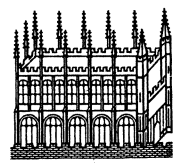
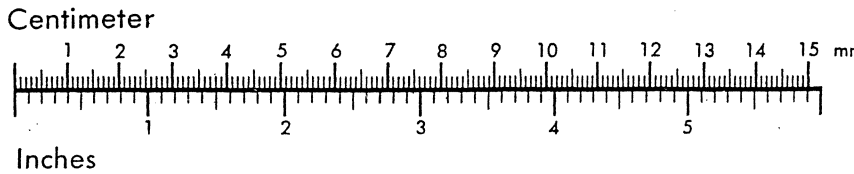
SCANNED BY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
IMAGING SERVICE

FROM THE COLLECTIONS IN

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



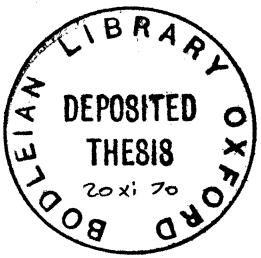


Images © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

The ecclesiastical career

of George Neville

1432 - 1476



GILLIAN T. KEIR

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE

B. LITT. THESIS (MT 1970)

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations

Chapter 1. Family Background 1-12

Chapter 2. Neville and Oxford

i) Balliol 13-23
ii) Academic career 23-30
iii) Chancellor of the University
(a) Background 30-36
(b) 1453-1457 36-45
(c) 1457-1461. 1461-1472 45-52
(d) Oxford and national politics 52-58
(e) Conclusion 59-61

Chapter 3. Neville's Learning 62-81

Chapter 4. Bishop of Exeter

i) Early ecclesiastical preferment 82-87
ii) Appointment as bishop 87-90
iii) The diocese, 1456-1465 90-96
iv) Diocesan officials 96-104
v) The register 104-109
vi) Collations 109-112
vii) Convocation 113-115

Chapter 5. Archbishop of York

i) Appointment 116-121
ii) The Provincial Council of 1466 122-129
iii) Activities within the diocese 129-138
iv) Activities in other dioceses 139-145
v) Last years, 1469-76 145-155
vi) Diocesan administration 155-164
vii) Administration of temporalities 164-173
viii) Ecclesiastical patronage 173-180
ix) Conclusion 181-183

Chapter 6. Neville and Anglo-Papal Relations

i) The Yorkist revolution 184-192
ii) Appointment of an English cardinal 192-198
iii) The legation of Stephen Trenta 199-220
iv) Neville, Edward IV and Sixtus IV 220-225
v) Neville as a papal commissioner 225-228
vi) Conclusion 228-235

Bibliography

List of Abbreviations

Arch. Journ.	Archaeological Journal
Brit. Mus.	British Museum
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
Cal. Close Rolls	Calendar of Close Rolls
Cal. Fine Rolls	Calendar of Fine Rolls
Cal. Mil. Papers	Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Milan, 1385-1618, ed. A.B. Hinds (1912)
Cal. Pap. Letters	Calendar of Papal Letters
Cal. Pat. Rolls	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Cal. Ven. Papers	Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Venice, I, 1202-1509, ed. R. Brown (1864)
Camb. Ant. Soc.	Cambridge Antiquarian Society
Cant. & York Soc.	Canterbury and York Society
C.C.C.C.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
The Complete Peerage	The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom .. by G.E.C[okayne], 13 vols. in 14 (1910-59)
D.Cn.L.	Doctor of Canon Law
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
D.Th.	Doctor of Theology
D. Wilkins, Concilia	D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, 4 vols. (1737)
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society

Emden, BRUC	A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (Cambridge 1963)
Emden, BRUO	A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9)
Eng. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review
Journ. Eccl. Hist.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
M.	Master
M.A.	Master of Arts
O.H.S.	Oxford Historical Society
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Reg.	Episcopal Register
Report on the Dignity of a Peer	Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, 5 vols. (1929)
Rot. Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum, 6 vols. (Record Commission 1783)
Rymer, Foedera	T. Rymer, Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et cujuscumque generis Acta Publica, 10 vols. (The Hague edn., 1735-45)
Scofield, Edward IV	C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward IV, 2 vols. (1923)
Soc.	Society
Surt. Soc.	Surtees Society
Trans.	Transactions
Trans. Bibl. Soc.	Transactions of the Bibliographical Society
Valor Ecclesiasticus	Valor Ecclesiasticus, 6 vols. (Record Commission, 1825-34)
V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Yorks. Arch. Journ.	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

Chapter 1 : Family Background

The Neville family in England can be traced back to the early twelfth century.[1] But the fortunes of its most important branch only began their spectacular rise shortly before the Lancastrian revolution which set Henry IV upon the throne. Ralph Neville, fourth lord of Raby, owned large estates in Yorkshire and Durham and, as an influential northern baron, his adherence was valuable to Richard II. Thus in 1397 he secured the earldom of Westmoreland by a royal grant.[2] But Ralph had taken as his second wife Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and his family loyalties, together with his own natural astuteness, led him to support his wife's half brother Henry IV. In the years that followed Ralph obtained the wardenship of the west march and strengthened his position at the expense of his main rivals in the north, the Percies. He also continued to propagate a family unmatched by any other in size and influence. To Ralph, his grandson and heir by his first marriage, his title and some of his northern lands descended, while advantageous matches were made for six of

1. The Complete Peerage, 9, pp.502-3, gives the chart pedigree of the Neville family.
2. Ibid., 12 Pt.2, p.545.

the eight remaining children of this union. But the senior branch of the family paled before the wealth and distinction which his eleven surviving children by Joan Beaufort achieved. Of these Richard Neville took as his bride Alice, daughter and heiress of Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury.[1] But his son, George Neville, could also count amongst his uncles William, Lord Fauconberg later earl of Kent, George, Lord Latimer, and Edward, Lord Bergavenny; by the marriages of his aunts he was related to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and, most important of all, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York.[2]

Of all Ralph's sons Richard, earl of Salisbury after his father-in-law's death in 1428, carried on his tradition of aggrandisement most successfully. At first his territorial strength, although considerable, was not a crucial factor. He had been left none of the Neville lands in the north of the country[3] and lived instead off his wife's estates which were concentrated in Wiltshire and Hampshire. His own children must therefore have seen more of southern

1. Ibid., 11, p.395.
2. See the genealogical table at the end of English Historical Documents 1327-1485, ed. A.R. Myers (1969).
3. Earl Ralph's will is in Wills and Inventories, I, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., ii, 1935), pp.68-74.

England than many of the family. This gave rise to one unusual loyalty. Richard chose for his last resting place not the tomb at Staindrop, county Durham, where his own father lay buried, nor the cathedral church of Durham which housed the bones of earlier ancestors. He followed instead the tradition of the earls of Salisbury and chose the Augustinian house at Bisham in Berkshire.[1] Here three out of his four sons were also to find burial.

But Richard Neville's career was made in the north. He became warden of the west march in 1420, an office which he continued to hold with one short break until his death forty years later.[2] He took part in negotiations with the Scots and acted as a justice of the peace in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Durham.[3] At different points in his career he was steward of the manor of Kendal, constable of Pontefract Castle, master forester of Blackburnshire and Bowland and captain of Berwick.[4] His northern interests are further illustrated by the close relations which he maintained with the church at Durham. He corresponded with

1. Testamenta Eboracensia II, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xxx, 1855), p.240.
2. R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (1966), p.109.
3. Ibid., p.112.
4. J.E. Doyle, The Official Baronage of England 1066-1885, (1886), iii. 242-5.

the prior of Durham cathedral priory[1] and acted as the bishop's executor in 1438.[2] He took charge of the temporalities of the bishopric in the vacancy which followed[3] and it can hardly be a coincidence that the next bishop was his own brother, Robert. This in turn allowed the Nevilles to entrench themselves further into the episcopal administration.[4]

Meanwhile the earl had acquired property in the north. His mother had granted him the lordships of Middleham and Penrith[5] and in 1434 he secured land which had descended to his wife from the duchess of York.[6] More important, after Joan Beaufort's death in 1440 he inherited all those lands which she had held of her husband's gift which included the Yorkshire stronghold of Sheriff Hutton.[7] The earl of Westmoreland had reason to feel aggrieved at the much diminished inheritance which his side of the family received. The income which Richard Neville then enjoyed (estimated at

1. Wills and Inventories, I. 69-71.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, p.171.
3. J.E. Doyle, op. cit., p.244.
4. R.L. Storey, op. cit., p.115.
5. Ibid., p.114.
6. Cal. Fine Rolls, XVI, 1430-7, pp.209-210.
7. R.L. Storey, op. cit., p.114.

£3,000 per annum from land alone[1]) placed him in the forefront of the English nobility; this position was further strengthened by the royal favour which he enjoyed in return for his numerous services to the crown. As issues arose which divided the ranks of Henry VI's magnates, Salisbury's political loyalties became of crucial importance. In 1441 when he leased some possessions in Yorkshire to Cardinal Beaufort, he could be counted as belonging to his uncle's party.[2] Later his support helped to make possible the success of the small party which formed around the duke of York.

This was the background of power and influence to which Salisbury's children were accustomed. Between 1428 and 1431 Alice bore him three sons:[3] Richard, who inherited his father's role and achieved an independent title through marrying the eventual heiress of the earl of Warwick, Thomas for whom a less profitable match was arranged with Maud, the widow of the second Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and John who rose to become marquess of Montagu and who for a time held

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp.114, 115.
3. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, p.123. The eldest was born in 1428, The Complete Peerage, 12 Pt.2, p.385.

this title with the earldom of Northumberland. In 1431 Salisbury accompanied the king to France where he saw Henry VI crowned in Notre Dame. He returned early in 1432 and later in the same year, probably in October or November,[1] his fourth son George was born, according to an old tradition, in Middleham Castle.[2]

There can be no doubt that George Neville owed a very great deal to the wealth and eminence of his family. These factors lie at the root of his early ecclesiastical promotion and do much to explain the meteoric rise of his career thereafter. His contemporaries were well aware of this debt[3] and subsequent writers too have concentrated upon George Neville's aristocratic background, excluding any other reasons for his success. One very important result it did have. As a general rule Salisbury's sons acted in concert; in their early years no serious difference seems to have existed between their aims and outlooks. It is particularly hard to distinguish a line of policy pursued by George Neville which was not laid down by Warwick. The two brothers worked closely together and what the elder achieved in secular politics the younger supported vigorously in the ecclesiastical

1. A date suggested by George Neville's papal dispensations, cf. Emden, BRUO.
2. T. Fuller, The Worthies of England (1840 edn.), i. 480, 482.
3. e.g. Thomas Gascoigne, see below pp.64-5.

sphere. Family loyalty among this branch of the Neville family explains much of the political turbulence which marked the first eleven years of Edward IV's reign.

Certain occasions which punctuated Neville's career illustrate the wealth and influence of his connections. In 1463, for example, while the new king was at Fotheringay remembering his father's death[1] a notable ceremony took place at Bisham. The earl of Salisbury and his son Thomas had both lost their lives at Wakefield and their bodies, after suffering great indignities at the hands of Lancastrian partisans, had been quietly buried at Pontefract.[2] But now the two corpses were brought south in a solemn procession which included the earl of Warwick, Lord Montagu, their cousin Henry Neville son of Lord Latimer, and many other noble knights and squires.[3] They were met outside the town by two heralds and two kings of arms and conveyed to the abbey where George Neville, then bishop of Exeter and chancellor, was waiting to receive the coffins in the company of the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of St. Asaph and two abbots. The following day, 15 January, the bodies were interred together with that of Salisbury's wife Alice who

1. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 268.
2. Ibid., p.166.
3. Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household (1790), pp.131-3.

had but recently died.[1] A great assembly of lords and ladies attended high mass which was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. Among those present who came forward to make offerings were the king's chamberlain, Lord Hastings, Lord Fitzhugh who had married Warwick's sister Alice, the earl of Worcester another brother-in-law, the duke and duchess of Suffolk who were also related, and the duke of Clarence. In essence it was a family party which gathered at Bisham but the splendour and dignity of the proceedings helped to stress the importance of the Nevilles, and in particular of their royal connections.

But if the young George Neville inherited a name which was always able to wield influence, it by no means guaranteed him a livelihood. Insecurity was a prominent feature of the rise and fall of families in the fifteenth century. Especially when the number of children was large there was rarely enough land to go round and disputes over inheritances were common. Thus relations between Ralph's sons by his first marriage and those of his second, never good, were exacerbated by the unequal settlement made by the earl and vigorously prosecuted by Richard Neville. Younger sons who depended for their wealth upon the hazards of the marriage

1. The Complete Peerage, 11, p.398.

market frequently turned for excitement and occupation to plundering. John Neville and his cousin Lord Egremont waged a violent feud which caused much trouble to the king's government at Westminster. When national politics in turn fell prey to faction the results of this uncertainty over land and inheritance were magnified and in many cases family loyalty ceased to operate. Thus, although its wide ramifications in the English nobility suggest a great reservoir of power, the Neville family were never able to act as a unity. Divided within itself, there were always too many rival claims and ambitions. The example of Clarence shows that the same principle held true to a lesser extent within the royal family itself. Sometimes the two factors of dynastic loyalty and landed interest combined in strange ways. John Neville would not at first follow his brothers when they revolted against Edward IV in 1469. But the king's refusal to allow him to keep the Northumberland estates or to add any substance to the title of marquess of Montagu which he was awarded instead, drove him back into the Neville fold.[1]

As a fourth son George Neville could not hope for much from his father. In fact Salisbury left him out of his

1. The Complete Peerage, 9, pp.91-2.

household effects only twelve silver dishes and one gilt chalice.[1] Nor could he assume that the flow of heiresses which had provided his brothers with suitable marriages would supply him with one as well. His oldest brother had fared best since his wife, after the timely death of her brother and niece, inherited the Warwick estates.[2] But neither John nor Thomas were so lucky. Moreover Salisbury and his wife had six daughters for whom suitable bridegrooms had to be found.

One promising career however lay open to him - the church. The younger members of aristocratic families were well represented on the episcopal bench. Thomas Bourgchier, third son of the earl of Ewe, progressed from one bishopric to another with as much ease as the efficiency and partiality of the royal administration would permit. But the period of Neville's youth was dominated by the example of Henry Beaufort, who lived off the temporalities of Winchester with more state than most secular magnates could boast. Within his own family Neville could turn to the precedent set by Alexander Neville, a younger son of his great great grandfather, who rose to become archbishop of York; and also to

1. Testamenta Eboracensia, II, pp.243-4.
2. The Complete Peerage, 12 Pt.2, pp.384-5.

his own uncle, Robert, who as a fifth son also entered the church and enjoyed rapid ecclesiastical promotion.

We should not, finally, leave out of account the atmosphere of the household where George Neville grew up. The earl of Salisbury and his wife did not fall behind their contemporaries in conventional expressions of religious sentiment. On 31 May 1441 they obtained a papal indult allowing them plenary remission of their sins at the hour of death in return for fourteen gold florins to be given to the poor.[1] Five years later Salisbury founded a chantry near the bridge at Chesterfield. One chaplain and five sisters were to pray for the good estate of the king, the queen, the founder and his wife 'and to do works of piety according to the earl's ordinance'.[2] Within Salisbury's household itself there were at least eight chaplains in permanent attendance;[3] perhaps some of these taught the young Neville children and roused in George his first interests in academic learning.

These influences may have been sufficient to impel the young aristocrat towards a scholarly and religious career.

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, IX (1431-1447), p.236.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-1446, p.453.
3. Ibid., p.93.

But a natural leaning must have been reinforced by the attraction of swift promotion, which his family could procure, and the hazards and uncertain success offered by the secular world in which he grew up.

Chapter 2 : Neville and Oxford

i) Balliol

Some undergraduates at Oxford started their scholastic training as early as the age of twelve.[1] George Neville, however, came from a wealthy and sophisticated household where he would already have received some basic instruction. Thus it is more likely that he arrived when slightly older, during the later part of the 1440's.[2] As a member of a prominent north country family at a time when regional loyalties still played an important part in the choice of a college, he might be expected to attach himself to University College, Queen's or Balliol. For several reasons Balliol was selected as his residence.

Its founders, John Balliol and his wife Devorguilla, owned amongst their extensive possessions in Durham the formidable stronghold of Barnard Castle.[3] It was here that John Balliol died in 1269.[4] Early in the fourteenth century, however, Edward I granted this family seat to Guy Beauchamp,

1. H.E. Salter, Medieval Oxford (O.H.S., c, 1936), p.106.
2. Dr. Emden suggests that he was resident by 1448, BRUO.
3. R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (1840), iv. 50.
4. F. de Paravicini, Early History of Balliol College (1891), p.47.

earl of Warwick.[1] From him it descended successive generations until it formed part of the inheritance which Anne Beauchamp brought to Richard Neville in 1449. Three years earlier George Neville's father, the earl of Salisbury, had been appointed governor of the castle.[2] There was thus a strong family connection with one of the most important Balliol possessions.

Balliol College had other attractions. Unlike most Oxford colleges which had been founded for graduate members of the university, it was originally composed of sophistae, students studying for degrees in arts.[3] A later benefactor, Sir Philip Somerville, had made provision for six scholars to proceed to other faculties but the college retained both its undergraduate membership and its bias towards arts studies.[4] Possibly this tradition, which seems to be Bishop Bale's principal reason for numbering the duke of Gloucester amongst Balliol's alumni,[5] attracted the young George Neville. But residence within a college was also something of a luxury. Most students had to live in the crowded halls

1. R. Surtees, op. cit., p.64.
2. The Complete Peerage, 11, p.396.
3. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 82.
4. Ibid.
5. Emden, BRUO.

which were so much a feature of medieval Oxford, while the privileged few hired rooms at Queen's and University College and resided there as commensales.[1] Balliol could offer more than this and, it seems likely, had at least one set of rooms worthy of distinguished scholars of noble birth. Apart from Neville these included William Gray and Robert Beaumont and later Edward de la Pole.[2]

At the time when Neville arrived in Oxford Balliol was engaged in an ambitious building programme. To take the place of its original three tenements on the north side of Broad Street, buildings were being erected around what is now the first quadrangle. Only a few fragments of these constructions now survive; but stray pieces of stained glass together with the testimony of two seventeenth century writers[3] help to convey the vigour and enthusiasm which lay behind the work then carried out. In particular they suggest that Neville felt enough affection for his college to act as an important benefactor. The east range of the quadrangle was one of the first to be erected. It rose slowly during Henry VI's reign and seems to have been built

1. John Tiptoft, for example, resided in University College. Emden, BRUO.
2. These names are supplied by the Balliol College Register 1514-1682. See below, p.22.
3. Anthony Wood and Henry Savage.

partly with Neville's help, for Anthony Wood saw his coat of arms in the east windows.[1] Directly facing this, the college hall was also built about the same time. Thomas Chace (master in 1412, 1416 and perhaps 1422) played a large part in this project,[2] but amongst others who generously supported it and were commemorated in its windows were Robert Wombwell, Thomas Barry, William Gray and George Neville.[3] The master's lodging to the south of the hall came into being at a later date, possibly through William Gray's patronage.[4] But again Neville's coat of arms appeared in its glass[5] and this can still be seen, transferred now to a window in the New Library. It shows clearly not only the Neville arms (quarterly 2 and 3 gules a saltire argent, which the earl of Salisbury had differenced with a label) but the Montacute and Monthermer quarterings used by his brother Richard before his marriage and also adopted by George Neville himself.

Between the hall and the much older chapel stretched the library. Thomas Chace built its five western bays at some

1. Quoted by F. de Paravicini op. cit., p.94.
2. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 93.
3. A. Wood, History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1786), p.88.
4. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 93.
5. H. Savage, Balliofergus (Oxford, 1668), p.68.

date before 1431, but four eastern bays were added by Robert Abdy between 1477 and 1494.[1] The incentive for this last construction was most probably Gray's bequest of books which came to the college in 1478 and are still housed in this part of the library. Much of the fifteenth century glass also survives. It records the arms of a large number of benefactors including, appropriately enough, those of both Abdy and Gray. Neville is referred to three times. In the third window to the north the first light contains his family arms which were originally accompanied by the verse 'Sit presul alma tibi requies sine fine Georgi'. The second light includes Neville's arms as archbishop of York and also, in its label, a reference to William Staveley.[2] Perhaps Stavely, who was Neville's servant,[3] was responsible for the commemoration of his patron. The York arms occur again in the fifth window and in the first window on the south side where they were surrounded by the verse 'Fige dies cursum nec perdat virgo triumphum'.[4] According to Savage this last window included a picture of

1. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 92.
2. H. Savage, op. cit., p.91 and A. Wood, op. cit., p.92.
3. Below, p.169.
4. A. Wood, op. cit., pp.93, 95.

the staves which Neville gave to the university bedels, but of this nothing remains.[1]

It would be fitting if we could find in Balliol College Library more substantial evidence of Neville's patronage. But there is nothing there now which can compare with Gray's generous gift of books. One manuscript, no. 117, bore his episcopal arms when Langbaine saw it and was presumably given to Balliol by Neville after he had become bishop of Exeter.[2] A second, now in the Bodleian Library, most probably belonged to him.[3] But in view of the confusion which attended the break up of Neville's household we can hardly see these two volumes as representative of this form of patronage, actual or intended.

In one other very practical way Neville showed how closely he had his college's interests at heart. By this date the statute of mortmain was preventing would-be donors from making straightforward grants of land or property to religious corporations. Royal licences could be obtained for this purpose but the patent rolls of this period show few such applications and none in the case of Balliol.

1. H. Savage, op. cit., p.68.
2. R.A.B. Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford (Oxford, 1963), pp.95-6.
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.753; R.A.B. Mynors, op. cit., pp.381-2.

There was, however, an alternative. According to the 'use' land could be entrusted to a number of feoffees who might hold it to the benefit of a third party. This arrangement had the advantage of avoiding the payment of feudal incidents although it depended for its efficiency upon the co-operation, responsibility and influence of the feoffees.[1] Neville was frequently called upon to act in this capacity together with other prominent members of the church or of the local gentry. But no group of such deeds reveals his own inclinations more clearly than the documents at Balliol recording land transfers.

Some of these show the college acquiring property in and about Oxford. In October 1450, the same month that he took his first degree,[2] Neville headed a list of people entrusted with the land of a certain Stephen Braywell, outside the north gate of the city.[3] Acting with the young graduate were Robert Thwaytes who had just been elected master of Balliol, Robert Abdy, fellow of the same college, and William Rede, vicar of St. Mary Magdalen. Six years later they granted the property to John Warkworth, the bishop of Ely's chaplain, who as part of the same transaction transferred it

1. See M. Avery, 'The History of the Equitable Jurisdiction of Chancery before 1460' B.I.H.R. xlii (1969), 135-7.
2. Below, p.25.
3. Oxford Balliol Deeds ed. H.E. Salter (O.H.S., lxiv, 1913), p.268.

in turn to Balliol.[1] In 1459 Neville acted as a sole trustee for three tenements situated in the parish of St. Peter le Bailey, St. Ebbe's and St. Giles.[2] Thomas Herberfield, who seems to have been an Oxford citizen of some substance, also employed Neville in this capacity. He granted him and a number of other eminent clerks a messuage outside the north gate, Rack Hall near the east gate, a shop in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin and another messuage within the city.[3] Balliol seems to have been consolidating its own position as a landowner slightly to the north of Oxford but it is interesting to find such an emphasis on city property.

As Neville moved beyond university circles we find his name cited in connection with land and benefactors of more than local importance. Not long after he became chancellor of England, Robert Kirkeham, keeper of the rolls of chancery, his colleague Richard Fryston, and William Morland, priest of St. Mary Arches in London, made a grant to him and a number of Balliol graduates including the bishop of Ely and William Appulby.[4] It concerned property in the parish of St. Margaret

1. Ibid., pp.269-271.
2. Ibid., p.259.
3. Ibid., pp.223, 193.
4. Balliol College Archives B 14.9.

Patins in Rood Lane, which Stow later described as 'furnished with many fayre houses for Marchantes'.[1] Within Oxfordshire he was entrusted, together with Robert Harecourt a prominent county figure, with property in New and Old Woodstock, Kirtlington, Wootton, Shipton and Glympton.[2] In 1464 he held for his college two messuages in Moreton given by Robert Boteler of Thame and his wife Elizabeth.[3] This last grant shows how long on occasion his patronage lasted. As late as February 1476, three months before his death, Neville was still actively engaged in college affairs. At this time he had two deeds drawn up in his Westminster house which arranged for the transfer of this property to George Fitzhugh, William Appulby, Ralph Stanhope and others.[4]

The precise part which Neville played in these transactions is difficult to gauge. He may only have lent his name. But many other of the Balliol fellows who also appear in these documents were not wealthy men and it is likely that Neville himself raised some of the money for the lands which passed eventually into the college's possession. These

1. J. Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), i. 209.
2. Balliol College Archives F 8.12.
3. Ibid., A 15.46.
4. Ibid., A 15.47 and 48.

transactions define an important relationship. On the one hand Balliol itself seems to have been particularly active in this period, acquiring property in and outside Oxford and embarking upon an extensive programme of building. On the other were the men whose interest made this development possible: the masters who roused enthusiasm and supervised operations, and patrons like Gray and Neville who provided much of the finance and helped with the legal processes involved.

Despite the uncertain history of Neville's reputation, Balliol has preserved a tradition of his generosity. One of its early historians remarked somewhat cursorily of him 'This our Nevil was a Benefactor to Colledge in Books, Building etc.'[1] But within its archives there is a more interesting testimony. The college register, which extends from 1514 to 1682, contains at the end several unnumbered pages covered with jottings of various dates. Amongst these is a long list drawn up by Thomas Atkynson, fellow of Balliol in 1568, which commemorates 152 benefactors. John Balliol and his wife appropriately head the list but lower down comes the name of George Neville, archbishop of York, preceded and followed by the now familiar names of Robert

1. H. Savage, op. cit., p.104.

Thwaytes, Thomas Chace, William Gray and Robert Abdy. Two pages later the same compiler listed eighteen founders and benefactors for whom the Office of the Dead was to be recited. Neville's obit is entered first against the date 7 April (struak out) and then under the month of June, in which he died This confirms the impression of an important and lasting association between Neville and his Oxford college.

ii) Academic career

If Neville followed conventional procedure in the faculty of Arts then he would have spent four years in study before taking his first degree. During this time students heard lectures on prescribed texts and took a modest part in public disputations.[1] But when on 15 June 1450 Neville supplicated for his bachelor's degree, he offered no precise details of the exercises he had undertaken.[2] Instead he requested simply 'quatinus ea que fecit in facultate artium sufficiant sibi pro completa forma'; this vague phrasing may well conceal a shorter course of studies than was usual.

1. For details concerning academic courses see Strickland Gibson, Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis (Oxford, 1931), pp.lxxxv-cxxii and H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M. Powicke & A.B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), iii. 153-160.
2. Oxford University Register Aa, f.47v.

The grace which the regent masters of congregation granted him on this occasion suggests privilege in another way. The young graduate was allowed to take under his patronage a number of students who were about to be admitted to the degree of M.A. According to custom he paid the considerable expenses attendant upon this ceremony and the scholars then incepted 'under' him.[1] But Neville's grace was an unusual one for two reasons. Mere bachelors did not commonly subsidise the inception of masters and only his family's wealth explains the disparity in academic status between patron and dependent. Secondly the masters who incepted under Neville enjoyed a remarkable privilege. As long as he took his degree before the feast of All Saints, their period of regency was cut from two years to one. On the other hand these concessions were not made unconditionally. The masters so promoted had to fulfil the usual requirements of lecturing and disputing on forty consecutive days set aside for that purpose; in addition, within the year they were obliged to take part in three formal disputations. Moreover congregation reserved the right to extend their regency to the customary two years if the number of ordinary inceptors between the feast of All Saints and the feast of St. Thomas

1. H. Rashdall, op. cit., pp.144-5.

did not reach ten, a condition apparently designed to ensure that the university did not run short of those men who bore the greater part of its teaching responsibilities.

Later that same year, on 20 October, Neville performed the necessary exercises in the nave of St. Mary the Virgin and was formally granted his bachelor's degree.[1] The number of those who incepted under him is not known but it included two fellows of Oriel College, John Brewe and Henry Popy, who received formal graces mentioning their patron in April 1451.[2]

The exceptional features of this academic progress were repeated two years later. This time we know that the regents relaxed the usual conditions, for most bachelors had to lecture and dispute for three years before inception and many in fact took longer.[3] But it is clear from Neville's grace that he had nevertheless managed to fulfil many of the necessary academic qualifications.[4] He had lectured publicly on Aristotle's Predicamenti, Elenchi and De Anima; at the bachelors' Austin disputations he had responded once only but in the more solemn proceedings of the masters he

1. Oxford University Register Aa, f.10v.
2. C.W. Boase, Register of the University of Oxford I (O.H.S., i, 1885), p.64 where Popy and Brewe are incorrectly said to have incepted for Neville.
3. Ibid., pp.13-14 for examples.
4. Register Aa, f.66.

responded twice and opposed four times. On these grounds the regents allowed him to proceed to his degree. Again he took a number of inceptors under him who were only held to one year's regency; but these men had both to fulfil all the usual requirements before inception and to dispute three extra times after the ceremony. It seems likely that at least some of the seven students who became masters on the 11 or 14 October belonged to this privileged group.[1]

For any scholar of noble birth the conferment of his master's degree was attended with great, and occasionally riotous, celebrations. Not only did he help some of his poorer fellow students with the fees which had then to be paid; he was also expected to provide a feast for a considerable part of the university population.[2] In Neville's case the occasion was a particularly flamboyant one. The regents expressly allowed him to disregard the limit placed on inception expenses, although they took the opportunity of warning him that the correct order of academic procedure should be maintained.[3] In return Neville specifically asked that they were to have free access to the ceremonies.[4]

1. C.W. Boase, op. cit., p.18.
2. H.E. Salter, Medieval Oxford (O.H.S., c, 1936), p.108.
3. Register Aa, f.66.
4. Ibid., f.68v.

These took place towards the end of the year, for late in October 1452 Neville held a great feast to celebrate his master's degree.[1] On the first day he entertained his colleagues and some of his relations, who had come up to Oxford for the purpose, with a great banquet. Six hundred dishes of meat in three courses were served to the assembled company, while on the second day there was a somewhat more modest provision of three hundred. In addition he extended generous hospitality to 'the poor and ordinary sort of people of the University'.

It would not have been surprising if Neville's academic career had ended with this impressive display. William Dudley, another scholar of noble birth whose graces resemble Neville's and who also became chancellor, does not seem to have progressed beyond the degree of M.A.[2] But shortly after he had completed his year's regency Neville received a dispensation allowing him to proceed in theology.[3] The wording of this grace is again unusual. But it seems that in providing that Neville might lecture 'in cathedra superiore' the regents were also allowing him bachelor status in this

1. A. Wood, History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1792) i. 598-9.
2. Emden, BRUO.
3. Register Aa, f.81.

subject. It is rather startling to find the normal requirement of seven years' study so coolly omitted.

On 2 June 1457 Neville supplicated for his doctorate.[1] He had lectured upon the bible and upon the Sentences of Peter Lombard. He also offered a public sermon preached at St. Mary's, together with an extra sermon prescribed by the recent statutes of 1447. This last sermon he was said to have preached 'infra annum post introitum libri Sentenciarum'. The main gap in his theological studies appears to have lain in his disputations, for he could only offer one opponency and one responsion. By the end of the fifteenth century this was common for those proceeding to a bachelor's degree,[2] but it seems rather little out of the total of sixteen usually required for the doctorate.

Disappointingly, we have no proof that Neville ever formally incepted as a doctor of theology. The regents at first stipulated that he should do so within the eight days following Easter (1458).[3] But at the end of the year they deleted the condition on Neville's request,[4] and this is the last entry in the register of congregation concerned with his degrees. But the distinction between a doctor in status and in title seems to have been a formal one. At

1. Register Aa, f.104v.
2. H. Rashdall, op. cit., iii, 159n.
3. Register Aa, f.104v.
4. Ibid., f.107v.

least one writer of the day called him a doctor, although as the same author also credited him with the archbishopric of Canterbury too much weight cannot be placed on his evidence.[1] A more reliable guide to his theological interests is to be found in the part which he played in Reginald Pecock's trial towards the end of this same year, 1457.[2]

The most notable feature of Neville's academic career was most certainly its speed. To reach the status of D.Th. by the age of twenty five involved an abnormal distortion of the university's scholastic requirements. His inception feast and the group of privileged students who accompanied him at almost every stage of his singular progress clearly illustrate the advantages which he enjoyed as a member of a noble and influential family. But this point must not be overstressed. The university was granting a large number of graces at this time, partly no doubt to augment its income but partly also to bring some measure of flexibility to an administration hampered by the number and complexity of its statutes. George Neville's graces were unusual but not unprecedented. Moreover we have seen that

1. G. Chastellain, Oeuvres, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1864) viii. 338.
2. Below, p. 64.

in most cases the regents hedged their concessions with conditions aimed at maintaining academic proprieties. Finally, the university itself made it very difficult for the young graduate to pursue the normal course of studies. By electing him chancellor the masters placed upon him responsibilities which took much of his time. In these circumstances Neville's advance from M.A. to D.Th. status reflects in ample measure his own tastes and abilities.

iii) Chancellor of the University

(a) Background

While we know comparatively little about Oxford as a centre of learning and scholarship in the fifteenth century, we are able to see the university uniquely in this period as a large and expanding corporation. Despite the claims that numbers were dropping,[1] it not only maintained the efficiency of its administrative machine but also developed some of the features most characteristic of the university as it is known today. The halls which provided lodging and supervision for the greater part of its students had passed their heyday although now they were more carefully organised

1. Epistolae Academicae Oxon, ed. H. Anstey (O.H.S. xxxv, 1898), i. 155-7 and ii. 359-362.

than ever before.[1] More significant for later generations was the steady foundation of new colleges. Richard Flemyng founded Lincoln College in 1427;[2] Archbishop Chichele provided a site for St. Bernard's College[3] and in 1438 made his better known foundation of All Souls.[4] Ten years later William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, secured a licence to endow what became Magdalen College.[5] At the same time some of the older colleges, like Balliol, were consolidating their possessions and acquiring new endowments. The college system, therefore, while it still embraced only a small proportion of the university population, was rising in status and importance. Nor was physical expansion limited to these foundations. In 1423 the academic authorities planned to build a school of theology; the duke of Gloucester's gift of books led them to a more elaborate scheme which involved an additional library above the school.[6] Later in the century they embarked upon the building of a school of canon law and upon the restoration

1. See A.B. Emden, An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times (Oxford, 1927), chapter IX.
2. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 163.
3. Ibid., p.258.
4. Ibid., p.173.
5. Ibid., p.193.
6. Ibid., p.15.

of the university's centre, the church of St. Mary the Virgin.[1] Meanwhile there were changes in the internal organisation. Many statutes were passed regulating university procedures. Finances were helped by benefactors like Archbishop Chichele and Joanna Danvers who endowed chests, while lectureships were at least discussed, even if they never existed for long in this period.[2]

Many of these developments were made possible by generous patronage. The university enjoyed its share of the interest in education which was so much a feature of the fifteenth century. Bishops who founded grammar schools within their dioceses also made grants of money or books to their colleges. As literacy spread and more laymen visited Oxford to pick up the elements of learning necessary for a secular career, benefactors came to include men like Ralph Holland, the London merchant,[3] and members of the nobility. A rather special position was occupied by the king. Henry VI's interests lay principally with his foundations at Cambridge and Eton but it is clear from university correspondence that he also extended his patronage to Oxford and its scholars. The chancellor and masters addressed many

1. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 377, 417-8, 569ff.
2. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 15-17.
3. Epistolae Academicae, i. 323-4.

requests to him on matters which involved the university and they also saluted the four year old Prince Edward, hoping that he would continue his father's tradition.[1]

Patronage was always an important factor in academic growth and development but for several reasons it became a vital issue about the time that George Neville went up to Oxford. There was, first, the general problem of the promotion of graduates. Since the steps taken by the king to limit the scope of papal provisions towards the end of the fourteenth century, graduates could no longer expect as a general rule to receive from the pope the rich benefices which their long and arduous training seemed to justify. Instead they became dependent upon the discrimination and good will of those who dispensed ecclesiastical patronage within England. Letters to the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops sitting in convocation show how conscious the university body was of the change which had taken place; to the lack of suitable rewards for graduates they ascribed, not only the ills present within the academic body itself, but also the spread of heresy and the divisions and dissensions arising within the kingdom.[2]

The disorder affecting the whole country brought its own

1. Ibid., ii. 339-340.
2. Ibid., ii. 359-362.

problems. For the university to function correctly it needed security, both in the tenure of its privileges and in freedom from outside interference. Time after time it appealed to Henry VI to set right injustices stemming from the prosecution of its members in external courts, but as the king's power declined other protectors had to be found.

But perhaps the most urgent need which arose at this time was a financial one. Modest benefactions initiated ambitious building schemes but only an assured income from this source could guarantee their completion. In the long correspondence over the new Divinity School, particularly, we may catch the haunting tones of academic poverty. Apart from attracting gifts and bequests, the university had also to protect itself from depredations upon its own endowments. In 1450 parliament set about an act of resumption to restore the king's finances. Threatened with the loss to its colleges of all-important lands and rents the university sent a torrent of letters to the royal chancellor, the duke of York and the lords and commons of parliament.[1] In this case it was successful but later acts of this kind always roused the same fear.

The increasing dependence upon outside patronage which resulted from such needs quickly found a reflection in the

1. Ibid., i. 287-294.

kind of person chosen to be chancellor. According to the statutes the chancellor had to be elected for a two year term from those who held the degree of doctor;[1] consequently for long the office was filled by resident academics with some claims to scholarship, experienced in university administration. In the first part of the fifteenth century we still find men of this type, like Henry Sever and Thomas Gascoigne. But Oxford's long and fruitful connection with the duke of Gloucester helped to bring about a change. In 1431 Gilbert Kymer, the duke's physician, was elected chancellor for the usual term.[2] Fifteen years later he again took office, this time, as the masters explained to Gloucester, specifically 'ut docere suggerere et informare possit quid in gerendis rebus nostris ubique gratissimum fiat serenitati vestre'.[3] He remained chancellor for six years. Other chancellors who wielded power in their own right were William Gray and Thomas Bourgchier who became bishop of Worcester soon after he took office.[4] This tendency towards electing a man of influence who might or might not reside in the university was not confined to

1. Strickland Gibson, op. cit., p.lxxii.
2. Emden, BRUO.
3. Epistolae Academicae, i.256.
4. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii.39.

Oxford. Cambridge was also starting to choose men like Nicholas Close, bishop of Carlisle, and Laurence Booth, bishop of Durham.[1] In 1451 the masters elected William Percy, soon to follow Close at Carlisle; it would be interesting to know if those who met to choose a new Oxford chancellor two years later were affected by the notorious rivalry between the Nevilles and the Percies. At all events they were aware, as never before, of a need for a man who could bring all his influence, and perhaps his wealth, to the solution of university problems.

(b) 1453 - 1457

It seems that early in 1453 Kymer's hold upon the chancellorship weakened. A dispensation granted to Neville on 30 April declared him 'capax officii cancellariatus', thereby exempting him from the normal academic qualification for this office.[2] In May Kymer, together with Elias Holkot warden of Merton, had to face charges of misusing 500 marks left by the bishop of Winchester for the new Divinity School and although exonerated he resigned shortly afterwards.[3] On 11 May representatives were chosen to elect a new

1. V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, iii. 332.
2. Oxford University Register Aa, f.72v.
3. Ibid., f.73.

chancellor; Masters Beke, Sawnders, Ketyll and Morton were selected as nominators from the higher faculties, Masters Warkworth, Grafton, Veysey and Boket from the faculty of arts, while the two proctors acting as scrutators brought the number to its full complement.[1] All these men had held responsible positions in the university, so no doubt can be cast upon the validity of the election. But it is interesting to note that Gascoigne's name which heads the list in the register with his title 'cancellarius natus' and the addition 'primo et ante omnes' was struck out. Perhaps he disassociated himself from the proceedings, for the result of the deliberations which went on during the next month was little to the taste of this experienced but irascible don. On 9 June George Neville took the chancellor's oath, received the insignia of his office and was formally enthroned.[2]

During the next five years Neville fulfilled his responsibilities conscienciously and the university seems to have been reluctant to lose his services. On 21 March 1455 after the customary period of two years he resigned but was immediately reelected.[3] It was soon clear, however, that

1. Register Aa, f.73v.
2. Ibid., f.75.
3. Ibid., f.88v.

he could not reside permanently in Oxford. He received a grace allowing him a month's absence on the condition that it applied only for that year.[1] But in the following March, when it became known that he had been provided to the bishopric of Exeter, congregation conceded that he could not be held to residence; in addition they specifically allowed him one month free before Christmas and another between Christmas and Easter.[2] On 5 April 1457 Neville, described as 'Exoniensis electus et confirmatus', resigned the chancellorship. Elected once again he accepted office only 'plurimum renitens, precibus tamen et obsecracionibus tocius congregacionis adtunc inclinatus'.[3] Three months later he resigned once more, this time by proxy.[4]

The register of congregation which covers this period gives a clear picture of Neville's activities as the head of his university's legislative and administrative body. Early in 1456 we find him involved in discussions over defects and ambiguities in the statutes.[5] Appointed to head a select committee which also included eight experienced doctors and masters and the two proctors, he was responsible for three

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., f.97v.
3. Ibid., f.103.
4. Ibid., f.105.
5. Ibid., f.93.

additional statutes passed by congregation on 20 February.[1] In future Lenten theology disputations were to go on past noon until compline so that the ability of those taking part could be more accurately assessed; in addition only one doctor was to dispute on the same day that inceptors in arts held their disputations. This, it was hoped, would remedy the 'graue dampnum et non modicum dispendium prosperi successus sacre theologie'. Contemporary problems find a reflection in the last statute which laid down the procedure to be followed in cases of appeal. Within the university appeals could either be taken from the chancellor to the congregation of regents and from thence to the congregation of regents and non-regents, or directly from the first to the second type of congregation. The next recourse was to the pope and to the king, but to prevent frivolous appeals to the holy see plaintiffs had to offer cautions and agree upon a time limit for their cases. On 26 February the university set out even more clearly the ascending order of judicial authority: first came the official, then the chancellor or his commissary-general, the congregation of regents, the congregation of regents and non-regents, then in civil matters the king and in

1. Strickland Gibson, op. cit., pp.276-9.

ecclesiastical the pope. The two proctors were to assess cases brought before the chancellor and one judge was appointed to hear appeals.

There were also more everyday duties. As chancellor Neville supervised the chest of Five Keys and thus controlled expenditure on such items as the university's building programme. He was also occasionally involved in the business of granting degrees which took such a large part of congregation's time. On 30 January 1456 he pronounced graces for Thomas Chaundler and for four other men;[1] five days later twenty four more were granted.[2] Among those who received them from the chancellor himself were William Dudley, another privileged scholar of noble birth, and William Poteman, whom we shall meet again in connection with the York diocese. Many of these scholars paid highly for the privilege, with sums ranging from 20s. to £20. One other mention of this duty is significant. On 27 October John Shirwood, then only a Yorkshire rector, supplicated for a D.Th. on the basis of his academic exercises in Cambridge.[3] On 29 October Neville himself incorporated him as a member of the university;[4] it is the earliest indication of a long and close association.

1. Register Aa, f.93r-v.
2. Ibid., f.94-95.
3. Register Aa, f.99v.
4. Ibid.

As chancellor, Neville is frequently named during this period in letters written in congregation and sent to a wide variety of recipients. It is doubtful whether his connection with most of them was more than formal but exceptions can perhaps be made in two cases. The university must have felt itself in a particularly strong position when it addressed a complaint to the chancellor of England who in 1454 was Neville's father, the earl of Salisbury.[1] The regents protested that friars from foreign universities, and especially from Paris, were depriving Oxford students of their rightful alms whilst preaching and hearing confessions during Lent. This abuse was aggravated by the fact that Paris, unlike Cambridge, had no arrangement for the reciprocal granting of degrees and that these friars were believed to be betraying state secrets. Apart from its clear traces of francophobia this letter is interesting as one of the few indications that there were French students in England at this date. Another important issue arose in 1456. Henry VI wrote to the university early in the year asking that John Andrew, the servant of Sir Edmund Hampden, should be elected as superior bedel of laws. In reply, while they pointed out that the chancellor had sponsored

1. Epistolae Academicae, i. 322-3.

this nomination 'quoad statutorum strictitudo permisit', the authors of this letter tactfully excused themselves from electing the royal nominee on the grounds that this would amount to an infringement of their privileges. The same answer was sent to the Queen.[1] Clearly royal patronage had its dangers.

Much of Neville's time during his first term as chancellor seems to have been taken up by judicial work. He was largely responsible for disciplining Richard Osborn, a university bedel; he sent him first to the bishop of Lincoln for absolution of his crime and then he determined the fine which Osborn was to pay on his return.[2] In June 1454 he denounced and degraded master William Lynton 'pro manifesto ac notorio periurio'.[3] Towards the end of the same year he was appointed together with the proctors to arbitrate in a financial dispute of some standing.[4] In May 1452 the chancellor and university authorities had granted Bedel Hall to John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester.[5] Some kind of payment was obviously envisaged for there is a

1. Ibid., pp.334-336.
2. Register Aa, f.83.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., f.87.
5. C.L. Shadwell & H.E. Salter, Oriel College Records (O.H.S. lxxxv, 1926), p.137.

reference to forty marks which were received for the hall.[1] Neville found that Carpenter had not paid anything for several years and was consequently guilty of a debt of £10. He ordered that this should be paid by the 25 March following. Subsequently Carpenter made Bedel Hall and four other tenements over to Oriel College[2] and also paid the required sum.[3] Settlement of the dispute was finally confirmed by Neville in 1471.[4]

But the clearest picture we have of Neville as a judge and administrator comes not from the records of congregation but from his own register, commonly termed the chancellor's court book. Here we find him supervising the halls of the university,[5] proving wills[6] and hearing cases of debt.[7] Much litigation, both criminal and civil, came before him. His first act as chancellor was to convict a John Durmyng of breaking the peace.[8] On 13 November 1453 he appointed

1. Munimenta Academica ed. H. Anstey (Rolls Ser., 1, 1898), ii. 735.
2. Oriel College Records, p.139.
3. Epistolae Academicae, i. 328.
4. Oriel College Records, pp.139-140.
5. Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis 1434-1469, H.E. Salter (O.H.S. xciii, 1932), i. 340.
6. Ibid., pp.351-4, 374-5.
7. Ibid., pp.331, 346.
8. Ibid., p.327.

four arbiters to settle the quarrel between William Poteman and Thomas Peny, the vicar of St. Peter in the east, reserving final judgement to Thomas Gascoigne.[1] In 1455 he heard a dispute over property in his own rooms at Balliol[2] and the following year he was there again for another trial.[3] The number of such cases shows both how close to the surface violence lay in medieval Oxford and also, since most of them were settled by independent arbiters, how necessary was the legislation on appeals.

The chancellor's register is particularly interesting because of the way it was compiled. It was by no means a full summary of business; the chancellor entered only what he wished to record and there is evidence that he wrote much of it himself. Gascoigne's hand, for example, which is well known from other sources can be found there.[4] The case with Neville is a little more complicated. Several hands appear under the entries which bear his name as chancellor and it is not possible to say which, if any, belonged to him. Probably, as befitted his noble status, he employed a number of scribes to make out the entries he thought important. But the writing of his two commissaries Thomas Sawnders and Thomas

1. Ibid., p.330.
2. Ibid., p.350.
3. Ibid., p.358.
4. Ibid., p.xi.

Bonyfaunt, is quite distinctive. The folios headed by their names are covered by their own compilations. Thus it would seem likely that the headings which indicate Neville's participation in the chancellor's judicial work can at this period be taken quite seriously. Even the term 'coram domino cancellario', which in a less personal record would be purely formal, has significance. From the court book therefore, it emerges that the chancellor and his commissaries worked alternately rather than simultaneously; and that during his first term of office Neville was dispensing justice in Oxford for at least some months of every year.

(c) 1457 - 1461. 1461 - 1472.

Thomas Chaundler succeeded Neville as chancellor in June 1457 and held office for the next four years. But although Neville had heavy responsibilities as bishop of Exeter and, after 25 July 1461, as chancellor of England, he continued to take an interest in the affairs of his university. On 2 December 1457 he presented six staves for use by the bedels, a generous gesture for which there were few precedents.[1] Two years later he was elected with

1. Register Aa, f.107v.

Chaundler to enquire into the privileges enjoyed by servants of the university.[1]

On 15 May 1461 Neville entered on his second period as chancellor.[2] This time however, the circumstances were very different from those that had surrounded his first election. Deeply committed in ecclesiastical and political spheres he could not be expected to make any pretence of keeping residence and the evidence of his personal performance of duties during these years is, to say the least, fragmentary. He is mentioned by name in acquittances and other financial provisions granted in 1462, 1464, 1465, 1468, 1470-2,[3] but doubts as to whether he could have been in Oxford during these last years when his career was in the balance are enough to render these an unreliable source. Other references are also unsatisfactory. On 12 August 1461 Richard Harecourt, the sheriff, refused to take the customary oath to protect the university and the issue was postponed until the chancellor's arrival.[4] In September a certain Robert Bennett was released from prison 'ex speciali gracia domini

1. Ibid., f. 115.
2. Registrum Cancellarii, ii. 37.
3. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 368, 372, 374, 378, 382, 386, 398.
4. Registrum Cancellarii, ii. 44.

cancellarii'.[1] The chancellor's express command was also mentioned in a case in December of the same year.[2] In 1468 the regent masters voiced the hope that he would have the time to visit them after parliament had finished.[3] In another letter dated 15 December and probably belonging to 1469 the king advised that a dispute over the election of a bedel should be held in abeyance until the chancellor arrived, which would not be later than the feast of St. Hilary.[4]

But for most ordinary purposes it seems that during this period university administration pursued an independent course. The register of congregation extends only to 1463 and is spasmodic in its final entries; its only direct reference to Neville is a badly mutilated entry probably recording his reelection in that last year.[5] The chancellor's register is more explicit. All the business it records until its close in 1470 came into the hands of a large number of commissaries and other officers and not once is there unequivocal mention of Neville's presence. Up till

1. Ibid., p.52.
2. Ibid., pp.126-7.
3. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 383-4.
4. M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, (Cambridge, 1912), ii. 324.
5. Register Aa, f.127v.

about the date of his reelection Neville's name is regularly used in the long titles of his commissaries but soon after 1463 even this formality very largely disappears. On 19 May 1464 Chaundler was termed chancellor[1] and vicechancellor frequently afterwards. By 1468 accused persons were being summoned to appear 'coram officium cancellarii occupante'.[2]

In spite of his absence from Oxford, however, Neville remained closely in touch with university affairs and acted as a lively and responsible patron. One Oxford college particularly has reason to remember him. As a foundation of the previous reign, Lincoln College was particularly vulnerable early in Edward IV's reign. It was by no means a flourishing institution 'pre nimia mortis sui fundatoris acceleratione' and the king threatened to suppress it.[3] At this point Neville intervened and, using his powerful influence as chancellor of England, secured for the college a pardon, a confirmation of its foundation charter and a licence to acquire lands in mortmain.[4] It was a generous action and in return the rector and fellows undertook to

1. Registrum Cancellarii, ii. 133.
2. Ibid., p.299.
3. Oxford, Lincoln College Archives, Charters Book II (1446-65) f.22.
4. A. Clark, University of Oxford College Histories, Lincoln (1898), pp.21-2.

pray for Neville and his family. In particular they agreed to celebrate the anniversary of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury. Half of the indenture then drawn up passed to Neville's keeping while the other half, sealed with Neville's Exeter seal, remained in the care of Lincoln College where it can still be seen.

For the most part Neville exercised control during these years, first by means of the men he appointed to office and secondly by correspondence. His commissaries, who included Laurence Cokkys, John Caldbek, Thomas Stephen and Thomas Husband, were unexceptional men, university administrators trained in canon law or theology. William Ive was involved like Neville in the Carmelite controversy[1] but apart from him they seem to have had none of the personal contact with the chancellor which illumines the careers of some of his earlier associates.

The letters which the university sent to their chancellor, however, reveal how strong the connection remained. On the regents' side Neville was 'dominus noster singularissimus' known for his kindness and magnanimity towards the academic body;[2] as time went on he was addressed as a hope, a refuge,

1. F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite friars and the secular clergy, 1464-8', Journ. Eccl. Hist. vi (1955), 156-174.
2. Epistolae Academicae ii. 362.

'nostra salus unica totiusque ecclesie solatium singulare'.[1] Needless to say, there was a good reason for this flattery; the regents wanted help. In 1460 the university scribe referred only to 'quibusquam nunc peragendis negociis' which two of his officers in the Exeter diocese would explain.[2] But academic privileges lay at the bottom of many requests. Thus not long after he became chancellor he was asked to gain royal confirmation for these because of some unrest within the city.[3] Later the regents urged

> 'ut nostra privilegia que tum per operam concessa, teque jubente conscripta sunt, tuas summa prudentia - cum id quo pacto fieri debent tibi quam nobis notum magis est - jam prorsus perficiantur'.[4]

Sometimes there were specific examples of their abuse. John Lydford in 1466 was attempting to prosecute a proctor and a regent master in the archbishop of Canterbury's court.[5] At about the same time Geoffrey Herbert was victimising Thomas Danett, a fellow of Merton, causing him to be imprisoned and brought to trial in London.[6]

Neville's patronage was solicited for a number of other

1. Ibid., pp.383-4.
2. Ibid., pp.362-3.
3. Ibid., pp.366-7.
4. Ibid., pp.383-4.
5. Ibid., pp.378-9.
6. Ibid., pp.379-80.

reasons. We learn from a request for his intervention that an old quarrel between doctors of medicine and doctors of civil law had flared up again with some violence.[1] Only Neville, it was said, could put an end to the trouble. At the same time the regents asked him to secure money left to the university by the vicar of St. Helens Abingdon which was being withheld by the abbot of the monastery there.[2] Finally in 1470 Neville was asked to secure another bequest, this time a collection of books given by the earl of Worcester.[3]

On his side, Neville wrote to the university early in the new king's reign complaining of disturbances within Oxford; in return he received an account of the measures taken against malefactors.[4] On one occasion he sought to impose an appointment of his own upon the university; in 1469 he asked that Robert Canon, who was suitable on the grounds of loyalty, birth, ability and age, should be elected bedel of laws.[5] Unfortunately we do not know how the university reacted to his skilled and subtle appeal, but if this was the election which had required Neville's

1. Ibid., pp.383-4.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp.389-90.
4. Ibid., pp.365-6.
5. J. Tait, 'Letters of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester and Archbishop Neville to the University of Oxford, Eng. Hist. Rev., xxxv (1920), 572-3.

intervention,[1] then it is hard to see how his suggestion could have been passed over. As late as 1471 Neville was still active as a patron, for he reported then the success of his attempts to gain Tiptoft's books.[2]

Neville's fall from political power, however, inevitably found reflection within Oxford. In 1472 Edward IV commanded the regents to remove the archbishop from the chancellorship. Henceforth, he said, he would act as their protector; no longer would they need a bishop for that purpose.[3] The reply, which was fulsome in the extreme, contained not one reference to their former patron. Delighted at securing a new and influential guardian of their interests, the regents promptly reported that they had elected as their chancellor Thomas Chaundler, the king's chaplain.[4]

(d) Oxford and national politics

Neville's loss of the chancellorship suggests questions which no account of Oxford during this period can ignore. At a time when loyalties to families and to dynasties both made and broke fortunes, the struggles which divided the

1. Above, p.47.
2. J. Tait, op. cit., pp.573-4.
3. M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge 1912), ii. 324.
4. Epistolae Academicae ii. 400-1.

nation could be expected to have repercussions within the university, which was at best a quarrelsome place. It would be interesting to know where academic sympathies lay and whether they were actively affected by the chancellor's political affinities.

Unfortunately it is not possible to give a clear answer. As has been seen, official correspondence was dictated from motives of need not loyalty and therefore throws little light on the problem. In 1470 congregation thanked God for Henry's return to the throne and hoped for his favour;[1] a year later they greeted Edward as king and expressed the same wish.[2] While there are plenty of records of judicial proceedings during these years they are concerned not so much with the exact content of crime as with its solution or punishment. Nevertheless it is possible to trace, if not direct lines of political allegiance, at least an outline of disturbance in Oxford centering on the year of Edward IV's accession.

One of the first signs of trouble was the outbreak of a controversy which periodically marked relations between town and gown. In 1458 a city bailiff, John Stokys, imprisoned a scholar, thus contravening university privilege.[3]

1. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 392-3.
2. Ibid., pp.395-6.
3. Register Aa, f.112v.

When Chaundler promptly took retaliatory action against Stokys the mayor of Oxford appealed to the king who was then close at hand at Woodstock. Henry, however, upheld Chaundler's rights in the affair and commanded that the offending bailiff should remain in prison, there to await a pardon. Seven months later congregation appointed a committee, including both the chancellor and George Neville, to improve relations with the city authorities by determining the exact extent of university liberties and privileges.[1] The three principal points at issue were the imprisonment of scholars and their servants by the mayor or bailiffs, their trial in the king's court held at the guildhall before the same authorities, and the punishment of those townsmen who broke the king's peace within the university. On 23 February 1459 an indenture was drawn up between the chancellor and mayor which embodied an agreement on all three points.[2] Its most important clauses stated that the chancellor was allowed to take his prisoner from the common gaol as long as he did so within the period of four weeks and brought him to trial within the next twelve weeks. University privilege was held to extend to the chancellor, doctors, masters, graduates, scholars and those whom they employed;

1. Ibid., f.115v.
2. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 343-5.

cases in which any of these were involved should be heard before the chancellor.

This agreement, however, seems to have done little to stem the rising tide of disorder. Keeping the peace had always been an irksome duty in Oxford where recurrent disputes between northerners and southerners were responsible for much violence. It was performed by the chancellor after 1410 with the help of the statute 'Cum effrenata' which enabled him to fine as well as imprison. But soon after Neville's resignation the problem grew more acute. Cases of carrying arms, of breaking the peace and of violence multiplied as respect for traditional forms of authority diminished. In March 1459 David Ap Thomas took an oath to keep the peace, especially towards the chancellor and one of the proctors.[1] In April another Welshman, William Ap Yevan Dee, promised not to attack Chaundler in his person or possessions and also not to break into any of the king's prisons and release those within.[2] A certain master John Parys was accused of intimidating the commissary, proctors and others of the university with a large number of armed men, assembled at night time.[3] Early in 1460 two men, dominus John Westerdale who already had

1. Registrum Cancellarii, ii. 16-17.
2. Ibid., pp.17-18.
3. Ibid., p.28.

a formidable record for violence, and dominus Richard Vyse, swore not to molest Chaundler or any future chancellors; in May there was a particularly large number of convictions for arms offences.[1]

There are several hints about the political nature of these disturbances. Late in 1459 Henry VI sent the university a letter in which he accused two bedels, William Kylbek and Robert Wright, of speaking and acting against his queen and his son the Prince Edward.[2] The letter was subsequently read to congregation which unanimously agreed to his request that the two bedels should be dismissed.[3] Nevertheless by October 1461 both men were back in office.[4] Lancastrian enthusiasm in high places obviously did not survive Henry's overthrow. Secondly an attack upon the Yorkist Lord Fitzwalter on 19 February of the same year is mentioned among the judicial records.[5] For this and for other offences, including adding gallows to the arms displayed in public places by certain English lords, the less common sentence of excommunication was fulminated. Possibly it was these signs of anti Yorkist feeling and the measures taken against

1. Ibid., pp.30-2.
2. Register Aa, f.119v.
3. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 349-50.
4. Emden, BRUO.
5. Registrum Cancellarii, ii. 35.

it to which congregation referred in an otherwise undated letter to Neville. He had complained of certain members of the university and in return they wrote urging that they had done their best by citing and excommunicating but there was a real danger that in such unsettled times the innocent might suffer with the guilty.[1] Certainly after Neville became chancellor once more some of those who were hostile to Edward IV were required to announce their submission. On 16 September (1461) seven men took an oath 'de bene & fideliter se gerendo penes dominum regem Edward IIII & de pace servanda penes omnes legios regis sub pena XL librarum'.[2] Nor were they all obscure clerks. William Dayfote had acted as the chancellor's official, Robert Takyll was a fellow of Exeter College and had been principal of Little Black Hall, while Robert Benet had acted successively as keeper of the Winton, Turville and Guildford chests.[3]

After a few more similar submissions and a renewed excommunication (7 February 1462) of those who placed gallows or insulting signs in the civil and canon law schools on badges belonging to the king and his magnates,[4] there were

1. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 365-6.
2. Registrum Cancellarii, ii. 51-2.
3. Emden, BRUO.
4. Registrum Cancellerii, ii. 74.

very few indications of political sympathies. Intermittent violence still continued but it is difficult to isolate it from the turbulence which was always present in the university. One final illustration, however, serves to show how limited and fragmentary is our knowledge. In a letter dated 13 May and sent to Neville some time between 1461 and 1464 the academic authorities drew a clear and interesting picture of the troubles with which they were contending.[1] They were the subject of attack, they said, by laymen from both inside and outside the city. The common herd did not appreciate their loyalty to Neville's counsel, which they had taken humbly and loyally as it came from the king. Within the city laymen refused to accept correction in the university court. They had raised to be their chief one of the foremost citizens who was known to Neville of old as hostile to clerks and they were infringing and denying academic privileges. This account may have been somewhat exaggerated in order to secure the chancellor's sympathy; but we can see from the other evidence of the period that it was most probably an accurate picture of the situation.

1. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 366-7.

(e) Conclusion

Neville's period as chancellor of Oxford university covered a large part of his ecclesiastical career. It implied a belief in academic values which we shall find reflected in other aspects of his work within the church, and particularly in his own learned tastes. More specifically it led him throughout his life to depend heavily upon the people he met in Oxford both as friends and diocesan administrators.

But it shows more than this. Before he became bishop of Exeter, Neville fulfilled his responsibilities in much the same way as his distinguished predecessors. Although his nobility and his connections may explain why he was elected they did not justify long periods of absence. But when Neville took up office in 1461 the university authorities were clearly reconciled to having a different kind of chancellor. They could not expect him either to reside in Oxford or to take part in day to day administration. They wanted instead someone who could protect them from the dangers of the political situation and act as their advocate before the king. As they themselves stated they needed 'pontificis sive ducis, alteriusve cujuspiam potentis viri auxilio, qui nostras regie celsitudini necessitudines referret, causasque

ageret..'.[1] Therefore most formalities of reelection were dropped and Neville remained chancellor for the unprecedented span of eleven years. This was to be the new kind of chancellor, formed by an age which witnessed growing and often conflicting demands for patronage. Edward IV was wrong when he said that the university would no longer need a bishop as an intermediary. Chaundler held office until 1479 but the succeeding eight chancellors were all of episcopal or archiepiscopal rank.[2]

It is worth noting, finally, that the initiative in this development came from the university. We have seen that the regents were unwilling to accept Neville's resignation in 1457. Although he was deprived of the great seal in 1467 no other nominations were made for his office; even after the Lancastrian revolution, in which he played a large part, had disastrously failed, he remained chancellor at Oxford and it was not until the king expressly commanded it that his link with the university was broken. Then, if the man who replaced him was a royal chaplain, he had also proved himself Neville's trusted colleague and associate.

The reason lies in the generosity of Neville's patronage. Balliol College acknowledged him as a benefactor, as did

1. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 400.
2. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii. 39; Emden, BRUO.

Lincoln. Queen's College on occasion also benefitted from his action as a feoffee.[1] Apart from the hints contained in letters addressed to him, it is entirely in character with the man that he defended academic privileges to the height of his power. Moreover he may well have lavished some of the fabled wealth of his family upon the university. Balliol, as we have seen commemorated him in its buildings. In the Divinity School, one of the finest monuments of the fifteenth century university, the Neville coat of arms took its place with those of other benefactors.[2] At that time, at least, the university was proud to honour him among its chancellors.

1. Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, H.E. Salter (O.H.S. xci, 1931) iii. 7-8.

2. In one of the north windows and upon the ceiling; A. Wood, The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1796) Vol.2, Pt.2 pp. 781, 784.

Chapter 3 : Neville's Learning

We have seen that Neville's association with Oxford university lasted throughout his life. It is not surprising, therefore, that his interests in learning were moulded by the intellectual trends and developments he found within that academic body. This does not necessarily detract from his reputation as an original scholar; on the contrary Neville promoted one of the most significant changes which took place in the climate of English learning. But it does mean that in many ways he stood apart from popular tradition. Thus, although his record of patronage is impressive, men like John Capgrave who wrote to satisfy the contemporary taste for romance and anecdote, dedicated no works to the bishop of Exeter or, as he was to become, the archbishop of York. Neville remained loyal to the academic traditions in which he had been reared.

In his study of arts and of theology Neville early became acquainted with the Scotist interpreattion of Aristotle which, together with a renewed emphasis upon the early church fathers, dominated the Oxford schools.[1] In particular we know he studied Aristotle's Elenchi, De Anima

1. J.M. Fletcher, 'The teaching and study of arts at Oxford c.1400-1520' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis 1961).

and Praedicamenta.[1] Amongst the books he presented to Balliol College these interests are shown by Scotus' 'Questiones super libros Meteorum' and 'Questiones in ii-iii De Anima', together with two popular commentaries on the same author by Johannes Canonicus and Johannes Dedecus.[2] The church fathers are represented by Gregory's 'Homiliae xxii in Ezechielem' and, an important Scotist source, the 'Apologeticus' of Gregory of Nazianzen. Bede's 'Commentarius in Epistulas Catholicas' and an anonymous work 'Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum' also formed part of this manuscript.[3] Apart from these gifts, we know that he borrowed from a Balliol contemporary a book containing works by Rabanus Maurus, Lanfranc Ambrose and Augustine.[4]

One interesting bequest also probably reflects his taste. In 1467 Arthur Ormesby, an important figure in Lincolnshire society who also had connections with the city of London, made a will before setting out for the Holy Land.[5] To Neville he left a book comprising Bonaventura's 'De Vita

1. Above, p.25.
2. R.A.B. Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford (Oxford, 1963), pp.95-6.
3. Ibid., pp.381-2.
4. Ibid., p.xxiii.
5. H.R. Plomer, 'Books Mentioned in Wills', Trans. Bibl. Soc., vii (1902-4), 107, 116.

Christi', a work called 'Speculum Christianorum' and 'an holy trete in English of contemplacon'.

But Neville's absorption of traditional theological instruction is most clearly revealed by Thomas Gascoigne's graphic account of the trial of Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester.[1] Here was a case which crystallized learned opinion on the issue of how ordinary men were to be prevented from falling into heresy. Pecock's worthy attempt to convince them of the truth by the 'doom of reason', made available to them in their own language, received unanimous condemnation from his learned contemporaries. A fear of his influence which reached almost panic proportions led subsequently to strong action by the authorities of church and state against his works which were themselves declared heretical. But in 1457 an assembly of doctors met to examine Pecock. Before this gathering Neville rose and 'passionato seu ira commoto' accused the bishop of having deliberately disregarded the authority of such church fathers as St. Jerome, St. Augustine and Pope Gregory. Pecock defended himself against this charge but it was a telling and crucial point. Gascoigne himself disliked Neville because of his wealth, which had so smoothed the younger man's

1. Thomas Gascoigne, Loci E Libro Veritatum ed. E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford, 1881), pp. 221-3.

university career.[1] But on this issue he whole-heartedly supported Neville's views and so too did the other theologians. It is a sad comment upon academic scholarship that Neville, like most of his learned contemporaries upon the episcopal bench, made no personal contribution to Christian literature, either to support his own opinions or to refute those of heretics. As we shall see, he remained content to quote the precepts of the past.[2]

But apart from the instruction laid down by the faculty of arts and the faculty of theology, Neville found in Oxford the beginnings of an exciting intellectual discovery. Despite the scholarship of Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, no tradition of Greek studies had taken root in England. It was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that Latin translations of Greek authors failed to satisfy the intellectual curiosity of men like Robert Flemmyng and John Free. Both these scholars travelled to Italy to become expert in the Greek language.[3] When they returned to England they were in a position to inform the general interest in things Greek roused by the fall of Constantinople. Oxford, as a

1. Ibid., p.16.
2. Below, pp. 122-9.
3. R. Weiss, Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1957), pp.97-112.

centre of these new studies, possessed the incomparable advantage of Grosseteste's library which was accessible, at least to some, in the convent of the Grey Friars.[1] John Farley, the university scribe who wrote some of congregation's official letters evidently worked there. He taught himself enough Greek from a psalter to be able to sign his name in Greek characters.[2]

Neville became sufficiently interested in the language to experiment in much the same way. On the first folio of an Aviarium by Hugh de Folieto[3] he wrote in a careful but inexperienced hand the Greek for 'archbishop' and above it a maxim from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. Its closest translation is the saying 'one swallow does not make a spring', a curiously apt comment for a display of this kind of erudition during the troubled years between 1465 and 1475. He wrote the first inscription again in a book of sermons by Philip de Greve, now in the Chapter Library at York.[4]

The evidence that Neville could understand or write Greek is slight. But among his generation his interest was sufficiently outstanding for him to attract two Greek scribes

1. R. Weiss, 'The Collector and the Revival of Greek Learning' in The English Library before 1700 (London, 1958).
2. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 367, 368, 371, 374.
3. Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 278.
4. York. Chapter Library MS. XVI.Q.7.

into his service. Of these Emanuel of Constantinople is the more mysterious figure. He may have been the knight of that name who is found visiting England in 1455-6 in the company of three fellow countrymen.[1] He seems to have spent some time here for ten manuscripts from his pen have survived.[2] Because many of these can be traced to the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge he may have resided, and possibly taught, within the environs of both universities. In 1468 he wrote for Neville a volume which included '_sermones iudicales_' of Demosthenes and letters attributed to Aeschines, Plato and Chion.[3] Neville is the only known patron of this prolific but semi-anonymous scribe, and one might hazard a guess that it was Emanuel who instructed the archbishop in the elements of the Greek language.

Neville's reputation as a scholar with these specialised interests spread beyond this country. We discover from a revealing but all too brief comment in a letter to the duke of Milan that 'he was a great friend of the Greek Cardinal'

1. H.L. Gray, 'Greek Visitors to England in 1455-6', _Anniversary Essays by Students of C.H. Haskins_ (Boston, 1929), pp.81-116.
2. M.R. James, 'The Scribe of the Leicester Codex', _Journ. of Theological Studies_, v (1904), 445-7.
3. Leiden MS. Voss Graec. 56.

(Bessarion).[1] This fits in well enough with what we might expect from the archbishop's contact with those in and about the papal curia, but it is unfortunate that this relationship can only be traced in its barest outlines. Since he did not visit Italy Neville may first have heard of the cardinal from his friend William Gray, who not only knew him but had secured a place in his household for his own protege Niccolo Perotti.[2]

In view of these contacts it is significant that in 1474 Pope Sixtus IV entrusted the difficult task of securing Neville's release from prison to a Greek. George Hermonymos, after many trials and tribulations, was at last successful but he stayed in England a while trying to secure the archbishop's patronage. No doubt hoping to place him under a double debt of gratitude, Hermonymos addressed him:

> 'Magna profecto ac miranda pater Reverendissime et domine prestantissime fama ipsa de tuis singularibus virtutibus fert, quae quidem cum ad meas pervenissent aures dignum esse arbitratus sum talem virum decus pene et gloriam gentis anglice necnon cultorem virtutum non solum visitarem sed etiam aliquid pro viribus meis futurum gratum efficerem: verum cum sepe numero maximis etiam longe mee peregrinationis laboribus vexatus cogitarem quid tue dominationi offerre possem quod tibi foret acceptum meamque in te devotionem testaretur post multas variasque mentis reuolutiones tandem mea in hoc me deduxit sententia vt de lucubraciuncularum

1. Cal. Mil. Papers, p.169.
2. R. Weiss, Humanism in England, p.89.

> mearum fructu si quis est te particem facere deberem Gnomica quedam seu preclare dicta aliquorum probatissimorum auctorum, que ex splendoribus litterarum graecarum latina nuper confeci tibi presuli dignissimo presidio patrocinioque omnium studiorum dicavi, qui miro amore ac benivolentia eruditos quosque et litterarum studiosus amplecteris foues extollis paruum quippe munusculum, non tamen vt spero prestantie tue ingratum'...[1]

The neat little book which Hermonymos produced contained sayings of the fathers and of Greek authors, surely an appropriate mixture for Neville. It must have made an attractive gift, with its clear humanist script, illuminated capitals and the archiepiscopal coat of arms carefully depicted at the beginning. And surely any cleric in disfavour would relish the description of himself as a man 'que sua mirabili sapientia et virtutum splendore non tantum angliam orbem alterum, sed ecclesiam totam illustrat'.[2] But either Neville had indeed lost his interest in the study of letters or, more likely, he no longer had at hand the rewards likely to attract and satisfy foreign scribes. Hermonymos certainly thought he was not generously treated and he left the country as soon as possible. He dedicated another copy of his work to the abbot of Dunes[3] and moved on to Paris

1. Brit. Mus., MS. Harley 3346, ff.5-6v.
2. Ibid., f.32v.
3. R. Weiss, Humanism in England, p.146n.

where his chief claim to fame rests on his having taught Greek to Guillaume Bude.[1]

Apart from the specific development of Greek studies, Italian influence was felt strongly in Oxford in a number of different ways. Duke Humphrey's library, so proudly incorporated into the university's possessions, played an important part for it contained many Italian volumes which encouraged humanist values. These new texts and fresh translations prompted first an interest in a greater range of ancient authors, their works and ideas; secondly they stimulated the growth of a simpler and clearer latin which was better adapted to the contemporary needs of diplomacy and correspondence.

Among Neville's friends and colleagues at Oxford there were many who were affected by these influences. One of the most notable was his cousin William Gray. Although he was also basically a theologian of the traditional type, Gray travelled extensively abroad, collected many books and patronised humanists.[2] As a university administrator, Thomas Chaundler was more circumscribed in his activities but he struggled to raise the standard of Latin by employing

1. H. Omont, Georges Hermonyme de Sparte (Paris, 1885), pp.8-9.
2. Emden, BRUO.

a style based on Ciceronian models.[1] Men like these provided Neville with an example and with a necessary stimulus. Thus we find Neville engaged in humanist pastimes like book collecting. In a letter to the university authorities reporting his success in gaining for them the bequest of his brother-in-law, John Tiptoft, the following reflections are attributed to him:

> 'Equidem semper a tenera, fere puerili, etate omnem meam laborem, omnem operam, curam, studiumque adhibui vt quos possem libros in omni disciplinarum genere compararem, propter quod non modo plerosque, et puer et adolesceans, scribi feci, sed quicquid pecuniole seponere parca frugalitas potuit codicibus ipsis coemendis absumpsi. Nullam enim magis dignam atque preclaram suppellectilem parari michi posse existimabam; vocibus pleni antiquitatis, exemplis pleni, moribus pleni, pleni legibus, pleni religione, viuunt, conuersantur, loquuntur suo nobiscum tempore, docent nos, instruunt, consolantur, resque a memoria nostra remotissimas quasi presentes nobis exhibent. Tanta est eorum potestas, tanta dignitas, tanta magestas, tantum denique munimen vt nisi libri forent rudes omnes essemus atque indocti, nullam fere preteritarum rerum memoriam, nullum exemplum, nullam denique nec humanarum nec diuinarum rerum cognitionem haberemus, eadem vrna que hominum corpora contegit etiam nos obrueret...'[2]

Humanist tastes had for Neville a severely practical application. He was neither a cloistered academic nor an aristocratic dilettante, but an ambitious ecclesiastic much

1. R. Weiss, Humanism in England, pp.135-136.
2. J. Tait, 'Letters of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester and Archbishop Neville to the University of Oxford', Eng. Hist. Rev. xxxvi (1920), 573-4.

involved in the government of church and state. His career reveals in particular a talent for rhetoric. In 1460 he preached to the citizens of London and at a crucial point persuaded them to support Edward, earl of March. As chancellor he delivered the sermons customary at the opening of parliament. He also acted frequently as an ambassador. Apart from his accomplished performance at St. Omer in 1463 where he impressed the Burgundians as being 'moult facondieux',[1] he took part in two important series of negotiations with the Scots. During the tortuous political manoeuvres of these last years he seems to have owed his life more than once to the persuasiveness of his tongue.

In his relations with foreigners, and particularly with papal envoys, we find Neville placing a strong emphasis on similar intellectual tastes. Thus when he directed a letter to Vincent Clement, the papal collector, asking for his support in a legal case, he prefaced it with a long account of the nature of friendship, sprinkled with references to the bonds between Scipio and Lucius, Theseus and Pirithous, Damon and Pythias.[2] Even more remarkable examples occur in the Trenta correspondence. They show Neville and the bishop of Lucca comforting one another in hard times with maxims

1. G. Chastellain, quoted in D.N.B.
2. Durham, Dean and Chapter Reg. Parv. III ff.104v-105.

and allusions from the world of classical learning.[1] These papal agents, following in the tradition of Piero del Monte, did much to stimulate humanist interests in England.[2] At a time when for their part they still looked upon England as a barberous country, it is impressive to find Neville mingling so easily with them. He occasionally made errors of judgement[3] but he seems nevertheless to have impressed the Italians with his urbanity and sophistication.

Neville's humanist interests were inevitably reflected in his household for not only did he naturally gather around him clerks who shared his own learned tastes, but he needed an expert secretariat to produce documents and letters worthy of his own pen. We are fortunate to know the name of the man who, if the record of his promotion is any guide, followed his patron dutifully round the country and formed the chief ornament of his episcopal 'familia' - John Shirwood. On at least one occasion Shirwood wrote letters for Neville,[4] while his later history reveals the debt which his career and his intellectual leanings owed to the mentor of his early years, a debt which he was the first to

1. Below, pp.211-2.
2. R. Weiss, Humanism in England, pp.22-28.
3. Below, p.209.
4. J. Tait, op. cit., p.573.

acknowledge.[1] Shirwood was too talented a man to become completely identified with Neville's interests and although he found it necessary to obtain a pardon in 1471, he went to Italy and in 1477 was appointed the king's proctor at the Roman curia.[2] It must have been a sad moment when he visited Neville at Calais and found that the archbishop was in bad health and, temporarily at least, had abandoned literary study.[3] On the other hand Neville's mental powers could not have been failing too much it he mastered the complicated game of 'arithmomachia' which Shirwood taught him as a means of whiling away the time.

Unlike Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, Neville turned for his secretaries, not to Italy which he never visited, but to Oxford and in particular to his old college. Thus apart from Shirwood, he employed a fellow of Balliol known to us simply as 'Master Bulkie' to write his letters.[4] Other clerical members of his household are less easy to trace. A number of his chaplains were given benefices in the northern province and thus appear in his archiepiscopal registers.

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 344, f.24v.
2. Emden, BRUO.
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 344 ff.24-25.
4. J. Tait, op. cit., p.571.

Amongst these Robert Abdy is one of the most interesting. He and Neville were contemporaries at Balliol[1] and the association proved a lasting one. In 1461 Neville secured for him the rectory of Chillendon and carried out the institution within the chapel of his London house.[2] We hear of him again in 1466 when, described as one of the archbishop's servants, he brought a case against a certain William Ropar of St. Neots.[3] After the catastrophe of 1471 he seems to have returned to Oxford where he later became master of Balliol. In his will Abdy left a piece of silver to William Appulby.[4] Here we have yet another Balliol fellow, who was most probably the 'servitori nostro' to whom Neville entrusted his lordship of Scrooby.[5] Finally there is an interesting reference in the Cambridge Grace Book A to a man simply called 'Brande' who in 1464 was admitted under the auspices of the chancellor of England to read canon law.[6] In this case Neville had a worthy return for his patronage for this seems to have been the M. William Brand who occupied such

1. Above, p.19.
2. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Cant. and York Soc. liv, 1957), p.261.
3. Cal. Close Rolls, 1461-8, p.373.
4. See entry on Appulby in Emden, BRUO.
5. Below, p.168.
6. Cambridge University Grace Book A, ed. S.M. Leathes (Camb. Ant. Soc., 1897), p.46.

responsible positions in the diocese of York.

Neville's household thus deservedly acquired a reputation for learning. It seems to have survived remarkably intact until the moment when the archbishop was removed to prison across the Channel. When that happened, Sir John Paston, who as a frequent visitor and a Neville partisan was himself involved in the event and therefore a reliable witness, wrote to his brother 'all hys meny ar dysparbled, every man hys weye; and som that ar greere klerkys, and famous doctors of hys, goo now ageyn to Cambrygge to scoolle'.[1] It would be interesting if we could trace them there. But although the university issued a large number of graces in the year 1472-3[2] and of these an unusually high proportion were granted on the basis of studies undertaken at Oxford and elsewhere, a link with Neville has in no case been possible to prove.

If Neville was led by ill health to neglect his literary studies towards the end of his life, this did not indicate any decline in his intellectual curiosity. It is from these years that we have evidence that he dabbled seriously in alchemy. There were in fifteenth century

1. The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner (Edinburgh, 1910), iii. 39.
2. Cambridge University Grace Book A, pp.95-8.

England two aspects to this subject. On the one hand economic depression and periodic manipulations of the currency strengthened popular interest in a philosopher's stone which, it was believed, could be used in the creation of gold. To feed the hopes of the ignorant and self deluded, a whole class of alchemists grew up whose activities were exceedingly doubtful and gave rise to some notoriety.[1] But at the root of alchemy lay an honest attempt not only to master, but also to understand, the nature of base metals. Practical experiments were allied to a conception of the universe which did not fall far short of the mystical. Such a science was deemed respectable and it had some distinguished practitioners. Among them was Thomas Norton, the son of a prominent Bristol merchant, who entered the household of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and rose to become the duke's chaplain and chancellor.[2] To Norton we are indebted for the information that Gilbert Kymer, apart from acting as Gloucester's physician, also indulged in alchemy; that he was much influenced by the Spanish scholar Raymond Lull and wrote an alchemical tract in Lull's style.[3] As

1. T. Norton, 'The Ordinal of Alchemy' printed by E. Ashmole in Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum (1652), p.106.
2. K.H. Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (1907), pp.393-4.
3. T. Norton, op. cit., p.57.

Kymer for long occupied the responsible position of chancellor of Oxford university, it is quite possible that this interest of Neville's can also be traced back to this source.

A long historical tradition has suggested a link between Thomas Norton and George Neville. Elias Ashmole when he came to printing one of Norton's major works, 'The Ordinal of Alchemy', selected as his original text a volume which contained Neville's coat of arms.[1] This led him to believe that The Ordinal was dedicated to the archbishop, and the attribution has been accepted by subsequent writers. It is hard, however, to reconcile this, first with Norton's own statement that the work was composed in 1477[2] by which date Neville was dead; and secondly with the tone of the preface which suggests that it was aimed at a royal patron.

But we are on firmer ground with another alchemist who instructed Norton in the art, George Ripley. Ripley was a canon of the Augustinian house at Bridlington who received a papal dispensation allowing him to study abroad.[3] Consequently he spent many years at Louvain, in Germany and Italy picking up the latest alchemical information. When

1. E. Ashmole, Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum, p.455.
2. Ibid., p.106.
3. Cal. Pap. Letters, XI (1455-64), pp.530-1.

he returned to England he made his way, not back to Bridlington, but to Oxford.[1] In 1471 he dedicated 'The Compound of Alchemie' to Edward IV. Despite the turmoil of the following years he was in contact with archbishop Neville and early in 1476 wrote him a long letter concerning alchemical matters.[2] Urging him not to trust any other author or any book upon the subject, Ripley stated that he himself had been engaged in these studies for the last fifty two years. The archbishop must not expect too much, but Ripley promised

> 'for the love which you have showed me, for so muche as in me liethe, I shall therefore teache you without any fayninge, for love is plaine withoute any collusyone of truthe and therefore I shall write to you suche thinge as be true and certaine'.

His instructions concerned the conversion of an old Edward noble of fine gold into a precious ruby, which in turn could be changed into a valuable elixir. It would seem that the archbishop was no disinterested patron. Perhaps in his retirement at Bisham he was himself collecting equipment and information which would enable him to carry out the complicated experiments prescribed by the alchemist.

1. For a different opinion see Emden, BRUO. But Oxford is clearly stated in the prologue of Ripley's 'Liber 12 Portarum', Georgii Riplaei, Opera Omnia Chemica (Cassellis, 1649), p.1.
2. Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 3580 B, ff.173v-176v.

In the same year Ripley wrote a longer treatise entitled the 'Medulla Alchimiae'.[1] At the end of this work, which was written in English and was preoccupied with the problem of how to create gold and a life giving elixir, he confessed the motives which led him to dedicate it formally to the archbishop.[2] His kinsfolk, who had been scattered throughout Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, had supported Henry VI and now like his parents were dead 'by violence of the conqueringe sworde and mightye hande .. of the sovereigne lorde kinge Edward'. He himself had now no other desire than to turn from worldly things and he therefore begged his patron to find him a place in a religious house within his diocese. But he did not undervalue his own work. He asked Neville not to disclose to everyone, and especially to any unworthy person, the secrets which he was imparting. In a nice mixture of flattery and bombast he described the virtues of this secret:

> 'which had shoulde make you gladder in harty, devoter to god, holyer in body rycher in goodde, more accepted in meryte, greater in rewarde, more profytable to all men, more commodyous to the churche, then to a Bysshop of so noble a fame, to a father of so much godlynes, to so vertuous a lorde, to all men so discrete, to so

1. A dedicatory preface is printed in E. Ashmole, 'Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum' (1652), pp.389-392.
2. Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 3580 B, ff.165v-166v.

> greate a suppressor of errors, to suche an hellper of the needy, and to one that hath god beffore his eyes'.[1]

A more skilful appeal to an ill man living in straightened circumstances and out of royal favour is difficult to imagine.

It seems a sad note upon which to end; Neville, the erstwhile patron of scholars and friend of Greek scribes, had been reduced to accepting the flattery of a single alchemist. But it confirms that we cannot take the details of his academic training as an accurate guide, either to the scope of his own learned tastes or to the intellectual developments represented in the Oxford of his day. Although Neville remained orthodox and loyal to the Scotist-Aristotelian theology which he had been taught, his own interests stretched to include other fields of intellectual enquiry. A new emphasis upon Greek learning and curiosity about alchemy in its wider context of magic were both facets of the Renaissance abroad. It is interesting to find them first of all present in Oxford in the mid fifteenth century and secondly shaping and directing Neville's learned interests.

1. Ibid., f.136v.

Chapter 4 : Bishop of Exeter

i) Early ecclesiastical preferment

Robert Neville's ecclesiastical career had begun at the early age of nine.[1] Hardly to be outdone by his uncle, George Neville received his first preferment in 1442 at the age of ten when the bishop of Salisbury, in whose diocese many of his family's lands lay, collated him to a canonry in his cathedral church held in conjunction with the prebend of Chardstock. Five years later he obtained one of the choicest benefices which the northern province had to offer: a canonry at York linked to the rich prebend of Masham. Conservatively valued at £30 and £120 a year respectively,[2] these two livings yielded him a generous income with which to commence his studies at Oxford. At the same time, the pope obligingly made provision for his further advancement by allowing him to receive and hold for life two benefices with cure of souls. Consequently in 1450 the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York presented him to the vicarage of Kendal, another valuable living. Family influence no doubt secured this appointment for the earl of Salisbury had

1. Emden, BRUO. For George Neville see also the references cited by Dr. Emden unless otherwise indicated.
2. Cal. Pap. Letters, X (1447-1455), p.2.

acted as steward of the manor.[1] Appropriately the proctor who acted for George Neville on this occasion was his father's legal advisor and friend Thomas Witham.[2] Neville held the vicarage for a year only but by the time he resigned he had gained another benefice in the same archdeaconry. After a dispute over the rights of patronage Sir Thomas Lumley successfully presented him to the rectory of Warton-in-Kendal. On 5 June 1451 he was admitted, again by means of his proctor Thomas Witham.

Preferment now began to flow thick and fast. A papal dispensation dated 11 March 1452 increased the number of incompatible benefices he might hold from two to three 'at his own petition, that of Henry king of England, whose kinsman he is, and those of the earl of Salisbury his father, and the earl of Warwick his brother'.[3] His uncle Robert promptly granted him the archdeaconry of Durham; according to a practice common at the time, Neville secured another dispensation allowing him to perform his duties by deputy and to receive the procurations in cash. Clearly ecclesiastical promotion was big business. On 1 August he received his

1. J.E. Doyle, The Official Baronage of England (1886), iii. 243.
2. Testamenta Eboracensia II, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xxx, 1855), p.244n.
3. Cal. Pap. Letters, X (1447-1455), p.110.

second benefice with cure of souls, the rectory of Aston Clinton, a Buckinghamshire living to which his father presented.

Somewhat belatedly, it seems, after this record of advancement came his formal entry into orders. In May 1453, shortly before his election as chancellor of Oxford university, he was ordained acolyte and subdeacon by John Kempe, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal of S. Rufina. The following year, described as a deacon, he obtained a dispensation to enter the priesthood at twenty two, one year in advance of the canonical age. On 21 December 1454 William Gray, recently provided to the see of Ely, ordained him priest in the hospital of St James, Westminster. The link with Gray reoccurs. Within the space of a few days Neville, who had meanwhile given up Aston Clinton, succeeded him as canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Thame, archdeacon of Northampton, canon of Ripon and prebendary of Thorpe.

This was a formidable rate of promotion, not merely because of the number of benefices which it involved but also because of Neville's youth. If we may take November 1455, when he became a canon of Exeter,[1] as an isolated point of his career, we find him holding in all five

1. John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1514, XI, comp. J.M. Horn (1964), p.54.

canonries, four prebends, one rectory and two archdeaconries. For a man of twenty three, busy fulfilling his academic responsibilities in Oxford, it was a precocious record. At the end of it, of course, lay a bishopric. Between his provision to Exeter and his consecration he gave up all other preferments, and although allowed by the pope to retain his canonry at York and prebend of Masham in commendam for life, he resigned this profitable benefice in 1459.

Neville's connections with most of these benefices must have been purely formal; at best they illustrate the power of family sentiment and influence. But there is one interesting exception. On 24 January 1456 at a meeting of the privy council attended by Salisbury, Warwick, his uncle Lord Fauconberg and his uncle by marriage Richard, duke of York, the king appointed him master of the hospital of St. Leonard in York.[1] As this was a royal foundation, we may presume that its income made an attractive additional perquisite. Initially Neville held the mastership no longer than most of his preferments; on 3 December 1458 John Hales was nominated in his place to hold office for life.[2] But the accession of Edward IV brought a speedy change for

1. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. H. Nicolas (1837), vi. 285-6.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-61, p.470.

on 30 October 1462 Neville was master again. In this capacity he performed a valuable service to the foundation by securing royal confirmation of various grants and charters reaching back to the reign of Henry II.[1] Two years later after an embassy to Scotland he retook possession of the great seal before a distinguished gathering assembled 'in a little high chamber within the hospital of St. Leonard'.[2]

Neville continued as master of St. Leonard's after his promotion to York. He seems to have been partly responsible for an indenture drawn up in November 1465 whereby the hospital renounced some of its rights in the forest of Galtres in return for a royal grant of the king's water mills by York Castle.[3] This put an end to a controversy which had been disturbing its peace for some years. But another issue soon arose which brought St. Leonard's into the forefront of the political scene. For centuries men who ploughed within the counties of York, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Lancashire had owed a yearly payment of corn to the hospital.[4] It was an unpopular obligation frequently resisted, so that in 1468 the king ordered an investigation

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.247.
2. Cal. Close Rolls, 1461-8, pp.260-1.
3. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.477.
4. V.C.H., Yorkshire, iii. 342-3.

into the whole matter. In November, however, Edward reaffirmed the hospital's right to 'petercorn'.[1] Amongst those present was George Neville, but whether in his capacity as master or simply as an interested party is not clear. The following year farmers in the area rose in rebellion against this imposition. Ironically the possible object of their attack was also in some sense its beneficiary, for this rising formed part of a movement against Edward IV promoted by Richard and George Neville. Unfortunately we do not know when Neville ceased to become master of the hospital and what part if any he played in this development. The next recorded master, William Eure, occurs in 1474.[2] But the history of the appointment shows that Neville could be an active, and occasionally even resident, holder of minor ecclesiastical office.

ii) Appointment as bishop

Neville's appointment as bishop of Exeter was a political manoeuvre skilfully planned and carried out by his family in the face of considerable opposition. In 1454 Henry VI suffered one of his incapacitating attacks of mental illness and Salisbury temporarily took charge of the

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, pp.131-2.
2. V.C.H., Yorkshire, iii. 344.

royal administration. Following Cardinal Kempe's death, arrangements were made in a council meeting at the end of March for the promotion of Bourgchier to Canterbury and Gray to Ely. It was also agreed that George Neville should be recommended to the pope for the next episcopal vacancy on the grounds of his 'bloode vertue and cunnyng'.[1] In the following year his opportunity came for on 18 September Edmund Lacy died and the see of Exeter fell vacant.[2] Henry VI, however, had other plans and nominated the Queen's confessor John Hales to replace Lacy.[3] Pope Calixtus III agreed to his choice and duly provided Hales on 20 October.[4] At this point, either through mental illness or the strength of his enemies, Henry again ceased to dominate the political scene. While Yorkist influence was at its height Neville received a foothold at Exeter in the shape of a canonry in the cathedral church.[5] On the same day that he put his pen to this last grant, the king was induced to write to the pope.[6] He pleaded rather ineffectually that he had forgotten his earlier letter in favour of

1. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vi. 168-169.
2. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.2.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.54.
6. Rymer, Foedera, v. 163.

Neville when he came to put forward Hales' nomination; and he asked that the see should be given to Neville

> 'cujus Probitas, Scientia, praeclari Mores, egregiae Virtutes, Experientia Rebus in agendis & Nobile Genus, dignissimum ipsum testantur .. qui, singulari Constantia & Gravitate, omniumque magna cum Commendatione, Universitatem nostram Oxoniae Cancellarius plurimis jam rexit Annis; accedit que in ejus Laudem quod eos, qui Studio longe praecessereravit, non certe sequi scientia visus est, sed etiam praecurrere'.

But Calixtus was not convinced. He wrote at least once to Henry and twice to Queen Margaret pointing out that Neville was not yet of the correct canonical age for receiving a bishopric and urging that for the honour of the church his earlier provision should be allowed to stand.[1] In reply on 4 December Henry sent another letter, signed by thirty one dignitaries of church and state.[2] This time he developed an earlier point, that the troubles and dissensions which had disturbed the south west called for a strong and able leader in the church. He referred here to the feud between Lord Bonville and the earl of Devon which marked the breakdown of royal government in that part of the country. Henry also added the information that George Neville had been unanimously elected by the canons themselves 'quasi

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 170, pp.235-6.
2. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vi. 265-7.

spiritus sancti flatu inspirati' a fact otherwise wholly unsubstantiated and, even if true, of formal significance only.

Calixtus did not resist for long. On 4 February 1456 he provided Neville to the see of Exeter.[1] Although below the canonical age, Neville was allowed administration of both spiritualities and temporalities; these he received from the king on 10 April and 21 March respectively.[2] The pope made one important condition: Neville's consecration was only to take place when he reached his twenty seventh year. Thus it was not until three years after negotiations had first begun that, on 29 November 1458, Neville obtained a licence for his consecration[3] and became bishop in fact as well as in name.

iii) The diocese, 1456 - 1465

If Henry VI had seriously thought that George Neville was going to spend much of his time in the Exeter diocese helping to reestablish law and order, then he was mistaken. The bishop-elect lost no time in appointing to administer his see experienced officials who had risen in the employment

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, XI (1455-64), p.30.
2. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.2.
3. Ibid.

of his predecessor.[1] He himself made no move to travel south. Up until the date of his consecration he seems to have divided his time between Oxford and London. Late in 1467 he was in the capital, taking part in the proceedings against Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester.[2] On 31 December he wrote to his vicar general enclosing the archbishop of Canterbury's commission to denounce Pecock's works publicly as heretical.[3] The following year he attended meetings of the king's council in his episcopal capacity and must therefore have witnessed at first hand the fast deteriorating relations between the royal government and the Yorkist party.[4]

Early in 1459, however, shortly after his consecration Neville made his way to the south west. He called in at Oxford en route, but by 10 March he had reached the bishop's residence at Clyst, near Exeter, where he admitted a university contemporary, Thomas Purveour, to the living of Cheriton Fitzpayn.[5] Another friend was remembered, for ten days

1. Reg. Neville (Exon.), ff.32-3.
2. Above, p. 64.
3. Reg. Neville, ff.37v-38v.
4. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vi. 290-3, 294-5.
5. Reg. Neville, f.11.

later John Shirwood received a benefice at South Pool.[1] On 29 March Neville confirmed the election of John Paul, the new rector of Slapton, at Exeter and received his oath of obedience.[2] He also wrote at about this time to the bishop of Bath and Wells approving an exchange of ecclesiastical benefices.[3] In May Neville continued his progress through the diocese. On the 9th he was in Collumpton[4] and on the 19th at Crediton where he performed his first ordination service.[5] He conferred orders upon a modest number of clerks, in all twelve acolytes, three subdeacons, nine deacons and two priests. At the end of the month at Great Torrington in north Devon he admitted several clerks to benefices, among them M. Fulk Bermingham, archdeacon of Oxford and a notorious collector of valuable livings.[6] By 26 June Neville had skirted Dartmoor; he wrote from the monastery of Tavistock on this date to John Udy, asking for an investigation into the patronage of the rectory of Black Torrington.[7] As far

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., f.126.
3. The Register of Thomas Bekynton, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (Somerset Record Soc., xlix, 1934) i. 318.
4. Reg. Neville, f.11.
5. Ibid., f.148r-v.
6. Ibid., f.11v; Emden, BRUO.
7. Ibid., f.78.

as we know, the bishop did not venture into the wild county of Cornwall, for in July he was back at Clyst.[1] His next recorded appearance was again in north Devon, at North Tawton, where he performed two admissions and licensed an exchange.[2] On 22 September he held a final ordination service in Exeter cathedral[3] shortly before travelling north to Coventry,[4] where parliament had been summoned to meet in November.

Altogether during his visitation of 1459 Neville is recorded as having admitted twenty four clerks to benefices, initiated two inquisitions into their titles, authorized four exchanges and having held two ordination services. It seems a modest introduction to the problems and practices of diocesan administration. But his register, here as elsewhere, may include only a small proportion of the total of business which took place. Several reasons can be advanced to explain why Neville chose to visit his diocese at this time. We should not leave out of account a sense of responsibility which he displayed in his dealings with Oxford university. His delayed consecration might easily have

1. Ibid., f.11v.
2. Ibid., ff.11v-12.
3. Ibid., ff.148v-149.
4. Ibid., f.12.

prompted an interest in the see which had provided him with an episcopal income for the last two years. But political factors probably also weighed heavily with him. Towards the end of 1458 he had expressed his loyalty to Henry VI by joining with the Lancastrian archbishop of York, William Booth, and some clerks and citizens of York in founding a guild which undertook to offer prayers for King Henry, Queen Margaret and Prince Edward.[1] As the political situation worsened, however, doubts were bound to be cast upon his allegiance. Nor could he attain to the independence of Salisbury and Warwick, when the king might press at Rome for the deprivation of his see which both king and pope had only reluctantly granted him in the first place. Thus his retirement to the south west can be seen as a judicious political move by which he aimed to disassociate himself temporarily from the Yorkist rebellion. As such it was successful. Neville was summoned to the Coventry parliament which passed a bill of attainder against his father, mother and three brothers.[2] On 11 December, together with a number of eminent ecclesiastics and magnates, he took an oath of allegiance to the king and his family.[3] Thus at the beginning of 1460 he

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461, p.465.
2. Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer (1829) iv. 941.
3. Rot. Parl. v. 351.

alone amongst his closest relatives remained in full possession of his title and income.

In the years which followed, Neville's time was again taken up with secular matters. It is not surprising, therefore, that he seems never to have visited the Exeter diocese a second time. He remained, however, interested and involved in diocesan affairs. He resided in the house outside Temple Bar in London which belonged to the see and had recently been rebuilt in part by Edmund Lacy.[1] Here between 1460 and 1464 he performed a number of admissions to benefices in Devonshire and Cornwall.[2] He also initiated inquests into the patronage of the churches of St. Stephen's-in-Brannel[3] and Loddiswell[4] and authorized the election of a new abbot of Hartland.[5] In 1460 he ratified the judgement which his deputy had given in a case heard during his visitation of the previous year.[6]

That he was not insensible to the claims which Exeter had upon his loyalties, is suggested by his gifts to its

1. C.L. Kingsford, 'Historical Notes on Medieval London Houses', London Topographical Record, x, (1916), 117-8.
2. Reg. Neville, ff.28v-29.
3. Ibid., ff.92-3.
4. Ibid., ff.90-91.
5. Ibid., ff.104v-105.
6. Ibid., ff.68r-v.

cathedral. An inventory of 1506 mentions a large altar carpet, six and a half yards by two and a half, which he gave.[1] More important was his contribution towards the building of the Chapter House, slowly rising to the south of the cathedral. Begun in the reign of Henry III, its latest additions had been made by Bishop Lacy.[2] Neville helped towards its completion and is particularly associated with the large window of its eastern wall.[3]

iv) Diocesan officials

It is clear that for the greater part of his episcopate Neville was unable to perform his duties in person. Therefore in his diocesan administration he relied extensively upon several deputies. Foremost amongst these was Henry Webber. As a local man, trained in canon law and experienced in notarial work, he had proved his worth in Edmund Lacy's time and had consequently received preferment both within the diocese generally and within the cathedral church.[4] During

1. G. Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral (1861), p.328.
2. N. Pevsner, South Devon: the Buildings of England (1952), p.133.
3. The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1907) i. 237; William Worcester, Itineraries, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p.116.
4. Emden, BRUO.

the vacancy which followed Lacy's death Webber was one of those who held the spiritualities of the see.[1] On 26 April 1456 Neville appointed him his vicar general and official principal.[2] These two offices, frequently held together in the fifteenth century, gave Webber extensive administrative and disciplinary powers within the diocese and thus earned for him the position of Neville's right hand man. Contact between the two was, as we should expect, close. Apart from the usual run of ecclesiastical business they cooperated in at least one piece of big finance. In the course of 1461 they made a joint loan to the king of £1000.[3] On 7 December Edward IV allowed them to recoup this sum by securing £820 from the royal revenues of the duchy of Cornwall and Devon, £140 from the second part of a clerical tenth imposed by convocation and collected in the archdeaconries of Exeter, Totnes and Barnstaple, and an additional £40 from the archdeaconry of Cornwall.[4] Webber, as the man on the spot, was presumably responsible for executing the terms of this arrangement. We can trace their contact further by examining

1. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Cant. and York Soc., 54, 1957), pp.25-9.
2. Reg. Neville, ff.1-2.
3. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.80.
4. Ibid.

the seals which both men used to authenticate their letters. Neville had an episcopal seal[1] and although no documents survive at Exeter which bear an impression of it, this must have been used for the documents which he issued in London 'sub sigillo nostro'. Henry Webber consistently used the seal, not of a vicar general, but of the bishop's official principal.[2] However in February and August 1463 we find that the bishop employed this last seal in London.[3] We may assume that Webber was on one of his periodic journeys to the capital in connection with diocesan business, especially as on the second occasion particular reference was made to him in his capacity as dean of Exeter. Neville ordered the collection of a charitable subsidy in the archdeaconry of Barnstaple 'necnon in nostra iurisdictione peculiari ac in iurisdictione decani Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Exon'.[4] But by the end of August Webber was once more using his seal in Exeter.[5] These hints of contact are valuable in the face of the obscurity which clouds the actual processes of

1. Above, p.
2. In 1458 he ended a commission: 'Dat Exon' sub sigillo officii officialis principalis .. quod ad manus habemus in huiusmodi officio constituti'. Reg. Neville, f.40.
3. Reg. Neville, ff.57v, 59.
4. Ibid., f.59.
5. Ibid., f.60v.

administration during these years.

The vicar general held the key position in the diocese but Neville had need of other officers. To look after his areas of peculiar jurisdiction in Cornwall he appointed John Nycoll,[1] the vicar of Barnstaple, who was the official of the archdeacon of Cornwall[2] and thus well acquainted with local circumstances. In Devon John Udy, another Oxford lawyer with benefices in the south west,[3] administered the episcopal property,[4] which consisted of Chudleigh, Crediton and Paignton and most probably estates at Bishopsnympton, Bishopstawton and Bishop Clyst.[5] In addition to this responsibility Udy held two other posts. He acted as president of the consistory court[6] which met in Exeter, a role once filled by the official principal but now delegated to a deputy.[7] Also, like officials of peculiar jurisdictions before him,[8] he was appointed Neville's commissary and

1. Reg. Neville, f.33.
2. Emden, BRUO.
3. Ibid.
4. Reg. Neville, ff.32v-33.
5. D.J. Cawthron, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Exeter in the Fourteenth Century' (London Univ. M.A. thesis, 1951), p.320.
6. Reg. Neville, f.32r.
7. D.J. Cawthron, op. cit., pp.226-31.
8. R.L. Storey, Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century (St. Anthony's Hall Publications no.16, 1959) p.16.

sequestrator general.[1] As such he was commissioned to supervise testamentary affairs and to enquire into the holding of benefices, securing their revenues when they fell vacant.[2] Thus we find him presiding over an inquest initiated by Neville into Black Torrington,[3] while as 'commisarius specialiter et legitime deputatus' he proved the will of master John Stevens in 1461.[4] Udy himself died sometime in the early 1460's and there is no record of a succeeding appointment. But in 1462 William Elyot, Lacy's registrar who continued in that office under Neville, was required by the bishop to investigate the holding of the benefice of Loddiswell.[5] His report, dated 29 May, was sealed with the seal of the official of the bishop's peculiar jurisdiction in Devon.[6]

Although Neville addressed commissions to his four archdeacons, few of these men can have been resident. Peter Courtenay, who was archdeacon of Exeter throughout his tenure of the see,[7] was studying at universities in England and

1. Reg. Neville, ff.32v-33.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., f.78.
4. Ibid., ff.124-125.
5. Ibid., ff.90-91.
6. Ibid.
7. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.14.

abroad, and in 1460 he gained a papal indult allowing him to visit his archdeaconry by deputy.[1] Thomas Manning occupied this position at Totnes,[2] but until 1460 he was acting as secretary to Henry VI.[3] A year later he was attainted but by 1463 he must again have been in full possession of his offices for he ran into trouble through occupying too many incompatible benefices.[4] At this date, or somewhat later, he was replaced by Thomas Chippenham.[5] M. Roger Keys had been archdeacon of Barnstaple since 1450.[6] He was present in Exeter to cast his vote for Henry Webber as dean of the cathedral church[7] but in 1460 he too secured papal permission to fulfil his duties by proxy.[8] Finally the archdeaconry of Cornwall was held by M. John Selot.[9] As all the rest of his preferment lay in East Anglia,[10] he is unlikely to have shown much interest in his office within the Exeter diocese. He was followed by M. Thomas Marke but

1. Emden, BRUO.
2. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.18.
3. Emden, BRUO.
4. Ibid.
5. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.19.
6. Ibid., p.20.
7. Reg. Neville, f.119r-v.
8. Emden, BRUO.
9. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.16.
10. Emden, BRUO.

by 1463 Neville was sending commissions directly to his official John Pastow.[1] It was upon Pastow and his colleagues who held similar offices in the other archdeaconries that the bishop and his vicar general depended for the execution of routine diocesan business.

The position of bishop's chancellor brought more immediate contact with George Neville. Although no longer personally responsible for drawing up his commissions and penning his correspondence, the chancellor remained one of the most important members of the bishop's household. He proffered legal advice and could on occasion fulfil some episcopal duties.[2] Two men seem to have acted in this way. John Shirwood became chancellor of Exeter Cathedral[3] and was in close enough contact with Neville to advise him on the affairs of Oxford university.[4] But Thomas Chippenham, another colleague whom Neville met at Oxford, also occupied this office.[5] As a somewhat less prominent figure, trained in canon law rather than, like Shirwood, in theology, he seems more likely to have been Neville's constant companion

1. Reg. Neville, ff.92-3.
2. R.L. Storey, op. cit., p.6.
3. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, p.10.
4. Epistolae Academicae Oxon, ed. H. Anstey (O.H.S. xxxvi, 1895) ii. 363.
5. Ibid.; Cal. Pap. Letters, XI (1455-64), pp.652-3.

and servant. The regent masters of Oxford distinguished between them thus:

> 'J. Shirewode, sacre theologie professor necnon vestre cathedralis ecclesie Exoniensis Cancellarius ... magister T. Chipman, sacrorum canonum doctor vestreque dignitatis Cancellarius'.[1]

To act as his deputies in spiritual matters, Neville employed a number of suffragan bishops with sees in partibus infidelium or in remote areas of Ireland. In 1456 he commissioned Roderic Arlatensis to ordain clerks within the diocese.[2] Roderic held three such services during that year in the church of St. Mary Major and also travelled through Devon and Cornwall to give clerks their first tonsure.[3] He acted in the same capacity four times in the following year[4] but on 12 March Neville commissioned another bishop James Blakedon, bishop of Bangor, formerly chaplain to Cardinal Beaufort.[5] Later in 1458 Thomas Barrett, bishop of Annadown in Ireland replaced James and, except for the period of Neville's visit, he fulfilled the episcopal office up until 1461, holding nine services.[6] John Valens, who

1. Epistolae Academicae, ii. 363.
2. Reg. Neville, f.142.
3. Ibid., ff.142-144.
4. Ibid., ff.144-145v.
5. Ibid., f.146; Emden, BRUO.
6. Ibid., ff.146v-151.

held the titular see of Tenos and received similar employment in the diocese of Bath and Wells,[1] ordained twice in 1461-2.[2] For the last three years ordinations were carried out by Simon Elvington OP,[3] the Irish bishop of Connor also to be found in the diocese of Salisbury.[4] With a few exceptions possibly caused by the loss of some folios of the bishop's register, the records suggest that these duties were regularly carried out. As the decade proceeded Neville's suffragans seem to have been unwilling to travel throughout the diocese. The last seven recorded ordinations took place in the church of St. Mary Major, close to the west front of Exeter Cathedral.

v) The register

Neville's Exeter register as it now exists is a single volume containing 155 folios neatly divided into various sections. First comes a record of institutions (ff.1-29), prefaced by Neville's appointment of Webber as vicar general and then subdivided into those performed by the bishop himself in 1459 (ff.11-12) and the remainder performed by

1. Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke & E.B. Fryde (1961), p.268.
2. Reg. Neville, ff.151-152v.
3. Ibid., ff.152-155v.
4. Handbook of British Chronology, p.270.

Webber 1456-9 and December 1459-1465. The common register follows (ff.32-69v), containing a record of commissions, letters dimissory, licences of various kinds and what might be called the public business of the diocese. Into the latter category come provisions for securing the tenths voted to the king by convocation, a papal letter announcing the beatification of St. Osmund, and measures to be taken against the abuses of itinerant pardoners. There are also a very few references which bear on the state of the diocese at this time. Such is the report dated 27 June 1457 which announces the excommunication of one Simon Drayton for attacking the suffragan bishop, Roderic, in the parish of St. Ciriac's, Newton.[1] The register of inquisitions (ff.70-141v) is mainly taken up with investigations into benefices. But it also includes an indenture between the duke and duchess of Devon, several letters from Neville, the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury, a record of ecclesiastical elections and a number of wills. Last of all (ff.142-155) comes the register of ordinations.

The complete register is the work of William Elyot, registrar successively to Lacy, Neville and John Booth. While he does not seem to have been responsible for actually

1. Reg. Neville, f.35v.

compiling the entries, which are in a number of hands found also in Lacy's volumes, he added some notes. Thus he marked the end of the section of institutions with mention of Neville's translation in 1465 to York and his enthronement there.[1] Elyot's signature which follows concludes this part of the register. On the last folio his signature reoccurs after the heading 'Explicit registrum reverendi in christo patris Georgii Nevyll nuper Episcopi Exon' de ordinibus celebratis tempore quo stetit Episcopus Exon' prout patent supra'. The register bears a superficial air of tidiness and organisation that is much in keeping with Elyot's work in the previous episcopate.

But in spite of his supervision, Neville's Exeter register has grave defects as a full or even consistent record of the activities of the bishop and his deputies. This can be illustrated from evidence of how the section containing institutions was compiled. Entries up to April 1462 were made regularly and in chronological order. But on f.17 a different hand starts to record institutions scattered randomly over the rest of the year. A Roman form is substituted for arabic numerals in the dating of the year and a slightly different formula is employed at the beginning of the entry which allows for the insertion of the name of the

1. Ibid., f.29v.

place where the admission was performed. Almost all references to the statutes of Otto and Ottobuono, which had been common before, cease thereafter. The remaining folios contain institutions of very varying dates, stretching as far back as 1458. Occasional sequences of entries running in reverse chronological order would seem to suggest that the scribe was copying into the register items from other files which have not survived. The random, unsatisfactory entries which refer to Neville's performance of diocesan business in London are therefore probably far from being a complete record.

Other features of the register support this conclusion. The common register and register of inquisitions both show signs of having consisted originally of a number of quires. There are faintly distinguishable quire marks, for example, on ff.32, 40, 48 and 56, while on ff.93v, 101v and 109v a catchword appears at the bottom of the folio in a clear attempt to maintain continuity between these separate sections. But we have no evidence that the existing quires are a complete record and in many cases the pattern of composition is lost. Thus while there is an indication that a new quire started with f.110, folios 114-116 are cut close to the binding and therefore omitted from the foliation and a new quire starts on f.117. These quires would not appear to be the original form in which their material was drawn up. Changes of

business are rarely reflected in their composition and there is no sign, as with Lacy's volumes, that individual quires were left about on the registrar's table before being incorporated into the register.[1] There is some lack of organisation. A section of wills begins at the end of the quire concerned with Webber's election as dean.[2] It is interrupted by the accounts of four ecclesiastical elections[3] and recommences in the middle of a quire.[4] In all only eight wills are entered and the last, that of Martin Dyer, breaks off in mid sentence with the end of a quire.[5] It seems that at least one following quire was left out of the register. Elyot added no flourishes to the end of the common register or the register of inquisitions. Finally the register of ordinations also shows some disorder. The record of Thomas Barrett's ordination in December 1458 follows upon accounts of those performed in the year 1459[6] and a set of entries relating to 1461 is also misplaced.[7] There is no

1. G.R. Dunstan, 'Some Aspects of the Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455', Journ. Eccl. Hist., vi (1955), 39.
2. Reg. Neville, ff.124-125.
3. Ibid., ff.125-137v.
4. Ibid., f.137v.
5. Ibid., f.141v.
6. Ibid., ff.147v-148.
7. Ibid., ff.149v-150.

contemporary foliation of this section of the register and the sheets show signs of having been left in a damp place for some time before being bound with the rest.

Thus although Elyot's professional touch is present in Neville's Exeter register as a whole, an examination of the volume reveals that it contains only a selection of material. This makes it almost impossible, for example, to discuss the state of the diocese during this period. The lack of colourful local evidence is all the more notable after the stream of relevant entries which enlivens his predecessor's records.[1] It also renders difficult an assessment of the role which Neville played in his episcopal administration. Although he most probably kept files recording the business which he transacted in London, the hazards attending their transmission to Exeter for entry in his register were too great to allow anything but a pale reflection of his activities to emerge from that document.

vi) Collations

The inadequacies of Neville's register, from this point of view, may be further demonstrated by reference to his

1. G.R. Dunstan, op. cit., pp.37-47, and also The Register of Edmund Lacy Bishop of Exeter 1420-1455, ed. G.R. Dunstan (Cant. and York Soc., lx, lxi, lxii, 1963-7).

collations. As bishop Neville possessed an extensive right of patronage within his diocese. To mention the collegiate church only, he might collate to prebends in his own cathedral, at Ottery St. Mary, Crediton and the Cornish churches of Glasney, St. Crantock, St. Teath and St. Probus. But the register records only four collations. On July 1463 (incorrectly entered as 1460) Peter de Tastario, a Gascon who was about to accompany Neville on a diplomatic mission to St. Omer received a canonry and prebend in the cathedral church.[1] In 1462 the right of presentation to St. Thomas' church, Cowick, lapsed to the bishop and he admitted James Richard, an otherwise unknown figure.[2] Two years later, again by right of lapse, he collated William Colmer, a regular canon of the cathedral church of Winchester, to the parish church of Colyford.[3] Finally in 1465 Neville conferred another canonry and prebend of his own cathedral upon John Segden,[4] a doctor of theology and former fellow of Balliol who had strong links with Neville's uncle, the bishop of Durham.[5]

1. Reg. Neville, f.29; Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, pp.55, 54n.
2. Reg. Neville, f.17.
3. Ibid., f.22.
4. Ibid., f.29.
5. Emden, BRUO.

These four collations can represent only a fraction of the bishop's patronage. The gap can partly be filled by comparing the occupants of benefices within the bishop's gift at the end of Lacy's episcopate with the last incumbent mentioned in the institutions performed by John Booth after 1465. Where the two names are different we may assume that a collation had taken place in the intervening years. Although not comprehensive in its results this course of investigation does provide us with a list of some twenty six clerks who most probably received their preferment from Neville's hands. Many are not known to have had Oxford careers; others who did, like William Hogge,[1] John Eggecomb[2] and Henry Molyneux,[3] seem to have been local men with their interests firmly in the Exeter diocese.[4] But there are some interesting exceptions among them. Thomas Rotheram who became a canon at Exeter in 1462 was chaplain successively to the earl of Oxford and the king and was destined for an eminent career.[5] Thomas Chippenham, as

1. Prebendary of Glasney; Reg. John Booth, f.30.
2. Treasurer of Crediton and prebendary of Carswill; Reg. John Booth, f.27.
3. Canon and prebendary of St. Crantock's; Reg. J. Booth, f.39v.
4. Emden, BRUO.
5. Reg. J. Booth, f.12v; Emden, BRUO.

Neville's chancellor, well earned another canonry at Exeter,[1] while M. William Browne, his chaplain, became a canon and prebendary in collegiate church of Bosham.[2] Robert Lawson, who received a prebend at St. Probus was an Oxford graduate who had been involved in Balliol land transactions.[3] Finally the list of Exeter canons originally compiled by Le Neve adds the names of nine more clerks whose date of collation is uncertain.[4] They include two other Balliol fellows, William Lambton and William Morton, together with Neville's close associate John Shirwood: also, important diocesan figures like Nicholas Gosse and John Udy, and John Kirkeby, a dominican friar from the Oxford convent who rose to become provincial prior of the order in England.[5] Altogether Neville's collations, as they are thus derived, show that his patronage, while not directed exclusively towards university graduates, benefited his Oxford connexions rather than any other category of ecclesiastic.

1. Reg. J. Booth, f.44v.
2. Reg. J. Booth, f.26; on Browne see below, pp. 174-5.
3. Ibid., f.26.
4. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI, pp.54-5.
5. Emden, BRUO.

vii) Convocation

If between 1460 and 1465 Neville's attention was directed away from his diocese, he nevertheless emerged as a figure of importance in the convocations of the southern province which assembled during these years. The first meeting he attended was summoned for 6 May 1460 to promote ecclesiastical reform.[1] On 14 May Neville made his contribution to the debate, urging that many clerks admitted to benefices by proxy gave insufficient evidence of their learning.[2] The archbishop, Thomas Bourgchier, and his fellow clergy accepted the point and laid down that in these cases the ordinary might delay admitting clerks until he had examined their educational qualifications.[3] This assembly, which had met under the aegis of Henry VI finally dissolved in July 1461 after voting a tenth to Edward IV.[4]

Convocation met again in 1462 once more with a financial purpose in mind.[5] The following year the influence of the young bishop of Exeter was effectively demonstrated to all.

1. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, ed. F.R.H. De Boulay (Cant. and York Soc., liv, 1957), pp.76-93.
2. Ibid., p.86.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.93-8.
5. Register of Thomas Bekynton, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte & M.C.B. Dawes (Somerset Record Soc., xlix, 1934), i. 380-1.

He was present in the convocation which assembled in July and received an embassy from the king consisting of the earls of Worcester and Essex, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal and other royal officers.[1] A stony silence greeted their description of the king's necessities and the urgent need for a fresh royal subsidy. But four days later when the royal party reappeared in convocation they were accompanied by the chancellor.[2] After a letter from the king had been read, Neville produced others addressed by his brother Richard, earl of Warwick, to the king and by the king to the lords of the council.[3] They contained news of the critical situation in the north where large numbers of Scots were crossing the borders into England. No immediate result was forthcoming but on 20 July the clergy of the southern province granted a charitable subsidy payable jointly to Archbishop Bourgchier and the bishop of Exeter.[4] All stipendiary clergy, apart from the usual exceptions, were to contribute according to a graded scale which provided for sums ranging from 6/8 to 13/4 and 20s. Such a measure had not been demanded from the English clergy since 1377 and its

1. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, pp.100-101.
2. Ibid., p.101.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.112-115.

appearance in 1463, promoted and partially organised by Neville, marked its reemergence as part of the financial machinery of the church.[1] We can see from Neville's register that the subsidy, like the previous grants of convocation was efficiently assessed and collected within his diocese.

Such evidence as we have, therefore, suggests that even while bishop of Exeter Neville was at home at the centre of royal and ecclesiastical government. He appears to have been a capable administrator; his visitation of 1459, his occasional exercise of episcopal duties thereafter, and his appointments of local diocesan officials all suggest that he took his responsibilities seriously. But his interests remained in the political rather than the pastoral sphere. The pattern of his career was set when he came to take his highest office within the English church.

1. F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'Charitable Subsidies granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury', B.I.H.R., xxiii, (1950), 147-164.

Chapter 5 : Archbishop of York

i) Appointment

On 12 September 1464 William Booth, archbishop of York, died.[1] The vacancy came at an opportune moment for Edward IV. A successful military campaign in the north by Warwick and Montagu had recently placed the king in the debt of the two elder Neville brothers, while George, the youngest, had conducted the diplomatic negotiations with the Scots which followed. Montagu received the earldom of Northumberland as his reward[2] but when Edward proceeded on the 14 September to make known his secret marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, an action which ran directly counter to all Warwick's plans, he must have felt that some form of conciliatory offering should be made. On his side, the archbishopric of York matched George Neville's background and ambitions singularly well. It gave him power and influence in the part of the country to which his family were attached. Moreover at the modest age of thirty two he could hope for no greater advancement in the English church; Bourgchier, although already an elderly man by contemporary standards, showed no signs of vacating the see of Canterbury.

1. York, Reg. Sede Vacante, f.458.
2. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 334.

On 16 September Edward granted Neville custody of the York temporalities[1] and shortly afterwards gave licence to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church to proceed with the formality of election.[2] No objection was raised by Pope Paul who provided the see to Neville on 15 March 1465, commissioning the bishops of Lincoln and Norwich to receive and forward his oath of fealty.[3] Vincent Clement, the papal collector in England who was temporarily acting as Neville's proctor at Rome, secured the archbishop's pallium and was instructed to bring it to York.[4]

Late in August 1465 Neville left the south for his new diocese. On 6 September at Cawood Castle, an episcopal residence only seven miles from York, he received his pallium from the bishop of Lincoln.[5] The small gathering which was present included his two brothers Richard and John, Thomas Chippenham his chancellor, William Brand and John Spense. From Cawood Neville travelled to Bishopthorpe Palace where on 21 September he held an ordination service, conferring orders upon twenty acolytes, twenty three subdeacons, sixteen

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.329.
2. Ibid., p.327.
3. Cal. Pap. Letters, XII (1458-71), pp.432-3.
4. Ibid., p.440.
5. Reg. Neville (Ebor.), I, first folio (unnumbered) v.

deacons and twenty two priests.[1] The following day, the feast of St. Maurice, he proceeded to York for his enthronement.[2] Through an account of this ceremony, compiled no doubt as a useful record and precedent, we are able to catch a glimpse of the solemnity and dignity of the occasion.[3]

At about the eighth hour Neville was met at the chapel of St. James outside the city walls by the dean and chapter. His suffragan bishops of Durham and Carlisle, Lawrence Booth and Richard Scrope, clothed him there in pontifical vestments, aspersed him with holy water and censed him. Barefoot, Neville took his place in the procession which then made its way towards the cathedral. In front walked Richard Andrew, the dean, bearing the pallium, the precentor, and the bishops of Durham and Carlisle together with William, bishop of Dromore. Then, glittering in their precious copes and vestments, came abbots from the most renowned of the Yorkshire houses Whitby, Fountains, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Rievaulx and Byland. Among the other church dignitaries were the bishops of Lincoln, Ely, Exeter and Coventry and Lichfield, while the ranks of temporal lords included the

1. Ibid., f.179r-v.
2. Reg. Neville (Exon.), f.29v.
3. York, Dean and Chapter archives, A. 1(2), ii-iii.

earls of Warwick, Northumberland, Worcester and Oxford, as well as barons Greystock, Scrope, Dacres, Lumley and Ogle. Having entered the cathedral, which save for its north west tower was now complete in its medieval glory,[1] the main body of the procession stood in the nave while the choir chanted. Then Neville rose from his stool behind the font and, attended by a small number of church officials which included the public notary John Saxton, he swore to observe and uphold the 'rights, privileges, liberties, immunities and customs' of his church. As the dean started the Te Deum the choir moved up into the body of the cathedral. Neville knelt before the high altar, where his pallium lay and then proceeded to the vestibule behind. Dressed in holy vestments and bearing his pastoral staff, he returned in procession to the high altar where John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Andrew together placed the pallium upon him. After prayers and versicles Neville stood and blessed the people. While the succentor and choral vicars sang, the dean led the archbishop to his throne and, after more prayers, installed him. The Benedicite followed and then the Mass, with Neville standing before his throne and himself reciting the Kyrie. After

1. F. Harrison, The Story of York Minster (1966), p.11.

the Gloria the abbot of Rievaulx read the epistle and William of Dromore the gospel. Neville led the choir in the Credo and, together with his suffragan bishop, performed the rest of the service to bring the long and splendid ceremony to a conclusion.

Neville's enthronement was followed according to custom by a feast at which he entertained his relatives and colleagues. But the scale of this event went far beyond the modest celebrations which marked, for example, Bourgchier's enthronement in 1454.[1] Altogether some six thousand people enjoyed Neville's hospitality, eating their way through three huge courses, the provisions for which included 104 oxen, 400 swans and 104 peacocks and some 400 large casks of ale and wine.[2] In spite of these huge numbers, however, this occasion too was governed by a strict etiquette. Richard Neville presided as steward while John Neville acted as treasurer. In the elaborate ritual which took place at each stage of the feast Lord Willoughby played the part of carver, Sir Richard Strangeway of sewer and Lord John Buckingham that of cupbearer.

1. The Chronicle of John Stone, ed. W.G. Searle (Camb. Ant. Soc., xxxiv, 1902), p.63.
2. J. Leland, Collectanea, ed. T. Hearne (1774), vi. 7-14.

The new archbishop sat at the high table in his hall surrounded by his friends. To the left of him were the duke of Suffolk and the earls of Oxford and Worcester, all three related to him by marriage. On his right sat Thomas Kempe, bishop of London, Lawrence Booth, bishop of Durham and his old friend William Gray, bishop of Ely. A second table accommodated thirty-one heads of religious houses drawn from all parts of the province, while a third seated magnates of local importance. As might be expected the clergy of York minster, the mayor of York and his aldermen all found places at the archbishop's board. Also present were some of Neville's associates as chancellor: a number of judges, four barons of the exchequer and twenty six learned lawyers. Three separate chambers were provided for other representatives of church and state. In one sat the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, Carlisle and Coventry. In another Richard, duke of Gloucester, presided over a table occupied by some of the female relatives of the great nobles. His presence, and that of his sister the duchess of Suffolk, suggests that if Edward IV did not himself deign to grace this great celebration by the Neville connection, his disapproval did not prevent other members of his family from doing so.

ii) The Provincial Council of 1466

Before he visited his province in 1465 Neville had taken steps to ascertain those rights and privileges which in the course of his enthronement he swore to uphold. On 8 June he appointed six eminent ecclesiastics, including the abbot of St. Mary's, York, and the chancellor, treasurer and subtreasurer of the cathedral church to act as his proctors.[1] These men were first to publish the papal letters announcing Neville's provision and to send him the cross of St. William used in episcopal processions, together with the money deriving from the spiritualities of the see. But they had also to take possession of registers, charters, books and any other materials which bore upon the rights and liberties of the archbishop and his church.

Amongst these muniments was a book containing York provincial statutes. In the eyes of the new archbishop it lacked a number of important provisions necessary for the spiritual health and discipline of his new diocese. Moreover Neville found that some of the constitutions which had been issued in 1444 by his predecessor Cardinal Kempe[2] had not been copied into this volume. Therefore in 1466, apparently without a royal writ which usually initiated such

1. Reg. Neville (Ebor.), I, first folio (unnumbered).
2. DNB.

proceedings, he summoned a provincial council to meet at York on 26 April 'ad munimen fidei et augmentum ejusdem, reformationemque morum ac defensionem ecclesiasticae liberatis'.[1]

The constitutions which were promulgated in this council[2] dealt with many aspects of church life and clearly reflect contemporary problems. Neville's lifelong preoccupation with the education of the clergy is shown by his first statute which is a long definition of Christian belief. In future every parish priest was to declare four times a year 'absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica' the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two gospel precepts concerning charity, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins, seven virtues and seven sacraments. This, like the foundation of some Oxford colleges, was a measure aimed at combating heresy. But it seems to have been only partially successful. In 1465 Neville wrote to his diocesan officers complaining of the spread of heretical opinions.[3] It is interesting to find in his provisions against offenders mention of clerks, as well as laymen, led into error.

1. D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 599.
2. Ibid., pp.599-605.
3. Reg. Neville, I, f.62v.

Several constitutions were concerned with uneasy relations between the laity and clergy, especially with inroads into the sphere of ecclesiastical justice. It was a common abuse. In the southern convocation of 1460 action had been urged against sheriffs and other lay officials who were not only falsely accusing clerks of crimes, but also causing them to be prosecuted in secular courts.[1] Edward IV in his charter for the church prohibited these practices,[2] but there is little evidence that he implemented his theoretical concessions and convocation again discussed the matter in 1463.[3] Two further examples of conflict may be noted. In this same assembly of southern convocation Bourgchier condemned arrests made by lay officials within churches and other consecrated places.[4] Three years later Neville repeated the sentence of greater excommunication which was to fall ipso facto upon those responsible for this practice.[5] The second conflict arose out of the payment of tithes. Neville restated the dues which every parishioner

1. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Cant. and York Soc., liv, 1957), pp.85-6.
2. D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 583-5.
3. C.B. Firth, 'Benefit of the Clergy in the time of Edward IV', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxxii (1917), 180.
4. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, pp.108-9.
5. D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 603-4.

had to pay but evidently met with particular resistance over the tithes from wood.[1] Bourgchier had found difficulty in enforcing this payment because of an appeal to old custom.[2] In the case of the York diocese, Neville's assertion of clerical rights was borneout by the judgement of his courts. Twice during this period Thomas Suthworth, rector of the parish church of Grove, successfully prosecuted his claim to tithes from wood cut down and sold in his parish.[3]

But neither these problems, nor many of the others which faced the archbishop, were new and a second look at Neville's constitutions reveals how much he depended upon the definitions and judgements of earlier ecclesiastical legislators. Thus his first constitution, '_Ignorantia sacerdotum_', repeats an original statute of Archbishop Pecham dating from 1281.[4] In addition it had been widely popularised in the fourteenth century by John Thoresby, archbishop of York.[5] Neville also acknowledged his debt to the constitutions of Pope Clement for the restrictions

1. _Ibid._, p.604.
2. _Ibid._, p.574.
3. Reg. Neville, I, f.63.
4. _Councils and Synods, II, 1205-1313_, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), i. 900-905.
5. _The Lay Folks' Catechism_, ed. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth (E.E.T.S., 118, 1901).

which he placed upon the activities of pardoners although Henry Chichele's constitution, reiterated in the south in 1460,[1] might well have prompted his concern in this matter. He owed his actions taken against wandering monks and canons to a constitution of Ottobuono,[2] and his definition of tithe to Archbishop Winchelsea.[3] But for the greater part of his constitutions dealing with secular interference in judicial and testimentary affairs he relied upon the enactments of John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury 1333-1348.

It is notable that all the English legislators used by Neville had acted in the southern province. Borrowings from their collections were not unprecedented.[4] Thus John Kempe's constitution concerning stipendiary priests which was reissued by Neville came originally from a series of Winchelsea's provisions on the same subject.[5] But behind Neville's very extensive employment of these earlier statutes there probably lies the decision taken by the northern convocation at York in 1462: in future constitutions from the province

1. Reg. Thome Bourgchier, p.91.
2. Councils and Synods, ii. 786.
3. W. Lyndwood, Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliae (Oxford, 1679 edn.), pp.199-201.
4. See, for example, C.R. Cheney, 'The Medieval Statutes of the Diocese of Carlisle', Eng. Hist. Rev., lxii (1947), 52-7.
5. Councils and Synods, ii. 1382-3.

of Canterbury might be used to supplement their own collection wherever this was necessary and was not prejudicial to the liberties of the northern see.[1] William Booth, who presided over this assembly, was not to live for very much longer and the end of his archiepiscopate was disturbed by Scottish incursions into his province. But to Neville, with many of the preoccupations of Canterbury convocation fresh in his mind, the year following his enthronement must have seemed an appropriate time to make such innovations.

We might hazard a guess as to where Neville, and the canon lawyers who advised him, found most of the texts of their southern constitutions. Part of 'Ignorantia Sacerdotum' appears at the beginning of an earlier collection compiled between 1422 and 1430 by William Lyndwood, a prominent lawyer in Archbishop Chichele's administration.[2] His 'Provinciale' contained the legislation of fourteen southern archbishops and, in particular, includes all the canons which Neville subsequently used. It seems likely that Neville became acquainted with this work in the course of his own activities in the southern province and through his association with Thomas Bourgchier. His probable use of Lyndwood's 'Provinciale' in the northern province enhances the value of

1. D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 580.
2. Emden, BRUO.

this unique statement of English custom and practice in canon law.

The original collection of York constitutions which Neville found amongst his archives and to which he made such a distinguished contribution no longer survives. But early in the sixteenth century Cardinal Wolsey made his own personal compilation, which has been termed the York Provinciale.[1] In this latter volume, in its original form now available only in the transcript used by David Wilkins,[2] he employed the 1466 constitutions extensively. George Neville's name, therefore, occurs frequently in the illustrious company of other eminent York ecclesiastics like John Thoresby and William Greenfield. This volume is important for two reasons. First we find two additional constitutions attributed to his authorship. One defines thirty seven cases of sins where confession is reserved to the bishop or his penitenciary;[3] the second speeds up legal procedures which can be taken against rectors and impropriators to ensure that vicarages do not fall below an annual value of twelve marks.[4]

1. The York Provinciale, ed. R.M. Woolley (1931).
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Add. C. 64; parts printed in D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 662-681.
3. D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 680.
4. Ibid., p.681.

But more generally, the place which Neville takes in the 'York Provinciale' suggests that he was a conscious inheritor of a long legislative tradition and that he used this to illustrate and extend his own authority. It may not be merely a coincidence that the predecessor he associated himself with was Cardinal John Kempe; undoubtedly his most prominent follower in the legislative tradition was another great prince of the church, Cardinal Wolsey. At York in 1466 we find no hint of the lively discussion which lay behind some of Bourgchier's pronouncements. Instead, in tackling many similar problems of clerical indiscipline and secular encroachment, Neville resorted to the examples and solutions of the past.

iii) Activities within the diocese

Our chief source for Neville's activities within his diocese during these years is his first archiepiscopal register. Numbered 22 in the York series, it is at present bound up with the register of his successor Lawrence Booth.[1] We know of two men who acted as registrar. William Westerdale, a public notary, had been appointed scribe of the

1. I have reversed the practice of the new edition of Le Neve and numbered Neville's two York registers according to chronological sequence.

consistory court by Archbishop William Booth.[1] In that capacity and that of Neville's registrar he authenticated a number of public instruments.[2] M. William Laybourne had somewhat closer contact with the archbishop. He acted as Neville's chaplain[3] and also as his chancellor, for during the vacancy of the see in 1476 he was required to hand over the keys of the chancery which were in his possession.[4] His tomb in the north end of the cathedral recorded that he had been registrar to Neville and to the two archbishops who succeeded him.[5]

The principal value of Neville's first register lies in its reflection of various aspects of medieval religious life and discipline. For it contains licences and commissions of all kinds, letters authorising inductions, exchanges of livings and the ordination of clerks outside the diocese. There are the usual requests from lay people to have their own oratories and the right to hear mass privately celebrated, and from clerks to farm benefices, have leave of absence or permission to preach. These routine matters of ecclesiastical

1. Reg. William Booth, f.146.
2. Reg. Neville, I, ff.64, 101.
3. Below, p.174.
4. Reg. Sede Vacante, f.487.
5. York, Dean and Chapter Library, Torre MS., p.2.

administration did not demand Neville's personal attention, as we might deduce from the substantial part of his register devoted to the activities of his vicar general.

But in these years, even if the archbishop's control was not constantly exercised, it was nevertheless a reality. We can tell, first of all, from the stream of letters and commissions which he sent to his deputies and from his occasional participation in diocesan business, where he spent his time. Neville visited his diocese each year. Towards the end of 1465 he travelled farther north to take part in negotiations with the Scots but he spent Christmas and the first part of January 1466 in his residence at Cawood, not far from York. Three months after Edward IV deprived him of the chancellorship he returned to his diocese, visiting York and Doncaster but chiefly occupying another archiepiscopal residence at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire. This had perhaps the advantage of greater proximity to London and to Westminster. For much of the following year Neville resided in his northern diocese. In 1469 political developments brought him to York as the king's gaoler,[1] but even in this disturbed period he found time to perform duties at Cawood and at Southwell.

1. DNB.

It is however as a stern advocate of ecclesiastical discipline and as a fair and competent arbitrator that Neville emerges most clearly, particularly in connection with the religious houses of his diocese. Several examples may be given of his intervention in their affairs. On 29 September 1465, with the enthusiasm born perhaps of his recent promotion, he wrote to the prior of the Augustinian priory at Newburgh. He complained of reports that the priory was falling into ruin, that regular observance had become impossible and that the number of canons was sinking dangerously low.[1] He gave notice that all members of the house were to be present on 11 October to account for this state of affairs either to himself or to his commissary. There survives the list of canons which he ordered to be compiled; it contains nineteen names from the subprior down to the single novice thus, incidentally, exceeding the total of fifteen canons found at Newburgh in 1380-1 and seventeen at the Dissolution.[2] Unfortunately no records of the visitation remain. It is very doubtful from the evidence of Neville's itinerary whether he was so far north in October, in which case he most likely sent a deputy. But two months later to the day he had the opportunity of seeing

1. Reg. Neville, I, f.19.
2. V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii. 228, 229.

the state of affairs for himself when he stopped at Newburgh on his way to meet a Scottish embassy at Newcastle upon Tyne. It was here that he appointed William Poteman vicar general to act in his absence.[1]

In the following year the state of the collegiate church of Beverley gave rise to some anxiety. Because of its manifest poverty Neville appointed one of his own lawyers, William Langton, to defend the church's rights and possessions.[2] The canons were forbidden to engage in litigation without consulting the archbishop. But when trouble arose it came from within the house rather than from outside. Robert Kirkeham who held the prebend of St. Katherine at Beverley was master of the rolls of chancery; when Neville was absent from the country he took custody of the great seal.[3] Such a man could be expected to be ill content with a minor clerical benefice bringing in a reduced income. Kirkeham's prebend was, in fact, one of the worst endowed[4] and in 1466 he complained in particular about the sum of money he received from oblations, part of which had to go towards the upkeep of the altar and the church's main

1. Reg. Neville, I, f.78.
2. Ibid., f.42.
3. Rymer, Foedera, v. 116-7, and above, p. 20.
4. V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii. 359.

shrine.[1] In place of this variable income he wanted fifty marks a year. His claim was opposed by the provost, Peter de Tastario, who also had grounds for considering Neville his colleague and patron.[2] As deadlock was reached in the discussions which took place in chapter, it was decided on 2 October 1466 to submit the case to the archbishop's arbitration.

Early in the following March Neville gave his judgement.[3] He laid down that in future years when the oblations reached the sum of eighty marks, six only should be deducted for the upkeep of the high altar and shrine while forty marks were to be assigned to Kirkeham and his successors in the prebend. In years when oblations did not reach this value, Kirkeham should receive half of them after the usual deduction of six marks, but full payment was to be resumed as soon as it became possible. To prevent suspicion arising he or his proctor might be present when the vessels containing the oblations were examined, and both the house's treasurer and the custodian of the shrine were in future to swear on admission to their office to fulfil their responsibilities towards him. More generally, Neville gave instructions that

1. Reg. Neville, I, f.43v.
2. Above, p.110.
3. Reg. Neville, I, ff.43v-45v.

every canon should receive his corrody from the Bedern together with other forms of income belonging to the college; also that every year when they were resident canons were to share the remainder of the oblations and all other moneys customarily divided between such canons. This seems to have been an attempt by the archbishop to encourage residence. Alexander Neville had concerned himself with this particular problem, but his highhanded measures had not met with success.[1] George Neville reverted to Archbishop Greenfield's method of adding a financial inducement to canonical requirements.[2] As regards discussions about the house's business both inside chapter and in any process outside, every canon was to be regarded as possessing an equal voice. Finally, both sides in the present dispute were bound to accept the archbishop's statutes, notwithstanding any regulations to the contrary issued previously, and all future canons, in person or by proxy, were to swear to obey his ruling in this matter.

On the whole the judgement may be said to fall chiefly in Kirkeham's favour but Neville clearly did not intend it to represent a defeat for the provost. On 30 January 1467 before the issue had been resolved he collated Peter de

1. V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii. 358.
2. Ibid., p.357.

Tastario to the wealthiest canonry and prebend at Beverley (St. Martin's), a step which could only have strengthened the provost's authority in his house.[1] Tastario does not seem to have lived long enough to carry out Neville's instructions but the next provost, William Poteman, who was collated on 30 March (1467) was one of Neville's most trusted agents in the northern province and could be expected here, as in other spheres, to fulfil archiepiscopal commands.[2]

The lack of any further complaint from Beverley during the rest of this period suggests that the settlement worked satisfactorily. Neville's interest in the place was considerable for it provided a fund of patronage which he dispensed regularly in favour of his clerical administrators and proteges. But his interest may well have taken a more personal turn. He visited Beverley at least once, in April 1468,[3] and in November of the same year he received from the king a messuage and garden in a street in the same town called 'Beksyde'.[4] The Beverley case, however, chiefly illustrates that an archbishop's influence cannot be gauged simply from his residence or nonresidence in the diocese.

1. Reg. Neville, I, f.4v.
2. Ibid., f.5v.
3. Ibid., f.61v.
4. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.114.

The power which Neville exercised through his choice of personnel and his position as an objective, if distant, arbitrator was sufficient to make his voice a powerful and decisive one.

In July 1467 he intervened in a less controversial matter. He expressed his concern at the rapidity with which the Augustinian priory of Newstead in Nottinghamshire had elected a new spiritual head after the death of their prior, John Dorham.[1] While he appreciated that a long vacancy in this office could only cause the house harm, he insisted on both the election and the elected receiving the due amount of discussion and examination. Consequently he summoned all those involved to appear before him or his commissary on 10 July in the chapel of his residence near Westminster. This request was formally acknowledged by the house. Apparently he found no irregularity in the election for on that day he wrote to his archdeacon of Nottingham asking him to induct the new prior, Thomas Gunthorpe. On the following day a royal mandate granted Gunthorpe the temporalities of his priory.[2]

His services as an arbitrator were again called on when a dispute arose between religious and laity in his cathedral

1. Reg. Neville, 1, f.36r-v.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.35.

city. For some while the church of St. Olaves in York had been in a state of disrepair. For this the abbey of St. Mary's was chiefly responsible, because the church acted as a monastic chapel. Although Archbishop Arundel had ordered repairs to be made, nothing was done until the laity objected so strongly that both sides decided to submit the matter to Neville.[1] His solution is impressive in its thoroughness.[2] In future he decided there should be no equivocation about the church's status. It was deemed a parish church and consequently the parishioners were to be held responsible for all repairs except those of the chancel. In two years they were to remedy the damage the church had already suffered but for their use the monks were to supply twenty large oak trees and £10 in money. The abbey was also bound to provide the church with vestments and holy vessels, to undertake the church's reconsecration and to equip it with a font and a cemetery. To this arbitration both sides agreed and a little later William Westerdale registered the gift of vestments, money and holy vessels given by the monks in the person of their proctor, Simon Warde.

1. A. Raine, Medieval York (1955), p.264.
2. Reg. Neville, I, ff.54-55.

iv) Activities in other dioceses

The most important centre of Neville's activities outside his own diocese was, of course, London. Here he lived in the archiepiscopal residence in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster which had been built originally by Hubert de Burgh early in the thirteenth century and made over for the use of the see by Archbishop Walter Gray in 1245.[1] Known as York Place, it was a house of some importance but little is known about its buildings until the time of Wolsey, who developed the site and gave it its modern name of Whitehall. It was an important residence and one in which Neville frequently stayed.

He also possessed, however, two manors in his own right. Moor Park, otherwise known as 'la More', was out to the northwest of London not far from Rickmansworth. The medieval manor house, now long since destroyed, together with its extensive park land had originally belonged to the Abbey of St. Albans, although early in the fifteenth century it came temporarily into the hands of a number of trustees including Henry Beaufort and Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham.[2] In 1456 Lord Sudeley secured the manor from

1. J.E.N. Hearsey, Bridge, Church and Palace in Old London (1961), pp.156-9.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1422-29, p.351.

St. Albans, but four years later when he lost his son he determined to sell the reversion. Abbot Whethamstede successfully stepped into the market again and purchased the More for three thousand marks.[1] The exact stages by which it came into Neville's hands are not recorded but the transaction was doubtless facilitated, if not originally prompted, by a kindness which Neville was able to do the abbot as chancellor. Under the Act of Resumption of 1461 St. Albans would have lost Pembroke Priory but, as in the case of Lincoln College, Neville intervened and secured a regrant of this monastic possession.[2] By whatever process, he was occupying the More by 1465[3] and, perhaps because it afforded him a quiet retreat from London where he could keep great state unobserved and enjoy the fine hunting which the surrounding country provided, it seems to have been his favourite house. Like his predecessor Beaufort he made some structural alterations,[4] and 'byllede it ryghte

1. Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede, ed. H.T. Riley (Rolls Ser., 1872), pp.357-367.
2. Ibid., pp.415-7.
3. Reg. Neville, I, f.1v.
4. M. Biddle, L. Barfield, A. Millard, 'The Excavation of the Manor of the More, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire', Arch. Journ., cxvi (1959), 150-4.

comodiusly and plesauntly'.[1] Cardinal Wolsey after him enlarged the house and enjoyed its privacy.[2]

Finally Neville's records of diocesan business show that on occasion he visited Pendley in Hertfordshire. Sir Robert Whittington had held this manor but on his attainder early in Edward IV's reign it was declared forfeit.[3] In 1462 Neville received a grant of it for life.[4] His tenure was not undisturbed. The king also granted it in the same year to Thomas Montgomery and in 1467 to Henry Bourchier but in 1469 he reestablished Neville's right.[5] At all events the actual possession of the manor cannot have been as much in doubt as the formal records might suggest for the archbishop was there several times during the summer months of 1466.[6] It was within a convenient distance of Oxford where Neville still had responsibilities until 1472.

It is clear that Neville's activities as a settler of disputes, extended beyond the confines of his own diocese.

1. J. Warkworth, 'Chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of King Edward IV', ed. J.O. Halliwell (Camden Soc., x, 1839), p.25.
2. M. Biddle, L. Barfield, A. Millard, op. cit., pp.156-8.
3. V.C.H. Hertfordshire, ii. 284.
4. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.105.
5. V.C.H. Hertfordshire, ii. 284.
6. Reg. Neville, I, f.53r-v.

He had, for example, a long connection with the house of Austin canons at Missenden in Buckinghamshire which can be traced in a variety of different records. He was first acquainted with Missenden's problems in 1462, that is early in his chancellorship. On 17 May Robert Risborough, the abbot, complained that a riotous assembly if sixty persons had attacked the house making him fear for his life and making it impossible to continue with his duties.[1] Subsequently a commission was issued to John and David Brekenok, Peter Howse, Thomas Hampden and Richard Cary to bring twenty-one named persons before the king in chancery there to give security that they would not injure the abbot or set fire to his houses.[2] Included in these twenty-one were three canons, one of whom bore the name Henry Missenden. This apparently was only one view of the situation and a misleading one, for in July of the same year the canons of Missenden deposed Risborough for simony and other misdeeds.[3] In his stead they elected the canon Henry. The matter did not rest here for in 1466 Risborough, termed as abbot, lodged an appeal with Neville, now archbishop of York.[4]

1. P.R.O., C.1/27/266.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.204.
3. Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 747 (Cartulary of Missenden Abbey), f.15.
4. Reg. Neville, I, f.47r-v.

The account of the affair in Neville's register is tantalising. The preliminaries are well documented but of the archbishop's judgement only half a page survives and this is taken up with a presentation of Risborough's case. We learn from this only that Henry Missenden, a 'false canon', took his complaints of the abbot's crimes to John Stokes, the archbishop of Canterbury's auditor of causes. For the rest of the story we must turn to a letter of much later date sent from the king to Risborough some time between 1480 and 1483 which sums up the various stages of the proceedings.[1] It appears that Neville supported the erstwhile abbot and restored him to his dignity while imprisoning Henry for the period of three years or more. As Edward pointed out Neville possessed no powers as an ordinary to do this. But then Risborough's luck gave out. On 23 July 1471 a commission was appointed to arrest him as 'late abbot of the monastery of St. Mary, Missenden'[2] and at some time when Thomas Rotherham was bishop of Lincoln, that is between 1472 and 1480, he renounced his claim to the abbacy, retaining for his sustenance only the manor and church of Great Kimble.[3] Neville clearly, however, had a hand in this for when making

1. Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 747, f.57v.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.288.
3. Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 747, f.57v.

his last and ultimately unsuccessful appeal to the king, Risborough urged that he had been deprived of his dignity by George Neville because of his own support of the Lancastrian side. The details of the whole case are difficult to elucidate but they show the power which the archbishop wielded even outside the northern province.

This is not the only example of Neville's activities in the Lincoln diocese. Before being elevated to York he had on at least one occasion acted as the bishop's commissary. He heard a matrimonial dispute brought by Thomas Danvers against Margaret Lucy whom he claimed to be his wife.[1] Subsequently Lucy appealed to the pope against Neville's judgement and three bishops were appointed to try the case anew. More interesting as an illustration of Neville's personal interests are the ordinations he conducted at the More early in 1467.[2] On 14 March (Sitientes Saturday), acting on the authority of John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln, he ordained three subdeacons. The following Holy Saturday (28 March) he conferred orders upon two subdeacons, seven deacons and four priests. As three men were ordained on both occasions this brings the total of ordinands to thirteen. We know nothing about one Richard Upton, who is

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, XII (1458-1471), p.405.
2. Reg. Neville, I, ff.56v-57.

numbered among these, but all the remaining clerks were Oxford scholars whose careers have been traced by Dr. Emden.[1] It is clear that the bishop of Lincoln was accustomed at this date to commission other bishops to perform some of his ordination duties. Of those whom Neville ordained on 28 March over half had received orders earlier in the month from the bishop of Salisbury. But the participation of the archbishop of York in this work suggests that he felt an active concern for academics and their careers. It is noteworthy, at least, that apart from the ordinations which he performed immediately prior to his enthronement, this is the only record that we have of Neville acting in this capacity while archbishop.

v) Last years, 1469-76

The years between 1469 and 1474 when political interests dictated his activities form a marked break in Neville's archiepiscopate. He took a prominent part in the restoration of Henry VI, securing as his reward the highly prized office of chancellor.[2] But he acted in this capacity for five months only and as the Lancastrian adventure which his family had so carefully promoted failed, his

1. Emden, BRUO.
2. J. Tait in DNB.

career hung in the balance. For a year he remained under house arrest at the More. Then in April 1472 a suspicion that he was in correspondence with the rebellious earl of Oxford led to his speedy removal to safe keeping across the Channel.

By 1474, however, the archbishop's political claws might well appear to have been drawn. The Lancastrian movement had lost not only its main protagonists but its principal focus, Henry VI and his heir Edward. The earl of Oxford, after his abortive attack upon St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, was in prison. In these circumstances the king may have been more inclined to listen to those like Richard, duke of Gloucester, who raised their voices on the archbishop's behalf.[1] By 11 November Edward had relented far enough to issue Neville with a general pardon 'of all offences committed by him and all fines, amercements, issues, debts, accounts and arrears due from him to the King'.[2]

On 19 December Neville landed at Dover.[3] He spent Christmas at the archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Knole[4]

1. The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner (Edinburgh, 1910), iii. 102.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.470.
3. Reg. Neville, II, f.1.
4. Ibid., ff.1v, 2v.

and during the next eighteen months reapplied himself to ecclesiastical duties. Until shortly before his death he made no attempt to visit his diocese in person. Part of every month he spent instead in his Westminster house. For the rest he lived mostly in the Augustinian priory at Bisham, on the eastern border of Berkshire. Not only was this house in a part of the country congenial to Neville (it was only about ten miles distant from his forfeited manor of the More and thus also verged on the excellent hunting of Windsor forest) but, as we have seen, it also had strong associations with his family.[1] He lived there close to the interred bodies of his parents, and his brothers Richard and Thomas who had been carried thither after the battle of Barnet. It must have been a place that spoke to him in more than one way of the vanity of worldly ambitions. It was also, and this may have been the most significant factor, close enough to London for the king to exercise a measure of surveillance.

A short second register, now bound with the 'extra diocesim' register of Henry Bowet, records the archbishop's steady performance of diocesan business. There is no indication that his role as administrator was in any way impaired by his recent vicissitudes. Although most of the

1. Above, p.3.

entries are concerned with commissions and dispensations of a fairly routine nature, some at least show him intervening once more in a disciplinary capacity. Thus he sued for two royal writs of significavit; one to be issued against a layman, the other against two canons of Bolton priory who were guilty, he asserted, of insulting and threatening both himself and his officers.[1]

This second register shows two exceptions to Neville's usual itinerary. He seems to have spent Easter 1475 at Gloucester for the following day he freed Richard Handy, a bondman, there.[2] Possibly he was visiting the enclave of archiepiscopal jurisdiction centring on nearby Churchdown. Later in the same year he became involved in the expedition to France which had emerged as one of the most important features of Edward IV's foreign policy. On 20 June when Edward left for Sandwich Neville was at Canterbury; here he appointed a steward for his lordship of Southwell.[3] The king crossed to Calais on 4 July and the archbishop apparently remained in the town, not far from the scene of his recent imprisonment. On 24 August 'apud Calisiam' he appointed Sir Richard Fitzhugh his steward of Ripon and

1. Reg. Neville, II, ff.23v-24, 17r-v.
2. Ibid., f.8v.
3. Ibid., f.19.

on 6 September, two days after the English army had returned to Calais, he performed an admission there.[1] His next recorded activity was on 30 September at Westminster, again two days after Edward's return to London.[2] No other contemporary documents mention Neville's part in this inglorious military episode which was brought to a swift conclusion by a financial agreement between the kings of England and France at Picquigny. But clearly the accounts and indentures which form the chief evidence for the excursion are unlikely to bear on relations between king and archbishop. Neville seems to have gone to France simply because he was still considered too dangerous a person to be allowed to remain in England outside royal control. It is an interesting commentary on his reputation even at this low point in his career.

But the archbishop did not long survive his return from France. He had for some time been troubled by illness[3] and on these grounds had excused himself from attending a recent meeting of the York convocation.[4] Two years in confinement had undoubtedly undermined his constitution but we also know

1. Ibid., f.19v.
2. Ibid., f.20.
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 344, f.24r.
4. Reg. Neville, II, f.11.

of one specific malady common in those days which afflicted him. Walter Lemster, a physician trained at Cambridge, treated him for the stone, prescribing a mixture compounded of barley, water, herbs and honey.[1] It was a remedy more promising than many of the more drastic measures popular at the time but it was no cure. Late in May 1476 Neville set out for his diocese. He reached Southwell where he stayed to transact the last items of business recorded in his register. But on 8 June he died at Blythe in Nottinghamshire.[2]

The last details we have concerning him go far to substantiate the impression that Neville's last years were both obscure and marked by disgrace. According to a commission dated 27 August 1476, he left no will behind him. Two chaplains, John Horbery and Richard Wartre, were appointed by the dean and chapter to act as his executors and look after his effects.[3] In the circumstances, Neville cannot have been unprepared for death; it is more likely that he made no will because his personal possessions had been seized by the king in 1472 and never returned.[4]

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1432, f.3.
2. The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Ser., lxxi, 1886), ii p.437.
3. York, Dean & Chapter, Register of Wills I, f.333v.
4. Below, p.165.

Certainly after that date he was a far poorer man than before. But it is fair to add that there is a reference to a will not twenty years later. When Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, died in 1489 he left instructions that two hundred marks should be paid to 'Mr William Poteman, and other, the executours of the testamente of George Nevell, late archbisshop of Yorke...for the arras that I had of the said archbisshop of Yorke'.[1] Whether a formal document existed or not it seems more likely that the custody of Neville's property passed, not to two undistinguished chaplains but to a man who, as we shall see, had already been entrusted with its administration during his lifetime.

Neville's last resting place is also a matter surrounded by doubt. The historian of the church of York states that he was carried to the cathedral by a great company of nobles and interred there.[2] But now no sign of his tomb remains. Leland stated that he lay buried on the north side of the Lady Chapel close to the later tomb of Thomas Rotherham.[3] This may well be the place referred to by William Poteman who in his will asked to be buried near the chapel where

1. Testamenta Eboracensia, III, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xlv, 1864), p.306.
2. Historians of the Church of York, p.437.
3. The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1910), v. 135.

George Neville lay.[1] At any rate there seems no reason to reject this early evidence in favour of a tradition of the early eighteenth century which ascribed to Neville's grave a silver gilt chalice and a pontifical ring discovered in the foundations of the dean's vestry.[2]

Contemporary cathedral documents yield no sign that any chantry was established after Neville's death where prayers might be offered for his soul. This was an important feature of medieval religious life and its omission in this case is significant. It is true that other chantry provisions existed which included Neville as one of those to be commemorated. As recently as 20 March 1476 Richard Andrew had founded the cathedral chantry of St. Saviour.[3] Its two priests were to pray for the souls of Henry VI, Queen Margaret, Archbishop Neville, John Pakenham, William Poteman, John Gisburgh, Richard Pygot, Andrew's parents and Archbishop Chichele, a gathering notably Lancastrian in character. But Neville had been one of the most eminent clerics to occupy the northern see for many years. It is

1. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., liii, 1869), pp.78-9.
2. T. Gent, The History of York (York, 1730), pp.77-8.
3. The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xxxv, 1859), p.301.

strange to find that his cathedral church which had witnessed the splendour of his enthronement in 1465, and which came into possession of at least one of his vestments,[1] provided him with no personal chantry.

His memory, however, lived on in other ways. He had been associated with two religious foundations in York which must have left in the northern capital a visible testimony of his patronage. In 1461, with his brother Richard, Neville founded the college of St. William for the priests and chaplains attached to the cathedral church.[2] Formerly they had possessed no common residence and their lodging with seculars had given rise to some scandal. In future they were to share a common life under the religious and secular direction of a provost. They were allowed to receive lands and property in mortmain up to an annual value of £100. The residence of this college still stands at the south east corner of the cathedral close.

We have already mentioned the part played by Neville in establishing the guild of Corpus Christi in 1458.[3] Consisting of both men and women, six chaplains for wardens and a priest as master, the guild was to offer prayers for the good

1. Ibid., p.231.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.47.
3. Above, p.94.

estate of the catholic faith and for King Henry, his Queen and his son. This was not, as the relevant document might lead us to expect, an original foundation. Some kind of fraternity had existed since 1408, when it was formed chiefly to promote the observance of the feast of Corpus Christi.[1] It had since become closely related to city affairs, taking a major part in the presentation of the pageants associated with that religious feast. Its growing wealth and prestige probably led it to seek formal incorporation in 1458. Perhaps because of the Lancastrian bias of its foundation, Neville was admitted to the guild in 1471, at the time of Henry VI's shortlived restoration.[2]

Apart from these two foundations, Neville has left to our generation but slight evidence of his importance in York. It is true, also, that his last years in England were led out of the glare of public affairs and that royal suspicion seems to have modified his activities. But the resulting picture of the end of Neville's career has been too gloomily portrayed by later writers. The common statement that the archbishop returned to England in 1475 and died 'of grief' shortly afterwards, is both inaccurate and overdrawn. His

1. The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York, ed. R.H. Skaife (Surt. Soc., lvii, 1872).
2. Ibid., p.79.

second register is an essential corrective for it shows that he took a renewed interest in diocesan affairs. The examination of papal evidence will also reveal that in his last eighteen months Neville resumed his ecclesiastical role unimpaired.[1]

vi) Diocesan administration

The key office in Neville's administration was that of vicar general. By the mid fifteenth century this diocesan officer commonly fulfilled all the bishop's functions apart from those that required episcopal orders, such as performing ordinations and confirmations and authorizing dispensations. Originally appointed only for the period while the bishop was outside his diocese, he tended to secure permanent status although his powers were open to frequent redefinition. Neville's first choice of vicar general reflects his dependence on men of tested abilities, experienced in northern affairs. Richard Andrew had acted as auditor of causes and official of the court of Canterbury before he became dean of York in 1454.[2] He was given full canonical powers of coercion by Neville, although the archbishop reserved his

1. Below, pp.227-8.
2. Emden, BRUO.

rights of collation, dispensation in accordance with '*Cum ex eo*', and dispensation to hear mass privately celebrated.[1]

This commission can only have lasted a short while, for Neville was in York early in September for his enthronement. But his stay was cut short by the urgent problems of Anglo-Scottish relations and three months later he appointed another vicar general to act in the capacities previously laid down.[2] Again he chose an Oxford graduate who, like Andrew, was trained in civil law and also shared with his predecessor a lasting association with All Souls College.[3] But William Poteman was a younger man whose stay at Oxford largely coincided with Neville's own. He acquired a number of benefices in the Midlands and the south, and in 1463 is found designated as a clerk of the bishop of London.[4] Not until Neville became archbishop did his preferments extend, significantly, to the northern province. By November 1465 he was acting as official of the consistory court of York,[5] an office frequently combined in the fifteenth century with that of vicar general. He served Neville loyally and after

1. Reg. Neville, I, f.76.
2. *Ibid.*, f.78.
3. Emden, BRUO.
4. *Registrum Thome Bourgchier*, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Cant. and York Soc., liv, 1957), p.100.
5. Reg. Neville, I, f.3v.

years when the chief responsibility for the diocese fell upon his shoulders he continued to find employment as a trusted and valued officer in the service of later archbishops.

After this date there are no similar commissions before Neville's return from imprisonment which formally record where administrative power in the diocese lay during his frequent absences. But from the regular entries made in the vicar general's own section of the register we may deduce that both Andrew and Poteman, separately and together, acted as vicars general. Poteman is described as such early in 1466 and it was he who wrote to Thomas Mynskip, notary of Beverley, giving notice of the tenth granted by convocation in that year.[1] Most of the entries up to April 1467 concern business transacted by Andrew but in a letter which Neville wrote in April the following year he addressed them both as vicars general. Poteman, however, received one distinct privilege from the archbishop during this time; he was allowed to collate to vicarages and chantries worth twelve marks a year or less and parish churches not exceeding six marks in value.[2] The numerous entries which follow show that this was no mean privilege.

There were other important figures in the diocese at

1. Ibid., f.86v.
2. Ibid., f.90.

this time. Not least was William, bishop of the Irish see of Dromore, who faithfully performed the exacting duties of ordination. Originally commissioned on 21 September 1465, Neville's suffragan bishop presided over sixty five such services in the course of which he conferred orders upon over 8,000 men.[1] Only one other suffragan finds mention in the register and that was William, bishop of Clonmacnoise, another Irish see. He acted mostly in the diocese of Durham but in 1467 he received authority to ordain specifically within the region of Hexham.[2]

Personal contact between these two men and the archbishop is not likely. At least it is not necessary to put forward such contact as a reason for their employment. Dromore, in particular, had a long tradition of service in the northern see. But in the case of some others it was inherent in their promotion. Thomas Chippenham continued to act as Neville's chancellor at York.[3] In an account of a dispute over tithes he is described both as chancellor and auditor of causes.[4] John Shirwood also followed his patron north. On 5 July 1465 he received the archdeaconry

1. Ibid., ff.179-241v.
2. Ibid., f.43.
3. Ibid., f.4.
4. Ibid., f.63.

of Richmond, his first important office.[1] A semi-independent enclave within the diocese, it formed a valuable complex of jurisdictional and financial rights and Shirwood's appointment marked his high favour with the archbishop. In return he took part in the government of the diocese several times during Neville's absence. Another Yorkshireman, Thomas Pereson, seems to have known both men. He supplicated for his D.Cn.L. at Oxford in 1463 and acted as commissary for Neville, who was chancellor of the university at this time.[2] During Shirwood's absence from his archdeaconry in 1466 and 1468 he performed the duties of vicar general.[3] These, then, were the principal officers whom Neville promoted and used. They were men of both experience and ability and the impression gained from the register is that they fulfilled their duties efficiently.

Some of them, at least, became involved in assemblies of national importance. While in power the archbishop was, as we might expect, a regular attendant at both parliament and convocation. His relations with the first parliamentary session of 1467 and of November 1470 were of crucial significance in his political career and he received summonses

1. Ibid., f.1.
2. Emden, BRUO.
3. Ibid.

to those of 1469.[1] He also seems to have furthered the king's policy of relying upon the clergy for much of the royal income during these years. For, acting together with the archbishop of Canterbury, he allowed convocation to be called six times during his archiepiscopate. We have no record of what passed at most of these meetings but it is safe to assume that most of them were taken up with financial matters. There is one exception. Neville summoned the council of 1466 'ex causis variis ecclesie statum et libertatem cleri honorem et utilitatem concernentibus'.[2] It is interesting to discover that, in spite of the absence of any royal writ in the records, the assembly did not fail to grant a tenth to be collected in the following two years.[3] The next York convocation was held in 1468.

But Neville's removal from the sphere of both politics and administration inevitably placed a heavy burden upon his deputies. We may assume from his last commission, issued shortly before he was shipped abroad, that William Poteman remained as vicar general.[4] In 1472 a writ summoned the vicar general to parliament 'ipso archiepiscopo in remotis

1. Report on the Dignity of a Peer, iv. 969, 973.
2. D. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 599.
3. Reg. Neville, 1, f.86v.
4. Ibid., f.143r-v.

agente'.[1] But it is for the following year that evidence of Poteman's movements survives. Parliament met again on 8 February and lasted until 8 April.[2] On 10 March Poteman commissioned two men, Thomas Pereson and Robert Mason, another Oxford graduate, to act in the diocese during his absence.[3]

He returned north not long after but on 24 October he addressed another commission to the same officials.[4] This time he mentioned not only provincial affairs which required his presence outside the diocese but also business concerning the 'felicem statum reverendissimi patris'. The document relates only to work connected with ecclesiastical benefices but it added a final instruction that the oath of obedience to the archbishop should be taken by those who are inducted. These must surely be hints that efforts were being made on Neville's behalf which were not at least without hope of success. It may be significant that the last of Poteman's recorded excursions to the south came to an end in October 1474 only two months before the archbishop's return.[5]

1. Report on the Dignity of a Peer, iv. 981.
2. Rot. Parl., vi. 41-2.
3. Reg. Neville, I, f.155v.
4. Ibid., f.160v.
5. Ibid., ff.164r-167.

Neville's officials had thus well justified their appointment. It was by no means rare at this period for vicars general to have diocesan administration concentrated in their hands, while their bishops were frequently non-resident and involved in government business. But it was no mean task to carry on this work while the fate of the archbishop was in the balance. The diocese of York comprised a vast area in which to maintain religious discipline at a time when society was constantly disturbed by the threat of civil war.

On his return Neville maintained continuity in his administration by appointing four experienced men as his vicars general: Richard Andrew, John Shirwood, William Poteman and Thomas Pereson.[1] He wrote to them on 2 March 1475 saying that he was prevented from coming himself by 'all kinds of exacting business', the stock phrase in this kind of document. They were to fulfil the duties customary to the office, apart from those touching collations and exchanges of benefices belonging to the archbishop and privileges which belonged to him such as that prescribed by '<u>Cum ex eo</u>'. Three months later, exactly a year before he died,

1. <u>Ibid.</u>, f.168r-v.

Neville made his last such appointment.[1] Prompted possibly by Shirwood's departure from England and the continued unlikelihood of his presence in York, he altered the number of vicars general, returning to William Poteman and Richard Andrew. To these he entrusted powers which are given in more detail than on any previous occasion. First, an oath of obedience to the archbishop was to be secured from both beneficed and unbeneficed clergy within the diocese who were bound to fulfil this customary demand. This suggests that loyalty to Neville, if it had not been questioned by the administrative hierarchy, was less certain amongst other sections of the clergy. Poteman and Andrewwere held responsible also for granting letters dimissory, for punishing crimes and excesses and surveying the course of testamentary jurisdiction. In this latter capacity they had not only to prove testaments but also to secure inventories, appoint executors and audit their final reckonings. They were instructed to hold synods and convocations at the accustomed times and places, and to collect Peter's Pence, synodals, pensions and other income from the York spiritualities. In cases where the archbishop was competent to absolve from excommunication they were to exercise this power. Elections, presentations to and exchanges of

1. Ibid., ff.171-172.

benefices came within their purview. They had to see not only that suitable candidates were promoted but also that illegal occupants of benefices were deprived. Criminal jurisdiction made them responsible for hearing the oaths of imprisoned clerks and admitting suitable compurgators. The king's writs were to be executed and acknowledged in proper form. While the fruits of empty benefices were to be collected for Neville, the archbishop allowed his two vicars general to collate to curacies or chantries which belonged to him, worth up to the annual value of twelve marks. Finally another vicar general could be substituted if need arose. All other matters were to be submitted to them saving only collations of higher value than those mentioned and in the case of Neville's return to the diocese.

This commission, by the fullness of the terms with which it grants away control over the day-to-day details of ecclesiastical administration, forms a suitable note on which to conclude an account of Neville's officials. While it amounts almost to a personal abdication of responsibility it is a confirmation of his trust in them and a striking testimony of their loyalty and efficiency.

vii) Administration of temporalities

As archbishop Neville owed much of his power and influence to his wealth. This is not now easy to assess but

contemporaries clearly felt that it was considerable. When the king seized the More in 1472 and laid hands upon its great stock of jewels, plate and priceless vestments he was said to have profited by £20,000.[1] The Lancastrian chronicler, John Warkworth, saw this as a fitting judgement upon Neville's 'grete covetousnes'.[2]

Neville acquired such wealth in a number of ways. While chancellor he had an official salary of £200 p.a., implemented on the occasions when he acted as a royal ambassador.[3] Far more important was the steady flow of manors, grants and privileges which his proximity to the throne secured for him. The income so gained enabled him to lend money to the king,[4] and also to invest in trading ventures.[5] But Neville's revenues from the archbishopric of York, which Edward seized in 1472, formed the solid foundation of his wealth. We may examine these to discover what they amounted to, where they came from and who handled them on his behalf.

1. John Warkworth's Chronicle, ed. J.O. Halliwell (Camden Soc., x, 1839), p.25. A Milanese correspondent mentions a sum of 20,000 ducats, Cal. Mil. Papers, p.169.
2. John Warkworth's Chronicle, p.26.
3. P.R.O., E.404 72/1/20, 99; E.404 72/3/48.
4. Above, p. 97; P.R.O., E.404 72/2/108, 72/4/7, 95.
5. Cal. Close Rolls, 1461-8, p.12.

Although both York and Canterbury were assessed at 10,000 florins[1] (the sum due to the pope from the archbishops he provided to these sees) they were not equally profitable. In 1446 the archiepiscopal lands of Canterbury were worth £3,049, in terms of net value.[2] A survey of the archbishopric of York, carried out for the year ending at Michaelmas 1482, valued the northern archbishop's property at £2,017 before deductions.[3] While the Valor Ecclesiasticus is too deficient for the northern province to enable us to check this total, a survey performed by Cromwell's commissioners in 1535 yields a similar net value of £1,936.[4]

Most of this sum came from the three bailiwicks which the archbishop possessed in Yorkshire. Sherburn, rated at £452 in 1482, included the manors of Cawood and Bishopthorpe south of the capital. £315 a year came from the estate which centre upon Ripon. Comprising the manors of Sharon, Thorp, Monkton, Thornton, Nidderdale and Ripon, it is thought

1. W.E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327-1534, (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp.826-834.
2. F.R.H. Du Boulay, The Lordship of Canterbury (1966), p.243.
3. Brit. Mus. MS. Harley 433, ff.324-327v. All the figures quoted from this source are given to the nearest pound.
4. P.R.O., SC 11/766. This sum has been arrived at by adding the total annual value of all those manors mentioned in the earlier document. Accounts concerning the York spiritualities and the manors of Battersea and Wandsworth have been omitted.

to be an endowment which dated from St. Wilfrid's elevation to the see of York.[1] The wealthiest complex of archiepiscopal lands, however, stretched to the east of York. To Beverley itself was attached a group of East Riding manors: Hull, Skidby, Wetwang, Wilton, Patrington, Elloughton and Bishopburton. It brought into Neville's treasury a sum close to the £527 recorded in 1482.

We have seen that Neville spent much of his time in the southernmost part of his diocese, that long finger of Nottinghamshire which reached into the midlands. The Southwell estate was worth £150 a year to him but this was slightly exceeded by property to the north. The manors of Scrooby, Laneham, Askham, Sutton and North Soke contributed £166.

In addition to these lands within his diocese the archbishop of York possessed two enclaves of jurisdiction situated in other diocese. Hexham, a large archiepiscopal peculiar surrounded by the bishopric of Durham was valued at £230 a year in 1482. To the far south west in Gloucestershire lay the barony of Churchdown which brought Neville annually somewhere about £178.

1. T.S. Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', Yorks. Arch. Journ. xxxii (1936), 43-85.

The men whom Neville appointed to administer these estates fit, for the most part, into the categories of officials established by Professor Du Boulay in connection with the lands of the southern archbishopric.[1] There was, first of all, a small nucleus of clerks. Some of them already held important ecclesiastical office within the diocese. Thus in 1475 William Poteman was appointed overseer of all Neville's temporal possessions.[2] William Brand, archdeacon of Cleveland, enjoyed a longer appointment as the receiver general for all the Yorkshire revenues and surveyor for the same county.[3] Edmund Chaderton had more personal contact with Neville. He was chaplain to the archbishop as early as 1466 and is also to be found in his household at Bisham towards the end of Neville's life.[4] He acted as surveyor of the estate at Hexham.[5] William Appulby, who became warden of Scrooby manor,[6] was a fellow of Balliol and also had personal links with Neville. Of these four clerks, none as far as we know, possessed any training in civil law.

1. The Lordship of Canterbury, pp.264-276.
2. Reg. Neville, II, f.18v.
3. Ibid., f.57.
4. Cal. Close Rolls, 1468-76, p.403.
5. Reg. Neville, I, f.41.
6. Ibid., f.45v.

The archbishop's household was clearly important as a training ground for administrators and a centre of patronage. Another two of Neville's appointees can most probably be traced to this source. Ingelram Lepton who became bailiff, corner and clerk of the market in Beverley was referred to as his 'dilectus servitor'.[1] But more interesting was the man whom Neville appointed as one of the keepers of his park at Ripon. William Staveley first rose to fortune under the Yorkists. He served at Calais with Warwick and, on being wounded, received compensation from the king.[2] In 1461, as a royal servant, he was granted custody of the king's park of Chiltern Langley and four years later that of Bekeley in Oxfordshire. In this connection he must have come into contact with George Neville who, precisely three days later than Staveley received custody of Chiltern Langley and had already received the rights of herbage and pannage within Bekeley. He acted many times with the archbishop in land transactions and in 1471 was one of those appointed to supervise repairs of the royal manors in Oxfordshire for which Neville took responsibility. He was described as Neville's servant. As we have seen both men

1. Ibid., ff.40v, 43.
2. Biographical information on pp.169-172 comes from Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1466-7, 1461-1477, unless otherwise stated.

were jointly commemorated in the windows of Balliol College Library.[1]

A large number of Neville's estate officials, however, belonged to a higher social class. His own brother is the clearest example. Richard Neville became steward of the lordship of Ripon in 1466;[2] the perquisites of this office must have been considerable for his successor was no less than Richard, duke of Gloucester.[3] After Neville's restoration in 1475 he granted the post to his own nephew, Sir Richard Fitzhugh.[4] Yet another relative, Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam who had married one of the archbishop's nieces,[5] received office as steward of the manor of Beningworth in the Southwell estate.[6] But most of the knights who formed part of the archiepiscopal administration had less personal contact with Neville. Sir John Pilkington is typical. He came from a family of some importance in both Lancashire and Yorkshire and early in Edward IV's reign was numbered amongst the king's esquires of the body. He received from the crown

1. Above, p. 17.
2. Reg. Neville, I, f. 43.
3. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-1477, p. 346.
4. Reg. Neville, II, f. 19v.
5. Testamenta Eboracensia, III, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xlv, 1864), p. 247.
6. Reg. Neville, I, f. 46v.

lands in the north of England, in London and in Ireland, together with various forest offices. Not surprisingly his own political sympathies were strongly Yorkist; he founded a chantry in Wakefield where prayers were to be offered, amongst others, for the king, Richard late duke of York and Richard, duke of Gloucester. His appointment as steward of the bailiwick of Sherburn was therefore in all probability secured by the crown.[1] It was not, like many, brought to an end when Lawrence Booth succeeded Neville in 1476.[2]

These two factors of local importance and royal service greatly affected Neville's choice of servants. Sometimes, as in the case of the stewardship of his valuable estate at Beverley, he was content to employ a local man of proven experience. William Eland had acted in the same capacity under William Booth and the royal commissions on which he served suggest that he took a prominent part in the local government of the East Riding.[3] Roger Wivill, too, who occupied the crucial position of archbishop's auditor[4] appears to have owed his appointment to local importance.

1. Reg. Neville, II, f.18.
2. Reg. Lawrence Booth, f.291.
3. Reg. Neville, I, f.40.
4. Ibid., f.40v.

Royal service on the other hand is noticeable in the early career of Edward Gower who became warden of the manor and park of Beverley.[1] It also lifted into prominence the Nottinghamshire family of Cliftons. Gervase Clifton, to whom Neville entrusted four manors within the same county,[2] served on royal commissions in the early part of the reign and later acted as sheriff and receiver general for a number of royal manors.[3] Clifton had in addition strong personal links with the Booth family. He was nephew to William, late archbishop of York, so it is not surprising to find that he later held administrative office under Lawrence Booth[4] (William's half brother) and also acted as his executor.

Thus although Neville's register does not contain the 'Intrinseca' and 'Extrinseca' sections which enable us to learn so much about the financial business of, for example, Archbishop Greenfield, its record of appointments to temporal office gives us some clues as to the nature of his administration. It seems above all, if we may judge from

1. Reg. Neville, I, f.40v, II, f.14r-v.
2. Reg. Neville, I, f.46.
3. He is to be distinguished from Gervase Clifton, the prominent Lancastrian, who was executed after the battle of Tewkesbury. A.C. Woods, 'Notes on the Early History of the Clifton Family', Trans. Thoroton Soc., xxxvii (1933), 31-4.
4. Reg. Lawrence Booth, f.306v.

the experience of its members, to have been efficient. Important diocesan officials, members of the archbishop's household and local men of standing were unlikely to take their responsibilities lightly. Personal contact with the archbishop, on the other hand, was significant only for a few men like Chaderton. The ups and downs of Neville's political career find no reflection in the careers of his servants.

viii) Ecclesiastical patronage

The see of York provided Neville with a generous income drawn from his personal estates. It also, in his right of collation, gave him a fund of benefices and ecclesiastical offices upon which he could draw in that subtle distribution of patronage which in the fifteenth century spelt power. Most important in this respect were the collegiate churches. At Beverley he could dispose of eight canonries and the provostship, worth altogether over £475 according to the Valor Ecclesiasticus.[1] The same valuation rated the seven canonries at Ripon at just over £161[2] while the sixteen

1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, v. 130-1. Sums are given to the nearest pound.
2. Ibid., p. 250.

prebends at Southwell were in all worth more than £280.[1] The cathedral church at York, however, far outshone the others. The exact value of its prebends is impossible to determine at this particular date, but from the estimate attached to twenty eight of the thirty four prebends in the Liber Valorum it can safely be placed at well over £1,000.[2] In addition the four archdeaconries ranged from the comparative poverty of Cleveland (£36) to the luxury of York (£90).[3] Finally the archbishop possessed the right of appointing the twelve canons and sacrist of the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels in York. It stood between the north aisle of the nave of the cathedral church and the archbishop's palace, and in the course of time had acquired valuable endowments.[4]

Neville might also collate to a large number of parish churches within his diocese, both those that belonged traditionally to the archbishop's patronage and those that came to him through the occasional lapse of the normal patron's right. Thus we find him presenting his chaplain M. William Laybourne to the vicarage of Thornton Dale which was worth some £20 a year.[5] M. William Brown, another

1. Ibid., pp.192-4.
2. Ibid., pp.1-2.
3. Ibid., p.1.
4. V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii. 383-5.
5. Reg. Neville, I, f.20.

chaplain, received the somewhat more valuable rectory of Slatbourne.[1] It would be interesting to know whether Thomas Pereson, who was appointed in the same way to the church of Bolton Percy near York,[2] was responsible for the picture of Neville which appears in the fifteenth century glass of this church.[3] But this kind of patronage was not, on the whole, very useful to the archbishop. Canon law limited the number of benefices with care of souls which a clerk might hold and therefore, in rewarding personal or administrative service, their value was limited. It is quite probable that the meagre record of Neville's collations to such benefices is partly due to deficiencies of his register. But his lack of interest in the less profitable livings at his disposal is shown by his commissions allowing William Poteman to fill them.[4]

Up to the period of his imprisonment Neville made thirty seven collations which were noted by his registrar. Of these all but ten were appointments to cathedral dignities and collegiate churches. Amongst those receiving preferment we find some of Neville's associates from the diocese of

1. Ibid., f.14v.
2. Ibid., f.14v.
3. V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii. 41.
4. Reg. Neville, I, ff.90, 171v.

Exeter, like Henry Webber and his suffragan bishop Thomas Barrett; also members of his household (John Shirwood and Thomas Chippenham) and, inevitably, diocesan administrators of the calibre of Poteman and John Pakenham, treasurer of the cathedral since 1459. Two names suggest more secular contacts; both Edmund Woodville and William Dudley, who received prebends at York, came from families of standing comparable to Neville's own. But, as in the case of Neville's patronage at Exeter, the most numerous group which lends itself to identification is that with Oxford origins. Thomas Chaundler is the outstanding example. In 1467 he received a canonry and prebend at York, and became chancellor of the cathedral.[1] Others were M. John Marshall, M. William Moreton and M. John Burgh; the last two came from Balliol and were also theologians, while Burgh according to the register was one of the archbishop's household chaplains.

The new edition of Le Neve adds to this list another nine appointments to cathedral offices.[2] With one exception they all belong to the period 1470-1 when political developments would explain their omission from Neville's register.

1. Ibid., ff.4v-5.
2. John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, VI, comp. B. Jones (1963).

They include Poteman, again, who received the prebend of Barnby on the same day that he became archdeacon of Cleveland. But, as far as can be discovered, at least four men had no distinctive contact with the archbishop.

Between December 1474 and June 1476 we have record of twenty one collations performed by the archbishop. They form a prominent feature of his second register and show how important his power of patronage remained. William Dudley and William Poteman both received further preferment but apart from Neville's chaplain Edmund Chaderton, all the others are new names. Cambridge graduates form a more coherent group in this period. Of these John Herte may have had personal contact with the Neville family. In 1495 he bequeathed Archbishop Rotheram a precious cup 'vocatum serpentine' which had originally been given to George Neville's father by Richard II.[1] Certainly George Fitzhugh had personal claims upon the archbishop. He was the son of George Neville's sister Alice. Although little more than fourteen years of age in 1475 he received a canonry at York,[2] just as his uncle had done at almost exactly the same age. His later progress followed a less dramatic course, but

1. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., liii, 1868), p.113.
2. Reg. Neville, II, f.17.

Fitzhugh went to Cambridge and obtained an M.A. in 1482 with provision for proceeding to a D.Th. in the following year.[1] By 1500 he had carried his family's tradition of royal connection to the modest conclusion of being chaplain to Henry VII.

It is difficult to draw general conclusions with any precision about the clerks Neville promoted. Although many received academic training there were others who did not and whose careers are thus much harder to trace, while even the total number of these men must remain in doubt. On the other hand, most of his appointments were to men who attained some eminence. In the first period they tended to be more experienced in either university or ecclesiastical fields. In the second, with the exception of Poteman and Morton, they were of Neville's age or younger and at the beginning of their careers. Partly because of this, no one geographical area can claim to be particularly well represented. Yorkshire, as might be expected, bred some of the most capable diocesan administrators but with non-residence so common there was no argument against collating men whom the archbishop met in and from the south. Of the degrees they held there were in all almost equal numbers of masters of arts, theologians and canon lawyers. In the first period

1. Emden, BRUO.

only one person was qualified in civil law although several had degrees in both civil and canon law; later this proportion reversed itself, but it is doubtful whether over such a short span this can be of much significance. Nevertheless it is interesting at a time when legal training was becoming steadily more important to find Neville showing such a marked interest in those trained like himself in the arts and in theology.

We do not have in every case an indication of the relationship between the archbishop and his proteges. Biographical details suggest contact at Oxford and experience in local administration to be important factors, only occasionally reinforced by similar social background. But just as we have seen that Neville's temporal servants frequently came from royal service, so we must allow for the influence of others in his promotion of clerks. Thus, for example, Edmund Woodville most probably owed his prebend at York to the king's favour rather than Neville's.[1] William Dudley, too, was a royal chaplain and his Yorkist loyalties, which led him to support Edward on his arrival at Ravenspur in March 1471, almost certainly prompted his further promotion. Alexander Legh was another clerk whose allegiance to Edward

1. For biographical details see Emden, BRUO and BRUC.

remained firm in the political crisis of those years and in this case led him to inform the king of Montagu's desertion.[1] Finally we may note that after Neville's death at least three of his clerks became particularly associated with Richard, duke of Gloucester. Edmund Chaderton, the archbishop's chaplain, took up the same position in Richard's household but, more important, rose to become treasurer of his chamber - a key office, especially after the duke's usurpation of the throne. Thomas Barowe took up another key position, that of chancellor. John Shirwood, during Richard's brief reign, represented him at the papal curia and owed the bishopric of Durham to his favour. We have no way of determining the starting date of these attachments but they suggest that clerical patronage at this time cannot be portrayed in terms of lasting loyalties. The path to the summits of ecclesiastical achievement was an arduous one and just as in the secular world 'bastard' feudalism suppressed lasting ties in favour of the immediate demands of personal ambition, so the link between clerk and patron tended to be governed by short term considerations of mutual advantage. But within these limitations Neville's collations make an interesting study of the contacts and dependents of a fifteenth century ecclesiastic.

1. DNB.

ix) Conclusion

In assessing George Neville as archbishop of York a strong emphasis upon his administration is inevitable. One and a half years of isolation in prison followed upon four years of active political involvement. Thus for half his archiepiscopate his interests lay outside the scope of this study. Moreover, there is every indication that these political concerns, which may be summed up by his activities as royal chancellor, always lay very close to the archbishop's heart. He was essentially a prince bishop following, perhaps consciously, in the steps of a more famous predecessor, Henry Beaufort. It was therefore important to him that ecclesiastical duties should be carried out in his diocese without necessitating his presence, that his revenues should be carefully collected and that he should be able to reward his friends and associates with valuable benefices. These three requirements were met. But in all justice to Neville, even from the selective account of his register he emerges as a responsible and conscientious diocesan.

A less formal approach to the archbishop's career is difficult to sustain. Personal information is no easier to come by in this aspect of his life than in any other. His early death, before that of most of his contemporaries, has denied us the clues usually given in wills. Only two of his associates referred to him in their testaments. William

Brand, who died in 1475, left him a gold ring and a book, with the provision that after Neville's death the latter should pass to the cathedral.[1] William Poteman requested burial near his patron.[2]

But we may turn finally to an estimate of the archbishop, made in all probability by William Melton, chancellor of York between 1498 and 1528.[3] Here, apart from the statement that Neville's talents earned for him the office of chancellor 'in quo regem imperiumque gloria abunde honoravit', political factors are most happily omitted. Instead Melton concentrated upon his noble birth, his study of letters at Oxford and his knowledge of both religious and secular matters which earned for him fame and high position. At York 'ejus splendor tanto clarius innotuit quanto alios gradu ac dignitate antestetit'. Against this convincing picture of brilliance and distinction may be set the qualities attributed to him by the epitaph set over his tomb:

> O Junii felix octava dies! obierunt
> Qua tres pontifices istius ecclesiae

1. Testamenta Eboracensia, III, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xlv, 1864), p.216.
2. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., liii, 1868), pp.78-9.
3. The Historian of the Church of York and its Archbishops, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Ser., lxxi, 1886), ii.436-8.

Sanctus Willelmus, Ricardus Scrope quoque, Nevill
Ecce! Georgius hoc sarcofago recubans
Sicut congaudens peperit tres Anna Marias,
Sic parit hos trinos mater haec ecclesia.
Nunc, Willelme, Petreque, preces effundite vestras,
Ut vobis junctus sit pius ille pater.
Et te, Ricarde, veluti tua fama decorat,
Huic succurre tibi luce necis simili,
Praedicta, Gildarde, Medarde, die, venerate,
Vestris aut culmen extulerat nec eum.
O quem mansuetum, castum, sobriumque salubrem,
Tantum plebs Boreae plausit habere patrem!
Scribere quid refert plus quis vel qualis erat, nam
Omnia eum merita laude nitere probant.
Mille quadragintis annis, sex septuaginta,
Transiit e mundo scandere celsa poli.

Chapter 6 : Neville and Anglo-Papal Relations

Neville's ecclesiastical career cannot be studied exclusively within an English context. Despite the factors which encouraged English isolation from developments abroad, and in particular from papal influence, his offices as bishop and archbishop brought him into routine administrative contact with the spiritual head of Christendom. More than this, they opened to him a world where ecclesiastical and political issues met and where his own ambitions might find full play. Anglo-papal relations, therefore, provide a valuable setting in which to view the more general implications of his career.

i) The Yorkist revolution

In the complex pattern of events which led up to the accession of Edward IV much depended upon the attitude of the episcopate. Many bishops took no part in the political manoeuvres between 1459 and 1461 but amongst the small group with active political allegiances, George Neville was pre-eminent. His activities during these years may be briefly summarized. In 1460, together with William Gray, bishop of Ely, he welcomed the Yorkist earls to London and helped to secure from the reluctant Common Council of the City a sum of

money to help with their expenses.[1] He rode with the earls of March, Salisbury and Warwick to Northampton and after their first victorious encounter with King Henry obtained the chancellorship as a reward for his support.[2] It was largely his tact and ingenuity which resolved the embarrassing situation which followed, when the duke of York attempted to claim the throne; accepting the basis of his compromise, York agreed to waive his claims until King Henry's death.[3] After the battles of Wakefield and St. Albans, Neville again played a vital role. On 1 March he spoke to a large assembly of soldiers and citizens in St. John's Fields, whipping up their resentment of Henry VI and gaining their enthusiastic adherence for Edward, earl of March.[4] He thus provided the Yorkist faction with an agreeable display of popular sentiment which sufficiently obscured the real nature of Edward IV's accession.[5]

In all these events the pope was indirectly involved. Early in 1459 Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terni and papal nuncio, had set out for England charged by Pius II with

1. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 78-81.
2. Ibid., pp.86-7, 94.
3. Rot. parl. v. 375-8.
4. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 150.
5. Analysed by R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (1966), pp.190-194.

three tasks.[1] He was to urge the English king to send representatives to the papal council assembling at Mantua; he was to act as a mediator in the disputes troubling the country and, most important of all, he was to secure support for a crusade which Pius was planning to lead against the Turks. Coppini, as might be expected at this juncture, achieved very little and left England early in 1460 impatient with his lack of success. But his sympathy for the Yorkist cause made him a precious ally. On 25 June Warwick, his father the earl of Salisbury, Edward earl of March and William, Lord Fauconberg, submitted their case to him.[2] Urging him to return to England with them, they defended their actions and asserted that they would be obedient towards the pope, especially with regard to the crusade against the Turks. Coppini quickly lost any semblance of impartiality in English politics. He entered London in the earls' company and wrote a severe letter to King Henry, urging him to disregard the counsel of those around him and to enter into negotiations before resorting to arms.[3] His own personal triumph took place at an

1. A. Gottlob, 'Des Nuntius Franz Coppini.', Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, 4 (1890) pp.75-111.
2. H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History (1846), 3rd series, i. 85-8.
3. Cal. Mil. Papers, pp.23-7.

assembly of convocation in London. Not only did he publish there the text of his letter to Henry but before a great gathering of spiritual and secular lords he read letters from the pope which had raised him from a nuncio to a legate.[1]

During the political events which followed Coppini kept close to the Yorkist camp. After the battle of Northampton he emerged to share the triumph and took part in the great procession accompanying Henry VI back to London.[2] In August Coppini and Neville were amongst a number of lords who went, again with the king, on a pilgrimage to Canterbury to offer thanks for the Yorkist victory.[3]

It was therefore inevitable that these two ecclesiastics should see much of one another. Both were engaged in promoting Yorkist politics, Neville by acting as a negotiator and heading the civil administration, Coppini by casting a unique aura over the whole movement. In particular his action in excommunicating the Lancastrians and conferring absolution upon their opponents helped to turn the rebellion into something like a crusade in its own right.[4] The

1. P.R.O., 31/9/62, pp.308-12.
2. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 87.
3. Ibid., p.95.
4. G. Baskerville, 'A London Chronicle of 1460', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxviii (1913), 125.

identity of their interests forged a bond which lasted after Coppini's departure from England. Thus we find Neville writing to the legate in April 1461 describing the second battle of St. Albans and the battle of Towton.[1] Quoting the opening lines of Lucan's Pharsalia, he exclaimed against a civil conflict which was wasting both wealth and man power. This, he felt, was particularly regrettable since 'we were unwilling to give help in men or money to the army of his Holiness and your Reverence'. In itself this particular letter does not stand out from the general correspondence which was taking place. We have two other letters giving Coppini news of the battle of Towton sent by the Irish bishop of Elphin and by Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, the latter couched in very similar terms.[2] But Neville's account is especially interesting because it evoked a reply from Coppini which has survived.[3] The legate recalled the last conversation which he had had with Edward and the bishop of Exeter. On that occasion Neville had declared himself anxious to do all in his power for the church and for the pope. He had urged this policy upon Edward and both had then received Coppini's encouragement and blessing.

1. Cal. Ven. Papers, pp.99-101.
2. Ibid., pp.101-104.
3. Cal. Mil. Papers, pp.78-81.

Taken together with Neville's earlier reference to a crusade against the Turks, this vague but enthusiastic expression of piety may reasonably be seen as a specific allusion. Neville's desire to support a crusade was probably like that of most of his contemporaries, sincere but sporadic. But it seems clear from Coppini's letter that, even in a political situation which lent an air of unreality to the whole discussion, Edward refused to commit himself. Coppini made two further points. He urged Neville to remind Edward that God alone was responsible for the success which had brought him his kingly power. Edward must keep faith and, remembering his former vows, defend the laws of God. More personally, the legate mentioned that he had recently written to the pope and had included a glowing account of the bishop which he hoped would prove an adequate recommendation.

Thus it would seem that Coppini left Neville with high hopes of possible advancement. Both men, indeed, stand out from their contemporaries in this respect. Neville was not the only ecclesiastic who helped Edward; Bourgchier held a key position in the English hierarchy at this time, while Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, boasted of his importance to the new king.[1] But Neville and the legate were ambitious enough to hope that out of the alliance forged

1. Ibid., p.64.

between the Yorkist dynasty and the papacy, profit would accrue to them both.

They were disappointed. Pope Pius, who had apparently watched his legate's doings with complacency up until the middle of 1460, refused him promotion at the critical moment. Coppini's friends did what they could. They persuaded Henry VI to write to the pope on his behalf; and Thomas Bourgchier, Neville, Warwick, Henry Bourgchier the treasurer and John Berners sent urging the duke of Milan to use his influence at the papal court.[1] But in vain. While political affairs still hung in the balance, the pope's inactivity seemed disastrous. A Milanese correspondent described the situation thus:

> 'Everything may be put right, if the legate (under whose shadow, aided by the abilities of the Earl of Warwick and the other kinsmen of the king the other things were done and established) has prompt advancement in order to maintain his repute and the opinion of the people, as well as the lords, as without such reputation nothing can be done here. It seems most astonishing to the king and the lords and people here, and especially to the Earl of Warwick, seeing the legate is of such worth as they have proved, that they have taken no notice of him at Court. The Earl of Warwick, who is like another Caesar in these parts, is amazed and their opponents take advantage of this by saying that the legate is no real legate and that the pope has no opinion of him'.[2]

1. Ibid., pp.35-6.
2. Ibid., pp.45-6.

Coppini's fortunes went from bad to worse. Pius confided in a Milanese ambassador that he suspected Coppini had gone further than the terms of his commission allowed, through his desire for a red hat.[1] Subsequently he deprived Coppini of his legation and recalled him to Rome. Even while his English friends were granting him an annuity of £100 and promising the first bishopric to fall vacant,[2] the papal envoy felt Pius' cold disfavour. Condemned in a papal consistory, he was deprived of his orders and his bishopric. In March 1463 he entered the monastery of St. Paul de Urbe and not long after died, with the long defence of his conduct which he was preparing unheard.[3]

Coppini's dramatic fall seemed a decisive set back to the kind of relationship he envisaged between the papacy and the English crown. But the issue was resolved quite simply by Edward himself. Early in 1462 the king wrote to Pius, explaining the circumstances which had surrounded his accession to the throne and justifying his whole course of action.[4] England, he urged, had long been ruled tyrannically

1. Ibid., p.105.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-7, p.59; Cal. Mil. Papers, p.108.
3. M. Armellini, Catalogi Tres Episcoporum .. e Congregatione Casinensi (Assisi, 1733), p.23.
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 170, p.218.

by one unworthy of the title of king; one who favoured good and bad indiscriminately, who promoted those who flattered him to such a degree that the whole government of the country fell into their power and rich and poor suffered alike at their hands. He had accepted the crown only because of the demands for redress of his fellow countrymen and in the battles which followed God had protected his right. Finally he submitted that he held the church in especial honour and would be the pope's most devoted son. This letter produced the desired effect in Rome. Pius replied, congratulating him upon his new dignity.[1] He expressed his pleasure at Edward's declaration of obedience to the holy see, and sent him his blessing. Thus shortly did the first crucial episode in Anglo-papal contact come to an end. Relations between both powers were set upon an amicable footing. But no ecclesiastic received undue reward in the process.

ii) Appointment of an English cardinal

It is clear, however, that Coppini's swift disappearance from the English scene did not put an end to Neville's hopes for advancement. He had reason to feel secure early in the decade. Apart from his role in the events leading to

1. Rymer, Foedera, v. 110.

Edward's accession, he remained in charge of the royal chancery and conducted an important series of negotiations with the Scots and Burgundians.[1] Warwick, who had more military and administrative experience than the young king, was one of the leading magnates of the country and his power helped to guarantee his younger brother's position. Neville must have been well aware of the recent tradition according to which ecclesiastics distinguished for their service to the state were suggested to the pope for elevation to the cardinalate. He had before him the examples of the aristocrat Henry Beaufort and the less controversial appointment of that eminent civil servant, John Kempe.

His hopes, therefore, seem to have been high. In 1463 he paid lip service to papal attempts to rouse a crusade, by promising to accompany the duke of Burgundy on this venture with three hundred men.[2] It was only a gesture but we may believe that, just as it stirred Duke Philip to generosity, so news of it was intended to reach and impress the papal court. More revealing is a comment by John Stone, a monk of Christ Church Canterbury and a critical observer of events. In August 1463 he recorded that Neville visited Canterbury

1. Emden, BRUO.
2. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 307.

in the company of other members of an English embassy.[1] On the 14th the bishop of Exeter attended vespers in the cathedral; on the following day, the feast of the Assumption, he took part in a procession and celebrated high mass in the vestments of an English cardinal. These can only have belonged to John Kempe, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal bishop of S. Rufina, who died in 1454. It is hard to see how Neville can have worn them without scandal.

But already there were signs of disagreement between Edward IV and Warwick. The king's principal adviser was seeking allies amongst other members of the royal family. George, duke of Clarence, who at about the same time of George Neville's indiscretion had processed around Canterbury with a drawn sword carried before him,[2] was his most likely contact. If Jean de Waurin is to be believed, Warwick met George and his brother Richard secretly at Cambridge in the course of 1464 and won them to his support.[3] The ambitious Clarence was enticed with the promise of Warwick's daughter Isabel for his bride. Edward came to

1. The Chronicle of John Stone, ed. W.G. Searle (Camb. Ant. Soc., xxxiv, 1902), pp.88-89.
2. Ibid., p.88.
3. Jean de Waurin, Receuil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne, ed. W. & E.L.C.P. Hardy (Rolls Ser., xxxix, 1891), v. 458-9.

hear of this encounter and although he secured little damaging evidence when he interviewed his brothers, his suspicions concerning the marriage alliance were confirmed. So angry was he that for a short while both dukes were kept in close confinement.

The dispute between Edward and Warwick continued. When the king took Elizabeth Woodville as his wife he provoked a dramatic conflict with Warwick which only reflected in a magnified degree the general disapproval of his magnates. But the root of the trouble was a basic disagreement upon foreign policy.[1] Warwick found not only that his large promises to Louis XI of a marriage alliance could not be fulfilled, but also that the king, completely disregarding his advice, showed a devious but steady preference for a link with the Burgundian court. The effects of the quarrel which ensued were bound to affect George Neville, for Edward had been forcibly and unpleasantly reminded of the power and ambitions of the Neville family. Consequently, although he allowed George's advancement to the see of York, Edward was determined that his promotion should go no further. On 5 August 1466 he wrote to the pope asking him to appoint an English cardinal, but he chose as his nominee the faithful

1. Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, ed. H.T. Riley (1854), p.457.

supporter of his house, Thomas Bourgchier, archbishop of Canterbury.[1] Some delay followed, in the course of which Neville's political fortunes reflected the decline of Warwick's influence. On 8 June 1467 Edward visited Neville at his house near Charing Cross and took from him the great seal. But towards the end of the year the archbishop suffered a final humiliation. The pope appointed Bourgchier cardinal of S. Cyriaco in Thermis in a consistory held on 18 September.[2] Letters sent to the king notifying him of the papal action were forwarded by Edward not to Bourgchier but, as a cruel joke, to Neville.[3]

The king's triumph, however, was not quite complete. Although Bourgchier promptly donned the robes appropriate to his dignity,[4] the pope omitted to send him his cardinal's hat. It seems a small point, but behind it lay the pope's insistence that a new cardinal should visit Rome. Edward wrote explaining that the archbishop was needed too much in England for him to leave the country.[5] But although Paul II

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 170, pp.219-220.
2. P.R.O., 31/9/61, p.284.
3. William Worcester, Annales Rerum Anglicarum, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Ser., xxii, 1864), p.789.
4. Ibid.
5. C.C.C.C. MS. 170, pp.208-9.

agreed to send the hat,[1] it did not reach England during his pontificate. The immediate reason for this lack of co-operation in this matter may well have been Bourgchier's failure to act as a satisfactory agent in the crusade project. Paul II had hoped to win some advantage by appointing an English cardinal. As he himself wrote in a letter to Bourgchier, he expected him to grace not only the archiepiscopal office but also the cardinal's rank 'potissimum..in hiis rebus que ad sanctam cruciatam et publicam christiani populi salutem pertinent'.[2]

Although Edward's action inevitably drove Neville into opposition, royal disfavour was not unrelenting. At Epiphany 1468 Neville was instrumental in securing a short-lived reconciliation between Edward and Warwick.[3] In return for his good offices he received a grant of two manors from the king, and the first of several recurring rumours of this type predicted that he would shortly become chancellor once more.[4] But as it gradually became clear to the archbishop that he would never again occupy this position under

1. Ibid., p.220.
2. Ibid.
3. William Worcester, op. cit., p.789.
4. Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Miscellanea .. opera ac studio Johannis Dominici Mansi Lucensis (Lucca, 1761), p.499; The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner (Edinburgh 1910) ii. 325.

Edward IV, he joined his brother Warwick in an alliance which was to produce the political revolution of 1469-1471. Frustrated ambition lay behind his actions and can be seen in some details of his movements. On 9 June 1469 he visited Canterbury, but instead of offering a precious jewel at the shrine of St. Thomas, as laid down by the fourteenth century agreement between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, he went first to the monastery of St. Augustine.[1] The indignant chronicler of Christ Church was sure that his intention was to refuse this demonstration of obedience to the authority of Canterbury. Neville further scandalized local opinion by having his archiepiscopal cross carried erect before him, 'hoc nunquam visum fuerat ante'. The following month he came again to Canterbury.[2] This time, in the company of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, he made the required offering but his unusual approach to the cathedral and his cross, carried once more erect before him, again excited comment. It was the immediate prelude to his first clear act of rebellion.[3]

1. The Chronicle of John Stone, p.109.
2. Ibid., pp.110-111.
3. Below, p.219.

iii) The legation of Stephen Trenta

Much light is thrown both upon Anglo-papal relations in this period and upon Neville's own position by the visit to England of a second legate, Stephen Trenta, bishop of Lucca. He came primarily on a financial errand. Pope Pius had sent Peter Courtenay, archdeacon of Exeter, and Thomas Hope to England in 1463, charged with raising support for a crusade;[1] but most of the subsidy levied on that occasion found its way into the royal coffers. Pius died in 1464 with the failure of his effort manifest before his eyes in the slender forces he had managed to assemble at Ancona for the crusade. His successor Paul II, although a man of very different calibre who was frequently distracted by Italian politics, revived the great papal ideal. To this end on 6 February 1466 he commissioned Trenta to reimpose in England the papal tenth which had formerly been ordered; he was also to impose a fresh one if it was needed. He should prescribe ecclesiastical penalties against those who hindered this work, 'Invoking', the pope said confidently, 'if necessary, the aid of the secular arm'.[2] Eight days later this commission was extended to include Ireland and

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, XI (1455-64), p.654.
2. Cal. Pap. Letters, XII (1458-71), pp.229-231.

Wales.[1] In addition, Stephen was to examine Richard Courtenay who as yet had made no return of the money collected in recent years.

The bishop of Lucca apparently drew salary and expenses from 9 February 1466 through until 10 April 1469[2] but he spent only a small amount of this time in England fulfilling the terms of his commission. Perhaps in the first place the disturbed condition of the kingdom of France impeded his progress. He may also have hoped to do some good by conferring with Louis XI or the duke of Burgundy. But without doubt the most serious reason for delay was Edward's unwillingness to allow a papal legate to enter the country. Almost certainly he knew Stephen's principal errand. In this context a discussion which took place between all the justices in the Exchequer chamber during the Trinity term of 1467 has some relevance.[3] Out of it came Justice Chokke's ruling that the pope had the power to compel the archbishop of Canterbury to summon his clergy that they might grant an aid for the defence of the Faith. Moreover, the archbishop on his own authority could legally demand an aid for the one

1. Ibid., p.231.
2. W.E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327-1534 (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p.150n.
3. Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber, II, 1461-1509, ed. M. Hemmant (Selden Soc., lxiv, 1945), p.11.

purpose of combating heresy. On the other hand the king too was entitled to secure an aid for the defence of the realm;

> 'And the Pope by his Bull cannot grant exemption to any person so that he shall not pay aid to the King, any more than the King can exempt anyone from paying aid to the Pope'.

Thus although the justices safeguarded royal rights they asserted the clergy's obligation to help the pope in his struggle against the Turks and, by allowing ultimate responsibility to rest with the southern primate, they took away an important objection to Stephen's presence in England.

In spite of this judgement, however, the king's caution considerably delayed Stephen's arrival. In the bishop's archives at Lucca there existed in the eighteenth century a collection of letters which he wrote concerned with English affairs, sixteen of which have been printed.[1] The first three are undated but were sent from Bruges where the legate was impatiently awaiting Edward's formal permission to land. He wrote first to the king himself, pressing the advantage of a favourable impression which he had made in earlier correspondence. In a subtle blend of outspoken protest, persuasion and submissiveness he urged the king to allow him the right of entry which no other country denied.

1. Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Miscellanea ... opera ac studio Johannis Dominici Mansi Lucensis (Lucca, 1761), i. 494-501.

He dwelt upon the universal veneration felt for the holy see as the supreme tribunal of all nations and the dignity which consequently descended upon its nuncios. Apparently Edward had asked Stephen to write openly concerning the reason for his visit, for in reply the legate protested at the demand. Instead he promised that his mission related to the honour of the catholic faith and was not aimed at injuring the king or his realm. Either he should be allowed to publish his mandates in person or he would return to the pope. From the other two letters, both written to the archbishop of Canterbury, we learn that the king had requested 'nova quaedam, atque ab omni religione et humano usu penitus aliena'. Stephen, taking for granted Bourgchier's knowledge of these things, explained no further so we can only guess what these unacceptable conditions of entry comprised. Stephen's tone of indignation is less masked in his first letter; he had less to lose in directing it against a fellow ecclesiastic. But when he wrote again it was in a different vain. Bourgchier had evidently taken steps to promote the legate's arrival for Stephen thanked him warmly for his dutiful behaviour. At the same time he urged him, as one who had some authority with the king, to accomplish fully what he had begun. In return he would win the gratitude of both pope and cardinals. Thus it would seem that in the first place it was the archbishop of Canterbury rather than of York

who came forward as Stephen's advocate. However, such was Neville's position at the time that any favour shown by him might have seriously prejudiced the legate's chances.

The bishop of Lucca arrived in England towards the end of September or beginning of October.[1] For the moment any fears he may have had looked groundless. The king paid for the expenses of his journey to London[2] and was himself present to welcome him in an assembly which included the archbishops of Canterbury and York and other prelates and magnates. He replied graciously to a speech by Stephen and won the legate over so completely that the pope was persuaded by a stream of Stephen's letters to allow his representative to remain in England despite the difficulties and insults which had so far attended him.[3] Stephen evidently found many people in England complaining that they lacked papal dispensations and absolutions because, either through poverty or illness, they had been unable to press their requests personally at Rome. Some even accused the pope of regulating the granting of these documents according to his own self interest. Paul wrote to defend himself against this charge and to point out that the necessary dispensations could easily be obtained if

1. C.C.C.C., MS. 170, p.226.
2. P.R.O., E 404 73/3/92.
3. C.C.C.C., MS. 170, pp.226-7.

proctors and similar officers were employed. Clearly in spite of Stephen's cheerful reception there was a marked vein of anti-papal feeling in the country which augured badly for the future.

Stephen's enthusiasm and optimism did not in fact last long. On 31 October he wrote to Marco Barbo, recently appointed cardinal of S. Marci, asking him to support him in the curia and see that his stay in England was not prolonged. In a letter to another friend he expressed himself more fully. He feared, he said, that if he remained in this province he would adopt the customs of the country and forget the civilised arts. The business of the country, he observed, proceeded only by a series of delays. No swift recourse was had to justice or force of arms in which the nation had once excelled. In a remark which transcends the centuries he described the English vice 'quod virtutem appellant, quod ita mature sua negocia tractant, ut moram plurium mensium, non celeritatem modo, verum praecipitationem judicent'. On the other hand, although protesting his desire to return to his own country, Stephen asserted that he was held in honour by the king and nobility and was not unliked by the people; he had hopes of achieving something worthwhile.

Even these hopes did not last much later than December. So far from being allowed to impose a new tenth upon the English church, he was unable even to trace what had happened

to that raised three years ago. We have no record of any interview with Peter Courtenay which was part of his original commission, but he apparently made frustrated attempts to examine the papal collector in England. Ever since 1450, with one interruption in 1460-1, this position had been occupied by Vincent Clement, a Spaniard by birth who had long ago acquired letters of denization. His brief period out of office had been occasioned by suspicion which had fallen upon his activities but there seems to have been no substance to any charges which were made as he was reinstated by the pope shortly afterwards.[1] Stephen may have felt bound to interview him because he had not as yet given any account of revenues he had received from the start of Paul's pontificate. But when he summoned the collector to appear before him to hear the pope's mandates he obtained no satisfaction. Knowing Clement to be the king's man, Stephen wrote to Edward asking him to compel Clement to state his case. Failure soon became manifest on every side. A conference involving the legate, the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal was summoned on the king's orders to discuss what Stephen referred to as the 'debitam pecuniam', probably the sum owing to the pope from the subsidy last raised. Nothing was accomplished. Shortly afterwards, a

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, XII (1458-71), pp.380-1.

papal commission against the collector at last secured his presence. He arrived before the legate clutching a number of documents and accompanied by a great phalanx of lawyers. Stephen took one look at the crowd of hangers on all set for making trouble and applied a lesson he had so reluctantly learnt from the English. He postponed the date of the interview, and met all protests with the firm statement that he would allow what was lawful but would not depart from papal instructions. This device successfully averted a situation which looked unpleasant but it was the downfall of his hopes. The day before that set for the next encounter he received letters from the king advising him to make quite sure that the apostolic mandates contained nothing detrimental to the privileges of the realm. Stephen, however, did not take the hint. He sent the papal bull so that the king himself could see what it contained. In return he received an even more direct instruction telling him not to proceed with the case as Clement had been placed under royal protection. Undoubtedly it was a bitter experience for Stephen to learn that he could not even exercise jurisdiction over men appointed by the pope, but he did not attempt to press matters further. As he wrote in another letter, he dared not undergo the indignation of the king and queen. By this time he well knew how precarious was his own personal safety.

In spite of the failure which attended his every attempt to raise financial matters, the bishop of Lucca remained in England. His relations with the king had evidently deteriorated since October but he still retained, as far as we know, the friendship of the archbishop of Canterbury. He rapidly found another ally in George Neville. Neville's future at this point, like the legate's hung in the balance, but he was not deterred from wooing the friendship and good will of the papal legate. An enthusiastic huntsman himself, he early took the opportunity of presenting Stephen with two deer. Stephen did not share his passion but he seems to have appreciated the feeling which lay behind the gift. A second letter which he wrote to the archbishop shows how far their friendship had developed. This is dated 20 June 1468 in Mansi's edition but its place in the sequence of letters and internal evidence suggest 20 January as a more likely time of composition. In it Stephen thanked Neville for letters dated 19 December which he had received on 16 January. They had given him, he said, great comfort. In this age of display and royal wantonness they must cultivate the right way of life. Surrounded by every kind of deceit and impiety, they should remain aloof, untouched by human evil. Neville had given him pleasure, not only by his kindness, his pleasant words and extensive learning, but also by his example in despising the great things of 'this age of iron' and standing

prepared and armed against fortune.

Stephen continued by thanking Neville for his offer of hospitality. Between 1464 and 1478 outbreaks of plague constantly affected England and the archbishop was desirous of removing Stephen from an area of infection. But this time Stephen excused himself. He feared lest new papal mandates would arrive to which he could not immediately give his attention. Also he wished to much to return to his own country that he shunned delays, even of the pleasantest kind. But he promised instead to take the customary medical precautions against plague, although he could not resist pointing out that another kind of disease, a moral illness, was affecting all those around him.

Altogether a spirit of warm friendship informs this letter. The two ecclesiastics were separated by force of circumstances but Stephen referred nostalgically to past conversations and voiced the hope that he would see Neville shortly. If by any chance this did not happen, he urged, 'animorum tamen conjunctione et repetitis saepe literis ita faciemus, ut nunquam non una esse videamur'. He mentioned English matters and also related news which had just arrived from Italy. Most important were letters which promised his return; but it is interesting to find from the items concerning political developments in Italy that Neville was so clearly interested in events taking place abroad.

Stephen ended with a humorous reference to the rabbits which Neville had presented to him. Again he thanked the archbishop for this huntsman's spoil. But his third letter to Neville, written a few days later on 1 February, opened with the same subject in a rather less humorous vein. Bringing all his forces of rhetoric to bear, he took him seriously to task for the practice of hunting which, he urged, ill befitted an ecclesiastic. He himself was embarrassed rather than pleased by this steady stream of gifts and would prefer to be treated with less flattery and more simple affection. We seem here to catch a little of the horror with which a fastidious Italian viewed the rustic pleasures of his English counterpart. Turning to matters of more importance, he congratulated Neville on his return to royal favour. Stephen also mentioned that he was writing to the pope nothing too specific 'sed ut satius ad rem fratris fore judicavi'. Clearly, as the legate pointed out elsewhere, it was not safe to say too much in letters which might be intercepted or might otherwise fall into wrong hands. This prevents us from knowing exactly what Stephen meant by 'rem fratris'. The two alternatives which seem most likely are both connected with marriage dispensations. Richard Neville may have been pressing for the dispensation which would permit the duke of Clarence to marry his daughter. On the other hand he may have been attempting to delay the papal

dispensation which Edward was eager to obtain to allow the wedding between his sister Margaret and the duke of Burgundy to take place. But if we do not know exactly what is meant by Stephen's enigmatic phrase we have here clear evidence that the legate had committed himself to some cautious partisanship. He declared that he would act with no dissimulation but he clearly promised the Neville brothers his help.

On the same day Stephen wrote to the cardinal bishop of Bologna urging him to use all his powers of persuasion to secure his recall from England. He pleaded the needs of his bishopric and said that he had written to the pope telling him to give up all hope of this particular mission. It is difficult to know whether to interpret Stephen's 'In aliud tempus omnia fore differenda' as a pious wish or a subtle hint about the possible outcome of events. Evidently he had written a full report to the pope of matters concerned with his legation, including not only what might be safely committed to paper but also business which placed him in great danger.

For a while, however, these appeals had no effect. Paul II was content to allow his legate to remain in England and Stephen had to make the best of what was becoming an increasingly unpleasant situation. One result of this enforced stay was an even closer relationship with the

archbishop of York. They were natural allies. Both he and Stephen were allowed little independent action and were kept in the backwaters of the political scene. On a more personal level, both men shared an interest in learning which gave them a language of ideas in common. Of Neville's learning we have already spoken.[1] Of Stephen a city chronicler reported 'he was the best Latyn man that com into Inglond many yerys, and full curtesse with alle'.[2] His acquaintance with currents of thought and expression to be found in Italy must have been refreshing in a country where conservative traditions still held sway.

The close bonds which now linked the two together appear in Stephen's last letter to the archbishop of York. This is the longest in the collection we possess and again is informed by a spirit of friendship and familiarity. Stephen added to the elegance of his own writing by references both to the bible and to classical authors. The sense of intimacy which these allusions give is borne out by what the legate had to say. Neville had praised him for his prudence and fortitude but, Stephen replied, it was he who

1. Above, pp.62-81.
2. The Historical Collections of a London Citizen, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., xvii, 1876), pp.235-6.

had been his instructor in these virtues. The archbishop had taken to heart those lessons taught by men like Panaetius and had disciplined himself to accept both good and evil fortune. He congratulated Neville

> 'quod ea mente sit, ut secundam fortunam pariter et adversam aeque animo ferre constituat. Et quae laeta conscientia factorum et consiliorum suorum nihil commiserit, ut castigatione digna haberetur, ad aliorum tamen institutionem injuriam temporum placate ferendam censeat'.

He thanked Neville for some gift which had been made him but also dwelt at length upon the affection shown to him by the archbishop in three letters he had recently received from him. Gracefully he asserted that he was unworthy of the 'palma eloquentiae' which Neville had attributed to him.

In an interesting passage Stephen discussed the prospect of returning to Italy, from which Neville had evidently been dissuading him. There were many things, he said, which made him wish to stay in England; the pleasant conversation of good men, a land neither afflicted by excessive cold nor wasted by heat, an abundance of all things, a great wealth of churches, religious observance remarkable for the generosity of its offerings, the concourse of fellow Italians; but above all, the archbishop of York's great friendship and kindness. On the other hand the claims of his own land were strong, especially in this time of wars. He had his bishopric to look after and his own people wanted him back.

Comparing this account with Stephen's earlier letters to his fellow countrymen urging them to secure his return, we may accept a large element of exaggeration in what he says, prompted by the demands of tact and eloquent expression. The legate and the archbishop may both have been forced to cultivate the virtue of patient endurance and they evidently had enough time in which to exchange skilful compliments. But of the three letters which Neville wrote to Trenta, two were composed at Coventry on 10 and 13 February and the last was dated 23 February. These were accompanied by a copy of letters sent to Bartolomeo Roverella, archbishop of Ravenna and cardinal of S. Clementis. Thus very shortly after his reconciliation with the king Neville was planning some enterprise which almost certainly would not have met with royal approval. He had enlisted the legate's help and here we find him writing to a cardinal close to the pope about the same matter. At the same time Stephen gave his approval to these letters and said that, as a good man and faithful friend, he had already written several times to the pope 'de hoc negocio', and had reported Neville's dutiful behaviour towards the holy see. Once again caution in putting things down on paper has deprived us of knowing exactly what was meant but it is probably significant that elsewhere in his letter Stephen referred to news conveyed to him by Neville concerning his 'fratre magnifico'. This

news Stephen had in turn sent on to the pope.

It is significant that the fate of Trenta's visit to England was decided by a political crisis. Ever since his sister Margaret had consented at the end of September 1467 to marry Charles, duke of Burgundy, Edward had been seeking papal cooperation, for a dispensation was necessary before this wedding could take place. Some difficulties arose over this. King Louis of France put pressure upon the pope to refuse to make the grant[1] and his voice may have been reinforced by those of Neville's representatives. Whether these included the legate present in England we do not know, but at all events the pope did not immediately comply.[2] Negotiations proceeded on all sides, however, and on 16 February a definitive agreement was reached with Burgundy.[3] The following month the dispensation finally arrived in England and 4 May was set as the wedding day. Then plans went astray. According to a Milanese correspondent the legate's first reaction was to accept the dispensation as valid and to promise to act as it instructed him.[4] But shortly afterwards he apparently changed his mind

1. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 449.
2. William Worcester, Annales Rerum Anglicarum (Rolls Ser., xxii, 1864), p.788.
3. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 446-7.
4. Cal. Mil. Papers, pp.122-3.

and expressed his doubts about the document to the king. Edward then summoned Stephen, the chancellor, the legate who had brought the dispensation from Rome and other knowledgeable persons to his presence.[1] Whatever the opinions of the others, Stephen's hesitation emerged clearly and upon him fell the blame for the temporary suspension of the whole business. He himself bitterly denied that it was all his doing and vowed to withdraw from the affair completely. The king was angry not only because it looked as if all his efforts and expense might be in vain, but also because he suspected that this had been achieved by intrigue. He seems to have threatened the legate with a loss of his status within the country for this provoked the unusual plea from Stephen that his position should be maintained. In the event Stephen reconsidered. He did not, as he had promised, withdraw from the affair, for he received the Burgundian ambassador, Frederick, archdeacon of Favenero. But in a resigned tone he reflected '..qui fecit quod potuit, legem implevit', and he promised he would try to satisfy the duke's wishes.[2] This seems to have been an admission of defeat for on 23 June Margaret left England and on 3 July she married the duke at Damme.

1. Stephani Baluzii.. Miscellanea, p.501.
2. Ibid.

This conflict was Stephen's final defeat in England. The marriage alliance with Burgundy had long been Edward IV's steady aim and as he had not tolerated opposition from the Nevilles so he would not endure the resistance of a papal legate. No more of Stephen's letters in England are recorded and the inference is that he left the country. Certainly there is no further record of his impact upon the course of events.

Trenta's visit to England is interesting because, more clearly than Coppini's, it shows the problems which accompanied any attempt to implement papal instructions. In his efforts to obtain a subsidy for the crusade Trenta met with a lack of cooperation on the king's part which rendered his task impossible. He also encountered examples of lay power overriding clerical privilege which, although commonplace in England, horrified him as a foreign observer. Thus he protested vigorously at the prosecution in a secular court of one of Neville's suffragan bishops, a case which has left little trace in the judicial records.[1] He also adopted the cause of Nicholas Rawlet, a lesser clerk who suffered the same indignity and later, significantly, received patronage

1. Unless it is connected with the prosecution of the bishop of Durham in 1467 for failing to repair a stretch of pavement in the Strand. P.R.O. KB. 29/98, Michaelmas, XVd.

and encouragement from the archbishop of York.[1]

For Neville the legate's visit was important because it gained him a sympathetic ally whose voice was heard in the papal court. If his hopes of further promotion within the church were quashed, he nevertheless had an opportunity of wielding influence for his family's benefit. Thus even to contemporaries there was something sinister behind his close relations with the legate;

> 'that legat wolde nevyr come at noo festys nor dyners with no man, with kyng nor lorde, save with grete instance he rode to More with the Arche Byschopp of Yorke, and dynyd there and com home to hys bedde. Where fore that he com to thys land fulle fewe man can say.. Men drede that in tyme comyng hit wylle be knowe that hys comyng hedyr was kept so prevely'.[2]

It does not seem surprising in view of his legate's failures that Pope Paul regarded the situation in England somewhat critically. He wrote to Bourgchier pointing out that although nothing had been done about his subsidy, both provinces had granted the king a tenth while the bishop of Lucca was still in the country.[3] He urged Bourgchier to read to convocation his letter, which contained an exhortation to the bishops to resist secular interference. Perhaps

1. Stephani Baluzii.. Miscellanea, p.500; Reg. Neville (Ebor), I, f.46r-v.
2. The Historical Collections of a London Citizen, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., xvii, 1876), p.236.
3. C.C.C.C., MS. 170, pp.228-9.

this letter had some effect. In 1469 Pope Paul wrote again; to Edward IV he reported his pleasure at hearing that a subsidy was being collected,[1] while to the archbishop of Canterbury he gave practical instructions concerning the transference of the sum.[2] But by the following year when he again bewailed secular pressure,[3] nothing seems to have been accomplished.

The pope had profited little from Edward IV's tenure of the English throne. He therefore permitted himself a gesture which was of vital importance to the party forming round Warwick. Clarence, unlike his brother the duke of Gloucester, had remained under the great earl's influence and was prepared to marry his daughter Isabel. But, as in the case of the king's sister and the duke of Burgundy, a papal dispensation was necessary, for both parties fell within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Attempts to secur this no doubt lay behind some of the vague allusions of Trenta's letters; and it may have been in connection with this project that Neville in this year employed Walter Buk, an Oxford trained clerk, as his proctor at the papal curia.[4]

1. Ibid., p.239.
2. Ibid., p.240.
3. Ibid., p.231.
4. Cal. Pap. Letters XII (1458-71), pp.350-1.

On 14 March 1469 Paul II granted the dispensation.[1] In June Bourgchier issued the couple with a licence allowing them to solemnize their marriage in the chapel of the castle at Calais.[2] Early in the following month, disregarding a royal summons, Clarence, Warwick and George Neville made their way to Sandwich and from there they crossed to Calais in the company of the earl of Oxford. On 11 July the archbishop of York married his niece Isabel to George, duke of Clarence.[3]

There is little else to associate Paul II with the upheaval of 1469 sponsored by the Nevilles. We have no letters expressing enthusiasm for their cause, even after Henry VI had been replaced upon the throne. But in a chance survival we do have a reference to the man who supported them in the Roman curia. On 18 January 1471, when the Nevilles stood apparently securely ranged around the throne, Paul sent James Goldwell, his notary, to England with separate letters addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, George, duke of Clarence, and Richard, earl of Warwick.[4] In each one he urged the

1. W. Dugdale, The Baronage of England (1676), ii. 163.
2. Registrum Thome Bourgchier, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Cant. and York Soc., liv, 1957), pp.35-6.
3. Scofield, Edward IV, i. 494-5.
4. P.R.O., 31/9/62, pp.526-530.

recipient to show favour to his representative and assist his return to Rome. The reason in all cases was the same: Goldwell had promoted their interests in the curia. Paul wrote in general terms to the archbishops but in Clarence's letter he specifically related Goldwell's good offices to his attempts to secure his marriage dispensation. In Warwick's letter he wrote:

> 'Jacobus Goldewel notarius noster tempore sue procurationis in nostra Romana curia in omnibus negotiis tam tuis et venerabilis fratris Archiepiscopi Eboracensis germani tui, quam etiam aliorum se habuerit, prestare nos possumus optimum testimonium, quandoqu dem in cunctis modestiam, prudentiam, fidem et diligentiam demonstravit et de te precipue apud nos semper bene locutus est cum tui laude et commendatione'.

It is interesting to note that these Lancastrian sympathies made no difference to Goldwell's career.[1] After 1471 Edward IV continued to employ him and in the following year encouraged his promotion to the episcopal bench as bishop of Norwich.

iv) Neville, Edward IV and Sixtus IV

The failure of the Neville family to resettle the Lancastrian dynasty upon the throne, although complete, was not without its residual problems. Warwick and his brother Montagu fell at Barnet but George Neville's ecclesiastical

1. Emden, BRUO.

office preserved him from the hazards of battle. Edward IV had therefore to decide what punishment he could accord to such an eminent churchman. In the end he took justice into his own hands and, as we have seen, cast the archbishop of York into prison near Calais. He could not expect the pope long to ignore this situation, which presented on a large scale the issue of how a criminous clerk should be treated.

But at first the pope was in a conciliatory frame of mind. Sixtus IV succeeded Paul II in August 1471 and, impelled by the vision of a fresh crusading effort, attempted to establish good relations with European monarchs. He quickly remedied one omission of his predecessor. He sent his notary, John Hope, to England bearing Cardinal Bourgchier's red hat and congratulations from five eminent members of the college.[1] In a ceremony at Lambeth on 31 May William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, solemnly bestowed the hat upon the archbishop before a great gathering of bishops, magnates and citizens.[2]

Sixtus then took further action which more directly affected Neville's authority. On 17 August 1472 he issued a bull erecting the bishopric of St. Andrews into an

1. C.C.C.C., MS. 170, pp.242-4.
2. Ibid., p.242.

archiepiscopal see.[1] This put an end to an ambiguous relationship which for a long time had existed between the metropolitan of York and the Scottish bishops. In 1192 after more than a hundred years of controversy, the pope had declared the Scottish sees, with the exception of Whithorn, independent of York and subject instead to himself.[2] But this decision was not accepted at York. As late as 1464, shortly after William Booth's death, the dean and chapter caused all their twelfth century muniments concerned with York's authority over Scotland and dating, significantly, from before 1192, to be surveyed afresh.[3] Because of the hazards attending documents kept loose in the archives, they were copied out and incorporated into a notarial instrument. This tradition was therefore very much alive in Neville's time, and although it is difficult to see how he could protest against the pope's action from prison there seems no reason to doubt the early statement that he did so.[4] It would be thoroughly in keeping with

1. A. Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia (Rome, 1864), pp.465-7.
2. R. Brentano, 'York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate' (1279-1296), Univ. of California Publications in History, lxvii (1959), 37.
3. Brit. Mus. MS. Harley 433, ff.255v-261v.
4. H. Boethius, Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine (Paris, 1574 edn.), f.389v.

what we know of Neville's character that he resented the curtailment of any privileges or claims attached to his office.

Sixtus' action may possibly have been a blow at Neville aimed at gratifying the English king. But there are no signs that it heralded a new phase in Anglo-papal relations. On 21 May 1472 a papal safe conduct was issued for Peter de Aleprandis who was travelling to England on the pope's business.[1] Exactly what this business was we do not know, but whilst at the royal court he had to counter Edward's demands that Neville should be deprived of his office.[2] When Aleprandis had occasion shortly after to revisit England he met with some rough handling from English officials at Calais. The pretext for this was that it was commonly believed he brought papal bulls in Neville's favour.[3] But Aleprandis was not deceived about the very general degree of opposition in England to papal agents. This came not only from the king's lay subjects but also from his clerks. Aleprandis, writing to the duke of Milan, could not control his invenomed indignation:

> 'O my lord, when I speak of the English, your Excellency must understand those old prelates, abbots,

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, XIII (1471-84), i. 212.
2. Cal. Mil. Papers, p.165.
3. Ibid., p.164.

> or fat priests who rule the Council, and have represented to the king that he must have all who come from Rome arrested, with great shame of the Court'.[1]

Aleprandis did not return to England but he had successors who suffered the fate he so accurately described. In 1474 Prospero Camuglio, a papal nuncio and collector of the apostolic camera, was commissioned to supervise the returns of Peter's Pence which had fallen into arrears, examine the accounts of Vincent Clement and receive the money and goods which the bishop of Lincoln had collected for the crusade.[2] Later in the same year Sixtus sent Nicholas de Firmo, a member of his own household, to England.[3] But where Trenta had failed it was hardly likely that Camuglio or de Firmo would succeed. Sixtus wrote to Cardinal Bourgchier asking him what had happened, for he had heard nothing and 'Prosper sane ipse in executione mandatorum nostrorum negligens esse non soler'.[4] Eighteen months later in 1476 he wrote again in strong terms to the king, urging him to release his envoys from confinement in prison.[5]

1. Ibid., p.168.
2. Cal. Pap. Letters, XIII (1471-84), i. 213-4.
3. Ibid., p.278.
4. E. Martene & U. Durand, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio (Paris, 1724), ii. 1476-7.
5. Ibid., 1537-8.

However the most significant foreign visitor to England in 1474 was neither of these two men. Sixtus decided to remedy Neville's lamentable situation and to press Edward IV for his release from prison. It was a diplomatic task of some delicacy and Sixtus entrusted it, not to his more usual agents, but to the Greek scribe, George Hermonymos.[1] Hermonymos, who had the support of at least one prominent member of the royal court,[2] was successful; Neville returned to England at the end of the year. But Hermonymos had reason to be bitter about his trip. For a time he joined Camuglio and de Firmo in prison[3] and, when released, he found that the archbishop had little wealth to reward his services. Sixtus achieved his aim in 1474 but the treatment which Hermonymos and his colleagues received further illustrates the growing resistance in England to papal influence.

v) Neville as a papal commissioner

By virtue of his office, every bishop might be called upon by the pope to act as his deputy. Usually it meant issuing dispensations or hearing legal disputes which had

1. H. Omont, Georges Hermonyme de Sparte (Paris, 1885), p.31.
2. Above, p.146.
3. E. Martene & U. Durand, op. cit., col. 1538.

been referred to the pope and which he wished to have tried locally. Neville, like many of his contemporaries, was intermittently engaged in these matters. But one papal commission, which differed somewhat from the usual performance of routine business, may be noted. In 1464 Pius II ordered Neville to make an enquiry into a longstanding financial dispute.[1] Many years before, Henry Beaufort had been accused of misappropriating papal funds. After his death proceedings were lodged against Beaufort's final executor, Thomas Kempe, bishop of London. Kempe disclaimed the debt and appealed to the pope. Neville investigated the matter and his findings led him to send the pope a report which fully exonerated Kempe. Pope Paul, however, later resumed prosecution of the case and provoked not only a stream of letters from Kempe himself,[2] but also an appeal from Edward IV for an end to litigation.[3] The dispute was not so easily concluded. Not until 1477 did the pope, referring to Neville's long neglected report, finally abandon efforts to secure arrears from Beaufort's executor.[4]

The commissions addressed to Neville towards the end of

1. Cal. Pap. Letters, XI (1455-64), pp.669-670.
2. C.C.C.C., MS. 170, pp.191, 192, 195.
3. Ibid., p.189.
4. Cal. Pap. Letters, XIII (1471-84), i. 52-3.

his life form an epilogue to his career in the English church. While the archbishop was in prison mandates concerning the everyday business of the diocese were sent to his official because, as the formula ran, 'the archbishop (was) at present in remotis'.[1] But on 9 July 1474 Sixtus seems to have foreseen Neville's release.[2] On that date he wrote directly to him ordering him to remedy a grievance common in the north of the country. The inhabitants of Bellerby and Skelton had complained that they were two miles distant from their parish church of Spennithorne and during bad weather the river which divided them from that church, prevented them from attending services and receiving priestly ministrations. Neville was to appoint a suitable priest to minister in their chapel. The address of this mandate was optimistic for the archbishop remained in prison for another five months. But we may take this, not so much as an error, as an indication that steps had already been taken in Rome towards securing his release.

The number of further direct papal commissions is soon told. In 1475 there were three mandates, one allowing him to confer the office of public notary and two providing dispensations for illegitimate birth.[3] Finally on 3 May 1476

1. Ibid., ii. 473, 474.
2. Ibid., i. 383-4.
3. Ibid., ii. 475, 487, 498.

Sixtus wrote ordering Neville, together with the abbot of Louth Park and the prior of St. Andrews outside York, to investigate a situation similar to the one already described.[1] These commissions are few in number, but even during the period when Neville was actively involved in diocesan business the record we have of them is not a very full one. Moreover, from an index to bulls of this date which have been lost, it is clear that there were more papal letters concerned with indulgences and dispensations.[2] But at least we may assume that, having secured his release from imprisonment, Sixtus regarded Neville's restoration to ecclesiastical office and responsibilities as complete.

vi) Conclusion

The early years of Edward IV's reign do not in themselves form a natural unity in the history of Anglo-papal contact. Many of the basic issues at stake, such as the crusade, had long troubled relations between the pope and the secular rulers of Europe and they were to continue to do so after Neville's death. But the period is characterized by a certain balance which had been established between the English throne and the papacy. On the one hand the pope

1. Ibid., p.507.
2. Ibid., ii. 878-893.

was endeavouring to strengthen his authority. The days of general councils in the church were not long past and a memory of their humiliations lingered. Thus Pius issued the bull Execrabilis in 1460 which declared any appeal to a future council both heresy and treason. But the threat remained a real one; in 1472 there were rumours that England, Burgundy, Savoy, Brittany, Spain and Venice were trying to summon such an assembly.[1] Secondly Pius struggled to regain the moral leadership of Europe by leading a crusade against the Turks. It was a worthy ideal but one which, as we have seen, brought him into close and often unedifying contact with secular rulers.

Edward IV, on the other hand, had to justify his usurpation. His position at the beginning of his reign was not a strong one; it remained particularly vulnerable while Henry VI was alive. He needed papal approbation to sanction his rule, but also papal cooperation in matters of ecclesiastical government. He had to be sure that the tradition whereby the pope concurred in providing royal nominees to the English episcopate was not interrupted.

This balance remained, despite the political troubles in England 1469-1471 and the comparatively short pontificates of Pope Pius and Pope Paul. But it is clear that the

1. Cal. Mil. Papers, pp.171, 173.

struggle for authority which both sides were engaged in gave rise to friction, friction which got worse throughout Neville's career. This can be seen by the king's attitude towards papal legates. Coppini had not been universally popular in England but he was an ally much valued by Edward IV and his party. Trenta on the other hand met with suspicion and hostility, and succeeding legates had to face the possibility of rough handling and imprisonment if, in the first place, they were allowed to cross the Channel. James, bishop of Pavia, reflected gloomily about their efforts in Europe as a whole:

> 'Satis vereor...ne legationes hae vestrae plus tumultus sint habiturae, quam fructus. Experti olim legatos saepius sumus. Quid oro ab illis egregium? Utinam et non aliquando damnosum! Sine fide iam in populis sunt nostrae cruces, et voces, et lachrymae..Quid quaeso in Hispaniam tanti moliminis legatus? Quid in Galliam, atque Britanniam?..Ad quem in ea usum legatus? Ut magno videlicet nomine inopiam nostram circumferat, et ridiculos nos barbaris faciat.'[1]

The pope therefore was steadily becoming less of an international power. As his involvement in Italian politics grew towards the end of the fifteenth century, so his claims to supremacy in Europe met with resistance from its developing nation states. His pastoral responsibility

1. Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii, ed. J. Gobellinus (Frankfurt, 1614), pp.749-750.

towards Christendom remained and the steady flow of entries in the volumes of papal letters reminds us that in matters of church discipline there was no challenge to his spiritual authority. But outside the routine granting of dispensations and hearing or referring of cases, his powers were a matter for negotiation.

This can be further illustrated by reference to the men who became English cardinals at this time. John Kempe was a statesman who spent more time in the king's service than in fulfilling his ecclesiastical duties. Bourgchier was another royal administrator, whose even smaller degree of contact with the pope is highlighted by his failure to visit Rome. Neither Kempe nor Bourgchier were promising instruments of papal policy and their election to the college of cardinals illustrates how little influence the pope wielded in England. Bourgchier, in particular, seems to have been frequently embarrassed by the demands made upon him while he attempted to maintain an uneasy compromise between English and papal interests.

On the other hand there are some scattered, but valuable references to the men who represented English interests at Rome. Early in the reign we find Iacopo Ammanati, bishop of Pavia and cardinal priest of S. Chrysogani, acting on

Edward IV's behalf.[1] Amongst Bourgchier's patrons were Philippo Calendrini, bishop of Bologna and Marco Barbo, bishop of Vicenza and cardinal of S. Marci;[2] in 1472 the latter warned him that owing to a forthcoming legation his help could not be relied upon in the future. Thomas Kempe, when vexed with papal litigation, asked Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal deacon of S. Eustachii, to intercede for him.[3] But perhaps more significant than these hints of how patronage worked in the curia was the development which gave the king's proctor at Rome increased responsibility and higher status.[4] During Edward IV's reign royal proctors became deeply involved in diplomatic business and took their first steps towards acting as resident ambassadors. Just as eminent civil servants within England were rewarded with a cardinal's hat, so the king's officers at Rome were deemed worthy of similar promotion. Thus Richard III sought to have his agent John Shirwood made a cardinal;[5] in the following century this trend can be seen at its height in the person of Cardinal

1. York, Reg. William Booth, f. 216.
2. C.C.C.C., MS. 170, p. 243.
3. Ibid., p. 192.
4. B. Behrens, 'The Origins of the Office of English Resident Ambassador in Rome' Eng. Hist. Rev., xlix (1934), 640-656.
5. Emden, BRUO.

Bainbridge. Relations between the crown and the papacy, therefore, fit most easily into the framework of an elaborate network of diplomatic contacts, which was growing up at this time to link all the powers of Europe.

Neville's career touched upon these developments in a number of ways. First we may note that his own contacts in Rome were considerable. Early in his archiepiscopate no less a figure than Vincent Clement acted on his behalf[1] while there is mention of another proctor in 1469.[2] As we have seen, even the king's agent was temporarily in the service of the Neville family during that same year. It is also quite possible that one of John Shirwood's early visits to Rome, before he was appointed royal proctor, had some bearing upon the business of his chief ecclesiastical patron. Apart from these men, Neville numbered amongst his friends Cardinal Bessarion, himself a former candidate for the papacy and a man with a high reputation for integrity and loyal service.[3] Neville corresponded with Bartholomeo Roverella, bishop of Ravenna and cardinal of S. Clementi.[4] Most important he cultivated Stephen Trenta, for the legate's

1. Above, p. 117.
2. Ibid., p. 218.
3. Ibid., pp. 67-8.
4. Ibid., p. 213.

contacts included Marco Barbo, Philippo Calendrini[1] and Iacopo Ammanati.[2]

Nevertheless Neville's career ran counter to the most significant trends in Anglo-papal relations. He would not remain content with his role in Edward IV's administration and there was never any question of him serving the king in the Roman curia. Possessing the advantages of noble birth, a sound education, wealth, influence and a record of swift promotion which was at least partly justified by his administrative abilities, he sought the cardinalate as the climax of his career. But had he achieved his aim, his power would have exceeded that of every other member of the episcopate and have strengthened his brother's position yet further. Edward IV was wise to the archbishop's ambitions. He had no wish to add the authority of a Beaufort to the power of a duke of Gloucester. Thus as he had promoted Neville's career, so he defined its limits.

In the final analysis, therefore, Neville's ecclesiastical career was as unsuccessful as his political one. Even if he had wanted it, the pope could not have promoted

1. Ibid., p. 210.
2. Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii, ed. J. Gobellinus (Frankfurt, 1614), p. 726.

Neville to the cardinalate in the face of royal opposition; and during the vital years between 1469 and 1471 he, like the archbishop's other contacts within the curia, was a passive observers of the events which took place in England. But their influence upon Neville's role in the church, although fluctuating and usually indirect, was always important. To them at least, Neville owed his restoration in 1474 and a dignified end to his short but meteoric career.

Bibliography

A. Manuscript Sources

Cambridge University

Corpus Christi College — MS 170.

Durham

Dean and Chapter Archives — Registrum Parvum III.

Exeter

Devon County Record Office — Episcopal Register of Edmund Lacy.

Episcopal Register of George Neville.

Episcopal Register of John Booth.

London

(i) British Museum

MS Harley 433 : A register largely composed of documents issued under the signets of Edward V and Richard III. It contains a valuation of the archbishopric of York.

MS Harley 3346 : George Hermonymos' collection of gnomic sayings.

MS Sloane 278 : Hugh de Folieto's Aviarium.

MS Sloane 747 : Cartulary of Missenden Abbey.

MS Sloane 3580 B : A collection of alchemical materials.

(ii) Public Record Office

C 85/187 : Significations of excommunication.

C1 27/266 : Early Chancery Proceedings.

E404 72/1/20, 97 : Exchequer units and warrants for issue.
72/2/108
72/3/48
72/4/7, 95

KB 29/98 : King's Bench, Controlment Roll.

P.R.O. 31/9/62 : Papal transcripts.

S.C. 11/766 : Valuation of the archbishopric of York.

Oxford University

(i) Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 344 : contains John Shirwood's De ludo Arithmomachia.

MS Ashmole 1432 : a fifteenth and sixteenth century medical collection.

Bodley MS 753 : a fifteenth century theological volume.

University Archives

Registrum Aa : Register of Congregation.

Registrum Aaa : The Chancellor's register.

Registrum F : University letter book.

(ii) Balliol College

Original Deeds.

College Register.

(iii) Lincoln College

Archives, Charter Book II (1446-1465).

York

(i) Borthwick Institute, St Anthony's Hall

Register of Archbishop William Booth.

Register of Archbishop George Neville (2 volumes).

Register of Archbishop Lawrence Booth.

Sede Vacante Register I.

(ii) Dean and Chapter Library

Archives, A. 1(2), ii-iii.
Chapter Act Book 1427-1504.
Register of Wills I.
Torre, MS York Minster.
MS XVI.Q.7. : Sermones by Philip de Greve.

B. Printed Sources

(i) Primary Sources

Ballard, J.W. and Chalmer Bell, H., Lyndewood's Provinciale (1929).

Stephani Baluzii Tutclensis Miscellanea .. opera ac studio Johannis Dominici Mansi Lucensis, 4 vols. (Lucca, 1761-4), Vol.1.

Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1435-1476, 6 vols. (1937-1953).

Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1427-1484, Vols. 8-13 ed. J.A. Twemlow (1909-1955).

Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1430-1485, 6 vols. (1936-1961).

Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1422-1485, 9 vols. (1897-1910).

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Milan, 1385-1618 ed. A.B. Hinds (1912).

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of northern Italy, Vol.1, 1202-1509, ed. R. Brown (1864).

Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, ed. H.E. Salter (O.H.S., 3 vols., 1929, 1931).

Chastellain, G., Oeuvres, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols. (Brussels 1863-5) Vol.4.

The Chronicle of John Stone, ed. W.G. Searle (Camb. Ant. Soc., xxxiv, 1902).

Councils and Synods, II, 1205-1313, ed. F.M. Powicke & C.R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964).

Ellis, H., Original Letters illustrative of English History 3rd series, Vol.1 (1846).

Epistolae Academicae Oxon, ed. H. Anstey (O.H.S., xxxv, xxxvi, 1898), 2 vols.

The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xxxv, 1859).

Gascoigne, Thomas, Loci E Libro Veritatum, ed. E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford, 1881).

Gibson, Strickland, Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis (Oxford, 1931).

The Great Chronicle of London, ed. A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (1938).

The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Ser., lxxi, 1879, 1886, 1894).

The Historical Collections of a London Citizen, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., N.S. xvii, 1876). Contains William Gregory's Chronicle.

Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, ed. H.T. Riley (1854).

The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. J. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols. (1906-1910).

The Lay Folks' Catechism, ed. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth (E.E.T.S., cxviii, 1901).

Leland, J., Collectanea, ed. T. Hearne, 6 vols. (1774).

Lyndwood, W., Provinciale, sen constitutiones Angliae (Oxford, 1679).

Martene, E. and Durand, U., Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio, 9 vols. (Paris, 1724-33), Vol.2.

Memorials of Beverley Minster, ed. A.F. Leach (Surt. Soc., cviii, 1903), Vol.2.

Munimenta Academica, ed. H. Anstey (Rolls Ser., 1, 1868) 2 vols.

Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household (1790).

Oriel College Records, C.L. Shadwell & H.E. Salter (O.H.S., lxxxv, 1926).

Oxford Balliol Deeds, ed. H.E. Salter (O.H.S., lxiv, 1913).

The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner (Edinburgh, 1910), 4 vols.

Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii, ed. J. Gobellinus (Frankfurt, 1614).

Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. Sir N.H. Nicolas, 7 vols. (Record Commission, 1834-7), Vol.6.

The Register of the Archdeacons of Richmond 1442-1477, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Yorks. Arch. Journ., xxx, xxxii, 1930, 1935).

The Register of Thomas Bekynton, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (Somerset Record Soc., xlix, 1, 1934-5).

The Register of Henry Chichele 1414-1443, ed. E.F. Jacob (Cant. and York Soc., 4 vols. 1937-1947).

The Register of William Greenfield 1306-1315, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Surt. Soc., 5 vols. 1931-8).

The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York, ed. R.H. Skaife (Surt. Soc., lvii, 1872).

The Register of Edmund Lacy Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455, ed. G.R. Dunstan (Cant. & York Soc., lx, lxi, lxii, 1963, 1966, 1967).

The Register of Edmund Lacy Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455, F.C. Hingeston-Randolph and O.J. Reichel, 2 vols. (Exeter, 1909, 1915).

Register of the University of Oxford, I, ed. C.W. Boase (O.H.S., i, 1885).

Registrum Thome Bourgchier, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Cant. and York Soc., liv, 1957).

Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis 1434-1469, ed. H.E. Salter (O.H.S., xciii, xciv, 1932), 2 vols.

Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede, ed. H.T. Riley (Rolls Ser., xxviii, 1872-3), 2 vols.

Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, 5 vols. (1929).

Ripley, George, Opera Omnia Chemica (Cassellis, 1649).

Rotuli Parliamentorum: ut et petitiones et placita in parliamento, 6 vols. (Record Commission, 1783).

Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber, II, 1461-1509, ed. M. Hemmant (Selden Soc., lxiv, 1945).

Stow, J., A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908).

Testamenta Eboracensia II, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xxx, 1855).

Testamenta Eboracensia III, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., xlv, 1864).

Testamenta Eboracensia IV, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., liii, 1869).

Theiner, A., Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia (Rome, 1864).

Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., N.S. xxviii, 1880).

Valor Ecclesiasticus, 6 vols. (Record Commission, 1825-34).

Warkworth, J., Chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of King Edward IV, ed. J.O. Halliwell (Camden Soc., x, 1839).

Waurin, Jean de, Receuil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, ed. W. and E.L.C.P. Hardy (Rolls Ser., xxxix, 1891) Vol.5.

Wilkins, D., Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, 4 vols. (1737).

Wills and Inventories, I, ed. J. Raine (Surt. Soc., ii, 1835).

Worcester, William, Annales Rerum Anglicarum in Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Ser., xxii, 1864) Vol.3.

Worcestre, William, Itineraries, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969).

The York Provinciale, ed. R.M. Woolley (1931).

(ii) Secondary Sources

Adams, N., 'The Judicial Conflict over Tithes', Eng. Hist. Rev., lii (1937), 1-22.

Allen, P.S., 'Bishop Shirwood of Durham and his Library', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxv (1910), 445-456.

Barnard, F.P., Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475 (Oxford, 1925).

Bartlett, J.N., 'The Expansion and Decline of York in the later Middle Ages', Economic History Review xii (1959), 17-33.

Baskerville, G., 'A London Chronicle of 1460', Eng. Hist. Rev. xxviii (1913), 124-7.

Behrens, B., 'The Origins of the Office of English Resident Ambassador in Rome', Eng. Hist. Rev., xlix (1934), 640-656.

Bennett, H.S., Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1947).

Betcherman, L., 'The Making of Bishops in the Lancastrian Period', Speculum xli (1966), 397-419.

Biddle, M., Barfield, L., & Millard, A., 'The Excavation of the Manor of the More, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire', Arch. Journ., cxvi (1959), 136-199.

Boethius, H., Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine (Paris, 1574), containing a continuation by I. Ferrerius.

Brentano, R., 'York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate (1279-1296)', University of California Publications in History, lxviii (1959).

Burland, C.A., The Art of the Alchemists (1967).

Cawthron, D.J., 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Exeter in the Fourteenth Century' (London University M.A. thesis, 1951).

Chambers, D.S., Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome 1509 to 1514 (Oxford, 1965).

Chambers, E.K., English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1947).

Cheney, C.R., 'Legislation of the Medieval English Church', Eng. Hist. Rev., l (1935), 193-224, 385-417.

Cheney, C.R., 'The Medieval Statutes of the Diocese of Carlisle', Eng. Hist. Rev., lxii (1947), 52-7.

Churchill, I.J., Canterbury Administration (1933), 2 vols.

Clark, A., University of Oxford College Histories, Lincoln (1898).

The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom extant, extinct, or dormant by G.E.C[okayne], 13 vols. in 14 (1910-59).

De Paravicini, F., Early History of Balliol College (1891).

Dictionary of National Biography.

Doyle, J.E., The Official Baronage of England 1066-1885 (1886), 3 vols.

Drake, F., Eboracum (1736).

Drummond, H., History of Noble British Families (1842).

Du Boulay, F.R.H., 'Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities', Eng. Hist. Rev., lxvii (1952) 19-36.

Du Boulay, F.R.H., 'Charitable Subsidies granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury', B.I.H.R., xxiii (1950), 147-164.

Du Boulay, F.R.H., The Lordship of Canterbury (1966).

Du Boulay, F.R.H., 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite friars and the secular clergy, 1464-8', Journ. Eccl. Hist., vi (1955), 156-174.

Dugdale, W., The Baronage of England (1675-6), 2 vols.

Dunstan, G.R., 'Some Aspects of the Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455', Journ. Eccl. Hist., vi (1955), 37-47.

Emden, A.B., A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (Cambridge, 1963).

Emden, A.B., A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500 (Oxford, 1957-9), 3 vols.

Emden, A.B., An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times (Oxford, 1927).

English Historical Documents IV, 1327-1485, ed. A.R. Myers (1969).

Firth, C.B., 'Benefit of Clergy in the time of Edward IV', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxxii (1917), 175-191.

Fletcher, J.M., 'The teaching and study of arts at Oxford c.1400-1520' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1961).

Fuller, T., The Worthies of England (1840), 3 vols.

Gabel, L.C., Benefit of Clergy in England in the later Middle Ages, Smith College Studies in History (Northampton, Mass., 1929).

Gent, T., The ancient and modern history of the City of York (York, 1730).

Godwin, F., De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius (1616).

Gottlob, A., 'Des Nuntius Franz Coppini Antheil an der Entthronung des Königs Heinrich VI und seine Verurtheilung bei der Römischen Curie', Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, iv (1890), 75-111.

Gowland, T.S., 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', Yorks. Arch. Journ., xxxii (1936), 43-85.

Gray, H.L., 'Greek Visitors to England in 1455-6' in Anniversary Essays by Students of C.H. Haskins (Boston, 1929).

Green, V.H.H., Bishop Reginald Pecock (Cambridge, 1943).

Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde (1961).

Handbook of Dates, ed. C.R. Cheney (1961).

Harrison, F., The Story of York Minster (1966).

Hartridge, R.A.R., A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1930).

Herkless, J., and Hannay, R.K., The Archbishops of St Andrews (Edinburgh, 1907).

Hindmarsh, L.K., Notes on Heraldry in Balliol College (1949). MS in Balliol College, Oxford.

Holmyard, E.J., Alchemy (1957).

Hurnard, N.D., 'Studies in Intellectual Life in England from the middle of the Fifteenth Century till the time of Colet' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis).

Jacob, E.F., The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485 (Oxford, 1961).

Jacob, E.F., 'Florida Verborum Venustas', John Rylands Library, xvii (1933), 264-290.

Jacob, E.F., 'Reynold Pecock, Bishop of Chichester', Proceedings of the British Academy, xxxvii (1951), 121-153.

Jacob, E.F., 'Wilkin's Concilia and the Fifteenth Century', T.R.H.S. 4th ser., xv (1932), 91-131.

James, M.R., The Bestiary, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1928).

James, M.R., A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1912), 2 vols.

James, M.R., 'Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance', The Library, vii (1926-7), 337-353.

James, M.R., 'The Scribe of the Leicester Codex', Journal of Theological Studies, v (1904), 445-7.

Kendall, P.M., Warwick the Kingmaker (1957).

Kendall, P.M., The Yorkist Age (1962).

Kingsford, C.L., English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1913).

Kingsford, C.L., 'Historical Notes on Medieval London Houses', London Topographical Record, x (1916), 44-144.

Kingsford, C.L., Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England (Oxford, 1925).

Knecht, R.J., 'The Episcopate and the Wars of the Roses', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, vi (1957-8), 108-131.

Knecht, R.J., 'The Political and Intellectual Activities of Cardinal John Morton and his Episcopal Colleagues' (London Univ. M.A. thesis, 1953).

Lander, J.R., Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth Century England (1969).

Lander, J.R., 'Edward IV. The Modern Legend and a Revision', History, xli (1956), 38-52.

Lander, J.R., 'Henry VI and the Duke of York's Second Protectorate 1455-56', Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, xliii (1960-1), 46-49.

Lander, J.R., 'Marriage and Politics in the Fifteenth Century: The Nevilles and the Wydevilles', B.I.H.R., xxxvi (1963), 119-152.

Lawrence, C.H. (ed.), The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages (1965).

Le Neve, J., Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541 (New edition, 12 vols. 1962-7).

Little, A.G. and Pelster, F., Oxford Theology and Theologians c.1282-1302 (O.H.S., xciv, 1934).

Lunt, W.E., Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327-1534 (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

Mitchell, R.J., John Free (1955).

Mitchell, R.J., John Tiptoft (1938).

Moore, S., 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk c.1450', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, xxvii (1912), 188-207, xxviii (1913), 79-105.

Morgan, M.J., 'John Carpenter bishop of Worcester 1444-1476' (Birmingham Univ. M.A. thesis, 1960).

Murphy, J.F., 'The Arts of Discourse 1050-1400' Medieval Studies xxiii (1961), 194-205.

Mynors, R.A.B., Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford (Oxford, 1963).

Oliver, G., Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral (Exeter, 1861).

Omont, H., Georges Hermonyme de Sparte (Paris, 1885).

Pantin, W.A., The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (1955).

Pevsner, N., South Devon: the Buildings of England (1952).

Plomer, H.R., 'Books Mentioned in Wills', Trans. Bibl. Soc., vii (1902-4), 99-121.

Plucknett, T., A Concise History of the Common Law (1956).

Raine, A., Medieval York (1955).

Rashdall, H., The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), 3 vols.

Salter, H.E., Medieval Oxford (O.H.S., c, 1936).

Savage, H., Bellifergus (Oxford, 1668).

Schirmer, W., Der englische Frühhumanismus (Leipzig, 1931).

Scofield, C.L., The Life and Reign of Edward IV (1923), 2 vols.

Storey, R.L., 'Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century', St Anthony's Hall Publications, xvi (1959).

Storey, R.L., The End of the House of Lancaster (1966).

Surtees, R., The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, 4 vols. (London and Durham, 1816-40).

Swallow, H.J., De Nova Villa (1885).

Tait, J., 'Letters of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and Archbishop Neville to the University of Oxford', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxxv (1920), 570-574.

Thompson, A. Hamilton, The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1947).

Thompson, A. Hamilton, 'The Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York in Gloucester', Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, xliii (1921), 85-180.

Vickers, K.H., Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1907).

The Victoria History of the Counties of England.

Walden-Aspy, F.C., 'Bishop Edward Storey (1422-1503), a study in Fifteenth century ecclesiastical administration' (London Univ. M.A. thesis, 1951).

Weiss, R., Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1957).

Weiss, R., 'The Private Collector and the Revival of Greek Learning', in The English Library before 1700 (1958).

Widdrington, Sir Thomas, Analecta Eboracensia, ed. C. Caine (1897).

Wood, A., History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1786).

Wood, A., History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1792).

Wood, A.C., 'Notes on the Early History of the Clifton Family', Trans. Thoroton Soc., xxxvii (1933), 24-40.