found expression in chantry foundations. Such benefactions were private, familial expressions of piety. Yet, consider Henry V's foundations at Sheen and Syon; two inward looking communities devoted to private contemplation and prayers for the

[1] See Chapter Sixteen below, pp. 220-231, for a discussion of the Wykehamical influence.

founder. In fact they were the very public and propagandist face of the king's piety. In praying for the king the religious of Sheen and Syon were praying for his success in war and the restitution of his rightful inheritance in France. The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* shows the extent to which Henry V utilised the saying of prayers to promote and fortify his ambitions.[1]

Henry's plans for Eton began modestly but never privately. The foundations were always intended as a public assertion of the king's attainment of maturity. More than this was the corporate image with which they came to be imbued. At both emotional and economic levels they were established to create a vested interest in the mature Lancastrian kingship of Henry VI. The Earl and later Duke of Suffolk played an instrumental role in this process. He was in many ways the government workhorse, dominating politics from his position in the household, guiding the government through the last ignominious years of the Hundred Years War, whilst trying to stave off political opponents from thwarting his designs. A firm base from which to achieve a position of political strength was through control of the king's patronage, a process which also included the foundation enfeoffments. Many of the alien properties had been held temporarily by householders, grants made by Henry VI in the brief period between his

[1] For example, in the wake of the English victory against the French the *Gesta* recites: "And he straightway ordered to be chanted by his chapel the angelic hymn: *Te Deum Laudamus*, etc. to the praise and glory of God Who had so marvelously deigned to receive His England and her people as His very own" (Decantarique fecit statim per capellam suam angelicum hympnum: *Te Deum Laudamus*, etc. ad laudem et gloriam dei qui Angliam suam una cum populo sic miraculose dignatus est in suum peculium acceptare), *Gesta*, 120-1.

attainment of majority rule and the setting up of the alien priory commission. As we have seen the commission was composed of those closely identified with the king and his household, and of course included Suffolk. This commission controlled the enormous amounts of alien priory resources. It was more than a legal and administrative instrument to ensure the safe and straightforward transferal of resources to the royal foundations. It was also a potent political expression of the household control over patronage and the king.

Suffolk's involvements in the foundations could scarcely have been closer. Virtually nothing could be done at Eton without his consultation and approval; a situation typified in 1446 when the Clerk of the Works went to London in November to consult him about the design for the Hall.[1] He also witnessed a great many of the original endowment patents,[2] and was the subject of numerous others.[3] The alien priory commission strengthened Suffolk's hold over patronage. For example, on 1 December 1444 three of the commissioners, Suffolk, Waynflete and John Hampton, were granted the wardship and marriage of the heir of John Speke.[4]

Suffolk was well aware of the political clout afforded by being a royal feoffee. Beaufort had used his position as a feoffee of Henry V's will to considerable financial and political advantage, especially since he was one of the last surviving feoffees, along with Hungerford and

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[1] ECR Vady's Accounts 1445-6, ECR 61 AR; W& C, I, 393.

[2] ECR 39/8, 9, 30, 34, 57, 58, 62.

[3] ECR 39/13, 14, 38, 39, 43, 69.

[4] ECR 39/38; *CPR 1441-6*, 314.

Chichele.[1] Suffolk and his household supporters are known to have pressured Beaufort and Hungerford, whose legality as feoffees from the late 1430s onwards was being strongly questioned.[2] Attempts were made to wrest the Duchy of Lancaster lands from the three remaining feoffees in the parliament which met on 25 January 1442. As in 1440 it was argued that their revenues could support the household, an attack based on statistics recently compiled by the king's surveyor John Lathbury which claimed that the feoffees' annual revenue of £6,000 had yielded them a total of £114,000 since Henry V's death.[3] Their last loan, made in June 1439, had since been repaid and there was now no reason why the remaining creditors of Henry V should not be repaid with assignments so that the feoffment could be wound up. The feoffees capitulated.[4] The Commons had been persuaded that the feoffment would come to the rescue of household finances which were in a poor state. In reality the resources were intended for the royal foundations.[5]

The feoffees of Henry V had assumed responsibility for the king's will from the executors in 1429. During the subsequent decade they had lent the crown a total of £52,580, thus prolonging their discharge of the will far beyond what Henry V would have envisaged. Not only did this

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1 G. L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline*, (Oxford, 1988), 127, 308.

2 *Ibid.*, 308.

3 *Ibid.*, 323.

4 *RP* V, 56-9.

5 Although some was assigned to pay for household debts along with certain Duchy of Cornwall revenues for a period of five years from Michaelmas 1439; *RP* V, 7. In 1442 when the five year period was over half completed the combined revenue from the two duchies was still over 8,000 marks short of the required amount. The Commons sought a continuance of the assignment for another three years; *RP* V, 62.

give Beaufort a virtual monopoly of credit available to the crown in these years, it also enabled him to appoint his relatives and political associates to positions in the feoffees' part of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1437 onwards. It was by such means that Suffolk was able to obtain a post in the Duchy. On 11 May 1437 he became Chief Steward of the northern parts. The next day householder Sir William Philip was appointed Chief Steward in the southern parts, and by 1440 Lord Beaumont, James and Roger Fiennes, James Leigh, Thomas Tuddenham, and Thomas Staunton, all members of the household, all had posts in the feoffees' part of the Duchy.[1]

Just as Beaufort had used the royal patrimony to sustain Henry V's political and military legacy, Suffolk now intended to fortify his position, and that of his associates and clients in the household, by the creation of a new Duchy feoffment set up to provide permanent endowments for the royal foundations of Henry VI. In addition to the revised building plans for the foundations, the setting out of the Duchy feoffment was the main purpose for the drawing up of the king's 'Will' in 1448. The 'Will' actually opens with a list of the names of the feoffees: Archbishops John Kemp and John Stafford, Bishops Robert Gilbert, William Alnwick, William Aiscough, Thomas Bekynton, John Carpenter, Adam Moleyns, Walter Lyhart, John Langton, John Delabere; William, Marquis of Suffolk, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, John, Viscount Beaumont, Walter Hungerford, Ralph

[1] Somerville, *Duchy,* 191-6, 428, 576, citing DL 42/18 f. 48-48v.

Cromwell, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John Beauchamp of Powick, James Fiennes, Lord Say, John Somerset, Henry Sever, Richard Andrew, Walter Sherrington, Edmund Hungerford, Edward Hull, John Saintlo, John Hampton, John Noreys, William Evesham, John Vampage and Richard Arnold.

The feoffment was not initiated in 1448 but had in fact been carried out by means of four instalments under the Duchy seal almost as soon as the resources had been freed from Beaufort, Hungerford and Chichele. These were confirmed by letters patent and were recited in parliament on 6 April 1446.[1] The dates of the four feoffments were 29 November 1443, 7 July 1444, 23 February 1445, and 29 June 1445.[2] The value was estimated in Henry VI's will to be £3,395.[3] There were four indentures between the king and the feoffees dated 2 February, 26 September 1444, and 7 June, 4 September 1445. Letters patent recited in parliament on 16 July 1449 granting more Duchy lands to the feoffees were to be implemented from Michaelmas 1448.[4] Some of the original feoffees were dead by this time and new ones were added: William Waynflete, John Say, John Chedworth, William Westbury, William Say, Nicholas Close, Robert Wodelarke and Thomas Barker, all connected with the royal foundations.

According to the provisions of the king's 'Will' the feoffees were instructed to appoint their own chancellor, receiver-general, attorney,

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[1] *RP* V, 70.

[2] Somerville, *Duchy*, 210, 340 citing DL 37/14, nos. 1, 5, 10, 14.

[3] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 292.

[4] *RP* V, 165-6.

stewards, receivers, auditors, bailiffs and feoderies etc., but no duchy officer could become an officer of the enfeoffed lands that were to return eventually to the king. The office of Chief Steward went, unsurprisingly, to Suffolk along with Sir Thomas Stanley on 11 December 1447.[1]

Other parts of the Duchy were also enfeoffed. Margaret of Anjou was awarded her dowry, set at ten thousand marks, from duchy resources. On 19 March 1446 she was granted by parliament £2,000 p.a. worth of property from the Duchy.[2] On the same date she was granted a £1,000 cash annuity from the Duchy.[3] The following year, on 28 March 1447, she was granted a further five hundred mark annuity under the Duchy seal meaning that the Duchy had contributed nearly half the total dowry.[4] Having recently freed duchy resources from the clutches of the three remaining feoffees of Henry V Suffolk would have been able to act with greater freedom in his marriage negotiations for the king, knowing that he would be able to grant a dowry using Duchy resources. Practically the only part of the Duchy lands remaining in the king's hands throughout this period since 1415 was the County Palatine of Lancaster, Lancaster Castle and Pontefract honor.[5]

By the terms of the 'Will' both Eton College and King's College

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1 *CPR 1446-52*, 123.

2 *RP* V, 188ff., the charter of feoffment having been prepared well in advance; DL 37/13/80 cited by Somerville, *Duchy*, 208-9.

3 *RP* V, 119.

4 The endowment was completed with assignments on the Southampton customs and from the Duchy of Cornwall and the Exchequer, DL 37/15/15, cited by Somerville, *Duchy*, 340.

5 With a fifth feoffment on 16 July 1449, *ibid.*, 213-4.

were to have £1,000 annually from Michaelmas 1447 for twenty years with an annual extension thereafter if either college was still incomplete. There had already been much earlier attempts to secure this annuity. On 2 December 1444 an annuity of the same amount was appointed on specific duchy lands for a term of fourteen years from Michaelmas 1444, but was twice cancelled.[1] A fresh grant was issued on 24 July 1446 when Henry was in Cambridge which allowed £1,000 and four hundred marks to Eton and £1,000 and £400 to King's.[2] Other unsuccessfully prosecuted grants were those made on 22 October 1444 for £1,000 and sometime in 1444-5 granting £1,000 to each college.[3] By Michaelmas 1446 Eton was already £2,000 and four hundred marks in arrears, despite a further single grant of £400 on 15 July 1445.[4]

The duchy feoffments probably help explain why Henry V's will was found at Eton.[5] Perhaps a copy of it was needed to ensure that the lands to be included in the Eton and King's College feoffments were free from the burdens imposed upon them by Henry V.

The Eton College Records reveal the extent to which the duchy payments had soon fallen into arrears. The series of cancelled enfeoffments mentioned above presaged the financial problems to come. Even before the end of the 1440s sums were borrowed by Eton, for the building works there, from the annuity which the college had granted

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[1] Somerville, *Duchy*, 218-20: DL 37/12 m. 2d and 4d.

[2] *Ibid.*: DL 37/13, fos. 56-8.

[3] *Ibid.*: DL 37/12/53-4; DL 28/5/2, fos. 123v, 124.

[4] *Ibid.*: DL 37/12/114; DL 28/5/2, f.122.

[5] P. Strong, "The Last Will and Codicils of Henry V", *EHR*, XCVI (1981), 79-102, and ECR 59.

the Duchess of Suffolk for life, and also from the king's treasury.[1] In 1449 £288 was repaid by the College to these two sources.[2] Only partial payments were made during the early years of the feoffment.[3] Thereafter, and especially after 1454, duchy remittances soon fell into arrears by more than three years. On 10 May 1456 a payment of £151.5.4 completed the four hundred marks due in at Michaelmas 1454.[4] An indenture of receipt dated 4 June 1459 records the final payment of £152.18.4 of the four hundred marks due at Michaelmas 1455.[5] On 12 March 1460 £180.8.4 was received by the Eton provost but this was only a partial payment of the four hundred marks which had been due at Michaelmas 1457.[6] The situation became so desperate that on 8 October 1460 the college received £55.6.8 for materials and wages out of the king's privy coffers until the receiver of the duchy feoffment paid £100 to the provost.[7] An indenture of 10 June 1459 reveals that of the £1,000 due to Eton at Michaelmas 1455, Provost Westbury was only then receiving an instalment of £386.12.0.[8]

Like the alien priory holdings the duchy resources offered Suffolk and his household clients a means of entrenching themselves in

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1 ECR 39/43, 39/69.

2 ECR 38/291.

3 ECR 38/293 and see ECR 38/288-301 for various part payments.

4 ECR 38/302.

5 ECR 38/304.

6 ECR 38/306

7 ECR 38/307.

8 ECR 54/20. At King's College the yearly endowment was never paid regularly. The King's College Mundum Books reveal that for the years 1448, 1449, 1450, and 1451 only £1,077.3.5. was received; £400 in 1447-8; £299.19.8. in 1448-9, as arrears of the preceding year, ie. a total of £699.19.8. for 1447-8.

government by making the foundation endowment a type of gild or corporate entity. Beyond such household exclusivity, however, was the involvement of parliament in this public scheme. Parliament was often called upon to confirm the grants to Eton made by Henry VI, as if this marked an attempt to unite the whole political community behind the king's plans.[1] The most famous of these is the Consolidation Charter of 5 March 1446; a very long document which recites and confirms nineteen royal charters in addition to various new grants.[2] The Charter was witnessed by two archbishops, fifteen bishops, fourteen abbots, a prior, four dukes, two marquesses, seven earls, two viscounts, ten knights, two justices, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The copy of the charter extant at Eton is a document of four large membranes, the top one of which is beautifully illuminated.[3] The illumination firmly unites the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, with the king and his foundations. On the left of the illustration is a shield of the Confessor, one of Henry's patron saints. Above the word *Henricus* is a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, patroness of Eton. The Feast of the Assumption was one of the most important dates in the Eton calendar. The king is kneeling in the initial, with the lords on a level with him, some of whom are recognisable. At the front is the Chancellor, Archbishop Stafford, and behind him are the two Cardinals

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[1] ECR 39/8 for example is an *inspeximus* of both the Foundation Charter of 11 October 1440 and the Endowment Charter of 25 March 1441, and provides confirmation of these with the authority of parliament (the parliament of 25 January - 27 March 1442); *RP* V 45b-47a, Foundation Charter; 47a-49b, Endowment Charter; 49b-52b, Charter of Liberties.

[2] *RP* V, 75-87; ECR 39/57, 58.

[3] An entry in the Eton College Audit Roll of 1447-8 identifies it as the work of William Abell.

Beaufort and Kemp in their red hats. The Commons are below the Lords and are led by their speaker William Burley who says, "*Prient les comunes.*" Chancellor Stafford says, "*Et nous le prioms auxi.*" The king addresses the Virgin Mary, saying "*Fiat ad laudem gloriam et cultum tuum.*" Thus the Lords and Commons are closely identified with the king's design, with the foundations here being portrayed as a corporate endeavour, and the king acting in conjunction with parliament. A copy of this Charter also exists at King's College. The illumination is just as exquisite although it is personalised to show the figure of St Nicholas, patron saint of the College, to the left of the Virgin Mary, and a slight change in the composition of the Lords, perhaps to reflect the different personalities involved in the two foundations. This emphasises the very public way in which the relationship between the colleges and parliament was presented. There are other grants of confirmation extant at Eton but none so beautiful as this one.[1]

This sense of corporate involvement in the king's foundations and their relationship with the Lancastrian monarchy and its image is reinforced by other factors. In the statutes, for example, it was insisted that former fellows of the College who had since been raised to the episcopate should return to Eton for the Feast Day of the Assumption held annually on 15 August.[2] Another means of promoting the image of

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1 ECR 39/90 which includes copies of ten earlier grants; 39/95, dated 1449, (*RP* V, 159-61); 39/108, dated 1462.

2 ECR 58; see Additions of the Founder no. 63 pp. 203-6, "that all fellows made bishops are to be present in the College of Eton on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary"; also H & W, 619-20.

was by offering indulgences to pilgrims. It was for such publicly motivated reasons that Henry was so keen to win papal approval. Large crowds were indeed attracted to the College. This is known from an entry in the Audit Roll of 1444-5. Even at this early date the college had to pay £2.3.11 for the hire of thirty beds for confessors and their servants at the Feast of the Assumption in 1445 to hear the confessions of pilgrims. It was no doubt the attraction of a large number of pilgrims which led Henry to order the bishops to be present at the annual feast, in a further move to attract the populace and give the College a high public profile. The establishment of a yearly fair on the six days following the Assumption may be viewed in the same light.[1]

Lastly, when considering Henry's foundations as a corporate venture, the transference in 1448 of the management and patronage of the King's Hall, founded by Edward III, to the provosts of Eton and King's College jointly should also be considered. A document extant at Eton offers the provosts of Eton and King's College the nominations of scholars to the King's Hall, at which there had customarily been thirty-two in number.[2] The nomination was to be exercised by the provosts alternately. Such scholars were to be at least fourteen years of age and completely instructed in the rudiments of grammar, by report of the Provost. This too may be regarded as part of the corporate intention, and is further evidence to suggest that Suffolk's regime entertained a forward thinking and long term educational aim for government.

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[1] ECR 39/46, dated 29 July 1445.

[2] ECR 39/51, dated 26 January 1446; *CPR 1446-52*, 121, dated 24 January 1446.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN
The Wykehamical Influence

Having dwelt upon the various public policy aspects of the foundations in chapters fourteen and fifteen, the last two chapters of the thesis return to the roles played by key individuals, in particular Bekynton and Waynflete, to the importance of educational motives in the origin and development of the foundation projects, and to the supposed link between Henry VI's foundations and those of William of Wykeham. In the light of the foregoing analysis it is hoped that the concerns and intentions of these individuals will now be more fully understood, and that the Wykehamical influence will no longer be misinterpreted as it has so often been in the past.

Thomas Chaundler's retrospective celebration of eminent Wykehamists in his *Dialogue In Praise of William of Wykeham* has strongly contributed to the impression that there was some sort of Wykehamical network penetrating the lay and ecclesiastical hierarchies of fifteenth century England. Chaundler, himself a Wykehamist, attended Winchester from 1430, and New College from 1435, where he became a fellow in 1437. In 1450 he became Warden of Winchester College, served two terms of office as Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1457-61, and 1472-79, and was Dean of Hereford from 1481-90 when he died.

Chaundler's epistolary style was flattering and adulatory, as all his correspondence with Bekynton testifies. It is in the *Dialogue*, however, that his celebration of fellow Wykehamists finds unique expression,[1] specifically in the portrait of Wykeham and famous alumni that was drawn around 1460. The picture shows Archbishops Chichele and Cranley of Dublin (who was actually a fellow of Merton but was the first Warden of Winchester); slightly lower down Bishops Bekynton and Waynflete are situated. Bekynton's left hand is shown resting against the tower at the west of the New College building, to indicate that he was a supporter and benefactor of that college. On a lower level are two Wykehamist deans; Richard Andrew, Dean of York, and William Say, Dean of St. Paul's and Windsor. On the bottom row from the left is Chaundler, who is looking up to Bekynton, and has part of Bekynton's robe over his shoulder, in acknowledgement of the debt he evidently felt towards his patron. Then come two archdeacons, Andrew Holes of Wells and John Norton of Berkshire, then Hugh Sugar, Treasurer of Wells, and lastly John Selous, Archdeacon of Cornwall who came to be buried in Eton College chapel.[2]

The lasting impression of Chaundler's drawing is suggestive of, if not a closely knit academic community spanning more than one generation, then at least one whose links were based on close ties of patronage. Such an impression does have foundation in fact. Chichele's

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[1] New College MS. 288; the portrait of Wykeham surrounded by famous alumni is on fo.4; the *Collocutiones* are at fos. 5-33, and the *Allocutiones* are at fos. 33-45v.

[2] A.F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College*, (London, 1899), 215-7.

employment of Wykehamists in his archiepiscopal court has been documented above. Bekynton too favoured men from Winchester and New College in his diocesan appointments.[1] During his episcopate there were five hundred and fifty ordinations in his diocese. Thirty-seven of these were fellows from colleges, of whom a majority of twenty-three were Wykehamists.[2]

It has been shown above how active Bekynton was in obtaining further endowments for New College, not least by using his position as an alien priory commissioner to procure them. Among the properties he obtained for New College were the churches of Newton Longville, Great Horwood, West Hanney, Akely and Witchingham.

Bekynton also forged and maintained links with Wykehamists who were not of his generation. William Say, for example, was twenty years Bekynton's junior, having attended Winchester from 1425, and New College from 1430 to 1443. Say became Master of St Anthony's Hospital in London in 1446, with which Bekynton was connected, until at least 1464.[3] Say succeeded John Carpenter in the post who had become Bishop of Worcester. Bekynton had become associated in St Anthony's declining fortunes in 1441 when Henry VI wrote to Eugenius IV on behalf of Carpenter, who was his chaplain,

> "... the house of St Anthony, which was once beautiful, wealthy, and very handsome, is now melancholy, squalid and almost desolate, and stripped to the verge of poverty."[4]

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[1] On Bekynton's diocesan appointments see Judd, *Life of Bekynton*, 109-20.

[2] *Ibid.*, four each from Merton College and All Souls, three from Oriel, two from Balliol, and one from University College.

[3] Bek., *Corr.*, I, 234.

[4] *Ibid.*

Bekynton was also on close terms with Andrew Holes, who was one of the proctors involved in obtaining papal bulls favourable to Eton College. He served as Archdeacon of Taunton from 1446 and of Wells from 1449, both of which were appointments that Bekynton had made. He was nearly Bekynton's contemporary, being only four years the Bishop's junior,[1] and shared Bekynton's interest in humanist literary pursuits,[2] which he was able to follow in Florence.[3] In a letter of 13 May 1441 Bekynton lamented the miserable state of New College to Holes:

> "Alas, into what wretched poverty has our renowned college sunk !"[4]

With Bekynton playing an instrumental role in the foundations of Henry VI, and given also his continuing concern for his two former colleges, and the ongoing relationships he enjoyed with many Wykehamists, taking into account his professional career under Chichele who was a Wykehamist, and his associations with other Wykehamists in Chichele's archiepiscopal court, it is easy to see why Henry VI's colleges are generally viewed as Wykehamist endeavours too. Other evidence can be made to fit this theory: Henry's visits to Winchester, his employment of Waynflete, who is alleged to have been accompanied by

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[1] He attended Winchester College from 1407 and New College from 1413, T. F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, (London, 1888), 35.

[2] Weiss, *Humanism*, 80.

[3] *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, eds. W.G. & E. Walters, (London, 1926), 5, 206-8.

[4] Bek., *Corr.*, I, 225.

a number of Winchester scholars,[1] the subsequent election of another Wykehamist, William Westbury, to the Eton headmastership in 1442, the king's consideration of enlarged building plans in which he requested measurements from the naves of Salisbury Cathedral and New College Chapel,[2] and the most public form of this alleged Wykehamist expression, the *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444.

Such a theory should be treated with caution, and the term Wykehamism should not be bandied so loosely about. Maxwell-Lyte claims that Provost Henry Sever "was induced by the king to resign his post, [in favour of Waynflete] in order to organise the proposed school upon the Wykehamist model."[3] Let us be clear in what sense Waynflete may have been Wykehamist in outlook. His education at either of Wykeham's colleges has been put in doubt. Wykeham's intention in foundation was born of an episcopal outlook; his desire was to produce men sufficiently educated to become respectable members of the beneficed clergy.[4] By contrast the pastoral experience of Waynflete was negligible. He was first and foremost a school teacher, a grammar

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[1] Apparently he was accompanied by five fellows and thirty-five scholars according to J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Cambridge, 1966), 47, but no evidence of this is extant, and probably only six scholars actually went, see T. F. Kirby, *Annales of Winchester College*, (London, 1892), 199. The following quotation from J. Simon typifies the prevailing misconception of the initial purpose of the Eton foundation: "In 1440 the young and hapless Henry VI, inspired by his ecclesiastical advisers, began to put in hand a vast new College at Cambridge. This was designed to have a related college with a school at Eton, on the pattern introduced by Wykeham...", 46.

[2] ECR Keys' Accounts 1448-9; ECR 61 AR.

[3] Maxwell-Lyte, 14.

[4] In the New College statutes the founder expressed his desire "to relieve in part, though in truth we cannot wholly cure, that general disease of the clerical army, which we have observed to be grievously wounded through want of clergy, arising from pestilence,wars, and other miseries of the world." The provision that twenty of the seventy New College scholars were to study law reflects the practical concerns of Waynflete, "... so that the church is governed, the strength and fervour of the Christian religion grows hotter, and all knowledge and virtue is increased." *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, ed. The Queen's Commissioners, 3 vols., (London, 1853), I (New College), 2.

master. His involvement in the statute making process at Eton was less out of a concern to emulate Wykeham's colleges, but rather a reflection of his career as a schoolteacher and the practical lessons he had drawn from it, as well as a desire to live up to the trust placed in him by the king. His lavish endowment for Magdalen College, and his foundation of two grammar schools, were not the living symbols of his own Wykehamist outlook, but owed a great deal more to the administrative experiences he had accumulated in his professional career at Winchester and Eton. It was after all the lilies of Eton which Waynflete chose to crown his episcopal device not the chevrons and roses of Wykeham.

Waynflete's episcopal appointments reveal an attachment to Winchester and New College. Of the graduates he presented to benefices 24% had attended both Wykeham's colleges. Half of these had been at Winchester when Waynflete was headmaster there illustrating a personal link before a Wykehamist policy. He also appointed Etonians, 55% of whom had attended the College during his relatively short provostship, and this was when the College was, numerically speaking, still quite small.[1] Other colleges were represented by only a sprinkling of graduates.[2] As with Bekynton's presentations, the emphasis was on personal knowledge.

In 1440 when the Eton College plans were first aired no mention was made of a university college to be set up alongside Eton as a parallel to Wykeham's foundations. As stated earlier the purpose of

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[1] Eton did not attain the full complement of seventy scholars until 1447, Davis, Ph.D. thesis, 177-8.

[2] Queens 3%, Lincoln 3%, Merton 2%.

Eton at this early date was not primarily educational. Griffiths is wrong when he suggests that the prime purpose of Eton was educational.[1] The *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444 is suggestive of the opposite; that Eton and King's were closely linked and that these two colleges were firmly allied to Wykeham's foundations. By the terms of this concordat the colleges should offer mutual help to each other in times of need. From as early as 13 September 1443 the forging of links between Henry's two foundations may be dated.[2] The Eton College Charter bearing this date testifies to a meeting held at Eton regarding the king's intentions for his colleges. Those present were William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Bekynton, John Carpenter, Richard Andrew, now king's secretary, William Say, and collegiate figures John Clerc, the Vice-Provost, fellows Thomas Harlow, William Weye, William Westbury, Thomas Weston, John Boner, William Waynflete, the Provost, and three public notaries. The instrument testifies that the scholars of Eton, when sufficiently grounded in grammar, should be received for further education at the College of the Blessed Mary and St Nicholas in Cambridge, and that no others should be admitted until these had first been admitted, and that the two colleges should be perpetually connected thus from that time onwards. Every end of July the provost of King's College was to travel to Eton, accompanied by two fellows, in order to take part in the election of suitable scholars, and of younger boys to fill their places in the school.

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[1] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 244.

[2] ECR 39/30, but NB also 10 July 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 197.

The decision to establish a university college may well have been made with the fate of the Eton scholars in mind. By setting up a royal university college it could be ensured that the Eton boys could proceed safely in their studies. Waynflete would have been most concerned to ensure this; it was a need he would have recognised as former headmaster of Winchester. If the decision to found King's College was prompted by the need to find a place of continuing study for the Eton scholars it was one that cannot be attributed to Waynflete for he had not entered royal service when the decision to found King's College was made. Looking to Bekynton might bring us closer to the truth. He would also have been keen to ensure that the Eton scholars had a place to which to proceed. He had served under Chichele and was acutely aware of the need for educated parish and diocesan clergy. Unlike Wykeham, Chichele and Bekynton were concerned not merely for the the provision of graduates into the ranks of the beneficed clergy, for they had also been active on the international scene at Constance and Basel, in diplomatic negotiations with the French, and understood the need for able men to serve the needs of the king and the church on higher levels than Wykeham would have envisaged or intended.

The statutes instituted at Eton were very closely modelled on those of Winchester.[1] Since Waynflete was the man best placed to compile the statutes this is not surprising. Where else would he have

[1] December 1443. See ECR 54/10, a notarial instrument recording the ceremony. It mentions still earlier statutes of which nothing is now known. The king's two chief agents in the matter were Suffolk and Bekynton who declared that he and the Earl had come to receive the oath of the Provost and see the oaths received by him and the fellows for observance of the founder's statutes. Richard Andrew and William Say were again present on this occasion, as was Walter Lyhart.

looked for guidance if not to the statutes of the school at which he had taught for nearly a dozen years ? The differences which do exist between the two sets of statutes occur as a result of the different circumstances of the two foundations rather than from differences of opinion as to how such a school should best be administered. For example Eton Statutes fifty-one to sixty refer to the provisions for poor men and women for which there was no counterpart at Winchester.[1] This was one of Henry's own preferences and has no Wykehamist echoes.

The constitution eventually laid out in the statutes differed from the original scheme of 1440 and reflects the growth of the educational concept of the foundation and the simultaneous decline of the bedesmen/chantry element. Ten chaplains were added. The clerks were raised from four to ten. The number of choristers was increased from six to sixteen, and the number of scholars from twenty-five to seventy, as at Winchester. An usher was to be provided to assist the master in education, and the number of bedesmen was reduced from twenty-five to thirteen. Free instruction in grammar was also to be given to an indefinite number of boys coming to Eton for education from anywhere. Twenty commensals were to be permitted to live in, and others were allowed to dine in hall provided they paid for everything but their tuition.[2] To enhance further the position of his grammar school Henry forbade the establishment of any similar school within a

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[1] ECR 58, 51-60.

[2] ECR 58, 16-18.

ten mile radius of Eton and Windsor.[1] This grant reiterated why the college had been founded; for seventy scholars and sixteen choristers to learn the knowledge of grammar (*scientam grammaticalem*). By the time of this grant, 3 June 1446, mention of the chantry element had receded firmly into the background.

Eton was linked to Winchester College through the person of William Waynflete, a link that was forged by Henry VI having him brought to Eton. The influence of Wykeham's two foundations on other colleges founded in this period was quite minimal. Chichele was a Wykehamist and yet the All Souls statutes are very different.[2] It was the foundation of Eton which broadened the renown of Wykeham and his foundations and this was achieved largely through Waynflete. If there was a Wykehamist phenomenon, it was largely a retrospective one prompted by the nostalgic reminiscences of Thomas Chaundler. The *Amicabilis Concordia* was not the Wykehamist plan its terms suggest.[3] The implication of the document is that it marks another step in the modelling of Henry VI's colleges along Wykehamist lines. Maxwell-Lyte attributed the concordat to the friendship existing between the foundations.[4] It is worth emphasising here that the link between Eton

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[1] ECR 39/60, and its copies 39/61 and 39/90; a grant to the Provost and College of Eton that they were to be named "the general royal schools and called the mirror and mistress of all other grammar schools. Eton is to exceed all other grammar schools in the realm of affluence of endowment and pre-excellence of foundation." This document is not recorded on the patent roll, but the warrant, signed 'R.H.' by the king, is among the chancery warrants, PRO C81/1439 no. 21.

[2] See in particular E.F. Jacob, "The Warden's Text of the Foundation Statutes of All Souls", *The Antiquaries' Journal*, 15 (1935), 420-31; and by the same author, "The Building of All Souls College 1438-53", 121-33.

[3] For a transcription of the *Amicabilis* see M.E.C. Walcott, *William of Wykeham and His Colleges*, (Winchester, 1852), 141-3.

[4] Maxwell-Lyte, 20.

and Winchester began as a personal one. Waynflete did not lose touch with Winchester after his departure. He, his brother, and members of his household are recorded as dining there on several occasions after he had moved to Eton.[1] The warden of Winchester College also attended Waynflete's episcopal consecration at Eton on 30 July 1447.[2] It must have been the Warden and fellows of Winchester who were the most anxious to maintain links with Waynflete. They had seen their former headmaster lured away into royal service and placed in an important administrative position on a personal royal project. The Winchester College hierarchy must have hoped that Waynflete would continue to act in his former employers' favour. The Winchester College Muniments, particularly entries in the Bursars' Accounts, show that Waynflete was approached for advice, and given presents, in the years following his royal appointment; a reflection of the College's enthusiasm to retain his goodwill. In 1442-3 the accounts record payment of 11s 4d for a breakfast given to Waynflete, William Say and others, for their help in obtaining a royal licence permitting the amortising of land to the value of £100 p.a.[3] In February 1444 a barrel of wine was given to Waynflete by the college, while later in that year the same accounts reveal expenses paid to members of the college who went to consult John Somerset and Waynflete about obtaining a writ from the king.[4]

With knowledge of this attitude expressed by the Warden and

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1 W[inchester] C[ollege] M[uniments] 22828-30.

2 Kirby, *Annals*, 203-4.

3 WCM 22118, *Custos Necessariorum Forensicorum.*

4 WCM 22119, *Custos Liberacionum Defensionis.*

fellows of Winchester it is easier to appreciate how much more likely it was that the initiative for the *Amicabilis Concordia* came from Winchester. Eton and King's College were royal foundations with rich endowments and ratified papal approval. They had no need to seek further security. The Winchester hierarchy, on the other hand, must have felt that it needed to put permanent form to the access to the king which had lately been achieved through Waynflete. By the terms of the concordat the colleges were to offer each other mutual defence in law before any judges, secular or ecclesiastic, and for mutual assistance where necessary against outsiders. The agreement must have seemed much more advantageous to Winchester and New College than it did to Eton and King's College, although, paradoxically, in the 1460s it was Henry VI's colleges which came under attack from Edward IV and against which the concordat proved useless, while Wykeham's foundations remained unscathed.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN
The Role of William Waynflete

The role of William Waynflete is an essential element in understanding and assessing the development of the king's educational schemes subsequent to their foundations in 1441. He took over as the king's central adviser in the foundation processes while Bekynton grew old in his diocese. His role has been misunderstood in the past. Indeed, even apparently basic biographical details have been too readily accepted as truth. It has been widely assumed, for example, that Waynflete attended both Winchester College and New College.[1] In the case of the former, this seems to have been a misunderstanding created by Thomas Chaundler who wrote, in his *Dialogue In Praise of William of Wykeham:*

> ".. springing from the root of such a foundation like a flowering shoot, with the help and assistance of Thomas Bekynton, most beneficent lord, he grew as it were into a mighty cedar." [2]

Chaundler was actually referring to William Say who was at Winchester College between 1425 and 1428, was chaplain to Henry VI, and who went on a diplomatic mission with Bekynton to Bordeaux. Concerning Waynflete's supposed attendance at New College, the records at New

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[1] J. Simon, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England*, 13; the article on Waynflete in *The Dictionary of National Biography*; Judd, *Life of Bekynton*, 80, who argues that Waynflete was at Winchester College as William Pattney and was on the 1403 roll as such, two places below Bekynton.

[2] New College MS. 288, fos. 30v-31 (from the last *Collocutio*): "Accedit item ex tante fundacionis pululans radice florescens dudum quasi uirgula que iam ope et adiutorio Thome beneficentissimi domini huius ecclesie Wellensis presulis electissimi ferme in cedrum creuit magnam ..."

College are complete, and his name is not included. It is probable that he did attend Oxford since a letter exists, written by university authorities requesting Waynflete's help in obtaining Gloucester's benefactions, which refers to the university as "your mother who nourished you in learning."[1] He certainly received a degree in theology[2] but very little is known of his career until he turned up as *magister informator*, or headmaster, at Winchester in June 1430, where he taught throughout that decade.[3] He must have been known to Beaufort who often visited the College,[4] and who presented him to the mastership of the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalen just outside Winchester.[5]

Henry VI visited Winchester at the end of July or the beginning of August in 1441.[6] The purpose of the visit is not entirely clear. Davis has suggested in her thesis that the king may not have been entirely satisfied with his existing provost at Eton, Henry Sever, and was on the look out for someone more dynamic.[7] While this is certainly possible, perhaps a likelier reason for the journey was not primarily to assess the competence of the headmaster there, but rather to see how the school was run. That Waynflete subsequently entered royal service was

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1 Anstey, *Epist. Acad.*, 1, 258: "Credimus enim semper tibi ante oculos esse quanto tenearis amore in matrem que te spirituali conceptum utere in lucem cogicionis eduxit."

2 The earliest extant reference to this seems to be September 1443 after he had become Provost at Eton, ECR 39/30.

3 Winchester College Muniments 22824-7 Hall Books.

4 Kirby, *Annals*, 176-9.

5 V.G. Davis, Ph.D. thesis, 10; the exact date is unknown since most of Beaufort's episcopal register is lost.

6 Winchester College Muniments, 22992 *Liber Albus*, 22117 Bursars' Accounts 1440-41.

7 V.G. Davis, Ph.D. thesis, 14.

therefore not the result of a long preformulated plan to hire him, but was more in consequence of the king being impressed with his administrative capabilities when he visited Winchester. The possibility should not be ignored, however, that Waynflete was recommended to the king before the royal visit. Indeed, Bekynton, the king's secretary would have been familiar with the arrangements at Winchester and the reputation of its headmaster, and if Bekynton was keen to push the king along educational lines at Eton then the suggestion to employ Waynflete was logical.

A month after Henry VI's visit to Winchester Waynflete ceased to be headmaster there and entered royal service.[1] He was not brought to Eton to act as headmaster, but rather as an experienced administrator who would be able to supervise the future development of the college. The first headmaster was a former pupil of Waynflete's, William Westbury, who resigned his New College fellowship to take up the post at Eton in the spring of 1442. Waynflete succeeded Sever as provost in early March 1442.[2] He was thus in a particularly favourable position to influence the direction of Eton's development, and it was during his provostship that the college developed into a much more grandiose establishment; the earliest statutes were drawn up in 1443 and Eton was linked with a much altered King's College.[3]

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[1] Winchester College Muniments 22117.

[2] After 5 March when a deed in the patent rolls refers to Sever as provost, *CPR 1441-6*, 50, but before 13 March when a Cottisford court roll describes the court as being the first one held under Waynflete's provostship, ECR 29/120.

[3] On 23 December Waynflete and other members of the College swore to observe the statutes at a ceremony held in the half built chapel, ECR 54/10.

The 'Will' of 1448 shows the considerable extent to which the relationship between Waynflete and the king had developed over the previous six and a half years:

> "... Furthermore for the final perfourmyng of my sed wil to be putte effectuely in execucion I consideryng the grete discrecion of the seid worshepful fader in God William nowe bishop of Wynchestre his high trought and fervent zele which at alle tymes he hath hadde and hath unto my weel and which I have founde and proved in hym and for the grete and hool confidence which I have unto hym for thoo causes wol that he not only as surveour but also as executor and director of my seid wil be prive unto alle and every execucion of the perfourmyng of my same wil and that his consente in any wise be had therto. And if in any execucion of the perfourmyng of my seid wil or of any part thereof be doo in any wise contrarie unto the tenour and effect herof ... and if hit so befalle that ther be any diverse opinions variaunce or discorde betwix my seid feffees and myn executours in or for any execucion of the perfourmyng of my seid wil or of any part thereof I yeve than and graunt unto the said bishop of Wynchestre by thes presentes plain power and auctorite and finally I wol that he ... in that behalf have at alle tymes power and auctorite forto calle and take unto hym such discrete persounes of my seid feffees to hym for thaccomplishment of my seid wil shal seme best disposed and that he after their advis herd do make the final conclusion in that partie ... and if hit so be that the said Bisshop of Wynchestre passe unto God out of this mortal lif I beyng onlive than I wol that thes auctorite and power by me unto hym in the fourme aboveseid yeven and graunted retourne ageyn hooly unto me and abide in my owne diposicion and in caas that I be called out of this mortal lif the seid Bisshop of Wynchestre me over lyving I wol than that at suche tyme as God shal yeve unto hym knowelege by liklihood of his brief passage out of this world my seid wil at that tyme not fully accomplished he remembre hym of the most discrete feithful and true persoune a lord spiritual or temporal which the seid Bisshop of Wynchestre be verray experience had the mene tyme shal find and prove forto be best and most godly disposed and most fervent in zele to the perfourmyng of my seid wil."

The 'Will' goes on to specify that if this chosen lord "be not profitable unto the perfourmyng of my seid wil" the provosts of Eton and King's College were to discharge the said lord of his authority and elect someone else to ensure the full execution of the 'Will'. Moreover, in order to ensure that the 'Will' was fully carried out in every respect, in the case that the king's heirs and successors "distourbe lette or in any

wise interup my seid executours feffees surveour or surveours" then the king desired that,

> "my seid feffees selle and alien alle the seid castelx lordships manoirs landes tenementes rentes services and other possessions fro my seid heir and successour so lettyng the execucion of my seid wil to such as shal be thought ... expedient the money thereof arrisyng to be employed by the same executours and surveour or surveours uppon the fulfillyng of my seid wil and the surplus if any be to be employed upon hooly werkes of pitee."[1]

It is highly surprising that neither Willis and Clark, nor Davis in her thesis, have made mention of this long passage which occurs near the end of the 'Will'. Indeed, in no printed secondary source is there reference to it. The passage is important in a number of ways. Most obviously it reinforces the great position of influence and trust which Waynflete came to assume in his relationship with the king. Here we find the "high trought and fervent zele" of the Bishop being put to practical use. Waynflete was to be the arbiter in any disputes amongst the king's feoffees and executours, he was to appoint new feoffees if he thought it necessary, he was to have the final say in any decisions made by the feoffees, and if he outlived the king, but was nearing death himself, he was to choose a worthy successor, "the most discrete feithful and true persoune" for the fulfilment of the 'Will'. It is this passage in the 'Will' which gives meaning to, and helps account for, Waynflete's renewal of the building works at Eton in the late 1460s and his personal funding of the project.

No less important an aspect of the passage is the sense of personal responsibility shown by the king towards his foundations. While the

[1] ECR 39/78.

tone of the whole document is earnest and detailed, it is this passage particularly which is invested with a sense of personal involvement on the part of the king. Henry's faith in Waynflete is not typical of the respect placed in a responsible and accomplished administrator, but was evidently the result of a much more personal bond developed between the two men over the course of the preceding years. Henry's continuing concern for his colleges is revealed further in the various options which he considered might occur in the future; that is, if he died first, if Waynflete predeceased him, if there were arguments between the executors, if Waynflete became too old to prosecute his duties, if the successor chosen by Waynflete proved to be in any way defective, or if Henry's successors should neglect the fulfilling of the 'Will'; all these variations are considered carefully by the king. What is perhaps surprising is Henry's proposal to take on personal responsibility should Waynflete die before him.

This evidence of sincere personal concern should not, however, blind us into attributing to the king a desire to deal personally with all aspects of his foundations from their inception until his deposition. By letters patent of 12 July 1455, for example, Henry deputed to Waynflete and John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln, the authority to make such changes to the statutes as they might think necessary:

> "... it now seems and is found by the execution of the same ordinances and statutes that there is some need of the reformation of the same and they could be made more perfect for the fulfilment of our said intention; and therefore, because we are so busily occupied with so many and great other necessities concerning the rule and government of our kingdom of England that we are not able continually to give our attention to fulfilling our purposes concerning the reform of defects,

> where necessary, contained in the aforesaid ordinances and statutes, we by our special grace have committed and by the tenor of our present commit to our reverend fathers in Christ William, bishop of Winchester, and John,bishop of Lincoln, our power and authority in this matter, that they ... are herewith to declare, correct and reform the said ordinances and statutes during our life, to the honour of God and the said most glorious Virgin Mary his mother, and to the welfare and perpetual stability of our aforesaid colleges."[1]

This letter emphasises the continuing trust placed in Waynflete by the king. Waynflete was now a bishop, and no longer Provost of Eton, but his years at Eton, and his role in the initial statute making process in 1443, no doubt rendered him the worthiest candidate to institute the measures of statutory reform desired by the king; more worthy than Bekynton whose earlier enthusiasms had given way to old age and diocesan insularity.

The election of Waynflete to the episcopal see of Winchester raises some interesting questions. During his period as Provost of Eton he impressed Henry VI to a considerable degree with his administrative talents and statute making abilities. Why then would Henry VI have wanted to promote him to the episcopal dignity and thus remove from office at Eton a valued and capable servant ? That Henry valued Waynflete is obvious in his continued employment of the Bishop after he had severed official connections with Eton. The 'Will' suggests that the king believed Waynflete to be the best man to ensure that the pattern of development at Eton was safeguarded and completed. Davis has suggested in her thesis that Waynflete's departure from the provostship

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[1] *CPR 1452-61*, 241; H & W have *vicesimo tertio* ie 23 Henry VI or 1445; of course, in 1445 Waynflete had not yet acceded to the episcopal bench..

made the production of the king's 'Will' a matter of urgency and importance.[1] This, however, is probably to stretch the argument of Waynflete's invaluability a little too far. While it is true that the 'Will' was produced within the year following Waynflete's episcopal election, it is doubtful that this factor alone, or even primarily, was responsible for the document. As discussed above, it appears that there were serious structural problems at Eton which caused the king to abort earlier plans and have a new scheme drawn up.[2]

The parts played in Waynflete's episcopal election by both Waynflete and the king provide some insight into the issue of whether the king sought to reward his Provost for previous services, or whether the initiative was in fact seized by Waynflete himself, intent on taking advantage of an excellent opportunity to secure his own advancement.

Waynflete was elected less than one week after the death of Cardinal Beaufort. No previous election of a bishop of Winchester had taken place as quickly as this. On the 11 April 1447, the day of Beaufort's death, a letter under signet was dispatched from Henry VI at Windsor to the Prior and Chapter of St. Swithun's Priory.[3] The king wrote a second letter to the monks of St. Swithun's on the 12 April in which he explained his haste as anxiety for the good order of the church:

> ' ... we would not the cathedral church of Winchester eny while stande viduate ... ye should proceed to election an all goodly haste."

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[1] V.G. Davis, Ph.D. thesis, 21.

[2] See above, pp. 137-143.

[3] R. Chandler, *The Life of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester*, (London, 1811), Appendix 1, 299-300.

Such anxiety can hardly have been the sole cause of his haste. Davis maintains that the true reason for the speedy election was Henry VI's previous conspicuous lack of success in promoting his candidates to the episcopate,[1] citing the example of the king's failure to secure Norwich for his confessor John Stanbury in 1445, which went to Suffolk's confessor Walter Lyhart. To accept this theory is, however, to relegate Waynflete's own role in the process to the realms of mere passivity. In fact, Waynflete had proctors waiting at the Curia a month before Beaufort's death, the proxy instrument already having been drawn up. As early as 9 March they were ready to act on his behalf as soon as news of the Cardinal's death reached Rome.[2]

Waynflete had had hardly any experience in pastoral care or diocesan administration, and, while his abilities were well known to both Henry VI and the Earl of Suffolk, there was nothing to suggest that he was the ideal choice for the richest see in England, nor that he was the worthiest successor to Cardinal Beaufort, a man of royal blood and international renown. A number of those men already holding sees were more obvious choices for preferment; Lumley of Carlisle or Robert Neville of Durham, both Beaufort protegés, Alnwick of Lincoln or Aiscough of Salisbury, both of whom who had held their sees for over ten years, or other experienced diocesans like Bourchier of Ely or Lacy of Exeter.

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1 V.G. Davis, Ph.D. thesis, 90.

2 W.M. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland A.D. 1400-1875*, 3 vols., (Rome, 1876), I, 11-12.

In 1447 it would have been difficult to predict what sort of bishop Waynflete would prove to be. The only previous ecclesiastical preferments he had held were one rectory and one hospital mastership, and while he had been trained in theology he was only a bachelor, not a doctor. By vocation he was a schoolmaster. He was the only episcopal figure of the period who had taught in a school.[1] The ease with which Waynflete succeeded Beaufort says less for Henry VI's efforts in having a favourite servant promoted, and much more for the prowess, acumen, and scarcely veiled ambition of the provost himself.

Waynflete's interest in education can be gauged from other projects in which he was involved, besides Eton. As one of the executors for Lord Cromwell, his main duty was to ensure the completion of Cromwell's foundation of Tattershall College, founded in 1440. He took an active and personal role in this during the period 1456–60 when the statutes of the College were drawn up. The chance survival of letters to Waynflete from John Gygour, the Warden of Tattershall, in the late 1470s and 1480s, mainly concerning matters of finance, reveals a continuing interest by Waynflete in the fate of the College.[2] The statutes were drawn up by Waynflete, Sir John Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Tyrell, and were based partly on a memorandum of c.1450 in which Cromwell expressed his ideas.[3] This

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1 Consider the comments of N. Orme in his article "Schoolmasters 1307-1509", in *Profession, Vocation and Culture*, ed. C.H. Clough, (Manchester, 1982), 226: "Hardly anyone who had been a schoolmaster reached a high position between 1307 and 1509, either in church or in state ... and teaching evidently did little to forward their ambitions and may even have done them harm."

2 V.G. Davis, Ph.D. thesis, 312.

3 "Articles Touching the Foundation of Tattershall", *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, I, (1925), 179; "Report on the Mss of the Lord De Lisle and Dudley Preserved at Penthurst Palace", 312.

memorandum outlined plans for seven chaplains, six secular clerks, six choristers, and an almshouse for thirteen poor men and women. Essentially, the foundation was intended as an almshouse for the souls of Henry VI, Lord Cromwell and his wife Maud. In the statutes, however, is the clause,

> "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."

This emphasis on the teaching of grammar, not only for the benefit of the choristers, but also for the boys in the surrounding neighbourhood, is a hallmark of other statutes with which Waynflete was involved. He also had links with another chantry style collegiate foundation, that of John Fastolf at Caister castle, for whom he acted as executor.

Eton College was originally intended as a Lancastrian chantry or prayer house having more in common with Sheen and Syon than establishments like Winchester College. Education, although a motive from the outset, was nonetheless a modest part of the foundation plans. It was largely Waynflete who changed this when he was brought into royal service by his emphasis on teaching which soon eclipsed the chantry and almshouse motives, and which linked Henry VI's two colleges in double foundation. What he brought implicitly from Winchester in his concern for the young and his emphasis on moral training was that concern for manners and eloquence which so appealed to Italian humanist educators like Vittorino Da Feltre. The evidence that this was reproduced at Eton is indirect but nevertheless real. The

future development of Magdalen College along humanist lines shows the direction in which Waynflete was travelling. Other members of the episcopate were involved in educational projects during this period,[1] but it was Waynflete and Bekynton above all whose vision and industry was responsible for the foundation and development of Eton and King's College and their significance in Lancastrian polity.

[1] William Alnwick co-founded the grammar school of Alnwick in Northumberland in 1448 (*CPR 1446-52*, 170); John Chedworth established Cirencester Grammar School in Gloucester; John Carpenter was involved in a number of projects: he was master of St Anthony's Hospital in London (*CPR 1436-41*, 238), he refounded free public libraries in his diocese at Worcester and Bristol, and established a new grammar school for his college of Westbury-On-Trym in 1463 (*Reg. Carp.*, I, fo.183v, Worcester Record Office).

PART FIVE:
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I
A Tabulated History of the Alien Priories and Associated Properties in England and Wales from 1337 to c.1483

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ABERGAVENNY, Llandaff Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1391-6*, 198, 203, 638, 691, 700.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Prior proved conventual status Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191-2.	Rent of £13.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £13.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. On conventual status see letters patent, 7 Nov 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 235-6.	
ALBERBURY , Salop Farmed out to lay and clerical farmers during the war for £20.	Advowson granted by William of Wykeham to Winchester College,16 June 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 265 Licence for Wykeham to alienate in mortmain to New College, 30 April 1381, *CPR 1377-81*, 621.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £26.13.4 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £26.13.4 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £26.13.4 to DH 1 Jun 1438 and 14 July 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. To All Souls at Chichele's request, 11 May 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 563; Ms DD All Souls C1 , 127 & 128.	Confirmation to All Souls, 26 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-67*, 148.
ALLERTON MAULEVERER, Yks Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 22-6.		Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Rent of £4 to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £4 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Life grant to Robt. Osbern, signet clerk, of £4.13.4 rent from 18 May 1439, without rendering anything to the king, *CPR 1436-41*, 530. Reversion to KCC, 31 July 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 557 and KCE 11.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
ALVELEY, Essex (Church prebend in Bridgnorth; the king's free chapel).		Prebend granted to Thomas Langley, king's clerk, 11 April 1401, *CPR 1399-1401*, 470, 485.		40s pension granted to EC, 25 Mar 1441, 1441E.	40s pension confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ANDOVER, Hants Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 22-6		Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of 20m from the apport to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Confirmed to Winchester College but no profit to them due to payments to Crown (45m) , QJ (20m) and LG of 52m to ex- prior Gwyn (Kirby, *Annals*, 173), 10 Dec, 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 268. Rent of £13.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £13.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Confirmed to Winchester College, 1 Oct 1437, *CPR 1436-41*, 142.	Confirmed to Winchester College, 26 July 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 164.
ANDWELL, Hants. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4.	Various lay farmers until purchased by William of Wykeham and bestowed on Winchester College (rent £10), 10 April 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 433.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.			
APPLEDURCOMBE, Isle of Wight Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1438, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 22-6.		Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Granted to the Nuns Minoresses of Aldgate by Henry IV in 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 34.	Confirmed during the war, 28 Jan 1415, *CPR 1413-16*, 280.	Confirmed, 2 Dec 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 235.	Confirmed, 12 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 88.
ARUNDEL, Sussex Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, *ibid.*, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Ric., Earl of Arundel, attached it to his foundation the College of the Holy Trinity in Arundel. His son moved the foundation from the castle to the church, 11 Nov 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 402, 494.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.		Confirmed to the earls of Arundel for their chantry foundation, College of the Holy Trinity, 20 June 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 114-6.	

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ASTLEY, Worcs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 22-6. Farmed to laymen eg *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 246.	Various lay custodians eg Ric. de Hampton in 1381 (*CPR 1377-81*, 602), John Beauchamp in 1384 (*Monasticon* VI, 1055), Thomas, Earl of Warwick, 10 July 1389 on payment of 1200m (*CPR 1388-92*, 80).				Granted to Holy Trinity College, Westbury, 11 Nov 1469, *CChR 1427-1516*, 237-8.
ASTON, Berks. (Manor). Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61 (as lands of Préaux).	Reversion of the manor to New College, 10 Nov 1381, *CPR 1381-5*, 63; *CCIR 1381-5*, 240. To Lewis de Clifford for life during the war, 12 Oct 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 306, 355.	Confirmed to Thomas Erpingham, 26 June 1403, *CPR 1401-5*, 263. Licence to acquire from Preaux granted 15 Mar 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 18.	Confirmed to Witham Charterhouse, 15 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 91. In the hands of Thos. Erpingham for life, 5 June 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 368-9.	Confirmation of grants to Thos. Erpingham, 8 July 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 112-4. Reversion to Witham Charterhouse, 4 Dec 1428, *CPR 1422-9*, 529. To Witham by 28 Nov 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 490.	Confirmed to Witham, 20 July 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 125.
ATHERINGTON, Sussex Farmed to the proctor of the lands of Séez in England, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61 (as lands of Séez).		Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	100m from lands of Séez to John Cornewaille as part of 1,000m annuity, 16 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*,75. Rent of £66.13.4 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, from the possessions of Séez ie Lancaster, Wenghale & Atherington, *CPR 1413-16*, 165-6.	Reversion of 100m from the lands of Séez to Syon Abbey, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7.	Confirmed to Syon, 16 Dec 1461 *CPR 1461-7*, 144-5
ATHERSTONE, Wwks. (Manor, parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Life grant to Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, 2 May 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 161, regranted 11 Jun 1439, *ibid*, 275. Remainder to KCC, 12 Dec 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 269.	Granted to MG, 24 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 120. Granted to Ric. Neville, Earl of Warwick, 27 April 1462, *ibid*, 189.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
AVEBURY, Wilts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Held by various royal servants from 1378. Licence to sell to New College, 18 Feb 1391, but nothing came of this, *CPR 1388-92*, 390, 418-9.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Reversion to Fotheringhay College for the duration of the war, 18 Dec 1411, *CPR 1408-13*, 358. Rent of £55.6.8. to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.			
AXMOUTH, Devon (Parcel of Loders *cf*).					
BARNSTAPLE, Devon Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.		Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Proved conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191.		Denization confirmed by Henry VI for a payment of £20, *VCH N'HANTS* II, 107.	
BECKFORD, Gloc. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to a laymen eg *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 304.	Custody granted to Sir John Cheyne for 100m p.a., 4 May 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 341. Grant confirmed and extended during peacetime, 1 Oct 1383, *CPR 1381-5*, 312; 15 Oct 1389, *CPR 1388-92*, 118.	Cheyne argued house not conventual and had 1383 grant confirmed, 20 Nov 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 111. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Seems to have been in the possession of the Crown 1414-38.	Life grant to Robert Roos, 8 Sept 1438 (worth £53.6.8.), *CPR 1436-41*, 203. A rent to EC, 1441E. Reversion granted to EC, 15 Feb 1444, *CPR 1441-6*, 243. Roos surrendered property to EC, 8 Jan 1445, in return for lands and rents elsewhere, *CPR 1441-6*, 322, 360; ECR 39/33, 39/41.	Grant revoked in 1462 and regranted to Fotheringhay, ECR 39/140.
BEGGAR, Yks. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.			Rent of £13.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £13.6.8 to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Granted to the chantry of St Anne Thirsk, 13 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 100. To EC, 29 May 1451, *CPR 1446-52*, 429, ECR 39/105.	Grant to EC revoked and regranted to MG, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 23 Nov 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 304. Regranted again to EC, 18 April 1472, *ibid.*, 328.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
BERMONDSEY, Middx. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Made denizen for a fine of 200m, 29 May 1381, *CPR 1381-5*, 18. Licence to exercise jurisdiction over other Cluniac houses in England, 26 Nov 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 334.	Custody granted to Robt. Hallum & Nicholas Bubwith, king's clerks, due to bad management and mounting debt, 21 Nov 1401 *CPR 1401-5*, 23.			
BIRSTALL, Yks. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII,1369-77*, 22-6.	Granted to Durham Priory, 6 Mar 1381, for a fine of 200m, *CPR 1377-81*, 606-7. Grant cancelled, 18 May 1382, and custody granted to the prior, *VCH YKS.* III, 388. Sold to Kirkstead Abbey in 1395 for 10,000 pounds tours, *Monasticon* VI, 1019.				
BLAKENHAM, Suffolk (Manor; parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of £28.3.4 to DH, 1 June 1438 & 14 July 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Reversion granted to EC, 1441E. DH granted rent to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Manor had fallen in by 1449, ECR 39/94.	Grant to EC revoked ; granted to Wm. Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. To EC again, 17 Jul 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3. Revoked & granted to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 61.
BLEDLOW, Bucks. (Manor; parcel of Ogbourne *cf*). The advowson was granted to St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, sometime between 1351-1360, *VCH LONDON* I, 567 n.39.		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent granted to DH, 1 Jun 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9. Farm and rent to EC, 1441E to be paid by John Styward kt., who held same for 7 yrs from Mich. 1438 (valued at £70 incl. E.Wrotham).	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
BLYTHE, Notts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Presentation of the church in the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 226, 366, 495.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Prior proved conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191. Rent of 40s from the apport to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Escaped dissolution in 1414 due to conventual status and survived until 1536, *VCH MIDDX* I, 200. Rent of 40s from the apport to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of 40s from the apport to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. 40s apport granted to KCC, 31 July 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 557 & KCE 11.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
BONBY, Lincs. In the king's hands due to the war eg 16 Jun 1352, *CPR 1350-4*, 298. Custody regranted to the prior, 30 Mar 1358, having been held by two royal clerks, *CPR 1358-61*, 33.	Granted by mother house to London Charterhouse but then taken into king's hands and farmed by laymen eg Walter Malet, Robt. Hastyngs, *CPR 1401-5*, 217; *VCH LINCS* II, 241.	Granted to Beauvale Charter-house, Notts., 4 Apr 1403, *CPR 1401-5*, 217.	Confirmed to Beauvale, on condition that Beauvale continued to pay the apport of 26s8d to the alien mother house, 26 April 1415, *CPR 1413-16*, 302-3.	Manor in the custody of Thos. Cumberworth kt. in 1435, *CPR 1429-36*, 461. Remainder to John Holme, exchequer baron, for life in 1447, *CPR 1446-52*, 86. 12 yr grant of same to Edm., Earl of Richmond, & Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, 1 May 1453, *CPR 1452-61*, 110.	Rectory confirmed to Beauvale, 3 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 155. Manor to king's uncle Wm. Neville, Earl of Kent, 1 Aug 1462, *ibid*, 225, then to king's brother, Clarence, 25 Jan 1463, *ibid*, 226. Life grant to Clarence, 23 Mar 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 241-3, 457, 530.
BOXGROVE, Sussex Custody granted to prior, 3 Aug 1337, for a fine of £60, but fine cancelled on the grounds that priory was no longer alien, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4.	In the king's hands until 1383 but restored when its independence was confirmed, 12 Feb 1383, *CPR 1381-5*, 228.	Independent status confirmed by Rome in 1402 and 1413, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 57.			
BRICETT, Suffolk (Parcel of Thetford *cf*). King had presentation to the church due to the temporalities of Thetford being in the king's hands on account of the war, *CPR 1338-40*, 7.				Licence for KCC to appropriate, 22 Oct, 1452, along with Berden & Kersey, *CPR 1452-61*, 23, & KCM KER 647.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
BRIMPSFIELD, Gloc. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 457.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £7 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £7 to QJ due to a short-fall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. To EC, 1441E.	To Wm. Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Regranted to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3. Revoked & granted to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461.
BRIXTON DEVERILL, Wilts. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Life grant, to John Stourton, king's kt. & councillor, 23 May 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 162. A rent from this to DH, 1 Jun 1438, *ibid.*, 188-9. To KCC, 7 Jun 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 181.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
BURWELL, Lincs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1385-89*, 231.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Returned to the custody of the prior after being farmed by Robt. Lord Willoughby & Hen. Toteway, clerk, 1 Jun 1419, *CPR 1416-22*, 237.	Had been held by Bedford, *CPR 1429-36*, 507. Granted to Ralph Lord Cromwell, including a reversion currently held by Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, 17 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 66.	Licence for Cromwell to grant to Wm. Waynflete and others, 1 Nov 1454, *CPR 1452-61*, 199-200, (as feoffees for Tatter-shall). Life grant to Clarence, 23 Mar 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 241-3.
CAMMERINGHAM, Lincs. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Purchased by Eliz., widow of Sir Nich. Audley, and settled on Hutton Abbey (Cistercian), Staffs., 19 Jun 1395, *CPR 1391-6*, 579.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.			
CARISBROOKE, Isle of Wight. Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 22-6.	Along with other lands of Lire granted to MG, 20 May 1399, at the instance of the Duke of Surrey, *CPR 1396-99*, 570.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. As lands of Lire, rent of £100 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	103m rent to Wm. Trystour, king's saddler, in part satis-faction of an annuity, 12 Nov 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 256. Vacated because granted to Sheen, 14 Feb 1416, *ibid.*, 397. Trystour compensated.	(Some land from Carisbrooke granted to Winchester College, 7 July 1455, *CPR 1452-61*, 244).	

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
CARSWELL, Devon Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7 (not to be confused with Craswall, Heref., *cf.*).		Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 10m granted to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £6.13.4. granted to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.		
CASTLE ACRE, Nfk. No pension was ever paid to the foreign house; nevertheless, the king claimed the advowson on account of the war with France eg Dec 4 1338, *CPR 1338-40*, 174. Denization granted in 1351, *VCH NFK II*, 356.					
CHARLTON-0N-OTMOOR, Oxon. (Parcel of Ware, *cf.*). In the king's hands as parcel of Ware due to the war with France, eg 23 Dec 1350, *CPR 1350-4*, 20.	Advowson granted to Henwood Priory, Wwks.,16 Aug 1398, *CPR 1396-9*, 414.		Manor granted to Sheen Charter-house; *cf* Ware.		
CHARLTON-NR-UPAVON, Wilts. Little evidence of a cell; seems just to have been an alien manor. The advowson was held by the neighbouring priory of Upavon *cf.* Farmed to prior , 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7.	Along with Upchurch, Kent *cf*, the manor was annexed to St Katherine's Hospital by the Tower, 18 Oct 1380, *CPR 1377-81*, 559.		Rent of £40 to QJ from the manor, and the fruits of the church of Upchurch, Kent *cf*, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £22 granted to DH, 1 Jun 1438 & 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Property (worth £40) to EC, 1441E; farm & rent to be paid by John Staunfore de Russhale, to whom the property had been granted from Mich. 1439 for 7 yrs.	Granted to Wm. Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Granted to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461. (But according to Dugdale, St George's never enjoyed the property by reason of a prior grant to Fotheringhay, which I have not been able to trace; *Monasticon* VI, 1054).

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
CHEPSTOW, Gwent (Also known as the priory of St Mary Striguil). Temporalities in the king's hands due to the war with France; many examples of presentations to churches; *CPR 1343-5*, 319.	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1377-81*, 17.	Restored 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6.		Granted to Wm. Millington, Wm. Bingham & others to grant to GH, along with other alien priories, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7; 25 Jul 1458, *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8.
CHISENBURY & QUARLEY, Wilts. & Hants. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of £16 from Chisenbury & £20 from Quarley to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. To St Kath.'s Hospital by the Tower, 8 Apr 1441, *ibid*, 529. Both to EC, 2 Apr 1452, *CPR 1446-52*, 423.	Confirmed to St Katherine's by the Tower, 5 Feb 1462, ECR 39/140. See also ECR 39/108, EC RR/A/74.
CLATFORD, Wilts. (Sometimes called Hullavington; includes Stratfield Mortimer). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1377-81*, 288, 500, 595. Granted to the king's half brother, John, Duke of Exeter, 28 Sept 1397, *CPR 1396-99*, 281.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 50m granted to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £40 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £40 to QJ due to shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. £40 rent to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Priory to EC 1441E; farm & rent to be paid by Walter Everard & Ric Fourbur until 1446	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73, but shortly after resigned to crown in exchange for Bloxham, & acc. to Dugdale granted to Edw. Duke of Somerset, *Monasticon* VI, 1054.
COGGES, Oxon. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, (as lands of Fécamp).	Grant of £200 from the lands of Fécamp to the king's uncle Thos. of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, as part of a £1,000 annuity, 5 July 1379, *CPR !377-81*, 372.	Restored, 25 April 1402, *CPR 1401-5*, 87-8. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £10 granted to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rents of £301.4.4 from lands of Fécamp to John Cornewaille as part of 1,000m annuity, 16 Jul 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 75, Rev. to Syon as lands of Fécamp, 20 Apr 1416, *CPR 1416-22*, 34-5, but Cogges later granted to EC. Rent of £13.6.8 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *ibid*, 166.	Rent of £13.6.8. to QJ due to shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same rent to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Rent to EC 1441E to be paid by Wm Lord Lovell until 1447.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73. For other lands of Fécamp *cf* Steyning.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
COLEMERE, Hants. (An alien rent which the prior of Suthwyk used to pay overseas for the farm of Colemere). Life grant of the farm to Henry Wissh, king's yeoman, 18 Aug 1340, *CPR 1340-43*, 17.			The farm of £7.18.5 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166-7.	Same rent to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same rent to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Reversion had been granted to EC, 1441E. Regranted to EC, 29 Nov 1457, due to 1455 Resumption, *CPR 1452-61*, 417;	ECR 39/116 for 1457 regrant. ECR 39/140 states that the farm was taken away from EC by Edward IV, 14 May 1466, but does not specify to whom the farm was then granted.
COMBE & MONXTON, Hants. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		LG to Ralph Le Sage, king's kt., 27 Apr 1436, *CPR 1429-36*, 594. He died; LG to G. Erard, king's chaplain, master of theol. & John Rinel, king's clk. & sec., 11 Nov 1437, *CPR 1436-41*, 122-3, 133, 301. Reversion to KCC, 31 July 1441, *ibid.*, 557.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-67*, 74.
CORSHAM, Wilts. Restored, 12 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Marmoutier.	In king's hands by death of his aunt, Isabella, Countess of Bedford. Granted to Queen Anne, 22 Nov 1382, as part of her dowry payment, *CPR 1381-5*, 203, 529.	Rent of £66 from the manor to QJ, 20 May 1408, *CPR 1405-8*, 438-9. Fruits of the church to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Fruits of the church to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rev. on death of QJ of £90 from Corsham ch & lands in Bucks. & Spalding to Syon , 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7. LG of manor to Edm. Hungerford, king's kt., rendering nothing to the king, 1 Feb 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 150. Fruits of ch to KCC, 15 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 111.	Fruits of the church confirmed to Syon, 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7* 144-5, 21 Feb 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 238. LG to Clarence of the manor, 23 Mar 1471, *ibid*, 241-3.
COTTISFORD, Oxon. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of £7.6.8. to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Reversion had been granted to EC, 1441E.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
COVENHAM, Lincs. Granted to Kirkstead Abbey, Lincs, 20 Jul, 1303, *CPR 1301-7*, 149.					
COWICK, Devon. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1381-5*, 278, 314.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of 20m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £16 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £16 to QJ due to shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Custody granted to John de la Bere, clerk & king's almoner, from Easter Day 1441, 1 Aug 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 300. To EC with Beggar, 29 May 1451, *CPR 1446-52*, 429, 563; ECR 39/105.	Granted to Tavistock Abbey, 12 Nov 1462, ECR 39/140. Regranted to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3.
CRASWALL, Hereford.			Rent of 28s8d to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166. Committed to the keeping of John Trelay & John Bone, clks, 25 June 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 200.	Rent of 28s8d to QJ due to shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of 46s8d & rev. to Wm Bingham & others to grant to GH, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7, 25 Jul 1458, *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5.	Temp. HVI contd: In 1442 custody held by Wm. Clark & Thos. Fitzharry until 1452. Rent of 40s confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8.
CREETING, Suffolk (Creeting St Mary, a joint cell with Everdon; Creeting St Olave had belonged to Grestain & was sold to Edm. de la Pole, 4 Jan 1354, *CCIR 1354-60*, 660). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 305, 392.	Lay custodians in 1409 were John Stanton & John Everdon, for a rent of £26, *VCH SUFFOLK II*, 153-4. Rent of £26 from Creeting & Everdon to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £30 from Creeting & Everdon to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of 28s8d to QJ due to shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £30 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Farm & rent to EC, 1441E, to be paid by Wm Phelip, kt. from Mich 1437 for 10yrs. Creeting St Olave to EC 23 Apr 1449, ECR 39/94.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
DEERHURST, Gloc. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Custody granted to John Russell, kt. & Wm. Hitchcock, chaplain, for a rent of £200, 26 Jun 1389, *CPR 1388-92*, 70.	Restored in 1400, and continued to pay 120m apport to the mother house of St Denis, *VCH GLOC II*, 103-5. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Not confiscated in 1414, as were other alien priory properties, but not made denizen until 1443.	Denization granted 1443, *Monasticon* III, 666. But this privilege cancelled when the king granted the priory to EC, 10 Nov 1446, ECR 39/70, 39/72.	Granted by king to Wm. Buckland, of St Peter's, Westminster, that it might be fully restored to independent status, 3 Aug 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 196-7. Later taken from Buckland on grounds of wasted revenues, 25 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 66-7; confirmed to Tewkesbury Abbey, 27 Nov 1475, *CPR 1467-77*, 550-1.
DERBY, Derbyshire. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4.					
DOCKING, Norfolk (Parcel of Minster Lovell *cf*). Farmed to the keeper of the English lands of Ivry, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 607.	Rent of 40m to QJ, from the fruits of the church, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of £20 to QJ, from the fruits of the church, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Fruits of the church worth £20 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Reversion had been granted to EC, 1441E, to be paid to EC by Thos Tuddenham, who held from death of QJ (1437) until 1448.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
DUNTON WAYLETTS, Essex (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).	Prior of Ogbourne granted the manor & advowson to Robt. Braybrooke, Bp of London for 60 yrs, rendering only a rose at Midsummer, 2 Aug 1399, *CPR 1396-99*, 401. Previously held for life by Alice, wife of Thos. Tyrell, *ibid*.	Not granted to John, Duke of Bedford as were other English properties of Bec, due to prior grant to Bp. Braybrooke.		Rev. of manor & adv. of church (worth £24) to Lewis John, king's kt., rendering nothing for the same, after the end of Braybrooke's term, 16 Jun 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 430. Grant of the manor and advowson to KCC, 17 Jun 1451, *CPR 1446-52*, 428.	Revoked and granted to Thos. Wylmote, vicar of Ashford, Kent, for a chantry foundation there, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 76.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
EAST HENDRED, Berks. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*; 100s rent paid to Bec for East Hendred by the Abbot of Reading).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of 100s to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. EC made over the 100s rent to Merton Priory, 8 Jun 1443, in exchange for a Thames fishery & other lands in Eton, ECR 60/LP/2 & ECR 49/282, 39/49.	100s rent confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73; if correct then possibly the grant to Merton priory was not effected.
EAST WORTHAM, Norfolk. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent to DH, 1 Jun 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9. Farm & rent (£70.0.12 with Bledlow) to EC, 1441E, to be paid by John Styward, kt., during his grant from Mich 1438 for 7 yrs.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
ECCLESFIELD, Yks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6. Farmed to layman, *ibid.*, 317.	Advowson granted to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 9 Nov 1385, *CPR 1385-9*, 112. As for the priory, the connection with the alien mother house St-Wandrille, or Fontanelle, seems to have been severed under Edward III, *VCH YKS III*, 388-9.			LG of manor to Eliz, Countess of Shrewsbury for her dowry, 31 Oct 1460, *CPR 1452-61*, 635.	
EDITH WESTON, Rutlandshire Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Granted to St Anne's Charter-house, Coventry, 30 Sept 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 317, 361. Alien mother house of St Georges, Boscherville, sold its rights in the priory to St Anne's c.1394, *VCH RUTLAND I*, 164.				

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ELLINGHAM, Hants. Custody to Prioress of Aumbresbury, 10 Apr 1348, *CPR 1348-50*, 50. Custody to the proctor of Saint-Sauveur's English lands, 4 Mar 1359, *CPR 1358-61*, 178.	In the king's hands due to the war with France and farmed by laymen eg *CPR 1381-5*, 542, *CPR 1385-9*, 141, 154.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.		Farm & rent of 9m 4d granted to John Arderne esq. & Walter Eston, clerk, from Easter 1423 for 24 yrs. This farm & rent to EC, 1441E, with Arderne & Eston paying their rent to EC until the end of their term; with reversion to EC.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
EVERDON, Northants. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due top the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 305.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £26 from Creeting & Everdon to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £30 from Creeting & Everdon to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £30 to QJ due to short-fall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £30 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. To EC, 11 Oct 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 556;farm & rent to EC, 1441E, to be paid by Wm Phelip, kt., from Mich 1437 for 10yrs.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
EYE, Suffolk Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7. A farm of £94.10s assigned to the king's scholars at Cambridge during the war, 12 Nov 1346, *CPR 1345-8*, 215-6. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Farm granted to Queen Anne in part satisfaction of lands & rents worth £4,500, 24 May 1382, *CPR 1381-5*, 491. Charter of denization granted,13 July 1385, on payment of a £60 fine, *ibid.*,491.				
FARLEY, Beds. (An alien hospital consisting of lands in Ludgershall, Bucks. (£3), and in Farley nr. Luton (£2). See *VCH BUCKS I*, 395. Not to be confused with Monkton Farleigh, *cf.*).	Lands of Ludgershall to Queen Anne as part of an £800 annuity, 22 Nov 1382, CPR 1381-5, 203, 529.			Lands of Farley & Ludgershall granted to KCC, 24 Feb 1448, *CPR 1446-52*, 128; KCM LUD 1 & 2.	

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
FELSTEAD, Essex (Alien manor & parsonage).	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1381-5*, 462.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 50m to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	Rent of £20.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £20.6.8. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Reversions granted to Syon , 20 Oct 1424: 50m rent & property itself on death of Wm Bourchier; £20.6.8. on death of QJ, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7.Granted to KCC, 15 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 111.	Parsonage confirmed to Syon, 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 144-5. Revoked and granted to king's kinsman Thos Bourchier, 27 Jan 1468, *CPR 1467-77*, 45-6.
FENDRAYTON, Cambs. (Church only). King had presentation to the church due to the war with France eg *CPR 1343-5*, 178, 185, 503; *CPR 1354-8*, 475, 503.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 71, 297, 404, 539, 557, *CPR 1385-9*, 199.			Advowson to Wm Bingham & others to grant to GH, 3 Sept 1447, *CPR 1446-52*, 103; 25 July 1458, CPR 1452-61, 434-5, with other alien priories.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8.
FIELD DALLING, Norfolk. (Sometime parcel of Long Bennington, *cf.*). Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Advowson of the church granted to the church of St Mary-in-the-Fields, Norwich, 8 Nov 1351, *CPR 1350-4*, 195.	Granted to St Anne's Charter-house, Coventry, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-99*, 579-80. (According to Dugdale had previously been granted to Epworth Priory and Spittle-on-the-Street, Lincs., *Monasticon* VI, 1051).	Probably included in the 1409 grant of Long Bennington rent to QJ, *cf.*, although not mentioned by name.	Rent of £56.13.4 (incl. Long Bennington *cf*) to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Granted to MG on its surrender of £100 & the possessions of Lire, 8 Jun 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 395, with other alien priories.	Rent of £56.13.4. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22.	Confirmed to Mountgrace, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 161.
FOLKSTONE, Kent Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Granted to Westminster Abbey for a rent of £20 during the war, 10 Mar 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 230. A Westminster monk was appointed prior, 10 Jan 1393, *CPR 1391-96*, 213. Restored to the prior in 1399 on condition that the apport paid to the king.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned before council to prove convent-ual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of 6m to QJ, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Escaped dissolution in 1414; the 6m apport continued to be paid to the king, *CPR 1461-7*, 550. Rent of £4 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £4. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £4 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Reversion of £4 to EC, 1441E.	£4 rent to be paid to Ralph Saintleger from 1 Mar 1462, ECR 39/140. £4 rent confirmed to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
FRAMPTON, Dorset Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Licence for John Devereux, kt., to acquire for £80 pa, 24 Mar 1382, for life, *CPR 1381-5*, 111.	Restored, 3 Jul 1402, *CPR 1401-5*, 88. Custody to John, later Duke of Bedford, March 1404, for an increased farm of £93.6.8., *CFR 1399-1405*, 250. Rent of £40 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86. The 100m rent of Devereux passed to his son in law in 1400, *CFR 1399-1405*, 12, 105-6, *CPR 1399-1401*, 399.	Rent of 40m to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166. The 100m rent of Devereux passed to John, son of the Earl of Huntingdon, 28 Nov 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 136.	Rent of 40m to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Reverted to the crown on the death of Bedford and granted to Dean & Canons of St Stephen's, Westminster, at their request, due to impoverishment, 25 Nov 1437, *CPR 1436-41*, 125, *CPR 1441-46*, 361-2.	Confirmed to St Stephen's, Westminster, 16 July 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 163.
FULBOURN, Cambs. (A church held by the alien abbey of Bon Repos, which in 1226 began to lease the property to Sawtry Abbey, Hunts. Eventually transferred fully to Sawtry on condition of payment of rent to the king's use, *CPR 1343-5*, 212).	£40 from the 2 churches of Fulbourn & Honingham, Nfk., granted to KH, 28 Jun 1378, *CPR 1377-81*, 259.	Rent of 10m granted to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	Rent of £6.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165-7.	Rent of £6.13.4. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same rent to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Reversion of 10m apport to Wm Bingham & others for GH, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7, *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8. (Reversion of QJ's rent had been granted to Pembroke Hall, Camb. in 1440 but vacated same year, *CPR 1436-41*, 377).
GOLDCLIFF, Monm. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1377-81*, 64, 268.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		20s farm to EC, 1441E. Priory to Tewkesbury Abbey in 1441. Apparently granted to EC, 2 Apr 1451, *CPR 1446-52*, 457, but no trace of this at Eton so presumably invalid or ineffective.	Priory confirmed to Tewkesbury along with Deerhurst, 1 Feb 1462, ECR 39/140. 20s farm to EC confirmed, 17 Jul 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3. Properties were split with St George's, 20 Jul 1474, *CPR 1467-77*, 461.
GREAT LIMBER, Lincs. Farmed to proctor of English lands of Aunay, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Aunay.	Granted to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 15 Oct 1392, *CPR 1391-6*, 242.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.			

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
GREAT THURLOW, Norfolk (Including the alien hospital of St James, Suffolk).	Custody of the hospital granted to Peter Hermodesworth, king's clerk, 20 April 1388, *CPR 1385-9*, 433.	Wardenship of the hospital granted to Wm Benet, king's clerk, 4 May 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 70.		Hospital granted to GH, 25 July 1458, *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5, with other alien priories.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8, 24 Mar 1469, *CPR 1467-77*, 152.
GROVEBURY, Beds. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, as lands of Fontevrault. Lands of Fontevrault worth £160 granted to king's daughter Isabel during the war for her household expenses plus £77.15.0 which previous farmers had to pay king, 20 Oct 1357, *CPR 1354-8*, 622. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Licence for John Worshippe, king's esquire, to acquire from Fontevrault, 23 Mar 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 234, 361.	Still held by John Worshippe, 23 May 1411, *CPR 1408-13*, 296.	Granted to John Phelip, king's kt., for life during the war without rendering anything to the king & with licence to treat with Fontevrault for purchase, 16 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 67. Life grant confirmed after the 1414 dissolution, 12 July 1414, *ibid*, 229, 334.	Having passed to Alice, Duchess of Suffolk (as Phelip's widow), the reversion was granted to EC, 11 Apr 1445, ECR 39/43. Licence for Alice to grant to EC, 9 Sept 1446, ECR 39/69. EC to pay Alice a rent of £220 pa from the Grovebury rents.	Granted to the Dean & Canons of St George's, Windsor, 6 Dec 1480, *CPR 1476-85*, 172.
HAMBLE, Hants. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. LG of 10m from the farm to Agnes Pore, nurse of the king's daughter Margaret, 26 June 1352, *CPR 1350-4*, 294.	Licence for Winchester College to acquire in frank almoin, 10 April 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 433.			Some further land in Hamble granted to Winchester College, 7 Jul 1455 (2 messuages & 4 acres), but not necessarily connected with the priory, *CPR 1452-61*, 244.	
HANGING LANGFORD, Wilts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7, as lands of Mortain. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1385-9*, 42.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £16.13.4 from lands of Mortain to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	Rent of £16.13.4 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £8.6.8. to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Reversion had been granted to EC, 1441E.	Confirmed to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
HARMONDSWORTH **Middx.** Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Acquired by William of Wykeham along with other properties, alien & otherwise, for 8,400 gold franks. Granted to New College, 16 Feb 1391, but to Winchester College, 10 March 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 378, 407, 411, 417, 418, 434.				
HAUGHAM, Lincs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Granted to St Anne's Charter-house, Coventry, 5 July 1396, *CPR 1396-9*, 5.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.			
HAYLING, Hants. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Temporalities in the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 334.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 100 m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Granted to John Rothenhale, king's kt., for life during the war, rendering nothing, 17 Oct 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 119; cancelled & granted to Sheen, 12 July 1415, *ibid*, 367. Rothenhale was compensated with an Exchequer annuity (£100 pa for life), *ibid*, 372.		
HEDLEY, Yks. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Marmoutier. In 1377 leased for 39 yrs to John de Berden, citizen of York, *Monasticon IV*, 684.			Some time after 1414 the priory was taken over by Holy Trinity Priory, York *cf*, of which Hedley had been a cell, *VCH YKS III*, 391.		
HINCKLEY, Leics. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Granted to Mountgrace Charter-house, 20 May 1399, *CPR 1396-9*, 570, vacating an earlier grant of March 1399, *ibid*, 497.	Restored 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Rent of £40 to QJ,1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86-7.	Rent of £42.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. The priory itself granted to MG, 21 Jun 1415, at supplication of the king's uncle, Thos., Earl of Dorset*ibid*, 355. The pension to QJ was maintained.	Rent of £42.13.4. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22.	Confirmation to Mountgrace, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 161.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
HOLNE Very little known about this alien priory, whether it was a cell with some conventual life or merely a manor. It is not known in which county it lay; not listed in *Monasticon* with other alien priories. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.		Rent of 60s to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £4.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Custody granted to Montacute *cf*, 25 June 1414, revoking an earlier grant which had committed the keeping to Nich. Short, *CPR 1413-16*, 200.		
HOLY TRINITY PRIORY, YORK, Yks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1377-81*, 449.	Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Prior John Castell proved his house was conventual, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191.	Escaped suppression in 1414 and acquired jurisdiction over Hedley *cf* and Tickford *cf* and the chantry chapel of St James-on-the-Mount, York.	Petitioned and obtained naturalisation, 18 Mar 1426, *CPR 1422-9*, 356, after which was free from all connections with Marmoutier.	
HOOE, Sussex (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*). *VCH SUSSEX II*, 46, suggests that lands of Bec in Hooe never constituted an alien priory, although Hooe is certainly referred to as such after the 1414 suppression. Hooe linked with (West) Preston, another Ogbourne parcel.		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of Hooe (£16.13.4) & Preston (£18) to DH, 1 Jun 1438 & 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4; DH to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Rev of a £26.16.4 rent granted to EC, 1441E, to be paid by Roger Fiennes, household treasurer, for his life, who had received the grant, 26 Mar 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 385.	Hooe & Preston granted to Thos. Wylmote, vicar of Ashford, Kent, for the foundation of a chantry chapel there in memory of those killed at the battles of Northampton, St Albans & Sherborne, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 76; ECR 39/140.
HORNCHURCH, Essex (Including the parcels of Chiselhurst, Kent, Sutton & Havering).	Wm of Wykeham granted licence to purchase & grant to New College , 14 Feb 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 417.				

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
HORSLEY, Gloc. This priory ceased to be alien and became a dependency of Bruton Abbey when, in 1260, its mother house, Trouarn Abbey in Normandy, exchanged its English possessions for Bruton's lands in Coutances and Bayeux, *VCH GLOC II*, 91.					
HORSTEAD, Nfk. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Holy Trinity, Caen.	£266.13.4. from lands of Caen granted to king's uncle, Thos of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, as part of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372.	Rent of 60s to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86. Life grant to Thos Erpingham; date not specified in *CPR 1422-9*, 112-4.	Confirmation of life grant to Thos Erpingham along with other alien priories, 5 Jun 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 368-9.	Confirmation of LG to Thos Erpingham, with other alien priories, 8 Jul 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 112-4. Manor to EC, 1441E; rent of £30 to be paid by Wm, Lord Bardolph, who holds for life.	Manor & church advowson to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74; ECR 39/140.
HORTON (A dependency of Lewes). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. The dependencies of Lewes were recognised as denizen, 20 May 1373, *CPR 1370-74*, 286.					
HOUGH, Lincs. (Also referred to as Hagh /Halgh) Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to a layman eg *CFR 1369-77*, 255.	Granted to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-99*, 579-80.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £26.16.8. to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £33.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Granted to Mountgrace on its surrender of £100pa from the possessions of Lire, 8 Jun 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 395.	Rent of £31.6.8. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22.	Confirmation to Mountgrace, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 161.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
IPPLEPEN, Devon Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6. The College of St Mary Ottery was granted licence to obtain the church advowson, 7 June 1352, *CPR 1436-41*, 81.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1381-5*, 80.	Life grant of lands in Chellesworthy & Ipplepen to Ric. Gabriell, king's clerk, 23 Nov 1406, *CPR 1405-8*, 281.		Granted to College of St Mary Ottery, Devon, 10 Aug 1437, *CPR 1436-41*, 81. Some lands in Ipplepen granted to KCC, 3 Nov 1458, *CPR 1452-61*, 476. The church stayed with the College of St Mary Ottery, *ibid.*	Confirmed to College of St Mary Ottery, 28 Nov 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 62-3.
ISLEHAM, Cambs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 203.	Manor & town granted to Henry Percy Dathell & his heirs, 10 Aug 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 51.	Custody granted to John Daniel & Nicholas Parys, 27 Oct 1414, *CFR XIV* 1413-22, 59.	Granted to Hen. Fylongley & Wm Cotton in 1439 for 10 yrs. Reversion granted to Pembroke Hall, Camb., 16 Feb 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 377; *CFR XVII* , 1437-45, 102. Some lands & rents in Isleham to KCC, 21 Jun 1451, *CPR 1446-52*, 450; KCM ISL 5, 6.	Custody of the manor granted to the king's brother Clarence & others, 10 Aug 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 198-9, 387, 454-5.
LANCASTER, Lancs. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Custody granted to Cockersand Abbey, Feb 1397, 4 Nov 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 49, 123, 150.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. 100s from the farm to Kath., wife of John Punchardon, 5 Jun 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 80. Rent of £95 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *ibid*, 86.	Rent granted to Syon in 1414, & when Prior Louvel, who was farming the priory, should die, the property should go to Syon, *RP IV*, 243. Rent of £66.13.4 from lands of Séez to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165-6.	Farm of £110 plus the reversion of the priory granted to Syon, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7. Priory did not pass to Syon until 1428 when the prior died. Conveyed by trustees in 1431.	Confirmed to Syon, 10 July 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 97-8, 144-5.
LAPLEY, Staffs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Custody granted to Ric. de Hampton, rent free, 8 Nov 1384, *CPR 1381-5*, 476; custody returned to prior, 10 Dec 1388, *CFR 1383-91*, 273-4; custody regranted for life to Wm Walshale, royal esquire, 11 Aug 1398, *CPR 1396-9*, 385, 405.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Grant to Walshale confirmed, 26 Mar 1404, *CPR 1401-5*, 383-4. Rent of 10m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of 12m to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. The remaining £20 rent granted to John Vale, 8 Feb 1415, *ibid*, 165, 281. All possessions granted to Tong College, Shropshire, 19 Jun 1415, *ibid*, 334.	Rent of 12m to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Confirmed to Tong College, 1 Nov 1425, *ibid.*, 317-8.	

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
LENTON, Notts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Life grant to Wm. Kylmyngton, king's servant, 5 Apr 1387, *CPR 1385-8*, 298. Became denizen on payment of a 500m fine, 7 Oct 1392, *CPR 1391-6*, 195.	Rent of 13s4d from the 100s apport to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	In the hands of its own prior after 1414; not affected by the dissolution, *CPR 1413-16*, 199.	In the hands of its own prior in 1459, *CPR 1452-61*, 509.	
LESSINGHAM, Nfk.	Farmed to laymen eg *CPR 1385-9*, 327.	Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of £16 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4;DH to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Rev. of the farm & rent granted to EC, 1441E, to be paid by Edmund Clere esq., who had been granted the same for 20 yrs from Mich. 1437.	Granted to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74; ECR 39/140.
LEWES, Sussex Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Charter of denization granted, 25 Feb 1351, to Lewes & its subordinate priories (Castle Acre, Prittlewell, Stanesgate, Horton), *CPR 1350-4*, 47-8. Lewes continued to pay 100s apport to mother house, Cluny, and to king during the war.				Reversion of the pension to EC, 1441E, after the death of James Fiennes, who had the life grant from 29 May 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 414.	Pension granted to Thos. Wylmote, vicar of Ashford, Kent, for a chantry chapel there for those who had died in the battles of Northampton, St Albans and Sherborne, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 76; ECR 39/140; *CPR 1467-77*, 42, 585.
LEWISHAM, Kent (Linked with Greenwich). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Rent of £20 from Lewisham & Greenwich granted to Peter Wynter for service to the crown, 27 Nov 1388, *CPR 1385-9*, 532.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Life grant to John Norbury esq. during the war without without rendering anything, 1 Oct 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 162. Granted to Sheen Charterhouse, 12 July 1415, *ibid.*, 367.		

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
LINTON, Cambs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Prior granted custody, 12 May 1377, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 401.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 297.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 40m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Custody granted to John Daniel & Nicholas Powys or Parys, 27 Oct 1414, *CFR XIV, 1413-22*, 59. Rent of £33.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £33.6.8. to QJ due to a shortfall in her dower, 20 Feb 1423, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £20 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Adv. & rev. of £33.6.8 to Pembroke Hall, Camb., after death of Hen. Fylongley, subject to payment of £20 to DH, 16 Feb 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 377.	Temp. HVI contd: Life grant to Fylongley, 19 Jun 1439. Grant to Pembroke had been made due to reduction in college revenues owing to damage from floods & tides etc. Confirmed to Pembroke Hall, Camb., 29 July 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 46.
LLANGENNITH, Glam. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1388-92*, 516.	Custody granted to the Prior of Ewenny in Wales during the war, 24 May 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 289. Restored 22 Feb 1401, *ibid*, 442. Grant to Ewenny renewed for 10 yrs, without rendering anything to the king, 27 Oct 1406, *CPR 1405-8*, 264.	Life grant of the alien priory to Hortunk Van Clux, king's kt., without rendering anything to the king, 27 Jan 1413, *CPR 1408-13*, 463; *CPR 1413-16*, 100.	Custody granted to prior for life for £20 pa, same as late prior had paid Henry V, 6 July 1422, 4 Feb 1429, *CPR 1422-9*, 530-1. Granted to Chichele, 18 Mar 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 531-2 & to All Souls, 24 Apr 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 19, 99.	Confirmed to All Souls, 26 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 148.
LLANGYWAN, Monm. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Lire.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 71, 297, 404, 539, 557.	£100 rent to QJ from the lands of Lire, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	£104 rent to QJ from the lands of Lire, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Vacated because granted to Sheen in 1415.		
LODERS, Dorset Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 26 Jul 1376, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 360.	Granted to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-9*, 579-80.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £81 granted to Wm. Trystour, king's saddler, in part satisfaction of a £688.10.0. annuity, 12 Nov 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 256, 397. Rent & reversion granted to Syon 1416.	Grant to Syon confirmed, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7.	Confirmed to Syon, 10 July & 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 97-8, 144-5.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
LONG BENNINGTON, Lincs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Granted to St Anne's Charter-house, Coventry, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-9*, 579-80.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £52 (including Field Dalling *cf*) to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £56.13.4 to QJ, from Long Bennington & Field Dalling *cf*, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Granted to Mountgrace on its surrender of £100 rent of the possessions of Lire, 8 Jun 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 395.	Rent of £56.13.4 to QJ, from Long Bennington & Field Dalling *cf*, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22.	Confirmation to Mountgrace, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 161.
LUDCOMBE, Berks. Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7. Restored, 5 May 1355, *CPR 1354-8*, 221, 283.	Custody of Ludcombe, Offord *cf*, Manton & Tixover *cf*, granted to Gilbert Talbot, king's kt., during the war, 29 April 1392, *CPR 1391-6*, 48. The same to Simon Felbrigge, 24 Apr 1399, for which see *CPR 1399-1401*, 64.	Custody confirmed to Simon Felbrigge, 7 Nov 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 64, 338, 525.	Granted to Wm Porter for the duration of the war, 14 Jun 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 24, 161; and confirmed 1 Sept 1414, after the dissolution, *ibid.*, 235, 354.	Confirmation to Wm Porter, 3 Feb 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 77. Granted, pursuant to the will of Henry V, to the church of St Peter's, Westminster, of Ludcombe & Offord *cf*, 9 July 1445, *CPR 1441-6*, 350.	
LYMINSTER, Sussex (Including Climping). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Custody granted to the king's half brother, John, Duke of Exeter, 28 Sept 1397, *CPR 1396-9*, 281.	Rent of 20m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £13.6.8 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £14 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Property granted to W. Striklond for life, 16 Sept 1438, *ibid.*, 203, 255. Reversion to EC, 1441E; Striklond to pay EC £22pa, ECR 49/294; in EC rent rolls in 1446, EC RR/A/31.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
MAPLEDURHAM, Oxon. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, as lands of Clairuissel. Portion of church granted to Robt. Bardolph, king's esquire, 7 Oct 1377, for which see *CPR 1377-81*, 435.	Grant to Bardolph confirmed, 10 Feb 1380, *CPR 1377-81*, 435.			Farm & rent to EC, 1441E; 100s to be paid to EC by John Iwardeby & Joan Lynde, late the wife of Wm Lynde, granted to them from Mich. 1438 for 16 yrs.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
MANTON & TIXOVER, Rutland. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Custody granted to John de Offord, king's clerk, 25 Mar 1342, *CPR 1340-3*, 396. Restored to Cluny, 5 May 1355, *CPR 1354-8*, 221, 283.	Custody of Manton & Tixover, Offord *cf*, & Ludcombe *cf*, granted to Gilbert Talbot, king's kt., during the war, 29 April 1392, *CPR 1391-6*, 48-9.	Custody of the foregoing confirmed to Simon Felbrigge, 7 Nov 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 64.	Custody of the foregoing granted to Wm Porter for the duration of the war, without rendering anything to the king, 4 Jun 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 24, 161, 354.	Custody confirmed to Wm Porter, 3 Feb 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 77. Purchased by Lord Cromwell for Tattershall College, Lincs., *VCH LINCS II*, 237.	Confirmed to Tattershall College, 14 Jul 1478, *CPR 1476-85*, 107-8.
MARTOCK, Somerset (Portion of the church). Held by Wm Earl of Salisbury; licence for him to grant to king's son, John, Duke of Lancaster & his wife Blanche, £200pa from lands of Martock, 24 Oct 1365, *CPR 1364-7*, 177.	Reversion granted to Simon King, clerk, 9 Dec 1382, *CPR 1381-5*, 220.			Granted to Syon, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7.	Confirmed to Syon, 10 July & 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 97-8, 144-5.
MERSEA, Essex Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to Richard Lyons of London, *CFR VIII, 1369-77*, 222-3, 232.	A rent of £60 granted to king's uncle, Thos of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part satisfaction of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372; *CPR 1391-6*, 575-6.	Abbot granted priory to John Dorewood & wife for life, 14 May 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 284-5, 293, 308. They were excused from paying the rent to the king, 28 Mar 1401, *ibid.*, 480. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Granted by the king to Chichele for the College of Higham Ferrers, 2 May 1422, *CPR 1416-22*, 441.	Chichele conveyed the priory to Higham Ferrers, 4 Aug 1426; confirmed by the king, 7 Nov 1427, *CPR 1422-9*, 472-4.	
MINCHINHAMPTON Gloc. (Alien manor only). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Holy Trinity, Caen.	£266.13.4. from lands of Caen granted to king's uncle, Thos of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part satisfaction of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £80 from the lands of Holy Trinity, Caen, to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of £93.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, to be paid by Kath. Bromwich, wife of Roger Leche, who had held since 6 Nov 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 166. LG to John Phelip & wife Alice, 21 Oct 1414, & rev. after death of QJ, *ibid*, 257.	Rent of £93.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Reversion after her death to Syon Abbey, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7.	Reversion confirmed to Syon, 10 July 1461; currently held by Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, by life grant of Henry V, *CPR 1461-7*, 97-8.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
MINSTER, Cornwall (Parcel of Tywardreath *cf*; also known as Tolcarn). Prior pardoned the rent due to the king on account of poverty, 20 Jun 1355, *CPR 1354-8*, 247, 252.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 102.	Priory seems to have ceased to exist here by 1407 according to Polsue III, 363. Probably became absorbed into the possessions of Tywardreath.			
MINSTER LOVELL, Oxon. Farmed to the keeper of the English lands of Ivry, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6. Farmed to a layman, *ibid.*, 225.		Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 13m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £8.13.4 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £8.13.4. to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Reversion of farm & rent had been granted to EC, 1441E, which had been granted to Wm, Lord Lovell, from the death of QJ (1437) for 21 yrs. Lovell to pay rent to EC during his term.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
MINTING, Lincs. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1385-9*, 39, 116.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Was being farmed in 1403 by Wm Spenser, clerk, *VCH LINCS II*, 239. Rent of 46m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £33.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Granted to MG on its surrender of rents of £100 from the possessions of Lire, 8 Jun 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 395.	Rent of £33.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22.	Confirmed to Mountgrace, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 161.
MOCKLEY, Wwks. (Manor only; parcel of Monkenlane *cf.*).			£40 rent granted to Roland Lenthall, king's kt., and wife, Ric. de la Bere, and others, from Mockley, Monkenlane *cf*, Wotton Wawen *cf*, West Wortham *cf*, without rendering anything to the king, 20 April 1418, *CPR 1416-22*, 331.	Foregoing grant vacated (except Monkenlane), 3 Jun 1442. Granted to KCC, 12 Dec 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 269; KCM KCE 13 & 91.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
MODBURY, Devon Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1381-5*, 343.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been seized by king,16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of 20m to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £23.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £23.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. After her death leased to John Fortescue, Hen. Drewe, John Offord & Ric. Brounste, 12 Feb 1438, ECR 1/62. Granted to EC, 1441E.	Grant to EC revoked and instead to Wm Beuslyn or Benslyn, monk, 29 May 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 199-200. Reversion granted to Tavistock Abbey on his death, 25 Nov 1466, *ibid.*, 536. But regranted to EC, 17 Jul 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3.
MONKENLANE, Heref. In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1340-3*, 489, 509.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 413. Granted with Wotton Wawen *cf* to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-99*, 579-80.	Granted to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and others, during the war, for 40m pa, 29 Mar 1411, *CFR 1405-13*, 208-9.	£40 rent granted to Roland Lenthall, king's kt., and others, from Monkenlane , Mockley *cf*, Wotton Wawen *cf*, West Wortham *cf*, without rendering anything to the king, 20 April 1418, *CPR 1416-22*, 331.		Granted to the Dean & Canons of St George's, Windsor in 1474, according to *Monasticon VI*, 1026.
MONKS KIRBY, Wwks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6. Custody granted to Sir Cannon Robsart for the duration of the war for £40pa, 26 July 1376, *ibid.*, 360.	Granted to Axholme Charterhouse, Lincs., by Thos Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, who obtained the alien priory from the mother house, St-Nicholas, Angers; 9 Jun 1396, *CPR 1391-6*, 722; 26 Jun 1396, *CPR 1396-9*, 77, *Monasticon VI*, 25.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2.	Restored to Axholme, 28 Jun 1415, *CPR 1413-16*, 355.		Confirmed to Axholme, 22 Feb 1469, *CPR 1467-77*, 135-6.
MONKS SHERBORNE, Hants. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 341.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	In the king's hands after dissolution eg 1 Oct 1415, *CPR 1413-16*, 361.	Granted to EC, 2 Sept 1446, ECR 39/67.	Grant to EC revoked & instead to Hospital of St Julian, Southampton (property of Queens College, Camb.), 16 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461 7*, 116; ECR 39/140. But regranted to EC with Yenston *cf*, 23 Mar 1473, *CPR 1467-77*, 394.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
MONKTON FARLEIGH, Wilts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. 20 May 1373 the king agreed that the denization of Lewes be extended to all its dependencies in England; henceforth this priory not alien, *CPR 1370-4*, 286.	The priory of Marcigny had entrusted all its English estates to Monkton Farleigh, and the apports paid annually to Marcigny for these continued to be subject to royal seizure during the war in spite of the denization of Lewes & its dependencies.	Rents of 17m & 40m (the 2 apports paid to Marcigny) to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rents of £11.6.8. & £26.13.4 (the 2 apports paid to Marcigny), to QJ, 27 Jan 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rents of £11.6.8. & £26.13.4 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Both rents to DH, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 16 Feb 1446, ECR 39/56. Reversion to EC, 1441E. The two rents first appear in the EC rent rolls in 1447, noting arrears from the previous year, EC RR/A/43.	Grant to Eton revoked; £30 from the rents went to Roger Grandorge, royal servant, 25 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73; the re-maining £8 went to another royal servant, John Thomson, on the same date, *ibid.*, 139. Both grants were for life, but the 2 rents to EC were renewed, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3.
MONMOUTH, Gwent. (Also known as St Mary, Monmouth). Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 34, 616.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Proved conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191.		Rent of 10m (the apport) granted to Wm Bingham, Wm Millington & others, along with other alien priory rents & possessions, to grant to GH, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7; 25 July 1458, *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5.	Grant to GH confirmed, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8.
MONTACUTE, Som. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Custody granted to Wm, Earl of Salisbury, 6 July 1344, *CPR 1343-5*, 330. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.		Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Became denizen by grant of 10 Jun 1407, *CPR 1405-8*, 337.		Rent of 10m (the apport which the priory used to pay to Cluny), granted to EC, 1441E.	Grant to EC revoked; instead granted to Wm Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Regranted to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3, but revoked again & granted to the Dean & Canons of St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461.
MORETON, Essex (Church only).			Reversion of the churches of Moreton & Alveley, Essex, & Fulbourne, Cambs. *cf*, to John Ikelyngton, 25 June 1415, *Foedera IX*, 280.	Moreton church granted to EC, 1441E.	Revoked, 29 July 1461, ECR 39/140; not known to whom.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
MUCKLEFORD, Dorset (Parcel of Andwell *cf*). By the late 14th century had become part of the possessions of Andwell Priory, Hants., and shared that priory's fate.					
NAVENBY, Lincs. The manor had belonged to Fécamp Abbey which sold it to the Canons of St Mary's, Lincoln, 15 July 1290, *CPR 1281-92*, 375, 487; *CPR 1292-1301*, 11. The church & advowson was held by Séez Abbey & was in king's hands during the war with France eg *CPR 1350-4*, 187, 191.	Church & advowson in the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1381-5*, 344.	Church presented to John Marshall, then John Carpenter, both king's clerks, 17 May 1412, *CPR 1408-13*, 397.	Church advowson possibly to QJ as lands of Séez, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165-7. Church to Syon as lands of Fécamp, 20 April 1416, *CPR 1416-22*, 34-5.	Church advowson granted to GH, along with other alien priories, 25 Jul 1458, *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5.	Advowson confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8. Church to Syon, 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 144-5.
NEW ROMNEY, Kent Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. During the war was generally let at farm eg to John de Wymbourne until 1432 & then to Joan de Bere, countess of Warenne, *CFR 1337-47*, 269.	Church & advowson in the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1381-5*, 43.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 25m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of £22 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £22 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £9 granted to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Granted to John Arderne, clk of king's works, 30 Jul 1438; compensated, 2 May 1439 ...	...because granted to All Souls, *CPR 1436-41*, 281. (Granted to All Souls, 20 May 1439, *ibid.*, 261). Confirmed to All Souls, 26 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 148.
NEWENT, Gloc. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Nov 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Mother house (Cormeilles) granted manor to John Devereux for life with remainder to his family, for a rent of £126.13.4. to the Exchequer, 11 Apr 1382, *CPR 1381-5*, 123. In the king's hands, 24 Jun 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 275.	Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Custody granted to John Cheyne for the foundation of Fotheringhay College, 11 Feb 1401, *CPR 1399-1401*, 431; 18 Dec 1411, *CPR 1408-13*, 358; *RP III*, 653.			

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
NEWSTEAD ON ACOLM, Lincs. The Gilbertine Priory of Holy Trinity at Newstead On Acolm. The alien property was a yearly rent, or apport, of £5 paid by the Priory to the Abbot of Longville for lands in Kirton, Lincs. The apport was granted to John de Haddon, king's sergeant-at-arms, during the war, 29 May 1352, *CPR 1350-54*, 271.		The apport of 100s granted to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	The apport of 100s granted to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166-7.	The apport of 100s to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to shortfall in her dower, *CClR 1422-9*, 19-22. Custody to Thos Cumberworth , 12 Feb 1434, *CPR 1429-36*, 333; pardoned from apport, 20 Jun 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 444. LG of apport then to John Crook, Exchequer clk., 12 Jul 1439, *ibid.*, 306, & the rev. to Wm Bingham, Wm Millington & others for GH, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8. The king released the Prior of Newstead on Acolm of the £5 apport, 14 Mar 1463, since the lands, by that date, were not worth more than 10s pa, *CPR 1461-7*, 269.
NEWTON LONGVILLE, Bucks. (Sometimes Longville Gifford). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	LG of 200m from this priory & Otterton *cf*, confirmed to Guy de Bryan, yeoman of Edward III, 27 Jan 1378, *CPR 1377-81*, 248.	LG, of the custody to Ralph Rocheford during the war, on 20 Feb 1406, paying 20m to Exchequer & 50m to Thos Erpingham to whom an annual rent had been granted from the issues, *CPR 1405-8*, 157-8, 471-2.		Granted to the alien priory commissioners, 12 Sept 1440, & to New College, 3 Apr 1441, at the request of Thos Bekynton, *CPR 1436-41*, 516, 558, 571, to hold from the death of Rocheford for a rose at Midsummer.	Confirmed to New College, 24 Jul 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 54.
NOION & NEUFMARCHÉ (Not mentioned in *Monasticon*, but consistently referred to as an alien priory). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.		Summoned before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £60 to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £253.6.8. from Ware, and Noion & Neufmarché, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Vacated 1 April 1415, *ibid.*, 340, and granted to Sheen Charterhouse, 12 Jul 1415, with Lewisham *cf* & Greenwich, Hayling *cf*, and lands of Lire, *ibid.*, 367.		
NORTH HYKEHAM, Lincs. (Also known as Ikham). Alien mother house not known; whether truly alien not known.				Rent of £6.13.4. to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 189, 304. To GH, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8; 6 Dec 1468, *CPR 1467-77*, 130-1.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
NORTHMUNDHAM, Sussex & Hants. Also called Lucerne Mundham; includes Compton (St John) & Wheely. All Lucerne's lands in North-mundham, Compton & Wheely granted to John de Goseden, king's yeoman, during the war without rendering anything to the king, 7 May 1354, *CPR 1354-8*, 41.	Northmundham & Compton were granted to the king's half brother, John, Duke of Exeter, 28 Sept 1397, *CPR 1396-9*, 281.	Rent of 100s to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	Rent of 100s to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166-7.	Farm & rent granted to Walter Striklond for 10 years, from Michaelmas 1439. Rent & reversion granted to EC, 1441E, with Striklond having to pay £5.14.2. to EC during his term. Northmundham appears in the EC rent rolls of 1443 (EC RR/A/7); Striklond evidently had licence to transfer estates before his term was complete.	Grant to EC revoked; granted to Wm Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Regranted to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3. Revoked & granted to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461.
OCLE, Heref. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Lire.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 71, 297, 404, 539, 557.	Rent of £100 from lands of Lire to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £104 from lands of Lire to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Vacated, 1 April 1415, *ibid.*, 340, because to Sheen, 12 Jul 1415, *ibid.*, 367.		
OFFORD, Hunts. Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7. Custody granted to John de Offord, king's clerk, along with Manton & Tixover *cf*, in part satisfac-tion of a £100 annuity, 25 Mar 1342, *CPR 1340-3*, 396.	Custody granted to Gilbert Talbot of Offord, Ludcombe *cf*, Manton & Tixover *cf*, during the war, 29 April 1392, *CPR 1391-6*, 48.	Custody of the foregoing confirmed to Simon Felbrigge, 7 Nov 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 64.	Custody of the foregoing granted to Wm Porter during the war, 14 Jun & 22 Dec 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 24, 161, 354.	Custody confirmed to Wm Porter, 3 Feb 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 77. Ludcombe *cf* & Offord granted to St Peter's, Westminster, 9 July 1445, pursuant to the will of Henry V, *CPR 1441-6*, 350.	
OGBOURNE, Wilts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.		Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.	Bedford granted the tithes & spiritualities to St George's, Windsor, in 1421, *Monasticon VI*, 1016.	A rent, which became a life grant, granted to John St Lo, 11 Sept 1437, 13 Sept 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 92, 126, 195, 259. Rent of 12s from Ogbourne to DH, 14 Jul 1439, *ibid.*, 303-4. Priories & manors of Ogbourne granted to Univ. of Camb. then to KCC, 12 Feb 1441, *ibid.*, 521.	Tithes & spiritualities confirmed to St George's, Windsor, *Monasticon VI*, 1016.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
OGBOURNE, Goring Mill, Oxon. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Granted to Wm York for 34s from Christmas 1436 for 10 yrs. Rent of 33s4d granted to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1339, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17, the reversion having been granted to EC, 1441E.	Granted by king to Edw. Ellismere, ECR 39/140, but regranted to EC, 17 Jul 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3.
OGBOURNE, London properties A hospice & 4 shops in St Botolph's parish, Aldersgate. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of 52s, to be paid by Gilbert Par, from Bec's London properties & Toft Monks *cf*, to DH, 1 Jun 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9. Reversion to EC, 1441E, after the death of Gilbert Par, chamber usher, & wife Agnes. The 52s rent to KCC, 6 Jul 1441, according to KCM KCE 11, but not mentioned in KCE 12 or 136.	Rent of £4 from the hospice & 4 shops to John Wyatt, 13 Aug 1461, ECR 39/140.
OTTERTON, Devon Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Custody confirmed to Guy de Bryan, yeoman of Edward III, for life, 27 Jan 1378, *CPR 1377-81*, 248.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Custody to QJ, 12 Feb 1405, *CPR 1401-5*, 454.	Rent of £266.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Vacated 1 Apr 1415, *ibid.*, 340, because to Syon.	Confirmed to Syon, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7.	Confirmed to Syon, 10 Jul & 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 97-8, 144-5.
PANFIELD, Essex (Linked with Well Hall *cf*). Farmed to prior 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Custody to Wm Fulbourne & Hugh Fastolf for £40pa to Exchequer, 14 May 1378, *CFR IX 1377-83*, 90; *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 222-3.	Rent of £40 from Panfield & Well Hall *cf*, to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham as part of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £40 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Granted to John Wodehouse, 6 Jul 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 57-8, 340.	Granted to Thos Tuddenham & others, 27 Jan 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 385. Various tithes to EC, 1441E.	Granted by the king to Griselda Hende, 5 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 64. Reversion to KCC by Henry VI , 24 Feb 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 240. On Edward IV's return granted to Christchurch, Canterbury, 30 Nov 1472, *ibid.*, 375-6; confirmed, 7 Feb 1483, *CPR 1476-85*, 334-5.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
PATRIXBOURNE, Kent Farmed to the proctor of the English lands of Beaulieu, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Granted for 60 yrs to Ric. de Altrincham for £10pa, 7 Jun 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 258.	Rent of 100s to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86. Sold by Altrincham to Merton Convent, Surrey, 3 Oct 1409, *ibid.*, 139-40. Royal licence for mother hse, Beaulieu, to grant to Merton in mortmain, 11 Aug 1410; Merton to pay 100s to Exchequer during the war, *ibid.*, 217-8.	Rent of 100s to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.		£3.5.0 from the issues to Wm Besteney, king's sergeant-at-arms, for life, 25 Nov 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 41, 183.
PEMBROKE, Dyfed Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1381-5*, 311.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6.	Had lately been held at farm by Francis de Court, kt., for £10 according to letters patent of 22 Dec 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 152. Held by DH, 1 Jul 1418, *CPR 1416-22*, 129; had been granted to him, 3 Sept 1415, *CPR 1429-36*, 298.	Rent of £50 from the issues to Hortunk Van Clux, king's kt., 8 Jul 1433, *CPR 1429-36*, 295. DH had licence to grant the priory to St Albans, 7 June 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 567. Not granted until 1443, *CChR 1427-1516*, 112.	
PIDDLE HINTON, Dorset Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7, as lands of Mortain. Granted to Wm of Wykeham, along with Withyham, during the war, 11 Nov 1373 (see confirmation).	Confirmed to Wm of Wykeham, 17 Nov 1380, *CPR 1377-81*, 562.		Rent of £14.0.20 from the lands of Mortain, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £14.0.20 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Farm & rent granted to Robert Parfite for life, then granted to EC, 1441E; Parfite to pay EC £14.8.4. during his term.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
PONTEFRACT, Yks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands eg *CPR 1377-81*, 527; *CPR 1381-5*, 106. No more heard of this as an alien priory; probably became denizen or naturalised.				

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
POVINGTON, Dorset (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		After 1435 LG to Ric. Sturgeon, clerk. In 1442 the reversion was granted to St Anthony's Hospital, London. But in 1451 the rev. of the farm & rent granted to EC, to be paid by John Neweburgh, kt., until Mich. 1456, 20 Mar 1451, *CPR 1446-52*, 417.	Grant to EC revoked; granted to Wm Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Regranted to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3. Revoked & granted to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461.
PRITTLEWELL, Essex Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. The dependencies of Lewes were recognised as denizen, 20 May 1373, *CPR 1370-4*, 286.					
REWLEY, Oxon. The alien property was a pension of 43m which Rewley Abbey rendered to the alien abbey of Pyn for Saham church & lands.		Rent of 43m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	Rent of £28.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166-7.	Rent of £28.13.4. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. The same to DH, 14 July 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 303-4. The same to Pembroke Hall, Camb., 4 May 1440, *ibid.*, 377, 401.	Confirmed to Pembroke Hall, 29 Jul 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 46.
ROTHERFIELD, Sussex Few details known about this alien priory, other than the information given in *Monasticon VI*, 1053.		In king's hands due to forfeiture of Thos., late Lord Despenser. Custody granted to Ric., Lord Grey, king's chamberlain, 2 Oct 1408, having previously been held by John Dalyngrigge, king's kt., *CPR 1408-13*, 3.		In king's hands by death of the Duke of Warwick. LG of £20 to John Denyssh, king's sergeant, 10 July 1446, *CPR 1441-6*, 441. James Fiennes was made Steward of Warwick's lands in Kent & Sussex, 3 Jul 1446, *ibid.*, 445.	

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ROTHERHAM, Yks. The alien property was an annual pension or apport of £20 paid to the alien abbot of Clairevaux for a keeping of the mediety of Rotherham church by the Abbot of Rufford, Notts. Apport was taken into the king's hands during the war eg *CPR 1340-3*, 374, 474.		LG to Ric. Creasy, sergeant of the king's hall, of the £20 apport, in lieu of a grant to him of the fruits of Docking church, which could not take effect due to a prior grant to QJ, 18 Oct 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 119.		LG to Henry Beaumont of the £20 apport, 21 Aug 1438, Creasy being dead, *CPR 1436-41*, 185, 230, 397-8. Reversion of the £20 apport to KCC after the death of Beaumont, 31 Jul 1441, CPR 1436-41, 557; KCM KCE 11.	Revoked & granted to the Abbot & Convent of St Mary Graces by the Tower of London, 4 Jun 1461 *CPR 1461-7*, 162, citing letters patent of 28 Mar 1373. But revoked & granted to James, Earl Douglas as part of a £200 annuity, 18 Feb 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 243-4.
RUISLIP, Middx. (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		LG to John Somerset, 2 Apr 1437, *CPR 1436-41*, 46, 286. The manor was granted in reversion to Univ. of Camb., 10 July 1438, *ibid.*, 187; then to KCC, 12 Feb 1441, *ibid.*, 521-2.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
RUNCTON, Sussex This priory ceased to be alien, becoming a dependency of Bruton Abbey when, in 1260, its mother house, Trouarn Abbey in Normandy, exchanged its English possessions for Bruton's lands in Coutances & Bayeux, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 134.					
ST. ANDREW'S, Northants. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Custody granted to Thos More & John Everdon during the war, Dec 1396, *VCH N'HANTS II*, 107.	Restored 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Proved conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191. Charter of denization granted, 22 May 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 12.			

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ST BURYAN, **Cornwall** (Referred to as an alien deanery, but not known to which foreign house it belonged). Granted to Thos de Crosse, king's clerk, 17 Aug 1337, *CPR 1334-8*, 492.				Granted to Adam Moleyns, clk of the council, 25 Sept 1438, void by death of Wm Lochard, *CPR 1436-41*, 203, 268. Then to Peter Stucle, clk, for life, and the rev. to KCC, 11 Nov 1445, *CPR 1441-6*, 390; KCM SBU 1, 2.	Grant apparently revoked and granted to Robert Knolles, king's clerk, 20 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
ST CLEARS, **Caermarthen** Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Custody held by Wm Beauchamp, Captain of Calais, 11 Oct 1386, *CPR 1385-9*, 222. After his death, custody granted for life to John Golafre, chamber kt., and others, 16 Sept 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 302.	Custody held by Thos Percy, king's kinsman, 29 Nov 1399, *CPR 1399-1401*, 140. LG to David Howell, king's esquire, 19 Jan 1412, *CPR 1408-13*, 360.	Rent of £18 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	£18 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £10 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. To Chichele & others, 18 Mar 1441, *ibid.*, 531-2, & to All Souls, 24 Apr 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 19, 99.	Confirmed to All Souls, 26 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 148.
ST CROSS, Isle of Wight Custody granted to John de Padbury, king's yeoman, for the duration of the war, 1 Jul 1351, *CPR 1350-4*, 109. Prior was pardoned the arrears of the farm, 8 May 1359, *CPR 1358-61*, 194	Granted to Winchester College, 10 Apr 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 433, having been purchased by William of Wykeham.				
ST FAITH HORSHAM, Nfk. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 12 May 1377, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 401.	Made denizen at the request of king's uncle, John, Duke of Lancaster, & his half brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, in 1390, acc. to *VCH NFK II.*, 346-8. The apport of 2m was henceforth paid to the king not the alien abbey of Conches.	Rent of 2m (the apport) to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of 26s8d (the apport) to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of 28s8d to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of 2m to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Reversion to EC, 1441E. No explicit grant from DH to EC but the 2m apport appears in the EC rent roll of 1446, EC RR/A/30.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
ST HELEN'S, Isle of Wight Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1385-9*, 459.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of 100s to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £7 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £7 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Rev. to EC, 1441E to be paid by Walter Veer during his 10 yr term until 1449.	Grant to EC revoked; granted to Wm Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Regranted to EC, 17 July 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3. Revoked & granted to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461.
ST JAMES BY EXETER, Devon Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.		Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £10 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £12.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £12.13.4. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. LG to John de la Bere, king's clerk in almonry, 15 Feb 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 151, 153, 201. He held with Edm. Hungerford, kt. The remainder granted to KCC, 15 Jul 1444, *CPR 1441-6*, 279.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 64, John de la Bere & Edm. Hungerford having been licensed to grant their term in the priory to KCC; KCM SJP 116, 117.
ST MICHAEL'S MOUNT, Cornwall Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFRVIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Prior had custody of priory; advowson granted to the king's mother as part of her dowry, 16 Oct 1383, *CPR 1381-5*, 314.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of £10 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of £10 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £10 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Granted to Syon, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7. Granted to KCC, 15 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 111; KCM KCE 133.	Confirmed to Syon, 10 July, 29 Nov & 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 97-8, 56-7, 144-5.
ST NEOT'S, Hunts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 524.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Declared independent of Bec, 14 May 1409, on the grounds that the revenues had diminished through maladministration, *CPR 1408-13*, 76.			

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
SCARBOROUGH, Yks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7.	Rent of £60 to Queen Anne, 24 May 1382, in part satisfaction of a £4,500 dowry payment, *CPR 1381-5*, 126.	Granted to Bridlington Priory, Yks., temp. Henry IV; see *CPR 1461-7*, 82.	Grant to Bridlington confirmed, 5 Apr 1422; see *CPR 1461-7*, 82.	Grant to Bridlington confirmed, 26 Feb 1442; see *CPR 1461-7*, 82.	Grant to Bridlington confirmed, 2 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 82.
SELE, Sussex Farmed to prior, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 333-7.	Naturalised in 1396; the apport of 11m to the mother house, St-Florent Lès Saumur, continued, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 60.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.		In 1459 Wm Waynflete acquired the patronage of the priory from John, Duke of Norfolk, & appropriated it to Magdalen College, but not finally confirmed until 1480, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 61.	
SIDMOUTH, Devon (Parcel of Otterton *cf* with which it shared the same fate).					
SPALDING, Lincs. (Lands and apport). Farmed to the proctor of the English lands of Saint-Nicholas, Angers, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	LG to Hugh Lutrell, kt., of a rent of £20 from lands of St-Nicholas, Angers, including lands in Spalding, during the war, 21 Jul 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 465.	Grant of the £40 apport during the war to Ralph Rocheford, king's kt., notwithstanding that the said apport had been assigned for the expenses of the household, 21 Apr 1402, *CPR 1401-5*, 84.	Rent of £90 from lands of Saint-Nicholas, Angers, including Spalding, to QJ, 1 July 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165-7.	Reversion of £90 from lands of Saint-Nicholas, Angers, including Spalding, to Syon, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7. Some lands & rents to KCC, 15 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 111; KCM KCE 133.	Confirmed to Syon, 16 Dec 1461 *CPR 1461-7*, 144-5; 21 Feb 1471, *CPR 1467-77*, 238.
SPETTISBURY, Dorset (Linked to Toft Monks *cf*). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Préaux.	Custody granted to Lewis de Clifford for life, 12 Oct 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 306, 355.	Lewis de Clifford granted the custody to Thos Erpingham; grant confirmed, 26 Jun 1403, *CPR 1401-5*, 263. Licence to acquire the priory from Préaux was granted 15 Mar 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 18.	Reversion, after the death of Erpingham, confirmed to Witham Charterhouse, 15 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 91.	Confirmed to Erpingham, 8 July 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 112-4. Reversion to Witham confirmed, 4 Dec 1428, *ibid.*, 529. Granted to Witham, along with other alien priories, 28 Nov 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 490, (but not Toft Monks *cf* which went to KCC).	Confirmed to Witham, 20 July 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 125.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
SPORLE, Nfk. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 352.	Rent of £20 granted to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of £20.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £20.13.4. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £18 to DH, 14 July 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17, the reversion having been granted to EC, 1441E.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
STANESGATE, Essex Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. The dependencies of Lewes were made denizen, 20 May 1373, *CPR 1370-4*, 286.					
STEVENTON, Berks. (Manor; parcel of Ogbourne *cf*). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Granted to Hugh de Calveley & then to John, Bishop of Salisbury, by Hugh's trustees, 2 Jun 1394, *CPR 1391-6*, 417.	Confirmed to Hugh de Calveley's son, 11 Apr 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 260-1, 319-20. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6...	...Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		
STEYNING, Sussex (Included the ballivate of Warminghurst, often called a priory). Farmed to the proctor of the English lands of Fécamp, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	£200 from lands of Fécamp granted to king's uncle, Thos of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, as part of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372; 4 Jun 1395, *CPR 1391-6*, 575-6.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £301.4.4. from lands of Fécamp to John Cornewaille & wife, as part of a £1,000 annuity, 16 Jul 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 75. Rent of £138.15.8. from lands of Fécamp & Tywardreath *cf*, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *ibid.*, 166. Rev. to Syon 20 Apr 1416, ...	... *CPR 1416-22*, 34-5. Grant confirmed to John Cornewaille, 18 Dec 1422, *CPR 1422-9*, 59. Had been granted to Syon by 11 Mar 1444, *CPR 1441-6*, 254.	Confirmed to Syon, as was all English property of Fécamp except Cogges *cf*, 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 144-5.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
STOGURSEY, Som. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1381-5*, 98.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into king's hands, 16 Dec 1402,*CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of £20 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £25 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of £25 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £20 to John Chinall, 18 Feb 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 140. Rent of £25 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *ibid.*, 188-9, 303-4; DH to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17.	Temp. HVI contd.: To EC, 1441E rent to be paid by Robt. Vise, monk, & Walter Sargeant during their 30 yr term until 1460. Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73. EC had to wait until 1465 to enter into possession.
STOKE BY CLARE, Suffolk Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	The yr's issues & profits (£60) were granted to the war effort, 4 Jun 1395, *CPR 1391-6*, 575-6. Rent of £60 to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, as part of a £1,000 annuity, 4 Jun 1395, *ibid.*	Temp. Ric. II contd: Charter of denization secured, July 1395, on condition that a fine of £1,000 be paid to the Abbot of Westminster, to be expended on the new works at St Peter's church at 200m pa, *VCH SUFFOLK II*, 145.	Priory had but a brief life as a denizen house, since it was dissolved in favour of a college of secular priests, called the College of St John the Baptist, Stoke By Clare, by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, 16 Oct 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 291-2.		
STOUR PROVOST, Dorset Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Préaux.	Custody granted to Wm Dangle, kt., for the duration of the war, without rent (£54) to the king, 3 Oct 1392, *CPR 1391-6*, 184.	Custody granted to Ralph Rocheford, king's kt., during the war without rendering anything to the king, in lieu of a previous grant, 21 Mar 1405, *CPR 1401-5*, 500; confirmed 5 Aug 1411, *CPR 1408-13*, 307.	Confirmed to Rocheford, 16 Jan 1420, for 40 yrs, without rendering anything to the king, *CPR 1416-22*, 259.	Reversion (along with all other lands of Préaux held by Rocheford) to KCC, 31 Jul 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 557; KCM KCE 11.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
STRATFIELD SAYE, Berks. (Including the hermitage of St Leonard's). Hermitage granted to John Le Fèvre, Benedictine monk, *CPR 1340-43*, 166. Restored, 12 Jun 1342, *ibid.*, 467.	In the king's hands and generally farmed by laymen eg *CPR 1388-92*, 217.	Rent of 10m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £7.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £7.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Rev to EC 1441E, to be paid by J. Cheser & J.Berningham during their term.	Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
STRATTON ST MARGARET, Wilts. Despite Dugdale's assertion (*Monasticon VI*, 1056), there is no evidence that there was an alien priory here. *VCH WILTS II*, 262,280-1, states that some land here was owned by Monkton Farleigh *cf*, & some by Bradenstoke Priory.	Rent of £16.3.8. to Queen Anne, 24 May 1382, in part satisfaction of a dower payment of £4,500, *CPR 1381-5*, 125-6.	Recorded as belonging to the temporalities of the bishopric of Salisbury, 22 Aug 1407, *CPR 1405-8*, 347.		The manor of Stratton St Margaret granted to Merton College, Oxford, 3 Jul 1446, *CPR 1441-6*, 449-50, probably in exchange for lands in Cambridge with KCC which had owned the manor.	
STURMINSTER MARSHALL, Dorset (An alien rectory & lands). Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to a layman, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 374.		Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 42m to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	Rent of £31.6.9. from the fruits of the church, & lands in Charlton, Dorset, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166-7.	Rent of £31.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CClR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. DH to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17. Farm & rent held by Robt Chauntery, parson of	...Longburdy church, Dorset, from Easter 1440 for 7 yrs. Granted to EC, 1441E; Chauntery to pay EC the rent of £31.6.8. during his term. Confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
SUMPTING, Sussex (An alien hospital according to *VCH SUSSEX II*, 106; not known to which foreign house it belonged; sometimes known as Cokeham). Granted to Hardham Priory, 8 Apr 1351, *CPR 1350-4*, 64.					
SWAVESEY, Cambs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Rent of £33.6.8. to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part payment of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372. Granted to St Anne's Ch'hse, except 65m pa to be paid to KH for 6 yrs, 19 Nov 1393,...	...*CPR 1391-6*, 352. Grant to KH cancelled; instead St Anne's to maintain 12 poor scholar clerks to pray for the king's soul & that of his late wife Anne, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-9*, 579-80. Confirmed, 24 Nov 1404, *CPR*...	...*1401-5*, 476. Regranted, 8 Jun 1421, because earlier grant not yet executed, *CPR 1416-22*, 380.		

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
TAKELEY, Essex (Including parcels: Isleworth, Heston, Hampton-on-Thames, & Twickenham, all Middx.). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Rent of £133.6.8. granted to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part payment of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372. Granted to New College, 10 Mar 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 417; papal confirmation, 2 Feb 1392, *CPL IV*, 440.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.			
TARRANT LAUNCESTON, Dorset (Alien manor only). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Holy Trinity, Caen.	Rent of £266.13.4. from lands of Caen granted to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part payment of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372.	Rent of £80 from lands of Holy Trinity, Caen, to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 87.	Rent of £20.6.8. from Tarrant Launceston itself to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166-7.	Rent of £16 to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. The manor granted to Henry Beaufort, John, Abp of York, Robt. Whittingham, Treasurer of Calais & Wm Port, 22 Dec 1440, *ibid.*, 525.	Temp. Hen VI contd: Confirmed to St Cross almshouse, 8 Apr 1455, *CPR 1452-61*, 233-4, recalling a charter of 1 Feb 1446, when the manor was granted to S Cross.
THETFORD, Nfk. (Not alien, but the apport still paid to Cluny, and was seized by king during the war).Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7.		Rent of 13s4d from the apport to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 85-7.	£28.6.8. from fee farm of Thetford (part of Henry V's feoffment for the fulfilment of his will) released to Beaufort, to be delivered to the keeping of Abp of York, 7 Jun 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 276.	Rent of 13s4d from the farm to EC, 1441E. Prior of Thetford granted £28.6.8. from the fee farm to KCC, 2 Feb 1444, KCM ROY 4.	Rent of 13s4d confirmed to EC, 23 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.
THROWLEY, Beds. (Including Chilham & Molash, Kent). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, & Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	The 3 manors were granted by the Abbot of Langdon, who held custody, to Wm de Hoo & wife, 28 Feb 1385, *CPR 1381-5*, 583.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 45m from all 3 manors to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £40 from the 3 manors to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Vacated with others, 1 Apr 1415, because granted to Syon (QJ compensated with 1,000m from Exchequer) *CPR 1413-16*, 340, 358, 395.	The 3 manors confirmed to Henry V's feoffees for Syon Abbey, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7. Confirmed 29 Nov 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 234.	All 3 manors confirmed to Syon, 10 July & 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 97, 144-5. Reversion of Chilham & Molash granted to John Scot, kt., controller of the king's household, 26 Feb 1462, *ibid.*, 105-6, 178.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
TICKFORD, Bucks. (Also known as Newport Pagnell, linked with Holy Trinity, York *cf*) Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, & 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6	In the king's hands due to the war eg *CPR 1377-81*, 275, 281, 439	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Rent of 40s to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86	Rent of 40s to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166.	Rent of 40s to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Same to DH, 1 Jun 1438 & 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17, the reversion having been granted to EC, 1441E.	Confirmed to EC, 17 Jul 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3, but revoked by the king, ECR 39/140; no date given, could have been before or after 1467.
TILSHEAD, Wilts. (Manor only) Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, & 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, as lands of Holy Trinity, Caen. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Rent of £266.13.4 from lands of Caen granted to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part payment of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £40 granted to Ric. Mawardyn, in lieu of an earlier grant, 6 Jul 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 108.	Reversion of manor & rent of £43.6.11 to Syon, 20 Oct 1424, *CPR 1422-9*, 205-7. Granted to KCC, 15 Mar 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 111-2 & KCM KCE 133.	Confirmed to Syon, 16 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 144-5.
TITLEY, Heref. Farmed out to William Jouet, Steward of Brecknock, Wales, 27 Oct 1376, *CPR 1374-7*, 370	Purchased by William of Wykeham for Winchester College, 10 Apr 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 43.				
TOFT MONKS, Nfk. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, & 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Granted to Lewis de Clifford for life along with other alien priories, 12 Oct 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 306, 355. The remainder of the manor & other possessions of Preaux, worth £80, to his son	Reversion to Thos Erpingham, 26 Jun 1403, *CPR 1401-5*, 263. Erpingham had licence to acquire the priory from Preaux, 15 Mar 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 18.	Reversion to Witham Charterhouse, 15 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 91. Still in the hands of Erpingham, 5 Jun 1421, *CPR 1416-22*, 368-9	Confirmed to Erpingham, 8 Jul 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 112-4. Reversion confirmed to Witham, 4 Dec 1428, *ibid.*, 529. 52s rent from Toft Monks & Ogbourne's London properties to DH, 1 Jun 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9; £20 to DH, 14 Jul 1439, *ibid.*, 303-4. Priory to EC, 1441E. DH to EC (£40), 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17.	Granted to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74 & ECR 39/140.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
TOOTING BEC, **Surrey**		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		Rent of £19 to DH, 1 Jun 1438 & 14 Jul 1439, CPR 1436-41, 188-9, 303-4, which he granted to EC, 1 Mar 1443, ECR 39/17, the reversion having been granted to EC, 1441E. The farm had been granted to John Arderne for 10 yrs from Mich 1439, during which term he had to pay DH then EC the £19 rent.	Grant to EC revoked & instead granted to John, Earl of Worcester, & in 1466 settled by him on a fraternity he had instituted at the church of All Hallows, Barking, near the Tower of London, ECR 39/140.
TOTNES, Devon (Also known as Tunstall). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 256.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Prior proved conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 191. Rent of 40s to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of 40s to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166. Escaped suppression in 1414.	Rent of 40s to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Apport granted to Wm Bingham, Wm Millington & others, along with other alien priories, & licence for them to grant to GH, 10 Jun 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 86-7; *CPR 1452-61*, 434-5.	Confirmed to GH, 4 Nov 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 217-8.
TREGONY, Cornwall Made over to Merton Convent, Surrey, in 1267, *Monasticon VI*, 1045.					
TUTBURY, Staffs. (Supervised Wolson *cf* & Modbury *cf*). Enjoyed a large measure of autonomy but still paid the apport to the mother house, Saint-Pierre Sur Dives. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.		Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6. Conventual claims were rejected in 1402 and the priory was farmed out again, but this seizure was revoked, 13 Feb 1404, *CPR 1401-5*, 366-7.	The priory remained unmolested until 1538, although the priory never sought denization and the link with Saint-Pierre Sur Dives was never formally broken.		

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
TYWARDREATH, Cornwall Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 528.	Restored, 12 Jan 1400, *CPR 1399-1401*, 70-2. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6.	LG of custody, worth £80 pa, to John Cornewaille & wife, in part satisfaction of a 1,000m annuity, 16 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 75, 101. Rent of £138.15.8 from lands of Fécamp & Tywardreath to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *ibid.*, 165-6.	Custody of lands of Fécamp & Tywardreath confirmed to John Cornewaille, 18 Dec 1422, *CPR 1422-9*, 59. Tywardreath not suppressed in 1414 so possibly not to Syon on the death of Cornewaille as were most lands of Fécamp, for which see *CPR 1422-9*, 205; *CPR 1441-6*, 221.	
UPAVON, Wilts. (Including the nearby church of Charlton). Farmed to the proctor of the English lands of Saint-Wandrille/ Fontanelle, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 530; after 1378 farmed by a series of Exchequer clerks.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £20 to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £24 to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 86.	Rent of £24 to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. To the Austin Canons of Ivychurch in exchange for other lands, 22 Jun 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 106-7. Rent of 20m to Nich. Walton & Wm Okeden for 20 yrs, 18 May 1457, *CPR 1452-61*, 477; ECR 39/114.	Temp Hen VI contd: To EC, 9 Feb 1459, *CPR 1452-61*, 477; ECR 39/119. Grant to EC revoked, if it had ever taken effect, and granted to Ivychurch Prior, 3 Jul 1461, ECR 39/140.
UPCHURCH, Kent Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1381-5*, 169.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £40 from Upchurch & the manor of Charlton, Wilts., to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £20 from the fruits of the church to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Granted to All Souls, 21 Nov 1438, Ms DD All Souls C.155, document 2 & C.119, document 8, (a-h).	Confirmed to All Souls, 26 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 148.
WANGFORD, Suffolk (A cell of Thetford *cf*). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Charter of denization granted, 8 Nov 1393, for a payment of 100m to the crown, *CPR 1391-6*, 330.				

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
WARE, Herts. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CClR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Rent of £206.13.4. granted to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, in part payment of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372; *CPR 1391-6*, 575-6. Custody granted to John Golafre, chamber kt., in 1385, *VCH HERTS IV*, 456n38. Custody to Thos Holand, Duke of Surrey, without rent, 21 Mar 1398, *CPR 1396-99*, 332.	Holand made the priory over to MG, but was taken from MG, 16 Jul 1401, *CPR 1399-1401*, 532. Licence of Feb 1400 to grant to St Mary's Abbey, Lincs., proved abortive, *ibid.*, 221. LG of the rent to Philip Repingdon, Abbot of Leics., in Dec 1400, *ibid.*, 206. Custody (worth £240pa) granted to QJ, 8 Aug 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 48.	Rent of £100 to MG, 20 Nov 1413, until provided with other lands or rents to the same value, *CPR 1413-16*, 151. Rent of £253.6.8. to QJ during the war from Ware, Noion & Neufmarché, 27 Jan 1414, *ibid.*, 165. This grant vacated 1 Apr 1415 because Ware granted to Sheen, 12 Jul 1415, *ibid.*, 367.		
WAREHAM, Dorset Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61 , as lands of Lire.	Granted to Mountgrace Charter-house, along with other lands of Lire, at the instance of the Duke of Surrey, 20 May 1399, *CPR 1396-9*, 570.	MG lost Wareham soon after Henry IV's accession. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of 100s to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £16.13.4. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 166. Granted to Sheen, as were all properties of Lire, 1 Apr 1415, *CChR 1341-1417*, 482.	Confirmed to Sheen, 24 Dec 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 222.	
WARHAM, Nfk. Sold to Hugh Scarlet of Lincs., who sold it to Lady Elizabeth de Burgo, who gave it to the Abbey of West Dereham, Nfk., 9 Apr 1336, *CPR 1334-8*, 252-3.					
WARMINGTON, Wwks. (Parcel of Toft Monks *cf* in 14th c.) Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Préaux.	Custody granted to Lewis de Clifford, 12 Oct 1390, *CPR 1388-92*, 306, 355.	Reversion to Thos Erpingham, 26 Jun 1403, *CPR 1401-5*, 263. Erpingham had licence to acquire the priory from Préaux, 15 Mar 1405, *CPR 1405-8*, 18.	Reversion to Witham Charter-house, 15 July 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 91.	Confirmed to Erpingham, 8 Jul 1423, *CPR 1422-9*, 112-4. Reversion confirmed to Witham, 4 Dec 1428, *ibid.*, 529. Granted to Witham, 28 Nov 1440, along with Spettisbury *cf* & Aston *cf*, *CPR 1436-41*, 490.	Confirmed to Witham, 20 Jul 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 125.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
WEEDON BEC, **Northants.** (Parcel of Ogbourne *cf*).		Custody to king's son John, later Duke of Bedford, as were all Bec's English properties, March 1404, *CPR 1399-1405*, 250.		LG to Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, 2 May 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 161, 275. Reversion granted to EC, 16 Sept 1443, ECR 27/15, 16. Stafford had licence to surrender to EC, 12 May 1445, ECR 27/17, 18.	After Stafford's death (battle of N'hampton 1460) LG to Thos Seyntleger, 25 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 77. Then to Wm Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *ibid.*, 108. To EC again, 17 Jul 1467, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3, but revoked & to St George's, Windsor, 17 May 1474, *ibid.*, 461.
WEEDON PINKNEY, **Northants.** Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Manor to Queen Anne as part of an £800 annuity, 22 Nov 1382, *CPR 1381-5*, 203, 529. Transferred by the mother house, St Lucien, to the Biddlesden Abbey, 30 May 1392;*CPR 1436-41*,394, 437. LG of 100s to Ric. Raundes, 7 Aug 1394, *CPR 1391-6*, 471.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £17.6.8. to QJ, 20 May 1408, *CPR 1405-8*, 438.		Biddlesden Abbey had to surrender the priory to All Souls, to whom it had been granted by the king, 13 Mar 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 394, 437.	Confirmed to All Souls, 26 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 148.
WELL HALL, Nfk. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to Hugh Fastolf, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 222-3, 232.	Rent of £40 from Well Hall & Panfield *cf* to Thos Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, as part of a £1,000 annuity, 5 Jul 1379, *CPR 1377-81*, 372, 523. Custody to John Devereux kt., 24 Mar 1382, *CPR 1381-5*, 111.	Rent of £40 from Well Hall & Panfield *cf* to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Granted to John Wodehouse & John Ikelyngton for a rose at Midsummer, 4 Jul 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 52. Licence to them to purchase the priory from the mother house, St Stephen's, Caen, 9 Jul 1413, *ibid.*, 57, 340.	Cardinal Beaufort acquired Well Hall & Panfield *cf* from the son of John Wodehouse. It was demised back to Henry Wodehouse & granted to Thos Tuddenham & others, 27 Jan 1440, *CPR 1436-41*, 385.	Granted to Wm Beaufitz for 10 yrs, 26 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 108. Granted to St Stephen's, Westminster, 10 Mar 1469, *CPR 1467-77*, 163-4, 568.
WENGHALE, Lincs. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 124, 207, 373.	Custody granted to a secular clerk, 6 Feb 1400, along with West Ravendale *cf*, in recompense for services to the king, *CPR 1399-1401*, 185. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of 100m from lands of Séez to John Cornewaille & wife, 16 Jul 1413, as part of a 1,000 mark annuity, *CPR 1413-16*, 75. Rent of £66.13.4 from the lands of Séez to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *ibid.*, 165-6.	Reversion to KCC after the death of Thos Cumberworth, 31 Jul 1441, *CPR 1436-41*, 557. But granted to Michaelhouse Coll, Camb., 22 Apr 1443, in exchange for some tenements in School St., *CPR 1441-6*, 160; KCM KCE 11.	Confirmed to St Michael's College, Cambridge, 24 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 73.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
WENLOCK, Shropshire Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Petition for denization granted for 600m, 20 Feb 1395, *CPR 1391-6*, 552.	Seized by king unless proof of conventual status, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6.	Rent of 100s (the apport due to La Charité Sur Loire) to QJ, 27 Jan, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of 100s to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. The same to DH, 1 Jun 1438, 14 Jul 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 188-9, 303-4. Reversion of the same to KCC, 31 July 1441, *ibid.*, 557; KCM KCE 11.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
WEST KINGTON, Wilts. (Church and manor only). A moiety of the manor to Maud, late the wife of Robert de Holand, 10 Mar 1352, *CPR 1350-4*, 242.	Moiety of the manor, worth 100s pa, farmed by laymen eg *CPR 1381-5*, 331. Rent of 100s granted to Wm Bacchesore, chamber groom, 3 Feb 1398, *CPR 1396-9*, 283.	Rent of 100s (apport due to Fougères) granted to John Werlowe during the war, 4 May 1401, *CPR 1399-1401*, 477; 22 Dec 1401, *CPR 1401-5*, 33. Grant of same to Thos Kynersley, Carmelite monk, revoked, 26 Oct 1401, since Bacchesore claimed same had been granted to him, *ibid.*, 4.	Rent of 100s (the apport) to Nicholas Peynton, clerk of the king's chapel, 2 Apr 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 187.	Reversion of the 100s apport to KCC, 31 July 1441, *ibid.*, 557; KCM KCE 11. The manor granted by Wm Bonevyle kt., to John, Bishop of Bath & Wells, Ralph Cromwell kt., & others, for them to grant back to Bonevyle & his heirs, 7 Dec 1442, *CPR 1441-6*, 137.	
WEST RAVENDALE, Lincs. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1377-81*, 582.	Custody granted to a secular clerk, 6 Feb 1400, along with Wenghale *cf*, in recompense for services to the king, *CPR 1399-1401*, 185. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £14.6.8. to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £14.6.8. to QJ, 20 Feb 1423, due to a shortfall in her dower, *CCIR 1422-9*, 19-22. Rent of £14 & all profits to the Coll. of St Mary, Southwell, Notts., at the instigation of Abp York, due to decline in revenues, 18 Mar 1439, *CPR 1436-41*,261.	Confirmed to the College of St Mary, Southwell, Notts., 18 Dec 1461, *CPR 1461-7*, 84.
WESTWOOD, Worcs. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Became denizen sometime in the later 14th century; date unknown, *VCH WORCS II*, 150.	Temp. Edw. III contd: Rent of £160 from lands of Fontevrault granted to the king's daughter Isabel for the duration of the war, plus £77.15.0. which the previous farmers paid the king, 20 Oct 1357, *CPR 1354-8*, 622.				

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
WEST WORTHAM, Nfk. (Manor only).	In the king's hands due to the war and generally farmed by laymen eg *CPR 1381-5*, 440, 441.	Lands in West Wortham alienated in mortmain by Wm Makenade & Wm Cain to the Prioress & Sisters of the Sisters Preachers of Dartford, in part satisfaction of letters patent of Edward III, 18 Oct 1406, *CPR 1405-8*, 262.	Granted to Roland Lenthall, king's kt., & wife, & Ric. de la Bere, kt., & others, along with other alien priories, not exceeding the value of £40 pa, without rendering anything to the king, 20 Apr 1418, *CPR 1416-22*, 331; vacated 3 Jun 1442.	Granted to KCC, 12 Dec 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 269; KCM KCE 13, 91.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
WILLOUGHTON, Lincs. (It is not certain that there was a priory here; perhaps just a manor). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	In the king's hands due to the war with France eg *CPR 1388-92*, 233.	Rent of 19m plus tithes & fruits of a mediety of the church to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86. Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6.	Rent of £12.13.4., as before, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Rent of £10 to John Middeton, for 7 yrs from July 1439, 18 Feb 1438. On expiry of this term, reversion to John Hardyng for life, *CPR 1436-41*, 484, 490, custody having been granted to alien priory commissioners, 12 Sept 1440, *ibid.*, 471. Reversion to KCC, 31 July 1441,*ibid.*, 557.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
WILMINGTON, Sussex Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Advowson granted to John of Gaunt in 1372, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 123.	Custody held by nearby convent of Michelham in 1380, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 123. Custody to Sir James Berners in 1385, in discharge of a £100 annuity, *ibid.* Custody to Sir Edward Dalyngregge & Thos Wysbech,chaplain, in 1399, for 110m rent, *ibid.*	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Granted to Richard Arundell, king's kt., temp. Hen. IV, for which grant see letters patent of 17 Feb 1415, *CPR 1413-16*, 284.	Priory & manor purchased by the Dean & Chapter of Chichester (worth 240m pa) in 1413, *RP IV*, 43; confirmation for the founding of a chantry with 2 priests in Chichester cathedral, 21 Jul 1413, *CPR 1413-16*, 76-7, 250.		
WILSFORD, Lincs. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Licence for Thos Holand to acquire the priory, 1 Feb 1397, *CPR 1396-9*, 70, 144. Licence for Holand, now Earl of Kent, to grant to Bourne Abbey, Lincs., 6 Aug 1398, *ibid.*, 374.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Secured to Bourne Abbey, Lincs., 21 Feb 1401, *CPR 1399-1401*, 455.			

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
WING, Bucks. Farmed to proctor of the English lands of St-Nicholas, Angers, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61, as lands of Saint-Nicholas, Angers.	LG to Hugh Lutrell, kt., of £20pa from Wing, Spalding *cf* & Corsham church *cf*, during the war, 21 Jul 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 465.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6. Rent of £90 from Wing, Spalding *cf* & Corsham church *cf*, to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £90, as before, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165. Rev. granted to abbey of St Mary de Pré, St Albans, Herts., after the death of QJ, or sooner if they can acquire it, 10 Apr 1416, *CPR 1416-22*, 38. Was in the king's hands in 1420 & so granted to St Mary's, 6 Apr 1420, *ibid.*, 276.		
WINTERBOURNE MONKTON, Wilts. (Manor only).	Manor acquired by John Syward before 1397, 12 Feb 1397, *CPR 1396-99*, 86. Rent of £1 given to the Priory of St Margaret's, Marlborough by Sir John Lovell, c.1399, *VCH WILTS. III*, 317.	Manor granted to John Haregrove, king's servant, from the death of John Syward, the younger, for a rent of £10pa, 12 Oct 1402, *CPR 1401-5*, 157.	Enfeoffed to Henry Beaufort & others on behalf of Edward, Duke of York, for Fotheringhay College; so that by the feoffment York would be able to raise the necessary loan for his proposal, 5 Aug 1415, *CPR 1413-16*, 349-50.		
WITCHINGHAM, Nfk (Parcel of Newton Longville *cf*).					
WITHERNESS, Yks. (Parcel of Birstall *cf*).					
WITHYHAM, Som. (Manor only). Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7, as lands of Mortain. Advowson granted to John of Gaunt, *VCH SUSSEX II*, 124.	Withyam & Piddle Hinton *cf* granted to Wm of Wykeham during the war by letters patent of 11 Nov 1373; this grant confirmed, 17 Nov 1380, *CPR 1377-81*, 562.	Custody granted to the New Priory of Holy Trinity, Hastings, 23 Oct 1412, *CPR 1408-13*, 451.		LG to James Fiennes, 13 Oct 1437, *CPR 1436-41*, 77, 93, 100, 383. He enfeoffed it to Ralph Boteller, John Beauchamp, Roger Fiennes, Thos Stanley, kts., and the reversion was granted to KCC, 15 Jul 1444, *CPR 1441-6*, 279; KCM SJP 115; KCE 14.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.

TEMP. EDWARD III	TEMP. RICHARD II	TEMP. HENRY IV	TEMP. HENRY V	TEMP. HENRY VI	TEMP. EDWARD IV
WOLSTON, Wwks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, 7 Mar 1338, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4, 333-7. In the custody of Roger de Gray & Henry Arderne, 5 Apr 1339, *CCIR 1339-41*, 106. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61.	Sold by the Prior of St-Pierre Sur Dives to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 10 Dec 1394, for 2,400 francs, due to the war and the abbey's lack of benefit in the property, *VCH WWKS II*, 133.				
WOTTON WAWEN, Wwks. Farmed to prior, 3 Aug 1337, *CCIR 1337-9*, 161-4. Restored, 16 Feb 1361, *CPR 1358-61*, 558-61. Farmed to prior, 6 Oct 1369, *CFR VIII 1369-77*, 22-6.	Granted with Monkenlane *cf* to St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 21 May 1399, *CPR 1396-99*, 579-80.	Summoned to appear before council to prove conventual status, Jan 1403, *PPC I*, 190-6, having been taken into the king's hands, 16 Dec 1402, *CCIR 1402-5*, 25-6.	Letters patent of 20 Oct 1413 showed that revenues had been enjoyed by John Cornewaille & wife, *CPR 1413-16*, 101. Granted to Roland Lenthall, king's kt., & wife, & Ric. de la Bere, kt., & others, with other alien priories, not exceeding the value of £40 pa, rendering nothing to the king, 20 Apr 1418, *CPR 1416-22*, 331; vacated 3 Jun 1442.	Sir Roland Lenthall was dispossessed & the priory was granted to KCC, 12 Dec 1443, *CPR 1441-6*, 269; KCM KCE 13, 91. Confirmed 18 Jun 1448, *CCIR 1447-54*, 64; *CPR 1446-52*, 112, 174.	Confirmed to KCC, 22 Feb 1462, *CPR 1461-7*, 74.
WRITTLE, Essex (An alien priory belonging to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, Rome. Not confiscated during the French wars, but eventually proved to be of little value to its owners & was therefore sold).	Purchased by William of Wykeham for New College, 22 Feb 1391, *CPR 1388-92*, 386; *CPR 1391-6*, 156.				
YENSTON, Som. (Often called Ensdon /Endeston in Henstridge; no priory here; just a house & a messuage of land belonging to the alien hse of Saint-Sauveur). In the king's hands due to the war with France.	LG to John Salesbury, king's esquire, of a messuage, a caracute, 27 acres of meadow, 7 acres of wood, & 8m rent, 22 Feb 1381, *CPR 1377-81*, 603.	Rent of 10m from the keeping of lands etc in Yenston, to QJ, 1 Jul 1409, *CPR 1408-13*, 86.	Rent of £6.13.4., as before, to QJ, 27 Jan 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 165.	Farm & rent to EC, 1441E; £7 rent to be paid by Henry Barette during his 7 yr term from Mich. 1439; reversion to EC. Granted to EC, 29 Nov 1457; in king's hands due to Resumption of 1455 ECR 39/116; *CPR 1452-61*, 417.	Confirmed to EC, 17 Jul 1467, 23 Mar 1473, *CPR 1467-77*, 62-3, 394.

APPENDIX II
A Note on the Annuities of Queen Joan of Navarre and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester

(a) Queen Joan of Navarre

When Queen Joan, consort of Henry IV, died in 1437, the properties which had comprised the considerable dowry she had been awarded in 1409, 1414, and 1423, fell in to the Crown. The vast majority of this dowry endowment came from alien priory resources. The year of her death and the subsequent falling in of these many alien properties to the Crown coincided with Henry VI's emergence into majority kingship. The dower lands by no means formed the bulk of the Crown's alien priory resources, and in fact many dower properties had already been granted in reversion during the preceding years; nevertheless, the Crown's acquisition of the remaining dower lands in 1437 must have placed added pressure on the Crown to dispose of its alien resources towards pious ends, and certainly provided the means for pious opportunities to be taken

The fate of Queen Joan's dower lands requires a detailed examination for the interesting light they throw on Henry VI's foundations of Eton and King's College, and on the role each assumed in the king's scheme. The disposal of the dower lands, and the time scale during which this was achieved also reinforce the argument that there forces at work on the king by the late 1430s to utilise the alien resources piously.

The Tables 8A, B, and C, divide the alien priory properties of the dowry into three sections; first those which were granted to Eton, secondly those which went to King's College, and finally those properties which were granted to neither of Henry VI's foundations.

It is immediately apparent that, as at Eton, the King's College endowment was made up largely from alien priory resources, and Table 8B illustrates that King's College too enjoyed its share of Queen Joan's dower properties. Contemporary research, however, has never analysed the fate of the dower properties to any satisfying extent.

A rough calculation of the value of the alien priory resources granted to Queen Joan as part of her dowry reveals an amount approaching £2,000. Eighty-three different endowments formed part of

the dowry as detailed in the two sets of letters patent. Of the properties granted to Eton and King's College, Eton received the lion's share of twenty-nine, while King's College received twelve, between one half and one third of the Eton figure. In terms of the value of their respective endowments from dowry lands, Eton also emerged the victor, taking just over 20% of the value of the dower, leaving King's College to trail with a mere 10%.[1]

Moreover, all but three of the twenty-nine Eton dower endowments were granted to the College as part of its original endowment in the Endowment Charter of 25 March 1441.[2] At King's College, on the other hand, only five of the twelve dower properties came to the College in its year of foundation, the remainder being granted in 1442 and 1445. This is strongly suggestive of the fact that Henry VI considered Eton to be his prime foundation project and that its conception reached fruition earlier than the plan to found King's College, and also adds weight to the theory that the two colleges were conceived as separate entities. This claim is reinforced by the different sets of personnel involved with the two foundations; Thomas Bekynton, the lynchpin at Eton, seem to have played a much more limited role in the King's College foundation which was influenced to a greater extent by John Langton.[3]

Of the twenty-nine properties which Eton received from the dowry, eighteen of these were derived through Duke Humphrey's annuities of 1 June 1438 and 14 July 1439. All of these passed to Eton as part of the original endowment in 1441, at which time the grants were all made in reversion, and are detailed in Table 8E. Two years

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1 These calculations are estimations only since some 1441 values have not been found. It is nevertheless quite obvious that the value of the dower properties which went to Eton was at least double that which passed to King's College.

2 The exceptions were Beggar, Cowick, and Upavon. The alien priory of Beggar was granted for life to Thomas Frank, a clerk of the privy seal office, on 20 February 1438, for good service to the crown, which he was to hold from the death of Queen Joan. The property had already been demised to Frank during Queen Joan's lifetime for 8 years at 7.6.8. p.a., *CPR 1436-41*, 197. Cowick did not pass to Eton until 1451, ECR 39/105. Various entries in *CPR* reveal that this alien priory did not remain part of the dowry for very long and was certainly in the king's possession by 9 September 1414, *CPR 1413-16*, 231; *CPR 1416-22*, 8, 154. When Henry VI attained his majority the keeping of Cowick was granted to his almoner John Delabere, at the latter's request, from Easter 1441 at a rent of 40s, by letters patent of 1 August 1439, *CPR 1436-41*, 300. Upavon did not pass to Eton until 1457, ECR 39/114, a grant not recorded in the *Patent Rolls* until 1459, *CPR 1452-61*, 477. Henry V evidently intended that this alien priory possession should pass to his foundation of Syon Abbey, for by letters patent of 20 April 1416 it was granted to Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Henry Fitzhugh, John Rodenale, and Thomas Fissheburn, as part of a grant of various lands in Twickenham and other possessions, *CPR 1416-22*, 35. The church of Upavon and the annexed chapel of Charlton were, notwithstanding, granted to the Prior and Convent of Ivychurch next to Clarendon Park on 23 June 1423, *CPR 1422-29*, 106, due to the Convent's surrender of various rights of pasture in the Park.

3 Although Millington held Bekynton responsible for his dismissal as provost of King's College, see pp. 185-189.

later, on 1 March 1443, having been granted alternative sources of revenue as compensation, Duke Humphrey granted these eighteen properties in frankalmoign. Eton would certainly have enjoyed the grants in reversion eventually; the Duke's death would not, however, have seemed imminent in 1443, the year that the king was entertaining enlarged plans for his college. The 1443 grant by Duke Humphrey to Eton should therefore be regarded as a move to hasten Eton's full enjoyment of a further eighteen sources of revenue; another mark of royal favour.

The dowry grants which passed to Eton through Duke Humphrey are also interesting for the light they throw on the problem of dating the origin of the intention to found a royal college. If the intention to found Eton existed in 1437-9 it is doubtful that it possessed any concrete form, for if the king and his advisers had had the practical details of the Eton foundation in mind during the period that Duke Humphrey was being granted his annuities, it is unlikely that they would have granted so many of the College's future sources of revenue to the Duke.

Had the King's and Eton College foundations been considered simultaneously by the king and his advisers it is more likely that the share of dower lands would have been more equally divided between the two royal foundations, but the King's College endowment from the dower lands was on a much lesser scale than its Eton equivalent. It was also more piecemeal, and this was not because King's was supplied with alien priory endowments from elsewhere; in a comparison of the foundation endowments the Eton foundation grants appear lavish in comparison with the modest grants to King's College. The foundation grant to King's College on 12 February 1441 included only three alien priory manors.[1] It was not until 31 July 1441 that a more substantial grant, sometimes referred to as the second endowment charter, was made to the college, of ten rents and properties, five of which had been part of the dowry.[2] The third endowment of 15 March 1442 consisted of five grants, all from the former dowry.[3] Had the King's College plan been as close to the king's heart as his Eton project it may be assumed that the initial endowment at King's College would have been more generous and need not have had the clause "permission to acquire lands and advowsons of churches to the value of £200" tacked to its end.[4]

It is contended here that the King's College project was conceived initially in what was very much a university environment; that it did not emerge primarily from the king's circle; and that when the king agreed

1 *CPR 1436-41*, 521.

2 *Ibid.*, 557.

3 *CPR 1441-6*, 111.

4 *CPR 1436-41*, 521.

to assume the project as a royal foundation Eton's large share of the dower lands had already been decided upon. The discussion following below reveals that most of the dower lands had been disposed of by 1441, with the result that, while the crown still held considerable alien resources, these were more piecemeal in nature. The subsequent endowment of King's College highlights exactly this; it was a much longer drawn out process, and the search for alien priory properties suitable for King's College was carried on throughout the 1440s. Again, this helps to account for the clause at the end of the King's College Foundation Charter mentioned in the previous paragraph; once further alien properties had been singled out for endowment, they could be obtained for the College. Extant evidence in the King's College archives reveals the College's preoccupation with the confusing diversity of its own alien priory possessions; a further indication of the piecemeal nature of the College's endowment.[1]

Queen Joan's dowry was the ideal resource for the foundation plans of Henry VI. Indeed, since Eton's initial endowment was composed almost entirely of dower properties, the royal plans for foundation may well have stemmed from the particular issue of how best to utilise the dower resources following the death of Queen Joan in 1437. Furthermore, the pattern of the allocation of the dowry lands suggests that only one royal foundation was initially intended. Table 8C charts the fate of the dower lands which did not pass to either Eton or King's College, and it will be seen that the latter did not receive many more properties than certain other pious institutions upon whom Henry V and Henry VI bestowed favour.

Eton College thus came first in the king's plans and for this reason received not only the largest share of the dower lands, but also benefited from Duke Humphrey's endowment, comprising twenty-four alien priory properties, which included many dower properties, and many of the manors and priories which had belonged to the alien abbey of Bec Hellouin, eleven of which passed to Eton in the initial endowment of 25 March 1441.

An examination of the fate of Queen Joan's dower lands which passed neither to Eton nor King's College provides further evidence of

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[1] KCM KCE 714 is a chronological list c. 1457 of Henry VI's grants by letters patent to the College. Somewhat decayed, and consequently difficult to read, it is nevertheless evidence of a continued royal concern shown by the king, with grants being made in twelve separate years between 1441-56. It also provides a further example of the piecemeal nature of the King's College endowment. The loosely bound volume KCM KC 684, produced either in 1452 or 1456 and entitled 'Manuscript Inventory' contains, from folios 13v - 26v, a long account of the lands granted to the College by letters patent and the reversions which had been enacted up until that time. The College's alien priory resources were also of considerable interest; under Provost Wodelarke they were set out thoroughly in the Ledger Book, fo. 27b - 28. Properties were listed under the alien house to which they had formerly belonged, and alongside the dates upon which they were granted to the College.

existing pressures for the pious utilisation of the alien resources. In the years between the first dower grant of 1409 and Queen Joan's death many of the dower properties had been consigned for other uses, either through direct grant of endowment or through the process of reversion. Appendix I illustrates that much of the dowry had been granted in reversion before 1437 or had been assigned to other uses so that when Queen Joan died only a proportion of the properties was available for distribution. All of these went to pious uses. A number were granted by Henry V, and later confirmed by the minority government, to the former's recent foundation of Syon Abbey.[1] A further five properties were confirmed to the Carthusian charterhouse of Mountgrace in Yorkshire.[2] Patrixbourne was granted to Merton Convent in 1410, Holne was granted to Montacute Priory in 1414, Carisbrooke and Hayling had been bestowed on Henry V's other monastic foundation of Sheen by 1417, Lapley was granted to the College of St. Bartholemew in 1415, Avebury was granted to the College of Fotheringhay in 1411, and Andover was granted to Winchester College in 1414.

Of the above grants made from Queen Joan's dower lands before her death it is to be noted that none were made during the minority itself. All were in fact made by Henry V. The only surviving grant from the minority is one of 20 October 1424, but this is just a confirmation of earlier letters patent which had granted various properties to Henry V's monastery at Syon. The minority councillors, loyal servants of Henry V, were dutybound to safeguard the royal patronage until Henry VI came of age and could then dispense patronage as he pleased.

A tradition had thus grown up for the dower resources to be granted towards pious ends, and the fact that Henry VI followed this trend is indicative of the pressure on him to do so. Indeed, rather than keeping the resources in crown hands, Henry had, within seven years, granted out every single one of the properties remaining in his hands in 1437. As discussed above forty-one of these were devoted to his new foundations of Eton and King's College, with Eton receiving well over double as many properties as the Cambridge foundation.

What became of the remaining endowments ? They found diverse homes, and all were pious. Six found their way into Duke Humphrey's annuities of 1438 and 1439 before they were later granted for pious uses. These were Linton, New Romney, Tarrant Launceston, Upchurch, Alberbury, and St Clears. Linton was granted to the College of Valence Marie (later Pembroke) in Cambridge in 1440 in response to an appeal lamenting the declining revenues of the College. Tarrant Launceston was granted to Cardinal Beaufort in 1440 and later became

[1] Lancaster, Ocle, Throwley etc, Noion & Neufmarché, Ware, lands of Séez, lands of Fécamp.

[2] Long Bennington, Field Dalling, Hough, Minting, Hinckley.

part of the St Cross foundation endowed by the Cardinal's executors. The other four properties in this Duke Humphrey group all passed to All Souls College; Upchurch in 1438, New Romney in 1439, Alberbury in 1441, and St Clears in 1442. Three properties were granted to William Bingham's foundation of Godshouse; Carswell, Totnes, and Newstead on Acolm, all in 1442. The granting of the two remaining properties reveal, like the grant to Pembroke College, a royal response to individual pleas for help on account of poor rental incomes. Thus, Frampton was granted to St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1437, and Ravendale was granted to the collegiate church of St Mary Southwell in 1439, whose case, John, Archbishop of York, had pleaded to the king.[1] Finally, Lenton and Abergavenny achieved conventual status.

(b) Duke Humphrey

Duke Humphrey was granted a two thousand mark annuity in letters patent dated 14 July 1439.[2] This patent replaced two earlier grants which had been surrendered due to specified prior claims on them, in which the Duke had similarly received two thousand marks annually, during pleasure, for attending councils, and for the performing of other business at the king's command.[3] The latter of these two earlier grants, includes many estates familiar as subsequent endowments of Eton College.

The income in this revised annuity of 14 July 1439 was supposed to be the Duke Humphrey's to enjoy for the term of his life, and yet as early as October 1442 a large part of it was made over to Eton College. It has been suggested that this relinquishment was not entirely voluntary.[4]

A privy seal warrant of November 1442[5] details the handing over of the Duke's properties from alien priory confiscations in return for compensation. This document closely corresponds to a small group of letters patent and charters assembled by Noel Blakiston at Eton, which he intended to be numbered as ECR 60/LP 1, dealing with additional letters patent and charters of the Eton College foundation. The first of these is the chirograph of release by Duke Humphrey to

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1 A further case for inclusion in this group of properties available to Henry VI is Minchinhampton; although it had been granted to John Philip in 1414, his death meant the property reverted to the Crown, and the remainder was granted to Syon Abbey in 1444.

2 *CPR 1436-41*, 303-4.

3 These earlier grants are dated 11 May 1437, 1 June 1438, *CPR 1436-41*, 70, 188-9; see Table 2B.

4 Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 268.

5 PRO E28/71/10.

Provost Waynflete and the college, dated 5 October 1442.[1]

The details of the income from the estates, farms and pensions of the alien priories are not detailed in the release of the 5 October, but they do appear in schedules annexed to three of the four patents from the Duke catalogued in ECR 39. These are:

(1) ECR 39/16

Dated 8 February 1443, this is an indenture between Duke Humphrey and Eton College. Henry VI had granted to the Duke certain life annuities by letters patent of 1 December 1442[2] to the intent that the Duke should release all other annuities, granted to him by letters patent of 14 July 1439, to Eton. The Duke undertook to make this release, in an attached schedule, for one year, from Michaelmas 1442, after allowance had been made to those in the Exchequer responsible for the first year's payment to him. This schedule follows the order of the 1439 grant.

(2) ECR 39/17

Dated 1 March 1443 this is the king's licence to grant the income to Eton.

(3) ECR 39/20

Dated 2 April 1443 this is the Duke's grants of the rents, as in ECR 39/17; from Michaelmas 1443 during the Duke's life.[3]

(4) ECR 39/24

Dated 6 July 1443 this is the Duke's quitclaim to Eton College in all the estates, as in ECR 39/20.

Another document relating to Duke Humphrey's annuity was rediscovered at Eton in 1980. Headed *Quedam Annuitas*, it has been calendared in ECR 63 and named *Extent* since it comprises all the issues of income in 1439. In this *Extent* the estates are arranged differently, by circuit order of counties, which is as they appear in the rent rolls, starting with Norfolk. It was evidently written between 1439 and 1441 for it includes a manor for which Henry VI substituted an issue from the petty custom in the port of London in 1441.[4] This was the £16 p.a. from Tarrant Launceston.

The early history of the *Extent* is unclear since it may not have

[1] Not catalogued in ECR 60 as LP 1; instead see ECR 61, Appendix C.

[2] *CPR 1441-6*, 146.

[3] Enrolled in the King's Remembrancer Memoranda Roll, *scripta recognita*, Trinity 21 Henry VI; PRO 159/219.

[4] *CPR 1436-41*, 304.

come to Eton with the Duke's patents. It is addressed on its dorse in a contemporary chancery hand to a man of Bristol, where the Duke held the farm of £102.15.6 as shown in the *Extent*.[1]

Another document concerning the annuity was mistakenly calendared by Blakiston as ECR 49/294 in one of his miscellaneous estates volumes. It belongs in the Bursary Rolls and has been subsequently renumbered as 61/VR/A/1 in which the reversions from the Duke appear to have been copied from the Eton Endowment Charter.[2] The translation of the former 49/294 is still to be found in ECR 49.

A comparison of the documents relating to the annuity is given in Table E. In the first column is the patent of 1439 with the value of each issue in the second column. The place names given are alien manors or priories unless otherwise stated, and the order follows that of the entry in the patent rolls. The other columns are headed 39/17, VR/A/1, and *Extent*. The number under *Extent* shows the order of an Eton entry in that list. The charter (39/17) and the roll (VR/A/1) include the entries in the *CPR* list of 1439 unless marked with an asterisk. Such discrepancies are explained below:

Duke Humphrey surrendered the letters patent of 1 June 1438 because they were not worth two thousand marks annually owing to charges for the household, annuities to the king's servants, and the dower grant to the Duchess of Bedford.

Duke Humphrey's Grant to Eton 1 March 1443 (ECR 39/17)

East Hendred	100s
Cottisford, manors and lordships	£7.6.8
Goring mill	33s 4d
Blakenham	£18.13.4
Preston	£18
Hooe	£16.13.4
Tooting Bec manors and lordships	£19
Lessingham	£16
Creeting & Everdon	£30
Sporle	£18
Tickford	40s
Minster Lovell	£8.13.4
Lands of Mortain	£8.6.8
Sturminster Marshall, fruits of church tenements in Charlton, Dorset	£31.6.8
Docking	£20

[1] ECR 63/83.

[2] *RP* V, 49a.

Charlton manor, Dorset	£22
Cogges	£13.6.8
Stratfield Saye	£7.6.8
Clatford	£40
Stogursey	£25
St. Helen's	£7
Suthwyke priory, Hants	£7.18.5
Toft Monks, Norfolk	£40

"... to hold from Michaelmas last for the life of the Duke, who had the premises *inter alia* by patent of 14 July 1439.."[1]

[1] For the demise and quitclaim on 5 October 1442 see *CCIR 1441-7*, 162-3; as above except for two additions: £4 p.a. ancient apport of the alien priory of Folkstone, following the Tickford entry, and 100s of issues of the alien priory of Northmundham, following the Minster Lovell entry.

APPENDIX III
French Priories and their English Possessions

FRENCH PRIORIES AND THEIR ENGLISH POSSESSIONS

FRENCH PRIORY	ENGLISH POSSESSIONS
Almenêsches, dioc. Séez	Lyminster.
Aumâle, Saint-Martin D'Auchy, dioc. Rouen	Birstall, Witherness.
Aunay, dioc. Bayeux	Great Limber.
Beaulieu, dioc. Rouen	Patrixbourne.
Beauport, dioc. Avranches, (priory of Lucerne *cf*)	West Ravendale.
Bec Hellouin, dioc. Rouen	Atherstone, Blakenham, Bledlow, Brixton Deverill, Chisenbury, Combe, Cottisford, Cowick, Dunton Wayletts, East Hendred, East Wortham, Goldcliff, Hooe, Lessingham, Monxton, Ogbourne, Povington, Quarley, Ruislip, St Neot's, Steventon, Stoke By Clare, Tooting Bec, Weedon Bec, Wilsford.
Begard/Begars, dioc. Treguier, Brittany	Beggar.
Bernay, dioc. Lisieux	Creeting, Everdon, Eye.
Blanchelande, dioc. Coutance	Cammeringham.
Bon Repos	Fendrayton, Fulbourn.
Boscherville, Saint-Georges, dioc. Rouen	Avebury, Edith Weston.
Caen, Holy Trinity or La Trinité, dioc. Bayeux	Felstead, Horstead, Minchinhampton, Tarrant Launceston, Tilshead.
Caen, St Stephen's, dioc. Bayeux	Alveley, Frampton, Moreton, Panfield, Well Hall.
Cérisy, dioc. Bayeux	Monks Sherbourne.
La Charité Sur Loire, dioc. Nevers	Bermondsey, St Andrew's, Wenlock.
Cherbourg, Notre Dame Du Vœu, dioc. Coutance	Hough.
Cîteaux, Saint-Nicholas Lès, dioc. Chalons	Scarborough.
Clairuissel	Mapledurham.
Clairvaux, dioc. Langres	Rotherham.
Cluny, dioc. Mascon, Burgundy	Castle Acre, Holne, Horton, Lenton, Lewes, Ludcombe, Manton & Tixover, Monkton Farleigh, Montacute, Offord, Prittlewell, St Helen's, Stanesgate, Thetford, Wangford, Winterbourne Monkton.
Conches or Casteillon, dioc. Evreux	Monkenlane, St Faith Horsham, West Wortham, Wotton Wawen.
Cormeilles, dioc. Lisieux	Newent, Chepstow.
L'Essay (a priory of Bec *cf*), dioc. Coutance	Boxgrove.
Fécamp, St Stephen's, dioc. Rouen	Cogges, Navenby manor, Steyning (including ballivate of Warminghurst).
Fontenay, dioc. Bayeux	Brimpsfield.
Fontevrault, dioc. Angers	Grovebury, Westwood.
Fougères, dioc. Rennes	Ipplepen, West Kington.
Grandmont, dioc. Evreux	Craswall.
Grandmont Limousin, dioc. Limoges	Alberbury.
Grestain, dioc. Lisieux	Creeting St Olave, Wilmington.
Holy Trinity or La Trinité Du Mont or Saint-Cathérine Du Mont, dioc. Rouen	Blythe, Harmondsworth.
L'Isle Dieu, dioc. Rouen	Charlton-Near-Upavon, Upchurch.
Ivry, dioc. Evreux	Docking, Minster Lovell.

continued

FRENCH PRIORY	ENGLISH POSSESSIONS
Jumièges, dioc. Rouen	Hayling.
Lire, dioc. Evreux	Carisbrooke, Hinckley, Llangywan, Ocle, Wareham (Dorset).
Longville, St Faith, dioc. Rouen	Newstead On Acolm, Newton Longville, Witchingham.
Lonlay, dioc. Séez	Folkstone, Stogursey.
Lucerne (Saint-Lucien), dioc. Beauvais	Northmundham etc, Weedon Pinkney.
Marmoutier Lès Tours, dioc. Tours	Allerton Mauleverer, Corsham, Hedley, Holy Trinity, York, Tickford.
Monsterol	Warham (Norfolk).
Mont Saint-Michel, dioc. Avranches	Martock, Otterton, St Michael's Mount, St Buryan, Sidmouth.
Mortain, dioc. Avranches	Hanging Langford, Piddle Hinton, Withyham.
Mountebourg, dioc. Coutance	Appledurcombe, Axmouth, Loders.
Nobiliac, Limoges	Bricett.
Pontigny	New Romney.
Préaux, Saint Léger De, dioc. Lisieux	Spettisbury, Stour Provost, Toft Monks, Warmington.
Pyn ?	Rewley.
Sainte-Barbe En Auge, dioc. Lisieux	Beckford.
Saint-Benedict Sur Loire, dioc. Orleans	Minting.
Saint-Bertin, dioc. Saint-Omer, Artois	Throwley.
Saint-Calais, dioc. Mans	Covenham.
Saint-Denis, dioc. Paris	Deerhurst, Rotherfield.
Saint-Evroul, dioc. Lisieux	Charlton-On-Otmoor, Ware, Noyon & Novo Mercato / Neufmarché (both dioc. Rouen).
Saint-Florent Lès Saumur, dioc. Angers	Andover, Monmouth, Sele, Sporle.
Saint-Fromond (a priory of Cerisy *cf*)	Bonby.
Saint-Giles Pont Audemer	Sturminster Marshall.
Saint-Jacut, dioc. Dol, Brittany	Isleham, Linton.
Saint-Martin De Séez, dioc. Séez	Arundel, Atherington, Lancaster, Navenby ch. & adv., Pembroke, Wenghale.
Saint-Martin Des Champs, dioc. Paris	Barnstaple, St Clears, St James By Exeter.
Saint-Nicholas, dioc. Angers	Monks Kirby, Spalding, Willoughton, Wing.
Saint-Nicholas & Saint-Bernard, Savoy	Hornchurch.
Saint-Ouen, dioc. Rouen	Mersea.
Saint-Pierre, dioc. Ghent	Lewisham.
Saint-Pierre Sur Dives, dioc. Séez	Modbury, Tutbury, Wolston.
Saint-Rémy at Reims, dioc. Rheims	Lapley.
Saint-Sauveur Le Vicomte, dioc. Coutance	Ellingham, Yenston.
Saint-Sergius & Saint-Bachus, dioc. Angers	Minster, Swavesey, Totnes, Tywardreath.
Saint-Sever, dioc. Coutance	Haugham.
Saint-Taurin, dioc. Evreux	Astley, Llangennith.
Saint-Valéry, dioc. Amiens	Takeley.
Saint-Victor En Caux, dioc. Rouen	Clatford.
Saint-Vincent, dioc. Mans	Abergavenny.
Saint-Wandrille/Fontanelle, dioc. Rouen	Ecclesfield, Upavon.
La Sauve Majeure, dioc. Bordeaux	Burwell.
Savigny, dioc. Avranches	Field Dalling, Long Bennington.

continued

FRENCH PRIORY	ENGLISH POSSESSIONS
Tiron, dioc. Chartres	Andwell, Hamble, Muckleford, St Cross, Titley.
Troarn, dioc. Bayeux	Horsley, Runcton.
La Vallée, dioc. Bayeux	Tregony.
Valmont, dioc. Rouen	Stratfield Saye.
Others:	
Hospital of the Holy Ghost, Rome	Writtle.
Hospital of "Lutegarshale", Flanders	Farley Hospital
Hospital of De Alto Passu	Great Thurlow (Hospital of St James).
Unknown:	Carswell, Colemere, Derby, North Hykeham, Pontefract, Stratton St Margaret, Sumpting.

APPENDIX IV
The Fate of the Alien Priories
Tables 1 - 9

TABLE 1:
PRIORIES WHICH WERE NATURALISED OR BECAME DENIZEN

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	REASON/NOTES
Abergavenny	1403	Prior proved conventual status; apport still paid to the king.
Barnstaple	1403	Prior proved conventual status; grant of denization confirmed by Henry VI.
Bermondsey	1381	Became denizen.
Blythe	1403	Prior proved conventual status.
Boxgrove		Was no longer alien as early as 1337; independent status was confirmed in 1383.
Castle Acre	1351	Became denizen.
Deerhurst	1443	Escaped dissolution 1414. Made denizen in 1443, but denization revoked in 1446 when priory granted to Eton College.
Derby		Possibly became denizen or naturalised; date not known.
Eye	1385	Became denizen.
Hedley	1426	See Holy Trinity Priory, York.
Holy Trinity Priory, York	1403	Prior proved conventual status. Escaped suppression in 1414. Obtained naturalisation in 1426 with its cells, Hedley *cf*, and Tickford *cf*.
Horsley	1260	Became a dependency of Bruton Abbey.
Horton	1373	Recognised as denizen as a dependency of Lewes *cf*.
Lenton	1392	Became denizen, apport still paid to the king.
Lewes	1351	Became denizen; apport still paid to Cluny, or to the king in time of war with France.
Monkton Farleigh	1373	Recognised as denizen as a dependency of Lewes *cf*.
Monmouth	1403	Prior proved conventual status; apport still paid to the king.
Montacute	1407	Became denizen; apport still paid to the king.
Pontefract		Possibly became denizen or naturalised; date not known.
Prittlewell	1373	Recognised as denizen as a dependency of Lewes *cf*.
Runcton	1260	Became a dependency of Bruton Abbey.
St Andrew's, Northampton	1405	Became denizen.
St Faith, Horsham	1390	Became denizen; apport still paid to the king.
St Neot's	1409	Declared independent.
Sele	1396	Naturalised; apport still paid to the king.
Stanesgate	1373	Recognised as denizen as a dependency of Lewes *cf*.
Stoke By Clare	1395	Became denizen, but dissolved in 1414 in favour of the College of Stoke By Clare.
Sumpting	1351	Granted to Hardham Priory.
Tickford	1426	See Holy Trinity Priory, York.
Totnes	1403	Prior proved conventual status; apport still paid to the king.
Tregony	1267	Granted to Merton Convent, Surrey.
Tywardreath		Not suppressed in 1414; not made denizen but apparently remained unmolested until 1536.
Tutbury		Did not seek denization but remained unmolested until 1538.
Wangford	1393	Became denizen.

TABLE 1 continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	REASON/NOTES
Warham, Norfolk	1336	Granted to West Dereham Abbey, Norfolk.
Wenlock	1395	Became denizen; apport still paid to the king.
Westwood		Became denizen sometime in later 14th century.

TABLE 2:
PRIORIES WHOSE RENTS BECAME PART OF ROYAL ANNUITIES OR DOWER GRANTS

(2a) QUEEN JOAN OF NAVARRE'S DOWER GRANTS

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE & AMOUNT OF RENT
Abergavenny	1414, 1423 (£13.6.8.)
Alberbury	1414 (£26.13.4.)
Allerton Mauleverer	1409, 1414 (£4)
Andover	1409 (20m), 1414, 1423 (£13.6.8.)
Atherington	1414 (£66.13.4.)
Avebury	1409 (£55.6.8.)
Beggar	1414, 1423 (£13.6.8.)
Blythe	1409, 1414, 1423 (40s)
Brimpsfield	1414, 1423 (£7)
Carisbrooke	1409 (£100 from lands of Lire)
Carswell, Devon	1409 (10m), 1414 (£6.13.4.)
Charlton Near Upavon	1414 (£40)
Clatford	1409 (50m), 1414, 1423 (£40)
Cogges	1409 (£10), 1414, 1423 (£13.6.8.)
Colemere	1414, 1423 (£7.18.5.)
Corsham, fruits of the church	1409, 1414 (£90 including other rents)
Cowick	1409 (20m), 1414, 1423 (£16)
Creeting & Everdon	1409 (£26), 1414, 1423 (£30)
Craswall, Heref.	1414, 1423 (28s8d)
Docking	1409 (40m), 1414 (£20)
Everdon	See Creeting.
Felstead	1409 (50m), 1414, 1423 (£20.6.8.)
Field Dalling	1414, 1423 (£56.13.4. with Long Bennington *cf*)
Folkstone	1409 (6m), 1414, 1423 (£4)
Frampton	1409, 1414, 1423 (40m)
Fulbourne	1409 (10m), 1414, 1423 (£6.13.4.)
Hanging Langford	1409, 1414 (£16.13.4.)
Hayling	1409 (100m)
Hinckley	1409 (£40), 1414, 1423 (£42.13.4.)
Holne	1409 (60s), 1414 (£4.6.8.)
Horstead	1409 (60s)
Hough	1409 (£26.16.8.), 1414 (£33.6.8.), 1423 (£31.6.8.)
Lancaster	1409 (£95), 1414 (£66.13.4. from lands of Séez)

TABLE (2a) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE & AMOUNT OF RENT
Lapley	1409 (10m), 1414, 1423 (12m)
Lenton	1409 (13s4d)
Linton	1409 (40m), 1414, 1423 (£33.6.8.)
Llangywan	1409 (£100), 1414 (£104 from lands of Lire)
Long Bennington	1409 (£52), 1414, 1423 (£56.13.4. with Field Dalling *cf*)
Lyminster	1409 (20m), 1414 (£13.6.8.)
Minchinhampton	1409 (£80 from lands of Caen), 1414, 1423 (£93.6.8)
Minster Lovell	1409 (13m), 1414 (£8.13.4.)
Minting	1409 (46m), 1414, 1423 (£33.6.8.)
Modbury	1409 (20m), 1414, 1423 (£23.6.8.)
Monkton Farleigh apports	1409 (17m & 40m), 1414, 1423 (£11.6.8. & £26.13.4.)
New Romney	1409 (25m), 1414, 1423 (£22)
Newstead On Acolm	1409, 1414, 1423 (100s)
Noion & Neufmarché	1409 (£60), 1414 (£253.6.8. vacated because to Sheen in 1415)
Northmundham etc	1409, 1414 (100s from lands & rents of Lucerne)
Ocle	1409 (£100), 1414 (£104 from lands of Lire)
Otterton	1414 (£266.13.4.; vacated because to Syon)
Panfield & Well Hall	1409 (£40)
Patrixbourne	1414 (100s)
Piddle Hinton	1414, 1423 (£14.0.20.)
Rewley	1409 (43m), 1414, 1423 £28.13.4.)
St Clears	1414, 1423 (£18)
St Faith, Horsham	1409 (2m), 1414, 1423 (26s8d)
St Helen's	1409 (100s), 1414, 1423 (£7)
St James By Exeter	1409 (£10), 1414, 1423 (£12.13.4.)
St Michael's Mount	1409, 1414, 1423 (£10)
Spalding	1409, 1414 (£90 including other rents)
Sporle	1409 (£20), 1414, 1423 (£20.13.4.)
Steyning	1414 (£138.15.8. from lands of Fécamp)
Stogursey	1409 (£20), 1414, 1423 (£25)
Stratfield Saye	1409 (10m), 1414, 1423 (£7.6.8.)
Sturminster Marshall	1409 (42m), 1414 (£31.6.9.), 1423 (£31.6.8.)
Tarrant Launceston	1409 (£80 from lands of Caen), 1414 (£20.6.8.)
Thetford	1409 (13s4d)
Throwley etc	1409 (45m), 1414 (£40)
Tickford	1409, 1414, 1423 (40s)
Totnes	1409, 1414, 1423 (40s)
Tywardreath	1414 (£138.15.8 from Tywardreath & lands of Fécamp)
Upavon	1409 (£20), 1414, 1423 (£24)
Upchurch	1414 (£40)
Ware	1405 (£240 vacated), 1414 (£253.6.8. vacated)
Wareham	1409 (100s), 1414 (£16.13.4. vacated)
Weedon Pinkney	1408 (£17.6.8.)
Well Hall	See Panfield
Wenghale	1414 (£66.13.4. from lands of Séez)
Wenlock	1414, 1423 (100s)
West Ravendale	1414, 1423 (£14.6.8.)
Willoughton	1409 (9m), 1414 (£12.13.4.)
Wing	1409, 1414 (£90 from lands of St Nicholas, Angers)
Yenston	1409 (18m), 1414 (£6.13.4.)

(2b) THE ANNUITIES OF DUKE HUMPHREY OF GLOUCESTER

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE & AMOUNT OF RENT
Alberbury	1438, 1439 (£26.13.4.)
Blakenham	1438, 1439 (£28.13.4.)
Bledlow	1438
Brixton Deverill	1438
Charlton Near Upavon	1438, 1439 (£22; only part of the rent)
Chisenbury	1438, 1439 (£16)
Clatford	1438, 1439 (£40)
Cogges	1438, 1439 (£13.6.8.)
Colemere	1438, 1439 (£7.18.5.)
Cottisford	1438, 1439 (£7.6.8.)
Creeting & Everdon	1438, 1439
Docking	1438, 1439 (£20)
East Hendred	1438, 1439 (100s)
East Wortham	1438
Everdon	See Creeting.
Folkstone	1438, 1439 (£4)
Fulbourne	1438, 1439 (£6.13.4.)
Hanging Langford	1438, 1439 (£8.6.8.)
Hooe	1438, 1439 (£16.13.4.)
Lessingham	1438, 1439 (£16)
Linton	1438, 1439 (£20)
Lyminster	1438, 1439 (£14)
Minster Lovell	1438, 1439 (£8.13.4.)
Monkton Farleigh	1439 (2 rents of £11.6.8. & £26.13.4.)
New Romney	1438, 1439 (£9)
North Hykeham	1438, 1439 (£6.13.4.)
Northmundham etc	1439 (100s from lands & rents of Lucerne)
Ogbourne	1439 (12s)
Ogbourne, Goring Mill	1438, 1439 (33s4d)
Pembroke	1415; vacated to St Albans in 1443
Quarley	1438, 1439 (£20)
Preston	1438, 1439 (£18)
Rewley	1439 (£28.13.4.)
St Clears	1438, 1439 (£10)
St Faith Horsham	1438, 1439 (2m)
St Helen's	1438, 1439 (£7)
Sporle	1439 (£18)
Stogursey	1438, 1439 (£25)
Stratfield Saye	1438, 1439 (£7.6.8.)
Sturminster Marshall	1438, 1439 (£31.6.8.)
Tarrant Launceston	1438, 1439 (£16)
Tickford	1438, 1439 (40s)
Toft Monks	1438 (52s), 1439 (£20)
Tooting Bec	1438, 1439 (£19)
Upchurch	1438, 1439 (£20)
Wenlock	1438, 1439 (100s)

(2c) JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD'S CUSTODIANSHIP OF THE BEC MANORS

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE
Atherstone	1404-35
Blakenham	1404-35
Bledlow	1404-35
Brixton Deverill	1404-35
Burwell	After 1419 until his death in 1435; did not belong to Bec.
Chisenbury	1404-35
Combe & Monxton	1404-35
Cottisford	1404-35
East Hendred	1404-35
East Wortham	1404-35
Frampton	1404-35
Hooe	1404-35
Lessingham	1404-35
Ogbourne	1404-35
Ogbourne, Goring Mill	1404-35
Ogbourne's London properties	1404-35
Povington	1404-35
Quarley	1404-35
Ruislip	1404-35
Steventon	1404-35
Tooting Bec	1404-35
Weedon Bec	1404-35

(2d) THE £1,000 ANNUITY OF THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, EARL OF BUCKINGHAM & DUKE OF GLOUCESTER

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE & AMOUNT
Cogges	1379 (£200 from lands of Fécamp; revoked 1402 after his death)
Horstead	1379 (£266.13.4. from lands of Caen)
Mersea	1379 (£60)
Minchinhampton	1379 (£266.13.4. from lands of Caen)
Panfield & Well Hall	1379 (£40)
Steyning	1379 (£200 from lands of Fécamp)
Stoke By Clare	1379 (£60)
Swavesey	1379 (£33.6.8.)
Takeley	1379 (£133.6.8.)
Tarrant Launceston	1379 (£266.13.4. from lands of Caen)
Tilshead	1379 (£266.13.4. from lands of Caen)
Ware	1379 (£206.13.4.)
Well Hall	See Panfield.

(2e) THE DOWER GRANT OF QUEEN ANNE, WIFE OF RICHARD II

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE & AMOUNT
Corsham	1382; manor only.
Eye	1382
Farley & Ludgershall	1382 (£3 approx.)
Scarborough	1382 (£60)
Stratton St Margaret	1382 (£16.3.8.)
Weedon Pinkney	1382

(2f) ANNUITY OF JOHN, DUKE OF EXETER, RICHARD II'S HALF BROTHER

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE
Clatford	1397
Lyminster	1397

(2g) ANNUITIES OF ISABELLA COUNTESS OF BEDFORD, DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE & AMOUNT
Corsham	Until 1382; manor only.
Grovebury	1357 (£160 from lands of Fontevrault)
Weedon Pinkney	Until 1382.
Westwood	1357 (£160 from lands of Fontevrault)

(2h) ANNUITIES TO GEORGE DUKE OF CLARENCE, BROTHER OF EDWARD IV

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE
Bonby	1463
Burwell	1471
Corsham	1471; manor only.
Isleham	1462; custody of manor only.

(2i) MISCELLANEOUS ANNUITIES

NAME OF PRIORY	RECIPIENT, DATE & AMOUNT
Clatford	Edward, Duke of Somerset, 1462.
Ecclesfield	Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, 1460.
Rotherfield	Isabel, Countess of Warwick, temp. Henry VI.
St Michael's Mount advowson	Joan, mother of Richard II, 1383.
Thetford	Henry V's will, (fee farm of £28.6.8.).
Withyham advowson	John of Gaunt, 1372.

TABLE 3:
ALIEN PRIORIES, THEIR APPURTENANCES, AND OTHER RENTS GRANTED TO SECULAR COLLEGES

(3a) ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE
Llangennith	1442
New Romney	1439
St Clears	1441
Upchurch	1438
Weedon Pinkney	1440

(3b) ETON COLLEGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Alveley church prebend	1441	1441E; 40s.
Beckford	1441	1441E; revoked 1462 (see Fotheringhay).
Beggar	1451	Revoked 1462 (see Mountgrace, Table 4).
	1472	Regrant.
Blakenham	1441	1441E; reversion which fell in from DH in 1443; revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant; revoked 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).
Bledlow	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by John Styward until 1445). Styward to pay Eton the rent, £70.0.12 (with East Wortham), during his term.
Brimpsfield	1441	1441E; revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant; revoked 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).
Charlton Near Upavon	1441	1441E; reversion of the property (held by John Staunfore de Russhale) & rent (held by DH). DH granted his rent to Eton in 1443. Grant to Eton revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
Chisenbury	1452	Revoked 1462 (see Table 4).
Clatford	1441	1441E; reversion; rent fell in from DH in 1443. Exchanged with Bloxham in 1462.
Cogges	1441	1441E; reversion; rent fell in from DH in 1443.
Colemere	1441	1441E; reversion of £7.18.5. apport, which fell in from DH in 1443.
	1457	Regrant due to 1455 Act of Resumption; revoked in 1466.
Cottisford	1441	1441E; reversion which fell in from DH in 1443.
Cowick	1451	Revoked 1462 (see Tavistock Abbey, Table 4).
	1467	Regrant.
Creeting & Everdon	1441	1441E; reversion; rent fell in from DH in 1443.
Creeting St Olave	1449	
Deerhurst	1446	Revoked 1461 (see Tewkesbury Abbey, Table 4).
Docking	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Thos Tuddenham) and of rent (held by DH) which fell in in 1443.

TABLE (3b) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
East Hendred	1443	Rent of 100s from DH.
East Wortham	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by John Styward until 1445). Styward to pay Eton the rent, £70.0.12 (with Bledlow), during his term.
Ellingham	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by John Arderne & Walter Eston until 1447).
Everdon		See Creeting.
Folkstone	1441	1441E; reversion (held by DH); revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
Goldcliff	1441	1441E; 20s pension (priory to Tewkesbury Abbey, see Table 5).
Grovebury	1445	Reversion (held by Alice Duchess of Suffolk); fell in in 1446; revoked 1480 (see St George's, Windsor).
Hanging Langford	1441	1441E; rev. fell in from DH in 1443; ECR 49/294.
Hooe & Preston	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Roger Fiennes) & rents (held by DH) which fell in in 1443.
Horstead	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Wm., Lord Bardolph); rent enjoyed from 1441; revoked 1462, see King's College, Cambridge.
Lessingham	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Edmund Clere until 1457) & rent (held by DH) which fell in, 1443. Revoked 1462; see King's College, Cambridge.
Lewes	1441	1441E; reversion of 100s apport after death of James Fiennes; revoked 1462 (see Table 6).
Lyminster	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held for life by Walter Striklond). Striklond paid £22 rent to EC from 1441; ECR 49/294.
Mapledurham	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by John Iwardeby & Joan Lynde until 1454). Iwardeby & Lynde to pay Eton the rent of 100s during their term.
Minster Lovell	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Wm, Lord Lovell until 1458) & rent of £8.13.4. (held by DH) which fell in in 1443.
Modbury	1441	1441E; reversion (held by John Fortescue & others; revoked 1462 (see Tavistock Abbey, Table 4).
	1467	Regrant.
Monk Sherborne	1446	Revoked in 1462 (see St Julian's Hospital, Table 4).
	1473	Regrant.
Monkton Farleigh	1441	1441E; reversion of 2 rents held by DH, which he granted to Eton in 1446; revoked in 1462 & granted to royal servants (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant.
Montacute	1441	1441E; 10m apport; revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant of 12m apport; revoked in 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).
Northmundham etc	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Walter Striklond until 1449). Striklond to pay EC the rent of £5.14.2. during his term. Revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant; revoked 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).

TABLE (3b) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Ogbourne, Goring mill	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Wm York until 1446) & rent (held by DH) which fell in in 1443.
Ogbourne, London properties	1441	1441E; reversion of 52s rent after death of Gilbert Par.
Panfield	1441	1441E; various tithes from the alien priory.
Piddle Hinton	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Robert Parfite for life). Rent of £14.8.4. to be paid by Parfite from 1441.
Povington	1451	Reversion of property (held by John Neweburgh). The rent to be paid by Neweburgh during his term. Revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant; revoked 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).
Quarley	1452	Revoked 1462 (see Table 4).
St Faith, Horsham	1441	1441E; reversion of 2m apport (held by DH); fell in by 1446.
St Helen's	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Walter Veer until 1449) & rent (held by DH) which fell in, 1443. Revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant; revoked 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).
Sporle	1441	1441E; reversion; fell in from DH in 1443.
Stogursey	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Robert. Vise & Walter Sargeant) which fell in in 1465 & rent (held by DH) which fell in in 1443.
Stratfield Mortimer	1446	Parcel of Clatford.
Stratfield Saye	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by John Cheser & John Bernigham) & rent (held by DH) which fell in in 1443.
Sturminster Marshall	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by Robert Chauntery) & rent of £31.6.8. (granted to DH) which fell in in 1443.
Tickford	1441	1441E; reversion of 40s rent fell in from DH in 1443. Revoked temp. Edward IV.
Thetford	1441	1441E; a rent of 13s4d.
Toft Monks	1441	1441E; priory; reversion of rent of £40 fell in from DH in 1443. Grant revoked 1462 (see KCC).
Tooting Bec	1441	1441E; reversion of property (held by John Arderne until 1449) & rent of £19 (held by DH) which fell in to EC in 1443; revoked temp. Edward IV (see Table 4).
Upavon	1459	Priory & reversion of 20m; revoked 1461 (see Ivychurch Priory, Table 4).
Weedon Bec	1443	Reversion (held by Humphrey, Earl of Stafford. The reversion fell in in 1445. Grant revoked 1462 (see Table 5).
	1467	Regrant; revoked 1474 (see St George's, Windsor).
Yenston	1441	1441E; reversion (held by Henry Barrette until 1446).
	1457	Regrant due to 1455 Act of Resumption.

(3c) FOTHERINGHAY COLLEGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Avebury	1411	Reversion.
Beckford	1462	
Charlton Near Upavon	1462-74	Granted sometime between these dates.
Newent	1411	
Winterbourne Monkton	1415	

(3d) GODSHOUSE, CAMBRIDGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Chepstow	1442	
Craswall, Heref.	1442	46s8d rent, and reversion after 10 yrs.
Fendrayton advowson	1447	
Fulbourne church	1442	Reversion of 10m apport, held by DH.
Great Thurlow	1458	(St James Hospital).
Monmouth	1442	10m apport.
Navenby advowson	1458	
North Hykeham	1442	
Totnes	1442	40s apport.
Newstead On Acolm	1442	Reversion of 100s apport to John Crook; LG.

(3e) KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Allerton Mauleverer	1441	Reversion.
Atherstone	1443	Remainder, after Humphrey, Earl of Stafford's life grant; revoked 1462 (see Mountgrace, Table 4).
Blythe	1441	40s apport.
Bricett	1452	
Brixton Deverill	1443	
Combe & Monxton	1441	Reversion (held for life by John Rinel & G. Erard).
Corsham	1442	Fruits of the church; revoked 1461 (see Syon, Table 4).
Dunton Wayletts	1451	Manor & advowson; revoked 1462 (see Table 6).
Farley & Ludgershall	1448	
Felstead	1442	Manor & rectory; revoked 1461 (see Syon, Table 4).
Horstead	1462	
Ipplepen, lands in	1458	
Lessingham	1462	
Mockley	1443	

TABLE (3e) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Ogbourne	1441	
Panfield & Well Hall	1471	Reversion; revoked 1472 (see Christchurch, Canterbury, Table 4).
Rotherham	1441	Reversion of £20 apport after the death of Henry Beaumont; revoked in 1461 (see Table 4).
Ruislip	1441	Reversion (held by John Somerset).
St Buryan	1445	Reversion after death of Peter Stucle. Revoked in 1462 (see Table 5).
St James By Exeter	1444	A portion plus reversion of remainder which fell in in 1447.
St Michael's Mount	1442	Revoked 1461 because regranted to Syon (see Table 4).
Spalding, some lands only	1442	Main lands & apport to Syon (see Table 4).
Stour Provost	1441	Reversion; property held by Ralph Rocheford until 1460.
Stratton St Margaret	1441-46	Granted between these dates. In 1446 was exchanged for lands & tenements in Cambridge held by Merton College, Oxford.
Thetford	1444	£28.6.8. from the fee farm.
Tilshead	1442	Revoked in 1461 (see Syon, Table 4).
Toft Monks	1462	
Wenghale	1441	Reversion of priory (held by Thos. Cumberworth for life. Revoked in 1443 when the priory was exchanged for tenements in School St owned by Michaelhouse College.
Wenlock	1441	Reversion of the 100s apport (held by DH). Fell in 1447 or earlier.
West Kington	1441	Reversion of the 100s apport.
West Wortham	1443	
Willoughton	1441	Reversion (property held by the alien priory commissioners) fell in soon after.
Withyham	1444	Reversion (manor held by James Fiennes).
Wotton Wawen	1443	

(3f) KING'S HALL, CAMBRIDGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Eye	1346	A farm of £94.10.0. for the maintenance of scholars; void, perhaps by 1361 & certainly by 1382.
Fulbourne church	1378	£40 rent from churches of Fulbourne & Honingham; revoked c.1400 when Henry IV restored alien priory possessions.
Swavesey	1393	65m from Swavesey to be paid by St Anne's Ch'hse Coventry, which held the custody, to King's Hall to support scholars there. Grant cancelled 1399.

(3g) NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Alberbury advowson	1381	Purchased by Wykeham; revoked & granted to Winchester College.
Aston	1381	Reversion but revoked by 1390; granted to a layman and ultimately to Witham (see Table 4).
Avebury	1391	Void.
Chiselhurst manor	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Harmondsworth	1391	Revoked & granted to Winchester College.
Hornchurch	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Newbury manor	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Newton Longville	1441	Reversion (held by Ralph Rocheford). (Including Witchingham).
Rushbridge manor	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Sutton manor	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Takeley	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Writtle	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.

(3h) PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Fulbourne church	1440	Reversion of rent of £6.13.4. (held by DH) but revoked in the same year (see Godshouse).
Isleham	1440	Reversion; fell in from Henry Fylongley & Wm. Cotton soon after 1440.
Linton	1440	Advowson & reversion of property worth £33.6.8. (held by Henry Fylongley).
Rewley	1440	Apport of £28.13.4.

(3i) ST GEORGE'S, WINDSOR

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Blakenham	1474	
Brimpsfield	1474	
Charlton Near Upavon	1474	Void due to earlier grant (see Fotheringhay).
Grovebury	1480	
Monkenlane	1474	
Montacute	1474	12m apport.
Northmundham etc	1474	
Ogbourne & all its manors	1421	All tithes & spiritualities granted by Bedford.
Povington	1474	
St Helen's	1474	
Weedon Bec	1474	

(3j) TATTERSHALL COLLEGE, LINCS.

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Burwell Manton & Tixover	1442	Reversion, to Ralph, Lord Cromwell. Purchased by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, temp. Hen. VI.

(3k) UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Ogbourne Ruislip	1441 1438	Revoked 1441 & granted to King's College, Camb. Reversion (held by John Somerset); revoked 1441, (see King's College, Cambridge).

(3l) WINCHESTER COLLEGE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Alberbury advowson	1390	Purchased by Wykeham.
Andover	by 1414	Purchased by Wykeham.
Andwell (incl. Muckleford)	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Hamble	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Hampton On Thames advowson	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Harmondsworth	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Heston advowson	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Isleworth advowson	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Muckleford		See Andwell.
St Cross	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Titley	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.
Twickenham advowson	1391	Purchased by Wykeham.

(3m) MISCELLANEOUS

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Astley	1469	Holy Trinity College, Westbury, Gloc.
Mersea	1422	To Chichele for Higham Ferrers; conveyed 1426.
West Ravendale	1439	St Mary College, Southwell, Notts.
Sele advowson	1449	To Waynflete for Magdalen College which did not actually acquire the advowson until 1480.
Stoke By Clare	1414	St John The Baptist College, Stoke By Clare.
Lapley	1415	Tong College, Shropshire.
Ipplepen	1352	Grant of advowson to College of St Mary Ottery, Devon.
	1437	Grant of church to same.

TABLE 4:
ALIEN PRIORIES, THEIR APPURTENANCES & OTHER RENTS GRANTED TO RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

(4a) MOUNTGRACE CHARTERHOUSE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Atherstone	1462	Revoked same year (see Table 5).
Beggar	1462	Revoked 1472 (see Eton, Table 3).
Carisbrooke	1399	Along with other lands of Lire; revoked because restored in 1400 (& see Sheen).
Field Dalling	1421	
Hinckley	1399	Restored in 1400.
	1415	Regrant.
Hough	1421	
Long Bennington	1421	
Minting	1421	
Ware	c.1399	Revoked when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see Sheen).
	1413	Rent of £100 until provided with other lands or rents to the same value.
Wareham, Dorset	1399	With other lands of Lire; revoked when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see Sheen).

(4b) ST ANNE'S CHARTERHOUSE, COVENTRY

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Ecclesfield advowson	1385	
Edith Weston	1390	Sold by the mother house St Georges, Boscherville to St Anne's c.1394.
Field Dalling	1399	Revoked when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see Mountgrace).
Great Limber	1392	
Haugham	1396	
Hough	1399	Revoked when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see Mountgrace).
Loders (incl. Axmouth, parcel)	1399	Revoked when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see Syon).
Long Bennington	1399	Revoked when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see Mountgrace).
Monkenlane	1399	Revoked, probably when Henry IV restored most alien priories in 1400 (& see St George's, Windsor, Table 3).
Swavesey	1393	
Wolston	1394	Sold by the mother house of St-Pierre Sur Dives.
Wotton Wawen	1399	Revoked c.1400 when Henry IV restored most alien priories (see Table 5, & KCC, Table 3).

(4c) ST KATHERINE'S HOSPITAL BY THE TOWER, LONDON

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Charlton Near Upavon	1380	Custody revoked, probably c.1400 & certainly by 1414.
Chisenbury	1441	Revoked in 1452 because granted to Eton.
	1462	Regrant.
Quarley	1441	Revoked in 1452 because granted to Eton.
	1462	Regrant.

(4d) ST PETER'S CHURCH, WESTMINSTER

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Ludcombe	1445	In fulfilment of Henry V's will.
Offord	1445	In fulfilment of Henry V's will.

(4e) ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Bledlow advowson	1350s	
Frampton	1437	Having reverted to the crown after the death of John, Duke of Bedford.
Well Hall	1469	

(4f) SHEEN CHARTERHOUSE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Carisbrooke	1416	
Hayling	1415	
Lewisham	1415	
Llangywan	1415	
Ocle	1415	
Ware	1415	With the parcel of Charlton-On-Otmoor.
Wareham, Dorset	1415	With other lands of Sheen.
Noion & Neufmarché	1415	

(4g) SYON ABBEY

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Atherington	1424	Reversion of 100m from the lands of Séez.
Corsham	1424	Reversion of fruits of the church after death of QJ.
		Fruits of the church granted to KCC in 1442 but
		Confirmed to Syon in 1461.
Felstead	1424	Reversion of 2 rents after death of Wm. Bourchier &
		QJ, and reversion of property after death of Bourchier.
		The parsonage confirmed to Syon in 1461 but grant
		revoked in 1467 (see Table 5).
Lancaster	1414	Rent of £110 plus reversion of property (held by
		Prior Louvel for life) which fell in in 1428.
Loders (incl. Axmouth, parcel)	1416	Reversion of farm & rent of £87.13.4. (held by
		William Trystour).
Martock, church portion	1424	
Minchinhampton	1424	Reversion of rent after death of QJ, and of the prop-
		erty after the death of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk.
Navenby church	1416	Not to be confused with the church advowson which
		went to Godshouse (Table 3). (Lands of Fécamp).
Otterton	1415	Including the parcel of Sidmouth.
St Michael's Mount	1424	Revoked 1442 because to KCC.
	1461	Regrant.
Spalding	1424	Reversion.
Steyning	1416	As lands of Fécamp.
Throwley etc	1415	
Tilshead	1424	Reversion of manor & rent; revoked & granted to
		KCC in 1442, but this grant also revoked.
	1461	Regrant.

(4h) TAVISTOCK ABBEY, DEVON

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Cowick	1462	Revoked in 1467 & regranted to Eton (Table 3).
Modbury	1466	Revoked in 1467 & regranted to Eton (Table 3).

(4i) TEWKESBURY ABBEY

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Goldcliff	1441	Complex history; see main alien priory table.
Deerhurst	1462	

(4j) WITHAM CHARTERHOUSE

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	NOTES
Aston	1413	Reversion after death of Thos. Erpingham; fell in in 1440.
Spettisbury	1413	Reversion after death of Thos. Erpingham; fell in in 1440.
Toft Monks	1413	Reversion after death of Thos. Erpingham; but granted to Eton in 1441 (see Table 3).
Warmington	1413	Reversion after death of Thos. Erpingham, which fell in in 1440.

(4k) MISCELLANEOUS

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Appledurcombe	1399	Nuns Minoresses without Aldgate.
Birstall (incl. Witherness, parcel)	1381	Durham Priory; revoked 1382 & restored to prior.
	1395	Kirkstead Abbey, Lincs.
Bonby	1390	London Charterhouse, revoked before the end of Richard II's reign .
	1403	Beauvale Charterhouse; rectory only, not manor.
Cammeringham	1395	Hulton Abbey, Staffs.
Charlton Upon Otmoor	1398	The advowson granted to Henwood Priory, Wwks.
Covenham	1303	Kirkstead Abbey, Lincs.
Folkstone	1390	Westminster Abbey; revoked in 1400 when Henry IV restored most alien priories.
Monks Kirby	1396	Axholme Priory; revoked because restored to alien prior in 1400.
Navenby manor	1290	The Dean & Chapter of St Mary's, Lincoln.
	1415	Regranted to Axholme.
Panfield	1472	Christchurch, Canterbury.
Patrixbourne	1409	Merton Convent, Surrey.
Pembroke	1443	Licence for DH to transfer to St Albans in 1441; transfer not effected until 1443.
Povington	1442	Reversion to St Anthony's Hospital, London; revoked in 1451 (see Eton, Table 3).
Rotherham	1461	£20 apport to Convent of St Mary Graces by the Tower; revoked in 1471 (see Table 5).
Scarborough		110m farm granted to Bridlington Priory, temp. Henry IV.
Tooting Bec	1466	Church of All Hallows, Barking.
Upavon	1423	Granted to the Austin Canons of Ivychurch in exchange for other lands. To Eton for a short time (see Table 3) but revoked in favour of Ivychurch, 1461.

TABLE (4k) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Weedon Pinkney	1392	Biddlesden Abbey. This abbey was forced to surrender the property to All Souls in 1440 (see Table 3).
Wilsford	1398	Bourne Abbey, Lincs.
Wing	1416	Reversion to the Abbey of St Mary de Pre, St Albans, Herts., after death of QJ, although the property fell in to them in 1420.
Winterbourne Monkton	c.1399	£1 rent enjoyed by St Mary's Priory, Marlborough.
Withyham	1412	Custody to the New Priory of the Holy Trinity, Hastings; ceased to have effect after the Act of Suppression in 1414.

TABLE 5: CUSTODIES & RENTS OF ALIEN PRIORIES & THEIR APPURTENANCES GRANTED TO LAYMEN AFTER THE 1414 DISENDOWMENT

(5a) 1414 - 1422

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Aston	1403	Thomas Erpingham; LG during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution eg in 1421.
Atherington	1413	John Cornewaille; 100m from lands of Séez; void by 1414 because granted to QJ.
Burwell	up to 1419	Robert, Lord Willoughby, & Henry Toteway, clerk; returned to the custody of the prior in 1419.
Carisbrooke	1414	William Trystour, the king's saddler. Vacated because granted to Sheen in 1416.
Felstead		LG to William Bourchier, temp. Henry V.
Grovebury	1413	John Phelip, king's knight; LG during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution.
Horstead	by 1414	Thomas Erpingham; LG during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution.
Isleham	1414	John Daniel & Nicholas Parys.
Lapley	1420	John Vale, esquire.
Linton	1414	John Daniel & Nicholas Parys.
Loders	1414	William Trystour, the king's saddler.
Ludcombe	1413	William Porter & confirmed in 1423.
Manton & Tixover	1413	William Porter & confirmed in 1423.
Mockley, manor	1418	Roland Lenthall, king's knight, Richard de la Bere, knight, & others without rendering anything to the king; grant vacated 1442 & to KCC in 1443.
Monkenlane	1418	Roland Lenthall, king's knight.
Newton Longville	by 1414	Thomas Erpingham; grant of 50m during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution. (Grant included Witchingham).
Offord	1413	William Porter & confirmed in 1423.
Panfield & Well Hall	1413	John Wodehouse & John Ikelyngton; LG for a rose at Midsummer.
Spettisbury	1403	Thomas Erpingham; LG during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution eg in 1421.
Steyning	1413	John Cornewaille; £301.4.4. from lands of Fécamp; confirmed in 1422.
Stour Provost	1405	Ralph Rocheford; confirmed in 1420 for a further 40 years without rendering anything to the king.
Toft Monks	1403	Thomas Erpingham; LG during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution eg in 1421.
Tywardreath	1413	John Cornewaille; LG.
Warmington	1403	Thomas Erpingham; LG during the war which was confirmed after the dissolution eg in 1421.
West Kington	1414	Nicholas Peynton, clerk of the king's chapel; LG of the 100s apport.

TABLE (5a) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
West Wortham	1418	Roland Lenthall, king's knight, Richard de la Bere, knight, & others without rendering anything to the king; Lenthall dispossessed in 1443 when the priory was granted to KCC.
Wotton Wawen	up to 1418	John Cornewaille.
	1418	Roland Lenthall, king's knight, Richard de la Bere, knight, & others; Lenthall dispossessed in 1443 when the priory was granted to KCC.

(5b) 1422 - c.1435

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Bonby, manor only	by 1435	Thomas Cumberworth, king's knight; LG.
Ellingham *	1423	John Arderne, esquire, & Walter Eston, clerk; 24 yrs.
Pembroke	1433	Hortunk Van Clux, king's knight; £50 from issues.
Stogursey *	1430	Robert Vise, monk, & Walter Sergeant; 30 yrs.
Stratfield Saye *	1425	John Cheser & John Berningham, clerks; 20 yrs.
Wenghale	by 1435	Thomas Cumberworth, knight; LG.

(5c) c.1435 - 1461

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Allerton Mauleverer	1439	Robert Osbern, signet clerk; LG. Reversion to KCC 1441.
Atherstone	1438	Humphrey, Earl of Stafford; LG.
Beckford *	1438	Robert Roos, king's knight; LG. Reversion to his tenant, John Beauchamp. Surrendered to EC in 1445.
Bledlow *	1438	John Styward; 7 yrs.
Bonby, manor only	1447	Remainder to John Holme, exchequer baron; LG.
	1453	Edmund, earl of Richmond, & Jasper, Earl of Pembroke; 12 yrs.
Brixton Deverill	1438	John Stourton, king's knight, LG.
Charlton Near Upavon *	1439	John Staunfore de Russhale; 7 yrs.
Clatford *	1439	Walter Everard & Richard Fourbur; 7 yrs.
Cogges *	1437	William, Lord Lovell; 10 yrs.

TABLE (5c) continued

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Combe & Monxton	1436	Ralph Le Sage, king's knight; LG. He died 1437.
	1437	Guillaume Erard, king's chaplain & master in theology, & John Rinel, king's clerk & secretary; LG.
Corsham, manor	1438	Edmund Hungerford, king's knight & carver; LG.
Cowick	1441	John de la Bere, king's clerk & almoner.
Creeting & Everdon *	1437	William Phelip, knight; 10 yrs.
Docking *	1437	Thomas Tuddenham, knight; until 1448.
Dunton Wayletts	1440	Lewis John, king's knight; reversion after the end of the 60 yr term of the Bishop of London. Did not take effect because granted to KCC in 1451.
East Wortham *	1438	John Styward; 7 yrs.
Everdon		See Creeting.
Hooe & Preston *	1440	Roger Fiennes, household treasurer; LG.
Horstead *	by 1441	William, Lord Bardolph; LG.
Isleham	1439	Henry Fylongley & William Cotton; 10 yrs.
Lessingham *	1437	Edmund Clere; 20 yrs.
Lewes	1440	James Fiennes; LG of the 100s apport.
Linton	by 1440	Henry Fylongley & William Cotton; LG.
Lyminster *	1438	Walter Striklond; LG.
Mapledurham church *	1438	John Iwardeby & Joan Lynde; 16 yrs.
Minster Lovell *	1437	William, Lord Lovell; 21 yrs.
Modbury	1438	John Fortescue, Henry Drewe, John Offord & Richard Brounste; 7 yrs.
Northmundham etc *	1439	Walter Striklond; 10 yrs.
Ogbourne, Goring mill *	1436	William York; 10 yrs.
Ogbourne, London properties	by 1438	Gilbert Par, chamber usher, & wife; LG of 52s rent.
Panfield & Well Hall	1440	Thomas Tuddenham & others.
Piddle Hinton *	1437-41	LG to Robert Parfite sometime between these dates.
Povington *	c.1436	Richard Sturgeon, clerk; LG
	1450	John Neweburgh, knight; custody with reversion.
Rotherfield	1446	John Denyssh, king's sergeant; LG.
Rotherham	1438	Henry Beaumont; LG of £20 apport.
Ruislip	1437	John Somerset; LG.
St Buryan	1438	Adam Moleyns, clerk of the council, but vacated.
	1438-45	LG to Peter Stucle sometime between these dates.
St Helen's *	1439	Walter Veer, esquire; 10 yrs.
St James By Exeter	1438	John de la Bere, king's clerk; LG.
Stogursey *	1438	John Chinall; £20 issues.
Sturminster Marshall *	1440	Robert Chauntery; 7 yrs.
Tooting Bec *	1439	John Arderne, esquire; 10 yrs.
Upavon	1457	Nicholas Walton & William Okeden; 20 yrs.
Weedon Bec	1439	Humphrey, Earl of Stafford; LG. Vacated to Eton in 1445.
Willoughton	1439	John Middeton; 7 yrs.
	1440	Custody to alien priory commissioners.
	1446	John Hardyng; LG.
Withyham	1437	James Fiennes; LG.
Yenston *	1439	Henry Barette; 7 yrs.

(5d) AFTER 1461

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Atherstone	1462	Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.
Blakenham	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
Bonby	1462	William Neville, Earl of Kent, the king's uncle.
	1463	Revoked & granted to George, Duke of Clarence, the king's brother; LG in 1471.
Brimpsfield	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
Charlton Near Upavon	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & granted to Fotheringhay before 1474.
Felstead	1468	Thomas Bourchier
Folkstone	1462	Ralph Saintleger; revoked in 1467 & regranted to Eton College.
Monkton Farleigh	1462	LG of the 2 Marcigny farms; one to John Thomson, the other to Roger Grandorge, both king's servitors.
Montacute	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
Northmundham	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
Panfield	1461	Griselda Hende. Grant did not include Well Hall. Later to Christchurch, Canterbury.
Povington	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs.
Rotherham	1471	James, Earl Douglas; as part of a £200 annuity. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
St Buryan	1462	Robert Knolles, king's clerk
St Helen's	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
Throwley etc	1462	John Scot, knight, controller of the king's household; reversion of Chilham & Molash only.
Weedon Bec	1462	Thomas Saintleger; revoked same year.
	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked & regranted to Eton in 1467.
Well Hall	1462	William Beaufitz; for 10 yrs. Revoked 1469 (see Table 4).

* indicates that such properties were granted to Eton College in the Endowment Charter, 25 March 1441, and that the present custodians or leaseholders were obliged, by the terms of the Charter, to pay their rents henceforward, not to the king, but to Eton College, until the end of their terms, after which the reversions were to fall in to Eton College.

TABLE 6:
ALIEN PRIORIES, THEIR APPURTENANCES & OTHER RENTS, WHICH BECAME PART OF CHANTRY FOUNDATIONS

NAME OF PRIORY	DATE	RECIPIENT & NOTES
Arundel	by 1379	College of the Holy Trinity in Arundel, Sussex.
Beggar	1442	Chantry of St Anne, Thirsk. Revoked in 1451 because to Eton.
Dunton Wayletts	1462	Granted to Thomas Wylmote, vicar of Ashford church, Kent, for a chantry foundation there, in memory of those killed at the battles of Northampton, St Albans, and Sherborne.
Hooe & Preston	1462	Granted to Thomas Wylmote, vicar of Ashford church, Kent, for a chantry foundation there, in memory of those killed at the battles of Northampton, St Albans, and Sherborne.
Lewes	1462	100s apport granted to Thomas Wylmote, vicar of Ashford church, Kent, for a chantry foundation in memory of those killed at the battles of Northampton, St Albans, and Sherborne.
Tarrant Launceston	1455	St Cross Almshouse, having been granted to Beaufort's feoffees in 1440.
Wilmington	1413	Chantry foundation in Chichester Cathedral.

TABLE 7:
THE FATE OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES AND THEIR PROPERTIES WHICH BECAME AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE KING'S MAJORITY RULE

PRIORY / APPORT	*	GRANTS TO LAYMEN	RECIPIENTS
1 Alberbury	1437	DH 1438	All Souls 1441
2 Allerton Mauleverer	1437	LG 1439	KCC 1441 (rev)
3 Alveley apport	1414		EC 1441E
4 Atherstone	1435	LG 1438	KCC 1443 (rev)
5 Beckford	1414	LG 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
6 Beggar	1437		Thirsk 1442, EC 1451
7 Blakenham	1435	DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; feel in 1443,'49)
8 Bledlow	1435	7G 1438, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
9 Blythe apport	1437		KCC 1441
10 Bricett	1414		KCC 1452
11 Brimpsfield	1437		EC 1441E
12 Brixton Deverill	1435	LG 1438, DH 1438	KCC 1443 (rent & rev of LG)
13 Burwell	1435		Tattershall 1442
14 Carswell	1437	Unknown	Unknown
15 Charlton-Near-Upavon	1437	7G 1430s, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
16 Chepstow	1414		Godshouse 1442
17 Chisenbury & Quarley	1435	DH 1438	St Kath's 1441, EC 1452
18 Clatford	1437	8G 1430s, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
19 Cogges	1437	10G 1430s, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
20 Colemere apport	1437	DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
21 Combe & Monxton	1435	LG 1436	KCC 1441 (rev)
22 Corsham	1437	LG 1438	KCC 1442 (church fruits)
23 Cottisford	1435	DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
24 Cowick	1437	G 1439	EC 1451
25 Craswall	1437	10G 1430s	Godshouse 1442 (rent & rev)
26 Creeting	1437	10G 1437, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
27 Deerhurst	1446	(Made denizen in 1443)	EC 1446
28 Docking church fruits	1437	11G 1437, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
29 Dunton Wayletts		G 1440	KCC 1451
30 East Hendred	1435	DH 1438	EC 1443
31 East Wortham	1435	7G 1438, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
32 Ellingham	1414	24G 1423	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
33 Everdon	1437	10G 1437, DH 1438	EC 1440 (rent & rev)
34 Farley	1414		KCC 1448
35 Felstead	1437	(Syon 1424)	KCC 1442
36 Fendrayton advowson	1414		Godshouse 1447
37 Folkstone apport			EC 1441E (rev; fell in by 1447)
38 Frampton	1435		St Stephen's 1437
39 Fulbourne	1437	DH 1438	Godshouse 1442 (rev; by 1447)
40 Goldcliff	1435		EC 1441E (20s farm only)
41 Great Thurlow	1414		Godshouse 1458
42 Grovebury		LG 1413	EC 1445 (rev; fell in 1446)
43 Hanging Langford	1437	LG 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
44 Hooe	1435	DH 1438, LG 1440	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
45 Horstead	1437	LG temp. Henry V	EC 1441E (rent & rev)

TABLE 7 continued

PRIORY / APPORT	*	GRANTS TO LAYMEN	RECIPIENTS
46 Ipplepen	1414		St Mary Ottery 1437
47 Isleham	1414	10G 1439	Pembroke 1440 (rev)
48 Lessingham	1435	20G 1437, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
49 Lewes apport		LG 1440	EC 1441E (rev)
50 Linton	1437	LG 1439, DH 1438	Pembroke 1440 (adv & rev)
51 Llangennith	1414	LG 1429	All Souls 1441
52 Lyminster	1437	LG 1438, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
53 Mapledurham	1414	16G 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
54 Minster Lovell	1437	21G 1437, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
55 Mockley	1442		KCC 1443
56 Modbury	1437	G 1438	EC 1441E
57 Monks Sherbourne	1414		EC 1446
58 Monkton Farleigh	1437	DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
59 Monmouth apport			Godshouse 1442
60 Montacute apport			EC 1441E
61 Moreton church	1414		EC 1441E
62 Navenby church adv	1437		Godshouse 1458
63 New Romney	1437	G 1438, DH 1438	All Souls 1439
64 Newstead On Acolm	1437	LG 1439 (apport)	Godshouse 1442 (apport) (rev)
65 Newton Longville	1414	APC 1440	New College 1441
66 North Hykeham	1414	DH 1438	Godshouse 1442
67 Northmundham etc.	1437	10G 1439	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
68 Ogbourne	1435	LG 1437, DH 1439	U of Camb 1441, KCC 1441
69 Ogbourne, Goring mill	1435	10G 1436, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
70 Ogbourne, London	1435	LG 1430s, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev of 52s rent)
71 Panfield tithes	1414	G 1440	EC 1441E
72 Pembroke	1414	DH 1418	St Albans 1441
73 Piddlehinton	1437	LG 1430s	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
74 Povington	1435	LG 1435	St Anthony's 1442 (rev)
			EC 1451 (rent & rev)
75 Rewley apport	1437	DH 1439	Pembroke 1440
76 Rotherfield	1414	LG 1446	Unknown
77 Rotherham apport	1437	LG 1438	KCC 1441 (rev)
78 Ruislip	1435	LG 1437	U. Camb 1438, KCC 1441 (rev)
79 St Buryan	1414	LG 1438	KCC 1445 (rev)
80 St Clears	1437	DH 1438	Chichele 1441, All Souls 1442
81 St Faith, Horsham	1437	DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in by 1446)
82 St Helen's	1437	DH 1438, 10G 1439	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
83 St James-By-Exeter	1437	LG 1438	KCC 1444 (remainder & rev)
84 St Michael's Mount	1437	(Syon 1424)	KCC 1442
85 Spalding	1437	(Syon 1424)	KCC 1442 (some rents only)
86 Sporle	1437	DH 1439	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
87 Stogursey	1437	30G 1430, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
88 Stour Provost	1414	40G 1420	KCC 1441 (rev)
89 Stratfield Saye	1437	G 1430s, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
90 Stratton St Margaret			KCC before 1446; exchanged
91 Sturminster Marshall	1437	7G 1440, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
92 Tarrant Launceston	1437	DH 1438	Beaufort 1440, St Cross 1446
93 Thetford	1439		EC 1441E & KCC 1444

TABLE 7 continued

PRIORY / APPORT	*	GRANTS TO LAYMEN	RECIPIENTS
94 Tickford	1437	DH 1438	EC 1441E (rev; fell in 1443)
95 Tilshead	1414	(Syon 1424)	KCC 1442
96 Toft Monks		DH 1438	EC 1441E (priory) DH rent fell in 1443
97 Tooting Bec	1435	10G 1439, DH 1438	EC 1441E (rent & rev)
98 Totnes apport	1437		Godshouse 1442
99 Upavon	1437	(Ivychurch canons 1423)	EC 1459 ?
100 Upchurch	1437	DH 1438	All Souls 1438
101 Weedon Bec	1435	LG 1438	EC 1443 (rev; fell in 1445)
102 Weedon Pinkney	1440	Biddlesdon Abbey 1392	All Souls 1440
103 Well Hall	1414	LG 1413	Henry Beaufort 1440
104 Wenghale	1437	LG temp. Henry V	KCC 1441, exchanged 1443
105 Wenlock apport	1437	DH 1438	KCC 1441 (rev; fell in by 1447)
106 West Kington apport	1414	G 1414	KCC 1441 (rev)
107 West Ravendale	1437		St Mary Southwell 1439
108 West Wortham	1442	LG of 1418 vacated 1442	KCC 1443
109 Willoughton	1437	G & LG 1439, APC 1440	KCC 1441 (rev)
110 Withyham	1414	LG 1437	KCC 1444 (rev)
111 Wotton Wawen	1442	LG of 1418 vacated 1442	KCC 1443
112 Yenston	1437	7G 1439	EC 1441E (rent & rev)

* Date at which property became available.

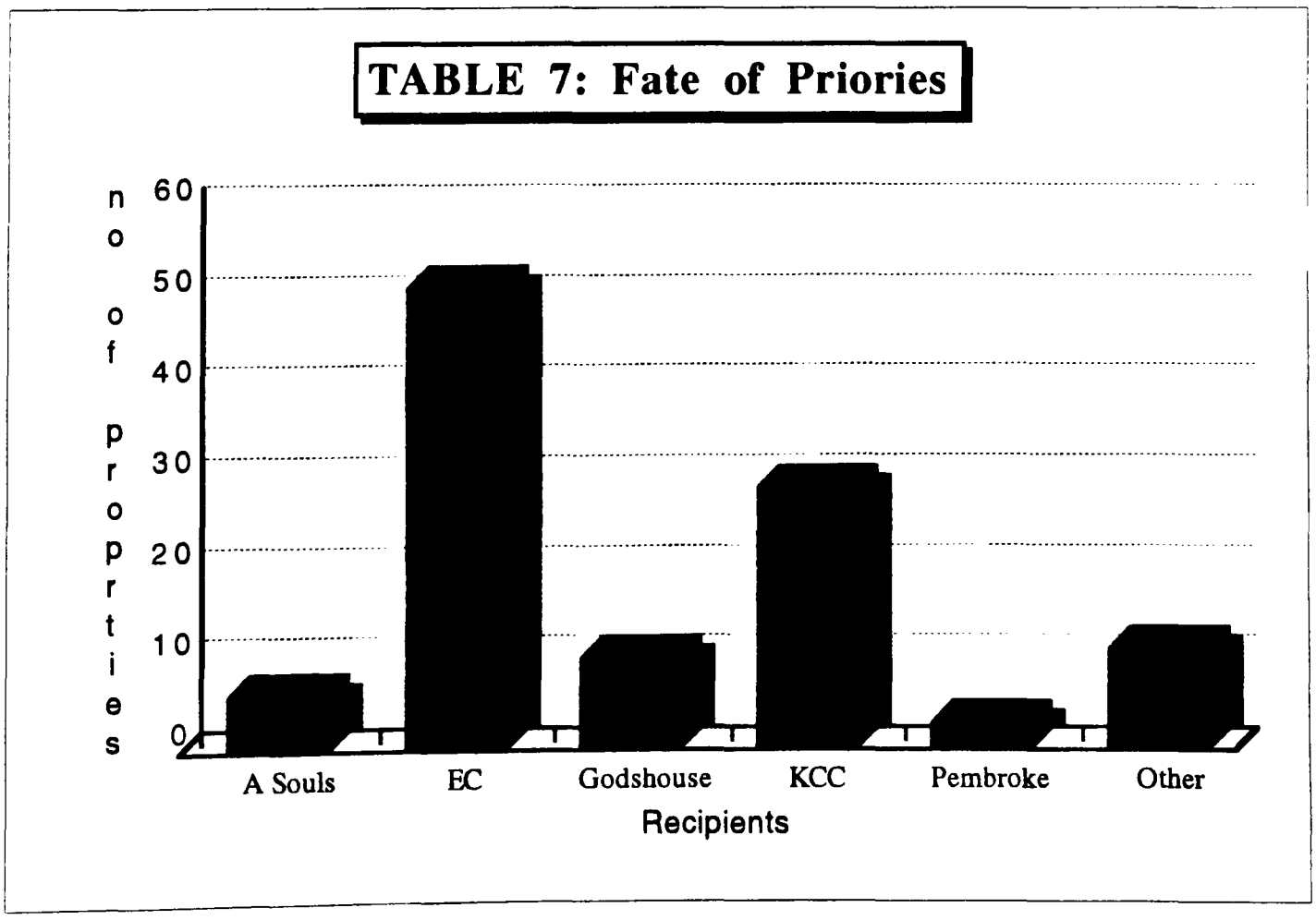

TABLE 8A
PROPERTIES GRANTED TO QUEEN JOAN AS PART OF HER DOWRY WHICH BECAME PART OF THE ETON ENDOWMENT

DOWRY GRANT	PRIORY OR APPORT	DATE TO EC
1414 1423	Beggar	1452
1414 1423	Brimpsfield	1441
1414	Charlton Near Upavon	1441
1409 1414 1423	Clatford	1441
1409 1414 1423	Cogges	1441
1414 1423	Colemere	1441
1409 1414 1423	Cowick	1452
1409 1414 1423	Creeting & Everdon	1441
1409 1414	Docking	1441
1409 1414 1423	Folkstone	1441
1409 1414 1423	Fulbourn	1441
1409 1414	Hanging Langford	1441
1409	Horstead	1441
1409 1414	Lyminster	1441
1409 1414	Minster Lovell	1441
1409 1414 1423	Modbury	1441
1409 1414 1423	Monkton Farleigh	1441
1414	Piddle Hinton	1441
1409	Panfield tithes	1441
1409 1414 1423	St Faith, Horsham	1441
1409 1414 1423	St Helen's	1441
1409 1414 1423	Sporle	1441
1409 1414 1423	Stogursey	1441
1409 1414 1423	Stratfield Saye	1441
1409 1414 1423	Sturminster Marshall	1441
1409	Thetford	1441 (KCC 1444)
1409 1414 1423	Tickford	1441
1409 1414 1423	Upavon	1457
1409 1414	Yenston	1441

TABLE 8B
PROPERTIES GRANTED TO QUEEN JOAN WHICH BECAME PART OF THE KING'S COLLEGE ENDOWMENT

DOWRY GRANT	PRIORY OR APPORT	DATE TO KCC
1409 1414	Allerton Mauleverer	1441
1409 1414 1423	Blythe	1441
1409 1414	Corsham	1442
1409 1414 1423	Felstead	1442
1409 1414	Northmundham etc (lands of Lucerne)	1441
1409 1414 1423	St James By Exeter	1444
1409 1414 1423	St Michael's Mount	1442
1409 1414	Spalding, some lands & rents	1442
1409	Thetford	1444
1414	Wenghale, reversion; revoked 1443	1441
1414 1423	Wenlock	1441
1409 1414	Willoughton	1441

TABLE 8C
PROPERTIES GRANTED TO QUEEN JOAN WHICH DID NOT BECOME PART OF THE ETON OR KING'S COLL. ENDOWMENTS

DOWRY GNT.	PRIORY/APPORT	RECIPIENT	DATE
1414 1423	Abergavenny	Conventual status proved	1403
1414	Alberbury	(DH), All Souls College, Oxford	1441
1409 1414 1423	Andover	Winchester College	1414
1414	Atherington	Syon Abbey (reversion)	1424
1409	Avebury	Fotheringhay (reversion)	1411
1409	Carisbrooke	Sheen Charterhouse	1416
1409 1414	Carswell, Devon	Not known	
1414 1423	Craswall, Heref.	Godshouse, Cambridge	1442
1414 1423	Field Dalling	Mountgrace Charterhouse	1421
1409 1414 1423	Frampton	(Bedford), St Stephen's, Westminster	1437
1409	Hayling	Sheen Charterhouse	1415
1409 1414 1423	Hinckley	Mountgrace Charterhouse	1415
1409 1414	Holne	Not known	
1409 1414 1423	Hough	Mountgrace Charterhouse	1421
1409 1414	Lancaster	Syon Abbey (reversion)	1414
1409 1414 1423	Lapley	Tong College, Shropshire	1415
1409	Lenton	Became denizen	1392
1409 1414 1423	Linton	(DH), Pembroke Hall, Camb. (reversion)	1440
1409 1414	Llangywan	Sheen Charterhouse	1415
1409 1414 1423	Long Bennington	Mountgrace Charterhouse	1421
1409 1414 1423	Minchinhampton	Syon Abbey (reversion)	1424
1409 1414 1423	Minting	Mountgrace Charterhouse	1421
1409 1414 1423	New Romney	(DH), All Souls College	1439
1409 1414 1423	Newstead On Acolm	Godshouse, Cambridge (reversion)	1442
1409 1414	Noion & Neufmarché	Sheen Charterhouse	1415
1409 1414	Ocle	Sheen Charterhouse	1415
1414	Otterton	Syon Abbey	1415
1409	Panfield & Well Hall	Christchurch, Canterbury	1472
1414	Patrixbourne	Merton Convent, Surrey	1409
1409 1414 1423	Rewley	(DH), Pembroke Hall, Camb. (reversion)	1440
1414 1423	St Clears	(DH), All Souls College	1442
1409 1414	Spalding	Syon Abbey	1424
1414	Steyning	Syon Abbey	By 1444
1409 1414	Tarrant Launceston	(DH), St Cross, Winchester	1455
1409 1414	Throwley etc	Syon Abbey	1415
1409 1414 1423	Totnes, apport	Godshouse, Cambridge	1442
1414	Tywardreath	Not suppressed in 1414	
1414	Upchurch	(DH), All Souls College	1438
1405 1414	Ware	Sheen Charterhouse	1415
1409 1414	Wareham, Dorset	Sheen Charterhouse	1415
1408	Weedon Pinkney	All Souls College	1440
1409	Well Hall	St Stephen's, Westminster	1469
1414	Wenghale	Michaelhouse College, Cambridge	1443
1414 1423	West Ravendale	St Mary Southwell, collegiate church	1439
1409 1414	Wing	St Mary de Pré Abbey, St Albans (rev)	1416

TABLE 8D
ALIEN PRIORY PROPERTIES GRANTED TO BOTH QUEEN JOAN & DUKE HUMPHREY WHICH PASSED SUBSEQUENTLY TO ETON

PRIORY / APPORT	A	B	C
Charlton-Near-Upavon	*	*	*
Clatford	*	*	*
Cogges	*	*	*
Colemere apport	*	*	*
Creeting and Everdon	*	*	*
Docking	*	*	*
Folkstone apport		*	*
Fulbourn		*	
Hanging Langford	*	*	*
Lyminster	*	*	
Minster Lovell	*	*	*
Monkton Farleigh apports		*	
St Helen's	*	*	*
Sporle		*	*
Stogursey	*	*	*
Stratfield Saye	*	*	*
Sturminster Marshall	*	*	*
Tickford apport	*	*	*

KEY

A: Duke Humphrey's Annuity, 1 June 1438
B: Duke Humphrey's Annuity, 14 July 1439
C: Duke Humphrey's grant to Eton, 1 March 1443

TABLE 9:
ALIEN PRIORY PROPERTIES GRANTED TO ETON AND KING'S AND THEIR FATE UNDER EDWARD IV

(9a) ETON COLLEGE PROPERTIES

PROPERTY	DATE	GRANTS UNDER EDW. IV	DATE
Alveley apport	1441E	Retained	
Beckford	1441E	Fotheringhay	1462
Beggar	1451	Mountgrace	22 Feb 1462,
		Regranted to EC	18 May 1472
Blakenham	1441E	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
		St George's	17 May 1474
Bledlow	1441E	Retained	
Brimpsfield	1441E	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	7 July 1467
		St George's	17 May 1474
Charlton-Near-Upavon	1441E	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		St George's	17 May 1474
Chisenbury & Quarley	1452	St Katherine's By The Tower	5 Feb 1462
Clatford	1441E	Retained but exchanged with Bloxham	c.1462
Cogges	1441E	Retained	
Colemere apport	1441E	Revoked; recipient not known	1462
Cottisford	1441E	Retained	
Cowick	1451	Tavistock Abbey	12 Nov 1462
		Regranted to EC & retained	17 July 1467
Creeting	1441E	Retained	
Deerhurst	1446	St Peter's, Westminster	3 Aug 1462
		Tewkesbury Abbey	after 1467
Docking church fruits	1441E	Retained	
East Hendred	1443	Retained	
East Wortham	1441E	Retained	
Ellingham	1441E	Retained	
Everdon	1440	Retained	
Folkstone apport	1441E	Ralph Saintleger	1 Mar 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
Goldcliff	1441E	Retained Gwent properties only	
		Preston & Monksilver to St George's	20 July 1474
Grovebury	1445	St George's	6 Dec 1480
Hanging Langford	1441E	Retained	
Hooe	1441E	Thomas Wylmote for Ashford chantry	22 Feb 1462
Horstead	1441E	King's College	22 Feb 1462
Lessingham	1441E	King's College	22 Feb 1462
Lewes apport	1441E	Thomas Wylmote for Ashford chantry	22 Feb 1462
Lyminster	1441E	Retained	
Mapledurham	1441E	Retained	
Minster Lovell	1441E	Retained	
Modbury	1441E	William Benslyn	29 May 1462
		Tavistock Abbey	25 Nov 1466
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467

TABLE (9a) continued

PROPERTY	DATE	GRANTS UNDER EDW. IV	DATE
Monks Sherbourne	1446	St Julian's Hospital, Southampton	16 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	23 Mar 1473
Monkton Farleigh	1441E	Roger Grandorge & John Thomson	25 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
Montacute apport	1441E	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
		St George's	17 May 1474
Moreton church	1441E	Revoked; recipient unknown	29 July 1461
Northmundham etc.	1441E	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
		St George's	17 May 1474
Ogbourne, Goring mill	1441E	Edward Ellismere	c.1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
Ogbourne, London	1441E	John Wyatt	13 Aug 1461
Panfield tithes	1441E	Griselda Hende	5 Dec 1461
		King's College (by Henry VI)	24 Feb 1471
		Christchurch, Canterbury	30 Nov 1472
Piddlehinton	1441E	Retained	
Povington	1451	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
		St George's	17 May 1474
St Faith, Horsham	1441E	Retained	
St Helen's	1441E	William Beaufitz	26 Feb 1462
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467
		St George's	17 May 1474
Sporle	1441E	Retained	
Stogursey	1441E	Retained	
Stratfield Saye	1441E	Retained	
Sturminster Marshall	1441E	Retained	
Thetford	1441E	Retained	
Tickford	1441E	Confirmed	17 July 1467
		Revoked ECR 39/140; either before or after 1467	no date given
Toft Monks	1441E	King's College	22 Feb 1462
Tooting Bec	1441E	All Hallows church, Barking	1466
Upavon	1459 ?	Austin Canons of Ivychurch	3 Jul 1461
Weedon Bec	1443	St George's	17 May 1474
Yenston	1441E	Apparently seized by Edward IV	c.1461-2
		Regranted to EC	17 July 1467

(9b) KING'S COLLEGE PROPERTIES

PROPERTY	DATE	GRANTS UNDER EDW. IV	DATE
Allerton Mauleverer	1441	Retained	
Atherstone	1443	Mountgrace	24 Feb 1462
		Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick	27 April 1462
Blythe apport	1441	Retained	
Bricett	1452	Retained	
Brixton Deverill	1443	Retained	
Combe & Monxton	1441	Retained	
Corsham	1442	Syon Abbey (fruits of church)	16 Dec 1461
		George, Duke of Clarence (manor)	23 Mar 1471
Farley	1448	Retained	
Felstead	1442	Syon Abbey	16 Dec 1461
		Thomas Bourchier	27 Jan 1468
Mockley	1443	Retained	
Ogbourne	1441	Retained	
Rotherham apport	1441	St Mary Graces By The Tower	4 Jun 1461
		James, Earl Douglas	18 Feb 1471
Ruislip	1441	Retained	
St Buryan	1445	Robert Knolles	20 Feb 1462
St James-By-Exeter	1444	Retained	
St Michael's Mount	1442	Syon Abbey	10 July 1461
Spalding	1442	Retained lands and rents	
Stour Provost	1441	Retained	
Stratton St Margaret	by 1446	Exchanged lands with Merton College	3 July 1446
Thetford	1444	Retained	
Tilshead	1442	Syon Abbey	16 Dec 1461
Wenghale	1441	Exchanged lands with Michaelhouse	22 Apr 1443
Wenlock apport	1441	Retained	
West Kington apport	1441	Retained	
West Wortham	1441	Retained	
Willoughton	1441	Retained	
Withyham	1444	Retained	
Wotton Wawen	1443	Retained	

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