

SERVING GOD AND KING: CARDINAL THOMAS WOLSEY'S PATRONAGE
NETWORKS AND EARLY TUDOR GOVERNMENT, 1514-1529, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE ARCHDIOCESE OF YORK

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October, 2008

Abstract

During the years of his political ascendancy, 1513 to 1529, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey constructed a service-based affinity composed of senior ecclesiastical officials and the most prominent county gentlemen and lawyers with the intention of establishing a kingdom-wide network of administrators to govern the provinces on the crown's behalf. Assembled by the leading crown minister, this affinity was an integral part of the greater royal affinity, assisting in the establishment of a more centralised government under increased crown authority and a domestic church increasingly subservient to the power of the monarch, foreshadowing the religious and political events of the 1530s.

The men in Wolsey's affinity shaped the enlargement of the crown's power in two ways, neither of which were novel to the Tudor period: the first was by bringing established noble and gentry affinities within the orbit of the crown's authority by awarding their members positions in royal government, both at the centre and in the localities; the second means was by inserting central royal servants into the provinces in various official capacities.

The household was the stage for visual demonstrations of Wolsey's administrative authority and displays of his public self-image as a Christian prince in a Renaissance kingdom. It simultaneously provided the crown with an additional venue in which to distribute material and intangible rewards to efficient administrators and faithful servants, and a focal point at which to construct a greater number of patronage relationships. By using prosopographical methodology to examine the type of men populating Wolsey's household and the operation of his affinity in the archdiocese and county of York, this thesis contributes to historians' understanding of the nature of the early Tudor royal affinity, the evolution of central governmental structures, and the changing qualities of patron-client relationships in the early sixteenth century. In so doing, it demonstrates how Wolsey's administration anticipated the institutional developments of the 1530s.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
BI	Borthwick Institute for Archives, York
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Letters</i>
<i>CSP</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers</i>
<i>CSP Ven.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541</i> , by John Le Neve, 12 vols (London, 1962-1967)
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , ed. J.F. Brewer, et al., 22 vols (London, 1862-1932)
<i>NH</i>	<i>Northern History</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>Past & Present</i>
Seld. Soc.	Seldon Society
SS	Surtees Society
STC	Short Title Catalogue
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
YASRS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series
YCA	York City Archives, York

Manuscripts

C	Chancery
E	Exchequer
PROB	Probate Records
SC	Special Collections
SP	State Papers

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Bill Shiels, for the matchless quality of his supervision; his meticulous reading of my material; his constructive feedback and encouragement; his encyclopaedic knowledge of everything that is York; and most importantly, for reminding me to keep sight of the bigger picture.

Further thanks are due to my Thesis Advisory Panel, Dr. John Cooper and Dr. Stuart Carroll, for their diligent and careful reading of the copious material I placed in front of them, and whose thorough and thoughtful comments have enhanced the quality of my work immeasurably. Such gratitude is extended to Professor Peter Marshall for examining my thesis as external examiner.

I would also like to thank the numerous fellow conference participants and colleagues, particularly those involved in the early modern postgraduate study groups at the University of York and the University of Sheffield, for their insightful comments and helpful suggestions which contributed to both an expanded scope of my work and helped improve its presentation.

I would like to acknowledge the financial support provided by the Department of History at the University of York which, through two years of funding, enabled me to complete this degree. I would also like to thank the department for providing opportunities to enhance my postgraduate career through undergraduate teaching and practical skills workshops.

Thank you cannot even begin to express my gratitude to my parents for their unwavering support and encouragement throughout my entire university career, but it is for the moment the best that I can offer.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the love and support of Matthew Neufeld, my best friend and partner, without whom I would never have completed this degree, and who accepts that simple words are the best I have.

Introduction

Given the title, it can certainly be expected that Thomas Wolsey, Lord Chancellor of England, cardinal, papal legate *a latere*, and archbishop of York is central to this thesis. In many ways he is: as the foremost administrator of a kingdom in which government was of a personal nature, the character of Wolsey is of the utmost importance. But at the same time, Wolsey is not the subject of this thesis. It is not a biography of Wolsey's life and career, nor is it an endeavour to understand Wolsey 'the person'. It certainly does not attempt, like the most recent biography of Wolsey, *The King's Cardinal*, to rehabilitate the great man's supposedly unwarranted negative reputation.¹ Rather, this thesis is a study of the men in royal government and administration who, at some point in their careers, can be associated with Wolsey. Given the personal nature of early Tudor government, it is through a study of these men that I have aimed at achieving a better understanding of the processes of government in the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII.

The argument of this thesis can be summarised as follows: Thomas Wolsey was the head of an affinity composed of twelve concentric circles in which the members were attached to the cardinal by channels of patronage through which his clients provided administrative service in exchange for material favours and intangible benefits. As the leading crown servant, his household and affinity were an extension of the larger royal affinity which Wolsey mobilised to govern the kingdom. His household, and ecclesiastical and secular offices provided the crown with additional venues in which to patronise royal administrators. By acting in various local offices on behalf of Wolsey and the crown, these servants contributed to the extension of the crown's prerogative throughout the kingdom. The crown sought to employ clients who were already leading figures in the counties and shared such characteristics as the possession of landed estates and its connected social status; residency in the locality and its consequent local knowledge; and legal training or administrative experience. Concentrating the highest offices in secular government and the church hierarchy in one individual enabled the crown to exercise greater control over the church's wealth and resources, and brought the domestic church more closely under the monarch's supervision, a goal pursued by Europe's other Renaissance princes. Instead of representing a challenge to royal supremacy, Wolsey's household and affinity were integral components of early Tudor royal government.

¹ Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), p. xxi.

A study like this one, which focuses on the household and affinity of the leading crown minister, has been conducted previously for Thomas Cromwell's household.² However, there is nothing comparable for the body of men in Wolsey's household and affinity. This results from the fact that historians have interpreted Wolsey's ascendancy as being absolute: that he monopolised the processes of government leaving no room for other actors on the political stage. Early Henrician government was not a one-man show, but a collaborative effort by various men employed in a range of offices both in the central administrative apparatus and in the localities. Wolsey's governance of the kingdom during the years of his ascendancy, 1514 to 1529, does not represent a period of medieval-style government which impeded the expansion of the crown's prerogative throughout the kingdom from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. It is this lacuna in the development of a more invasive and efficient crown administration which this thesis hopes to fill. By overlooking Wolsey's ascendancy when explaining this process, historians have been constructing a puzzle of Tudor and Stuart 'state formation' with one of the key pieces missing.

By using a study of Wolsey, his household and affinity to understand the political structure of early Tudor England, I am employing one of the six categories of evidence, namely biographical, which Steven Gunn suggested historians use to re-evaluate the nature of 'the social and ideological structures of politics', and the one which he considered had the most potential.³ Biographical information is typically compiled from personal records, but in this instance, knowledge about Wolsey's personal interactions with other governing elites comes largely from the official documents collected in State Papers, a consequence of the failure of his personal papers to survive. Still, these sources are sufficient, when used in conjunction with other records of personal interaction among the men who surrounded, and worked for and with Wolsey, to construct an understanding of personal and political relations at the royal court and in the localities, which led to the intensification of the crown's prerogative. By focusing on political actors, this thesis encourages historians to see the state as a collection of social institutions whose use and development was negotiated by various parties to serve their interests and goals. Thus, it follows the work of Michael Braddick and John Walter in emphasising government as a process of negotiation in which persons and personal relations were fundamental.⁴

This introduction will outline the sociological and anthropological theories on gift-giving, patron-client relations and organisations of social and political power which I have

² Mary L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants: The Ministerial Household in Early Tudor Government and Society' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 1975).

³ Steven Gunn, 'The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 5 (1995), p. 71.

⁴ Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, eds., *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001).

found helpful for understanding the nature of early Tudor government. It will then summarise the broader historiographical movements on the most prominent themes in scholarship on the Tudor period to which this thesis relates, namely, early Tudor governance as a process of negotiation between regulation from the centre and reception in the provinces; the intensification of crown presence and the increased exercise of its prerogative throughout the kingdom; the rising centrality of the royal court as the forum for political discussion and action; the changing nature of lordship and the ties of patronage and clientage which bound the various levels of society together; the role of education, particularly humanist, in creating a politically- and administratively-able governing elite; and lastly, religious reform, especially in its connection to the formation of a kingdom-wide administrative structure directed from the centre.

Using Wolsey as a means for understanding broader trends in the nature of political and religious developments is by no means a novel approach to studying the early Tudor period. Wolsey's unfavourable reputation is attributed to the earliest historians of the reformation, both Catholic and Protestant, who viewed the cardinal as the most immediate cause of the break from papal authority and subsequent doctrinal changes by embodying the ills of the medieval church.⁵ Proponents of the factional school of Henrician politics have found much material in the circumstances relating to Wolsey's fall from royal favour to contribute to the debate about the presence, nature and timing of faction at the royal court.⁶ Wolsey's administration was used as a contrast against which Geoffrey Elton, arguably the most controversial and celebrated Tudor historian of the twentieth century, constructed his magisterial thesis about the supposed modernising revolution in Tudor administration conducted by Wolsey's successor, Thomas Cromwell.⁷ The last book-length study of Wolsey concentrated on the ways in which he employed traditional and Renaissance art forms to construct a self-identity as an exerciser of political power and public authority based on the display of magnificence.⁸ The character of Wolsey is exceptionally valuable to historical study because he stood at a cross-roads of political and religious history in England, and this thesis will use him (to borrow loosely from A.J. Slavin) as a 'looking glass' into the dynamic nature of early Tudor politics.

On its broadest level, this thesis grapples with the ways in which early Tudor political elites gained and exercised power. Power does not exist in the abstract but the

⁵ Richard Fiddes, *The life of Cardinal Wolsey. With several copper plates. By Richard Fiddes* (London, 1724), p. iii; Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. xvii-xviii.

⁶ G.W. Bernard, 'The fall of Wolsey reconsidered', *JBS*, 35:3 (Jul., 1996), 277-310; E.W. Ives, 'The fall of Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), 286-315.

⁷ G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953).

⁸ Gunn and Lindley, eds., *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, 1991).

exercise of power is always contingent upon the context of the social, political and economic systems in which it is made functional. Following the theoretical scheme of Michael Mann, central government is one of the ways of organising the exercise of power, both the distributive and the collective.⁹ The 'state' itself does not have power, but is a resource which can be used by actors to exercise political and social power. Thus, since the operation of political power is contingent upon the ability of the actors involved to employ the state apparatus effectively, studying how the leading political actors put their horizontal and vertical relations at the service of the government provides the most fruitful means for understanding the nature and development of the early Tudor political system.

Sociological theory and social anthropological research into power and patronage networks introduced both a new vocabulary to historians' repertoire and new theoretical models for understanding social relations in the early modern period. A patronage relationship is an asymmetrical bond of exchange between at least two parties of unequal social standing and power based on the principle of obligatory reciprocity.¹⁰ The term patronage denotes both a socio-political system in which patron-client networks were the dominant form of social relationship, and the patron's act of bestowing rewards for service on the client. A distinction can be made between cultural and political patronage and, while this thesis is primarily concerned with the latter, the use of both forms was important for establishing and maintaining the political and social supremacy of individual actors.¹¹ Within the context of early modern politics, the exercise of patronage has been divided into both a general usage in which a patron did a favour at the request of a client, thereby placing the receiver of the favour under the obligation of the patron, and also the specific act of appointing a person to a certain office or post.¹² Clientage could be provided in a variety of ways depending on the client's tie with the patron, but it was usually expressed as service, an act which was ambiguously defined and had a multitude of meanings.¹³ This terminology of patronage and clientage, which some historians have argued denotes a system distinguishable from that of late medieval 'lordship' and 'retaining', has often

⁹ Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, Volume 1: A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760*. (2 vols, Cambridge, 1986), p. 6. Distributive power is defined as mastery over people in which one party gains power at the expense of the other party in a zero-sum game; Collective power is where several parties cooperate in the exercise of power to enhance their power jointly over a third party. p. 6.

¹⁰ Ernest Gellner. 'Patrons and clients', in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, ed. Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London, 1977), p. 4; Robert R. Kaufman, 'The Patron-Client Concept and Macro-Politics: Prospects and Problems', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16:3 (Jun., 1974), p. 285.

¹¹ Sharon Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, 17:4 (1992), p. 843, reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Aldershot, 2002).

¹² P.W. Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England, c.1520-1540' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Exeter, 1976), p. 49.

¹³ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 24; Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison. Brian Chalkley, 'Knowledge, nationhood and governance: the speed of the Royal post in early-modern England'. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24:3 (1998), pp. 265-6.

glossed over, rather than illuminated, the complexity and diversity of social relations in the early modern period.¹⁴

Historical discussions on lordship and the nature of patronage in the late medieval and early modern periods has also benefited from the research conducted in social anthropology on the role of gift-giving in creating social bonds. Social scientists Marcel Mauss and Claude Lévi-Strauss have argued that societies were founded on networks of 'generalised exchange' in which the giving of gifts built bonds between givers and receivers thereby collectively establishing social solidarity.¹⁵ But these exchanges were not always equal, particularly when carried out between two individuals who were not of similar socio-economic status. Giving could be a source of social tension when seen as a forum for competing demonstrations of wealth, prestige and status, and as a means for establishing social control by putting the receiver of the gift in the giver's debt.¹⁶ In the 1970s, social scientists and anthropologists were using research on patron-client relations to understand larger political systems in which such exchanges were the 'most important basis of interest articulation and socio-political control'.¹⁷ Historians of early modern France, such as Sharon Kettering, have found such discussions on the role of gift-giving as a means for exercising power within national political structures valuable for understanding the social relations among political elites and the development of a more centralised French state in the seventeenth century.¹⁸

Gift-giving was the crux of the informal power networks which existed between patrons and clients. Understanding the characteristics and functioning of patronage networks constructed by political actors is important for studying the extension of crown authority in the early Tudor period because they were one of the sites in which power was exercised. The formal power structure of the royal government and the informal power networks of the political elites co-existed, but it was by increasing its hegemony over the informal arrangements of power that the crown was able to extend its structures of formal authority in this period.¹⁹ There was a continuation in the socio-political structure in England from the late medieval to the early modern period in the sense that affinities

¹⁴ Shephard, 'Review: Court Factions in Early Modern England', pp. 724-5; R.A. Griffiths, ed., *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981); R. Horrox, *Richard III: a Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989).

¹⁵ Felicity Baker, trans., *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*, by Claude Lévi-Strauss (London, 1987), pp. 46-7, 58-9; Alan Jenkins, *The Social Theory of Claude Lévi-Strauss* (London, 1979), p. 43

¹⁶ Barry Schwartz, 'The Social Psychology of the Gift', *American Journal of Sociology*, 73:1 (Jul., 1967), p. 1; Nora Scott, trans., *The Enigma of the Gift*, by Maurice Godelier (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 30, 57, 80-1; Aafke E. Komter *Social Solidarity and the Gift* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 47.

¹⁷ Kaufman, 'The Patron-Client Concept and Macro-Politics', p. 285; Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury, ed., *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies* (London, 1977).

¹⁸ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients*, pp. 6-11; Idem., 'Gift-giving and patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, 2:2 (1988), 131-51; Idem., 'Patronage in Early Modern France', 839-62.

¹⁹ Pere Molas Ribalta, 'The Impact of Central Institutions', in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Oxford, 1996), p. 20.

bound by patronage and clientage continued to exist; what altered was the nature of that exchange, and the centralisation of informal power relations at the royal court and household. Thus, the influence of sociology and anthropology has re-located the process of increasing Tudor and Stuart crown authority from institutions to the relationships among the political elites who exercised social power through patronage networks.

As a result of the influence of sociology on the permeation of patronage networks through all levels of the social hierarchy, historians abandoned the artificial administrative boundary of the county for understanding social and political relations because it did not represent the extensiveness of the political elite's social and political networks. In exchange, historians turned to studying affinities which, while still territorially bounded, transcended the traditional administrative boundaries of the county, in the hope that examining such ties of lordship would better illuminate the ways in which people interacted at all social levels.²⁰ This has been the most efficacious model for studying social relations among the late medieval nobility and gentry, since affinities were the dominant social structure, and it continues to be employed by historians of the late medieval political elite.²¹ This movement from the county to affinity was part of the general shift in the late medieval and early Tudor historiography from institutions to political actors and has helped historians to identify the various locations of political interaction and the ways in which social power was expressed and received.

Sociology has provided further methodological tools for historians to understand the nature of the political elite in the early modern period. Despite its prevalence in American and French historiography, G.E. Aylmer was the first British historian of the early modern period to employ Namier's prosopographical methodology when he examined the careers and political beliefs of central government officials under Charles I.²² Following his lead, other historians have investigated the quality of men involved in administering the realm by undertaking prosopographical examinations of the entire corpus

²⁰ A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1974); Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986); Mary L. Robertson "'The Art of the Possible": Thomas Cromwell's Management of West Country Government', *HJ*, 32:4 (Dec., 1989), 793-816; Christine Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *JBS*, 33:4 (1994), p. 343; Anthony Gross, 'Regionalism and Revision', in *Regionalism and Revision: the crown and its provinces in England, 1200-1650*, ed. Peter Fleming, Anthony Gross, J.R. Lander (London, 1998), p. 2; J.M.W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: lordship in late medieval England* (Manchester, c.1989).

²¹ Christine Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR*, 95:376 (Jul., 1980), p. 514; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: lay society, war and politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), p. 403; Peter Fleming, 'Politics', in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. Raluca Radulesco and Alison Truelove (Manchester, 2005), 50-62; Peter Coss, 'An age of deference', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge, 2006), 31-73.

²² G.E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: the civil service of Charles I, 1625-42* (London, 1961).

of royal administrators.²³ Prosopography involves the study of the common characteristics, such as age, career path, and socio-economic standing, of a defined group of historical actors in order to understand the motivations behind their public actions.²⁴ More recently, historians have adopted the approach of constructing individual biographies of politically-active administrators, courtiers, gentry and nobility in the hope that, through the accumulation of case studies, they can gain a more general understanding of the ways to achieving political success in early Tudor government.²⁵

Thus, anthropological research on patron-client relations in various societies has demonstrated that power was diffused throughout all social levels, which has informed historians' studies of early Tudor politics, as well as their examinations of the Henrician Reformation. Political interaction existed in all social relations, and the administrative apparatus of the crown was one of the means for organising social power in early Tudor England. Studying the social relations, not only among the governing elites, but also between the governing elites and those lower down the socio-economic scale, is important for understanding the operation of late medieval and early modern government, how it was experienced by the subject population and what types of changes it underwent.

Where previous discussions focussed on the central government apparatus and in particular, the nature, timing and author of institutional changes, the introduction in the 1980s of sociology and anthropological concepts into historiography provided a novel way of re-conceptualising the nature of the early Tudor polity. Although the historiography which engaged in the debate over the development of crown administration examined the central institutions of the royal court and household, these revisionist historians emphasised the personal nature of government and the importance of the personal qualities of the monarch for determining the nature and functioning of governmental organisations.²⁶ David Starkey's work on the king's privy chamber highlighted the fact

²³ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants'; Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England'.

²⁴ Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston, 1981), p. 45.

²⁵ David Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504-1553* (Oxford, 1996); G.W. Bernard 'The Rise of Sir William Compton, Early Tudor Courtier', *EHR*, 96:381 (Oct., 1981), 754-77; David Potter, 'Sir John Gage, Tudor Courtier and Soldier (1479-1556)', *EHR*, 117:474 (2002), 1109-46; Mary L. Robertson, 'Court careers and county quarrels: George Lord Hastings and Leicestershire unrest, 1509-1529', in *State, Sovereigns and Society in early modern England: essays in honour of A. J. Salvin*, ed. Charles Hope Carlton, and others (Stroud, 1998), pp. 153-69; Patrick Carter, 'Financial administration, patronage and profit in Tudor England: the career of Sir Wymond Carew (1498-1549)', *Southern History*, 20-21 (1998-9), 20-43; Steven J. Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c1449-1524): a new man in a new monarchy?' in *The end of the middle ages? England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. John Lovett Watts (Stroud, 1998), 117-53; N.P. Sil, 'Sir Thomas Heneage of Hainton: a Henrician gentleman', *Journal of Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 10 (1989), 63-74; E.W. Ives, 'Patronage at the Court of Henry VIII: The Case of Sir Ralph Egerton of Ridley', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 52 (1969-70), 346-74.

²⁶ Christopher Coleman and David Starkey, ed., *Revolution Reassessed: revisions in the history of Tudor government and administration* (Oxford, 1986); David Starkey, 'A Reply: Tudor Government: The Facts?', *HJ*, 31:4 (Dec., 1988), p. 931; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Introduction', p. 2 and Eric Ives, 'Henry VIII: the

that the royal household, in conjunction with the court, was the centre of informal power networks in which intimacy and access to the heart of decision-making – the king – were the most important means for attaining political influence.²⁷ Such discussions on the personal character of government, in which the personality of the king and proximity and place were of the utmost importance for giving and receiving political patronage, were adopted by Tudor court historians as early as the 1970s. However, these discussions on patronage were limited to the debate about the presence of rival faction groupings and their ability to influence the decision-making of the king to achieve collective political and personal goals.²⁸ For Ives, patronage-based faction did not denote just opposing groupings of individuals but was the dominant political system of Tudor England. Factions, though, were limited to the competitive environment of the royal court thereby restricting historians' considerations of patronage to the atmosphere of the royal court. In reality, vertical social relationships bound by notions of lordship and service, loyalty, obedience and fidelity were prevalent in early Tudor society. By emphasising personal relations and informal power networks, historiography shifted from focussing on the formal institutions and conventions of politics, such as the administrative machinery of finance and law, to recognising the importance of informal politics at the royal court and household as the most important political venues in central government.²⁹

Political Perspective', p. 14 in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke, 1995); D.M. Loades, *Power in Tudor England* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 8.

²⁷ David Starkey, 'Introduction', p. 9 and Idem, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', p. 71 in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey, and others (London, 1987).

²⁸ J.E. Neale had previously drawn attention to the role of factions in the struggle for patronage, 'The Elizabethan Political Scene', reprinted in Idem., *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958), p. 70; E.W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*. Second Edition. (London, 1986). The debate about the circumstances surrounding fall of Anne Boleyn has provided fruitful ground for discussions on factional politics, see: E.W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986); Retha M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: family politics at the court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989); Idem., 'Anne Boleyn Revisited', *HJ*, 34:4 (1991), 953-4; and their debate along with G.W. Bernard in *EHR*, Bernard, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn', 106:420 (1991), 584-610; Ives, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn Reconsidered', 107:424 (1992), 651-64; Bernard, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn: a rejoinder', 107:424 (1992), 665-74; Warnicke, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn Revisited', 108 (1993), 653-65; E. W. Ives, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn Reconsidered', *EHR*, 107:424 (Jul., 1992), 651-664. Other useful discussions on faction in Tudor England can be found in Antoni Mączak, 'From Aristocratic Household to Princely Court: Restructuring Patronage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford, 1991), 315-27; Shephard, 'Review: Court Factions in Early Modern England', 721-45; Joseph S. Block, *Factional Politics and the English Reformation, 1520-1540* (London, 1993); G. Walker, *Persuasive Fictions: factions, faith and political culture in the reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot, 1996); Joseph S. Block, 'Political Corruption in Henrician England' in *State, Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of A.J. Slavin*, ed. Charles Carlton, and others (Stroud, 1998), 45-57.

²⁹ David Starkey, 'The age of the household: politics, society and the arts, c. 1350-c. 1550', in *The Context of English Literature: The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen Medcalf (London, 1981), pp. 261-3; Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 78-9; Neil Samman, 'The Henrician Court During Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy'. (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Wales, 1988); Ronald G. Asch, 'Introduction: Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries' in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-5

Recent discussions on the importance of self-presentation for the exercise of political and social power has brought historiography on the Tudor court full circle, re-emphasising the cultural and visual aspects of the court, as political might was demonstrated through displays of magnificence.³⁰ Dougal Shaw has identified three strains of historiography addressing the social and political functions of royal ceremonies, the most recent of which closely aligns itself with social anthropology by examining ritual as a metaphor for power relations in wider society.³¹ The ability to lavishly reward administrators and courtiers, and the distribution of artistic patronage at the royal court were all important components for creating the image of the monarch as an unrivalled political head.³² Jousts, tournaments and court festivals all contributed to the political 'drama of public relations' which the monarch used to reinforce his political supremacy domestically in the face of potential noble rivals and for foreign diplomacy to impress upon continental counterparts his wealth and magnificence.³³ While court festivals may not have been received by a widespread audience, they reasserted the power and authority of the monarch among the group of men from whom cooperation and subservience was the most important.

The use of royal propaganda has also been a prominent theme in historians' discussion on the relationship between central and local governments. This historiography previously examined the ways in which the crown implemented its policies by coercing obedience from its subjects through the employment of royal spectacles. For instance, progresses, celebrations such as the ringing of church bells and bonfires, and the increased use of royal iconography in parish churches affirmed the authority of the crown by commanding deference and undivided loyalty.³⁴ While some royal rituals were presented to ease the exercise of authority by the central government over the local population, historians have started to interpret the royal rituals performed in the localities as collective

³⁰ Asch, 'Introduction' in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-2; Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse, eds., *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).

³¹ Dougal Shaw, 'Nothing but Propaganda? Historians and the Study of Early Modern Royal Ritual', *Cultural and Social History*, 1:2 (2004), pp. 142-3.

³² J.P.D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the West Country* (Oxford, 2003); Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*. Second Edition. (Oxford, 1997); Samman, 'The Henrician Court During Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy'; Idem., 'Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', in *The Reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke, 1995), 59-73.

³³ Steven Gunn, 'The Court of Henry VII', in *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 141; Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 'Chapter 3: Court Festivals', 98-123.

³⁴ G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972), Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, p. 21; Samman, 'Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', p. 59; Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, pp. 25-6, 41.

enterprises which reflected and established social values.³⁵ By doing so, this interpretation accords agency to the society in which such rituals were acted. The expression of authority by the central government was not just limited to large-scale visual displays, royal news delivered from the pulpit or parish processions; rather, because the apparatus of the central government was limited at the local level, power was diffused to local governors who sought to exercise personal and institutional authority through the acceptance of their roles as legitimate executors of political power. This involved the public presentation of a social role which required persuasion for it to be accepted, but which was also mediated and negotiated by the receiving population.³⁶ By understanding the diffused nature of social and political power which was held, not only by representatives of crown authority, but also within subordinate social groups, such studies demonstrate the degree to which the intensification of the authority of the Tudor monarchy in the localities was dependent upon the cooperation of its subjects.

The emphasis on the development of the exercise of the crown's prerogative at the local level has not only altered the locations of political interaction and of the locale for power relations, but also resulted in a revised identification of the most important political actors. Late medieval gentry played a prominent governing role in both their home counties as part of the royal affinity and in taking up positions in central government.³⁷ The gentry were acting as intermediaries or brokers and were vital for the effective administration of government both centrally and in the provinces.³⁸ Rather than enforcing their will upon the local population, the central authority cultivated good relations with the local governing elites by a judicious deployment of patronage.³⁹ In exchange for patronage, brokers provided the crown with service, loyalty and the communication of knowledge. Not only did they ensure the effective administration of the kingdom, but by mediating access to the centre of power and its rewards, they also contributed to the

³⁵ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 230-1; Shaw, 'Nothing but Propaganda?', pp. 144-54.

³⁶ Braddick and Walter, 'Introduction', in *Negotiating Power*, pp. 10-3.

³⁷ Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, CT., 1986), pp. 263-6; D.A.L. Morgan, 'The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England', *TRHS*, 5th Ser., 23 (1973), p. 24; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: the exercise of princely power in fourteenth-century Europe* (Harlow, 1992); Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990); Horrox, *Richard III*; Roger Virgoe, 'The Crown, Magnates, and Local Govt in Fifteenth-Century East Anglia', in *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.R.L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs (Gloucester, 1981), 72-87.

³⁸ James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 36; G.E. Aylmer, 'Centre and Locality: The Nature of Power Elites', in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Oxford, 1996), p. 60; Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, p. 5; Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England', p. 219.

³⁹ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, p. 9; Aylmer, 'Centre and Locality', p. 66; Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 3; A.J. Slavin, 'The Tudor state, reformation and understanding change: through the looking glass', in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structures, discourse and disguise*, ed. Paul A. Fideler and T.F. Mayer (London, 1992), p. 224; Block, 'Political Corruption in Henrician England', p. 47; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 367, 386.

increasing concentration of political authority at the centre of government whether or not they were used deliberately in this manner, as they were later by Richelieu under Louis XIII.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the impetus behind the development of the institution of the state could come from the 'growth of local needs', rather than be initiated by the crown, because the expansion of crown power was mutually beneficial to the parties involved.⁴¹ For example, the growth of the size of the peace commissions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the result of members of the gentry seeking inclusion on the commissions as an indicator of their status and as a means for gaining access to the exercise of authority and power.⁴² The gentry, who most commonly occupied the county offices of sheriffs, escheators and surveyors, become not only the most numerous, but also the most influential, political operators for mediating the reception of central policies in the peripheries.⁴³ Thus, the focus of historians has altered from examining the distributive power exercised by the crown to focussing on the exercise of collective social power in which the gentry co-operated with the crown to realise the joint exercise of their authority over other members of society.⁴⁴

As previously mentioned, the terms patronage and clientage describe myriad social and political relations in a variety of temporal and geographical contexts. The universality of such terms has complicated the historical debate about whether the socio-political system and the ways in which people interacted were undergoing an alteration between the fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. K.B. McFarlane presented the traditional thesis on 'bastard feudalism' in which a distinctive social structure had developed from feudalism and became the dominant social structure of the late medieval period.⁴⁵ Subsequent historians have been divided over the validity of the concept. While some scholars have accepted that relationships between patrons and clients were more flexible in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries than they had been in previous centuries, others have contended that the bonds labelled as 'bastard feudalism' did not constitute a different social system from the one which preceded it.⁴⁶ In the late fifteenth

⁴⁰ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, p. 142.

⁴¹ Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle, 'Introduction' in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke, 1996), 1-9; Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Introduction: Power Elites, State Servants, Ruling Classes, and the Growth of State Power', in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard, (Oxford, 1996), pp. 5-7.

⁴² Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 267-9; J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), p. 250; Smith, *County and Court*, p. 47.

⁴³ Michael Braddick, 'State formation and social change in early modern England: a problem stated and approaches suggested', *Social History* (Hull Univ.), 16 (1991), pp. 1-2; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 1999), p. 25.

⁴⁴ Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ K.B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *BIHR*, 20:61 (1947), 161-80.

⁴⁶ R.B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-46* (Oxford, 1970), p. 124; Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 25; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*,

and early sixteenth centuries, the lordship exercised by feudal magnates was still defined geographically by the distribution of landed estates which gave the nobility their social and political power.⁴⁷

Similarly, historians who have recently re-evaluated the reign of Henry VII have argued that his manipulation of the financial resources and instruments at his disposal and the 'new men' employed in royal government represented a definitive break from the governing practices of his Yorkist predecessors, thus altering and in turn being affected by the changes in the socio-political status of the nobility.⁴⁸ However, proponents of this interpretation, most notably Steven Gunn, consequently play down the degree to which monarchs in the late medieval period directly engaged the leading county gentry in the royal household and affinity to strengthen the authority of the crown in the localities, when instead, examining Tudor political structures within a longer time-frame would lead to a more accurate appreciation of their nature and subsequent development.⁴⁹ By the sixteenth century, however, feudal magnates were being replaced by the crown as the source of patronage where relationships of lordship and service were constructed at the royal court.⁵⁰ While service had been an important social bond in the late medieval period, the type of service performed changed from military to administrative, and was increasingly provided solely to the crown as the means for attaining social and political advancement.⁵¹ Historians have posited that a new venue in the crown's administrative apparatus emerged in the sixteenth century – the ministerial household – where men provided domestic service in exchange for royal patronage.⁵² The question remains as to whether the ministerial household, the head of which was a leading crown administrator, such as Wolsey, actually constituted a new form of good lordship or whether ministerial households existed in the late medieval period but have yet to be explored by historians.

The process through which the crown expanded the exercise of its prerogative throughout the kingdom by harnessing the informal power networks in which the gentry acted as brokers forms one of the main currents of historiography on the Tudor period.

⁴⁷ Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity', p. 515; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 81.

⁴⁸ Steven Gunn, "'New men and "new monarchy" in England', in *Powerbrokers in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Stein (Turnholt, Belgium, 2001), 153-64; Arthur Joseph Slavin, *Politics and Profit: A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 2; Margaret Condon, 'Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII' in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. Charles Ross (Gloucester, 1979), p. 121.

⁴⁹ Gunn, 'The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England', p. 62; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, p. 255; Virgoe, 'The Crown, Magnates, and Local Govt in Fifteenth-Century East Anglia', p. 73; Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 16; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 35; W.R.B. Robinson, 'Henry VIII's Household in the fifteen-twenties: the Welsh Connection', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995), p. 173

⁵⁰ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 25.

⁵¹ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 121.

⁵² Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 1.

The other related theme is the nature of religious practices and beliefs, the character of the Henrician religious changes, and their reception and mediation into the communities at the various levels of the social hierarchy. The historiography on the reformation is expansive and continues to grow, informed by a variety of intellectual currents both from within the discipline of history itself, and from other fields within the social sciences and humanities. Broadly speaking, reformation historiography has moved from asserting that the doctrinal and practical innovations legislated in parliament originated from purely political and dynastic considerations and were imposed upon the populace by the royal government to, firstly, a focus on the implementation of novel religious doctrine and practices; secondly, an examination of social attitudes towards traditional and reformed religion; and lastly, an investigation into the populace's role in carrying out or resisting religious changes.⁵³ Since the 1990s, the prevailing interpretation has been that the Reformation was a political initiative which was widely resisted because people were largely satisfied with the pre-Reformation church.⁵⁴ Self-styled 'post-revisionists' have argued that, not only was late medieval religion generally acceptable, but that in attempting to preserve community harmony, the religious reforms were met with conformity, popular acceptance and obedience in the parishes, thereby facilitating their implementation despite the absence of popular conversion to Protestant beliefs.⁵⁵ Ethan Shagan has argued that governmental initiatives forced people to choose between three camps of actors: collaborators, resisters and those who were indifferent, thus identifying the reformation as essentially political, but emphasising that cooperation was necessary for its achievement.⁵⁶

These various arguments also demonstrate the influence of studying society 'from below' by abandoning parliamentary legislation as the foremost historical source in favour of wills and churchwardens' accounts which more accurately reflect popular religious convictions.⁵⁷ In order to study popular beliefs more effectively, historians have restricted

⁵³ A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (London, 1959); Idem., *The English Reformation* (London, 1964); Claire Cross, *Church and People, 1450-1650: the triumph of the laity in the English Church* (London, 1976); G.R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London, 1977); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England* (London, 1971); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975).

⁵⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: traditional religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, CT., 1992); Christopher Haigh, *English reformations: religion, politics, and society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993); Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2003), p. 3.

⁵⁵ Christopher Marsh, *Popular religion in sixteenth-century England: holding their peace* (New York, 1998), p. 26; Robert Whiting, *The blind devotion of the people: popular religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 39; Colin Richmond, 'The English Gentry and Religion, c. 1500', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England. Proceedings of the Conference held at Strawberry Hill, Easter 1989*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), p. 149.

⁵⁶ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁵⁷ J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984); Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*; Peter Heath, 'Between reform and reformation: the English church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries [A bibliographical survey]', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990), 647-78; Ronald Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England: the ritual year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994); C. Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation

their studies to small geographical boundaries such as counties or dioceses.⁵⁸ Studies of the progress of the Henrician reformation continue to be broken down into increasingly smaller administrative units, where scholars emphasise the internal political and social dynamics of the parish community as the site for analysing the reception of religious changes.⁵⁹ Historians are also focussing on the effect of space in communal relations and using sacred space as a site for identifying the progress of religious innovations in the physical and mental world of the early modern population.⁶⁰ Thus, identifying the parish as the site for micro-level politics and the interaction between political actors draws a link between historiography on the reformation and the intensification of the exercise of the crown's prerogative throughout the kingdom. Through this approach, historians can analyse the process of negotiation by which the crown and the general population mediated the introduction of social, political, economic and religious changes.

In seeking to understand the nature and intellectual currents behind the Henrician reformation scholars have examined the introduction, character and influence of the discipline of humanism on ideas about politics and religion in the early Tudor period.⁶¹ The importance of humanism in the Henrician period lies beyond its impact on the universities, but rather in the patronage of humanist-trained scholars at the royal court which tied the new intellectual current closely to practical politics where it informed religious and political thought. Like the revisionist historians of the Tudor period more generally, historians of humanism were attempting to place the evolution of Henrician political theory in a longer temporal context and a Europe-wide cultural environment. Humanist scholarship was initially non-doctrinal in nature, and it was not inevitable that scholars trained in the humanities would become proponents of reformed religion in the

Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *EHR*, 117:471 (2002), 306-32; Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England' in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 11-2, 25-8; Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400-1560* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 64, 204, 257; Hindle, *The State and Social Change*, p. 237; Patrick Collinson and John Craig, 'Introduction' in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, ed. Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 1-4; R. Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: politics and political culture, c. 1540-1640* (Oxford, 1998), p. 3; David Lamburn, *The Laity and the Church: Religious Developments in Beverley in the first half of the Sixteenth Century*. Borthwick Paper, 97. (York, 2000), p. 24; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*; Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547* (Cambridge, 1981); Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984); Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

⁵⁸ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, pp. 63-76; Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation*.

⁵⁹ Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community*; Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin, eds., *The parish in English life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997).

⁶⁰ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 'Introduction: the dimensions of sacred space in Reformation Europe', in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005), p. 3.

⁶¹ W. Gordon Zeeveld, *The Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 6; J.K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1965), p. 3.

1530s.⁶² A renewed appreciation of the place of humanism in the intellectual currents of the reigns of the first two Tudors was vital to historical scholarship because the movement took centre stage in the politics of the 1530s when the most intimate advisors to Henry VIII were trained in humanism and guided the course of the religious innovations and political changes.⁶³

As part of the more general revisionism of the Tudor period in the 1980s, the progress of humanism and its influence on politics was reassessed, as was the development of a humanist-inspired curriculum at the universities, stimulated by social historians' studies on the quality and availability of education in the early modern period.⁶⁴ This revisionist examination of humanism also focussed on the growing number of laity attending university where they received an education in the humanities. Such a course of study was considered a means to social advancement by equipping them with the tools for participating in the governance of the polity. These studies have contributed to identifying the changing standards for defining noble status, in which lineage was gradually being replaced by education and virtue as the most important characteristics, and the increasing demands of civil government which required a new set of administrative skills.⁶⁵

Revisionism of the humanist movement in England has also provided scholars with an additional approach for analysing the reception and acceptance of the Henrician religious changes among the educated gentry who were the leading government figures in the localities.

In addition to its patronage of humanist scholars, the court was also the centre for other forms of artistic and literary patronage, which brings us back to the discussion about the use of patronage of scholarship, literature and the arts as a means for constructing a public persona as a Renaissance prince. Through royal and noble patronage in the early

⁶² Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986), p. 2; Jonathan Woolfson, 'Introduction', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (London, 2002), p. 8. Humanist scholars were among the most prominent supporters of Katherine of Aragon during the divorce proceedings, see: Maria Dowling, 'Humanist support for Katherine of Aragon', *BIHR*, 57 (1984), 46-55. Stephen Gardiner, one of Wolsey's most notable scholars remained conservative in doctrinal matters while continuing his role as counsellor to the king, see: Glyn Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), p. 44. Thomas Starkey, another famous former student of Cardinal College, while taking an anti-papal stance and advocating political reform, never accepted Protestant doctrine, Thomas F. Mayer *Thomas Starkey and the Commonwealth: Humanist politics and religion in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 4.

⁶³ Andrew Allan Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops: Diplomats, Administrators, Scholars and Shepherds* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 10.

⁶⁴ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1986); A. Fox and J. Guy, eds., *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500-1550* (Oxford, 1986); Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*; Craig W. D'Alton, 'The Trojan War of 1518: Melodrama, Politics and the Rise of Humanism', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28:3 (1997), 727-38; James McConica, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford, volume 3, The Collegiate University* (8 vols, Oxford, 1986); Richard J. Schoeck, 'Humanism in England', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy, vol. 2, Humanism beyond Italy*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr. (3 vols, Philadelphia, 1988), 5-38.

⁶⁵ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*. 'Chapter 6: The Renaissance English Gentleman', 176-218.

sixteenth century Burgundian, Dutch and Italian Renaissance intellectual and artistic currents were making themselves felt in England.⁶⁶ Such examinations of intellectual and artistic patronage at the royal court have emphasised the fact that the developments in political theory and religious changes in England also should be placed in a broader European context.⁶⁷ By emphasising the Christian community as a whole, these discussions enable us to understand the social, cultural and political landscape in which Wolsey and his English and European contemporaries were operating.⁶⁸

It is within these above-mentioned historiographical discussions on the expansion of the royal prerogative, the course of the reformation, and the influence of humanism on education, politics and religious practices that the administration of the English polity under Wolsey can be situated. The five chapters which comprise this thesis seek to illuminate further the nature of early Tudor government, religion and the prevalent intellectual and artistic trends in the sixteenth century, as well as setting England within a European context.

The core of the first chapter is a prosopographical examination of Wolsey's household based on subsidy lists compiled in response to a tax levied in parliament in 1523. It argues that the high degree of correlation between Wolsey's household membership and men who can be identified as serving in the royal household indicates that the minister's household should be considered an extension of the royal affinity. The household was the heart of a greater affinity which was composed of 12 categories of men attached to Wolsey in a variety of ways. This affinity was united in its service to the crown's leading minister, whose power resulted from his favoured standing with Henry VIII, the holder of royal governmental offices, and his pre-eminent position in the church. Wolsey's household and affinity were the means through which he governed the kingdom on behalf of the crown thereby extending the crown's authority. Both the household and Wolsey's various ecclesiastical offices provided the crown with additional venues in which to secure a greater number of gentry and legally-trained administrators, and also further rewards for those already in the royal affinity. They contributed to the extension of the royal prerogative in two ways: the first was by bringing members of established noble

⁶⁶ Gordon Kipling, 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. G.F. Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ., c. 1981), p. 118; S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley, 'Introduction', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.J. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 41-2.

⁶⁷ McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, p. 85-7; Schoeck, 'Humanism in England'.

⁶⁸ Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 179-91; K.J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge, 1993); Paul Strathern, *The Medici: Godfathers of the Renaissance* (London, 2003); Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, eds., *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture* (Aldershot, 2005); Konrad Eisenbichler, 'Introduction' in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001), p. xiii.

affinities into the purview of royal government by giving them offices either centrally or locally; and secondly, Wolsey employed the men already retained in his household and affinity in local government offices.

The second chapter addresses the place of education in the construction of Wolsey's affinity and the development of royal government. It examines the educational standards of the university-trained men who appear on his household subsidy lists and finds that most men had received schooling in the arts. Training in the common law at the Inns of Court in London was more important for household administrators, since it was these men, rather than clerics, who occupied the highest offices in Wolsey's household and served on his advisory council. Wolsey viewed the purpose of education as two-fold. The first was to develop efficient crown administrators and diplomatic ambassadors. Secondly, education served to inhibit the potential spread of heterodox religious opinions by constructing a cohort of clerics with a strong foundation in grammar and rhetoric, and a well-grounded understanding of the scriptures. Both of these goals are reflections of Wolsey's wider aims: the creation of strong and effective secular government throughout the realm and religious reform.

The final three chapters provide case studies in which to examine the practical application of the training and character of these secular and ecclesiastical administrators. The first of these three seeks to establish the identity of the men responsible for the administration of the archdiocese of York during Wolsey's tenure as archbishop and how the work of these men can be situated in the wider context of local governance. Wolsey's administrative machinery in York was run by a combination of senior and more experienced clerics alongside minor local clergy and gentry. While the latter two groups were valued for their regional knowledge and connections, Wolsey concentrated the most serious administrative tasks in the hands of his most senior and trustworthy administrators. These same trusted clerics also acted on commissions for secular government. Like their lay counterparts, these ecclesiastical clients also possessed the characteristics of residency in the locality, legal training or administrative experience, local knowledge and social status. The archbishopric of York itself was a vital component of Wolsey's overall affinity and provided him with a structure of offices to secure a greater number of lay and clerical administrators and revenue with which to reward those already in the royal affinity. The office gave him a direct interest in the locality and, as archbishop, Wolsey acquired supervisory powers over a network of ecclesiastical administrators who were active both in the archdiocese and in matters with Scotland. By employing leading clerical ministers in royal government, the crown was increasing its supervision of church activities, further subjugating the church to its authority. Wolsey's proposals for reform worked to the same

effect. Rather than representing a desire for reform from within the church, the fact that the highest offices in church and royal government were combined in his person, meant that his reform efforts placed the church under increasing crown control.

The fourth chapter examines the composition of the peace commissions for all three ridings in Yorkshire as a means for studying local government during Wolsey's ascendancy. It argues that, despite Wolsey's authority as Lord Chancellor to make appointments to the commissions, he was not especially interested in dictating their membership. In contrast to previous historiography on the subject, Wolsey did not seek to curtail the authority of the resident gentry by inserting a significant number of non-resident administrators nor did his appointments constitute an attack on the northern nobility. The possession of land in the county which provided residency and local social status, legal training, and previous royal service remained the most important qualities of the men who served as Justices of the Peace in Yorkshire. Particular noble affinities were neither included nor excluded, but their predominance on certain commissions resulted from the concentration of their landed estates in a distinct area. The most significant development in local government in Yorkshire was the establishment of the Duke of Richmond's Council which removed the most serious criminal and administrative matters from the purview of the Justices of the Peace, leaving them with only routine business. Thus, as the sixteenth century progressed, the crown could afford to place a greater number of gentry on peace commissions since they did not exercise substantial power. The apparent increase in the size of the commissions in the 1520s resulted from the inclusion of the Duke of Richmond's Council not from the introduction of new gentry families. While historians have previously highlighted the number of men on Richmond's Council associated with Wolsey, it is their connection with crown service, their possession of legal training and administrative experience, and residency in the locality, the most important qualities of early Tudor administrators, which are the most noteworthy. Thus, local government in Yorkshire further highlights the integration of Wolsey's affinity with that of the crown and its role in administering the kingdom on the crown's behalf.

In seeking to understand the relationship between the governing body of the seat of his archdiocese and Wolsey, the final chapter provides a case study for examining the crown's relationship with urban governments. The corporation of the city of York sought to exploit Wolsey's unique position as archbishop of York and leading crown minister in order to secure greater economic privileges from the government, and can be placed within the 'casual client' circle of his affinity. In order to obtain royal grants, the corporation abandoned its previous practice of seeking patronage from several regional notables, but made unprecedented solicitations solely to Wolsey through the mediation of brokers. Such

a change by the city signals a departure in the direction of clientage in which locally influential nobles were replaced by courtiers and administrators at the heart of central royal politics. It further illustrates the role of brokers as the channel of communication between the centre and peripheries. Lastly, it provides evidence for the limitations on Wolsey's exercise of influence over royal patronage despite his position as the kingdom's ultimate broker. Paradoxically, in striving to defend its administrative autonomy and economic welfare by seeking out Wolsey's patronage, the city of York placed itself more firmly within the scope of the crown's authority.

This thesis began as a study on the administration of the archdiocese of York under Wolsey (1514-1530), utilising as its main primary source his archiepiscopal register kept at the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York. It has since taken a (nearly complete) different direction. In the early stages of research, Wolsey's distribution of ecclesiastical patronage, not only in the archdiocese but throughout the English church more broadly, emerged as a prominent theme. As patron-client relations became the focus, the attention naturally shifted to Wolsey's attendant household at York Place and Hampton Court as the focal point for the creation of power networks and the distribution of his patronage. Thus, the study took not only a different geographical scope, but also concentrated more on the nature of politics and secular government. Thus, having been started mid-way through my research, the prosopographical examination of the subsidy lists of Wolsey's household is only partially complete, a fact which I aim to rectify through further research following the conclusion of the present project. Nevertheless, the main delineations resulting from the research I have already completed are sufficiently strong to identify patterns among the governing elites who comprised early Tudor government, and to make a positive contribution to the categories of early modern historiography which this introduction has enumerated.

Chapter 1: Wolsey's Household, Affinity and Royal Administration

Then marched he forward out of his own house at Westminster, passing through all of London, over London bridge, having before him of gentlemen a great number, three in a rank, in black velvet livery coats, and the most part of them with great chains of gold about their necks, and all his yeomen with noblemen and gentlemen's servants, following him in French tawny livery coats; having embroidered upon their backs and breasts of the same coats these letters, T and C, under the Cardinal's hat. His sumpter mules, which were twenty in number and more, with his carts and other carriages of his train were passed on before, conducted and guarded with a great number of bows and spears. He rode like a Cardinal, very sumptuously on a mule, trapped with crimson velvet upon velvet, and his stirrups of copper and gilt, and his spare mule following him with life apparel. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, two great pillars of silver, the Great Seal of England, his Cardinal's hat, and a gentleman that carried his valance, otherwise called a cloak bag, which was made altogether of fine scarlet cloth, embroidered over and over with cloth of gold very richly, having in it a cloak of fine scarlet. Thus passed he through London and all the way of his journey, having his harbingers passing before to provide lodging for his train.¹

Introduction

Wolsey was the head of a new type of service-based affinity in which his power was based on his favoured standing with Henry VIII and the possession of royal and ecclesiastical offices from which he derived his authority and wealth. Consequently, the nature of the relationship between the individuals in his affinity and with Wolsey himself was different from the relationships which bound together affinities of the late medieval period and from those of court-centred factions which characterised the later years of Henry VIII's reign, and late Tudor and Stuart politics. The qualities of those men who were attracted to, and employed in service-based affinities were also different from their late medieval counterparts. While both noblemen and tradesmen feature, the bulk of service was provided by members of the gentry, in particular those with legal training or financial or administrative experience, who possessed the local authority and wealth necessary to realise the demands of their patron. Thus, the possession of land continued to play an important role in the creation and maintenance of service-based affinities, even though Wolsey's affinity was not defined by the concentration of estates in a particular region. Estates, which Wolsey acquired through his ecclesiastical and royal offices, provided him with sources of revenue and offices which were used to reward clients for previous service and to construct a future service relationship. For clients, land provided

¹ Wolsey leaving London for Calais, 1527, as described by George Cavendish in his *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, reprinted in *Two Early Tudor Lives: The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, by George Cavendish and *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, by William Roper, ed. R.S. Sylvester and D.P. Harding (New Haven, CT., 1962), pp. 47-8.

them with the requisite status to have their official authority recognised by the local population in order to render it practical. Thus, the members of the leading gentry who possessed administrative, legal or financial skill or experience coupled with the ownership of landed estates formed the main component of service-based affinities which were harnessed and developed by the crown as an extension of its authority.

The core of Wolsey's affinity was his household, which was the collection of men who served his person rather than a physical location, and which functioned as the stage for the demonstration of his socio-political status. The strong correlation between members of Wolsey's household and officers serving the royal household is indicative of Wolsey's position in royal government and his favour with Henry VIII. By being incorporated within the royal affinity, Wolsey's household provided the crown with an additional venue in which to construct and maintain patronage relationships with its administrators, thereby increasing its capacity to retain a greater number of servants and to reward them more generously. It also indicates the role of the household as a place where men were introduced to, and educated in the processes of government as a stepping stone to further royal service. Employing men in royal service both enabled Wolsey to maintain contact with the royal household, the location in which political decisions were made, and simultaneously to enhance the presentation of the grandeur requisite of a leading government minister. This projection of magnificence was vital to establishing both Wolsey's superior standing in domestic affairs and for his attempts at arbitrating European politics on behalf of his sovereign.

Ultimately, the significance of the construction of Wolsey's affinity is in its role in consolidating royal authority in the provinces. Indeed, as an affinity constructed by a leading crown minister, it was the primary means through which royal authority was spread throughout the realm and should be viewed as part of the royal affinity. This expansion of Tudor government into the localities was effected in two ways, both of which were based on the ability of the king and his leading ministers to manage men and their political and social networks. The first was by bringing established local and regional affinities into the ambit of central government by placing members of those affinities in royal offices or on royal commissions. The second method of expanding crown authority was by inserting central government officers into the localities by placing them on judicial commissions, on regional councils, or in estate offices, regardless of the location of their landed estates. The policy of integrating the royal affinity into local power structures and centralising government by these methods was not novel to the Tudor period, but was utilised variously by monarchs from the late fourteenth century onwards, in which royal county offices and judicial and administrative commissions were the most important

contacts between the crown and the provinces.² Wolsey developed a network of lay and clerical clients employed in royal and ecclesiastical offices centrally and in the localities who used the authority vested in their offices to undertake royal administrative and judicial duties entrusted to them in royal commissions. In both the late medieval and Tudor periods, patronage and the quality of the personnel employed were central features of royal government in the provinces.

After briefly considering the sources utilised for reconstructing Wolsey's household and affinity, this chapter will provide a general overview of patronage in the early Tudor period: the roles and expectations of patrons and clients, the type of service patrons expected from clients, and the range of rewards available in return. A description and analysis of the composition of Wolsey's household and his wider affinity form two further sections. Lastly, I will consider the impact of the emergence of service-based affinities, such as Wolsey's, on government both centrally and in the provinces.

The membership of Wolsey's household and affinity has been reconstructed from a variety of sources. The main archival source for the household is a set of three subsidy lists taken for the parliamentary tax granted in 1523. The lists were compiled between 1523 and 1527 and were submitted to the exchequer. A full account of the nature of the lists, their limitations and the method used to analyse them, prosopography, is provided below in the section on the household. The remainder of the work on Wolsey's affinity has been compiled from the State Papers, exchequer and chancery documents at The National Archives, from printed primary sources, particularly *Letters and Papers*, and printed genealogical resources.

Patron-client relations were the most prevalent type of social relationship in late medieval and early modern society, constituting a network through which power was exercised informally. It bound together the various levels of society and was legitimised through the use of a standardised language of courtesy and good lordship.³ The term patronage denotes both the act of presenting an individual with a material advantage - such as an appointment to an administrative office, the grant of an annuity or piece of land, or a

² Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (London, 1986), pp. 248, 254-5, 262; R.A. Griffiths, 'Introduction', in *Patronage, Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 10-1.

³ Lordship can be defined as the exercise of personal power over men, often based on, but not limited to a territorially-bounded area. Good lords were expected to provide protection, security and employment or a source of income in exchange for military or administrative service, fidelity and obedience. Griffiths, 'Introduction', p. 12; Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 183-4; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), esp. Chapter 5: 'Service: Good Lordship and Retaining', 121-43; P.W. Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England, c.1520-1540' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Exeter, 1976), p. 50; David Potter, 'Sir John Gage, Tudor Courtier and Soldier (1479-1556)', *EHR*, 117:474 (2002), 1109-46.

cash payment - and also a power relationship in which a patron can confer or withdraw benefits at will, thereby influencing the behaviour of the recipients of his patronage, his clientele. The two key characteristics of patronage relationships were their obligatory nature and the mutual benefits accruing to both patron and client.⁴ The patronage structure in early Tudor England has most commonly been described as a pyramid of which the king in his court was at the apex.⁵ The main utility of royal patronage was that it could be exploited as a means of political control by cementing the loyalty of the governing orders to the crown.⁶

The crown's use of patronage in its relations with the nobility and gentry, in what ways the distribution of patronage affected the socio-political structure and the administration of local government is best understood in a broad temporal context.⁷ Historians have long drawn attention to the changing socio-political relations and the consequences of such alterations on the exercise of power in the later middle ages. The socio-economic structure of feudalism which dominated the late medieval period was defined by the hereditary tenancy on the estates of a magnate in return for military service. One of the most important ties of this type of lordship was land tenure, centred on the manor and estates of the lord, and where the members of the lord's affinity were drawn primarily from his tenants.⁸ The process of social change, labelled 'bastard feudalism', involved a shift from a society rooted in land tenure and military service provided by tenants to their territorial lord to one based on service in exchange for appointments to offices and cash payments.⁹ While the term 'bastard feudalism' has more recently fallen out of favour among historians, the reality of these changes in the socio-political structure is not disputed, but rather its origins, the degree of influence of various causes, and its chronological progression.¹⁰ Still, studies of late medieval noblemen emphasise the roles

⁴ Sharon Kettering, 'Introduction', in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France* (Aldershot, 2002), p. viii; Idem., *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986), p. 3; Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England', p. 49.

⁵ Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England', p. 53.

⁶ J.E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Political Scene', reprinted in Idem., *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958), pp. 78-9; W. MacCaffery, 'Patronage and Politics under the Tudors', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 21-35.

⁷ Steven Gunn, 'The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 5 (1995), p. 62; Christine Carpenter, 'Who ruled the Midlands in the later middle ages?', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), pp. 1-2.

⁸ Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995), pp. 3-4; Peter Coss, 'An age of deference', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge, 2006), p. 42

⁹ K.B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *BIHR*, 20:61 (1945), 161-80; J.M.W. Bean, *From lord to patron: lordship in late medieval England* (Manchester, c. 1989); Idem., *The decline of English feudalism, 1215-1540* (Manchester, 1968).

¹⁰ Christine Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', *EHR*, 95:376 (Jul., 1980), p. 514; Scott L. Waugh, 'Tenure to contract: lordship to clientage in thirteenth-century England', *EHR*, 101:401 (Oct., 1986), esp. pp. 812-8 which provides a good summary of the legal and financial changes which gave rise to the alteration in retaining. See also the debate between Peter Coss, David Crouch and D.A. Carpenter in *Past and Present*: P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', No. 125 (Nov., 1989), 27-

of their retinues, particularly when mobilised for war, whereas in contrast, recent studies of sixteenth-century noblemen have highlighted the complexity of their political, social and economic networks which defy these traditional affinal boundaries, thus indicating the emergence of a new organisational system of power networks.¹¹

A comparison of Wolsey's affinity with studies of the royal affinities of the later middle ages is instructive for identifying continuities in royal patterns of retaining which extend into the early Tudor period. Despite the general interruption to socio-political relations caused by the Wars of the Roses, certain policies for the retention of leading country gentlemen trace back to the later years of the reign of Edward III. Both Given-Wilson's work on the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and D.A.L. Morgan's work on the Yorkist dynasty have emphasised the importance to the crown of retaining through the distribution of offices and annuities, and the degree to which monarchs coveted the cooperation of the local gentry for supporting the administration of royal government in the counties.¹² Similarly, parallels can be drawn between Wolsey and John of Gaunt in his employment of resources and retinue to realise the crown's wishes. Anthony Goodman argues that Gaunt's dedication to royal service foreshadowed Tudor ideals of noble service as an enhancement of royal authority.¹³

With the decline in traditional retaining methods and the increasing importance of acquiring royal patronage for attaining a prominent place in the socio-political hierarchy and securing economic well-being, the governing ranks faced a new and potentially unstable political landscape under the Tudors and Stuarts. In seeking to explain the growing influence of the House of Commons in the political events leading up to the outbreak of civil war, Lawrence Stone argued that the period between the sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries saw unprecedented socio-economic mobility in which wealth and land were increasingly concentrated among the emerging middling socio-economic group at the expense of the nobility, whose power and influence slipped in conjunction with its declining financial position.¹⁴ Revisionist historiography has taken a more nuanced view of the political, social and economic standing of the nobility in this period and its proponents have argued that noble power and fortunes fluctuated rather than experienced a

64; David Crouch and D.A. Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', No. 131 (May, 1991), 165-89 and Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: Reply', 190-203.

¹¹ Alistair Dunn, 'Inheritance and Lordship in Pre-Reformation England: George Neville, Lord Bergavenny (c. 1470-1535)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 48 (2004), p. 117.

¹² Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, pp. 263-6; D.A.L. Morgan, 'The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England', *TRHS*, 5th Ser., 23 (1973), p. 24.

¹³ A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: the exercise of princely power in fourteenth-century Europe* (Harlow, 1992), pp. 371-5. The degree to which John of Gaunt's wealth and power were subsumed as an extension of royal power is not wholly accepted by historians, see Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 104-5 who viewed Gaunt's retainers as distinct from royal administrators.

¹⁴ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (London, 1965), pp. 8-10.

straight decline.¹⁵ In contrast, Simon Adams has argued that the size and composition of the nobility remained fairly consistent from 1400 until 1603 suggesting that the socio-political status of the nobility was secure.¹⁶ While the numerical stability of the noble rank as a whole was preserved, the fortunes of individual families could still fluctuate according to the king's prerogative. Generally, historians have agreed that it was the deteriorating value of feudal land tenure, rather than a concerted attack by the crown on the nobility that led to a waning of traditional affinities based on the hereditary possession of land.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the weakening of the traditional economic basis for noble authority meant that the royal affinity was more easily able to usurp the patronage networks under the preserve of the nobility.

These changes in the economic structure of land-holding were accompanied by an underlying alteration in the concept of honour which formed the backbone for social and political relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The increased social mobility of the gentry, which for some was realised through crown service, necessitated a redefinition of honour and virtue, two fundamental characteristics of nobility. While lineage was still a mark of honour, it became a secondary characteristic. Similarly, faithfulness no longer defined relations between members of the governing orders and their followers. With the strengthening of the crown and the centring of the community of honour at court following the Tudor triumph at the Battle of Bosworth, faithfulness was replaced by an internalisation of obedience to the crown which was vital for maintaining law and order.¹⁸

The combination of these factors – the declining economic value of land-holding and the changing ideals for noble behaviour – contributed to the emergence in the fifteenth century of royal courts as central to European political life. The royal court became the focal point for contact between the ruler and his ruling elites, and the forum in which

¹⁵ Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, CT., 1992); George W. Bernard, 'Introduction', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. George W. Bernard (Manchester, c. 1992), p. 6; Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986), p. 256.

¹⁶ Simon Adams, 'The patronage of the crown in Elizabethan politics: the 1590s in perspective', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: court and culture in the last decade*, ed. John Alexander Guy (Cambridge, 1995), p. 26.

¹⁷ Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995), pp. 3-4; Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism*; Bernard, 'Introduction', p. 19; Arthur Joseph Slavin, *Politics and Profit: a study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 132; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 79.

¹⁸ Mervyn James, *English politics and the concept of honour, 1485-1642*, Past and Present Supplement, 3 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 43-63. James uses the terms faithfulness and obedience in describing a process he calls the 'moralisation of politics'. The traditional concept of honour, in which faithfulness to one's lord and friends was central, and which was closely connected with violence and political dissent, was no longer tenable in the new political climate under the Tudors in which the crown's ability to swiftly and comprehensively eradicate all rival claims to succession meant that obedience to the crown replaced faithfulness to one's lord as the most prominent of a man's political ties. It was also a climate in which political dissent was expressed as the desire to uphold obedience to the monarch.

patronage was given and received.¹⁹ As the court and intimacy became more important, the status of members of the royal household rose concurrently, particularly for the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber whose service required them to be in daily contact with the king. The development of the Privy Chamber, beginning in the 1490s, into the third component of the royal household, was the most significant innovation in the household's history and had implications for the functioning of court politics.²⁰ Within ten years of Henry VIII's accession, the Privy Chamber was served by gentlemen whose proximity to the king, their role in bringing Henry VIII documents to sign, and who possessed some measure of control over the king's personal finances, gave them the most prominent position in which to influence political decisions and the distribution of patronage.²¹

The Privy Chamber staff comprising gentlemen was representative of the new types of administrative personnel employed at the royal court and in the household, and in extending the royal patrimony into the provinces. On the one hand, there emerged a distinct kind of nobleman, such as John Dudley, later Duke of Northumberland, who, while possessing an aristocratic pedigree, lacked a strong family tradition and did not seek to construct a traditional regionally-based retinue on lands accumulated through royal service.²² On the other, increasing numbers of gentry and lawyers were engaging in royal service, which offered opportunities for social mobility, including elevation to the peerage.²³ Thomas first Lord Wharton, for example, was descended from modest gentry stock but, by exploiting the weakening position of the northern counties' leading noble families and accumulating crown offices under Henry VIII, was raised to the peerage in 1544. Fundamental to the establishment of his family among the region's elite, was his ability to turn the profits accruing from his offices into property, increasing the authority he exercised as a leading crown servant.²⁴ In addition to compiling estates, holding royal offices in the localities also enabled men, such as Sir Thomas Lovell, to construct large and powerful retinues which could be mobilised in the crown's interests.²⁵ The Tudor government was run by men who earned their social status through their service as the

¹⁹ Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, 'Introduction', in *Princes, patronage and the nobility: the court at the beginning of the modern age c.1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London, 1991), p. 4; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 79; Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1988), pp. 88-9

²⁰ David Starkey, 'Court and Government', in *Revolution Reassessed: revisions in the history of Tudor Government and Administration*, ed. Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (Oxford, 1986), pp. 30-1, 35.

²¹ E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII: the political perspective', in *The Reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 17-8

²² David Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504-1553* (Oxford, 1996).

²³ Steven Gunn, 'Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex (1472-1540)', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. George W. Bernard (Manchester, c. 1992), p. 134.

²⁴ M.E. James, *Change and Continuity in the Tudor North: The Rise of Thomas First Lord Wharton*. Borthwick Paper, 27. (York, 1965).

²⁵ Steven Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c. 1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John Lovett Watts (Stroud, 1998), pp. 149, 151.

kingdom's leading administrators.²⁶ Patrons without extensive inherited estates created alternative power bases for themselves through service to the crown, royal favour and patronage.

Given the importance of Henry VIII's favour for establishing and consolidating Wolsey's power and authority, the question needs to be asked whether Wolsey can be considered as the head of a court faction. Faction is defined as a political group whose members were bound together by various personal and informal ties. However, since a faction was produced by the competition for court patronage, it could only exist in the presence of and in opposition to other factions.²⁷ Since there were no rival groups at court until the advent to power of the Boleyn circle in the mid to late 1520s, then in the strictest sense of the term, Wolsey cannot be described as the leader of a court faction until their emergence as a political force.²⁸

That opposition in the form of a coherent faction did not exist prior to the late 1520s does not mean that Wolsey did not face competition for predominant influence over Henry, but the nature of that opposition has been contested among historians. Historians have traditionally depicted the expulsion from the Privy Chamber of Henry's young companions, known as the 'minions', in May 1519 as Wolsey's attempt to eliminate rivals for intimacy with the king. However, Greg Walker has argued that the removal of Henry's companions and their subsequent replacement with long-standing royal servants who were also knights of the body, was the result of a decision taken by Henry's entire corpus of counsellors.²⁹ That it was the licentious behaviour of the young men which the counsellors opposed, rather than the political threat they posed to Wolsey, is reinforced by the fact that none of Wolsey's other supposed political rivals – the Duke of Suffolk, Sir William Compton and Henry Courtney – were removed from the court.³⁰ Wolsey's attempts to restrict access to the king was codified in the Eltham Ordinances issued in 1526 which did not introduce a major innovation in the development of the structure of the royal household, but rather removed from the king's presence Wolsey's political adversaries – Nicholas Carew, George Boleyn, Francis Bryan and William Compton – by creating an advisory council of which only a few were to be personally attendant upon the king, and

²⁶ For example, see Slavin, *Politics and Profit: A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler*.

²⁷ The historiography on Tudor faction is capacious as well as contradictory and confusing. See for starters: E.W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*. (London, 1979); Robert Shephard, 'Review: Court Factions in Early Modern England', *Journal of Modern History*, 64:4 (Dec., 1992), 721-45. For a summary of the types of political structures in the Tudor period that historians should be considering in addition to faction and how they should go about doing it, see Gunn, 'The structures of politics in early Tudor England', 59-90.

²⁸ David Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey, and others (London, 1987), p. 108.

²⁹ Greg Walker, 'The "Expulsion of the Minions" Reconsidered', *HJ*, 32:1 (Mar., 1989), pp. 2, 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

removing Compton from his position in the Privy Chamber.³¹ Therefore, potential opposition to Wolsey's management of government existed, but not in a recognisably factional structure.

Thus, it is important not to dismiss entirely the value of the court and its actors to Wolsey's patronage, power and authority prior to the late 1520s. Neil Samman has convincingly argued that Wolsey was aware of the importance of securing patronage from Henry VIII through face-to-face meetings.³² Wolsey relied on intermediaries, such as Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester, and later Richard Pace and Sir Thomas Heneage, to communicate matters between him and the king when he could not personally attend court. He also used his residences of Hampton Court and The More to remain within riding distance of the court as it moved on progress among the royal residences during the summer months.³³ Samman argues that Wolsey collaborated with Henry VIII in appointing royal household officers, such as securing the appointment of Richard Sampson as dean of the Royal Chapel, to ensure that the appointees were willing to share his goals or, at least, to defer to his aims.³⁴ Also, by bringing many of the men already serving in royal household offices into his own household, Wolsey secured his influence over those who were in daily contact with the king and solidified his pre-eminence in political matters and patronage. Thus, Wolsey's relationship with the court, despite not being the head of what Starkey or Ives characterise as a faction, was central to his dominance over royal patronage as the ultimate power broker under Henry VIII.

Despite the geographic centrality of the court and the importance of intimacy and access for clients in securing favours from a patron, patronage relationships were rarely confined to a transaction between the patron and client, but patron-client relations in which parties were separated by social or geographical distance necessitated the mediation of a broker. Brokers were important men in their own right, but their greatest resource remained access to a patron greater than themselves in social and political status.³⁵ For example, when William Frankeleyn, chancellor of the diocese of Durham, and Sir William Bulmer, sheriff, wrote to Wolsey on 8 October 1527 requesting that the soon to be vacant

³¹ *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household, etc.* (London, 1790), pp. 156, 159; David Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England', in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London, 1991), pp. 180-7; Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', p. 107.

³² Neil Samman, 'The Henrician Court during Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy', (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Wales, 1988), p. 205.

³³ Samman, 'The Henrician Court', pp. 196, 205, 229-30; Neil Samman, 'The progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', in *The reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 73; George Cavendish also states that Wolsey repaired to the court every Sunday, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 26.

³⁴ Samman, 'The Henrician Court', pp. 244-5; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 869.

³⁵ Sharon Kettering, 'The historical development of political clientism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18:3 (1988), pp. 425-6, reprinted in *Idem.*, *Patronage in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France*.

office of prior of Tynemouth be conferred upon Peter Lee, a monk in the cathedral chapter of Durham and a man 'of good learning', they were acting as brokers.³⁶ As shall be demonstrated in the last section of this chapter, it was through these men, particularly those who comprised Wolsey's affinity, that royal government was consolidated in the localities.

Brokers were necessary for advancing the political integration of the kingdom. The central government needed figures of sufficient standing and of assured loyalty for its policies to be implemented effectively at the local level.³⁷ There were two ways in which patronage networks involving the mediation of brokers could bring about the expansion of royal government. Government in the localities could be extended through members of the provincial or local elite who did not hold central office, a method which was usually more economical and efficient than extreme centralisation.³⁸ Collaboration between the centre and the provinces was the focal point of such a system, since the government was forced to rely on men to act as intermediaries regardless of whether they were office-holders. Alternatively, key intermediaries were themselves officers or agents of the central government serving in the localities, or they were members of the dominant social rank in the region.³⁹ In Suffolk in the early sixteenth century, the great mediators continued to be the county's leading noblemen, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford and the third Duke of Norfolk.⁴⁰ The central government cultivated good relations with the resident political actors by distributing patronage. In linking the provinces with central government, brokers functioned as a type of lesser patron in their localities by mediating access to royal patronage, but not controlling its flow.⁴¹ The roles of patron, broker and client were not mutually exclusive, but an individual could operate in all three capacities simultaneously. Wolsey can be considered as a prominent patron in his own right and the most successful client of the king, but is best described as the ultimate broker in a mutually beneficial relationship with Henry VIII in which he distributed patronage that was not his own.

Because the power base of patrons at the head of service-based affinities, such as Wolsey and Cromwell, rested on their offices and the favour conferred upon them by the king, rather than in the possession of vast landed estates, their patronage relationships were naturally of a different tenure than those of noble affinities.⁴² One feature of this was that the content being exchanged over these patron-client channels within their affinities was

³⁶ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 3478.

³⁷ G.E. Aylmer, 'Centre and Locality: The Nature of Power Elites', in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Oxford, 1996), p. 66.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: politics and religion in an English county* (Oxford, 1986), p. 53.

⁴¹ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients*, p. 5.

⁴² Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Introduction', in *The reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 3.

also different. The client provided the patron with service, be it administrative, legal or financial, in return for future benefits. This is not to say that clients in late medieval noble affinities did not provide administrative service, but instead, that tenancy was being replaced by skills and administration as the foremost and, at times the only, connection for assembling affinities. This transformation to a predominantly service-based relationship tipped the balance of power between the patron and client in favour of the latter. Since the relationship was no longer rooted in land tenure, the client was much freer to exercise discretionary clientage when choosing a potential patron. Ties based on service and favour were more easily broken and re-aligned; it was easier to switch one's service than it was to move from one's property. In this context, service does not denote work in a specific office, but describes a general relationship between two men which included a multitude of activities that was not fixed, but had the potential for constant re-negotiation between the client and patron.⁴³ While service was usually expected to precede patronage, claims for reward for service could be based on the promise of future service.⁴⁴

Thus, for clients in service-based affinities the type of service performed was primarily administrative. At the other end of the spectrum, the benefits that patrons of service-based affinities bestowed in exchange were also changing. As a consequence of the fact that his power and authority were derived from his favoured standing in royal administration and high office in the church, the rewards available to Wolsey to distribute came not from his personal resources, but from royal and ecclesiastical revenues. Among the royal rewards over which Wolsey could exercise his influence were grants of favourable leases, wardships and local offices.

For the traditional nobility, the accumulation of offices was used to extend, rather than create their local power and authority, which was already established by their possession of estates.⁴⁵ Adams has argued that the possession of office was not a reward in itself, but that clients gave long-term service with the expectation of a substantial reward at the end.⁴⁶ However, this view of the distribution of local offices considers their value only from a material standpoint and fails to acknowledge the intangible aspects of office-holding: the exercise of local authority, the opportunity to exercise patronage by the appointment of subordinates and deputies, and the prestige associated with performing royal service. Even without substantial monetary benefits, office-holding could be seen as an important means of rewarding loyal servants by further augmenting their socio-political status. Clearly, the distribution of offices as part of royal patronage had a dual function,

⁴³ Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 7.

⁴⁴ Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 3; Adams, 'The patronage of the crown in Elizabethan politics', p. 25.

⁴⁵ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p. 200.

⁴⁶ Adams, 'The patronage of the crown in Elizabethan politics', p. 25.

both to reward previous service and to secure service in the future. Offices on royal estates, such as stewardships, constablerships and receiverships, were a widely employed means for rewarding members of the crown affinity.⁴⁷ Offices had both the disadvantage to the client, and advantage to the crown of being less permanent than grants of land, as they were often held during pleasure and could be re-distributed following the death of the incumbent.

For example, Robert ap Rhys, a chaplain and cross-bearer to Wolsey, used his position in the prelate's household to accumulate local offices and authority, and thereby established one of the leading gentry families in north-east Wales, despite his clerical vows.⁴⁸ Having already served as county escheator in 1512, Robert Creyke was given the post of receiver of the archbishop of York's liberty of Beverley by Wolsey.⁴⁹ In contrast with ap Rhys, Creyke did not convert his new found wealth and authority into the foundation for a gentry family. Not only did patrons seek to reward clients with office, but clients also sought to secure offices from leading patrons both as a reward for past service and to maintain a patronage relationship that would hopefully bear fruit in the future. Following the death of Sir William Compton, Arthur Newton, already a member of Wolsey's household, appealed to his patron for one of the vacant offices.⁵⁰ As an example of how important courtiers considered the bestowal of office, in 1530 Robert Smythe informed Wolsey that his detractors at court objected to the fact that he had taken away an office he had previously granted to one of his secretaries, Mr. Edwards.⁵¹ His contemporaries obviously believed that Wolsey was abusing his powers over the distribution of offices.

Similarly, lucrative ecclesiastical posts, such as the prebends in York Minster, were a particularly valuable source of patronage for both ecclesiastical and secular clients and servants since they did not require residency. Gwyn has estimated that, including the dioceses over which he had administration on behalf of foreign bishops, Wolsey had control over the appointment to 380 ecclesiastical dignities.⁵² Generally, Wolsey's policy of providing to prebends in York appears to have been conservative. The majority of those promoted were active in archdiocesan administration.⁵³ However, Wolsey also used

⁴⁷ Steven Gunn, 'The Act of Resumption of 1515', in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 102.

⁴⁸ G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales, c.1415-1642* (Oxford, 1987), p. 249.

⁴⁹ *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 1494 (55) and vol. 5, no. 822.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4618.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6447.

⁵² Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: the rise and fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), p. 300 and note.

⁵³ For example, Thomas Knolles, Apesthorpe (1529-1546); Cuthbert Marshall, Husthwaite (1526-1550), William Tate to Botevant (1522-1540) and Edward Kellett to Langtoft (1524-1538); B. Jones, comp., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, vol. 6: Northern Province*, by John Le Neve (12 vols, London, 1963), pp. 30, 38, 59, 63.

prebends to reward laymen or placate potential political rivals.⁵⁴ In York, other collegiate churches provided further opportunities for patronage, such as Beverley Minster where a number of the prebendaries in 1526 can be associated with service to Wolsey in other capacities.⁵⁵ Wolsey's control over the distribution of rewards from ecclesiastical wealth to both royal and church clients, with a particular emphasis on the archdiocese of York, is explored fully in Chapter 3.

Wardships were also highly desirable rewards, since the administration of a ward's lands and the right to arrange his or her marriage could offer substantial financial returns. Royal wards were administered by two masters who regulated the sale of wards and their lands, the authority over which was sold to the successful petitioner in exchange for a fee. Certainly, Henry VIII and Wolsey, as well as other leading political figures, exercised an enormous amount of influence over the distribution of such rewards. Like other royal gifts, access to those making the decisions provided greater opportunities to acquire material advantages. While it is not clear whether Wolsey influenced the sale of particular wardships, several members of his household were able to secure wardships successfully during his ascendancy. For example in 1521, Sir Richard and Thomas Tempest were granted wardship of the heir of Freschewell, and Miles Forest and John Castell were awarded the wardship of Francis, son and heir to Richard Pulter.⁵⁶ Further members of Wolsey's household were among those who profited from the grant of royal wardships. In Easter term 1529, the wardship of John, the son and heir of Thomas Dennys was sold to John Smyth, a clerk of the exchequer, who was part of Wolsey's household in 1523. The potential for profit is illustrated by this example. Smyth paid £33 6s 8d for the administration of Dennys' lands which were valued at £92 yearly.⁵⁷ Wolsey also sought the possession of wards for himself, two members of his household in 1523 were described as minors.⁵⁸ 'Orphan's goods in his hands' and 'wards lands in his hands' also appeared as entries on the subsidy lists.

One instance in which it is certain that Wolsey manipulated the sale of a wardship was as bishop of Durham. Wolsey nullified the sale by the previous bishop, Thomas Ruthal, of the wardship of George Bowes to Sir Thomas Strangways, but subsequently failed to reimburse Strangways the £200 fee he had paid for the ward. The affair was

⁵⁴ For example, Thomas Linacre to South Newbald (1518-1519), Reginald Pole to Knaresborough (1527-1537) and William Boleyn to Strensall (1529-1552); *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, pp. 61, 72, 82.

⁵⁵ Thomas Larke, pensioner of St. James; Robert Toneys, prebendary of St. Mary's; Thomas Winter, prebendary of St. Peter's; Robert Carter, prebendary of St. Andrew's; John Capon, prebendary of St. Katherine's; TNA, SP 1/37, ff. 174-85.

⁵⁶ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 1545.

⁵⁷ TNA, E 36/246. f. 9.

⁵⁸ On TNA, E 179/69/9 'John Johnson minor' is listed twice successively, but on TNA, E 179/69/10 m. 2 it is made clear that they are two separate people, one being distinguished as 'greater', the other as 'lesser'.

complicated by the fact that, having been unable to secure compensation from Wolsey, Strangways proceeded to sell the wardship to Sir William Bulmer, Bowes' cousin, who then claimed part of the original fee from Wolsey.⁵⁹ The situation appears to have been rectified before Wolsey's death since Strangways does not appear among those owed money by the cardinal.⁶⁰

Other types of rewards over whose distribution Wolsey exerted influence included royal leases. In April 1522, John Moyle and Humphrey Owen, two men who appear in Wolsey's household, were granted in survivorship land called the 'king's ditches' in and around the town of Beaumaris in Anglesea, Wales.⁶¹ Owen was also the recipient of leases of other parcels of land in Denbigh, Wales.⁶² Finally, William Daunce was able to combine all three of the above mentioned rewards. In 1527, Daunce purchased the wardship of Anthony, son and heir of Edward Tynewo, and also secured a 21-year lease of the lordship of Kennington in Surrey, part of the duchy of Cornwall, at what was presumably a favourable rent.⁶³ The following year, Daunce acquired what appears to have been his first royal office, becoming a teller of the exchequer. Undoubtedly, Daunce's introduction into royal service was aided by the fact that his father John had served as a royal councillor.⁶⁴ This court connection may also explain his presence in Wolsey's household, since his father may have sought to place him among the servants of the crown's leading minister in the hope of providing him with an opportunity for future advancement.

In addition to the material gifts over which Wolsey could influence the distribution, some of the most important rewards available to Wolsey's clients were intangible – access to royal favour and to the arena of high politics which in turn afforded opportunities to exercise political influence and the potential for accumulating further tangible rewards. For example, to counteract the increasing influence of the Boleyns, Wolsey recommended the appointment to the king's Privy Chamber of an intermediary, Sir Thomas Heneage, in 1528, a man who had been one of his household gentlemen ushers since 1521. By becoming one of the most intimate servants of the king, Heneage was in a position to influence decisions in both political affairs and patronage suits. His office led to further promotion when he was appointed chief gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1536.⁶⁵ Similarly, Ralph Sadler's career prospects were increased by his service to Thomas

⁵⁹ TNA, SP 1/58, ff. 5r-8r.

⁶⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, no. 6748, p. 3047.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2191.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2297.

⁶³ TNA, C 82/588, C 82/589.

⁶⁴ TNA, C 82/607.

⁶⁵ N.P. Sil, 'Thomas Heneage of Hainton: a Henrician gentleman', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 10 (1989), pp. 64, 66-8.

Cromwell while the latter was employed in Wolsey's household. Cromwell's service to the crown's foremost minister provided access to greater potential reward which, unfortunately for Sadler, did not bear fruit. His continued work for Cromwell eventually did, however, when, as one of Cromwell's secretaries in the 1530s, he was able to increase his circle of court connections.⁶⁶

The largest and most lucrative rewards available to a leading crown minister undoubtedly came from his standing in royal government and, for Wolsey, his rank in the church. However, even ministerial patrons, such as Wolsey, did have resources of their own with which to reward their servants. The two most obvious were the provision of livery, and accommodation and board within the household. While it was the household servants in daily attendance on Wolsey and those with limited economic means who profited the most from the satisfaction of basic needs, all members of Wolsey's household were provided with livery. The resources to afford livery and housing came from the revenues of Wolsey's offices.⁶⁷ The wearing of livery was an important facet of a household's identity. It was also regarded as a privilege by servants, as a manifestation of the good will and generosity of their master, and of their ability to call on powerful support when needed.⁶⁸ The type of livery members of Wolsey's affinity wore depended on their place and function within the household or affinity. For example, the members of the extended household who served the estates in the archbishopric of York wore a livery showing the see's cross keys. In 1523, Wolsey defended charges that the Earl of Northumberland had worn the archdiocese's livery while serving against the Scots in the king's retinue.⁶⁹ Wolsey's immediate household were liveried in the red which represented his status as cardinal. Cavendish reported that when Wolsey processed to Westminster during term time he issued red livery to all the gentlemen and yeomen attending upon him, 'which was either of fine scarlet or else of crimson satin, taffeta, damask or caffia, the best that he could get for money'.⁷⁰

The term livery also described the provision of food and drink for household members. The household book for the fifth Earl of Northumberland made provision for

⁶⁶ Slavin, *Politics and Profit*, pp. 23-8.

⁶⁷ There is no accurate figure for Wolsey's total ecclesiastical income, however, Gwyn provides two contemporary estimates. In 1519, the Venetian ambassador estimated that it was around £9,500 while in 1531 the ambassador's successor reported that it had been closer to £35,000, likely a gross exaggeration in the wake of Wolsey's death, Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 313. Cavendish reported that at his arrest, Wolsey claimed to have no cash except for that which he had borrowed from friends, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 180-1. *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6480 (15) is a list of debts owed by Wolsey at his death, including sums owed for money lent. The manors and estates of the archbishopric of York and their contribution to Wolsey's overall church patronage is outlined in detail in chapter 3. See also Appendix 7 for a summary of the value of Wolsey's various ecclesiastical benefices.

⁶⁸ Joan Kirby, 'Gentry Households and the Concept of Service in the Later Middle Ages', *Medieval Life*, 9 (1998), p. 28.

⁶⁹ *CSP Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 145-7.

⁷⁰ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 24.

liveries of bread, beer, wine, white lights and wax.⁷¹ These liveries were in addition to cloth, provisions for summer and winter quantities of horsemeat, and wages.⁷² It is almost certain that Wolsey's household made the same type of provisions. Thus, Wolsey's household servants were certainly well dressed and well fed.

With all these types of rewards at his disposal the question remains, to whom were they distributed? Based on an evaluation of the subsidy lists it appears that, despite their proximity to their patron, members of Wolsey's household were not the primary beneficiaries of the most lucrative patronage in his hands, an observation which seems unusual given the previous studies on the importance of place and access for achieving political success. One explanation results from the flawed nature of the subsidy lists, the limitations of which will be outlined in the following section on the household. It is apparent, however, that offices in royal government and ecclesiastical administration in particular were awarded to members in other parts of his affinity. This pattern of patronage distribution probably results from Wolsey's intended goal of bestowing offices to create an effective administrative organisation, as will be demonstrated in the final section of this chapter, rather than viewing them solely as rewards. Those who exercised more authority through office-holding consequently reaped larger material rewards, both through the perquisites pertaining to their offices, and also by having provided good service which put them in a position to command more. Household members were the occasional beneficiaries of various rewards, such as wardships and leases, but not to the degree which may be expected. Each area of Wolsey's interests – church, royal administration and education – while together comprising an integrated whole also carried with them separate aims, rewards and clients. Thus, Cavendish's story that Wolsey had faithful servants which he had intended to promote but had only advanced 'from time to time' is substantiated by studying his distribution of patronage.⁷³

This section has reviewed the historiography on the emergence of the English court as central to the kingdom's political life, an alteration which transformed the landscape of patronage from the late medieval to the early modern periods. Since the court in the sixteenth century became the forum in which patronage networks were constructed, the identity of those who were able to exercise control over the distribution of patronage, the content of these patron-client relationships, and their durability also changed. The types of rewards which patrons were offering in exchange for efficient and effective service were in two kinds: material, in the form of offices, wardships and leases; and intangible, such as

⁷¹ *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, at his castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire*, ed. Thomas Percy (London, 1770), p. 96.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-7, 28-9.

⁷³ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 162.

access to high politics which afforded opportunities for accumulating greater material advantages. That the rewards Wolsey was distributing to clients came mainly from royal coffers demonstrates that it was the crown which validated his personal power and authority by providing him with the foremost offices in royal and ecclesiastical administration. Further, it reinforces the integration of his affinity into that constructed by the crown with the intent of mobilising such networks to extend and intensify the royal prerogative throughout the kingdom. The following sections will demonstrate how these aspects of the new patronage relationships functioned in Wolsey's household and in the wider royal affinity under his direction.

The Household

The late medieval and early modern households of the political elite had two functions, both of which were political in nature. The first was to maintain a residential establishment which provided for the domestic needs and comforts of the lord. The second was to display the magnificence of the master, being a formal expression of the lord's honour, status, wealth and authority.⁷⁴ In the context of this study, the household is defined as the collection of servants, friends and other retainers who were in daily attendance upon the lord, whether or not they held a titled office.⁷⁵ The visual appearance of the household supported the lord's claim to dominance in the social hierarchy.⁷⁶ This magnificence, in which the household acted as the stage for its performance, was a crucial element of the lord's patronage for attracting clients.⁷⁷ The household of a great magnate was the centre for the distribution of his patronage, and his various residences were locations for the exercise of his hospitality and displays of his status.⁷⁸ Like the royal household and the households of other great magnates, Wolsey's is best viewed as the collection of individuals who surrounded him, rather than as a physical location. Wolsey's main residence in London was York Place, which belonged to him through his tenure of the archbishopric of York, but he also frequently resided at Hampton Court.⁷⁹ It is likely that some of his staff were divided among his other residences, particularly those in the

⁷⁴ C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, CT., 1999), p. 8.

⁷⁵ Kate Mertes, *The English noble household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988), p. 5; This definition, which describes only the immediate household, is distinguished from the extended household which comprised estate agents, but does include the lawyers and councillors who acted in an advisory capacity to Wolsey, in contrast to Joan Kirby's definition in 'Gentry Households and the Concept of Service', p. 25.

⁷⁶ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in early modern England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 24.

⁷⁷ Mertes, *English Noble Household*, p. 103.

⁷⁸ Simon Adams, 'Baronial Contexts? Continuity and change in the noble affinity, 1400-1600', in *The end of the middle ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John Lovett Watts (Stroud, 1998), p. 169.

⁷⁹ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 28.

London area: The More, the London manor of the abbey of St. Albans, and Bridge Court at Battersea, which belonged to the archbishopric of York.⁸⁰

While the focus of this section will be on the personnel of Wolsey's household, the physical buildings themselves were important indicators of Wolsey's authority and status. With the exception of Durham Place, Wolsey commenced building works immediately upon acquiring the main residences belonging to his ecclesiastical appointments. These developments were driven partly by necessity, as the dimensions of some buildings may not have been large enough to accommodate his entourage, although the number of household members who were actually present at any one time is debateable. The degree to which Wolsey expanded the size of his residences was contingent both upon their surroundings and upon their intended function.⁸¹ The base court, which provided domestic and visitor lodgings, and new kitchens were part of Wolsey's first phase of construction at Hampton Court (1515-1521), while the focus of his improvements at York Place centred on increasing the number of reception rooms.⁸²

Thus, on the one hand, Wolsey's enlargements at his residences were functional, but on the other, the size and grandeur of the buildings, when combined with his architectural embellishments, were intended as visual propaganda to reinforce his authority. Stained glass depicting Wolsey's coat of arms and personal badge, such as those constructed at York Place in 1515, Italian-style ornamentation in terra cotta at Hampton Court, and an interior filled with copious amounts of expensive plate and tapestries, demonstrated Wolsey's claims to ecclesiastical and secular pre-eminence, but were also a visual reminder of his wealth and affluence, which was derived directly from his favour with the king.⁸³

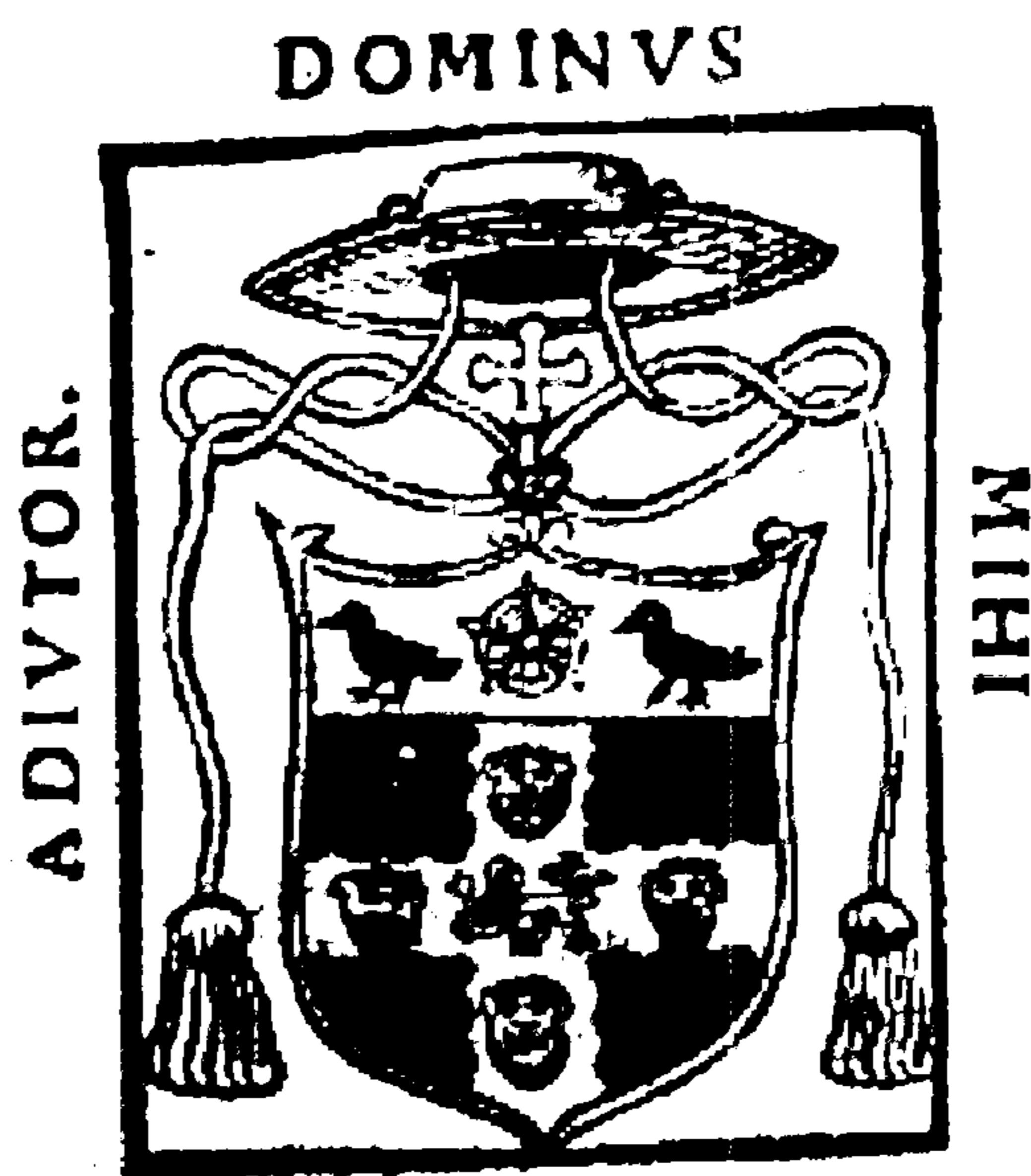
⁸⁰ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 207; Simon Thurley, 'The domestic building works of Cardinal Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 78.

⁸¹ Thurley, 'Domestic building works', pp. 84-7.

⁸² Thurley, 'Domestic building works', p. 84; Daphne Ford and Michael Turner, 'The Kynges New Haul: a response to Jonathan Foyle's "Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace"', *Architectural History*, 47 (2004), p. 55.

⁸³ Hilary Wayment, 'Wolsey and Stained Glass', p. 116 and P.G. Lindley, 'Playing check-mate with royal majesty? Wolsey's patronage of Renaissance sculpture', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 280; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748. In 1519, the Venetian ambassador Giustiniani famously estimated the value of Wolsey's silver at 150,000 ducats, *CSP Ven, 1509-19*, p. 560.

Figure 1: Wolsey's Coat of Arms⁸⁴



Wolsey's coat of arms itself was a reminder of his dependence upon the crown and of his role in enforcing the royal prerogative. In this, the symbols of the Tudor monarchy, the rose and the English lion, are mixed with signs of his personal positions, the cardinal's hat and cross. There are several possible identifications for the birds which appear in the chief (the broad band across the top of the shield): the most probable is that they are martlets, a symbol which was common in heraldry and signified a person who subsisted on their virtue and merit, not on inheritance. However, martlets were usually depicted without feet which renders this identification questionable. An alternative is that they are larks, now known as either skylarks or woodlarks, and referred to the Larke family to whom Wolsey was particularly close. A final possibility is that they are Cornish Choughs whose image Jonathan Foyle has posited were carved on a stone arch above the door leading from the cellar to the kitchens at Hampton Court built by Wolsey.⁸⁵ Given the surviving evidence, however, this suggestion is the least probable.

Wolsey's personal badge was a continuation of this theme: it depicted an animal's face *affronté*, likely a lion, similar to the four seen on his shield, encircled by the petals of a Tudor rose.⁸⁶ The fact that such combination of dynastic and personal symbols was becoming increasingly fashionable among courtiers in the Tudor period indicates that Wolsey was attempting to situate himself as a supplicant for royal favour not as Henry's rival for monarchical authority.⁸⁷ Thus, the very symbols with which he chose to represent

⁸⁴ These arms are taken from the frontispiece of his grammar book, *Rudimenta grammatices, & docendi methodus non tam scholae Gypsychianae per reuerendissimum D. Thomam cardinalem Ebor. feliciter institutae, quam omnibus alijs totius Angliae scholis praescripta* (Southwark, 1529), STC (2nd ed.), 5542.3.

⁸⁵ Jonathan Foyle, 'A Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace', *Architectural History*, 45 (2002), p. 146. Ford and Turner have questioned whether the construction of this part of the building can be attributed to Wolsey, 'The Kynges New Haul', p. 67.

⁸⁶ A photograph of Wolsey's personal badge as it appears at Christ Church, Oxford is included in Gunn and Lindley, ed., *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, 1991), plate 27.

⁸⁷ David Starkey, 'The age of the Household: politics, society and the arts, c.1350-c.1500', in *The context of English Literature: The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen Medcalf (London, 1981), pp. 272-3.

himself demonstrated both his dependence on the king for his authority and wealth, perhaps an awareness of the fragility with which he held power, but also a reminder that he had usurped the land-holding nobility for the foremost position of influence at his monarch's side. Although, the number and quality of the personnel in Wolsey's household contributed to his personal and royal magnificence, it was necessary that the stage for the performance of his magnificence as personified by his servants was suitably ostentatious.

His various residences, saturated with Tudor iconography, were the settings for the most potent display of Wolsey's personal authority and royal power – his household. The mid-1520s subsidy lists of Wolsey's household provide one angle from which to approach identifying the socio-economic composition of the men comprising the most intimate circle of his affinity. There are three lists, compiled for the subsidies assessed between 1523 and 1527 to finance Henry VIII's proposed war with France. E 179/69/9 was compiled for the first collection in 1523, but was possibly a more detailed copy re-written in 1524 following the issuing of new instructions to commissioners on 19 February 1524. It is a parchment roll consisting of two membranes sewn together. The names and the amounts owing are listed in two parallel columns, however, the reason for dividing the names between these columns is not clear. This is the largest list for Wolsey's household, including a total of 429 persons. E 179/69/10 was compiled for the collection of the second assessment on 10 January 1525. As with the first list, it is written on parchment and consists of four membranes. Lastly, E 179/69/8 was compiled for the fourth collection of the subsidy on 20 March 1527. It consists of only one parchment membrane and lists 16 persons. E 179/69/10 and E 179/69/8 both contain headings which outline the commission. In 1525 the commissioners appointed were Robert Toneys, one of Wolsey's secretaries, and Sir Thomas Heneage, one of the grooms of his chamber. In 1527, the commissioners were Heneage and William Gascoigne, the treasurer. The names of the collectors in 1527, Thomas Rawlyns and Thomas Robyns, two clerics, are also included. In contrast, E 179/69/9 contains no heading, nor the names of commissioners or collectors.

These sources, while valuable, have a number of limitations. The largest list, E 179/69/9, suffers from water damage which renders substantial parts of it, approximately 30 names, illegible. Further, these lists provide only a snapshot of a select group of Wolsey's household. The membership of the household was fluid and there are men who can be associated with Wolsey at other periods in time who do not appear in any of the subsidy assessments. They also include only the wealthiest members of the household, lending a heavy bias towards peers and gentry, and therefore we are unlikely to find, for example, minor clerics or young scholars whom Wolsey may have been supporting to study at one of the universities. Despite the fact that the 1524 assessment carried a very

low minimum assessment level, on all wages of £1 and moveable goods of £2, it is still possible that between one-third and half of Wolsey's household do not appear.⁸⁸ That the subsidy assessment on moveable goods for 1524 was exceptionally inclusive is more clearly evident when it is compared to the subsidy on moveable goods taken in 1527, which had a minimum of £50 and carries only 16 names. These lists, particularly E 179/69/10 which was compiled to assess lands, fees, goods and wages, can provide us with a picture only of those who possessed property or had an office in Wolsey's household, and do not give an entirely accurate representation of the social composition of Wolsey's household. From these sources, it is not possible to match names with household offices, although some can be discovered through the use of other sources.⁸⁹ Lastly, the names provided by the subsidy lists of 1523 to 1527 are those of Wolsey's servants who constituted only one part, although among the most central, of Wolsey's affinity, but excludes 'friends' and 'followers' or recipients of looser patronage ties, who will be considered in the following section. Despite these limitations, the subsidy lists provide a good starting point from which to examine the social, economic and political status of men in Wolsey's household, which in turn enables us to determine the relationship between the household, the wider affinity and the drive of central government into the provinces.

These sources have been examined using a method of historical analysis known as prosopography. Prosopography involves the study of a collection of individuals based on chosen characteristics, such as geographical and social origins, religious beliefs, political affiliation and personal or kinship connections, which are then compared and contrasted with the group as a whole.⁹⁰ It enables historians to identify patterns in a particular group of historical actors in order to make conclusions about the larger group and the context in which they operated, as well as contributing to an understanding of broader historiographical problems. The limitations of prosopography largely emanate from the

⁸⁸ Even with the very low minimum assessment level in 1524 between 33% and 48% of the assessable adult population in three towns were not assessed for the subsidy, see: Roger Schofield, *Taxation under the Early Tudors, 1485-1547* (Malden, MA., 2004), pp. 105-7. Although Pollard had estimated, given the extent of these subsidy lists, that Wolsey's household might have numbered up to 1,000 at the height of his power, Zeeveld has rightly noted that such an estimation needs to be qualified since several names appear more than once, A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929), pp. 326-7; W. Gordon Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, MA., 1948), p. 20n. Those names are: John Johnson, Richard Redman, John Bolton, John Holland, John Danyell and John Bromfield. The last, however, may in fact be the head of the Bromfields of Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire and his third son, John, who was likely intended for the church, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, ed. A.R. Madden, Harleian Society Publications, 50 (4 vols, London, 1902-6), vol. 1, p. 179. Lastly, not all members of the household were present simultaneously but served at various times, meaning that the household rarely reached full capacity at any one time.

⁸⁹ Not all of the names who appear on the subsidy lists held household offices. George Cavendish only recounted 380 offices, although the actual total is likely to have been larger, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 19-22.

⁹⁰ See David A.E. Pelteret, 'Unity in Diversity: Prosopographies and their Relationship with other Databases', *History and Computing*, 12:1 (2000), p. 13; Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston, 1981), p. 45.

state of early modern sources. The incompleteness of many sources renders a thorough prosopographical study impossible.⁹¹ Further, prosopographical studies are only possible for those groups that are well documented, which incline them towards studies of elites involved in politics. The evidence is also biased towards the survival of political and economic records, thereby eliminating large numbers of the population from this type of study.⁹² For the early modern period, most prosopographical research has focussed on the ecclesiastical elites, and the students who attended the university colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.⁹³ Analyses of the governing orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been conducted, both from the viewpoint of the centre and from the counties.⁹⁴

The household comprised several groups which can be broadly divided into domestic staff, officers, and friends or companions of the lord. Being both a fluid administrative body in which members moved in and out of attendance depending upon the circumstances of the lord, and also one in which service was rendered by most members in its broadest sense, that is, not in a specific office, it is difficult to ascertain what functions members of Wolsey's household performed.⁹⁵ Certainly, the permanent offices, whose duties were well-defined and whose holders were regularly in attendance, are the most easily identified. The most trusted officers of Wolsey's household included his treasurer, William Gascoigne, the auditor Hugh Fuller, the marshall Robert Borough and the comptroller John Gostwick, all of whom probably comprised part of his advisory council. It is not possible, however, to match the majority of the members of Wolsey's household, particularly as they appear on the subsidy list for 1523, with a household office.

Two of the most prominent means for gaining entry into a household were pre-existing bonds of kinship or friendship with members of the household and proximity to

⁹¹ Ralph Evans, 'The analysis by computer of A.B. Emden's Biographical Registers of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge', in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genêt (Kalamazoo, MI., 1985), p. 389.

⁹² Stone, *The Past and the Present*, p. 57.

⁹³ R.B. Dobson, 'Recent Prosopographical Research in Late Medieval English History: University Graduates, Durham Monks and York Canons', in *Medieval Lives and the Historian*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genêt, 181-99; David Lepine, "'My Beloved Sons in Christ'", The Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, 1300-1541', *Medieval Prosopography*, 16:1 (Spring, 1995), 89-113; Andrew Allan Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops: diplomats, administrators, scholars and shepherds* (Cambridge, 2003); Kenneth Carleton, *Bishops and reform in the English church, 1520-1559* (Woodbridge, 2001); Steven Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops, 1500-1558', (Unpubl. D.Phil. Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1984); Evans, 'The analysis by computer of A.B. Emden's Biographical Registers', 381-94; M.C. Burson, 'Emden's registers and the prosopography of medieval English universities', *Medieval Prosopography*, 3:2 (1982), 35-51.

⁹⁴ G.E. Aylmer, *The King's servants: the civil service of Charles I, 1625-42* (London, 1961); Mary L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants: The Ministerial Household in Early Tudor Government and Society', (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 1975); David Ashton, 'The Tudor State and the Politics of the County: The Greater Gentry of Somerset, c. 1509- c. 1558' (Unpubl. D.Phil. Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1998); Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War, 1600-1660* (London, 1975); J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969); MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*.

⁹⁵ Mertes, *English Noble Household*, p. 6; P.W. Fleming, 'Household Servants of the Yorkist and early Tudor Gentry', in *Early Tudor England: proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 19.

the establishment, two channels which were often interrelated.⁹⁶ Generally, the majority of household members came from the local area around the household which, particularly true for servants from the landed ranks, reinforced the lord's predominant influence in the locality.⁹⁷ This means of staffing the household was strengthened by recommendations of acquaintances and friends already in the service of the lord, since social bonds themselves were often constructed on geographical proximity. Wolsey's seemingly tireless chancellor of the diocese of Durham, William Frankeleyn, was responsible for recommending the services of the lawyer William Gascoigne of Bedfordshire to Wolsey's notice in April 1523.⁹⁸ Within the year Gascoigne had entered the prelate's household and was serving as his treasurer. Frankeleyn's association with the Gascoigne family can be explained by the fact that his own family origins were located in Bedfordshire and that he held several ecclesiastical offices within the county.⁹⁹ Thus, ties between members of the household and affinity are not necessarily indicative of a cohesive identity as some scholars of late medieval noble affinities have argued, but rather reflected pre-existing ties based on geographical propinquity.¹⁰⁰

Further, ties of service could be strengthened through social rituals such as marriage and godparentage, or economic ties such as enfeoffment. In a letter dated June 1530, Wolsey complained to Cromwell that, having acquiesced to a request from Thomas More to lease his house at Battersea to More's son-in-law William Daunce, the young man was attempting to forcibly remove the wife of his servant John Oxenherd, a woman Wolsey described in his letter as 'my kinswoman'.¹⁰¹ The identity of this woman is not known, nor whether she was related to Wolsey by blood, or if he was using the term 'kin' in a more liberal sense. Wolsey's employment of such language indicates both the continuing importance of kinship and lineage for ordering social ties, and also that the personal bonds of kinship, patron-client and friendship, while possessing distinct characteristics, utilised a language which was interchangeable. Similarly, Robert Creyke's will reflected both his professional ties and his regional associations. Creyke had acted as deputy to Sir Richard Page, receiver of Beverley, whom he named as his supervisor. Representatives of the leading gentry families in Yorkshire including the Ellerkar,

⁹⁶ Shepard, 'Court Faction', p. 734.

⁹⁷ Mertes, *English Noble Household*, p. 59; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 37

⁹⁸ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2946.

⁹⁹ William was the fourth son of William Frankeleyn of Thurleigh, Bedfordshire. *Visitations of Bedfordshire, Annis Domini 1566, 1582 and 1634*, ed. F.A. Blaydes, Harleian Society Publications, 19 (London, 1884), p. 31; *A Subsidy collected in the diocese of Lincoln in 1526*, ed. Herbert Edward Salter. Oxford Historical Society, 63 (Oxford, 1909), pp. 205-6, 217.

¹⁰⁰ Christine Carpenter has argued that membership in the Beauchamp affinity bound together the greater gentry of Warwickshire. 'Beauchamp Affinity', p. 523.

¹⁰¹ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6484.

Babthorpes, and Vavasours, also feature in Creyke's will.¹⁰² Both Oxonherd and Creyke capitalised on their standing as Wolsey's servants to construct wider kinship and personal networks, one of the intangible benefits of belonging to the affinity of a leading crown and church administrator.

The geographical spread of the membership of Wolsey's household was weighted towards men from the land-holding ranks who resided in the counties of Essex, Bedfordshire and Yorkshire, while most men were residents of Lincolnshire and Norfolk. There were 18 members of Wolsey's household as represented on the subsidy list of 1523 who can be identified as residing in or having family origins in the county of Lincoln. Meanwhile, 15 members of Wolsey's household were from Norfolk. There are several explanations as to why these counties were particularly well-represented. Wolsey's ties with the diocese of Lincoln began fairly early in his ecclesiastical and political career, when he was appointed to the deanery of Lincoln Cathedral and the prebend of Welton Brinkhall in 1509 as reward for his diplomatic service in Scotland and the Low Countries.¹⁰³ On 6 February 1514 Wolsey became bishop of the diocese, but his tenure was short-lived when he resigned the office upon his election to the see of York on 5 August of that year. Nevertheless, it is possible that during the early years of his rise in royal favour Wolsey cultivated ties with the local ruling elite in the county and that these connections persisted after Wolsey ceased to hold the office. After 1521, Wolsey would have held a right to a certain number of offices in the diocese of Lincoln on the estates belonging to the abbey of St. Albans. Through his connections with the University of Oxford and his establishment of a college there in the 1520s, Wolsey also maintained an interest in the diocese although not in an official capacity.

The origins for Wolsey's connections in Norfolk are more difficult to explain. Even though Wolsey hailed from Suffolk, an East Anglian connection is doubtful since his family's socio-economic background suggests that they were not of sufficient standing to have created widespread social connections. As abbot of St. Albans from 1521, Wolsey would have had jurisdiction over the abbey's estates in Norfolk, including one of its most important cells at Wymondham. However, the abbey's main estates were located in Hertfordshire and it is not possible to positively identify any of the members of Wolsey's household in the mid-1520s with that county.¹⁰⁴ Even the keeper of the abbey's manor of Tittenhanger in Hertfordshire, John Seyntclere, resided primarily in Essex and was likely

¹⁰² *Testamenta Eboracensia. A selection of wills from the registry at York*, ed. J. Raine, SS, 106. (6 vols, Durham, 1902), vol. 6, pp. 80-2.

¹⁰³ H.P.F. King, comp., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, 1, Lincoln diocese*, by John Le Neve (12 vols, London, 1962), pp. 4, 124.

¹⁰⁴ The John Shepard who appears in Wolsey's household may have been one of the collectors for the forced loan of 1519 in Hertfordshire, and is thus included in the table below as being from the county, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 627.

to have been introduced to Wolsey through his service in the royal household, appearing as a knight of the king's body in 1516, rather than through connections with the local gentry.¹⁰⁵

As the largest county in the kingdom, it is not surprising to find that a significant number of members of Wolsey's household came from or held land in Yorkshire. Not only is the size of the county the possible explanation behind the large number of household members, but as archbishop of York, Wolsey would have been cultivating links with the county's leading families since 1514. Both lay gentry and clerics from the archdiocese appear on the subsidy list of 1523.¹⁰⁶ Wolsey's relationship with the clerics responsible for the administration of the archdiocese of York is explored in chapter 3. A fuller consideration of Wolsey's interaction with the governing ranks of the county, with particular reference to their role in the extension of royal governance through membership on the peace commissions, is provided in chapter 4.

Elsewhere, virtually every county in England was represented in Wolsey's household (see table below). Such a pattern of recruitment is illustrative of one of the two processes traditionally used by the royal government to secure the services of leading county gentry, bringing them into the centre of royal politics by engaging them as members of the royal household. Rather than representing a challenge to the authority of the crown, by being the domestic establishment of the crown's leading administrator, Wolsey's household actually provided the royal government with an additional forum and a greater number of offices in which to bring these gentlemen, thus augmenting its capacity to maintain more gentry. In this way, Wolsey's household, which established connections on behalf of the crown with the leading county elites throughout the realm, had ramifications for the effective implementation of central government policies into the localities, a scenario which will be explored in greater detail below.

¹⁰⁵ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 872.

¹⁰⁶ Those who can be positively identified include Miles Boswell, Thomas Rawlyns, Nicholas Fairfax, Robert Scargill, Christopher Conyers, John Kellett and Edmund Holgill.

Table 1: Geographical Origins of Members of Wolsey's Household¹⁰⁷

County	Number				
Bedfordshire	6	Herefordshire	0	Shropshire	4
Berkshire	2	Hertfordshire	1	Somerset	5
Buckinghamshire	0	Huntingdonshire	1	Staffordshire	1
Cambridgeshire	2	Kent	4	Suffolk	3
Cheshire	0	Lancashire	1	Surrey	3
Cornwall	3	Leicestershire	3	Sussex	1
Cumberland	0	Lincolnshire	18	Wales	4
Derbyshire	1	London	4	Warwickshire	3
Devon	5	Middlesex	4	Westmorland	0
Dorset	3	Norfolk	15	Wiltshire	3
Durham	1	Northamptonshire	1	Worcestershire	2
Essex	15	Northumberland	1	Yorkshire	12
Gloucestershire	4	Nottinghamshire	2		
Hampshire	1	Oxfordshire	0		
Hants	3	Rutland	0		

Service provided by men already in possession of a certain social standing was important to patrons, since the status of the men serving and the quality of the service they provided reflected on the standing of the lord and contributed to his reputation as a patron. This is demonstrated in the high percentage of gentry servants in noble households. The households of the Duke of Buckingham and the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, employed a large number of gentry servants, comprising at least one-third of their household staff.¹⁰⁸ Of the servants in Wolsey's household whose social origins can be identified, approximately one-quarter were from gentry families. Although slightly lower than the proportion found in noble households, it is likely that a more detailed investigation would reveal that the actual proportion was higher. More important than the impact of their status on the lord's reputation, men from established gentry families brought with them to the household their own landed interests and political, social and economic connections, which could be further exploited in their patron's service.

This is particularly true of lawyers who, by virtue of the nature of their work, constructed myriad ties with fellow members of the legal community, various ecclesiastical institutions such as religious houses, local governing bodies such as town corporations, and the local gentry and nobility. Links within the legal community would have been forged

¹⁰⁷ The figures in this table take into account men who held land in more than one county: Thomas Arundel (Somerset and Dorset), William Disney (Lincolnshire and Hants), Anthony Hansard (Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and London), Sir Thomas Lisle (Surrey and Hants), Andrew Luttrell (Somerset and Dorset), Sir Richard Page (Surrey and Middlesex), Humphrey Owen (Shropshire and Wales), Henry Rogers (Somerset and Dorset), Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby (Lancashire and Derbyshire), Sir Thomas Tempest (Yorkshire and Durham), George Willoughby (Worcestershire, Lincolnshire and Essex). Also taken into account are the names which appear twice: John Bromfield and John Holland (both Lincolnshire). These names have been counted twice since it is possible they represent fathers and sons of the same name.

¹⁰⁸ Mertes, *English Noble Household*, p. 57; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 20.

through their association in the Inns of Court. The lawyers who appear in Wolsey's household in the 1520s most commonly attended Gray's Inn, Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn.¹⁰⁹ Such associations, however, are not surprising given that these were among the largest and most populous Inns of Court in the capital.

Just as significant as the high number of servants from gentle backgrounds and lawyers, is the overwhelming presence of men who may be associated with offices in the royal household. There are a possible 60 members of Wolsey's household who held an identifiable position in the royal household at some point. The roles of these men ranged from Thomas White, who served as a messenger of the chamber, and John Wryte, a page in the queen's chamber, to Sir William Kempe and Sir Thomas Lisle, two knights of the king's body.¹¹⁰ The ability of these men to serve simultaneously in the royal household and in Wolsey's household was made possible by the nature of service whereby servants were required to be resident for only part of the year, usually one-quarter. Like gentry servants, the presence of members of the royal household serving in Wolsey's household reinforced his magnificence and authority as the principal crown servant. They also provided Wolsey with a channel of communication between the two domestic and political bodies. These men may have sought to serve Wolsey in addition to the royal household because of his influence in royal patronage matters and because of the additional rewards which he controlled through his ecclesiastical status. Lastly, and most importantly, the ability of these men to move effortlessly between Wolsey's and the royal households demonstrates that the cardinal's household was one component of the royal affinity and thus, even when serving Wolsey, these men remained within the same larger political affinity.

Given Wolsey's close management of the council in Star Chamber, the question needs to be raised about whether there was a correlation between men in his household and those managing the judicial affairs of the council. There does not appear to be any direct

¹⁰⁹ Grey's Inn: Thomas Stanley, John Hales, John Gostwyck, John Godsolve, John Marshall (?); Inner Temple: Thomas Dennys, George Willoughby, John Croke, John Payn (?); Lincoln's Inn: John Skewse, Thomas Arundel, Arthur Newton, John Lee, Thomas Meryng, Christopher Conyers, Robert Clere, John Wood (?), John Lightfoot, John Wylford, William Norton; Middle Temple: John Danyell; Staplers' Inn: Richard Bray. *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, ed. F.A. Inderwick (London, 1896); *The Middle Temple Bench Book, being a record of benchers of the Middle Temple from the earliest records to the present time with historical introduction*, ed. Arthur Robert Ingpen (London, 1912); *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, etc.*, ed. Joseph Foster (London, 1889); *The records of the honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, vol. 1, Admissions from AD 1420 to AD 1893*, ed. W. Paley Baildon (2 vols, London, 1896).

¹¹⁰ White appeared as a royal messenger on three separate occasions, in 1515, *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 1469, 1519, vol. 3, no. 347 (26) and 1529, vol. 4, no. 5289. While there is no indication that White remained in royal service during the intervening years, there is also no reason to suppose that his service was not continuous. Given Wolsey's residency near the royal court, it was possible to maintain dual service. Wryte, meanwhile, appears at the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509 and it is possible that he subsequently left royal service, although for someone interested in career advancement, it would have been against his best interests, *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 82, p. 41. Kempe and Lisle were included on the household list compiled in 1516, *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 2735.

correspondence between acting on behalf of the Court of Star Chamber and inclusion in Wolsey's household. While some members of the court can be identified as comprising part of Wolsey's household, the relationship is not strong enough to suggest that this was a defining characteristic of those household members. Members of the local elite, such as Andrew Luttrell in Somerset and Sir Robert Clere in Norfolk, were called upon to act on local commissions on behalf of the Star Chamber, but there were other local administrators to whom commissions were issued who were not included among Wolsey's household.¹¹¹ It is possible that this is a function of the nature of the subsidy lists and that these men were assessed in their locality only, but it is more likely that the men who appear both as commissioners for Star Chamber and on the subsidy lists were providing other services for Wolsey in his household.

With a few exceptions, this discussion of the composition of Wolsey's household has focussed on the lay members at the exclusion of his clerical servants, a fact which results primarily from the nature of the subsidy lists. Clerics were also assessed for the subsidy during these years, but presumably only on their temporal lands, even though many were able to secure exemptions.¹¹² Their general absence from these lists may be explained by the fact that those clerics who held benefices were assessed in their own dioceses. Those that appear on the subsidy lists may have formed Wolsey's household chapel. Richard Coalshyll, for example, was a chorister in Exeter Cathedral and was possibly recruited by Wolsey for his own choir.¹¹³ Also, despite his absence from the subsidy lists, it is well known that Thomas Larke, a brother of Wolsey's mistress, was his confessor.¹¹⁴ While E 179/69/9 does not tell us on what categories individuals were assessed, those who also appear on E 179/69/10 were assessed on goods with the exception of Robert Cromwell, who was assessed on wages. It is possible that clergy did not possess enough material property for inclusion in this assessment which may explain their absence. Although clergy were prominent in other areas of Wolsey's activities, particularly in administering his ecclesiastical offices and in establishing his college at Oxford, their absence from the subsidy lists does not mean that his household was devoid of clerics.

¹¹¹ Ashton, 'The Tudor State and the Politics of the County', p. 55; John Alexander Guy, *The Cardinal's Court: the impact of Thomas Wolsey in the Court of Star Chamber* (Hasocks, 1977), p. 104. Two men associated with the court in York Place in 1516 appear in Wolsey's household in 1523: Sir Thomas Wyndham, who was among the nobles and knights responsible for deliberating upon the dispute between the mayor and merchants of Newcastle. Richard Lee appears as a clerk for the court on the same case. *Select cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber commonly called the Court of Star Chamber*, ed. I.S. Leadam, Seld. Soc., 25 (2 vols, London, 1903), pp. 104, 106.

¹¹² Schofield, *Taxation under the early Tudors*, p. 109.

¹¹³ Nicholas Orme, *The Minor Clergy in Exeter Cathedral, 1300-1548: a list of the minor officers, vicars choral, annuellars, secondaries and choristers* (Exeter, 1980), p. 129.

¹¹⁴ Larke's intimacy with Wolsey was noted by contemporaries, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 629, Letter from Ammonius to Erasmus, 26 Jun 1515.

Ministerial households, such as Wolsey's or Thomas Cromwell's, were in some respects a training ground or reservoir for royal servants, for example, by providing education to the sons of gentry and nobles. Certainly, some members of Wolsey's household and greater affinity were active in royal administration in the 1530s, the most prominent of whom included Stephen Gardiner, Thomas Cromwell and Sir Thomas Heneage. The intention behind creating an affinity was to place it at the service of the government to enact its policies both centrally and in the provinces, but it is doubtful that Wolsey desired to forfeit their service during his lifetime by promoting them into other areas of royal administration. That Wolsey did not desire to relinquish the service provided by his most trusted servants is reinforced by his promotion of Heneage to the king's Privy Chamber in 1528 to counteract the increasing influence of the Boleyns, but whose new duties prevented him from attending upon the cardinal, a situation Heneage lamented.¹¹⁵ Ralph Sadler, servant to Cromwell, reported to an unknown recipient in 1529 that following Wolsey's disgrace, several of his servants, namely Miles Forest, John Seyntclere, Thomas Alvard, Humphrey Lisle and one 'Mores', had transferred into the king's service.¹¹⁶ This report may be based on a misunderstanding by Sadler since the first three men named – Forest, Seyntclere and Alvard – were already members of the royal household prior to 1529.¹¹⁷ While there is no evidence that their service in the royal household was uninterrupted in the intervening years, it does not follow that these men would voluntarily leave other posts in royal service, unless their duties in Wolsey's household made the possession of two offices untenable. Thus, the high number of men who appear at one time or another as members of both Wolsey's and the royal households further reinforces the argument that the ministerial household of the cardinal was integrated into the affinity of the crown, that this domestic body was used as another means for securing a greater number of county gentry as well as providing an additional source of patronage to strengthen ties with those already present in the royal affinity. Wolsey's household is described perhaps more appropriately as an arm of the royal affinity in which administrators undertook one aspect of royal service – providing for the foremost crown minister – and were available for performing crown service in other areas of the governmental structure, rather than as a reservoir of royal servants or a training school.

To summarise, the composition of Wolsey's household has largely been reconstructed from the subsidy lists of the mid-1520s. In many respects, Wolsey's household was typical of the great noble households of the period: servants were recruited from the counties closest to the household and most commonly on the recommendation of

¹¹⁵ Sil, 'Heneage', pp. 65-6.

¹¹⁶ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, App. 238.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 2735 (1516) and vol. 3, no. 1621(30) (1521).

those already serving in the household. As the basis for the projection of his magnificence, Wolsey's household both created and reflected his socio-political status. In this respect, the social origins of his servants were important. Service by gentry and royal household officers demonstrated his superior position among the crown's administrators, but it also reflects the fact that as the domestic establishment of the leading royal administrator whose authority was constructed on royal favour, it was a component of the crown's affinity. These men were among the most intimate members of Wolsey's wider affinity, whose composition and political functions are considered below.

Affinity

Affinities themselves were multi-dimensional and loosely corporate bodies, comprising a variety of men and women in different capacities. The members of the affinity – friends, followers and servants – did not necessarily share social, kinship or geographical ties among themselves, but rather were united in their service to the lord to whom they were affiliated in diverse ways and with varying degrees of attachment. Scholars have often applied the visual aid of concentric circles radiating out from the household at the centre for describing an affinity.¹¹⁸ Decline of traditional noble affinities was not the result of a concerted attack by the crown, but rather, as the nature of land ownership changed, the traditional means of retaining gradually declined.¹¹⁹ The emergence of a distinct royal affinity beginning in the late fourteenth century and again after the Wars of the Roses, and which came to dominate the patronage distributed under Henry VIII, may also have contributed to the diminishing authority of the nobility by offering a parallel power structure in which the upper gentry featured prominently.¹²⁰ To a certain extent, the royal affinity was constructed in the same manner as noble affinities – through the distribution of offices on royal estates in the localities, and the provision of livery to its servants, although the ability to offer supernumerary positions in the royal household provided it with an additional resource unavailable to noble households.¹²¹ By engaging directly and exclusively with gentry clients who formerly served in noble affinities, the crown was supplanting the nobility in their localities as the most powerful

¹¹⁸ Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 7; Carpenter, 'Beauchamp Affinity', p. 515; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household and King's Affinity*, p. 203.

¹¹⁹ Adams, 'Baronial Contexts?', p. 160; Carpenter, 'Beauchamp Affinity', p. 514.

¹²⁰ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, p. 265; Adams, 'The patronage of the crown in Elizabethan politics', p. 31.

¹²¹ Steven Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John Lovett Watts (Stroud, 1998), p. 135; John A. Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity' in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 67.

and wealthiest patron. Wolsey's affinity represents a component of this expanding purveyor of the royal prerogative.

In a society where private and public interests, authority and service were inseparable and at times indistinct, distinguishing between private and crown servants, particularly in service affinities where the head was a principal crown servant is artificial.¹²² Rather, service for a royal minister, whether within his household or in a royal office, was the equivalent of serving the state.¹²³ The distinction between private and public service is similarly indivisible among the members of Wolsey's household. For example, as Lord Chancellor of England, Wolsey was continuously attended in his household by the officers of the chancery.¹²⁴ All six of the clerks of chancery who were named in the 1523 statute of 14 Henry VIII Chapter 8 which permitted the clerks to marry, appear as members of Wolsey's household on the subsidy list for the same year.¹²⁵ The most active members of Wolsey's affinity were first and foremost royal servants which is why, not only was there no large purge of Wolsey's adherents from royal government at the time of his fall, but a large proportion continued to play a prominent role in administering the religio-political changes of the 1530s. Significantly, this pattern is repeated in the wake of Cromwell's arrest and execution for treason in 1540, when a large number of his servants continued to work in royal government.¹²⁶

Membership in an affinity was not indicative of a particular religious orientation or political standpoint. While Wolsey punished religious heterodoxy, administrative effectiveness was a more important consideration when selecting men to perform service. The majority of men in Wolsey's affinity became associated with the conservative grouping in the religious debates of the 1530s. Stephen Gardiner, for example, struggled to balance his loyalty to the crown with his desire to preserve doctrinal orthodoxy.¹²⁷ Some former servants, however, can be associated with proponents of reformed religion, particularly Richard Champion who entered the service of Thomas Cranmer in the early 1530s.¹²⁸ The recruitment of a large number of scholars from Cambridge who were sympathetic to the teachings of the new religion also brings into question the religious orientation of Robert Shorton, master of Pembroke College, Cambridge and dean of Wolsey's household chapel, who was responsible for recruiting scholars from Cambridge

¹²² Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 261.

¹²³ Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-giving and patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, 2:2 (1988), p. 135 reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France*.

¹²⁴ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 21-2.

¹²⁵ E 179/69/9; *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. A. Luders, and others (11 vols, London, 1963), vol. 3, p. 216.

¹²⁶ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', pp. 405-6.

¹²⁷ Glyn Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic: the life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), p. 2; M. Dowling, 'Humanist support for Katherine of Aragon', *BIHR*, 57 (1984), 46-55.

¹²⁸ *LP*, vol. 8, no. 704 and vol. 9, no. 869.

to populate Wolsey's new collegiate foundation at Oxford. While it is unlikely that Wolsey would have been so closely associated with someone sympathetic to reformed religion, it seems that the quest for good humanist scholarship superseded Shorton's concern for ensuring the religious orthodoxy of his recruits. A continued association with Thomas Cromwell is also not indicative of sympathy for the reformed religion. John Gostwick, Wolsey's household comptroller, who became an active agent of royal government promoting religious changes in the 1530s under Cromwell's direction, maintained conservative religious beliefs, abandoning the minister at his fall in 1540.¹²⁹

Service affinities shared with their medieval counterparts the broad division into the categories of friends, followers and servants, but more precise classifications can be made. Wolsey's affinity consisted of twelve categories of individuals who were associated with the cardinal in different ways, but which were not rigid or mutually exclusive. The first degree of attachment in an affinity was through kinship. Unusually, and unlike the majority of noble affinities in the late medieval and early Tudor periods, as well as the affinities of the ruling families of the Italian city-states, kin did not play a major role in Wolsey's affinity. Here it is instructive to contrast Wolsey with his European contemporaries attending the papal court. During the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, all the great ruling families of Italian city-states sought to have one of their members admitted to the College of Cardinals because their access to papal patronage could be bent towards satisfying the interests of their families and cities.¹³⁰ For example, upon his election to the papacy, Guilio de' Medici, who became Clement VII (1523-1534), endeavoured to protect his family's heirs and to assert their political supremacy in Florence by filling the papal court with blood and marital relatives, a strategy which was employed by a previous Medici pope, Leo X (1513-1521).¹³¹ Unlike the great ruling families from the Italian peninsula, Wolsey's extended family is distinctly lacking from his distribution of patronage. However, like Clement VII, Wolsey did endeavour to protect his sole immediate heir, his illegitimate son, Thomas Winter.¹³² Wolsey may not have had the same impulse as the de' Medici or the Soderini to consolidate their political and social

¹²⁹ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants', p. 372.

¹³⁰ Charles L. Stinger, 'The place of Clement VII and Clementine Rome in Renaissance History', in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: history, politics, culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, 2005), p. 168; K.J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 39.

¹³¹ Barbara McClung Hallman, 'The "Disastrous" Pontificate of Clement VII: Disastrous for Guilio de' Medici?', in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: history, politics, culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, p. 29; Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: the papal civil service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990), p. 211.

¹³² For a full discussion of the ecclesiastical benefices which Wolsey grants to his son, see chapter 3. The Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustiniani, reported to the Signory that Wolsey had two brothers, one who held an untitled benefice and another who was 'pushing his fortune', *CSP Ven 1509-1519*, p. 560. However, their existence cannot be substantiated.

status because he was not the head of a family dynasty, nor did he share their aristocratic origins.¹³³

The second level of attachment was the household, which has been considered in the preceding section. Within the household, the master's council, the third circle of attachment, held a place of pre-eminence, followed by the fourth level, 'the council learned'. The former, the baronial council, involved the leading members of a master's affinity and was used in an advisory capacity. Normally, all senior estate officials and the higher members of the household staff were members. Their position as councillors, although they did not carry that title, brought them extra prestige, benefits and greater attention from suitors, both in their own right and as intermediaries with their patron.¹³⁴ Because of their prominent local standing, patrons were anxious to secure the services of gentry among their advisors.¹³⁵ It is not possible to discern exactly who comprised Wolsey's household council, but it is almost certain that his leading household officials, Gostwick, Fuller, Borough and Gascoigne were members.

Among the body of councillors serving a master were lawyers, who were described as 'the council learned'. Those lawyers employed by a master tended to be men concerned primarily with local affairs, and could also serve on a patron's estates as receivers, stewards and surveyors.¹³⁶ The geographical origins of the lawyers who were members of Wolsey's household reflect both the physical presence of the household in London, and the fact that the majority of legal business was conducted within the capital. Most of the lawyers identified in Wolsey's household were either from the counties near the capital, or were resident there. Conversely, Thomas Meryng from Nottinghamshire, and Nicholas Fairfax, John Banaster and Christopher Conyers from Yorkshire, may have been involved in the administration of Wolsey's archbishopric of York estates in those counties, although it is known that Meryng spent much of his time in London and that Conyers, after having spent time in Wolsey's household, was active in the military defence of the northern borders.¹³⁷

¹³³ A more instructive comparison can be made between Wolsey and contemporary cardinals who also served in the secular administration of their respective kingdoms, such as Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503) of Poland. Unlike Jagiellon, who was the youngest son of King Kazimierz IV (1447-1492) Wolsey did not have royal blood ties. Jagiellon and Wolsey belong in their wider European context in which as servants of the new type of Renaissance monarchy, such as those of Henry VII and Isabella of Castile, their function was to subjugate the local church to royal authority. See generally, Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)* (Aldershot, 2007), esp. chap. 7.

¹³⁴ Caroline Rawcliffe and Susan Flower, 'English Noblemen and their Advisors: Consultation and Collaboration in the Later Middle Ages', *JBS*, 25:2 (Apr., 1986), pp. 157-9.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹³⁷ E 179/69/9; *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, nos. 1120, 2481, vol. 3, pt. 2, nos. 3062 (20), 3460; *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, p. 459; *Visitations of the North*, ed. F.W. Dendy, SS, 122 (4 vols, Durham, 1912-32), vol. 1, pp. 144-5.

Thus, lawyers could be present either within the immediate household of the lord or function as members of the fifth degree of attachment, the extended household. The extended household is here defined as the landed estates which comprised the lord's patrimony but which were not the central residential locations for the household. This includes those men who served on the estates of Wolsey's ecclesiastical offices in the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Durham and the abbacy of St. Albans. Thus, John Seyntclere, keeper of the manor of Tittenhanger and general keeper of the woods belonging to the abbots of St. Albans, can be classified as being part of Wolsey's extended household.¹³⁸ Similarly, Thomas Donnington was employed as Wolsey's estate surveyor before 1527 and by 1530 as his steward in the archbishopric of York.¹³⁹ While the influence of these men with Wolsey would not have been as great as those who were in daily attendance upon the cardinal, their presence in the locality and the knowledge among the local population that they were his servants, would have both enhanced Wolsey's presence in the region and increased their personal authority. Not only were they vital to Wolsey's control over his ecclesiastical offices by performing specific jobs on his behalf, but they were also key in the sequence of patronage which extended from the court to the provinces.¹⁴⁰ They were both the targets of patronage requests from members of the local population to act as intermediaries with Wolsey, and also served as patronage brokers for Wolsey by informing him of potential servants or pending vacancies in the region.¹⁴¹ Holding such offices was also profitable. Typically, central officials could expect to receive annual salaries of between £50 and £60, while stewards were earning between £10 and £20, and surveyors and auditors around £6 13s 4d.¹⁴² Officials in the bishopric of Durham, an office which Wolsey also held for just over six years, earned more because of the extra responsibility for palatine administration; in 1512, the total expenditure on officials' salaries was £208.¹⁴³

Local agents were members of the wider affinity who were resident in the provinces but were not members of the extended household, constituting a sixth circle of the affinity. They did not act as estate officials nor did they hold a particular office within the affinity. Members of the clergy were prominent in this affinal category since they were frequently called upon to act on instructions issued from central government and

¹³⁸ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4318.

¹³⁹ TNA, SP 1/41, f. 167r; SP 1/57, ff. 163v-4r.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Donnington made a survey of the manor of Sherbourne on Wolsey's orders in April 1527, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 3043. See also Wolsey's instructions in 1528 to Dr. Strangways, surveyor of the bishopric of Durham, and Richard Bellasis to survey the diocese's resources, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5111 (3).

¹⁴¹ In 1528, Donnington informed Wolsey of the possibility of the chancellorship of York opening in the near future, since the incumbent, William Melton, was ill. *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4291.

¹⁴² Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: a study of the economic and social position of the Tudor episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 81.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

participated on royal commissions even though their official capacity did not require this from them. For example, the abbots of St. Mary's outside the walls of York regularly acted as conduits for money heading north from the court for provisioning the English army stationed at Berwick-upon-Tweed to defend the realm against the Scots.¹⁴⁴ This category also includes those members of the gentry who were issued commissions to arbitrate locally on cases brought before Star Chamber. For example, in 1521-1522, John Sydenham and John Trevelyan were commissioned to settle a dispute over land in Somerset between Joan Lange and William Marchant.¹⁴⁵ Also, those gentry who were commissioned to collect the subsidies assessed in the 1520s acted as local agents for the crown at the time when they were commissioned, but did not necessarily have a continual service relationship with the crown, only being called upon when necessary.¹⁴⁶ The role of royal commissions and local agents in consolidating crown presence in local government is further explored in the following section.

The next category is made up of what I have termed 'casual clients', because they were not in a permanent service relationship with Wolsey and thus cannot be properly described as servants, but received occasional gifts and favours from him. This category best describes Wolsey's association with humanist and other literary scholars, but is not necessarily restricted to his relationships with leading intellectual figures. Wolsey's relationship with Henry VIII's physician and leading Greek scholar, Thomas Linacre appears to have developed in 1518, when Linacre and his medical colleagues petitioned Henry and Wolsey for the establishment of a college of physicians in London. At that time, Linacre was rewarded by Wolsey with the prebend of South Newbald in York Minster and the cathedral's precentorship the following year.¹⁴⁷ Grateful for his assistance in establishing the college, Linacre addressed his English translation of one of Galen's works to Wolsey in 1522.¹⁴⁸ The depth of Wolsey's relationship with Linacre is not clear, but Wolsey evidently esteemed Linacre's work, adopting his rudimentary Latin grammar text as the textbook for the curriculum of his grammar school at Ipswich in 1528.¹⁴⁹ Wolsey's relationship with Linacre fits within this category of association because there does not appear to have been a long-standing patron-client relationship based on service or involving loyalty and fidelity prior to Linacre's supplication for the foundation of a college in 1518, nor did one develop given Linacre's subsequent death in 1524.

¹⁴⁴ For example, TNA, E 36/221, ff. 34r-v.

¹⁴⁵ Ashton, 'The Tudor state and the Politics of the County', p. 187.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, E 36/221 is a book compiled by Sir Henry Wyatt, treasurer of the king's chamber, and includes the sums paid by the collectors of the loans in several shires and the reimbursements made for conveying the money to court.

¹⁴⁷ *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, pp. 12, 72.

¹⁴⁸ *Galenii Pergameni de pulsuum usu Tho. Linacro Anglo interprete* (London, 1522), (STC, 2nd ed., 11534).

¹⁴⁹ *Rudimenta grammatices et docendi methodus* (STC, 2nd ed., 5542.3).

Another degree of attachment within the affinity was between Wolsey and men who can be described as friends, colleagues and companions of a similar status and age to the cardinal. Scholars have paid a great deal of attention to the close working relationship between Wolsey and Thomas Ruthal, Lord Privy Seal from 1516, who was reported by the Venetian ambassador to have sung 'treble to Wolsey's bass'.¹⁵⁰ While Ruthal was the cardinal's senior in age and had been responsible, in conjunction with Richard Fox and Sir Thomas Lovell who are discussed below, for bringing Wolsey into royal administration, unlike the latter two, Ruthal worked closely with Wolsey in royal service until his death in 1521.

Another prominent cleric and diplomat who became a close colleague of Wolsey's in royal administration was Cuthbert Tunstal. Having been introduced to the royal court through service to the Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham, Tunstal may have owed his appointment as Wolsey's successor to the prebend of Stow Longa in Lincoln Cathedral in 1514 to the influence of the cardinal.¹⁵¹ He was also the recipient of ecclesiastical patronage at Wolsey's disposal when the cardinal collated him to the prebend of Botevant in York Minster in 1519. Tunstal played a central role in foreign diplomacy at various European courts beginning in 1515 and was clearly one of Wolsey's most trustworthy contacts on the continent. An examination of the letters exchanged between Wolsey and Tunstal in *Letters and Papers* does not reveal that the two shared more than a professional relationship. Tunstal makes several requests for patronage on behalf of servants and kin, but these were not unusual in either content or quantity.¹⁵² Friends and colleagues related to Wolsey in a professional capacity, and while it was possible for a patron-client relationship to exist simultaneously, such as in the case of Cuthbert Tunstal, this relationship was often short-lived and less enduring since it was between two equals and not based on the dependency of one party on the other.

It is not immediately evident whether a former protégée who achieved prominence maintained ties with his old patrons and mentors who had been instrumental in helping him to reach his elevated socio-political status. Former patrons and mentors do form one ring in a patron's affinity if only because of the perceived obligation to the mentor or his family which would have persisted in gratitude for their previous assistance. Wolsey tutored the sons of Thomas Grey the first marquess of Dorset and received from the nobleman his first

¹⁵⁰ The Venetian ambassador was describing one particularly tiring meeting with the cardinal in the summer of 1516 at which Ruthal was present regarding the withdrawal of Venice from league with France, Rawdon Brown, trans., *Four years at the Court of Henry VIII: a selection of dispatches*, by S. Giustiniani (London, 1854), p. 260. Wolsey's critics and later historians have extrapolated from this to describe the relationship between Ruthal and Wolsey in its entirety.

¹⁵¹ *Fasti, 1300-1541, 1*, p. 112.

¹⁵² *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, nos. 679, 2507; vol. 2, pt. 2, nos. 2808, 3103, 3234. A George Tunstal appears in Wolsey's household in E 179/69/9 but his exact relationship to the bishop is not evident.

ecclesiastical benefice in October 1500, the rectory of Limington in Somerset. The marquess died the following year and so did not play a role in Wolsey's later ascendancy into power. His son and heir, Thomas, the second marquess of Dorset, to whom Wolsey had been a tutor, had a strained relationship with the cardinal. Despite his prowess in jousting at royal tournaments and diplomatic events, Dorset was an ineffective military captain, his expeditions to reconquer Guyenne in 1512 and his role at the siege of Tournai the following year can both be classed as failures. In 1521, Wolsey dissuaded Henry VIII from appointing Dorset to the command of an army on the continent. Earlier, in 1516, Wolsey had dragged the marquess before Star Chamber to resolve his feud with George, Baron Hastings and Sir Richard Sacheverell.¹⁵³ It is no surprise then that Dorset signed the nobles' articles condemning Wolsey in 1530.

While it is uncertain whether Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester and Lord Privy Seal, had been forcibly induced by Wolsey to relinquish his political responsibilities as some of Wolsey's critics have claimed, Wolsey and Fox, who was one of the men responsible for promoting him into the king's service, appear to have remained on good terms. After stepping down from his position as Lord Privy Seal, Fox offered Wolsey political advice and supported his call for a legate council to address clerical reform in 1519.¹⁵⁴ At about the same time that Fox withdrew from politics, his good friend and former fellow councillor to Henry VII, Sir Thomas Lovell, who had assisted Fox and Ruthal in promoting Wolsey in royal service, also departed from court politics.¹⁵⁵ Neither Fox nor Lovell appear to have received any benefits from Wolsey after he had reached his prominent place in Henry VIII's government, nor do they appear to have maintained a close relationship with Wolsey, particularly after they ceased to be active in politics.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, Wolsey may have felt a certain obligation to continue his association with the Lovell family as Sir Thomas' cousin, Francis, who inherited a significant portion of the former's estates in the south-east in 1524, appears on one of the subsidy lists for Wolsey's household, with lands assessed at £366 13s 4d per annum.¹⁵⁷

The tenants living on the estates belonging to the ecclesiastical offices occupied by Wolsey formed another component of his affinity. Generally, prelates had little direct control over the administration of their estates which were under the authority of the

¹⁵³ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 130.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 340.

¹⁵⁵ Giustiniani, *Four years at the court of Henry VIII*, p. 252; Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524)', pp. 123, 150; Guy, *The Cardinal's Court*, p. 28.

¹⁵⁶ In 1518, Wolsey dragged the bishop of Winchester before Star Chamber for reported enclosures on his Episcopal properties. The bishop's lawyers appeared in court to refute the claims of the commissioners, but Fox had to write to Wolsey personally before the cardinal would accept the testimony of the bishop's officials. Wolsey let Fox off because of his 'old accustomed favour' for his former mentor. Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 433-4.

¹⁵⁷ TNA, E 179/69/10; TNA, PROB 2/199.

estates' stewards.¹⁵⁸ Tenants were most important to a prelate because of the income they provided, mainly in cash, by paying rent, fines and dues which were collected by local receivers.¹⁵⁹ The revenues from episcopal estates could be substantial, Wolsey's officers raising £80 in a single year from fines and transferring leases.¹⁶⁰ Like the tenants on the estates of lay nobles, Wolsey's tenants were still expected to provide military service when requested. For example, tenants in the archdiocese of York comprised the bulk of those men described as Wolsey's soldiers led by Yorkshire gentleman Sir Richard Rokeby of Kirk Sandal against the Scots in 1522.¹⁶¹

As can be expected, Wolsey's relations with his tenants were not always harmonious. Changes in the status of leases at common law meant that those leases of land on ecclesiastical estates were better protected if they were sealed by both the bishop and the cathedral chapter. Wolsey's archdiocesan officials in York took advantage of the desire of tenants with long-term leases to have them sealed by both parties by charging tenants between 10 marks and £20 to transfer them to more secure leases.¹⁶² More dramatically, in February 1515, Thomas Magnus reported to Wolsey that his tenants in the liberty of Hexhamshire belonging to the archbishopric of York refused to pay their rent. Magnus along with Sir Christopher, brother of Lord Dacre, imprisoned some of the leaders of the protest at Hexham, where a mob assembled demanding their release. The mob leaders were arrested and imprisoned in Hexham and Carlisle and the houses of those who refused to submit were burned down.¹⁶³

Wolsey has long been accorded a reputation for identifying young intellectuals who were nurtured in his household.¹⁶⁴ These young scholars and protégées formed another circle in Wolsey's affinity. The most famous example of such talent seeking is Wolsey's procurement of the services of Stephen Gardiner, of whose oratorical skill Wolsey became aware in 1523 when Gardiner was sent by the University of Cambridge as an emissary to various royal courtiers. By the autumn of the following year, Gardiner is said to have joined Wolsey's service in his household, although his name fails to appear on any of the subsidy lists compiled at this time.¹⁶⁵ The later humanist propagandists and Henrician apologists, Thomas Starkey and Richard Morison can be associated with Wolsey's college at Oxford.¹⁶⁶ Wolsey's household contained a number of children in various capacities,

¹⁵⁸ Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, pp. 36-7.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 43-4.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁶¹ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2545.

¹⁶² Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, pp. 27-8.

¹⁶³ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 158.

¹⁶⁴ Redworth, *In defence of the Church Catholic*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy*, p. 10; Richard Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *HJ*, 39:4 (Dec., 1996), pp. 883, 892-3; Thomas F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the*

including servants, wards, orphans and singing boys, who were almost certainly educated there by a humanist-trained tutor.¹⁶⁷ Their number was augmented by the children of nobles who sent them to be educated in Wolsey's household. Those who can be identified include Henry Percy, the sixth earl of Northumberland, Sir John Dudley, future duke of Northumberland and Edward Seymour, the future Lord Protector.¹⁶⁸

The final category of affinal attachment to Wolsey was that of suitors. This comprised individuals who endeavoured to secure favours from Wolsey for a particular case, rather than seeking to establish a more permanent service relationship with him. The request was usually made in response to a particular crisis or event in the applicant's life, such as dispensation for marriage. They were most likely to seek his assistance through the mediation of brokers, or to file suit in Star Chamber.¹⁶⁹ Also, they endeavoured to secure his favour by offering cash payments. Among the inventory of Wolsey's goods made at his death is a list of arrears owing to the cardinal for faculties expedited during the previous three years. While the majority of requests are unknown, the list includes clerks who were paying for dispensations for holding multiple benefices, such as Thomas Yegge and Thomas Wodmansey, and others for marriage dispensations, such as those requested by Thomas Hale and Alan Percie.¹⁷⁰ The list includes men who can be identified as part of his household, thus demonstrating the importance of proximity for acquiring favours, but also indicating that they were required to pay for the privilege like anyone else. The majority were clients who were paying Wolsey to expedite particular requests in a purely business transaction based on cash.

The many circles which comprised Wolsey's affinity based on varying degrees of attachment speak to the complexity of Wolsey's connections which resulted from his various offices. Also, the fact that his power was based on office, rather than land, indicates that his connections were looser and less enduring than those based on tenancy. Once Wolsey ceased to hold a particular office, the basis on which his association with that region and with the leading local administrators was removed. Similarly, when Wolsey acquired a new office, his officers could move with him, but he also had to accommodate the incumbent administrators and could not guarantee that he would be able to find places

Commonweal: Humanist politics and religion in the reign of Henry VIII (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1-4; Starkey was also appointed a university proctor while at Magdalen College, Oxford by Wolsey for an interim period in 1522 to settle an electoral dispute, *Register of Magdalen College, New Series, vol. 1, Fellows to 1520*, ed. W.D. Macray (8 vols, London, 1894-1915), pp. 156-63.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, E 179/69/9. The wards may have included the earl of Derby who became a royal ward in 1521 and ended up as a ward in Wolsey's household, and also probably Thomas Roos, Lord Manners who reached majority in 1525.

¹⁶⁸ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 174-5.

¹⁶⁹ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (14).

for them in his new office.¹⁷¹ There is some evidence that Wolsey did not cut all ties when changing offices, but that some of the bonds he had built remained, even though he no longer had any official interest in the region. Thus, Wolsey had a particular number of links with members of the gentry in Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire, which could be indicative of the ties he constructed while holding ecclesiastical offices in the diocese of Lincoln.¹⁷² These connections appear to have persisted despite the fact that he no longer held office there. It is possible that the continuance of such ties is symptomatic of the development of a personal bond between the patron and client. These bonds were closest among the servants who were in continual service in the household, some of whom had served Wolsey for more than 20 years by the time of his disgrace.¹⁷³ It is also likely that clients who had constructed ties with Wolsey were interested in maintaining connections because of the minister's rising political power and status in royal government. Thus, while it was possible for personal relationships to develop which helped to stabilise patron-client relations, Wolsey's reliance on offices for his wealth and authority meant that his ties in a given area were less stable and more easily broken or adjusted than those based primarily on land ownership.

Having looked at the range of circles comprising Wolsey's affinity, I will now consider one of the main foundations for the construction of service affinities in the sixteenth century: land. For the patron, landed estates provided two key resources: revenue and avenues for the provision of patronage. Patrons could draw men to act either locally as estate agents on those lands or as royal administrators and commissioners. In Wolsey's case, his landed interests were created by the estates which accompanied his ecclesiastical appointments. While Wolsey did not use the land as the basis of his power, which was centred at court, the estates of his various offices were naturally concentrated in particular regions of the country.

Although less wealthy than its southern counterpart, the archbishopric of York provided Wolsey with a substantial income from its estates. In the ecclesiastical survey compiled in 1535, the archdiocese's estates generated a rental income of just over £2,000

¹⁷¹ For example, Brian Higden moved with Wolsey from Lincoln to York, becoming Wolsey's vicar general in 1514, archdeacon of York in 1515 and dean of York Minster in 1516. Despite continuing to hold the office of subdean of Lincoln Cathedral until 1523, Higden was resident in York, BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 101r; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of Oxford, A.D. 1501-40* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 930-1. In contrast, Wolsey had to suffer keeping John Perott as precentor of York Minster, after trying to have him removed to free up the office for one of his own nominees, *CPL, 1513-21*, vol. 20, pp. 190-1.

¹⁷² TNA, E 179/69/9; *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, pp. 3, 4, 112, 124.

¹⁷³ Mertes, *English Noble Household*, p. 60; Cavendish describes a scene in which, having assembled the servants of household at his downfall, brought them to tears, '[Wolsey] could not speak unto them for tenderness of his heart, the flood of tears that distilled from his eyes declared no less; the which perceived by his servants caused the fountains of water to gush out of their faithful hearts down their cheeks in such abundance as it would cause a cruel heart to lament.' *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 110.

per annum.¹⁷⁴ The bishopric of Durham, to which Wolsey was appointed in 1523 following the death of his colleague Thomas Ruthal, was valued at £3,023.¹⁷⁵ Being both an ecclesiastical and temporal liberty within the kingdom not only increased the income available in the diocese, but also meant that a wider array of offices were available for bestowing on clients. Despite the fact that the monastery of St. Albans was suffering financially at the time of Wolsey's appointment as abbot *in commendam* in 1521 in recompense for his expenses on behalf of the crown in securing Henry VIII the title of Defender of the Faith from Rome, the abbey's extensive lands and liberties made it a valuable source of patronage.¹⁷⁶ The abbey's estates were largely concentrated in the south-west corner of Hertfordshire where it was located, but it also possessed manors spread as widely as Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Norfolk, Northumberland and Pembrokeshire.¹⁷⁷ In 1535, the temporalities and spiritualities of the abbey were valued at £2,102 7s 1 3/4d per annum.¹⁷⁸ The granting of St. Albans with its vast estates and offices illustrates Wolsey's role, not only as the foremost dispenser of royal patronage after Henry VIII, but also his position as the leading client in the kingdom. The recipients of the patronage made available on Wolsey's estates were both laymen and clerics. Like their secular counterparts, churchmen were included in commissions for the execution of royal policies. Wolsey's management of the ecclesiastics who benefited from his patronage, with particular focus on the archdiocese of York, is fully explored in chapter 3.

The estates of the archbishopric of York, located adjacent to the country's northern border, provided Wolsey with the opportunity to situate clients in the troublesome and distant region, consolidating his authority as the region's leading prelate, augmenting the presence of the crown and providing his officers with an official status to support the execution of their royal duties. Thus, Wolsey used the offices available on his estates to support the authority that Sir Richard Page affected as a member of the Council of the North. Despite holding land in Middlesex and Surrey, the local offices conferred on him, including the receivership of the Archbishop of York's liberty of Beverley supported his

¹⁷⁴ Claire Cross, 'Economic Problems of the see of York', in *Land, Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, ed. Joan Thirsk, Agricultural History Review Supplement, 18 (Reading, 1970), p. 68.

¹⁷⁵ A table outlining the value of Wolsey's ecclesiastical benefices can be found in Appendix 7. While these figures may appear low compared to the incomes received by Wolsey's contemporaries, such as Cardinal Georges d'Amboise whose archbishopric of Rouen brought in an annual income of 17,000 *livres*, when the exchange rate is accounted for, £1 sterling was equal to 8 *livres* 10 *sol* 2 *denier*, then the amounts are roughly level. The exchange rate can be found at Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (Stroud, 1994), App. 1, p. 255.

¹⁷⁶ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 1760; E. Toms, *The Story of St. Albans* (St. Albans, 1962), p. 58.

¹⁷⁷ William Page, 'Abbey of St. Albans: Before the Conquest', pp. 367-8, 370 and Minnie Reddan, 'Abbey of St. Albans: After the Conquest', pp. 373, 381, 403, in *VCH: Hertfordshire*, vol. 4, ed. William Page (London, 1971).

¹⁷⁸ *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Hen. VIII auctoritate regia institutus. With introduction and indexes by J. Hunter*, ed. J. Caley, (6 vols, London, 1810-34), vol. 1, p. 451.

standing in the region.¹⁷⁹ Generally, the officers serving Wolsey on these estates were local men. Page's deputy as receiver of Beverley was Robert Creyke, who, despite appearing on the subsidy list for Wolsey's household in 1523, was possibly of Yorkshire origins as suggested by his surname. Similarly, the local cleric Thomas Donnington acted as Wolsey's surveyor and steward on the archbishopric's estates. Unofficially, Donnington mediated the distribution of Wolsey's patronage in the archbishopric. For example, in 1529 he suggested that Wolsey should prefer Marmaduke Bradley to the abbacy of Rievaulx.¹⁸⁰ He also managed to secure the release of the Wetwang prebend from York Minster for the use of Cardinal College, Oxford in 1530.¹⁸¹ Estate officers provided the crown via Wolsey with a presence in the region and helped solidify its local dominance by exercising its authority and patronage. By cooperating with the crown in exercising its political power, such appointments contributed to the legitimation of the standing of local elites.¹⁸²

Not only could service on landed estates of major patrons provide an opportunity for access to the arena of high politics and increased social status, but it was also important for clients to possess landed property of their own as one of the key characteristics of successful clients. As Michael Braddick and John Walter have demonstrated, although the power of the local gentry was derived from royal office-holding, such claims to authority needed to be accepted by the subordinate population in order for it to be operational. The primary means through which clients could obtain the consent of the local population in the exercise of their authority were wealth, lineage and the possession of land.¹⁸³ It was important for patrons that the men upon whom they bestowed their patronage already had some social standing and ties or resources in the community which allowed them to implement the authority conferred by their office.

The lineage, wealth and land possessed by the Luttrell family is the likely reason behind Wolsey's cultivation of close links with the family's head, Sir Andrew, who appeared on Wolsey's household list for the subsidy of 1523, but in what capacity it is not known. The family had a long history of distinguished military service to the crown and had been firmly established among the leading gentry in the West Country since the later fourteenth century when Elizabeth Luttrell, daughter of the tenth earl of Devon, purchased

¹⁷⁹ *LP*, vol. 5, no. 822.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5445.

¹⁸¹ TNA, SP 1/53, ff. 107r-8r.

¹⁸² Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 167-71.

¹⁸³ Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (Cambridge, 2001), p. 15.

Dunster Castle in 1376.¹⁸⁴ Like his father Hugh, Sir Andrew was active in local administration, sitting on the commissions of the peace for Somerset and Devon in the 1520s, as well as appearing on the sheriff rolls for 1522 and 1523, despite not being pricked for the office.¹⁸⁵ While the Luttrell family's participation in local government in the West Country was dictated by their long-standing position among the region's leading figures, it was this standing which made Sir Andrew attractive to ministerial patrons such as Wolsey.

There were other characteristics in addition to land, wealth and lineage which made clients attractive to potential patrons. Lawyers and merchants were two such groups of clients who were increasingly being employed by patrons of service-based affinities. Their ability to cultivate multiple ties with religious institutions, corporations of local government and notable families, did not mean that their service was less valuable because these ties of patronage were not exclusive; rather the opposite was true. Their wide-reaching connections, in conjunction with their legal skill, made them highly sought after by patrons looking to utilise their skills and connections. As a lawyer trained at Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Meryng was particularly well-suited to effect royal government in the localities, appearing on the sheriff roll for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire three times between 1515 and 1522, and served on various local commissions in Nottinghamshire throughout the 1520s.¹⁸⁶ By continuing to function independently as a lawyer, merchant and occasional money-lender after entering Wolsey's service, Thomas Cromwell created a foundation from which to build his own household for governing the kingdom in the 1530s. What his clientele of merchants also provided was direct access to resources for Wolsey. For example, Cromwell's association with an alderman of the town of Boston on one occasion supplied the water fowl for Wolsey's table.¹⁸⁷ Thus, another feature of early Tudor service-based affinities was that exclusivity was not a pre-requisite of patronage ties.

Thus, the affinity of a royal minister such as Wolsey was a large and complex organism comprising loosely-defined categories of attachment radiating out from the household at the centre as the most intimate location of contact with the patron. Affinal categories were defined by their proximity to the source of patronage and good lordship, and by the means by which clients were attached. Because Wolsey's authority was not derived from the holding of land, but rather from royal consent, his power base was located

¹⁸⁴ Robert W. Dunning, 'Luttrell family (per. C. 1200-1428)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 10 December 2007.

¹⁸⁵ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3583

¹⁸⁶ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 1120; vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 1042; vol. 3, pt. 2, nos. 2020, 2694 (29), 3282; vol. 4, pt. 1, nos. 390 (2), 547, 2002 (11); *TNA*, SP 1/46, ff. 132-49; SP 1/50, f. 242.

¹⁸⁷ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', pp. 48-9.

within the apparatus of central royal government. Nevertheless, land continued to play an important role in the consolidation of affinities through patronage relationships, both for the patron and his clients. However, the affinity was not defined by, or restricted to a particular county or region, but was represented throughout the kingdom. This feature enabled Wolsey to mobilise the affinity to implement royal policies, as will be explored in the following section.

The Affinity in Tudor Government

As the kingdom's ultimate broker of royal patronage, a position which was based on his personal relationship with Henry VIII, Wolsey adopted the crown's goal of creating efficient government and administration throughout the kingdom as a means of sharing in the exercise of power. By distributing patronage on behalf of the crown, Wolsey extended royal authority in two ways: first, by bringing resident gentry into the orbit of central government by providing them with royal offices in their locality. For example, Sir William Babthorpe, head of the established East Riding gentry family seated at Osgodby, accumulated royal and ecclesiastical offices in the region which consolidated his landed authority. In addition to sitting on various local commissions including commissions of the peace, Babthorpe served as constable of Wressle Castle, steward of the archbishop of York's liberty of Beverley, and steward of the bishop of Durham's liberty of Howden and Howdenshire. The most important appointment for his exercise of power in the region was his selection to the Duke of Richmond's Council in 1525 on which he sat until his death in 1555.¹⁸⁸ Secondly, Wolsey placed royal household servants in positions of authority in the provinces. For example, in 1519, Miles Forest, a royal gentleman usher extraordinary and groom of Wolsey's chamber, and his brother Edward, a royal page of the chamber, were appointed in survivorship as joint bailiffs of the liberty of Middleham, Yorkshire.¹⁸⁹ Like Babthorpe, Miles Forest went on to have a successful career in royal service until his death in the 1550s. It may have been Wolsey who secured their appointments, but they remained obedient to the crown.

The policy whereby the king and his leading ministers built up client networks to buttress the authority of the central government was not new in the Tudor period. Given-Wilson has identified the development of a royal affinity throughout the provinces under Richard II and Henry IV, both of whom attempted to harness the local authority of the counties' leading gentry in support of the crown.¹⁹⁰ A.J. Pollard has argued that in his

¹⁸⁸ TNA, C 82/640; R.R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (London, 1921), pp. 104, 113.

¹⁸⁹ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 458.

¹⁹⁰ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, pp. 264-5. This conclusion has been supported by Craig A. Robertson's study of the local offices in Warwickshire and Leicestershire in which he found that

management of northern government, Henry VII initially cultivated relations with the region's leading noblemen and gentry, later placing men from his household into the region, a policy which was built upon foundations laid by Richard III.¹⁹¹ In contrast, other historians have maintained that the reign of Henry VII ushered in a new organisation of the kingdom's formal structures of government. By concentrating patronage and the administration of finance in the royal household, Henry VII centred the power structure on himself, exercising greater personal control than his Yorkist predecessors.¹⁹² Steven Gunn has argued that the increasing centralisation of English government under Henry VII was established by the introduction of a new type of civil servant who provided the crown with legal and administrative service, thereby facilitating the extension of the formal structures of government both in the scope of its powers and in its penetration into the localities. Their loyalty to and cooperation with the monarchy was based on the recognition of a mutually beneficial relationship in which they exercised collective social power to increase the crown's and their personal standing, authority and wealth.¹⁹³ Thus, the creation of a larger royal affinity based on both the formal structures of government – offices, commissions, and councils – and the informal ties of patronage was the continuation of traditional crown policy towards governance in which cooperation in the exercise of authority by the leading local figures was the hallmark.

In addition to placing men in royal offices in the localities, local and county administrative and judicial commissions were vital instruments for extending crown authority.¹⁹⁴ Since the exercise of power and authority depended on the ability of the holder to have his status accepted by the local population, the crown made use of clients already holding positions within the royal affinity to act on local commissions, thereby concentrating authority in their hands and ensuring that the work was completed. Historians have argued that as the administrative responsibilities of the Justices of the Peace expanded so too did their influence in local government, and that by the sixteenth century, the peace commissions constituted the strongest link between the central government and the localities.¹⁹⁵ Chapter 4 challenges this view, arguing that the link

members of the king's affinity dominated local office holding, 'Local Government and the King's "affinity" in fifteenth-century Leicestershire and Warwickshire', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 52 (1976-7), 37-45.

¹⁹¹ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 367, 386, 405.

¹⁹² Margaret Condon, 'Ruling Elites in the reign of Henry VII', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Charles Ross (Gloucester, 1979), p. 127.

¹⁹³ Steven Gunn, 'New men and new monarchy', in *Powerbrokers in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Stein (Turnholt, Belgium, 2001), pp. 153-7, 162-3.

¹⁹⁴ Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity', p. 66.

¹⁹⁵ A convenient short summary about the different types of early Tudor commissions and their functions can be found in David Loades, *Power in Tudor England* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 70-82.

between central government and the north was cemented by the re-introduction of a regional council in the mid-1520s.¹⁹⁶

A fuller consideration of the role of peace commissions in local government in Yorkshire is provided in chapter 4. At the moment it suffices to say that the relationship between the membership of county peace commissions and men associated with Wolsey is mixed. As Lord Chancellor, Wolsey was responsible for appointing men to the peace commissions. John Guy has argued that Wolsey was using his powers of appointment to place his household men on county peace commissions, particularly in those counties in which they did not reside.¹⁹⁷ In contrast, among those from Suffolk whom Diarmaid MacCulloch identified with Wolsey, none served as Justices of the Peace in their native county.¹⁹⁸ An examination of E 179/69/9 suggests that there was some degree of correlation between members on county peace commissions and Wolsey's household, where a possible 48 household members served on peace commissions, 39 of whom did so during the period of Wolsey's ascendancy. Some do not appear on the commissions until after 1530, but this was not a result of their exclusion from government for political reasons, but rather a function of age, such as in the cases of Andrew Luttrell and George Willoughby, or in the case of Miles Forest, who, while having been a member of the royal household from at least 1516, had not accumulated enough land in Huntingdonshire to have been included on that county's peace commission until 1545.¹⁹⁹ It is necessary to approach such evidence with caution since it is possible to interpret it in several ways. Even with the fairly considerable degree of correlation between Wolsey's household and the peace commissions shown here, it does not mean that Wolsey intentionally placed them on the commissions, but for some individuals may reflect a high social standing previously acquired, and that Wolsey only employed those who possessed this status in his household.

Under Henry VIII, gentry did not seek membership on the peace commissions solely as a representation of their social standing, but their collaboration with the crown demonstrates that they shared the goal of creating effective administration to punish transgressors and establish peace and order. In 1526, Sir Christopher Dacre, sheriff of

¹⁹⁶ The re-introduction of the Council of the North and its implications for local and royal governance in Yorkshire is considered in Chapter 4.

¹⁹⁷ Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity', p. 69.

¹⁹⁸ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p. 228. Of those listed by MacCulloch, two, Stephen Gardiner and John Clerk were leading church members, while Anthony Hansard, despite being native to Suffolk, also held a substantial amount of land in Cambridgeshire for which he was appointed to the peace commissions twice in the 1520s and pricked as sheriff in 1529, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, nos. 1136 (11), 1377 (16), vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6072 (9). The other individual, Thomas Alvard, despite holding offices in Suffolk, made his career as a member of the royal household, which he does not appear to have turned into purchases of property in the county until securing a grant of the manor of Snape, Suffolk in 1530, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6803 (21).

¹⁹⁹ Andrew's father Hugh was still serving on royal commissions throughout the 1510s and it appears that Andrew succeeded his father between 1518 and 1521. S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, vol. 3, *Members N-Z* (3 vols, London, 1982), pp. 628-9; *LP*, vol. 13, no. 384 (21) (Feb. 1538), vol. 14, no. 1354 (2) (Jul. 1539); vol. 2, no. 2735, p. 873, vol. 20, nos. 622 (Feb), 623 (Oct).

Cumberland and lieutenant of the West March, recommended that Wolsey appoint Sir John Lowther, Sir John Radclif and Thomas Beverley to the commission of the peace for the county, since the shire was bereft of justices with the exception of himself and Geoffrey Lancaster. Further, Dacre suggested that Wolsey send letters to his chancellor of York, William Melton, to put Sir Thomas Tempest and John Bentley onto the commissions of the peace and for gaol delivery in the archbishopric's liberty of Hexhamshire.²⁰⁰ Another letter from Cumberland emphasised the importance that local men also placed on familiarity with a particular region for being able to implement royal policies. In 1525, William Frankeleyn, Sir William Eure, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Thomas Tempest and John Bentley responded to Wolsey's request to array the men of Cumberland and Westmorland by asking him to commission Sir John Lowther and Sir Walter Strickland instead, as the two men were familiar with the counties in question.²⁰¹ Such recommendations illustrate that crown agents were aware of the importance of having local knowledge and authority, consequences of land-owning, for exercising their official duties. Their desire to be included among the local administrative elite encouraged the extension of the formal networks of crown power as institutionalised in judicial and administrative commissions, demonstrating that the impetus for the increased exercise of crown authority in the localities was not always generated centrally. By adopting the crown's aims as their own, leading local gentlemen were partaking in the crown's exercise of collective social power whereby both parties augmented their control over the local population.

While historians have argued that the impetus for extending the royal prerogative was partly driven by leading county gentry who sought inclusion on the peace commissions as the crown's recognition of their local standing, they have yet to consider gentry attitudes towards inclusion on financial or administrative commissions, and whether these commissions also contributed to and reflected local social standing in the early Tudor period.²⁰² Late medieval historians have recognised that political and administrative service was one of the sources of social mobility which was based on the combination of a multitude of factors.²⁰³ The gentry also pushed for appointments to local royal offices for the same reasons as they sought inclusion on royal commissions. Upon the death of Sir Thomas Foster, marshal of Berwick, in 1527, Sir William Bulmer the younger of Wilton, Yorkshire, applied to Wolsey for the vacant office by bearing a recommendation from

²⁰⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 2052.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, no. 1289.

²⁰² Roger Virgoe, 'The Crown, Magnates and Local Government in Fifteenth-Century East Anglia', in *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.R.L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs (Gloucester, 1981), p. 79; A. Hassell Smith, *County and court: government and politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1974), p. 47; Loades, *Power in Tudor England*, pp. 74-5.

²⁰³ Philippa C. Maddern, 'Social Mobility', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 121-2.

Thomas Magnus and Sir Thomas Tempest, both members of the Duke of Richmond's Council.²⁰⁴ Being employed in a royal office was a mutually beneficial relationship whereby the crown and the officeholder shared in the exercise of power to augment the status and authority of both.

Wolsey was personally responsible for choosing the commissioners to make the survey for the forced loan of 1522 which had the dual purpose of assessing the military capability of the country, as well as securing revenue for the crown to wage war against France.²⁰⁵ Unlike commissions issued from Star Chamber, on which there does not appear to have been many men who can be closely associated with Wolsey or his affinity, the subsidy commissions of 1523 to 1527 demonstrate a stronger correlation between the commissioners and members of his household.²⁰⁶ Generally, these men were not clerics, but were leading members of the counties for which they were commissioned. For example, the commissions issued on 30 August 1523 included Sir Andrew Luttrell for Somerset, Sir William Kempe for Kent and Sir Robert Clere for Norfolk.²⁰⁷ All of these men appear as members in Wolsey's household, as well as being important crown administrators in other capacities. In addition, many of those appointed to the commissions, such as Thomas Meryng and John Hales, were lawyers.²⁰⁸ In fact, the employment of these men on the royal subsidy commissions may explain their inclusion among Wolsey's household servants on the subsidy lists.

The establishment of regional councils in the northern and Welsh marches was another means by which the royal prerogative could be extended into the localities. A fuller consideration will be given to the impact on local government in Yorkshire of the re-established council of the north under the nominal headship of the Duke of Richmond in chapter 4. For the moment, it is adequate to point out that the introduction of regional councils in the northern and Welsh marches was the most significant modification for altering the balance of power in local government in those regions, more so than either the manipulation of the membership of judicial or administrative commissions or the insertion of individuals into royal offices.

In addition to their practical responsibilities of carrying out the crown's authority in their localities, prominent local men dressed in royal livery provided visual and living representations of the crown's authority, which was particularly important in regions where

²⁰⁴ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 2994.

²⁰⁵ Maureen Jurkowski, Carrie L. Smith and David Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales, 1188-1688*, (PRO Handbook, 31), (Kew, 1998), p. xliii.

²⁰⁶ A possible 54 men have been identified in Wolsey's household as having been named on the commissions to collect the subsidies levied in the mid 1520s.

²⁰⁷ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3282, pp. 1363, 1366; TNA, E 36/221, f. 25r.

²⁰⁸ *LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1363; *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, p. 459; *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. x.

the royal court itself would not be seen. Royal progresses, which substantiated the legitimacy of the ruling monarch through the display of visual magnificence, were crucial in consolidating the Tudor dynasty. Unlike his father, Henry VIII did not need to fortify his right to rule in the face of potential opposition, but progresses could still function as an important medium for expressing the crown's supremacy. Henry's progresses were limited to the summer months and rarely strayed far from his favoured royal residences in the south-east, such as Ampthill, and the residences of long-serving royal servants, such as Sir Thomas Lovell's residence at Elsing in Middlesex.²⁰⁹ Only once, with the exception of the progress to the Field of Cloth of Gold, did Henry VIII stray much further afield, visiting seven counties in the summer of 1526.²¹⁰

As has been mentioned previously, personal contact with Henry was important to Wolsey's ability to secure patronage for himself and his followers, and thus, his own progresses were largely dictated by the itinerary of the royal court. Wolsey demonstrated his awareness of the power of public ceremony for the validation of authority, such as in the elaborate ceremony he devised for his reception of the cardinal's hat.²¹¹ In a similar fashion to that of royal progresses, Wolsey's progresses asserted his own authority and helped to create his public image, which was also constructed through his patronage of humanist scholars and his educational foundations. His personal progresses consisted of travelling to Westminster every day during law term and to the royal court on Sundays.²¹² Further, he made progresses between his residences while the court itself was on progress during the summer.²¹³ Lastly, Wolsey's most spectacular progresses were reserved for great diplomatic occasions, such as the Field of Cloth of Gold.²¹⁴ Thus, since the progresses of both the king and his leading minister were limited to the area around the capital and foreign diplomatic events, rather than intended as propaganda to reinforce the government's local authority, the presence of men wearing royal livery in the far reaches of the kingdom as symbols of the crown's authority bear even greater weight.

Conclusion

Wolsey was the leader of an emerging type of affinity in the early Tudor period, based primarily on administrative service and which, by virtue of the fact that its head was a leading crown administrator, constituted an extension of royal power. The appearance of

²⁰⁹ Samman, 'Progresses of Henry VIII', pp. 60, 66.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²¹¹ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Wolsey*, p. 17.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 24-6.

²¹³ Samman, 'Henrician Court', pp. 219-20.

²¹⁴ *CSP Ven, 1520-6*, pp. 56-9, 67-8, 80-2. Further discussion of the importance of Wolsey's magnificence at European diplomatic activities can be found in Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*. Second Edition. (Oxford, 1997), esp. chapters 4 and 6.

these types of affinities resulted from the changing nature of land tenure in England, and their growth was encouraged by Henry VII who used them to solidify his hold on the crown. The basis for Wolsey's authority was the possession of both royal and ecclesiastical offices, which was contingent on his ability to maintain the favour of Henry VIII. As the leading minister in royal government, the division between a personal affinity belonging to Wolsey and a royal affinity is indistinct. Men provided Wolsey with service because of his standing in royal government and his favoured position with Henry VIII, as well as his prominent position in the church. This was true not only of men who served Wolsey in his capacity as Lord Chancellor, but also of men serving Wolsey in his other offices. Men shifted around both geographically and among a variety of roles, which highlights the integrated nature of the various parts of the affinity. This continual realigning resulted from the nature of service in this period, which was not necessarily provided for a specific office but described a relationship between two men more generally.

In return for administrative service, Wolsey offered material rewards to his clients and servants in the form of grants of offices, annuities, lands and cash payments, and intangible rewards in the form of access to, and influence with the monarch and leading political figures. The means to reward clients came primarily from royal revenues, as well as from the church, but his reliance on royal resources to establish and maintain his authority further supports the argument that his management of men should not be separated from that of the crown. The possession of estates which Wolsey acquired through his ecclesiastical offices provided him with the resources needed to maintain a large and ever expanding clientele. However, Wolsey was careful to ensure that he did not distribute the rewards at his disposal in such a manner as to compromise his larger goal to establish strong and effective crown administration.

Service-based affinities lacked the territorial element which characterised their medieval predecessors. Since the basis for Wolsey's power did not reside in the concentration of estates in a particular region, the origins of men in the affinity were not restricted to a particular region. Consequently, the geographical distribution of men within the affinity was spread widely with the intention of implementing royal policies throughout the kingdom. Land, however, remained crucial to the mechanics of patronage relationships and power networks. The possession of landed estates in a region provided clients with the clout necessary to have their official authority recognised by the community.

The development of an affinity under Wolsey affected the extension of royal government in the localities in two ways. The first was by bringing established noble and gentry affinities in the provinces into the orbit of central government. The second was by

inserting officers from central administration into the localities. Neither of these policies was novel to early Tudor government, but continued the development of royal influence over local government which had been occurring since the late fourteenth century in which leading gentry were retained to provide support for crown policies. The primary means through which Wolsey sought to broaden the royal prerogative was by issuing royal commissions for implementation in the provinces. Thus, an examination of Wolsey's household and wider affinity tells us not only about the structure of early Tudor patronage networks and the affinities which they bound together, but also about how they were managed to expand the royal prerogative in the localities under Wolsey's direction.

After Wolsey's fall, his household disbanded rapidly and the members of his affinity moved on in search of further patronage, mostly into a direct patron-client relationship with the crown, or in a patronage relationship with the crown but as mediated by Thomas Cromwell, while others looked further afield.²¹⁵ The king's 'great matter' led to Wolsey's disgrace and provided the catalyst for the religious and political reformation of the 1530s which challenged affinal ties like never before. Men formerly in Wolsey's affinity found themselves on opposite sides of the religious chasm of the 1530s: men like Stephen Gardiner and John Clerk were pitted against men like Thomas Cromwell, Richard Champion, and even Wolsey's former ward, Sir Francis Bigod, an ardent protestant and leader of a failed rebellion in Yorkshire.²¹⁶ Having held prominent roles in secular government under Wolsey, both Gardiner and Clerk fell from Henry VIII's favour in the course of the 1530s and their political marginalisation demonstrates that not all men were willing to sacrifice principles in the pursuit of self-interested career advancement. As Wolsey's former servants found out, and as this chapter has demonstrated, private and public service, interest, authority and beliefs were indistinguishable.

²¹⁵ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 64.

²¹⁶ A summary of Bigod's rebellion can be found in Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: the rebellion that shook Henry VIII's throne* (London, 2002), pp. 143-63.

Chapter 2: Education

Introduction

As the formal administrative apparatus of the royal government expanded at the royal court and household and in the provinces, driven by the crown's aspiration to appropriate the power networks of the political elite and by the gentry who aimed to share in the exercise of collective social power, the crown was making increasing demands on the administrative abilities of its most important servants. It was necessary, therefore, that the men selected for administration had the requisite practical training provided by the Inns of Court or, increasingly for the gentry, the universities. Education in humanism at the universities provided crown administrators, ambassadors and diplomats with the necessary tools to undertake the growing responsibilities of crown administration, contributing to the representation of their public roles, and enabling them to carry out their responsibilities more efficiently and effectively. When combined with his artistic patronage, the construction of magisterial collegiate buildings and the patronage of the finest humanist scholars from England and abroad contributed to Wolsey's public representation of himself as the pre-eminent broker of royal patronage, and a man at the forefront of the Italian and Northern European Renaissance movements, thereby justifying his claims to exercise social and political power. Thus, Wolsey's interest in education and patronage of scholarship had a multitude of benefits, both personal and for the improvement of the commonwealth. An examination of the educational standards, personal qualities and career paths of the men employed in his household will illuminate this aspect of Wolsey's interest in the overall promotion of the royal will throughout the kingdom.

In contrast with previous studies which focused on Cardinal College, Oxford, this chapter begins with a prosopographical examination of the men at the centre of Wolsey's affinity – his household – reconstructed from the subsidy lists compiled in the mid-1520s as an indicator for the importance which Wolsey placed on education as a quality among the clients he employed. In doing so, it will demonstrate the value of university training for retaining men within the royal affinity and government. The exceptionality of the few most outstanding of Wolsey's clients, scholarly protégés and associates has deflected consideration from a study of the bulk of his servants. Of those university-educated clergy in his employ surprisingly few possessed degrees in law or theology, the most practical qualifications for royal administration or advancement within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but the majority had training in the arts. This observation results partly from the nature of the sources, discussed in the previous chapter, but shows that, apart from the Stephen Gardiners and Cuthbert Tunstals, most of Wolsey's clients were unremarkable. Further, as

mentioned in the previous chapter, the lay gentlemen in his household were, for the most part, common law lawyers trained at the Inns of Court in London, rather than in humanism at the universities, a characteristic which supports the supposition that Wolsey was situated at a transitional moment in the evolving quality of royal administration. Thus, the first section of this chapter focuses on the second circle of his affinity, the household, thereby excluding consideration of scholars associated with Wolsey in other capacities since they have been situated among his casual clients.

Similarly, historians' claim that Wolsey was proficient in selecting and supporting bright young scholars needs to be qualified. The majority of university-educated clerics who appear in Wolsey's household had already completed their studies, and their presence there was an attempt to further their clerical careers. For some, Wolsey was not their first patron nor did he provide them with their first benefice. Few men on the household subsidy lists reached the clerical elite at the pinnacle of their careers. This suggests either that degrees in arts had not prepared them for the rigors of diocesan administration, or that Wolsey's influence over the distribution of royal and ecclesiastical patronage was not as comprehensive as some historians have previously argued. Further, as the following chapters will illustrate more clearly, those university-educated clerical clients who received benefits from Wolsey were not deprived of them as a consequence of his fall from royal favour. Such a situation reinforces the conclusion that these men can be identified as part of the royal affinity. By using the information compiled about geographical and social origins, education and life patterns, the provisional conclusions from this study of the university-educated clients in Wolsey's household informs us about the importance of the quality of education for selecting and employing clients, the educational standards of the pre-reformation clergy, and the degree to which the education and training of the kingdom's administrators in the early reign of Henry VIII was indicative of the increasing professionalization of the English civil service, which in turn contributed to the expanded role of the formal processes of government in the lives of ordinary people.

The sheer size and wealth of Cardinal College, Oxford, which was endowed at its foundation with over £2,000 from suppressed monasteries and appropriated ecclesiastical benefices, provided an additional source of benefaction for Wolsey's already overflowing fountain of ecclesiastical and secular patronage. Significantly, Wolsey did not use the colleges to reward or grant further preferment to members of his household, but instead used the endowments to employ leading humanist scholars from abroad and recruits from Cambridge. This point illustrates several attributes of Wolsey's educational patronage and broader patterns of distribution. The colleges were not simply constructed as show-pieces to flout his wealth and royal favour, but were created to provide the finest and most

practical education for ecclesiastical and royal administrators. The failure to present his household servants to positions in the colleges at Oxford and Ipswich suggests that Wolsey either did not want to relinquish their services or that a background in the arts meant that they were not suitable for undertaking that type of administrative project. However, household members appear to have exploited their intimate position in the affinity as brokers since several relatives of household officers received appointments in the new colleges. Some of his most senior household administrators assisted in the establishment of the colleges, but the inclusion of men native to Oxford confirms the distinct territorial element to Wolsey's distribution of patronage, an aspect of his patronage which will be discussed in more depth in the following chapters on York.

In addition to building an institution for offering practical instruction to government administrators, the second purpose behind Wolsey's educational activities was the prevention of heterodox religious opinions and the disorder and disobedience to ecclesiastical and secular authorities which accompanied them. Preaching was considered by humanist reformers as one of the most effective means for reforming the clergy. Provision for public preaching was a prominent feature of the statutes of Cardinal College, Oxford. However, the absence of any stipulations relating to preaching in the York *Provinciale* compiled by Wolsey in 1518 and intended for publication and distribution within the archdiocese implies that instead of comprising part of a wider reform program, the public preaching by doctors of theology at Cardinal College may have been designed as a rhetorical exercise.

Wolsey's foundation of a grammar school in his hometown of Ipswich has received less scholarly attention than his more majestic college at Oxford although, since they were intended as a pair, scholars often consider the two together. The most comprehensive treatment of the lesser Cardinal College, dedicated to St. Mary, remains an article by Caesar Caine published in 1914. In an attempt to resuscitate Wolsey's legacy, Caine argued for an appreciation of the cardinal's contribution to improving the quality of education in England.¹ The foundation charter was granted in June 1528 and outlined a school consisting of one dean, twelve priests, eight clerks, eight singing boys and poor scholars, 13 poor men to pray for the good estate of king and cardinal and for the souls of the cardinal's parents, and one undermaster in grammar for the poor scholars.² The Ipswich college was planned as the first of many grammar schools around the country

¹ Caesar Caine, 'Cardinal Wolsey's College, Ipswich', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Ser., 20 (1914), pp. 240-1.

² TNA, E 24/17/2.

which were intended to feed into Cardinal College at Oxford.³ Like Jesus College, Rotherham, the foundation of a previous archbishop of York, Thomas Rotherham, Wolsey's college at Ipswich did not survive much longer than the life of the founder.⁴ The works of these bishops fit within the context of educational provisions made by late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century bishops. Both Heal and Thompson found that bishops most frequently founded grammar schools as a way for promoting education, in addition to founding university colleges and providing endowments or scholarships.⁵ Further, basic educational provisions for the laity were also increasing in this period. York was the centre for elementary education in the north, and the number of opportunities for children to access learning continued to increase throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, culminating in the foundation of two new grammar schools in the mid sixteenth century, even at a time when the city was experiencing economic decline.⁶

The secondary literature on Wolsey's educational foundation at Oxford can be grouped into two broad categories. The earliest scholarship concentrates on the physical and economic aspects of the college buildings themselves. Based on a surviving book of building accounts, J.G. Milne and John Harvey reconstructed the expenditure required for the construction of the college for a single year, 1525.⁷ The buildings of Cardinal College are architecturally significant as one of the last great Gothic structures erected in England.⁸ The monasteries which were suppressed as a means of funding the institution have attracted attention from historians of the sixteenth century interested in a wide variety of topics, not only because of the extensiveness and value of the land involved, but also because it has been perceived as a precedent for the subsequent monastic suppressions of the 1530s.⁹ John Newman, among others, has argued that, as a physical manifestation of

³ John Newman, 'Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 107.

⁴ R.B. Dobson, 'The Educational Patronage of Archbishop Thomas Rotherham of York', *NH*, 31 (1995), p. 65.

⁵ Steven Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops, 1500-1558' (Unpubl. D. Phil. Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1984), pp. 212-4; Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 96.

⁶ J.H. Moran, *Education and Learning in the City of York, 1300-1560*. Borthwick Paper, 55. (York, 1979), p. 13.

⁷ J.G. Milne and John H. Harvey, 'The Building of Cardinal College, Oxford'. *Oxoniensia*, 8-9 (1943-4), 137-53.

⁸ Milne and Harvey, 'The Building of Cardinal College', p. 145; Newman, 'Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations', p. 111.

⁹ Newman, 'Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations', pp. 108, 113; John Newman, 'The Physical Setting: New Buildings and Adaptation', in *The History of the University of Oxford, volume 3, The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (8 vols, Oxford, 1986), p. 613; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England, vol. 3: The Tudor Age* (3 vols, London, 1948-59); F.A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (2 vols, London, 1906); Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1718), p. vii. Although Wolsey's suppressions of smaller monasteries preceded the full-scale monastic suppressions of the 1530s, precedents in which the subsequent revenue was used for secular purposes can be traced to the reigns of the Plantagenet Kings Edward I and Edward III when William of Wykeham purchased dissolved alien priories resulting from the Hundred Years War for New College, Oxford and his grammar school,

Wolsey's rapacity, Cardinal College is best understood as Wolsey's attempt to surpass Magdalen College, Oxford in both scale and splendour.¹⁰

The other and larger category of historiography addresses the college's statutes and proposed curriculum. Studies of these statutes have been closely tied to research on the increasing influence of humanism on the university curriculum and in the practical politics of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The renewed attention of social historians to education in the mid-1980s stimulated a growth in research on the progress of the new learning as the core of the university curriculum in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹¹ As early as 1965, James McConica argued that the early sixteenth century represented a watershed for English universities, which experienced changes not only in the content of their curriculum, but also in their structure and their relationship with royal government.¹² The development of the renewed interest in the study of the classics in this period is significant because its influence reached beyond the confines of the universities to the royal court and secular government.¹³

Because of the nature of the curriculum Wolsey constructed at Cardinal College, the historiography concerning the scholastic-humanist debate in late medieval European universities is central to scholars' appreciation of Wolsey's collegiate foundation. The enmity between the humanist and scholastic factions arose in the fifteenth-century Italian universities, in which the central point of contention was the style of Latin used for textual analysis by scholastics.¹⁴ By the sixteenth century, the debate between the two opposing camps had extended to encompass the appropriate curriculum for universities.¹⁵ In the early sixteenth century at Oxford, the curriculum was still heavily weighted towards the scholastic tradition. Even the foundations of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, such as Brasenose College established in 1512, retained a strong scholastic element.¹⁶ Richard Fox's Corpus Christi College founded in 1517, while preserving some

Winchester College, J.H. Harvey, 'The buildings of Winchester College', in *Winchester College: sixth-century essays*, ed. Roger Custance (Oxford, 1982), 77-127; A. Hassell Smith, *New College, Oxford, and its buildings* (Oxford, 1952). Wolsey's direct inspiration likely came from William Waynflete's purchases and appropriations of monastic lands for his foundation, Magdalen College, Oxford, under Henry VI, Virginia Davis, *William Waynflete: Bishop and Educationalist* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 42n, 127.

¹⁰ Newman, 'The Physical Setting', pp. 612-3.

¹¹ Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986); A. Fox and J.A. Guy, eds., *Reassessing the Henrician Age* (Oxford, 1986); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (London, 1986); A. Rabil, Jr., ed., *Renaissance Humanism: foundations, forms and legacies* (3 vols, Philadelphia, 1988); Thomas F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonwealth* (Cambridge, 1989).

¹² McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, p. 76.

¹³ W. Gordon Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, MA., 1948); James McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1968).

¹⁴ E. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MA., 1995), p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁶ James McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', in *The History of the University of Oxford, volume 3, The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (8 vols, Oxford, 1986), p. 9.

aspects of scholasticism, also encouraged the pursuit of the new learning with the introduction of three public lectureships and an emphasis on humanist scholarship in its statutes.¹⁷ Humanism needed, and received, the support of key governmental patrons such as Fox, Fisher and Wolsey, for its implementation as the standard curriculum at the universities. Despite the apparent disparity that existed between the scholarly camps, the two were not incompatible. An understanding of Greek and Hebrew did not preclude an interest in scholasticism, as exemplified by Corpus Christi College, which was intended to educate students in both the traditional and new ways.¹⁸

The seeming incompatibility between proponents of the two intellectual currents has been used as a basis for evaluating Wolsey's educational foundations, and through these, to evaluating Wolsey's personal intellectual interests and religious convictions. By studying Wolsey's colleges, scholars have attempted to determine Wolsey's place among the early patrons of English humanism. Wolsey's collegiate statutes, which imitated those for the earlier foundations of St. John's College, Cambridge and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, blended the scholastic tradition with the new learning.¹⁹ Those scholars of early modern humanism who have argued for an incompatibility between the traditional curriculum grounded in scholasticism and the new learning which came to replace it, contend that the presence of scholastic elements in Wolsey's proposed curriculum means that he cannot be identified as a genuine humanist, that he did not properly understand the elements of the intellectual trend, and that his patronage was solely self-interested in creating the magnificence of a Renaissance patron.²⁰ Peter Gwyn has argued that there is no evidence on which to claim that Wolsey had a strong personal commitment to the humanist agenda, a conclusion which does not diminish his contributions to establishing the new learning in England or in promoting its scholars to prominent political roles, thereby influencing the course of political discourse in the 1530s.²¹ Meanwhile, other scholars have argued that it was the fall and subsequent death of Wolsey in 1530 which, when combined with the pressure to decide the king's great matter in the monarch's favour, provided an unprecedented opportunity for the new learning to influence political policies, thus shaping the course of religious and political reform in the 1530s, and which

¹⁷ Craig W. D'Alton, 'The Trojan War of 1518: Melodrama, Politics and the Rise of Humanism', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28:3 (1997), p. 730.

¹⁸ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 1; D'Alton, 'The Trojan War of 1518', p. 730.

¹⁹ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 78; McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', p. 32.

²⁰ Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, p. xii. Gunn and Lindley described Wolsey's patronage of humanist scholars as a 'question of fashion', see their 'Introduction', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 13. In contrast, Davis argues that in the late fifteenth century in England humanism was seen as a means to end, or a way of enhancing studies of scholasticism, rather than as a study of humanistic ideas themselves, *William Waynflete*, p. 85.

²¹ Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: the Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), p. 477.

had been stifled under Wolsey's dominance by his adherence to the traditional scholastic programme.²² Such a conclusion argues from the coincidence of timing. The first full generation educated in a humanist-inspired curriculum at the universities was just reaching the age where they were beginning to make the transition into royal service around the same time of Wolsey's death.

Scholars have also emphasised the continuity present in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century humanist movements in England and, while Wolsey's college cannot be deemed novel unto itself, it deserves its place among the colleges responsible for bringing humanism to the fore. Links with previous humanist foundations, such as Corpus Christi, Oxford, St. John's and Christ's Colleges, Cambridge, as well as Wolsey's former college, Magdalen, have also been emphasised.²³ This continuity is evident not only in the language and content of the statutes provided for Cardinal College, but also in the men with whom Wolsey sought to surround himself in the various circles of his affinity: within his household, for those scholars to whom he granted a living at his college, and in his mentors, friends and professional colleagues.

This discussion of Wolsey's interest in humanism as a scholarly pursuit brings us back to the perceived goal of education in Wolsey's wider agenda of effective royal governance and concern for religious orthodoxy. The importance of the Cardinal Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich is not that they provide insight into Wolsey's personal intellectual pursuits or religious convictions, for which other sources are lacking. Nor does it reside in its contribution to the rise of humanism in the universities. Rather, its importance is in the practical implications which an education at Cardinal College was intended to provide. Education, along with administrative experience, was becoming one of the most common criteria for selecting men to enter the royal affinity. They needed to have the requisite tools to undertake the duties required of them in offices and on commissions. This is equally true for clerics seeking to advance through the ecclesiastical hierarchy into positions in diocesan administrative and cathedral dignities. Finding an influential patron such as Wolsey remained vital, but in order to attract the attention of that patron and secure his favour, the client needed to demonstrate his usefulness and ability. A comprehensive university education was one of the means to do so. Thus, education ties into Wolsey's interest in constructing an affinity in the service of the crown to create effective and orderly government throughout the realm.

²² Richard J. Schoeck, 'Humanism in England', in *Renaissance Humanism: foundation, forms and legacy*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr. (3 vols, Philadelphia, 1988), vol. 2, p. 29; Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal*, p. 280.

²³ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, pp. 11, 27; McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, p. 83

A final section on books will further illuminate some of Wolsey's intellectual pursuits and educational goals. The lack of a surviving library catalogue or will for Wolsey, two of the most common sources used by historians to establish book ownership, hampers any investigation into Wolsey's literary tastes. Several books which can be identified with him personally imply that his traditional religious convictions place him well within the convention for early sixteenth-century higher clergy, while speaking little to any personal interest in the humanities. His religious conservatism is further suggested by the presence of scholastic texts on the curriculum for his Oxford college, a feature which distinguishes it from its most immediate collegiate predecessor, Fox's Corpus Christi. Further evidence for Wolsey's intellectual and scholarly interests is ambiguous. Libraries of clerics closely associated with Wolsey demonstrate the practical nature of book ownership. An examination of the English books dedicated to Wolsey illustrates wide-ranging intellectual interests which were neither wholly traditional nor entirely humanist. On the one hand, as the mediator for royal patronage, Wolsey was the natural target of artists seeking patronage. On the other, those made by humanist authors suggest that there was some engagement between the cardinal and proponents of the new learning. Thus, by examining Wolsey's patronage of literary works, the educational pursuits of the clergy in his household and the relationship between education and religious reform, this chapter contributes to a greater understanding of the importance of the new learning for Wolsey's administrative agenda and its place within the compass of his patronage.

Education and the Household

While Wolsey's most renowned, if not enduring, educational provisions were situated at Oxford, it is worth considering whether his household, which historians have noted as a place for humanist scholarship, made formal provision for education and learning. As the centre of a lord's conspicuous consumption, the patronage of humanist scholars in the early Tudor household contributed to the political and social standing of the master.²⁴ Like their secular counterparts, the households of bishops were intended to illustrate the magnificence which accrued from the secular and ecclesiastical authority of their masters.²⁵ As a result of a paucity of surviving sources, historians have been ambivalent about the type and amount of formal provision for education made available in the households of the English episcopate, while acknowledging that they provided a forum

²⁴ David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers, Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 6-8.

²⁵ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 247-8.

for discussing culture and learning.²⁶ Because of their wealth, bishops were better able to endow and found colleges and grammar schools than their clerical colleagues, thus diverting the attention of historians away from their households.²⁷ Judging from the high number of gentry sons who entered episcopal households, it is possible to infer that bishops made some arrangements for formal education, a conclusion which is reinforced by their exceptionally high presence in Wolsey's household.²⁸ For example, Richard was the third son of the gentleman Henry Eton of Eton and Jane, daughter of Thomas Cressett of Upton Cresset, Essex.²⁹ Not all, like Richard Pigot, the fifth son of Thomas of Whaddon, Buckinghamshire, were clearly intended for the church.³⁰ Families placed their sons in Wolsey's household both as a means of providing them with a basic education and also in the hope of future advancement in royal government. Rudimentary education for young boys may also have been provided, as the presence of a choir, made up of 10 choristers in 1521, was likely to have contained a moderate number of singing boys.³¹ The goal of educational provision in an ecclesiastical household was ultimately to enhance the quality of the clergy. But in the households of late medieval ecclesiastics who combined their service to the church with that of the realm, education served the dual purpose of producing well-trained representatives of the church and royal administrators.

By the end of the fifteenth century, a university education had become an essential pre-requisite for ambitious men pursuing an ecclesiastical career, particularly those who sought to ascend to the ranks of the higher clergy.³² Graduates of one of the two English universities dominated the top grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and were more likely to become bishops, diocesan administrators and to be involved in royal service.³³ By the

²⁶ Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, p. 78; Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 211; David N. Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the later middle ages* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 55. The most well-known example of educational provision in the household of an English bishop is of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d. 1500)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 28 Sep 2007.

²⁷ Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 153.

²⁸ See my analysis of the subsidy list of Wolsey's household 1523, TNA, E 179/69/8-10; Mertes, *English Noble Household*, p. 60; Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 211.

²⁹ *The Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Harvey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilley, 1634*, ed. W.C. Metcalfe, Harleian Society, 13 (2 vols, London, 1878-9), vol. 1, p. 50.

³⁰ *The Visitations of Bedfordshire, Annis Domini 1566, 1582 and 1634*, ed. Frederic Augustus Blaydes, Harleian Society, 19 (London, 1884), p. 46-7.

³¹ Roger Bowers, 'The cultivation and promotion of music in the household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 180. The presence of children is also suggested by the inclusion on TNA, E 179/69/9 of 'Orphans goods' valued at £18. In a letter to Richard Pace from 1518 Wolsey describes 'Robyn, my boy' which may be referring to either one of the choir boys or an orphan or ward, but confirms the presence of children within the household; *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 4053.

³² R.B. Dobson, 'Recent Prosopographical Research: University Graduates, Durham Monks and York Canons', in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genêt (Kalamazoo, MI., 1985), p. 185; Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 56.

³³ Margaret Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 78; Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 79.

fifteenth century, 91% of bishops held university degrees.³⁴ Even for those who were not aspiring to join the ranks of the church's elite, a university education was becoming the acceptable standard of education. In the early sixteenth century, all English bishops, with the exception of Richard Nix, bishop of Norwich (1501-1535), and Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester (1508-1536), presented university graduates to more than 50% of livings within their patronage.³⁵ In the diocese of Lincoln between 1495 and 1520, laymen presented 261 graduates to livings compared with 1168 non-graduates. Despite the numerical disparity, the quantity of graduates being presented to livings by laymen had increased from approximately 3.5% to 11.5% during the same period.³⁶ Thus, for parochial and elite clergy alike, a university education had become the necessary requirement for those seeking a highly profitable career in the church.

Given the importance of a university education in the career paths of early sixteenth-century clerics and increasingly for the laity in secular administration, we can expect the number of university graduates present in Wolsey's service to have been high. A comparison of the subsidy lists with the biographical registers of the universities compiled by A.B. Emden for Oxford and J. and J.A. Venn for Cambridge provide an approximation of the number of members of Wolsey's household who attended university at some point in their careers. Of the names which are legible from the most extensive subsidy list, E 179/69/9, 71 have been identified as possibly attending either Cambridge or Oxford, or approximately 16.6% of the total household. The number of Oxford students is higher than those at Cambridge, 36 or 8.4% compared with 19 or 4.4% respectively. There are also 15 names, or 3.5%, which appear at both Oxford and Cambridge and for which a positive identification is not possible. The small percentages, which contrast with previous findings, can largely be attributed to the nature of the sources. As mentioned previously, the subsidy lists are biased towards larger numbers of laymen from gentry families, who just as commonly received training at the Inns of Court in London. The gentry members of Wolsey's household who were overwhelmingly lawyers are representative of the older generation of royal administrators, such as those who served Henry VII. Their numbers dominate here because only leading county landowners who had sufficient wealth to have been included on the subsidy lists, whereas their sons who were being educated in Wolsey's household do not appear. Also, the subsidy lists would only have included clergy who were performing some sort of administrative duties for Wolsey, or those who can be describe as being 'on the payroll', but not those who were holding benefices elsewhere, since they would have been included on clerical subsidy lists for the diocese in

³⁴ Kenneth Carleton, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520-1559* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 74.

³⁵ Thompson, 'Pastoral Work', Table II, p. 28.

³⁶ Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 45.

which they held their benefice.³⁷ It is possible that the unbeneficed were less likely to have a university degree which could further explain the small numbers. Because of the general absence on the subsidy lists of lay gentry with a university education, this section will focus on the clerics who had attended university.

This data can be used as a sample of sixteenth-century university-educated clergy in Wolsey's household and place them within the context of the historiography on the pre-Reformation clergy, as well as identifying the importance of university education in the careers of early Tudor administrators. Tracking information about them, such as their social and geographical origins, degree or course of study, life pattern or age, and career trajectory and Wolsey's role in helping to shape it, reveals some of the fundamental characteristics of early Tudor clerical and lay administrators. It also illuminates some of the features of secular, ecclesiastical and educational patronage in the early Tudor period. Having highly-educated clerics and administrators at his disposal among the most intimate circles of affinity which situated them at the heart of royal politics was important for the effective administration of the church and the kingdom. The role of clerics in secular administration is explored in greater detail in the following chapter. This study will show that the clergy employed in Wolsey's household shared many of the same characteristics as their colleagues elsewhere, both with those who achieved highly successful clerical careers and those of more moderate ambition.

The majority of clergy in Wolsey's household who may have attended university appear to have originated primarily from the southern counties. Such a pattern of geographical origins of clergy mirrors the pattern of employment of secular men who came from the counties situated nearest the household. Of the twenty five names that can be identified with some degree of certainty, the largest numbers were first, from the diocese of Lincoln and second, from Hampshire. Those who came from Hampshire were the result of the recruitment by Winchester College of its tenants' sons. Richard Welles from Twyford, Edward Smyth from Andover, and Thomas White from Havant were all sons of tenants of Winchester College.³⁸ The numbers which suggest that Lincoln had the most representatives of university-educated clergy serving in Wolsey's household, six, may be misleading. Some clergy were not ordained before leaving to study at Oxford and thus their presence on the ordination lists of the diocese may not indicate their region of origin, but rather the fact that they were ordained while attending university. As religious houses were the most common bestowers of titles for ordination in the early sixteenth century, students at Oxford were frequently ordained to titles from the local monasteries, Oseney

³⁷ Such as that for clergy in the Province of York, 1522, TNA, E 179/239/224A.

³⁸ A.B. Emden. *A Biographical Register of the university of Oxford, A.D. 1501-40* (London, 1974), pp. 614, 522, 623.

and St. Frideswide's in particular. Those students who were ordained to titles from these monasteries were not necessarily native to the diocese of Lincoln or the county of Oxford.³⁹

Generally, since many secular clergy were not especially mobile early in their careers, ordination records and first benefices provide a good indication of the geographical origins of clergy.⁴⁰ Surprisingly, one of the country's largest dioceses, York, only had two representatives who can be definitely identified, Christopher Wylkinson and Thomas Person, while John Midylton may also have come from Yorkshire.⁴¹ There were representatives of university-educated clergy in Wolsey's household from all corners of the country, including Cumberland (John Armour), the West Country (Thomas Burges and John Dyer), and East Anglia (John Hill).⁴² The presence of these university graduates in Wolsey's household from a wide reaching geographical area is indicative of the attraction of university study to clergy and the potential for advancement it afforded. The fact that these students remained in the locality in Wolsey's household also tells us about the geographical mobility of the pre-Reformation clergy seeking advancement. They were more likely to find employment and patronage in the south east and near the universities.

University-educated clergy were the most mobile of their clerical colleagues and comparing the geographical origins of those in Wolsey's household with the locations where they held benefices reinforces this conclusion. Robert Moore of Shropshire is recorded as a chaplain and fellow of the collegiate church of St. Peter in Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire in 1535.⁴³ John Armour from Greystoke, Cumberland and a Cambridge graduate was holding the vicarage of Sutton Valence in the diocese of Canterbury in 1535.⁴⁴ Those clergy who were interested in advancing their fortunes recognised that successful careers required them to be mobile, and the south east of the country, with the presence of the royal court, was particularly attractive. Others preferred to return to their native counties or dioceses. John Reede returned to his native Hampshire

³⁹ Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 71.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴¹ Wylkinson was ordained Acolyte, 29 May 1507, BI, Reg.25 (Savage), f. 140 and Priest, 3 March 1509, BI, Reg.26 (Bainbridge), f. 101; Person was ordained Acolyte, 24 September 1524, f. 203v, Subdeacon, 11 Mar 1524, f. 205 and Priest, 23 September 1525, f. 208, all in BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey). Midylton is recorded as proceeding BCL at Oxford, no college or date, and was ordained 16 March 1499, A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the university of Oxford to 1500* (3 vols, Oxford, 1957-9), vol. 2, p. 1277.

⁴² J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, part 1 to 1751* (2 pts. in 10 vols, Cambridge, 1922-54), pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 40; Emden, *Register of the University of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 85, 309, 615.

⁴³ *The Visitation of Shropshire, taken in the year 1623...with additions from the pedigrees of Shropshire gentry taken by the heralds in the years 1569 and 1584*, ed. George Grazebrook and John Paul Rylands, Harleian Society Publications, 29 (2 vols., London, 1889), p. 365; *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII: Auctoritate regia institutus. With an introduction and indexes by Joseph Hunter*, ed. John Caley (6 vols, London, 1810-34), vol. 4, p. 310.

⁴⁴ Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 40; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 1, p. 95

after completing his studies at Oxford, holding the rectories of Bighton and Faccombe, as well as the vicarage of Andover.⁴⁵ However, for those entering Wolsey's household, the ultimate goal was eventual promotion into the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or into further offices in royal administration or the royal household. Mr. John Moore, who may be associated with the cleric of the same name in Wolsey's household, appears as the king's chaplain in 1542.⁴⁶ The parishes of London were a source of ecclesiastical patronage for rewarding clerics whose service for Wolsey required their continual presence. Susan Brigden found six chaplains holding London benefices who can be associated with Wolsey, of whom Laurence Stubbs, Robert Carter, William Capon and John Palsgrave can be identified as having served in Wolsey's household.⁴⁷

Adding to their high rate of mobility was the fact that many university graduates served in diocesan administration and were likely to move with the bishop upon translation. It is noteworthy that there are few higher clergy or future members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy present in Wolsey's household on the subsidy lists. One of those who did achieve clerical success was John Pope, a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford who proceeded BCL in 1528 and BCnL in March 1531. He held several canonries in Lincoln Cathedral and later became the cathedral's chancellor, as well as holding the archdeaconry of Bedford from 1554 until his death in 1558.⁴⁸ Thus, based on an evaluation of the subsidy lists, highly successful ecclesiastical careers for some clergy did begin in Wolsey's household.

It is much more difficult to identify the social origins of pre-Reformation clergy since details of their early education and careers are often sparse. Although the church was an effective avenue for social mobility, the clerical elite continued to be dominated by the sons of land-holding families. David Lepine has observed that the majority of canons, who ranked just below the episcopate in the clerical hierarchy, came from land-holding families, ranging from the yeomanry to the peerage.⁴⁹ Similarly, although Andrew Chibi concluded that Henrician bishops were 'career-minded social climbers' who came from all social classes, those from wealthier families still had a much better chance of achieving promotion to the episcopate.⁵⁰ This is partially a reflection of the fact that land-holding families were in a better position to support a university education, which had become the foundation for realising a career in the church.

⁴⁵ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 480.

⁴⁶ *Registrum Thome Wolsey, cardinalis ecclesie Wintoniensis administratoris*, ed. Francis Thomas Madge and Herbert Chitty, (Oxford, 1926), p. 98.

⁴⁷ Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), p. 162n.

⁴⁸ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 457.

⁴⁹ Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 48.

⁵⁰ Andrew Allan Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops: Diplomats, Administrators, Scholars and Shepherds* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 255, 257; Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 49.

Despite these drawbacks, it is possible to identify the social origins of some university-educated clergy in Wolsey's household. Roger Hunt was a member of the gentry family residing at Chalverston in Bedfordshire. He proceeded MA at Oxford in 1510, practised as a notary public in London, and went on to become a proctor in the Court of Arches and Clerk of the Admiralty.⁵¹ Coming from an established family probably assisted Hunt's progress into ecclesiastical administration. Whereas clergy from a poorer background, such as Richard Colshyll, a minor cleric in Exeter Cathedral, may have been unable to find the necessary funds to study at university, coming from a family which could support a younger son's studies did not necessarily mean that clerics had a university education. John Holland, the second son of Sir Thomas Holland of Estovening Manor in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, does not appear to have attended either English university.⁵² Nor does Richard Eton from Eton, Essex appear to have studied at university.⁵³ These clerics would likely have benefited from familial connections or advowsons to secure ecclesiastical benefices and may not have had aspirations for a career among the higher clergy. Holland, for example, later held the rectory of Ashby (Ashby-cum-Fenby) in his home diocese of Lincoln.⁵⁴ Like their contemporaries in other dioceses, the clergy in Wolsey's household came from a variety of social backgrounds. Given the nature of the subsidy lists, however, it is probable that only those clergy who were unbeneficed at the time were included, and those without benefices were less likely to have received higher levels of education.

It is doubtful that clients combined studies at one of the universities while simultaneously serving in Wolsey's household, since studies demanded a client's presence at the university, rendering it difficult for him also to hold an office in Wolsey's household. The situation was not impossible, since service in a domestic establishment was normally only required for one-quarter of the year. However, it is more reasonable to conclude that clients joined his household either prior to enrolling university or after completing their studies. John Dyer was well established in his career before entering Wolsey's service, having proceeded MA in 1494 and holding the rectory of Radclive, Buckinghamshire since 1496. Dyer was admitted to Winchester College in 1481 which places his birth year in either 1469 or 1470 and he died in 1527. Clerics who appear on the subsidy list for Wolsey's household in the year 1523 (E 179/69/9) may have continued to receive support from their former master after leaving his household to pursue a university

⁵¹ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 305; *Visitations of Bedfordshire*, p. 38; *The Registers of Thomas Wolsey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, etc.*, ed. Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, Somerset Record Society, 55 (Frome, 1940), p. 133.

⁵² *The Visitation of the county of Lincoln made by Sir Edward Bysse, etc.*, ed. Everard Green, Lincoln Record Society, 8 (Horncastle, 1917), pp. 504-7.

⁵³ *Visitations of Essex*, pt. 1, p. 50.

⁵⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 4, p. 66.

education. Thomas Person who was admitted to BA at Queen's College, Oxford on 3 April 1525 and incorporated MA on 18 February 1528 may have been receiving support from Wolsey to study at university.⁵⁵ Similarly, John Johnson was admitted to Cambridge as a king's scholar from Eton on 11 August 1523 at the age of 18. He proceeded BA 1527-1528, MA in 1531 and served as a fellow from 1526 until 1541.⁵⁶

However, several scholars do appear simultaneously in the university registers and on the subsidy lists for Wolsey's household. Thomas Burges was admitted BA at Oxford in 1511, but is recorded as proceeding to the degree in 1528, while Thomas Beste was also admitted BA at Oxford in 1515 to which degree he determined in 1516, and then went on to the MA which he pursued from 1519 until 1526.⁵⁷ These examples suggest that, having come from families of low socio-economic status, their offices in Wolsey's household were a means of supporting their education through the payment of yearly wages in return for no or minimal service, or that they suspended their studies for a period of time during which they served in Wolsey's household.

In addition to supplying clergy with offices and a yearly wage in an episcopal household, there were other ways in which Wolsey may have supported scholars attending university. It was not uncommon for clergy to hold a benefice before beginning their study at university as a way of financing their education. For example, Robert Fraunces had been instituted to the rectory of Faringdon in Hampshire in 1526 before studying canon and civil law at both Cambridge and Oxford in the mid-1530s.⁵⁸ Christopher Wylkinson's possession of the vicarage of Guisborough, North Riding, Yorkshire, to which he was presented by the priory of Stanfield in 1516, would undoubtedly have helped to finance his studies at Cambridge where he proceeded BA in 1529-1530.⁵⁹ There is little evidence to indicate that Wolsey supported the clergy in his employ at university by awarding them ecclesiastical benefices. Wolsey failed to use the benefices in his patronage as archbishop of York to finance his household clerks at university.⁶⁰ Similarly, there are few instances in which members of Wolsey's household who attended university were the recipients of benefices in the archdiocese of York from other patrons. Robert Johnson who proceeded BCL at Cambridge in 1521-1522 was installed by Wolsey to the chantry of SS. James and Laurence in the parish church of St. Saviour, in the city of York. The patrons of this chantry were a group of lay patrons headed by Sir William Gilliot and may have been connected with the administration of the church. It is possible that Johnson owed the

⁵⁵ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 443.

⁵⁶ Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 478.

⁵⁷ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 47, 85.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁵⁹ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 25v; Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 410.

⁶⁰ Joel Arthur Lipkin, *Institutions in the Archdiocese of York, 1501-1547* (1979), BI, Add. MS. 170, pp. 53-4.

procurement of this benefice, which provided him with a means of financing his studies at Cambridge, to Wolsey's influence, but there is no evidence of a direct link.⁶¹

Another way in which diocesans supported clergy attending university was by providing them with exemptions from residence in their benefices to enable them to study. Five of Wolsey's household members who were possibly from the archdiocese of York received *letters dimissory* permitting them to be absent from their benefices for the purpose of undertaking study at one of the universities.⁶² Of these, only Christopher Wylkinson can be positively identified as attending one of the two English universities and was the only one of these five to have graduated.⁶³ Many more of the clerics in Wolsey's household may have attended one of the universities for several years but did not proceed to a degree, and thus the picture of the total number of pre-Reformation clergy attending university is incomplete.⁶⁴

Based on a comparison between the subsidy lists of 1523-1527 and Emden's biographical registers for Oxford, there is greater evidence to suggest that Wolsey supported scholars after their graduation from university. Like his episcopal colleagues in the early sixteenth century, Wolsey presented more university graduates to ecclesiastical benefices than non-graduates. According to Thompson's calculations, Wolsey appointed graduates to approximately 60% of the livings in his patronage as archbishop of York.⁶⁵ In John Marshall's case, a graduate of Cambridge, Wolsey was possibly influential in securing for him the vicarage of Forde in the diocese of Bath and Wells in 1520 while he was bishop, a benefice which was in the patronage of the prior and chapter of the cathedral.⁶⁶ With the exception of Marshall, the evidence demonstrates that Wolsey did not collate any other members of his household to benefices in the dioceses of Bath and Wells and Winchester while he was the diocesan. Thus, there was a variety of ways in which a bishop could support younger clergy. Wolsey, however, did not exercise much of the patronage in his control for the benefit of the university-educated clergy in his household employment.

The clergy who had completed their studies before entering Wolsey's household were inclined to be absentee holders of their ecclesiastical benefices. This pattern of

⁶¹ BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 49r; Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 480.

⁶² They are: John Danyell, of Misterton, 12 Feb 1516, f. 15v; John Marshall, of Terrington, 18 Jan 1520, f. 48r is possibly identified with the scholar of the same name who graduated from Cambridge; Thomas Adams, of Silton, 16 Sep 1520, f. 51v; William Mason, of York, 17 Feb 1521, f. 53v; Christopher Wylkinson, of Sandeby, 27 Mar 1522, f. 65v; BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey).

⁶³ Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 410.

⁶⁴ It has been estimated that 1/3 of clerics who attended university proceeded BA, while only 1/6 proceeded MA, Bowker, *Secular Clergy in the diocese of Lincoln*, p. 45.

⁶⁵ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', Table II, p. 28.

⁶⁶ Marshall proceeded BCL in 1517-1518, Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 147; *Registers of Thomas Wolsey*, p. 13.

holding benefices was typical of university graduates who were on average more likely to hold several benefices with cure of souls *in commendam*, or concurrently. They were also favoured with more valuable livings and were drawn towards ecclesiastical and state administration. Providing dispensations for non-residence was one way of exercising patronage.⁶⁷ Richard Wade, a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge held the vicarage of Wedmore, Bath and Wells and the rectory of Burton in the newly formed diocese of Bristol (formerly Salisbury) in 1535. Each was worth over £20 clear value per annum.⁶⁸ John Chapman was a fellow of De Vaux College in Salisbury beginning in 1516 while holding the rectory of Winterbourne Steepleton, Dorset *in commendam* until his death in 1541.⁶⁹ All of the above ties into the goal of the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage which was to create a diocesan administration capable of effectively supervising the quality of the clergy and to ensure the religious orthodoxy of the laity, a point which is more fully discussed in the following chapter. If this was indeed the motivation behind the manner in which Wolsey allocated the church patronage at his disposal then appointing men who were unable to fulfil their duties, whether through inadequate training or absenteeism would not have been in his best interest.

W. Gordon Zeeveld has argued that during Wolsey's ascendancy, there was an increased value placed on civil law as an instrument of learning.⁷⁰ The greater interest in the study of laws as a precursor to undertaking administrative work, however, is not a trend that can be attributed to Wolsey. Under Henry VII, 16 out of 27 bishops held degrees in law, while only six were theologians.⁷¹ Christopher Harper-Bill has argued that training in law was a more appropriate preparation for the pastoral activities of bishops.⁷² Most of the bishops under Henry VIII came from the secular clergy and were trained equally in theology or law which made them more suited to attend to administrative matters.⁷³ Seven of the bishops in office in 1520 studied theology at university of whom six held a degree; six were DCL and two were DCnL and DCL, while one was a bachelor in medicine.⁷⁴ During the period of Wolsey's dominance thirteen appointments were made to the episcopal bench, however, it does not appear that Wolsey exerted any influence over the

⁶⁷ Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the diocese of Lincoln*, pp. 78-80, 86.

⁶⁸ Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 3, p. 308; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 1, pp. 191, 232.

⁶⁹ Emden, *Register of Oxford 1501-40*, p. 111. This John Chapman may possibly be identified as the man of the same name serving as archdiocesan registrar in the province of York, however, given that none of the other archdiocesan administrators from York or from any other the other dioceses under Wolsey's administration appear on his household subsidy lists, it is almost certain that they were two different men.

⁷⁰ Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy*, p. 22.

⁷¹ Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 75.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

selection of the new bishops.⁷⁵ There is no significant change in the composition of the Henrician episcopate until the 'great matter' encouraged the promotion of humanists, theologians and scholars who supported the king's position.⁷⁶

It does not appear that clerics in his household who had studied either civil or canon law received substantially more preferment from Wolsey than scholars with a degree in the arts. Thus, the study of civil law does not seem to have been an important factor for gaining employment in Wolsey's household. Of those on the subsidy lists who can be most positively identified as having attended university, the majority proceeded MA (14), while the number of clerics with a BA was second (11). Bachelors in canon law (8) were also more highly represented than bachelors in civil law (4). The most prominent members of Wolsey's household with legal training were lay lawyers. At least nineteen, and possibly an additional three, members of Wolsey's household attended one of the Inns of Court in London, including his chamberlain, Thomas Denys and his comptroller, John Gostwyck.⁷⁷ The predominance of laymen with training in the common law is indicative of the wider movement in administrative service in which lawyers were increasingly employed as royal administrators in the place of clerics in local and central offices.⁷⁸

The study of civil and canon law may have been important for the advancement of clerics above and beyond the household, either into more intimate royal service or to assist in further projects, a fact which helps to explain further why clerics from Wolsey's household did not move into diocesan or royal administration. The laymen involved in preparing the colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, such as John Skewse, William Gascoigne and Thomas Cromwell, as well as the cleric William Burbank, had training in law. However, Wolsey continued to present clerics trained in theology to benefices. Out of the 49 clerics Wolsey collated to cathedral livings, 17 of them were theologians.⁷⁹ It is possible that Wolsey considered that those with training in the arts were not adequately educated to undertake large-scale administration or to be promoted to wealthier benefices and offices with greater responsibilities, and thus they remained in Wolsey's household for a longer period of time than their better educated colleagues. It is also possible that Wolsey did not desire to relinquish the services of his household administrators, regardless of the amount and kind of university education they possessed, because they proved

⁷⁵ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 72.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁷⁷ See chapter 1, fn. 109 for the names of lawyers serving in Wolsey's household.

⁷⁸ Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), p. 36; R.L. Storey, 'Gentlemen-bureaucrats', in *Profession, vocation, and culture in later medieval England: essays dedicated to the memory of A.R. Myers*, ed. C.H. Clough (Liverpool, 1982), p. 91.

⁷⁹ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 44.

themselves adept at undertaking their household duties and he required their assistance on a daily basis.

The importance Wolsey placed on learning was shared by the clerics in his household. The most common and cost-effective way in which clerics could further education was by leaving their books to individual scholars or to college libraries. Richard Eton gave two glosses, *Communis Glosa super Evangelia* and *Communis Glosa super Job et 12 Prophetas*, to Merton College, Oxford, in September 1499 for the use of the college's chaplains.⁸⁰ Richard Champion, a senior canon of Cardinal College, left his books to several of his friends, including 'to my especial good frend Mr. Dram, St. Augustine's works; to Mr. Dr. Rydlye, the Preacher, St. Ambrose, or some other like work'.⁸¹ Some were involved in providing education themselves. Thomas White served as the headmaster of Eton College from 25 March 1521 until 1525.⁸² Others dedicated their lives to study. Having lectured in logic and philosophy at Magdalen College and proceeded DTh in 1524, Robert Carter remained a canon of Cardinal College and its later manifestation, King Henry VIII College, until his death in 1541.⁸³

The university-educated clerics who found employment in Wolsey's household were, on the whole, typical of many ambitious men who pursued a career in the church in sixteenth-century England. Margaret Bowker's study of the clergy in the diocese of Lincoln under Bishops Smith, Wolsey and Atwater provides a yardstick against which to compare the clergy in Wolsey's household to their contemporaries. Both sets of clerics came from a variety of social backgrounds. Like the ambitious clerics in Lincoln, the members of Wolsey's household were in his employment in the hope of advancing their careers through the obtainment of further benefits. Many of the clergy from Wolsey's household who secured benefices often held them *in commendam*, an indication that income rather than the quality of parochial care was their main goal. Other avenues for preferment lay through administrative service in the church. In Lincoln, as in other dioceses in the sixteenth century, the diocesan administration was run by clerics with legal training.⁸⁴ At York, the dean and vicar general, Brian Higden, had a doctorate in civil law, while Thomas Dalby, archdeacon of Richmond and provost of Beverley Minster, had a

⁸⁰ Emden, *Register of Oxford to 1500*, p. 652.

⁸¹ *Testamenta Vetusta: being illustrations from wills, of manners, customs, etc.*, ed. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas (2 vols, London, 1826), vol. 2, p. 709. The 'Dr. Rydlye' which appears was Nicholas Ridley, later bishop of London and Marian martyr who was also a supervisor of Champion's will.

⁸² Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 623.

⁸³ *Register of Magdalen College, New Series, vol. 1, Fellows to 1520*, ed. William Dunn Macray (6 vols. Oxford, 1894), pp. 142-3; *Beverley Minster Fasti: being biographical notes on the provosts, prebendaries, officers and vicars in the church of Beverley prior to the dissolution*, ed. Richard Thomas Wright Mcdermid, YASRS, 149 (Leeds, 1993), p. 34.

⁸⁴ Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln*, pp. 23-9.

doctorate in canon law.⁸⁵ Notably, the clerics in Wolsey's household lacked this quality. The majority possessed degrees in the arts, which may have been an impediment to their further promotion. Ultimately, for clergy in sixteenth-century England, the path to promotion did not lie through service in the parish but in university education, royal service or service to a high-ranking ecclesiastical official.⁸⁶

The formal education provided in Wolsey's household would also have contributed to training lay diplomats and government administrators, however, there is no means for ascertaining with certainty the characteristics of that instruction.⁸⁷ Most probably, the tutoring was intended to edify clerical scholars but also lay gentlemen, an objective advocated by humanist scholars. In addition to increasing piety and morality, the learning of the ancient languages of Greek and Hebrew and the art of rhetoric had the practical advantage of equipping gentlemen with the essential skills needed to become skilful ministers and ambassadors.⁸⁸ That the production of skilled royal servants was one of the goals of Wolsey's educational provisions can be inferred from the large presence of gentlemen in his household who may have received such an education there. Clerics also provided trustworthy service in important administrative roles in the royal government, most frequently as foreign diplomats, but also within the internal administrative structure of the realm. Thus, studying the social composition of the university-educated clergy in Wolsey's household is important because they were situated in the second most intimate circle of his personal affinity, and as such, were part of the royal affinity, possessing the potential, because of their position, to take on further administrative responsibilities on behalf of the crown. As demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis, the royal affinity, which included Wolsey's household and affinity, was the main vehicle through which the royal prerogative was extended and intensified throughout the kingdom. Thus, these men were at the forefront of this process. Further, a study of these individuals also provides an insight into the changing nature of patron-client relationships in the early sixteenth century. The characteristics which they shared, in addition to a university education, may provide further insight into the qualities patrons were looking for in their clients.

Educational Patronage

The question needs to be asked about the place of Cardinal College as an institution in Wolsey's distribution of patronage, both to scholars and for the furtherance of education

⁸⁵ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 930; *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 44.

⁸⁶ Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 179.

⁸⁷ Cathy Curtis, 'Richard Pace's *De fructu* and Early Tudor Pedagogy', in *Reassessing the Henrician Age*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (London, 2002), p. 52; Claire Cross, 'Oxford and the Tudor State from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary', in *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. 3, The Collegiate University*, ed. J. McConica (8 vols, Oxford, 1986), p. 121.

⁸⁸ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 176.

(be it scholastic or humanist in orientation), and also for employing and rewarding members of his household and affinity. Ecclesiastical and royal patrons were especially important for the establishment of humanism as the dominant curriculum in the English universities.⁸⁹ The new foundations by Fox, Warham and Wolsey provided an arena for potential employment of humanist intellectuals.⁹⁰ Wolsey's patronage of young humanist scholars who played a prominent role in the theological debates of the 1530s is well known to historians. Humanist scholars were attractive to patrons in the early Tudor period because their oratorical skills and proficiency in grammar made them particularly suited to ambassadorial and secretarial roles.⁹¹ Among the most noteworthy examples include his employment of Stephen Gardiner, who entered Wolsey's household in 1524 and also received his introduction to royal service through Wolsey, being sent to Rome in 1528 with Edward Foxe in an attempt to persuade Pope Clement VII to award Henry VIII an annulment of his marriage.⁹² As this section will demonstrate, Wolsey did not use his collegiate foundations to reward his household servants, the core of his affinity, but rather sought to attract renowned humanist scholars from England and abroad.

Wolsey's patronage distribution in scholarship and his colleges corresponds to the broader patterns in his overall dispersal of rewards; it can be considered part of his general treasury of rewards but simultaneously remained separate from his other spheres of interest. The occurrence of few names in both Wolsey's household and at the colleges suggest that, with the exception of his most trusted agents, Wolsey was not using the colleges as a source of patronage to reward the members of his own household. The presence of nearly the same number of Oxfordshire men with no known previous association with Wolsey underlines the territorial aspects of Wolsey's patronage.⁹³ That household duties were not compatible with other projects is reinforced by the recalling of Nicholas Lentall to his household choir in 1528 who had been on loan to the choir at Ipswich College, and thus we can consider their exclusion from other projects by Wolsey as deliberate.⁹⁴ This reconfirms the strong aspect of territoriality in Wolsey's patronage, created by his ecclesiastical offices in particular regions, in which he employed as commissioners men who were resident in the locality, relying on their residency and local knowledge to efficiently and effectively achieve his aims. This pattern reflects the

⁸⁹ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, pp. 18, 23, 113.

⁹⁰ McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, p. 58.

⁹¹ Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 6.

⁹² Glyn Redworth, *In defence of the Catholic Church: the life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 12-3, 16-7.

⁹³ Thomas Cowper (clerk to auditor), Nicholas Townley (comptroller), Richard Tomyow (clerk comptroller), Thomas Russhe (attorney), Rowland Messaunger (comptroller), and John Smith (auditor); *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 673, vol. 4, pt. 2, nos. 3676, 4598, vol. 4, pt. 3, nos. 6186 (2), 6748 (8), p. 3042.

⁹⁴ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5052.

employment of his most trusted senior archdiocesan administrators in York to undertake administrative and judicial commissions with the assistance of lesser local men, a trend which is fully explored in the following chapter.

Further, the fact that the canonries, lectureships and other offices within the colleges were not used to reward servants from other parts of his affinity but were distributed to highly-regarded humanist scholars, such as the Spaniard Juan Luis de Vives and the Florentine friar Nicholas de Burgo, shows that the desire to reward faithful servants did not overcome his goal of constructing the finest educational institution, not only in England but in Europe. The connection between Wolsey's household and high-profile humanist scholars, however, is minimal. Vives and de Burgo cannot be identified as have been employed there, and while it is known from other sources that Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Starkey resided there for a time, the subsidy lists do not reveal a greater number of humanist scholars. Just because scholars do not appear in large numbers on the subsidy lists does not mean that the reputation of Wolsey's household as a centre of learning should be discounted, rather it highlights the fact that he supported scholars with the patronage made available from his colleges instead of providing them with household offices.

While for the most part, Wolsey's household officers, as they appear on the subsidy lists, were not the primary beneficiaries of the patronage created by his collegiate foundations, a small number of clerics from his household did receive canonries at his college. These few exceptions include Robert Carter who served in Wolsey's household, first as his steward in 1524 and later as his seneschal in 1526, and was rewarded with a canonry in Cardinal College, in 1527.⁹⁵ In the case of Thomas Burton, his appointment to a canonry in the college in 1526 was the means for bringing him into Wolsey's service, appearing in 1528 as one of the cardinal's chaplains.⁹⁶ The benefits of being appointed dean of Wolsey's college in Ipswich were short lived for William Capon who returned to his post as master of Jesus College, Cambridge, following the dissolution of the foundation in 1530. Capon is believed to have combined his academic duties with the position of almoner in Wolsey's household in 1527.⁹⁷ Not bestowing the patronage which became available by the establishment of Wolsey's colleges on his household differentiates it from the distribution of other ecclesiastical and secular patronage at his disposal because, for the most part, it was separate from the general treasury of largess from which clerics and royal administrators alike benefited.

⁹⁵ *Register of Magdalen College*, pp. 142-3.

⁹⁶ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 88.

⁹⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a life* (New Haven, CT., 1996), pp. 99-100; *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 111.

Nevertheless, kin of members of Wolsey's household did benefit from the patronage available at Wolsey's colleges, which highlights the role of place and proximity in accessing patronage in early Tudor England, and also of the role of the household as brokers for their own affinities. Nicholas Lentall, a member of Wolsey's household choir, was possibly the brother of Philip, who found employment as a clerk to John Smyth, Wolsey's auditor for Cardinal College, Oxford.⁹⁸ Thomas Newton, one of the senior canons at Cardinal College in 1525 until his premature death in 1528, was the brother of Arthur, a lawyer trained at Inner Temple and a member of Wolsey's household.⁹⁹ John Fryer's presence as a member of Cardinal College in some capacity in 1530 may be due to a kin relationship with George and Ralph Fryer, members of Wolsey's household.¹⁰⁰ Further possible kin connections can be made between William Weston, canon of Cardinal College, and John Weston of Wolsey's household, as well as John Person, canon, and Thomas Person. Kinship, particularly with individuals already in the service of a patron, was one of the primary means for securing patronage, a conclusion which holds true for those gaining access to Wolsey's service.

Wolsey also maintained links with the University of Cambridge, a relationship which was facilitated by the presence of a broker, Robert Shorton, master of Pembroke College from 1516 until 1534 or 1535, who was also dean of Wolsey's household chapel in the later 1520s. Clergy educated at Cambridge found employment in Wolsey's household through Shorton, particularly those from Pembroke from which college three clerics found their way into the cardinal's domestic establishment.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Shorton rather than Wolsey selected the scholars who migrated from Cambridge to Oxford to populate his new college. The disadvantage of using brokers to facilitate patronage relations with clients is that it placed the patronage at the mercy of the broker's judgment. Despite having a trustworthy agent in Shorton, Wolsey could not prevent the importation of Lutheran sympathies with the men who were recruited to join Cardinal College. There is no indication that Shorton himself was sympathetic to the continental reform movement, having been present at Wolsey's proceedings against the heretics Hans Russell and Henry Pryknes at Westminster in February 1526.¹⁰² However, Shorton appears not to have been vigilant enough in ensuring the religious orthodoxy of the scholars he preferred.

⁹⁸ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5052, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (8), p. 3042; TNA, E 179/69/9.

⁹⁹ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 416; *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6788; TNA, E 179/69/9.

¹⁰¹ John Clerke, Richard Redman and William Smith. Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 342, vol. 3, p. 436, vol. 4, p. 112.

¹⁰² *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1962.

Historians have long commented on Wolsey's ability to pick out rising stars in both humanist scholarship and administrative abilities.¹⁰³ This conclusion needs to be qualified. Many of the humanist scholars who entered Wolsey's service at one point or another in their careers had already received promotion and, in some cases, prominence thanks to the clientage of other prominent royal and ecclesiastical servants. Two of the most senior members of Cardinal Bainbridge's household at Rome, William Burbank and Richard Pace had already been introduced to royal service by the time they entered Wolsey's household following Bainbridge's death.¹⁰⁴ From Bainbridge, Burbank had received the prebend of Fenton in York Minster in 1512 while being employed as the cardinal's secretary at the Papal Curia.¹⁰⁵ Pace, author of *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur* (1517), had received his early education from Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester, and was introduced to the humanist circle at the University of Padua through Langton's continuing patronage. Unlike Pace and Burbank, Gardiner owed his introduction to royal service to Wolsey. However, Cambridge's selection of Gardiner as an emissary to royal courtiers such as Wolsey suggests that the university was already well aware of his scholarly and rhetorical talents.¹⁰⁶ Although scholars such as Gardiner, Pace and Burbank who shared humanist interests can be associated with Wolsey, their education and the cultivation of their interests in the new learning was owed to previous patrons.

Wolsey's fall appears to have had a minimal effect on the careers of the canons at Cardinal College, many of whom went on to have successful careers in the church and in royal service. Edward Leighton, John Crayford, Thomas Reynolds and William Bettes all became royal chaplains to Henry VIII.¹⁰⁷ Reynolds also went on to serve as a chaplain to Philip and Mary in 1555.¹⁰⁸ Walter Butler became an important member of local and royal administration, acting as secretary to Queen Katherine Parr by 1544 and serving as a Justice of the Peace for Gloucestershire in 1547 and 1550.¹⁰⁹ For others, the road to further promotion lay in finding another ecclesiastical patron. Richard Champion became a chaplain to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; John Person entered the service of Richard King, bishop of Oxford; and Richard Langrege acted as chaplain to Edward Lee, archbishop of York.¹¹⁰ Thomas Bagard's fortunes lay at the feet of Thomas Cromwell,

¹⁰³ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴ William E. Wilkie, *The cardinal protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 41.

¹⁰⁵ B. Jones, comp., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, vol. 6: Northern Province*, by John Le Neve (London, 1963), p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Redworth, *In defence of the Catholic Church*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 349, 479; *LP*, vol. 5, no. 1703 (iii), vol. 8, no. 287.

¹⁰⁸ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 479.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹¹⁰ *LP*, vol. 8, nos. 704, 963, vol. 9, no. 869; Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 443. Reginald Pole's household in Padua also attracted some former canons of Cardinal College after Wolsey's fall, including

whose patronage Bagard owed to his acquaintance with Edmund Bonner, who had served in Wolsey's household with Cromwell. Bagard was prominent in the diocesan administration of Worcester thanks to Cromwell's assistance.¹¹¹ Thus, the canons of Cardinal College proceeded to have successful careers which were not impeded by their earlier association with Wolsey, transferring into the patronage of another high-ranking ecclesiastical figure, or into other areas of royal service either at the court or in crown offices in the counties. Changing patrons was a common feature of lordship and service relationships in the late medieval and early modern periods and indicates that individual ability was a more important consideration. It may also signal that for those close to the heart of royal government, ties between a patron and his clients were based on a new code of honour monopolised by the crown at the expense of personal loyalties.

Wolsey patronised numerous scholars from Magdalen College, Oxford, his former college, suggesting that he felt a certain obligation to reciprocate the education he had received from the college which had helped to establish him in a successful career in crown administration. Thomas Starkey, a prominent humanist writer, later in the circle of Reginald Pole, was educated at Magdalen and was the recipient of Wolsey's favour when he was appointed as a proctor with Laurence Barber to settle an electoral dispute at the college in 1522.¹¹² A possible ten Magdalen graduates found employment in Wolsey's household.¹¹³ John Burton, a fellow at Magdalen from 1522 to 1526 and a lecturer in logic in 1524-1525, appears on the subsidy list for Wolsey's household.¹¹⁴ Arthur Cole, who later became president of Magdalen from 22 April 1555 until his death in 1558, served as Wolsey's cross bearer in the later 1520s.¹¹⁵ Founded by William Waynflete, Magdalen is recognised as the first humanist college at Oxford with its emphasis on the study of theology and philosophy rather than law, first providing a solid grounding in Latin grammar at its associated grammar school.¹¹⁶ In addition to being a former college member himself, this educational programme was one of the reasons Wolsey looked to Magdalen to fill his administrative needs. Also prominent in Wolsey's household were clerics who had been educated at William of Wykeham's twin foundations of Winchester

Thomas Starkey and Richard Morison, Kenneth R. Bartlett, 'Worshipful Gentlemen of England: The *Studio* of Padua and the Education of the English Gentry in the Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 6:4 (1982), pp. 238-9.

¹¹¹ *LP*, vol. 5, no. 1563, vol. 6, no. 14; Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 19-20.

¹¹² Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonwealth*, p. 28; Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 537-8.

¹¹³ Those who have been identified include: Laurence Stubbs, John Burton, Thomas Burton, Arthur Cole, Robert Carter and Robert Moore. Four further possible identifications include William Dawes, John Clerke or Clarke, William Smyth and John Stephen or Stevyns. Emden, *Register of Oxford to 1500*, vol. 1, pp. 364-5; vol. 3, p. 1809; Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 88, 122, 128, 399, 526-7, 540, 553; TNA, E 179/69/9.

¹¹⁴ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 88; TNA, E 179/69/9.

¹¹⁵ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 128.

¹¹⁶ Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*. 3 vols. (New York, 1924). vol. 1, p. 387.

College and New College.¹¹⁷ Their superior training in grammar made them particularly attractive as administrators.

The agents involved in the construction of Cardinal College also illuminate the vertical nature in which clientages can work. Thomas Cromwell's clientage was prominent in the preparations for both colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. William Brabazon and Ralph Sadler, who were to become prominent royal servants in the later years of Henry VIII's reign, were active in suppressing monasteries and administering their lands.¹¹⁸ Cromwell paid Stephen Vaughn for writing evidences for the college in 1529.¹¹⁹ Vaughn was a good friend of the lawyer John Hales, another servant of Cromwell, but whose presence on the subsidy list of 1523 for Wolsey's household suggests that he may have made Cromwell's acquaintance there.¹²⁰ Men, such as Hales, who appear as clients both to Cromwell and to Wolsey, may have been engaged in what Sharon Kettering has termed 'subpatronage', in which a client becomes the client of his patron's patron.¹²¹ These allegiances were not incompatible, as clients could render service to both patrons simultaneously, and the referring of a client to one's patron represented a demonstration of good lordship. In 1529 Cromwell recommended his client Ralph Sadler to Wolsey, commending his loyal service.¹²² Cromwell's role as one of the chief agents for establishing Wolsey's colleges also explains the presence in these affairs of Sir Henry Wyatt, an established Tudor courtier and member of Henry VIII's Privy Council. Wyatt had established close ties with his neighbours in the county of Kent, Cromwell and the Boleyns.¹²³

Thus, Wolsey's precise role in furthering the careers of clerics within his household remains uncertain. It was possible to gain access to employment in Wolsey's household, particularly through kinship connections. For most, however, the household, as it is reconstructed from the subsidy list compiled in 1523, did not represent the first step towards a successful ecclesiastical career orchestrated by a powerful patron. It has been suggested that an education in civil or canon law was the most useful for those seeking advancement in administrative posts within the church, while those who were in the possession of degrees in the arts were limited to household service. For the laity, acquiring an office within the domestic establishment of a leading crown figure was assisted by a

¹¹⁷ 6 can be positively identified: John Dyer, Richard Welles, John Croke, Edward Smyth, John Reede, and Thomas White.

¹¹⁸ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 2217 (1 and 2), vol. 4, pt. 2, nos. 4623, 5024, vol. 4, pt. 3, nos. 5405, 5792.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5787.

¹²⁰ TNA, E 179/69/9; Slavin, *Politics and Profit*, p. 137.

¹²¹ For example, Hales became Wolsey's client through Cromwell's recommendation. See Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients*, pp. 21-2.

¹²² Arthur Joseph Slavin, *Politics and Profit: a study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-47* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 23.

¹²³ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 3198; 'Sir Henry Wyatt' in Colin Burrow, 'Wyatt, Sir Thomas (c.1503-1542)', *ODNB*, (Oxford 2004), online ed., accessed 1 Oct 2007.

background in common law. For the most part, however, there is no explicit relationship between whether a cleric had university education and what they studied, and their ability to secure further preferment. Those clerics associated with Wolsey who tended to be the recipients of his patronage appear to have belonged to other parts of his affinity.¹²⁴

Education and Reform

Whether Wolsey intended serious reform of the English clergy under his papal legateship has been the subject of much debate among historians. This section will not seek to determine whether the genuineness of Wolsey's reform intentions can be unequivocally determined from the sources, rather it will attempt to establish what role Wolsey's educational provisions may have played in such an intended reform program. Critics of Wolsey's reform plan have cited the scale and wealth of his ecclesiastical building projects, and his procurement of both the cardinal's hat and the papal legateship as demonstrations of his greed and desire for aggrandisement, rather than believing that he intended to further legitimate reform.¹²⁵ Proposed clerical reform, Pollard has argued, was meant to enhance Wolsey's legacy rather than produce any constructive changes.¹²⁶ Scholars who argue that Wolsey did endeavour towards serious ecclesiastical reform have cited the views of several of his contemporaries on the episcopal bench, in particular, Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, who responded to Wolsey's call for a legatine council in 1518 by writing,

This day I have truly longed for, even as Simeon in the Gospel desired to see the Messiah, the expected of men. And in reading your grace's letter I see before me a more entire and whole reformation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the English people than I could have expected, or even hoped to see completed, or even so much attempted in this age.¹²⁷

In contrast, Bowker has argued that Wolsey's proposed reforms and management of the church garnered opposition from a number of the English episcopate. For example, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, objected to Wolsey's interference in his diocesan administration.¹²⁸ Similarly, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstal, complained that the

¹²⁴ Cuthbert Tunstal, John Clerk and John Longland, whose promotions to the Episcopal bench can be ascribed to Wolsey's influence, cannot be described as being within Wolsey's household proper, Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 72.

¹²⁵ G.R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558* (London, 1977), pp. 72, 92, 97. William Rockett argues that Wolsey's interest in halting the spread of heresy was limited to its interference on his foreign policy, 'Wolsey, More and the Unity of Christendom', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35:1 (2004), p. 137.

¹²⁶ A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929), p. 26.

¹²⁷ 2 February 1521, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 1122; Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 315, Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 152. The response of John Penny, bishop of Carlisle, in support of Wolsey's call for a legatine council also survives, TNA, SP 1/18, f. 36.

¹²⁸ Bowker, *The Secular Clergy of the diocese of Lincoln*, p. 8.

court Wolsey established by legatine commission in 1527 at Westminster to try the heretics Thomas Bilney, Thomas Arthur and Richard Foster, encroached on his prerogative as diocesan.¹²⁹ The clash between Archbishop Warham of Canterbury and Wolsey over probate jurisdiction compelled John Fisher, Richard Nix and Robert Sherbourne to side with Warham.¹³⁰

In the 1520s, the greatest threat in England to religious orthodoxy remained Lollardy.¹³¹ Since its expulsion from the English universities it had ceased to be an intellectual menace. However, the dissemination of Lutheran ideas into England through printed books raised fears that it would revive Lollardy and turn it into a powerful intellectual movement again.¹³² Despite Richard Rex's argument that Lollardy was not strong anywhere on the eve of the Reformation, the perception of the lay and ecclesiastical elite that such heterodox opinions could become prominent again in England is important because it was that perception which brought a new urgency to the fight against heresy by the church hierarchy.¹³³ The threat remained not so much with heretical opinion as such, but with the potential for disorder and disobedience to ecclesiastical and secular authorities which accompanied it, a prospective which was realised in the German Peasants' Revolts of 1524-1525.¹³⁴

Humanists were among those affected by the emergence of heterodox religious ideas into England. Originally non-doctrinal in nature, the introduction of Lutheranism caused the proponents of the new learning to divide between those who were sympathetic to the new religious outlook and those who were against it.¹³⁵ The scholars and their patrons originally associated with the new learning in England were all defenders of orthodoxy, and Maria Dowling and Richard Rex have both argued that there was no reason humanists should have been attracted to evangelical practices.¹³⁶ The increasingly doctrinal nature of humanism came to a head in England during Henry VIII's divorce proceedings. This division is highlighted in the careers of Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Cranmer, later Archbishop of Canterbury and Marian martyr who, despite sharing conservative sympathies throughout the 1520s, followed divergent theological paths after

¹²⁹ Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal: Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator* (London, 1938), pp. 136-9.

¹³⁰ Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 62-3.

¹³¹ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 86.

¹³² Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 41.

¹³³ Richard Rex, *The Lollards* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 120.

¹³⁴ Richard Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *HJ*, 39:4 (Dec., 1996), pp. 867-9.

¹³⁵ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 2.

¹³⁶ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 39; Richard Rex, 'The role of English humanists in the Reformation up to 1559', in *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the Thirteenth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, 1997*, ed. N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree and Henk Van Nierop (Aldershot, 1999), p. 31; Jonathan Woolfson, 'Introduction', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (London, 2002), p. 8.

1532.¹³⁷ Similarly, the careers after 1530 of the humanist scholars who can be associated with Wolsey or with Cardinal College, Oxford also demonstrate this division. While many remained conservative in their religious outlooks, others, such as Richard Champion who became a chaplain to Thomas Cranmer, had clearly accepted evangelical ideas.¹³⁸ Reginald Pole's household in Padua drew many of the conservative-minded scholars from Cardinal College, Oxford who were seeking a patron of similar standing to replace Wolsey.¹³⁹ While membership in the same affinity is not necessarily indicative of sharing religious views, the humanist scholars associated with Wolsey were by and large conservative. However, that many of them retained conservative opinions towards doctrine may be a reflection of their generation instead of their connection with Wolsey.

Among the most public manifestations of Wolsey's efforts to stamp out heresy were sermons and book burnings at St. Paul's Cross in London on 12 May 1521 and 11 February 1526, and a trial of heretics at Westminster in November 1527.¹⁴⁰ The London book trade was also a target of Wolsey, who called on the ecclesiastical authorities to use their powers to cause printers and booksellers to cease importing Lutheran works.¹⁴¹ John Scattergood has argued that anti-heretical literature written by John Skelton and Thomas More in 1528 was part of a centrally organised campaign against heresy orchestrated by Wolsey.¹⁴² In addition to the control of printed materials and public sermons, education was central to Wolsey's plans for clerical reform and for the prevention of the spreading of heterodox religious opinions. This section will focus on the type and quality of education provided in Cardinal College, Oxford and the second of its purposes, to ensure the promulgation of orthodox religious doctrine as part of a wider reform programme.

Several historians have argued that Wolsey intended Cardinal College to bring forth highly-educated priests and theologians who were capable of understanding their own faith and of combating heresy.¹⁴³ Preaching formed an important part of this program.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Two Dons in Politics: Thomas Cranmer and Stephen Gardiner, 1503-1533', *HJ*, 37:1 (Mar., 1994), 1-22.

¹³⁸ *LP*, vol. 8, no. 704, vol. 9, no. 869.

¹³⁹ Bartlett, 'Worshipful Gentlemen of England', pp. 238-9.

¹⁴⁰ Craig W. D'Alton, 'The Suppression of Lutheran Heretics in England, 1526-1529', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54:2 (2003), p. 229; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 161. For the view that the heresy trial was conducted as part of Wolsey's foreign policy to pressure Pope Clement VII to grant Henry VIII a favourable resolution of his marital issue by impressing on Rome England's interest in maintaining orthodoxy. Rockett, 'Wolsey, More, and the Unity of Christendom', pp. 136-8

¹⁴¹ A. Stewart, 'The Trouble with English Humanism: Tyndale, More and Darling Erasmus', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. J. Woolfson (London, 2002), p. 79; D'Alton, 'Suppression of Lutheran Heretics', p. 229.

¹⁴² John Scattergood, 'Skelton and Heresy', in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 161, 170.

¹⁴³ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford with royal patents of foundation* (3 vols, London and Oxford, 1853), pp. 74-8, 88. One of the few reasons for permitting senior canons to be absent from the college was for preaching in London. In addition to disputations held twice a week, the extensive provision for public preaching offered opportunities for students to exercise their rhetorical skills.

The extensive provisions for preaching provided by the statutes of Cardinal College do not necessarily mean that Wolsey was targeting parochial clergy. Contemporaries believed that the best bishops were those who were capable of preaching effectively.¹⁴⁵ However, the potential for Lutheranism to revive dormant Lollard communities suggests that Wolsey may have seen preaching in the parishes as a means of preventing the spread of heterodoxy among the non-literate laity. The compilation of the York *Provinciale* in 1518, in which the duties of the parish priest were enumerated at length, suggests that Wolsey may have intended the improvement of the moral and educational standards of the parochial clergy to form part of his reform endeavours.¹⁴⁶ The *Provinciale*, however, contains no explicit instructions for preaching by parish clerics. Neither do the college's statutes make any mention of the expected quality of the preaching by the doctors in theology or its objective, which may have been simply a rhetorical exercise. Thus, while preaching is prominent in Wolsey's collegiate statutes, its purpose is ambiguous.

A bishop's control over the quality of the clergy holding parochial benefices in his diocese was limited by the number of rectories and vicarages in his gift, which was usually only a small percentage of the total number and wealth of the bishop's patronage, and of the number of parishes in the diocese.¹⁴⁷ Only in Rochester (96%), Canterbury (90%), and London (63%) was parochial patronage more than half of the bishop's available patronage.¹⁴⁸ However, bishops did possess the ability to reject candidates presented by other patrons to livings within their dioceses.¹⁴⁹ Since bishops were very rarely personally involved in the visitation and correction of parishes, the appointment of individuals in diocesan administration who were loyal to the bishop was an important feature of the bishop's exercise of his patronage.¹⁵⁰ None was more loyal than Brian Higden, who followed Wolsey from the diocese of Lincoln to York and where, as archdeacon of York and soon after dean of York Minster, he acted as Wolsey's vicar general.¹⁵¹ In 1520, Higden refused to institute Lord Clifford's nominee to the family's benefice of

¹⁴⁵ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 165; Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 180.

¹⁴⁶ Reprinted in *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. David Wilkins (4 vols, 1737), vol. 3: *Ab anno 1350 ad annum 1545*, in particular, book 1, chapter 1, 'De summa trinitate et fide catholica', pp. 662-3 and book 3, chapter 1 'De vita et honestate clericorum', p. 669, chapter 2 'De cohabitatione clericorum et mulierum', p. 670, chapter 3 'De clericis non residentibus', p. 670 and chapter 13 'De celebratione missarum', pp. 674-5.

¹⁴⁷ The percentage of parochial patronage in a diocese belonging to a bishop was never more than 42% (Canterbury) and could be as low as 4% (Salisbury) and 5% (York). Brendan Bradshaw and Eamonn Duffy, eds., *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: the Career of Bishop John Fisher*, Appendix 4, p. 251 a reprint of a table from Thompson's dissertation.

¹⁴⁸ Bradshaw and Duffy, *Reform and the Reformation*, Appendix 4, p. 251.

¹⁴⁹ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁰ Bowker, *Secular Clergy in the diocese of Lincoln*, p. 66; Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 47.

¹⁵¹ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 101r, 103v, 106r; *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 9.

Londesborough based on the candidate's lack of learning.¹⁵² In addition to overseeing institutions, bishops and their delegates had the opportunity to improve the quality of the clergy by refusing candidates for ordination.

The effectiveness of Wolsey's intended reform of parochial clergy through education can be verified by examining the career destinations of the scholars educated both at Cardinal College and in Wolsey's household. If there were many who did not receive preferment into ecclesiastical administration or royal service, then most must have gone on to serve in parishes. For example, John Gardener was admitted BA 18 June 1511 and was incorporated MA in 1511 at Oxford. He later held the vicarage of SS Philip and James in Bristol from 1513 to 1526.¹⁵³ Thomas Person, also educated at Oxford, was presented to the rectory of Newnham, Hampshire in 1538.¹⁵⁴ Clerics from Wolsey's household were part of the increasing number of clergy in the sixteenth century with a university education serving in the parishes. However, as previously noted, many were absentee holders of benefices and there was no guarantee that their substitutes were adequately educated for parochial service. Thus, university education and its provision for preaching may not have been intended solely to produce royal administrators, but also to produce educated parochial clergy.

When taken in conjunction with his educational foundations aimed at improving the quality of the clergy and produce royal administrators and diplomats, the intended publication and distribution in the province of the York *Provinciale* provides the second half of a two-fold attack on heterodoxy.¹⁵⁵ Although Wolsey wrote none of the constitutions contained within the *Provinciale*, his selection of those published by previous archbishops can illuminate some of what he may have viewed as the most important ecclesiastical laws with which to acquaint parochial clergy and diocesan administrators. The editor of the only English translation of the *Provinciale* believed that the compilation was intended for parochial clergy since matters not dealt with by rectors and vicars were not included.¹⁵⁶ This is not an entirely accurate description of the contents. The constitutions were heavily weighted towards the legal procedure of the ecclesiastical courts suggesting that archdiocesan administrators, whose role was to supervise the parochial

¹⁵² '...surely I can not (of my conscience) admytte hym to itt, fore his connyng is marvyllus slendur. I have seyne few prestis so simple lernede chappens in my life.' *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.G. Dickens, SS, 172 (Durham, 1957), pp. 84-5.

¹⁵³ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 227.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹⁵⁵ The context for the York *Provinciale* is a year of concentrated reform undertaken by Wolsey, including the calling of a legatine council on clerical reform and proposed reform of the constitutions of the Augustinian monastic order. In 1518, Wolsey also produced statutes for St. Paul's Cathedral, London, which were inspired by the dean of St. Paul's, John Colet's proposed reformed statutes, but which, in contrast with Colet's, concentrated on creating an effective administration, Jonathan Arnold, 'Colet, Wolsey and the Politics of Reform: St. Paul's Cathedral in 1518', *EHR*, 121:493 (2006), pp. 999-1000.

¹⁵⁶ *The York Provinciale*, ed. R.M. Woolley (London, 1931), p. xiv.

clergy, were the intended audience.¹⁵⁷ Nor were the secular clergy of the archdiocese the exclusive recipients of the work. The religious clergy were addressed in Book 3, Chapter 10 when they were instructed to refrain from residing outside their religious houses without a licence.¹⁵⁸

The years immediately following the compilation of the *Provinciale* were also a time of intense reform directed particularly at the Augustinian and Benedictine religious orders. Heads of religious houses from both orders, as well as the Cistercians, were called to a meeting before Wolsey at Westminster to take place on 12 November 1519. Polydore Vergil reported that Wolsey's professed intention of reforming the abuses of the religious orders was a cover for trying to coerce cash payments from the monks.¹⁵⁹ After the meeting with Wolsey, the Augustinians assembled and composed a letter of objection to Wolsey's proposed statutes, the severity of which they believed would discourage new recruits and diminish their numbers.¹⁶⁰ Wolsey's efforts to undertake reform of the monastic orders leads to comparisons with his French counterpart the Cardinal d'Amboise, but the religious orders were also attracting reforming interest from other English prelates.¹⁶¹ However, Erasmian humanism, which advocated that the monastic life was not only unnecessary but also counter-productive, may have influenced Wolsey to concentrate his reform policy on providing collegiate education rather than on the reform of monastic institutions.

His agenda of reform towards the religious orders has contributed to the general impression that the orders were poorly managed, both financially and morally, thus justifying the dissolution of the smaller houses beginning in 1536. In this way, Wolsey's series of dissolutions for the foundations at Oxford and Ipswich have been interpreted as a precedent for those orchestrated by Cromwell in the 1530s, particularly since Cromwell was one of Wolsey's chief commissioners. However, the most significant difference between Wolsey's suppressions and Cromwell's is that the religious institutions suppressed in the 1520s were converted into the financial support for educational institutions, whereas the general suppression of the 1530s reserved the revenues for the crown's coffers. Therefore, Wolsey's suppressions are better seen as the last in a succession of dissolutions of religious houses used to construct grammar schools and university colleges, such as Waynflete's suppression of Selborne Priory in Hampshire and Sele in Sussex for Magdalen

¹⁵⁷ *Concilia*, vol. 3, pp. 666-7, 669, 680-1.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 674.

¹⁵⁹ *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537*, ed. D. Hay. Camden Series, 3rd Ser., vol. 74 (1950), p. 259.

¹⁶⁰ Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 3, p. 159; *Documents illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540*, ed. W.A. Pantin. 3 vols. Camden Society, 3rd Ser., 54. (1937), vol. 3, pp. 123-4.

¹⁶¹ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 272-3.

College, John Alcock's conversion of St. Radegund's nunnery at Cambridge for Jesus College, and the dissolution of Cold Norton by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln for Brasenose College, Oxford. Further, Wolsey's contemporary John Fisher of Rochester suppressed houses to found St. John's College at Cambridge.¹⁶²

In contrast with the well-known visitations of the monasteries in and around London, the religious houses in the archdiocese of York do not appear to have received any attention from their ordinary. Given the overwhelming presence of religious institutions in the archdiocese, numbering 78 by the early sixteenth century, it would appear to be a good place to concentrate potential reforming efforts. In Wolsey's archiepiscopal register there are no recorded monastic visitations. There are several possible explanations as to why the religious houses escaped Wolsey's reforming efforts. Certainly, Wolsey's long-distance and long-term absence from the archdiocese is one plausible explanation. However, Wolsey still could have issued instructions to his vicar general to undertake any visitations he perceived necessary and, as the *York Provinciale* demonstrates, Wolsey was interested in ensuring high clerical standards in the archdiocese. A more probable explanation lies in the fact that the majority of monasteries in Yorkshire were in relatively good financial health and at their suppression, only one, the Grandimontine monastery of Grosmont, contained fewer than 10 members. It is unlikely that the poorest house in the archdiocese, with an annual clear value of £12 2s 3d in 1535, and religiously and politically isolated as the only surviving alien priory of that order in England, would have attracted Wolsey's attention.¹⁶³

It was the distance of the archdiocese of York which probably saved Grosmont from being dissolved to form part of his collegiate foundations. Yorkshire monasteries, however, were not completely untouched by the dissolutions of smaller monasteries in the 1520s. Romburgh in Suffolk, a cell of St. Mary's Abbey, York, was included in the bull for suppression of monasteries for Ipswich College dated 14 May 1528.¹⁶⁴ Certainly, the appropriation of the rectory of Rudby in the archdeaconry of Cleveland, and the prebend of Wetwang belonging to York Minster suggest that Wolsey was not above culling his own archdiocese for resources, but it was possible that the distance of the monastic foundations and their lands in York made them inconvenient for suppression. Thus, it appears that Wolsey had no particular reason for targeting the religious foundations in the archdiocese of York for reform, but the great monasteries of the orders of St. Augustine and St.

¹⁶² Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3, p. 157.

¹⁶³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 5, p. 86. Some sense of the state of religious houses in Yorkshire prior to the reformation may be gathered from Edward Lee's visitations which took place in 1534 and 1535, 'Visitations in the Diocese of York, holden by Archbishop Edward Lee (A.D. 1534-5)', *YAJ*, 16 (1902), 424-58.

¹⁶⁴ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4259.

Benedict and their dependent cells were subject to the reformed statutes which Wolsey had proposed.

Books

Wolsey's literary and artistic patronage contributed to the self-construction of his public identity as the leading broker of royal patronage and the foremost administrative figure in the royal government and church hierarchy. The patronage of leading intellectuals, scholars and artists was one of the most visible ways in which Renaissance political leaders constructed an image to be digested by their colleagues, competitors and clients.¹⁶⁵ As has been noted in the introduction and previous chapter, the acceptance of the public image projected by a claimant to political power was all-important in having that power legitimated, and determined the degree to which he was able to exercise authority.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, examining Wolsey's library and book dedications reveals the types of work he was patronising but also how they contributed to the construction of his magnificence. The two most common sources for determining book ownership are library catalogues and wills, neither of which survives for Wolsey. According to Gwyn, there are only four books which can be positively associated with Wolsey, Aelfric's *First book of homilies in Anglo-Saxon*, the *Nova legenda Anglie* (1516), a gospel book and an epistle.¹⁶⁷ Despite the meagreness of this list, if we can take these books as representative of a larger collection, they demonstrate that his conservative religious outlook situate him well within the traditional interests of the higher secular clergy of the early sixteenth century as a whole who favoured owning practical works – liturgical, legal and theological – and history.¹⁶⁸ Books transferred from Hampton Court to the chapel at Cardinal College, Oxford, also reflect Wolsey's conservative approach to doctrine and the performance of religious services.¹⁶⁹

The *Nova Legenda Anglie* and Aelfric's *Homilies* were both preaching texts. First written in the late tenth century with the impending millennium looming, Aelfric's set of vernacular homilies were intended to correct the doctrinal errors circulating in England

¹⁶⁵ Gunn and Lindley, 'Introduction', p. 3; Konrad Eisenbichler, 'Introduction', in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001), p. xiii; William E. Wallace, 'Clement VII and Michelangelo: An Anatomy of Patronage', in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, 2005), 189-98.

¹⁶⁶ Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (Cambridge, 2001), p. 15; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 1-9

¹⁶⁷ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. xv.

¹⁶⁸ Lepine, *English Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 161-2.

¹⁶⁹ Over 20 antiphonaries, one gradual, one mass-book, one service book and four processions were brought to Cardinal College from Hampton Court by Laurence Stubbs, 28 Oct 17 H8 (1526), TNA, SP 1/36, ff. 104-10. For more on Wolsey's use of traditional music in chapel services, see Bowers, 'The cultivation and promotion of music in the household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey', 178-218.

before the coming of the Anti-Christ by spreading orthodox teaching to the unlearned.¹⁷⁰ The homilies were not an original composition but translations of the early church fathers, particularly Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jerome and Bede, as well as the Carolingian writers Paul the Deacon, Smaragdus and Haymo.¹⁷¹ Not only were the homilies intended for a listening audience, but Aelfric's insistence on doctrinal orthodoxy and style of prose also lent them to reading by a more learned audience.¹⁷² It is not known when Wolsey acquired this book which was printed in 1516 by the king's printer, Richard Pynson. However, the renewed apprehension of Wolsey and the ecclesiastical authorities in the 1520s with the potential resurgence of Lollardy coupled with the growing number of Lutheran books entering England from the continent echoes Aelfric's concern with correcting doctrinal errors.

Like homilies, such as those compiled and translated by Aelfric, the primary function of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, a collection of saints' lives, was for use in worship.¹⁷³ Also, the translation of saints' lives into the vernacular was intended to educate the laity in orthodox Christian practices. By setting up the saints depicted in the collections as exemplars for imitation by the laity, hagiographers recorded the past, but for the practical purposes of providing a model for present behaviour.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that Wolsey made practical use of both texts, not only for his own reading, but also as texts from which to construct public sermons. Both texts may indicate a desire to spread orthodox doctrine through preaching but give no indications of any interest in the study of classical literature revived by humanism.

Wolsey's statutes for the college detail several of the books upon which the public professors were expected to lecture. The public professor of sophistry was instructed to lecture on Aristotle's *Elenchi*, while the professor in logic was to lecture on Aristotle's *Pophyrium*.¹⁷⁵ In the provisions for the public lectures by the professor in humanity, Wolsey's statutes largely resemble those of Richard Fox for Corpus Christi College, Oxford, except that the proposed lectures at Cardinal College were divided between Latin

¹⁷⁰ Malcolm Godden, 'Aelfric of Eynsham [Aelfric Grammaticus, Aelfric the Homilist] (c.950-c.1010), Benedictine Abbot of Eynsham and scholar', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 7 November 2007.

¹⁷¹ Jonathan Wilcox, ed., *Aelfric's Prefaces* (Durham, 1994), p. 23 and the English translation of Latin preface, p. 127.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁷³ Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago, 1999), p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas Head, 'Introduction', in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York, 2000), p. xvii.

¹⁷⁵ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford: with royal patents of foundation injunctions of visitors, and catalogues of documents relating to the university preserved in the P.R.O.* (3 vols, Oxford, 1853), vol. 1, Chapter 11: Statutes of Cardinal College, p. 71; Revised Statutes of Cardinal College, 1 July 1527, *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford: with royal patents of foundation injunctions of visitors, and catalogues of documents relating to the university preserved in the P.R.O.* (3 vols, Oxford, 1853), vol. 2, p. 178

and Greek authors.¹⁷⁶ A comparison with Fox's statutes, however, does illuminate Wolsey's theological conservatism. Both sets of statutes required the professor in theology to lecture on the Old and New Testaments, while Wolsey's provisions also required the theologian to lecture on Duns Scotus' *Quaestiones*.¹⁷⁷ Of the four private lecturers in humanity, logic, sophistry and philosophy which were to be employed at Cardinal College, the professors in logic, sophistry and philosophy were to expound on the works of Aristotle, while the professor in humanity was instructed to lecture on Plato, Terence or any other Greek poet or orator.¹⁷⁸ In May 1526 Wolsey employed Girolamo Ghinucci, bishop of Worcester and long-time English ally at the Papal curia, to seek out both scholars in Rome who would come to Oxford to teach and also to procure books and transcripts, in particular Greek manuscripts from the Vatican library and St. Michael's library in Venice.¹⁷⁹ On 12 July Ghinucci reported that he was in the process of procuring Cajetan's *Responsiones* from Giulio de Medici for Wolsey.¹⁸⁰ The prominence of Greek texts highlights the influence of Erasmus on Wolsey's proposed curriculum. The university and college libraries at Oxford retained books for the traditional scholastic curriculum since the introduction of humanism did not result in the complete dismissal of its didactic forerunner. Despite this residual conservatism in the university's libraries, classical authors were popular among the students, the Oxford bookseller Dorne selling 30 copies of Virgil, 44 copies of Terence, substantial numbers of the Greek authors Ovid, Lucian and Horace, as well as a Greek grammar and works by Erasmus in the year 1520 alone.¹⁸¹

A further example of Wolsey's appreciation of humanist scholarship is in his adoption of William Lily's introductory Latin grammar, *Rudimenta grammatices et docendi methodus*, for the use of grammar instruction at his college at Ipswich. Originally compiled by Lily and John Colet some time around 1516, the edition produced in 1529 intended for Ipswich contained a new preface authored by Wolsey. The preface was addressed to the grammar teachers and outlined how he expected Latin to be taught in all eight classes in his school.¹⁸² This curriculum of Ipswich closely resembled that of both Eton and Magdalen College School on which it is plausible that Wolsey modelled his school.¹⁸³ Beginning in the second form students were to read Cato, then Aesop and

¹⁷⁶ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, 1, p. 127; McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', p. 21.

¹⁷⁷ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, 1, p. 127; McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', p. 21.

¹⁷⁸ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, 1, pp. 71-2.

¹⁷⁹ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 89.

¹⁸⁰ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 1411.

¹⁸¹ N.R. Kerr, 'The Provision of Books', in *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. 3, The Collegiate University*, ed. J. McConica (8 vols, Oxford, 1986), pp. 467, 475.

¹⁸² Thomas Wolsey, *Rudimenta grammatices et docendi methodus* (Southwark, 1529) (STC, 2nd ed., 5542.3). Sig.A2r-A4v.

¹⁸³ R.S. Stanier, *Magdalen School: A History of Magdalen College School, Oxford* (Oxford, 1958), p. 45.

Terence in the third form, followed by Virgil in the fourth form.¹⁸⁴ The fifth form was to read Cicero, the sixth a form of history either by Sallust or Caesar, the seventh form was to study Horace or Ovid, while the eighth form was to read Donatus or Valla.¹⁸⁵ The following page outlined regulations for the selection of students to be admitted to the school and the expectations for their attendance to be read by the school master to parents wishing to have their children admitted.¹⁸⁶ In 1540, the *Rudimenta grammatices* was adopted as the ‘King’s Grammar’ becoming the standard Latin text to be used in grammar schools throughout the country.¹⁸⁷

Dedications of books to Wolsey may also give us some sense of how he chose to distribute his patronage to intellectuals and scholars. Among the most notable is Erasmus’ dedication of his translation of Plutarch’s *De utilitate capienda ex inimicis* to Wolsey in January 1514.¹⁸⁸ The Scottish theologian John Mair, whom Wolsey had attempted to lure from the University of St. Andrews to Cardinal College in 1525, dedicated his commentary on Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* (1530) to Wolsey partly in thanks for his earlier offer of a lectureship.¹⁸⁹ Thomas Linacre’s translations of Galen’s *De sanitate tuenda* (Paris, 1517) and *Methodus medendi* (Paris, 1519) dedicated to Wolsey were only the first two of his numerous translations of ancient medical texts from Greek to Latin.¹⁹⁰ These two dedications probably stem from Wolsey’s assistance in helping Linacre establish the college of physicians in London in 1518, which was intended to govern the practice of medicine in England. Equally, Linacre’s plan to found lectureships in medicine, two at Oxford and one at Cambridge, suggest that the two men shared similar educational objectives. While these texts were not part of the university curriculum, their significance lies in their contribution to the practice of medicine by clarifying and simplifying previous translations of Galen’s most important works. Authors who dedicated their humanist translations of ancient works to Wolsey anticipated finding a receptive audience and an individual who was willing to patronise their work.

As one of the foremost figures for royal patronage, however, authors’ dedications to Wolsey must be approached with caution. A literary dedication does not mean that the author’s approach was successful or that a secure and continuous patronage relationship ensued. As mentioned in the previous chapter, scholars most likely fit within the seventh circle of Wolsey’s affinity as casual clients, receiving from him only occasional patronage

¹⁸⁴ *Rudimenta grammatices et docendi methodus*. Sig.A3r-Sig.A3v.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Sig. A3v-Aig.A4v.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Sig.B1r.

¹⁸⁷ Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 131.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁸⁹ Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal*, p. 85.

¹⁹⁰ James P. Carley, ‘Henry VIII’s Library and Humanist Donors: Gian Matteo Giberti as a case study’, in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (London, 2002), p. 111.

in the form a commission for a specific work.¹⁹¹ In Robert Whittington's *De difficultate iusticiae servandae in republica administranda* and *Panegyricon, A laude quator virtutum Cardinalium* published in a single volume by Wynkyn de Worde in 1519 and dedicated to Wolsey, the author employed the conventional metaphors in an effort to secure Wolsey's patronage.¹⁹² Whittington's *Libellus epigrammaton*, a collection of poems published the same year and addressed to Henry VIII, Wolsey, Thomas More and John Skelton is further evidence of the author fishing for patronage.¹⁹³ The latter, poet John Skelton, wrote a series of satires against Wolsey with the intention of securing patronage, first from Henry VIII and later from the citizens of London. In 1523, Wolsey commissioned Skelton to write propaganda on the government's behalf. Three works were dedicated to Wolsey, *The Garlande of the Laurell* (Oct., 1523), *Howe the Douty Duke of Albany* (Nov., 1523) and *A Replycacion against certayne yong scolers, abiured of late, etc* (1528). The last work was part of Wolsey's plan to limit the spread of unorthodox religious ideas by commissioning Skelton to write condemning the recently tried heretics, Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur.¹⁹⁴

Wolsey's patronage of Skelton also demonstrates that the cardinal was the recipient of dedications for various types of works, including those that were not humanist in composition. Not only do Skelton's works clearly demonstrate a lack of rhetorical elegance which was the hallmark of the new learning, but Skelton's poem 'Speke, Parott' stemmed from his opposition to the humanist faction in the Grammarians' War of 1518 to 1521.¹⁹⁵ Wolsey's employment of Skelton to write religious propaganda on behalf of the government as late as 1528 does not mean that he failed to appreciate the propagandic value of humanists' texts, but rather that Skelton's style and growing popularity in the city of London was likely to fetch a larger audience for his work. Skelton's writings may have formed one part of a two-pronged attack on heterodoxy along with a more learned polemical, More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, a connection which is suggested by the two books' similar arguments.¹⁹⁶ Legal texts, such as *De verbo Obligat* (On Oaths) (1521) by the papal sub-collector in England, Sylvester Darius, were also dedicated to Wolsey.¹⁹⁷ Works dedicated to, and commissioned by Wolsey demonstrate that he supported, or had an interest in a variety of scholarly fields, but did not have an exclusively humanist agenda. The patronage of scholars and authors was useful in several ways, providing Wolsey with a

¹⁹¹ *Infra*, chapter 1, p. 61.

¹⁹² Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹³ Nicholas Orme, 'Whittington, Robert (c.1480-1553?), schoolmaster and grammarian', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 5 November 2007.

¹⁹⁴ Greg Walker, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 58, 188.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 63.

¹⁹⁶ Scattergood, 'Skelton and Heresy', p. 161.

¹⁹⁷ Sylvester Darius, *De verbo Obligat* (1521) (STC, 6279).

means of producing royal and religious propaganda, as well as augmenting the presentation of his personal status as the kingdom's foremost ministerial patron.

The monastery of St. Albans was an active intellectual centre associated with one of the first sustained printing presses outside London in the late fifteenth century, and thus Wolsey's abbacy may signal his support for early book production in England. However, there is nothing in the records to indicate that this was the case. In November 1521, Wolsey procured for himself the abbacy of the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans, reportedly as recompense for the personal expenses he had incurred in promoting Henry VIII's role as Europe's mediator and 'defender of the faith' in the preceding years.¹⁹⁸ An instant financial return was unlikely to be the motivation behind Wolsey's desire to obtain the monastery, since the house had gone into debt under the previous abbot, Thomas Ramryge. When in 1523 the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury voted a subsidy to be paid to the king within the next five years, the poverty of the monastery was such that Wolsey was permitted to determine his own rate of payment, a situation which more probably reflected Wolsey's ability to influence convocation in his favour rather than an accurate assessment of the state of the abbey's finances.¹⁹⁹ As a royal monastery, St. Albans had extensive liberties, including its own commissions of the peace, the right to take fines from all offences, assizes of bread, wine, ale, meat and drink, and the fixing of weights and measures, prices and standards.²⁰⁰ If not immediately profitable, Wolsey would have identified that the income accruing from such liberties had the potential to be considerable. Equally, Wolsey was interested in procuring the monastery as a means of acquiring property which could be appropriated to his proposed college at Oxford, a possibility upon which Wolsey acted when he dissolved the dependencies of Wallingham and St. Mary de Pré.²⁰¹ Thus, the monastery would have been incapable of supporting a printing press like the one that had existed in the town itself from 1479 to 1486 with the exception of two intervening years, 1483 to 1485.²⁰² It is possible that the press had received financial support from the monastery, but if not, it almost certainly had its sanction and a ready consumer for its products. It was not until the 1530s that a press was re-introduced, producing as its first book the St. Albans breviary in 1535.²⁰³

Despite the absence of an active printing press, the monastery remained an important intellectual centre in the intervening years. Under the leadership of Abbot Thomas Walsingham, the monastery was at the forefront of the new brand of classicism

¹⁹⁸ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 1760.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 3239.

²⁰⁰ Elise Toms, *The Story of St. Albans* (St. Albans, 1962), p. 58.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁰² James G. Clark, 'Print and pre-Reformation religion: the Benedictines and the press, c.1470-c.1550', in *The Uses of Script and Print*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge, 2004), p. 82.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

emerging in England at the turn of the fifteenth century, an interest which was perpetuated by the monks for the remainder of the century.²⁰⁴ Provision for the education of monks within the cloisters and extensive reading programmes, support for monks at university and providing lay education by maintaining a grammar school under the headship of a secular grammar master indicate that the intellectual currents laid by Thomas Walsingham in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries remained priorities at the monastery.²⁰⁵ There is little to indicate that Wolsey, who never personally resided at St. Albans, took an active interest in the scholarly pursuits of the monks nor promoted their literary production. Neither is there any indication that Wolsey was involved in the production of books at St. Mary's Abbey, York, also a Benedictine foundation, one of the largest and wealthiest monasteries in the country, and which housed one of only a few of the country's printing presses outside of London prior to the 1520s.²⁰⁶ Wolsey's main interests in his abbacy at St. Albans lay in the patronage it provided, the revenue which could be diverted to his collegiate foundation at Oxford and the potential profits accruing from the abbot's extensive liberties.

Despite the paucity of books whose ownership can be directly associated with Wolsey, it is possible to ascertain to a certain extent a better understanding of Wolsey's intellectual and educational interests and ambitions by examining the libraries of men with whom he was closely associated. William Johnson, vicar of Alford in the diocese of Lincoln and possibly the cleric of that name who appears as a member of Wolsey's household on the subsidy list of 1523, bequeathed to Sir John Browne at his death on 30 March 1541, 'one booke called Lynedewode, an other booke called Radulphus super Evangelia per totum annum, other wysse called vita Jesu christi, and my holle byble'.²⁰⁷ While the presence of a bible, probably in English, in Johnson's possession is interesting given that many parishes indifferently carried out Cromwell's Injunctions in 1538 for all parishes to possess a bible, the most interesting work in Johnson's small collection is Lyndwood's *Provinciale*. This suggests that, despite the fact that he does not appear to have attended either English university, Johnson was either involved in ecclesiastical administration, or had an interest in ecclesiastical law and was proficient in reading Latin. The library of Thomas Reynolds, a graduate of Merton College, Oxford, and senior canon of Cardinal College, reflected an interest in the new learning although he retained a conservative doctrinal stance throughout his life. Reynolds left to the Merton College

²⁰⁴ James G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his circle, c.1350-1440* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 209-10.

²⁰⁵ Vivian H. Galbraith, *The Abbey of St. Albans from 1300 to the dissolution of the monasteries* (Oxford, 1911), p. 64.

²⁰⁶ Clark, 'Print and pre-Reformation religion', p. 85.

²⁰⁷ *Lincolnshire Wills, First Series AD 1500-1600 with notes and an introductory sketch*, ed. A.R. Maddison (Lincoln, 1888), p. 32.

library a copy of Lucian's *Opera* in Greek (Florence, 1517), a commentary on Aristotle's *Super octo libros physicorum Aristotelis* by John Canonicus (Venice, 1505) and a book on history, Pliny the second's *Historia Mundi* (Basel, 1535), among several other works.²⁰⁸

Edward Kellett's library certainly reflected his position as one of Wolsey's officials in the consistory court of the archbishopric of York, containing an astonishing number of legal works and commentaries by English, Continental and ancient authors.²⁰⁹ His collection of nearly 50 books was also a manifestation of his education having studied civil law at Oxford, Cambridge and Orléans.²¹⁰ Kellett's interest in the new learning is signalled by the presence of several works in Greek, including Plato, Seneca and Cicero.²¹¹ His religious conservatism is indicated by the presence of an anti-Lutheran tract by the theologian and defender of Catholicism Johann Eck, *Asseritur his Angliae Regis liber de sacramentis a calumniis Ludderis*, and another by the English pamphleteer William Barlow, *A dialoge descrybyng the orygyal ground of these Lutheran faccyons* (London, 1531).²¹² The presence of a copy of Luther's letter to Henry VIII (Wittenberg, 1527) among Kellett's collection suggests that he may have read Luther in order to make intelligent refutations to his arguments.²¹³

An examination of the books which can be associated with Wolsey reflect one of his most pressing concerns – the prevention of the spread of heterodox religious opinions and the observance of traditional religious practices. Wolsey's books, the *Nova Legenda Anglie* and a copy of Aelfric's *Homilies* were not solely for personal reading but may have been put to practical use as the basis for preaching. They also represent an interest in the presiding authority of the traditional English church. Aelfric's *Homilies*, compiled in an effort to combat heresy in the face of the impending millennium, were particularly relevant to the 1520s when the introduction of Lutheran ideas to England raised concerns among the episcopate about the threat posed by heterodox opinions. Wolsey's concern with the spread of heretical doctrine is also evident in the curriculum established in the statutes for Cardinal College, Oxford in which scholastic and Greek texts were taught side by side. From the dedications addressed to Wolsey in books printed in England during the years of his ascendancy, it is clear that Wolsey patronised humanist scholars, whose increasing influence in practical politics and social ideals reinforced his public persona as a supreme Renaissance patron and cardinal-minister. This patronage, however, was not exclusively

²⁰⁸ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 479.

²⁰⁹ For example, Lyndwood's *Provinciale* (Paris, 1501), Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis* (Venice, 1471) and *Codex Justinianus* (Mainze, 1475), *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600, Part I, Minster Clergy*, ed. Claire Cross. 2 parts (York, 1984), p. 43; BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 1r.

²¹⁰ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 340.

²¹¹ *York Clergy Wills*, I, pp. 43-5.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

humanist since Wolsey commissioned John Skelton, who had openly opposed the new learning in the Grammarians' War, to write propaganda on behalf of the government in the later 1520s. Skelton's services were procured to put an end to his satirical attacks on Wolsey, and also because of his popularity among the citizens of London. In contrast, there is no evidence that Wolsey demonstrated any interest in the scholarship occurring in the monasteries or in the printing presses outside of London. Without a library catalogue for Wolsey himself, the libraries of those in his affinity can provide a substitute. Like their clerical peers, these men possessed books which were practical, such as law texts, and also express a distinct theological conservatism, such as the anti-Lutheran tracts owned by Edward Kellett. As a whole, an examination of the books associated with Wolsey demonstrate an interest in patronising scholars for practical purposes – the eradication of heresy – and to augment his self-presentation as the principal broker of royal patronage in the kingdom of a Renaissance prince.

Conclusion

While he acted as Henry VIII's leading minister, Wolsey's main interest was in developing an administrative structure throughout the kingdom which promoted the royal prerogative by effectively carrying out policies dictated from the royal court. A humanist-inspired education, which focused on a renewed appreciation of classical literature, provided the ideal kind of grounding in grammar and rhetoric for creating royal administrators and diplomats capable of performing their duties both efficiently and effectively. This interest is reflected in the motivation behind the founding of Cardinal College, which offered a practical training in the new learning combined with the study of the traditional scholastic authorities, a programme designed to produce royal servants and block the spread of heterodox religious opinions. This chapter first focused on the place of education in Wolsey's household. While there is no direct evidence that formal education was provided there, the presence of both a household choir and orphans suggest that there was at least some form of basic education for children. Educational provision is further indicated by the number of lay gentry in his household, who also hoped to obtain future preferments. Lastly, the household provided a forum for intellectual discussion among the educated clergy and laymen in his affinity.

The presence of a few clerics with university education in Wolsey's household primarily results from the nature of the subsidy lists, which excluded anyone below a minimum standard of wealth, as well as clerics who held benefices, since they were taxed separately from the laity. Those university-educated clerics who do appear had, for the most part, already completed their studies and gained employment in Wolsey's household

as a means of advancing their careers, rather than being young, up and coming clerics. The majority were likely to be disappointed. Household clerics do not appear to have benefited greatly from the patronage made available through Wolsey's educational foundations. Nor did many gain access to the higher ranks of the episcopal clergy either during his life or afterwards. This implies that those clerics Wolsey did promote came from other parts of his affinity, such as scholars, or that they were already holding benefices at the time of the subsidy assessments and appeared in other contexts. His failure to advance clerics in his household to further preferments may not reflect a lack of quality among them, but rather that Wolsey was reluctant to sacrifice their services. Civil or canon law were not the main degrees among the household clerics, but training in common law at the Inns of Court in London was an important background for lay gentry who held household offices. The combination of Wolsey's household, whose offices were dominated by lawyers, and his establishment of educational foundations providing a humanist curriculum demonstrate the threshold on which Wolsey is situated, further confirming that he deserves a central role in historians' narrative about the changing face of Tudor and Stuart government.

The blend of humanist and scholastic studies at Cardinal College, Oxford indicates that Wolsey was keen to prevent the spread of heterodox opinions which might incite disobedience to secular and ecclesiastical authorities. However, it cannot be substantiated that Wolsey's colleges were intended to contribute to a practical reform of the clergy. The extensive provisions for preaching by doctors of theology may have been intended simply as an exercise in rhetoric. The absence of references to preaching from the York *Provinciale* suggests that Wolsey did not envision preaching as an important component of the duties of the parochial or diocesan clergy. Rather, the reform of the parochial clergy was left to the care of his archdiocesan administrators to whom the *Provinciale* was primarily addressed. The composition of the ecclesiastical administration in York and its role in regulating the spiritual and secular life in the archdiocese is explored in the following chapter.

The brief existence of the colleges at Oxford and Ipswich mean that what historians can learn about their purpose and their founder largely rests on inference about Wolsey's intentions. In the size of its buildings and quality of its personnel, Cardinal College at Oxford was intended to be the most outstanding contribution to education of its time. Cardinal College, Oxford was the most dramatic visual representation of Wolsey's desire to construct a public image of himself as the foremost patron of scholarship and art in the kingdom of a Renaissance prince. The other purpose behind Cardinal College reflected the practical concerns of its founder – to educate men who were capable of preventing religious heterodoxy and disobedience to authority and of dealing with it when it emerged,

as well as administering the kingdom on a daily basis. Education in an archiepiscopal household also contributed to both these goals by providing a forum in which to educate young scholars, to patronise educated clerics and gentlemen, and to cultivate intellectual discourse.

Further, while Cardinal College, Oxford was among the most important visual representations of Wolsey's status, authority, wealth and ability to direct the allocation of royal patronage, in many ways the college's offices and stipends were kept separate from his more general patterns of distribution. His household administrators and servants were not among the majority of the beneficiaries of this patronage, although kinship connections with members in Wolsey's household did provide one means for securing patronage. Most of the available patronage went to those who came from other parts of Wolsey's affinity. His most senior and trusted administrators and local agents were entrusted with the establishment of the colleges, while stipends, canonries and lectureships were awarded to some of the foremost humanist scholars from England and abroad. This supports the notion that while there was significant overlap between his various spheres of interest, each had its own purpose, rewards and clients which were distinct. The goal of promoting the new learning for the good of the commonwealth was one which was shared by the cardinal and Henry VIII. By encouraging this type of scholarship, whose students became among the most important advisors to the king initiated by the divorce issue in the late 1520s, Wolsey contributed indirectly to the break between the kingdom and the papacy, and to the development of the concept of a king unimpeded in the exercise of the royal will.

Chapter 3: The Administration of the Archdiocese of York

Introduction

Wolsey's position as prelate of the northern archdiocese has been largely neglected by his biographers and scholars of early Tudor government primarily for the reason that he never set foot in York until after his fall from royal favour. By doing so, historians have failed to appreciate fully Wolsey's position as the most powerful churchman in England and the consequences this had for the royal administrative hierarchy and the centralisation of royal administration on the court and household.¹ While Pollard recognised that the historical significance of Wolsey's career lies in his influence on the development of English government, the fact that he ignored Wolsey's utilisation of a northern network of ecclesiastics for such a purpose hinders his assessment.² It was not, as Pollard concluded, Wolsey's fall which contributed to the further development of the institutions of the English church and secular administration, but his activities under the authority of the crown while he was alive.³ Studying Wolsey's use of the office of archbishop of York contributes to a richer understanding of the growth of direct crown governance in the provinces and to the changing nature of client-patron relations in the early sixteenth century. The alterations occurring in the ways in which patron-client relations functioned can inform us about early Tudor politics more broadly, since they were both a cause and consequence of a transformation in the connection between central and local government, and of politics at the royal court.

As archbishop of York, Wolsey presided over the lesser of the two English archdioceses and over estates and liberties extending throughout nine different counties. These lands and jurisdictional liberties were important because they supplied Wolsey with revenue, an official interest in the locality, and opportunities to exercise patronage. More importantly, it put him in control of an extensive network of ecclesiastical servants already in place, many of whom were active royal servants, both on the border with Scotland and in more general administrative affairs. It also provided a structure of offices in which Wolsey could place his own servants, acquaintances and fellow crown administrators, thereby strengthening the authority and presence of the crown and his own person.

First, this chapter considers the organisation of the archdiocesan household and administration assembled by Wolsey: who filled these offices and the nature of their duties and responsibilities. The archbishop's household and his administration, although

¹ G.R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558* (London, 1977), p. 113.

² Claire Etty has identified the prominent role of clerics in administering the northern border in the first 20 years of Henry VIII's reign, 'A Tudor Solution to the "Problem of the North"? Government and the Marches towards Scotland, 1509-1529', *NH*. 39:2, (2002), p. 219.

³ A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929). p. 357, 370.

technically separate entities from each other, frequently overlapped in terms of personnel, and both can be considered as part of the extended household circle in Wolsey's greater affinity. Like the other members of Wolsey's larger affinity, the archdiocesan household and administration were an extension of his personal authority, and the presence and actions of these men were, most obviously, reminders of his personal and ecclesiastical authority. But also, because this authority was based on his position in royal government and Henry VIII's favour, they were also a visual representation of crown power. This is particularly true of those members of the household and administration who were involved in carrying out commissions issued from the crown. Among the common characteristics and personal qualities these men shared were residency in the locality and the possession of the necessary training or skills to undertake the work outlined in the commissions. This is true of both archiepiscopal and royal commissioners. However, those commissions issued from the crown were addressed only to the most senior archdiocesan officials and cathedral dignitaries because they enjoyed the requisite social status to have their authority accepted by the local population.⁴ By employing these men in the service of the crown, their wealth, status and visual magnificence were all harnessed to further the crown's interests. Supported by their own wealth and visual representations of their claims to exercise social and political power, their reputation among the local population as the foremost servants of church and crown reminded subjects of royal authority despite their distance from the centre of politics.⁵ The role of visual display for bolstering claims to authority and the exercise of power by the governing elite has been highlighted in the previous chapters.

The next section considers how Wolsey distributed the patronage made available to him through the office of archbishop. Wolsey's allocation of patronage in the archdiocese was conventional and situates him firmly within the context of patterns of distribution exercised by his contemporaries.⁶ There is little evidence to suggest that Wolsey used his

⁴ Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, eds., *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001).

⁵ The dean of York and Wolsey's vicar-general Brian Higdon who was also an important and active royal servant was known for parading to the Minster every Christmas accompanied by 50 liveried gentlemen and 30 yeomen. Such a display of his status and wealth simultaneously represented ecclesiastical and secular authority. W. A. J. Archbold, 'Hygdon, Brian (d. 1539)', rev. Andrew A. Chibi, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006. In his study of the West Country, John Cooper has argued that clerical elites and provincial churches played an important role in the dissemination of royal news, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the West Country* (Oxford, 2003), p. 26. The Field of Cloth of Gold was Wolsey's most notorious and elaborately staged attempt at using ceremonial to reinforce his diplomatic endeavours, Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*. Second Edition. (Oxford, 1997), chap. 4, 124-69. Wolsey attempted unsuccessfully to use ceremonies in domestic parish churches in 1527 to garner support for his foreign policy, Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, p. 22

⁶ See, for example, Richard Fox's distribution of patronage in the diocese of Winchester, Richard Brown, 'The Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Bishops of Winchester, 1282-1530', *Southern History*, 24 (2002), pp. 28, 39, 42; and more broadly, the distribution of patronage by bishops in the early sixteenth century, Steven Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops, 1500-1558' (Unpubl. D.Phil. Thesis.

power over patronage in an underhanded or corrupt manner as has been claimed by some historians.⁷ Control over ecclesiastical patronage was also an important feature in the regional power bases of noble families in France and of the ruling families in Italian city-states, who were Wolsey's contemporary contenders for privileges emanating from the papal court.⁸ Of the most valuable posts in the archdiocese, the canonries in York Minster were under the prerogative of the archbishop. Despite being officially elected by the cathedral chapter, the cathedral dignitaries were nominated by the archbishop, and both of these offices were used to reward archdiocesan administrators, scholars and those connected to the royal household.⁹ Other rewards included prebends in the smaller cathedral churches, rectories, hospital masterships, pensions and archiepiscopal estate offices.

A final section discusses the role of clerics in performing crown administrative work with an emphasis on judicial (except the peace commissions) and administrative commissions in the geographical area bounded by the archdiocese of York and the northern borders. In this section, I argue that the presence of these men in the province and their activities on behalf of royal government contributed to the intensification of crown presence in the region. Therefore, Wolsey's administration under Henry VIII belongs within the process of Tudor centralisation of politics at the royal court. Simultaneously, such a policy of employing churchmen as royal commissioners brought the church under increasingly comprehensive crown control by regulating their activities. The clerics who appear on the royal commissions examined were the most senior ecclesiastical officials and cathedral dignitaries in the archdiocese and were Wolsey's most trusted servants. Like their lay counterparts on the commissions, these clerics had the necessary training, experience, local knowledge and social status to carry out the commissions effectively.

Despite having never entered the archdiocese until his exile from the royal court, Wolsey was personally involved and interested in the administration of York. Further, it formed an integral part of his larger affinity which carried out crown administration in one of the most unsettled and distant parts of the kingdom. By belonging to the affinity of a

Univ. of Oxford, 1984), esp. chap. 2; and Wolsey's successor as archbishop of York, D.S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome 1509 to 1514* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 116-20.

⁷ Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 93. Both Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), pp. 295-302 and Andrew Allan Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops: Diplomats, Administrators, Scholars and Shepherds* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 63-103 have contributed to a reassessment of Wolsey's influence on ecclesiastical patronage within the prerogative of the monarch.

⁸ Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 35; K.J.P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge, 1993); Barbara McClung Hallman, 'The "Disastrous" Pontificate of Clement VII: Disastrous for Giulio de' Medici?', in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, 2005), 29-40.

⁹ Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of the Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (Princeton, NJ., 1988), p. 6.

leading crown servant, and also by acting on royal commissions, these ecclesiastics were royal servants in every sense of the word. Perhaps it was in this way, rather than as the personification of all the evils of the church against which the commons rebelled in 1529, that Wolsey was a harbinger of reform.

This assessment of the administration of the archdiocese of York and Wolsey's distribution of the patronage available within the archdiocese is based primarily on the archiepiscopal register which is held at the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York. A proposal to catalogue the manuscript by A.H. Thompson in the 1930s was abandoned due to a lack of funding, and while the register has featured more recently in the works of historians of the northern church, it has never been used in an extensive manner.¹⁰ The bulk of the register comprises routine archdiocesan administration, being firstly copies of the papal bulls for Wolsey's translation and appointments to the principal administrative offices, and then primarily consisting of institutions to benefices, grants of pensions, letters dimissory, records of monastic elections and disputed rights of presentations, all of which was written in one hand, presumably that of the archdiocesan registrar, John Chapman. Wolsey's collations were entered in a separate register kept at York Place.¹¹ The administration of the see of Carlisle *sede vacante* is included under the heading *de episcopis suffraganeis* followed by copies of the wills of diocesan clergy, and finally, lists of ordinations.

The Archiepiscopal Household

Given the multitude of Wolsey's public offices, the ecclesiastical and secular dignitary possessed more than one household. The household examined in chapter 1 was his primary household which was in constant attendance on him in London and Westminster, and served him in his official capacities as Lord Chancellor, cardinal, and legate *a latere*.¹² Wolsey's various ecclesiastical offices also required their own households which were located in their particular dioceses. The administration of a diocese originated in the bishop's *familia*, but by the fifteenth century the diocesan

¹⁰ A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the diocese of York, 1509-1558* (London, 1959) used the register to identify cases of heresy in the archdiocese; Claire Cross has used it for compiling lists of clergy ordinations, *York Clergy Ordinations, 1520-1559* (Borthwick list and index, 32) (York, 2002). Thompson's hand-written transcriptions of the register are located in the Borthwick Institute for Archives at Add.MSS. 115 and 116.

¹¹ Institutions to the pre-reformation church were compiled by J.A. Lipkin for his unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Pluralism in Pre-Reformation England: A Quantitative Analysis of Ecclesiastical Incumbency, c. 1490-1539' (Catholic University of America, 1979) and his computer print out for the archdiocese of York is in the search room of the Borthwick as *Institutions to the Archdiocese of York, 1501-1544*. This compilation only includes Wolsey's collations not his institutions.

¹² See *infra*, chap. 1.

administration and the bishop's household formed two distinct bodies.¹³ Since the manors were the archbishop's main residences and his income was derived from the manors' estates, the personnel frequently overlapped and it can be difficult, therefore, to separate the maintenance of a household, his estate agents and the administrators of the diocese.

The role and function of the archiepiscopal household mirrored the households of great magnates, and its composition, being largely made up of clerics but also including laymen, was typical of the households of contemporary bishops.¹⁴ As previously mentioned in chapter 1, maintaining a large household provided a stage on which Wolsey demonstrated his pre-eminent temporal status as Lord Chancellor and spiritual status as cardinal and papal legate, and displayed his extensive wealth. It was also the location of generosity, and a reputation for munificence in turn was essential for the recruitment of further clients. Furthermore, the largesse and material liberality expected from the nobility and members of the episcopate was part of the concept of Christian charity which included the exercise of unbiased hospitality.¹⁵ Therefore, in addition to maintaining a household as a tangible representation of his status, Wolsey's household also reflected his desire to be seen as a conscientious Christian prince. This aspiration was most obviously displayed when, upon arriving at the manor of Cawood in the archdiocese, Wolsey spent the majority of his time playing the role of a good lord by settling differences between the local gentry and distributing alms.¹⁶

The archbishops of York held land in nine counties including the principal counties in the archdiocese: Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham and Nottinghamshire, and also Westmorland, Gloucestershire, Middlesex and Surrey.¹⁷ The precise value of the lands prior to the reformation is unknown because no receiver's accounts are extant, but in 1534 the see was valued at £2,035 3s 7d, and another survey was made of the archbishop's estates by Rich Leyton and Thomas Legh on 12 January 1536.¹⁸ In the thirteenth century, Archbishop Grey was recorded as holding 21 manors, but by the sixteenth century some of the archbishop's lands had been sold or the manors

¹³ R.L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in Fifteenth-Century England*. Borthwick Paper, 16. (York, 1959), p. 1; Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 77.

¹⁴ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 248.

¹⁵ Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-giving and patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, 2:2 (1988), p. 138 reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France*; Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, pp. 6, 24, 247-8.

¹⁶ George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, in *Two early Tudor lives: The life and death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish and The life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper*, ed. R.S. Sylvester and D.P. Harding (New Haven, CT., 1962), pp. 142, 147-150.

¹⁷ John R. Keble, *History of the Parish and Manor-House of Bishopthorpe* (Leeds, 1905), p. 97.

¹⁸ TNA, SC 11/766; Claire Cross, 'Economic Problems of the See of York', in *Land, Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, ed. Joan Thirsk, *Agricultural History Review Supplement*, 18 (Reading, 1970), pp. 65, 68, 82.

had fallen into disrepair or disuse.¹⁹ By Wolsey's time, the main residences in Yorkshire remained the archbishop's palace next to York Minster in the city and at Cawood, centred on the castle.²⁰ The archbishop had a further three residences in Nottinghamshire, two of which were regularly used by the prelates at Scrooby and Southwell.²¹

Wolsey's arrival at Cawood on his way to being installed at York Minster shortly before his death certainly brought a significant household staff, but by looking at the layout of the manor-house it is possible to surmise what a skeleton staff at Cawood may have looked like. In the inventory of Wolsey's goods in 1530, fourteen separate departments, including the stable, are listed at Cawood.²² This is in addition to a keeper of the gardens who was named as Thomas Mountein in 1530.²³ Mountein's responsibilities also likely included tending to the orchard known as Apulgarth Flatte, leased to the manor in 1515.²⁴ Receiver's accounts from the later sixteenth century included the offices of keeper of the castle, keeper of stud mares and keeper of the orchard and garden, all of which probably existed in some form before the reformation.²⁵

It would appear that Wolsey did not keep a skeleton staff at Southwell, Nottinghamshire, the archbishop's residence being in such disrepair that he was unable to stay there on his journey to Cawood, lodging instead at the nearby prebendal house.²⁶ Wolsey also made use of one of the other archbishop's residences in Nottinghamshire at Scrooby, which appears to have been in sufficient condition to allow him to stay there, however, there is no indication that it was permanently staffed.²⁷ The archbishops also possessed a manor at Battersea in Surrey on which Wolsey had begun reparations and additions in 1515 under the supervision of the resident vicar there, Sir Robert Cromwell.²⁸ The most important southern property belonging to the archbishops was York Place in London. The structure of this household was considered in chapter 1 since Wolsey regularly resided there.

¹⁹ Keble, *Bishopthorpe*, pp. 97, 103-5.

²⁰ Keble, *Bishopthorpe*, pp. 102, 104-5; N.K. Blood, and C.C Taylor, 'Cawood: an Archiepiscopal Landscape', *YAJ*, 64 (1992), p. 87.

²¹ Keble, *Bishopthorpe*, p. 113.

²² The inventory made by Leyton and Legh is more extensive and includes goods housed in a room called, 'Mr Wynters Chamber', which may have been occupied at one time by Wolsey's illegitimate son, SC 11/766.

²³ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (15). Mountein died in 1543 and requested burial in the Lady Choir of Cawood parish church. The fees accruing from his office do not appear to have been great, the only property and moveable goods mentioned were a house, two feather beds and one horse. BI, Prob.Reg 11, f. 700r.

²⁴ Blood and Taylor, 'Cawood', p. 98.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁶ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 141-2. Southwell was back in use under Archbishop Lee, SC 11/766.

²⁷ Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 147-8.

²⁸ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 1369.

Manors were most significant to bishops as sources of income and patronage rather than as symbols of local power and authority.²⁹ Since the main source of income for the archbishop was from rents, it was imperative that his lands had estate agents, regardless of whether there was a staff responsible for the manor-house itself. By 1536, the administration of the archdiocese's lands was divided into nine distinct units, each with its own receiver, and it can be assumed that this was the case before 1530 as well.³⁰ The properties ranged in value from the 12 manors which comprised the liberty of Beverley at £462 5s 10d per annum to Battersea and Wandsworth in Surrey assessed at only £14 18s 1d, but which was valuable because of its proximity to London.³¹

The archiepiscopal estates were overseen by central officials. The most important was the steward who was responsible for conducting the archbishop's manorial courts. William Holgill is first referred to as Wolsey's archiepiscopal steward in 1523, but the tenor of the letter from the chancellor of Durham, William Frankeleyn, suggests that Holgill had been serving in that capacity for some time.³² By 1528 Holgill was also performing the duties of surveyor of the archbishop's lands. He would have exercised these offices by deputy, since he was Master of the Savoy Hospital in London, and Cavendish also reported that he was in daily attendance upon Wolsey at his residences near the capital.³³ It is unclear for which particular estate lands Holgill's deputies were responsible, but in the later 1520s, they were at least sharing the responsibility with Thomas Donnington, who surveyed a manor and its adjacent lands in the liberty of Sherburn in 1527 at Wolsey's direction.³⁴ Holgill and Donnington were clerics and held other ecclesiastical preferments in the archdiocese, which was not unusual, but it was also common for laymen to be employed as estate agents on church lands.

The liberties belonging to the archbishop required staffing outside of the normal household and estate administrators. Within his liberties, the archbishop exercised full judicial, administrative and ecclesiastical authority free from outside interference. In the sixteenth century, the archbishop possessed liberties in Beverley, Ripon, Sherburn, and Hexhamshire. All of the officials were appointed by the archbishop, but many offices carried with them the power to select subordinates and deputies. The most important official in the archbishop's liberties was the bailiff. The bailiff was the archbishop's chief financial officer, responsible for collecting all money, taxes, rents and fines due to the

²⁹ Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, p. 26.

³⁰ Cross, 'Economic Problems of the See of York', p. 66.

³¹ TNA, SC 11/766.

³² *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2946.

³³ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 107; Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 22.

³⁴ TNA, SP 1/41, f. 167r.

archbishop from the tenants in his liberty.³⁵ Despite the manor-house at Sherburn having been pulled down in the fourteenth century, the estates belonging to the archbishop there were managed under Wolsey by Anthony Hamond as bailiff.³⁶ In Beverley, the most important office was the receivership to which Wolsey appointed Sir Richard Page. Page was unlikely to have been resident, but the functions of his office were carried out by a deputy, Robert Creyke, who also appears on the subsidy lists in Wolsey's household.³⁷ As the receiver of Southwell in Nottinghamshire, Sir Thomas Heneage enlisted the services of the local prominent gentleman, Sir John Markham, as his deputy, whose family had a long history of service to the crown.³⁸ The positions of Creyke and Markham as deputies illustrate a notable contrast, since Markham had already established himself as a reliable soldier and trustworthy administrator within the royal affinity before acquiring the deputyship, whereas the post of deputy provided Creyke with his first access into the royal affinity from which he could secure further rewards. In 1532 the bailiff of Battersea was Henry Argentyne who may also have held the position under Wolsey.³⁹ In the troublesome region of Hexhamshire, all of the chief offices were exercised by Thomas Lord Dacre, who had been unable to maintain justice in the liberty, nor to ensure that the tenants' rents were paid in a timely manner. Despite having the power to do so, Wolsey chose not to replace him.⁴⁰

Elsewhere, the structure of estate administration and personnel, which combined clerics and gentry, belonging to some of Wolsey's other ecclesiastical preferments was similar to that of York. His estates as abbot of St. Albans were administered in his absence by Thomas Cade, who exercised the offices of general surveyor and receiver, and his deputy, Thomas Grene.⁴¹ Both Cade and Grene, like Holgill and Donnington were clerics. In contrast, the abbey's main manor of Tittenhanger in Hertfordshire was managed by John Seyntclere, a royal Knight of the Body.⁴² Further, in 1528 Wolsey appointed Thomas Maidwell of the town of St. Albans as collector in the abbey's lordships Hertfordshire and

³⁵ Allan B. Hinds, *A History of Northumberland* (3 vols, Newcastle, 1896), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 28.

³⁶ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (15).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 822.

³⁸ TNA, SC 11/766.

³⁹ *LP*, vol. 5, no. 822.

⁴⁰ Hinds, *History of Northumberland*, pp. 46-9. Dacre was also Warden of the Marches with Scotland and his management of Hexhamshire was part of his duties to enforce justice and keep good order in the borders. Wolsey did not remove him from office since his presence was necessary in the north in absence of alternative forms of suitable governance. Presumably, he was equipped with the necessary men and power to enforce justice in the liberty as he would have been on the Marches. However, his inability to reduce the region to good order was well-known among his contemporary northern administrators and at Westminster, and Wolsey was required to keep a close eye on him, see Etty, 'A Tudor Solution', pp. 212-5.

⁴¹ TNA, SP 5/4, ff. 81-107 is a series of indentures between Grene on behalf of Cade and various tenants of the abbey as well as indentures between Cade and collectors on the abbey's lands.

⁴² TNA, SP 1/48, ff. 91r-2r.

Bedfordshire.⁴³ The diocese of Durham had additional offices since it also carried secular privileges as a palatinate, but officials there often performed several functions concurrently. Under Wolsey, the estates were managed simultaneously by the palatinate's leading officials, including the chancellor, William Frankeleyn, the vicar general, Dr. William Strangways, who also acted as surveyor, and Richard Bellasis who served as constable of Durham Castle from 1527.⁴⁴ Thus, both gentry and clerics were important officials on Wolsey's ecclesiastical estates, a policy which he employed in York and in the other dioceses under his supervision.

The archiepiscopal household at York was an important part of Wolsey's affinity, as were all of his other ecclesiastical preferments. The members of the household were not as close to Wolsey as his primary household resident in London because they did not have the advantage of being in daily contact with him. Their primary duties included overseeing the manors and estates belonging to the office of archbishop of York and unofficially, they acted as patronage brokers, both identifying potential clients and available rewards, as will be seen in a later section. Further, by wearing his livery as archbishop of York, they represented Wolsey's personal power and authority. These manorial and estate officials were a mixture of clerics and local gentry, some like William Holgill with a wealth of experience, and others, like Thomas Donnington, were on the first rung of the church's hierarchical ladder.

Archiepiscopal Administration

The administrative machinery of the archdiocese can be separated from the prelate's household proper, and I have included it as part of Wolsey's greater affinity, in the concentric circle labelled as 'extended household' along with the administrators on his manors and estates.⁴⁵ By virtue of the distance of the archdiocese from London, the relationships between the men in York and Wolsey were not as close as those who served in his household. It was this distance, however, combined with his status as the leading secular and ecclesiastical figure in the early part of Henry VIII's reign which made Wolsey's careful selection of these men even more important than for an average bishopric. Generally, archiepiscopal administration was designed to implement effective supervision over the lives and religious practices of the clergy and laity in the jurisdiction, and this was a goal in which Wolsey's administrators shared. This section will outline some general characteristics of the men who filled the hierarchy of archiepiscopal offices

⁴³ TNA, SP 1/48, ff. 89r-90r.

⁴⁴ Philip John Ward 'The Origins of Thomas Cromwell's Public Career: Service under Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII, 1524-30' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, London School of Economics, Univ. of London, 1999), pp. 172-3.

⁴⁵ See *infra*, chap. 1.

and their corresponding responsibilities. Their activities as brokers with Wolsey in patronage exchanges and the remuneration associated with their service, as well as their roles as commissioners for the crown, will be discussed in the following two sections.

The men who comprised Wolsey's archiepiscopal administration of York were a mixture of those he inherited and his own appointments, both from other dioceses and from his own household. This combination of new appointments and established administrators, who provided the administration with a degree of continuity, was not a unique phenomenon.⁴⁶ Appointments of a previous archbishop often formed the core of his successor. Many of Archbishop Thomas Savage's appointments, including John Carver and Thomas Magnus, continued to serve under Savage's successor, Cardinal Bainbridge, and Magnus remained an important part of the crown's administration of the north until his death in 1550.⁴⁷ Men such as Magnus provided the administration of the archdiocese with an important amount of consistency.⁴⁸ Such stability was vital to achieving one of the most important goals of the distribution of archiepiscopal patronage: the creation of an efficient administration.⁴⁹

It was common for incoming archbishops to bring with them administrators who had served them in the past and here, Wolsey's continued connections with acquaintances from the diocese of Lincoln are obvious.⁵⁰ After serving as subdean of Lincoln from 12 November 1511 during Wolsey's tenure as dean, Brian Higden accompanied Wolsey on his translation to the archdiocese of York and was appointed as his vicar general on 13 November 1514.⁵¹ His income to support his spiritual duties came from the archdeaconry of York which he held from 26 May 1515 until his election as dean of York Minster on 27 June 1516.⁵² William Clifton also followed Wolsey to York from Lincoln having served as commissary to Wolsey as bishop of Lincoln in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow.⁵³ He was supervising monastic elections in the archdiocese as early as 1519, and later became succentor and, subsequently, subdean of York Minster.⁵⁴ It is in this way, by exploiting previously established connections, that it becomes apparent that Wolsey's accumulation of ecclesiastical offices and continual promotions not only brought income

⁴⁶ Storey, *Diocesan Administration*, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 43; C. A. McGladdery, 'Magnus, Thomas (1463/4–1550)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006.

⁴⁸ B. Jones, comp., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541, Vol. 6, Northern Province*, by John Le Neve, (London, 1963), p. 10

⁴⁹ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 43.

⁵⁰ Strong links between the personnel of the archdiocese of York and diocese of Lincoln were customary given their geographical proximity.

⁵¹ BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey) f. 3r.

⁵² *Ibid.*, f. 101r.

⁵³ Margaret Bowker, *The Secular Clergy of the diocese of Lincoln, 1494-1520* (Cambridge, 1968), app. 1.

⁵⁴ BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 44v; *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 17.

and prestige, but that, by 1514, Wolsey was already beginning to establish a network of church administrators under his direction.

Higden was the foremost spiritual and judicial officer in the archdiocese, officially acting as Wolsey's chancellor and vicar general. Often the offices of vicar general and official principal were granted together, as they were in Higden's case, and the title of chancellor included these two offices.⁵⁵ The vicar general normally exercised his authority over the spiritual matters of the diocese only during the absence of the prelate but, since Wolsey was permanently absent, Higden was the primary spiritual officer in the archdiocese at all times. His jurisdiction encompassed the entire geographical area of the archdiocese and, since the power he exercised was delegated to him by the archbishop, his authority ended on the death of the prelate. It was imperative that chancellors had training in civil and canon law in order to effectively fulfil their duties, presiding over the archdiocesan chancery court.⁵⁶ In addition to keeping the seals and registers of the archdiocese, he also oversaw monastic elections and confirmations, confirmed nominations to benefices by lay patrons, and carried out a visitation of the dean and chapter of York Minster in 1519. The official principal was also the most important judicial officer, presiding over the foremost archdiocesan court: the consistory court.⁵⁷

In order to introduce his men, such as Higden, to the administration of the archdiocese, it was necessary to remove some incumbents. Wolsey's first task was to replace John Carver, archdeacon of York. On 15 May 1515, Carver resigned the archdeaconry to make way for Higden, for which he was assigned a pension of £90 per annum.⁵⁸ Later that same month Carver also resigned the wealthy prebend of Strensall to another of Wolsey's nominees and royal servant, Hugh Ashton.⁵⁹ Wolsey also tried, unsuccessfully, to replace John Perott, precentor of the cathedral since 1503. In 1514, Perott and Christopher Gill, chaplain, vicar choral, succentor and warden of the college of vicar chorals in York Minster, appealed to Rome, alleging that they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, subject only to the authority of the dean, and when the deanery was vacant, the chapter. The pair contended that Edward Kellett, a commissary of the consistory court of York, ordered them to appear before him to respond to certain complaints allegedly lodged by one John Fisher. The nature of these complaints is not detailed. Being unable to appear before Kellett in the time specified, Perott and Gill

⁵⁵ Richard Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law* (2 vols, 1760), vol. 1, p. 289.

⁵⁶ Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. 1, pp. 290-2; D.M. Smith, 'Exercise of probate jurisdiction of the Medieval Archbishops of York', in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c1100-c1700: essays in honour of Claire Cross*, ed. Diana Wood (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 127.

⁵⁷ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 24, 27.

⁵⁸ Lipkin, *Institutions*, p. 53; BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 101r-v.

⁵⁹ Lipkin, *Institutions*, p. 53.

were excommunicated. The pope issued a mandate to the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln and the dean of Salisbury to absolve the pair from their sentence of excommunication and nullified the process of the York consistory court.⁶⁰ It appears that Wolsey, through his officials, tried to remove Perrott from his lucrative appointment in order to install his own men.

Despite not holding eminent or profitable offices, suffragan bishops were among the other important administrators in the archdiocese. These were men who resided in the diocese but held the title of a foreign, and usually no longer existent, bishopric *in partibus infidelium* and were appointed at the prelate's pleasure. The suffragans' responsibilities consisted primarily of those sacramental duties which could not be undertaken by deans, archdeacons or vicars general. In 1340, the suffragan's routine responsibilities were set out as licence to confirm children and adults, to dedicate churches and altars, to reconcile churchyards and churches polluted by bloodshed, to consecrate chalices and patens, to bless vestments and church ornaments, and to confer first tonsure on suitable persons of the diocese and others bearing letters dimissory.⁶¹ Further duties for which they became responsible over the course of the next century included veiling virgins and widows who wished to take the vow of chastity, conferring benediction on newly-elected heads of religious houses, admitting profession of vows of those entering religious orders, granting indulgences, hearing confessions in reserved cases and imposing the necessary penances, and ordaining all orders of clerks of the diocese.⁶² One means for identifying what the suffragan bishops did in practice is by examining the episcopal register, although David Smith has highlighted the limitations of registers for depicting the full range and extent of duties undertaken by the suffragan.⁶³ With respect to the other archdiocesan officials, suffragan bishops were less important than the vicar general, official principal, commissary general, and the chancellor.⁶⁴

In contrast with other dioceses, it was normal practice in the archdiocese of York for only one suffragan to be acting at any one time, and it was necessary that the prelate appointed an individual who was capable and trustworthy, as well as having the advantage of being familiar with the local area. Thus, upon his translation to the see, Wolsey reappointed the previous suffragan bishop, John Hatton, who held the title of Negroponte.⁶⁵ His subsequent death shortly thereafter in April 1516 necessitated the

⁶⁰ *CPL*, (1513-21), vol. 20, pp. 190-1; *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 3617.

⁶¹ Lawrence A.S. Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York', *NH*, 37 (2000), p. 50.

⁶² Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York', p. 50.

⁶³ David M. Smith, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 17 (1982), p. 18.

⁶⁴ Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 25.

⁶⁵ BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 4r. John Yonge is incorrectly identified as the suffragan bishop in the *ODNB*, Ronald H. Fritze, 'Yonge, John (1466/7-1516)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006.

appointment of another suffragan, Richard Wilson, prior of the Augustinian house of Drax and later bishop of the Irish diocese of Meath, who assumed Hatton's title of bishop of Negroponte. Wilson, however, proved to be an unsuccessful choice, since Cardinal Julius de Medici was writing to Wolsey as early as that summer to have the prior excused from residing in the diocese.⁶⁶ Successive suffragan bishops in York included Matthew Mackarell, abbot of the Praemonstratensian monastery of Newhouse, from 1524 to 1528, and John Stonywell, prior of Tynemouth, a cell belonging to St. Albans Abbey, of which Wolsey was at that time abbot, from 1524 until 1533.⁶⁷ In 1523, a gap between appointments meant that Wolsey needed to rely on the suffragan bishop of Lincoln, John Young, bishop of Gallipoli, to consecrate the newly-elected abbot of Meaux.⁶⁸ With the exception of Hatton who was already acting as suffragan at Wolsey's appointment, all the suffragans appointed by Wolsey were men in regular orders, a point that is worth noting given Wolsey's reputation for animus towards religious houses and their occupants. These appointments, however, were well within contemporary practice since, by the sixteenth century, it had become common for prelates to appoint regulars, particularly heads of religious houses.⁶⁹

Among their other spiritual duties, suffragan bishops were responsible for conducting ordinations. Ordination ceremonies took place six times a year in the archdiocese and rotated with a certain degree of regularity among several conventual churches in the city of York: Austin friars, Holy Trinity in Micklegate, the Benedictine nunnery of Clementhorpe, and at the priory of the Friars Minor, but also once a year before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in York Minster. Occasionally, the ordinations were conducted in the conventual church belonging to the Carmelite friars of York and once in the parish church of Bishop Burton where the archbishops possessed a manor.⁷⁰

Suffragans also performed the other customary duties outlined above. Matthew Mackarell, suffragan bishop of Chalcedon, received an oath of chastity from Lady Anne Vavasour following the death of her husband, John, in 1526, although it is not specified which

⁶⁶ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 2000; *CPL*, (1513-21), vol. 20, p. 571.

⁶⁷ David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (3 vols, London, 1948-59), vol. 3, p. 494; *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E.B. Fryde. 3rd ed. (London, 1986), pp. 286-7. It is unclear how active Stonywell was in the diocese. There are no commissions addressed to him recorded in the register and the administration *sede vacante* of the diocese of Carlisle in 1521 was entrusted to William Clifton, Brian Higden and Edward Kellett, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 134r. Butler has noted two further suffragan bishops as having acted in York but who do not appear in the register: Thomas Halsey, Bishop of Elphin (1513-1522) and John Max, Bishop of Elphin (1523-1536). Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops of the Medieval Diocese of York', pp. 59-60. But see Smith, p. 18 on reservations that registers do not represent all activities of suffragan bishops.

⁶⁸ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 72v.

⁶⁹ Smith, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln', p. 20-1.

⁷⁰ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey). ff. 166r-215r.

nunnery she entered.⁷¹ Bishop suffragans also assisted with confirming monastic elections and bestowed benediction on newly-elected abbots and priors.⁷² Suffragans could serve as the vicar general in diocesan administration, but in York under Wolsey it was unnecessary since Higden, who occupied that position, was resident in the diocese. Commissions to resolve conflicts and confirm monastic elections were always addressed to him, although often in conjunction with the archdeacon of the archdeaconry in which the religious house was situated.

Identifying why particular men were selected to perform the duties of suffragans is a difficult task. Certainly, familiarity with the area to be administered appears to have been an essential characteristic, but not all of Wolsey's appointments were even resident in the diocese, such as Richard Wilson who received a discharge from his duties. Those who did perform the practical duties of suffragans, however, were necessarily resident at the time. They were required to be in holy orders to undertake their requisite spiritual duties. However, suffragans did not routinely possess a university education, even in the sixteenth century, and the educational careers of John Hatton and Richard Wilson cannot be confirmed. Not even a reputation for leading a good life was a common characteristic among these men. In February 1517 Silvester de Giglis, then bishop of Worcester, described Thomas Halsey, who may have been acting as a suffragan in the diocese of York, as an 'idle voluptuary'.⁷³ On the other hand, Halsey's connection with the Roman curia, having been previously a client of both Cardinal Bainbridge and Cardinal Castellesi, may have made him an attractive client to Wolsey.⁷⁴ The one characteristic which may have united these men was what Thompson identified as the most important for ensuring the thorough correction and supervision of the clergy: loyalty to the prelate.⁷⁵ Even Richard Wilson, who rejected his appointment as suffragan by Wolsey, later deferred to the cardinal's wishes in patronage matters in the Irish church.⁷⁶

Since Wolsey does not appear to have adopted the practice typical in other dioceses of appointing more than one suffragan bishop, it was necessary that the vicar general receive the support of other officials and dignitaries when carrying out commissions. One of Higden's co-officials for the archdiocesan consistory court was Edward Kellett.⁷⁷ Kellett was responsible for confirming Higden's election to the deanery in 1516.⁷⁸

⁷¹ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 85v.

⁷² For example, *Ibid.*, ff. 16r, 19v, 42v, 43r, 66r, 72v, 79v, 81r, 84r, 88r, 94r.

⁷³ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 2888.

⁷⁴ W.E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 109.

⁷⁵ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', p. 47.

⁷⁶ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2838.

⁷⁷ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 1r. Edmund Thorneton, abbot of St. Mary's, York, was the third co-official named, however, his greatest responsibilities lay in royal administration and will be considered below.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 103r.

Primarily, Kellett worked in conjunction with Higden on managing spiritual matters, for example in 1516, when both men were commissioned to resolve the disputed election at Whitby Abbey.⁷⁹ Kellett is particularly noteworthy for the amount of harrying he did on Wolsey's behalf, under the cover of the consistory court, in order to force certain dignitaries of York Minster out of their offices to make room for Wolsey's own appointments.⁸⁰

One of the other important officers of the central administration was the principal registrar. The registrar's primary responsibility was to act as the bishop's legal officer, providing legal advice and keeping the diocese's court records. A further duty was to maintain the archbishop's register which included a record of ordinations, institutions, licenses, letters dimissory and royal writs.⁸¹ By the sixteenth century, the registrar was always a notary public and could be, as in the case of York, a layman.⁸² John Chapman was a merchant of the city and dealt in lead, among other commodities.⁸³ He most likely served in the archdiocese prior to Wolsey's elevation to the see although he failed to record the commission for his re-appointment, if there was one.⁸⁴ The exact relationship between the registrar and the rest of the archdiocesan hierarchy is not entirely clear, however, Chapman appears to have had at least a close working relationship with the officials of the consistory court, as well as the dean, Brian Higden, and the archdeacon of the East Riding, Thomas Magnus, who were named as supervisors of his will.⁸⁵ The registrar also had servants of his own, as well as subordinates working under him.⁸⁶ Although the holder of the office had no formal authority over the distribution of patronage, being one of the first to know about vacancies, he could exert his influence by withholding the information from the patrons of the living or by entering a caveat in the register to have the right of patronage investigated.⁸⁷

These central officers were assisted by local officials in the archdeaconries who may be considered casual clients of Wolsey since they acted for him on a commission

⁷⁹ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 18r, 32v.

⁸⁰ *CPL (1513-21)*, vol. 20, pp. 190-1; *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 3617.

⁸¹ R. O'Day, 'The Role of the Registrar in Diocesan Administration', in *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church of England*, ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (London, 1976), p. 78.

⁸² The registrar of the diocese of Winchester under Bishop Fox was also a layman, see Brown, 'The Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Bishops of Winchester', p. 40.

⁸³ David Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), p. 190. He is possibly identified with the John Chapman who served as one of the city chamberlains in 1505-6, *Register of the Freemen of York, vol. 1, 1272-1558*, ed. Francis Collins, SS, 96 (2 vols, Durham, 1897), p. 230.

⁸⁴ In his will. Chapman asked for masses to be said for the souls of Thomas Savage and Christopher Bainbridge which suggests that he may have been serving as registrar during their terms as archbishop. BI, Prob.Reg 10, f. 53v.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 54r.

⁸⁶ Those named in Chapman's will were his servant William Fawkes, William Tyas and John Raynar, Prob.Reg 10, f. 54r. Both Fawkes and Tyas can be found in the register working alongside Chapman, BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 72v, 83r-v (Fawkes); ff. 82r, 86r, 92v (Tyas).

⁸⁷ O'Day, 'The Role of the Registrar in Diocesan Administration', pp. 84-5.

basis, rather than in a direct and continual patronage relationship. The office of archdeacon, like that of other diocesan officials developed from positions in the bishop's household.⁸⁸ Archdeacons were responsible for their part of the archdiocese and their responsibilities included ensuring the maintenance and repair of church property, enforcing general discipline on the clergy, and inducting clerics into benefices.⁸⁹ The office was in the collation of the archbishop and was the only archdiocesan official who was also a *de facto* member of the cathedral chapter.⁹⁰ Chapter 4 of Wolsey's *York Provinciale* related to the office of archdeacon. Archdeacons were to examine those priests put forward by rectories as to their ordination, quality of life and knowledge; to correct those who were found to transgress the expected standard of living; to have the power to reject those who were found unsuitable; and to have the supervision of the spiritual health of his archdeaconry more generally.⁹¹ Archdeacons were also commissioned in matters relating to religious houses, installing newly-elected heads and to restoring the houses' temporalities.⁹²

Archdeacons had their own subordinates and officials and had the right to appoint rural deans who acted under their authority although, by the sixteenth century, the office had become obsolete in many dioceses. In those areas where the office continued to exist, it was often occupied by local rectors, vicars, chantry priests or unbeneficed clergy in the deanery in which their benefice lay, and could even be vested in the archdeacon himself.⁹³ The fact that the office was often occupied by local clergy may account for the presence of rectors and chaplains at monastic confirmations in York diocese. For example, Thomas Worsley, rector of Hotham in the East Riding, was among the commissioners responsible for presenting the letters confirming the election of the prior of nearby Haltemprice in 1518.⁹⁴ For those elections in the archdeaconry of Nottingham, the commissions were usually issued to Brian Higden, as well as the officials of the archdeaconry, rather than the archdeacon himself. For example, Robert Barra and Richard Taverner, who were described as officials of the archdeaconry, as well as William Burgh, who held the prebend of Apesthorpe from York Minster located in the archdeaconry, were commissioned to

⁸⁸ A. Hamilton Thompson, *Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages: archdeacons and rural deans* (London, 1944), p. 7.

⁸⁹ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. 1, p. 96.

⁹¹ *The York Provinciale put forth by Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, in the year 1518*, ed. R.M. Woolley (London, 1931), pp. 6-7.

⁹² For example, BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey). ff. 18v, 43v, 45r.

⁹³ Thompson, *Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages*, pp. 39-43; York and Ely both continued to have active rural deans after 1514, Robert W. Dunning, 'Rural Deans in England in the Fifteenth Century', *BIHR*, 40 (1967), p. 213. Such men were also important as a channel of communication between the localities and the activities in the probate court. Smith, 'Exercise of probate jurisdiction of the Medieval Archbishops of York', p. 141.

⁹⁴ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 36v.

resolve the disputed election at Worksop in July 1518.⁹⁵ In the testamentary jurisdiction of the archdiocese, rural deans, along with apparitors and sequestrators formed an important clerical network for ensuring that wills were registered and that probate matters were dealt with promptly.⁹⁶

The fact that commissions were issued to men resident in the locality in which they were to be carried out highlights two important facts: that, as in secular governance, it was important for the commissioners to have local knowledge and influence for their authority to be effected properly; and secondly, it suggests that the place, perhaps more so than education, training or ability, influenced the choice of commissioners. The men who performed such commissions, however, should be distinguished from more permanent clients of Wolsey for whom training and administrative ability, as well as loyalty, were more important characteristics, as will be discussed in the following section.

Other notaries public and chaplains also appear occasionally on commissions issued within the diocese. Thomas and Tristram Teshe, whose relationship to each other is not certain, became prominent officials in the archdiocese and managed to establish successful careers for themselves. Thomas attended the University of Oxford where he was admitted to the degree of LLB in 1509, and by 1527 at the latest, was acting as an official of the archdeacon of Nottingham.⁹⁷ By this time, he had already been accumulating various rectories and vicarages in the archdiocese and his accumulation of benefices culminated in a canonry in York Minster and the prebend of Osbaldwick in 1539. Tristram, meanwhile, was a clerk in the York consistory court by 1524. His career in royal service continued into the 1530s when, on 1 May 1537, he was made general receiver of the possessions in Yorkshire forfeited by the abbot of Jervaulx, the prior of Bridlington, Sir Thomas Lord Darcy, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Stephen Hamerton, Sir Francis Bigod and John Wyvel, who were all attainted for treason for their part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Duke of Norfolk reported to Cromwell that Teshe's property had been spoiled by the rebels and he requested that Cromwell be his good lord, 'for fewe others ar at this houre withowt restitucon or agreement made with them'.⁹⁸

Among the other active commissioners in the archdiocese was Thomas Fox, chaplain and notary public. Fox had been a fellow at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1517, but by 1518 he appears in York. According to Emden, Fox hailed from the diocese of London, but he was ordained in the diocese of York, taking all his orders in quick

⁹⁵ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 37v-38r.

⁹⁶ Smith, 'Exercise of probate jurisdiction of the Medieval Archbishops of York', pp. 136-41.

⁹⁷ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501-40* (London, 1974), p. 562; BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 98v.

⁹⁸ *Yorkshire Monasteries. Suppression Papers*, ed. John William Clay, YASRS, 48 (Leeds, 1912), p. 50.

succession in 1519.⁹⁹ In fact, Fox had already been assisting Higden on commissions before entering orders and regularly appears as a joint commissioner with Higden throughout the 1520s.¹⁰⁰ Fox's career progress is difficult to trace. He appears as Provost for St. William's College in 1528, but when he acquired that post and the means by which he did so are not evident.¹⁰¹ Fox died intestate, but in the entry in the probate register on 20 November 1533, he is identified as being a parson in York Minster and dean of Doncaster. The administration of his estate was awarded to Richard Fox, a merchant of York and possibly a relative.¹⁰²

Ultimately, the aim of the distribution of archiepiscopal patronage was the creation of an efficient and competent administration to oversee the archdiocese. The question remains: how can one judge if the administration was successful or efficient? Is it by a paucity of cases of heresy among the parochial clergy and laity, and their detection and correction? Or is it that there were few complaints by the laity against the personal conduct and professional standards of their local clergy? If these are the means by which one can judge the quality of the supervision exercised by the personnel of the archdiocesan administration, then certainly the administration constructed by Wolsey in York can be deemed successful.¹⁰³

This archdiocesan administration combined both men with long-standing experience in church administration, such as Brian Higden, Edward Kellett and Thomas Dalby, as well as younger newly-trained men, such as Thomas Fox. A university education was requisite among the most senior archdiocesan clergy, but even at this date, some of those who were in more frequent contact with the parochial clergy and laity, such as the suffragan bishops, did not necessarily have university training. This fact seems surprising given how heavily Wolsey invested in his educational foundations and the presumed goal that they were to create knowledgeable and religiously-sound administrators for church and state. Regardless of age, experience or training, commissions were issued to men resident in the local area in which they were to be performed, a fact which facilitated their ability to perform their duties efficiently. This meant that Wolsey relied a great deal on others to exercise his patronage for him. Either his most trusted clients, such as Higden, selected the most capable men on his behalf, or he relied on the officials patronised by other dignitaries, such as the administrators serving the

⁹⁹ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 214; BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 185v-186r.

¹⁰⁰ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 40r, 53r-v, 64r, 69r, 87v.

¹⁰¹ *VCH: Yorkshire, East Riding: Volume 3 - Ouse and Derwent wapentake, and part of Harthill wapentake*, ed. K.J. Allison (London, 1976), p. 386.

¹⁰² BI, Prob.Reg 11, f. 36v.

¹⁰³ The presence of heresy, in particular Lollardy, in the diocese of York in the early sixteenth century has been discussed by Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, pp. 17-9, 23-4, 26 and John A.F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520* (Oxford, 1965), p. 199.

various archdeacons. Either way, Wolsey's direct control over the quality of men performing the spiritual responsibilities of the archdiocese was minimal.

From the point of view of clients, involvement in archdiocesan administration provided them with a means for building successful and lucrative careers for themselves in the church and many actively sought Wolsey's patronage as a means of advancing their careers. For a layman like Chapman who, as a merchant, did not rely solely on his office as archdiocesan registrar for his income, the office still provided him with additional prestige to enhance his personal standing in the community. There is no reason to suppose that the administrators and their prelate did not share in the same goal of maintaining high moral and professional standards among the clergy under their supervision, and of ensuring the performance of orthodox practices and preventing the spread of heterodox beliefs among the laity.

Patronage and Rewards

Wolsey's elevation to the see of York was beneficial to both Wolsey and Henry VIII for numerous reasons. Certainly, the possession of the second highest office in the church in England greatly enhanced Wolsey's personal prestige and augmented his authority by increasing the number of men under his supervision, as well as extending his affinity over a wider geographical area. More importantly, similar benefits accrued to the crown because, as the leading royal servant, the extension of Wolsey's authority represented a channel through which the crown could extend its own prerogative. Although York was less wealthy than its counterpart of Canterbury, the see extended over the most distant and troublesome region in the kingdom, providing the crown with agents vested with royal power to cooperate in the supervision of local networks of social power. It supplied the crown with more immediate control over church wealth in the form of estate offices, benefices and pensions, which could be used to reward royal administrators on the northern borders and elsewhere. While scholars have for the most part failed to consider Wolsey's role as archbishop of York, the office's authority and accompanying patronage was an integral part of Wolsey's exercise of influence over patronage in the kingdom as a whole, and thus can no longer be ignored. Its integration with the rest of his affinity is so important that it has been situated as the fifth concentric circle in his greater affinity which he used to govern the kingdom.

For Wolsey, the establishment of patronage networks in the archdiocese of York through his distribution of ecclesiastical patronage and patronage associated with his archiepiscopal estates had a multitude of purposes. Firstly, it provided him with the means of protecting his interests as prelate. These interests ranged from the procurement of

financial gain, to the exercise of patronage, to the maintenance of his prestige and social status. For example, in the diocese of Durham, Wolsey's chancellor, William Frankeleyn, informed him of the ways in which he could maximise the profit of the bishopric's natural resources, particularly the shipping of lead and coal, which Frankeleyn claimed would increase the revenues of the see by 1,000 marks a year.¹⁰⁴ They also guarded against any external encroachments upon his authority. Higden reported to Wolsey that the commissaries for the province of Canterbury were calling an increasing number of cases involving Yorkshire men to be heard in London without reasonable cause, bypassing Higden's own consistory court, and causing displeasure and confusion among his subjects.¹⁰⁵ Further, they acted as informal patronage brokers by informing Wolsey of the imminent availability of vacant benefices in the diocese over which he exercised patronage, as well as who should be preferred. In 1529, Thomas Donnington suggested that a vacant prebend in Ripon Minster could be bestowed upon Marmaduke Bradley, abbot of Fountains.¹⁰⁶ Lastly, Wolsey's clients protected the quality of clergy appointed in the dioceses on behalf of the bishop. In 1520, Higden refused to admit the unlearned cleric presented by Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, to the rectory of Londesborough in the earl's patronage.¹⁰⁷ The archdiocesan livery, the cross keys, worn by these men was a visual representation of Wolsey's power and authority over the archdiocese.

The manner in which the procurement and distribution of ecclesiastical patronage functioned mirrored that of secular patronage. Since the patron's household was the focal point of his patronage network, securing entry into the household of a great ecclesiastical figure was the most direct route for increasing one's prospects for future career advancement. This point is illustrated in part by the number of members of Wolsey's household situated in London who received benefices as remuneration for previous service. Successive deans of Wolsey's household chapel were rewarded with valuable offices in York diocese and other areas under his administration. Robert Shorton, dean of Wolsey's chapel in the early 1520s, was provided with the prebend of Fridaythorpe in York Minster in 1523 valued at just over £35 per annum. Shorton's successor as dean of the chapel, Richard Duke, was rewarded with the archdeaconry of Salisbury in 1529. Wolsey's secretaries were also the recipients of benefices within his gift. Robert Toneys, responsible for Wolsey's finances, was furnished with the prebend of Bugthorpe in York Minster worth £34 annually. Another of Wolsey's secretaries, William Burbank, was granted the prebend of Thockrington, York, in 1524 in addition to the more substantial prebend of

¹⁰⁴ Richard Fiddes, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey. With several copper plates. By Richard Fiddes* (London, 1724), pp. 206-9.

¹⁰⁵ BI, SP 1/40, f. 238r.

¹⁰⁶ LP, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5445.

¹⁰⁷ *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.G. Dickens, SS. 172 (Durham, 1957), pp. 29, 41-2, 84-5.

Fenton he already held. Nicholas Lentall, who formed such an important component of the choir at Cardinal College, Ipswich that the dean John Capon wrote to Wolsey lamenting the latter's recall of the chorister to his household chapel, was awarded the prebend of North Leverton in Southwell Minster, York, in July 1529.¹⁰⁸

In addition to being a place in which to receive patronage, the household of a great ecclesiastical figure such as Wolsey was a hub of patronage networks so large and complex that they needed to be maintained by people other than the principal patron. These men acted as middlemen in patronage relationships by mediating between a patron and potential clients who were separated by distance, and were often essential to completing patronage exchanges. Naturally, Wolsey's secretaries were frequent recipients of letters seeking patronage since they were responsible for the cardinal's correspondence, were the first to see such requests, and determined when and where Wolsey received the information they contained. It is in such a role that Thomas Cromwell began to establish his own network of lay and ecclesiastical contacts, who were valuable members of the administration of the kingdom when their patron rose to prominence in the 1530s. Although not a churchman himself, Cromwell did intercede in requests for patronage within the purview of the church, such as an application for a petty canonry at Cardinal College, Oxford, a patent for an office in the diocese of Durham, and the payment of a yearly pension from a rectory in the peculiar jurisdiction of St. Albans Abbey.¹⁰⁹

Of the four ways in which potential clients could access the largess of a patron identified by Lock – family connections, previous service by family members, acquaintance with a client or friend of the patron, and payment in gift or cash – the most common means of acquiring patronage was through kinship and marriage connections.¹¹⁰ While the scope of Wolsey's nepotism was not wide-ranging, it still comprised a significant portion of his patronage. The distribution of his ecclesiastical patronage to family members is notable for the absence of extensive blood relations, but was

¹⁰⁸ *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A.F. Leach. Camden Society, New Ser., 48 (Westminster, 1891), p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ W. Gordon Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 33; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5431, app. 233.

¹¹⁰ P.W. Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England, c.1520-1540' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Exeter, 1976), pp. 73-6. Sharon Kettering has argued that kinship and friendship ties differed from patron-client relations in which reciprocity is obligatory, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*, p. 844. Similarly, ties of kinship did not guarantee access to patronage and that pragmatic political values were more significant than the emotional bonds of kinship, 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France', p. 429; Idem., *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986), p. 25. Marriages, on the other hand, were used to cement rather than create patronage networks, Idem., 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France' in *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*, p. 420. However, the goal of other renaissance prelates, such as the Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, was to protect their immediate kin and to defend their patrimony, Hallman, 'The "Disastrous" Pontificate of Clement VII', p. 29 and Charles L. Stinger, 'The Place of Clement VII and Clementine Rome in Renaissance History', p. 165 in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, 2005).

concentrated on his illegitimate son, Thomas Winter. Well-educated, although distinctly lacking in intelligence, Winter's numerous preferments included the archdeaconry of York in 1523, the archdeaconry of Richmond in 1526, and the prebend of Fridaythorpe from 1522 to 1523, which he then exchanged for the wealthier prebend of Strensall.¹¹¹ In 1526, he also held the prebend of St. Peter's in Beverley Minster, valued at £48 per annum.¹¹² On 17 July 1528, Winter was also appointed to the mastership of St. Leonard's Hospital in the city of York.¹¹³ At Wolsey's disgrace, the lords charged that the cardinal had procured benefices totalling £2,700 per annum for his son.¹¹⁴

In the absence of a large extended family, a characteristic which distinguishes him from his contemporary European cardinal ministers, Wolsey appears to have adopted the Larke family, the family of his mistress and Winter's mother, as a kind of surrogate, bestowing on brothers Peter and Thomas numerous ecclesiastical rewards. Wolsey secured for both Larke brothers French pensions in 1525, Thomas, his confessor, received 100 crowns, and Peter, 25 crowns.¹¹⁵ Closer to home, Wolsey had used his powers as ordinary to railroad through a pension for Thomas from the rectory of Lythe in the archdiocese of York. The benefice was in Wolsey's collation by virtue of his wardship of the minor Francis Bigod. In 1523, Larke resigned the rectory and Wolsey collated James Cokerill, the newly-elected prior of Guisborough. Further, Wolsey assigned Larke a lifelong annual pension of £44. As may be expected given the size of the award, Cokerill objected to the reasons behind Larke's resignation and questioned whether Wolsey had acted outside of his prerogative, taking the matter before the archdiocesan consistory court.¹¹⁶ As punishment for his opposition, Cokerill was also forced to pay Larke a one-time pension of £200 from the revenues of his priory.¹¹⁷ Thomas' further ecclesiastical rewards were numerous, and it is also probable that Wolsey was responsible for securing Peter a pension of 10 marks from Whitby Abbey and a position in the household of John Kite, bishop of Carlisle.¹¹⁸

A relative's previous or current service for the patron was often beneficial to entering into a patronage relationship. John Higden, brother of Brian, Wolsey's vicar general for the archdiocese of York, can attribute his election to the presidency of

¹¹¹ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 2482, 2568, 2587, 2806; *TNA*, SP 1/49, ff. 41-2, 232-4.

¹¹² *TNA*, SP 1/37, f. 175.

¹¹³ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4526.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6075 (27).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 3619.

¹¹⁶ *BI*, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 107v-108r.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 108v.

¹¹⁸ *TNA*, SP 1/37, f. 175; H.P.F. King, comp., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541: vol. 1, Lincoln diocese*, by John Le Neve (London, 1962), p. 128; Joyce M. Horn, comp., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541: vol. 3, Salisbury diocese*, by John Le Neve (London, 1962), p. 66; 'The Fallow Papers', *YAJ*, 21 (1911), p. 252; *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2345.

Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1516 and his appointment as the first dean of Wolsey's Cardinal College, to the favour of the cardinal.¹¹⁹ John undoubtedly possessed the qualities which Wolsey sought in a client, but his relation to the cardinal's most trusted servant in the archdiocese of York surely played a significant role. Two more of the most dependable administrators in the archdiocese of York, William Holgill and Edward Kellett, were able to capitalise on their relationship with Wolsey by securing places for relatives in Wolsey's household in London.¹²⁰

Patron-client relations could often involve more than one degree of separation and more than one type of connection. For example, John Gostwyck, a servant first of Cromwell's who subsequently entered Wolsey's household, sought the lawyer's intervention on behalf of his kinsman, Sir John Hartley. Hartley had been cited before the court of the abbot of St. Albans during the time of Wolsey's abbacy, by William Holgill, master of the Savoy Hospital and surveyor of the archbishopric of York. Holgill was demanding the payment of a pension from the benefice of Bernet near Colchester to which Hartley had been preferred by Wolsey, and which Holgill claimed he had received from the previous incumbent.¹²¹ Thus, client-patron relations and the business with which they dealt were not confined to two parties and were often convoluted.

Outside of direct relations, another means of acquiring patronage involved payments of gifts or cash in exchange for favours or offices. The list of debts owed to Wolsey at the time of his death illustrates that the cardinal frequently received cash payments in exchange for the performance of various services from suitors who were the outermost group of his affinity, including the procurement of ecclesiastical benefices.¹²² In 1529, Wolsey's surveyor in the archdiocese, Thomas Donnington, reported that the rector of Brandesburton, William Wyght, was in poor health and that the post would probably become available in the near future. He recommended that the rectory be granted to Anthony Appleby, under-receiver of the provost of Beverley Minster. The parsonage made a clear income of £15 per annum, and Appleby promised to pay Wolsey £20 for presenting him to the benefice.¹²³ When the prior of St. Bartholomew's, London, fell ill in 1527, friends of the monastery's cellarer, William Finch, were prepared to offer Wolsey £300 towards the construction of his college at Oxford as a means of securing Finch's election to the priory. As it turned out, the prior recovered from his illness, and Wolsey

¹¹⁹ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-1540*, pp. 931-2.

¹²⁰ Edmund Holgill and John Kellett, TNA, E 179/69/9.

¹²¹ TNA, SP 1/59, f. 139.

¹²² *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (14).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, no. 5364.

was obliged to create another vacancy for Finch by forcing the resignation of the prior of Tiptree, William Barlow.¹²⁴

While household officers appeared to be attractive brokers to prospective clients because of their constant contact with their patron, potential clients also approached colleagues or associates of the patron outside of the household, but who were an important circle of the patron's affinity. A nephew of Cardinal Bainbridge, Lancelot Colyns, had spent several years studying in Rome before returning to England, during which time he approached both Silvester Gigli, bishop of Worcester, and Pope Leo X, to recommend him to the cardinal's service.¹²⁵ Wolsey's papal contacts were clearly important to his foreign policy and, before returning to England as treasurer of York Minster in 1517, Colyns was reporting to Wolsey on the affairs on the continent.¹²⁶

Lastly, a would-be client seeking patronage could rely on his administrative, judicial or diplomatic exploits to attract the attention of a potential patron. This means of securing entry into the clientage of a patron is only natural since rewards were usually given for service rendered. Such service was often performed while in the clientage of another patron. John Alen, whose expertise in canon law brought him to the attention of Wolsey in his bid to procure an extension of his papal legateship, had served as a proctor at the papal curia for William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury.¹²⁷

Alen's entry into Wolsey's service highlights one further aspect of patron-client relations in the early sixteenth century, that it was not only clients who were constantly in competition to secure favour from a powerful and influential patron, but also that patrons were continually seeking to attract both the highest quality and greatest number of men as embodiments of their authority and power. Indeed, the fact that Wolsey sometimes accepted more clients into his household than he had patronage at his disposal may explain why the majority of them failed to be promoted to further ecclesiastical or royal preferments. Clients were attracted to Wolsey's service because of his wealth, status in the church and royal administration, and the resulting access to, and influence in the distribution of ecclesiastical and royal patronage.

The exercise over the distribution of rewards by the patron took two main forms. Direct patronage involved the patron awarding benefices in his own gift. The patronage of a prelate was concentrated on the offices in the cathedral church which were the most lucrative, but also included appointments to other ecclesiastical institutions within his jurisdiction. For example, the bishop had the right of presentation to masterships of

¹²⁴ Andrew J. Brown, *Robert Ferrar, Yorkshire Monk, Reformation Bishop, and martyr in Wales (c.1500-1550)* (London, 1997), p. 266.

¹²⁵ *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 3460; TNA, SP 1/15, ff. 127-8.

¹²⁶ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 1109; vol. 2, pt. 2, nos. 2776, 3092; TNA, SP 1/15, ff. 127-8.

¹²⁷ James Murray, 'Alen, John (1476-1534)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006.

hospitals, to vacant livings where the patron had failed to present during an allotted time or during the minority of the patron, and to monasteries where the election of the abbot or prior had been compromised to him. At the height of his powers, Wolsey possessed the rights of patronage in the dioceses of Durham, Winchester, Worcester, and Salisbury, the archdiocese of York, and the peculiar jurisdiction of St. Albans Abbey. The collation rights of the bishop of Durham, for example, included 29 prebendal livings in the cathedral church worth a combined total of £70. 35 of the livings in the bishop's gift exceeded £10 per annum, while 26 exceeded £20 per annum. The deanery of Auckland and the rectories of Houghton and Wearmouth were worth £100 each. Wolsey also possessed ecclesiastical patronage as Lord Chancellor through which he could collate to benefices in the king's gift worth less than 20 marks.¹²⁸

Like their secular counterparts, ecclesiastical clients of Wolsey reaped numerous benefits from his patronage, both tangible and intangible. Most obviously, Wolsey's ecclesiastical clients accumulated wealth from the income accruing from their church offices. Church offices, like positions in royal government or other secular posts, carried with them prestige, the exercise of personal authority and control, and income derived from either land or fees or an annual pension paid in either cash or kind, while sustaining a continual patron-client relationship between the two parties involved.¹²⁹ For parochial livings and cathedral prebends, the incumbent's income came primarily from land. Such offices were often accompanied by incidental fees for services performed. For example, the mayor and commonalty of York paid Brian Higden 12d for writing a letter to Wolsey on their behalf.¹³⁰ These types of fees were merely gestures of gratitude and did not contribute significantly to Higden's income, since his office as dean of York Minster was worth approximately £307 per annum.

In contrast, some archdiocesan officers depended entirely on fees or a pension related to their office for their income. Suffragan bishops, for example, often relied upon a pension from the diocese in which they were serving and the fees accruing from their office for their income, especially if they were not holding another ecclesiastical benefice *in commendam*.¹³¹ John Hatton's commission to act as suffragan, however, does not mention an annual pension, and therefore it can be inferred that he was expected to rely on his benefices for his income.¹³² The income of the diocesan registrar also came primarily

¹²⁸ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', pp. 22-7.

¹²⁹ For more on offices as rewards and the way in which such rewards established continual patronage relationships, see Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986), chap. 6, 164-206; Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England'.

¹³⁰ YCA, Chamberlains' Books of Account, CB.3, f. 266r.

¹³¹ Smith, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln', p. 21.

¹³² BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 4r.

from fees for issuing licenses, letters of orders, resignations, institutions and inductions.¹³³ In large bishoprics, central officers could expect to receive a pension of £50 to £60 per annum. The receiver general could expect roughly £10 per annum, stewards between £10 and £20 per annum, and surveyors and auditors, £6 13s 4d.¹³⁴

Another tangible aspect of offices being used as rewards was that they carried the right of presenting subordinates. The precentor of York Minster, for example, nominated his deputy, the succentor. On his appointment to the office of precentor in 1522, Wolsey's archdiocesan steward, William Holgill, named William Clifton, his fellow administrator in York, as his subordinate. As important ecclesiastical dignitaries, cathedral officials also required a large household as a demonstration of their superior social status and to perform the various social functions required from high-ranking churchmen, as well as attending to everyday business. As archdeacon of Richmond and provost of Beverley Minster, Thomas Dalby needed a large support staff including his own receiver, Sir Anthony Appleby, and steward, Thomas Barton. As members of his household, it is likely that Appleby and Barton received livery and a generous annual salary given that the archdeaconry of Richmond was worth more than £200 and the provostry 100 marks. Nevertheless, it is possible that Dalby's servants felt inadequately compensated since, on Dalby's death in 1526, Barton took off with all the money and goods he found in the archdeacon's prebendal house in Stillington.¹³⁵

In the archdiocese of York, Wolsey's direct patronage included the right of nomination and institution to canonries and their associated prebends, grants of land which provided an income for the holders of canonries. Wolsey personally made these collations at York Place, which were entered in a register separate from the one maintained in the archdiocese.¹³⁶ In York Minster there were 35 canonries and associated prebends, ranging in value from Wetwang and Masham at £80 per annum each, to Thockrington at a measly £2 17s 1d per annum.¹³⁷ Canonries were highly desirable rewards both to patrons and clients since their incomes were often substantial, but also because they were without cure of souls, which meant that the holder did not need to be resident, making the posts ideal for rewarding past or present service elsewhere.¹³⁸

The higher offices in York Minster were also in the patronage of the archbishop, the most valuable of which was the deanery at over £307 per annum. Officially, the dean

¹³³ O'Day, 'The Role of the Registrar in Diocesan Administration', p. 92.

¹³⁴ Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, p. 81.

¹³⁵ TNA, SP 1/37, ff. 104-9.

¹³⁶ A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Registers of the Archbishops of York', *YAJ*, 32 (1936), p. 258.

¹³⁷ *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII. Auctoritate regia institutus. With an introduction and indexes by J. Hunter*, ed. J. Caley (6 vols, London, 1810-34), vol. 5, p. 2.

¹³⁸ David Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 18.

was elected, but in practice, the canons normally selected the individual nominated by the archbishop or the monarch. Offices, prebends and pensions in the archdiocese's smaller minsters – Beverley, Ripon and Southwell – were in the archbishop's gift, as were the masterships of the archdiocese's various hospitals, and the mastership of Jesus College, Rotherham, founded by former archbishop and Yorkshire native Thomas Rotherham.¹³⁹ During his years as archbishop of York, Wolsey collated to offices in York Minster seven times, 32 times to the cathedral's prebends, as well as 10 collations to prebends in Southwell, and to one prebend in Ripon.¹⁴⁰ Parochial livings, on the other hand, rarely fell within the scope of the archbishop's patronage, although some of the more valuable rectories were awarded to archdiocesan administrators as rewards for their service.¹⁴¹ This pattern of patronage allocation is consistent with the distribution found by Thompson among early and mid-Tudor bishops.¹⁴²

As the head of the largest and wealthiest, not only of the city of York's 23 hospitals, but in the whole of the north of England, the mastership of St. Leonard's Hospital was a valuable benefice. Despite having endured a period of financial decline and reduction in its services throughout the later medieval period, it was valued at over £300 in the ecclesiastical survey of 1535.¹⁴³ Formerly associated with York Minster, the king was the nominal head of the hospital and the patronage over the position of master was in his prerogative.¹⁴⁴ Thomas Magnus, archdeacon of the East Riding and an active royal servant in the north was granted the mastership in 1529.¹⁴⁵ Magnus' term as master came after Wolsey's son Thomas Winter had resigned the post earlier that year.¹⁴⁶ The mastership of the Hospital of St. Giles in the archbishop's liberty of Beverley also fell vacant during

¹³⁹ Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: or, the history of the ancient abbies, monasteries, hospitals, ... in England and Wales: also of all such Scotch, Irish and French monasteries, as did in any manner relate to those in England, etc.* (3 vols, London, 1718), vol. 3, pp. 342-3; *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, ed. J.T. Fowler, SS, 81 (3 vols, Durham, 1888), vol. 3, pp. 3-8; *Visitations of Southwell Minster*, p. xxxiv; R.B. Dobson, 'The Educational Patronage of Archbishop Thomas Rotherham of York', *NH*, 31 (1995), 65-85.

¹⁴⁰ BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 101r-109v; *Visitations of Southwell Minster*, pp. 151-4; *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, ed. J.T. Fowler, SS, 78 (3 vols, Durham, 1886), vol. 2, pp. 221-3. It can be ascertained with certainty that Wolsey collated Hugh Ashton to the prebend of Thrope, 2 January 1522, BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 106v-7r. There are four other occasions in which it is probable that Wolsey made a collation to a prebend, the records for which do not survive, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, pp. 208-9, 233-4, 241-3, 251.

¹⁴¹ Brian Higden was awarded the rectory of Stokesley, 28 April 1517 with a clear annual value of £30 6s. 5d. in 1535, and Edward Kellett, official of the consistory court of York, was granted the rectory of Huggate, 26 Mar 1523, BI, Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 25r, 68r. While not substantial at £15 clear value, it was in the patronage of the crown, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 5, p. 141.

¹⁴² Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', chap. 2.

¹⁴³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 5, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ J. Raine, *The Founding of St. Mary's Abbey, and St. Leonard's Hospital, York* (York, 1898), pp. 58, 66-7; P.H. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*. Borthwick Paper, 79. (York, 1991), pp. 2, 7.

¹⁴⁵ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 4091.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4526.

Wolsey's tenure as archbishop in 1526, but it is unknown who received this appointment.¹⁴⁷

Although not directly within the prerogative of the archbishop, it was possible for prelates and other prominent church and royal figures to influence the election of heads of monastic houses. Wolsey's interest in monastic elections stemmed primarily from those instances in which individual houses, voluntarily or otherwise, compromised the election to him. There were instances in which Wolsey attempted to remove the heads of at least eight religious houses in dioceses other than York in order to accommodate his own nominees, in which he was successful half the time.¹⁴⁸ In those occasions in the archdiocese of York itself in which Wolsey had an opportunity to intervene, it does not appear that he attempted to influence monastic elections in order to secure the positions for his own nominees. The election of an abbot at Selby in 1526 was compromised to Wolsey for which he selected one of the abbey's own brethren, Robert Selby, at Higden's urging.¹⁴⁹ The election of local men was the general pattern in monastic elections in the archdiocese. James Cokerill, abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Lilleshull in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, who was elected prior of the fellow Augustinian house of Guisborough in June 1519, had previously been a canon of the same monastery.¹⁵⁰ The wealthiest monastery in the archdiocese and the most politically important was the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's situated outside the walls of the city of York, and thus the crown took a keen interest in the house's elections. The abbacy fell vacant with the death of Edmund Thorneton in 1521. Thorneton's successor was Edmund Whalley, a monk of the abbey, who continued to perform the traditional role of St. Mary's abbots in royal and local government.¹⁵¹

The other forms of ecclesiastical patronage over which Wolsey could exercise influence in the archdiocese were offices in his archiepiscopal household and on the archbishop's lands. As previously mentioned, although not as wealthy as the archdiocese of Canterbury, the archbishop of York was proprietor over extensive estates extending throughout nine counties, and which provided him with valuable sources of income and patronage in the form of rent from tenants and in estate offices. Offices, such as receivers, bailiffs and surveyors, could be bestowed on both lay and clerical clients, and the duties

¹⁴⁷ *VCH: Yorkshire*, vol. 3, p. 302.

¹⁴⁸ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 317, 324, 337.

¹⁴⁹ *LP*, vol. 4, pt., 3, app. 73; *BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey)*, f. 83v.

¹⁵⁰ *BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey)*, f. 44v; John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense (York, 1758)*, p. 355.

¹⁵¹ The role of St. Mary's Abbey, York, as essentially a treasury for the king's money to be used to defend the northern borders against the Scots was not determined by the personality of the reigning abbot but by the strategic position of the abbey and undoubtedly its imposing façade. The money was used to pay for repairs to border castles and to pay the wages of the garrison stationed at Berwick; *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 1450; vol. 1, pt. 2, nos. 2546, 2651, 3505; vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 46; vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 1457, 1462, 1484, 1486-7, 1489; vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 799; vol. 3, pt. 2, nos. 1976, 2599, 2620, 3177, 3528, 3597, 3617; vol. 4, pt. 2, nos. 1527, 2801.

could be exercised by a local deputy making them desirable to both patron and client despite not necessarily providing a large income. In addition to bestowing on the client an income and social status, providing an office established an on-going patron-client relationship which could potentially bear more fruit in the future.

A further exercise of personal authority and patronage was through the gift of an advowson – or the right of granting to a benefice – as a reward. For example, Richard Wolman, Wolsey's vicar general in the dioceses of Bath and Wells, Salisbury and Exeter, was among those granted the right of presentation to the prebends of Yerton and Erthunton in the collegiate church of St. Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shropshire in 1529. The foundation was in the patronage of the crown, but Wolman's procurement of the rights of presentation was possibly mediated by Wolsey.¹⁵² John Chapman, the archdiocesan registrar, also possessed advowsons to parish churches, possibly acquired as rewards for his services, which he bequeathed in his will.¹⁵³ Grants of advowsons such as these provided an opportunity for the recipients to act as patrons on a smaller scale.

Lastly, Wolsey could influence the distribution of pensions from monasteries, hospitals and other church benefices. The pension which Wolsey managed to secure from Guisborough priory on behalf of his confessor Thomas Larke has already been mentioned. Wolsey also secured pensions for his other officials including Richard Pigot, who, over the course of several years, accumulated an annual pension worth £5 from Whitby Abbey, a pension of 5 marks from Newburgh Priory 'pro bono consilio', and a pension of 100s from Bridlington Priory, which Wolsey ordered to be awarded to 'our clerk'.¹⁵⁴

The second manner in which influence over the distribution of rewards could be exercised was indirect and involved recommending a client for an office in the gift of another patron. Gwyn has observed that Wolsey did not resort to using his legatine authority to appoint his own associates, but rather used his influence with the king to secure preferments in the crown's gift. Among the more noteworthy examples in which Wolsey may be credited with placing his own nominees to positions in the prerogative of the crown were the appointments of Cuthbert Tunstal to the see of London in 1522, and of John Clerk as his successor to the bishopric of Bath and Wells.¹⁵⁵ Andrew Chibi has

¹⁵² *The Registers of Thomas Wolsey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1518-1523; John Clerke, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1523-1541; William Knyght, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1541-1547; and Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1554-1559*, ed. Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell-Lyte. Somerset Record Society. 65 (Frome, 1940), pp. 1, 110; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, nos. 5815 (17), 5906 (29); *VCH: Shropshire*, vol. 2, ed. A.T. Gaydon (London, 1973), pp. 123-8.

¹⁵³ BI, Prob.Reg 10, f. 53v.

¹⁵⁴ BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), ff. 128v, 129r, 138r.

¹⁵⁵ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 295.

concurred with Gwyn's analysis of the limited extent of Wolsey's influence on royal appointments to the episcopal bench during his supremacy.¹⁵⁶

Wolsey could, however, also use his legatine authority to influence ecclesiastical appointments by exercising his power of prevention. Thus, his impact on ecclesiastical appointments was manifested not only in those who received appointments as a result of his intervention, but also by those who were prevented from taking up their livings which were in the privilege of other patrons. The action of prevention by legatine authority, however, should not be interpreted as an act against the wishes of either the patron or the crown. Indeed, on several occasions, Wolsey exercised his right of prevention at Henry VIII's explicit request, such as in 1528 when the king desired Wolsey to present the royal chaplain Nicholas Wilson to the vicarage of Thaxted in the patronage of Stoke College by his 'legatine prerogative and prevention'.¹⁵⁷ The fact that the crown had a hand in dictating ecclesiastical appointments reinforces the conclusion that by investing the management of the domestic church in one individual, who lacked both a kin-based affinity and landed power base, Henry was actually strengthening the crown's exercise of authority within the kingdom, rather than creating an over-powerful minister who presented a challenge to that authority.

One of the key characteristics of noble affinities of the later medieval period was the ability of the head to confer on his followers military and legal protection through displays of military might. By the sixteenth century, and particularly during times of peace, this function was becoming largely obsolete. Nevertheless, given Wolsey's keen interest in the administration of fair and equitable justice, and close supervision of the Court in Star Chamber, it is natural to expect that Wolsey was able to provide his clients and servants either protection from the law or preferred treatment under it. In 1517 this was indeed the case as Richard Pigot, master of the choristers in Wolsey's household chapel, was granted a pardon for offences committed against the statute regulating the use of a crossbow, a benefit which was possibly secured by his patron.¹⁵⁸ Wolsey also stepped in to protect his commissaries responsible for suppressing the monasteries that were to comprise his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich about whom rumours regarding their conduct were circulating.¹⁵⁹ Royal secretary William Knight reported to Wolsey on 19 August 1527 that he had heard the king and various noblemen speak 'incredible things' of the acts of Cromwell and Alen in the suppression of the monasteries for Wolsey's Oxford college,

¹⁵⁶ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 72.

¹⁵⁷ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 305-6.

¹⁵⁸ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 2838.

¹⁵⁹ *CSP Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 155, 261; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1063; C.W. Ferguson, *Naked to mine enemies: the life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1958), p. 197.

allegations which Wolsey denied.¹⁶⁰ Service to the prelate did not mean, however, that his servants could entirely avoid the ordinary channels for legal redress. Richard Page, a member of Wolsey's household and receiver for the liberty of Beverley, entered a formal petition in Chancery against Bartholomew Prener and his wife Elizabeth for having illegally entered his property in Barking, Middlesex.¹⁶¹

Benefices, and particularly cathedral canonries which carried no cure of souls, were frequently used as rewards to archdiocesan administrators, but as mentioned above, were also valuable sources of patronage for those not resident in the diocese. Among the archdiocesan administrators who received gifts of prebends from Wolsey were Brian Higden, Hugh Ashton, William Tate, and Laurence Stubbs. Prebends provided their holders with the additional income necessary to maintain the status expected from church dignitaries, as well as local prestige and authority. Like other rewards, prebends were granted to clients who had rendered previous service to the prelate. Robert Carter was rewarded with a prebend in Beverley Minster by 1526, having served as steward and later seneschal in Wolsey's London household from at least 1524.¹⁶² Despite being an ecclesiastical office, prebends were frequently bestowed upon lay clients including royal servants.

Among the non-residents who were the beneficiaries of prebendal gifts were prominent scholars such as Reginald Pole, a second cousin of Henry VIII and later cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury, who began studying at Magdalen College in 1512. Having traveled to Italy to study at Padua in 1519, for which he received a yearly stipend of £100 from the king, Pole returned to England in 1527 when he received from Wolsey the prebendary of Knaresborough in York Minster. As it was one of several ecclesiastical preferments he received around that time, it is unlikely that Pole spent any time in York.¹⁶³ Lancelot Colyns, a nephew of Cardinal Bainbridge, resident at Rome, received the office of treasurer of York Minster in April 1514 while continuing his studies in Bologna.¹⁶⁴

The above examples also highlight the number of prominent members of the royal household who were recipients of rewards in the archdiocese under Wolsey's administration. Robert Dunning has argued that there was no distinction between church and royal administration in the late medieval period and that ecclesiastical appointments

¹⁶⁰ *CSP Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 261; Henry VIII also repeated the same accusation directly in a letter to Wolsey dated 14 July 1528, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4507.

¹⁶¹ TNA, SP 49/186, ff. 99r-100r (undated).

¹⁶² *Beverley Minster Fasti: being biographical notes on the provosts, prebendaries, officers and vicars in the church of Beverley prior to the dissolution*, ed. Richard Thomas Wright McDermid. YASRS, 149 (Leeds, 1993), p. 34; *A register of the members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, from the foundation of the college: new series*, ed. William Dunn Macray (8 vols, London, 1894-1915), vol. 1, pp. 142-3.

¹⁶³ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501 to 1540*, pp. 453-5; T. F. Mayer, 'Pole, Reginald (1500-1558)'. *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 13 June 2006.

¹⁶⁴ TNA, SP 1/9, f. 165r; SP 1/15, ff. 127v-8r; *Fasti 1300-1541*, 6, p. 89.

were viewed as a way to give an income to an official.¹⁶⁵ That this blurring of the distinction between royal servants and men of the church continued in the early Tudor period during Wolsey's supremacy will be further illustrated in a later section. In addition, scholars of early modern France have noted that control over ecclesiastical patronage was an important component for creating a noble regional hegemony.¹⁶⁶ Some parallels can be drawn with Cardinal Richelieu's manipulation of royal patronage under Louis XIII to create network of clients in the provinces loyal to the French monarchy thereby enhancing the administrative centralisation of the kingdom.¹⁶⁷ Using benefices and income from the church to reward royal administrators had the added benefit of alleviating some of the costs to the crown of maintaining a large and loyal affinity.

Thus, the categories of men outlined above – scholars, royal servants, household officers and archdiocesan administrators – were more likely to receive rewards from church patrons. But these categories are based on what men did, rather than personal qualities they may have held. Among the most important characteristics and personal qualities were education and administrative experience, and possibly loyalty, which will be discussed below. Another common characteristic of clients may have been sharing a similar religious view or ideology with their patron although, as mentioned in chapter 1, this was not necessarily universal. For the majority of his ascendancy, the religious orientation of his clients was not an issue, since it was not until the later 1520s when the spread of evangelical ideas was extensive enough in England to cause concern among the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The men who had once served in Wolsey's household or diocesan administration were overwhelmingly conservative in the theological debates which emerged from the break with Rome and the establishment of royal authority over the English church and dominated the later years of the reign of Henry VIII. Stephen Gardiner, for example, was eager to conserve tradition and avoid innovation even at the expense of promoting orthodox ways of reform.¹⁶⁸ Although suspected of holding conservative religious views and of favouring a return to Roman jurisdiction, John Kite supported the king's case for a divorce and subscribed to the Oath of Supremacy in 1534.¹⁶⁹ In contrast, John Clerk, bishop of Bath and Wells and royal diplomat, supported Katherine during the divorce proceedings and was appointed to her council for the trial at Blackfriars. After being politically marginalised in the 1530s following his strong resistance to the king's divorce and the royal supremacy, Clerk returned to the political

¹⁶⁵ Robert Dunning, 'Patronage and Promotion in Late-Medieval Church', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval Eng*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), p. 168.

¹⁶⁶ Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion*, pp. 34-5.

¹⁶⁷ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, pp. 9, 142, 157, 233.

¹⁶⁸ M. Dowling, 'Humanist Support for Katherine of Aragon', *BIHR*, 57 (1984), 46-55.

¹⁶⁹ P. O'Grady, *Henry VIII and the Conforming Catholics*, (Collegeville, MN., 1990), p. 69; D. G. Newcombe, 'Kite, John (d. 1537)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 14 Mar 2006.

mainstream after the disaster of the Anne of Cleves marriage resulted in a conservative resurgence at court in 1540. William Capon, dean of Cardinal College, Ipswich and master of Jesus College, Cambridge, became disillusioned with the progress of the Henrician Reformation and resigned as master of the college in 1546.¹⁷⁰ Given the importance which Wolsey placed on ensuring religious orthodoxy through a traditional educational program, doctrinal conservatism was undoubtedly an important characteristic among his clients.

For the most part, the personal religious convictions of the archdiocesan administrators in York following the break with Rome are not overtly evident. Given the conservative nature of the archdiocese, particularly as manifested later in the rebellion against the crown, the Pilgrimage of Grace, which, while professing an agenda with diverse aims, certainly intended to carry out some re-instatement of previous religious practices, it is likely that the administrators inwardly continued to adhere to traditional religious practices. Those officials who still held positions in archdiocesan administration during the 1530s for the most part are conspicuous by their absence or inactivity during the course of the rebellion. Tristram Teshe fled to Scarborough in early October, and Brian Higden's inactivity can be explained by the fact that he was so ill that many believed he was unlikely to recover.¹⁷¹ Only Lancelot Colyns, treasurer of York Minster, was openly hospitable to the pilgrims, inviting them to take part in a service at the Minster after their arrival in York on 16 October.¹⁷² Following the meeting between the king's representatives and the pilgrims at Pontefract, William Frankeleyn appears to have been active on the king's behalf in quieting the commons in the diocese of Durham, but such actions do not reveal his stance towards the religious changes of the decade.¹⁷³

Historians of the late medieval and early modern English and European churches have highlighted the increasing importance of a university degree as another personal attribute among ambitious and upwardly mobile clerics. Andrew Chibi has discovered this to be true of the men who were raised to the episcopate during Henry VIII's reign, particularly once the king's great matter elevated the importance of the political advice given by scholars.¹⁷⁴ A university degree was also an important and necessary characteristic of diocesan and archdiocesan administrators, and this certainly holds true of the cathedral dignitaries and leading officials in York under Wolsey. Degrees in canon or civil law, or both, were the most frequently held qualifications of ecclesiastical administrators because they were the most practical for undertaking diocesan

¹⁷⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a life* (New Haven, CT., c. 1996), p. 100.

¹⁷¹ M.H. Dodds and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-1537 and the Exeter Conspiracy 1538* (2 vols, London, 1915), vol. 1, p. 157; Archbold, 'Hygdon, Brian (d. 1539)'.

¹⁷² Dodds and Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. 1, p. 178.

¹⁷³ *LP*, vol. 11, no. 1271.

¹⁷⁴ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, pp. 23, 105.

administration. Higden was DCL from Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, while William Clifton held a doctorate in both laws from Little White Hall (now part of Jesus College), Oxford.¹⁷⁵ For officials of the consistory court, training in civil law was imperative, such as that Edward Kellett had received at Cambridge.¹⁷⁶ John Hatton may also have studied at Oxford, possibly without obtaining a degree, but this would have been unusual among suffragan bishops.¹⁷⁷ As has been discussed in greater detail in the chapter on Cardinal College and education, the most public members of Wolsey's affinity had all attended university, whereas among those clerics present on the subsidy lists of Wolsey's household in the 1520s, the percentage was much smaller. Of those who did, the majority had not progressed beyond a bachelor or master in arts. This suggests that, while a university education may not have been a necessary quality for attracting Wolsey's patronage, a higher degree was crucial for further promotion.

Research on late medieval noble affinities has stressed the importance of loyalty to the house or dynasty as one of the vital characteristics which patrons required from their retainers.¹⁷⁸ Historians are divided, however, on whether loyalty continued to be an important quality in patron-client relationships in the sixteenth century. Mervyn James has argued that the code of honour which was associated with faithfulness was being destroyed by the emerging emphasis on obedience to the crown.¹⁷⁹ Other historians have noted that an emotional aspect such as loyalty was not necessary to a successful client-patron relationship, but that clients continued to use the concept of loyalty, along with respect and affection, in their rhetoric of clientage.¹⁸⁰ The patron also engaged in this form of rhetoric, promising rewards to faithful clients. However, loyalty was often superseded by practical considerations on the part of the patron and material interests on the part of clients.¹⁸¹

Certainly, clients of Wolsey expressed their loyalty to their patron. The degree of loyalty and faithfulness expected from clients would have varied based on their positions within Wolsey's larger affinity. Having turned down Wolsey's request to become his household steward, Richard Sampson repeatedly reasserted his devotion to Wolsey and

¹⁷⁵ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 930-1; Idem., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 vols, Oxford, 1957-9), vol. 1, p. 443.

¹⁷⁶ Emden, *Register of Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 340.

¹⁷⁷ Emden, *Register of Oxford to 1500*, vol. 2, p. 886.

¹⁷⁸ Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 84.

¹⁷⁹ Mervyn James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485-1642*. Past and Present Supplement, 3 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 43-63.

¹⁸⁰ Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-giving and patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, 2:2 (1988) reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*, p. 132; Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 27-8.

¹⁸¹ John Waterbury, 'An attempt to put patrons and clients in their place' in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, ed. Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London, 1977), p. 331; Sharon Kettering, 'Clientage during the French wars of religion', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 20:2 (1989), reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*, p. 239.

acknowledged the previous kindness the cardinal had shown him, which included educating him in his household. Sampson also admitted the debt he owed to Wolsey for his appointment as a royal ambassador.¹⁸² In contrast, casual clients, such as archdeacon's officials or rural deans who acted on commissions issued in the archdiocese of York, usually owed their positions to other patrons and, while they can be considered part of Wolsey's extended affinity, came into contact with him both briefly and indirectly, and did not owe him a significant amount of loyalty. However, as a leading church figure and crown servant, Wolsey's relationship with his clients was based on the emerging concept of obedience to the crown noted by James. Faithfulness and loyalty, such as they existed, were owed and being paid to the crown rather than to Wolsey.

Thus, honour, as exemplified by faithful clientage, was not necessarily undermined by clients seeking patronage elsewhere. The entrance of many of Wolsey's clients into the service of another patron, most notably that of Cromwell following Wolsey's fall is not a sign of either poor clientage or Wolsey's failure to provide good lordship, as has been interpreted by some historians. Neil Samman has taken the movement of several of Wolsey's servants into the service of the crown following his loss of the chancellorship to represent a failure on Wolsey's part to provide his servants with further advancement.¹⁸³ Samman's argument, however, misunderstands both the nature of patronage relationships in the early Tudor period and the role of Wolsey as the foremost broker of crown patronage. The fact that few of Wolsey's servants entered into a direct client-patron relationship with the crown without Wolsey's mediation during his lifetime does not illustrate a failure on his part to bestow good lordship. Instead, Wolsey's clients were already acting on behalf of the crown, particularly when implementing central government policies in the localities, but also by serving the kingdom's greatest royal servant. The fact that their relationship with the crown was mediated by Wolsey was of lesser importance. The entry of Wolsey's former clients into a direct service relationship with the crown after his fall also shows the high quality of men he employed, and that their training or experience was sufficient for them to remain in royal offices.

As it became evident that Wolsey's fall was irreversible and as his former client Thomas Cromwell began to rise in royal favour, several of Wolsey's clients entered into Cromwell's service. Such a move can be seen as being tantamount to trying to remain within the purview of royal patronage, since Cromwell functioned as the foremost mediator of crown patronage as Wolsey had done. Thomas Donnington transferred effortlessly into Cromwell's clientele and in September 1530 was thanking Cromwell for

¹⁸² *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 515, vol. 3, pt. 2, nos. 2661, 2774.

¹⁸³ Neil Samman, 'The Henrician Court during Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Wales, 1988), p. 240.

his kindness.¹⁸⁴ It appears that sensing Wolsey's fall from power, Donnington had already begun to dissociate from his former master, for, in January 1530, Sir Marmaduke Constable wrote to Wolsey that he, 'wishe[d] Wolsey had never known that man, who he fears was ordained to do his Grace harm and displeasure'.¹⁸⁵ Although Cromwell, like Wolsey, accumulated offices and had personal patronage which he could dispense, clients sought his patronage because he influenced the flow of royal patronage.

It is significant that Wolsey's fall had little effect on the careers of the men within his patronage, which emphasises the fluidity with which clients moved between patrons. There was no great purge of Wolsey's men from ecclesiastical or royal offices. There may be several reasons for this. As mentioned above, these men were above all crown administrators and the fact that they were brought into the royal affinity by Wolsey did not place them in a contradictory situation. Secondly, Wolsey chose men primarily based on their administrative capabilities, and his lack of an extended familial affinity or strong connections with noble families meant that Wolsey chose men based on ability rather than lineage. By not sharing noble blood they were easily detached from Wolsey, and had already proven themselves key administrators to the king. Also of particular importance was the fact that for several years after his fall, no one emerged to replace Wolsey as the primary broker of royal patronage who could upset the administrative structure he had established. When the void was filled, the man who did so was none other than a protégé of Wolsey. The emergence of Thomas Cromwell as the king's next great minister may also help to explain the continuing reliance of the crown on men who provided Wolsey with administrative service.

Thus, Wolsey's fall may signal that his connection as patron with his clients may not have been as obvious or secure as previously assumed by historians. These men were not 'Wolsey's creatures'. It raises the question, then, to what extent did Wolsey influence his clients' career paths? In one instance, it is possible that Wolsey's patronage actually hindered one of his clients' career prospects, and that is of his most obvious and loyal servant, Brian Higden. During Henry VIII's reign, Chibi has found that 23 cathedral deans were raised to the episcopate.¹⁸⁶ However, this never happened with Higden either during Wolsey's lifetime or afterwards, and he served the archdiocese faithfully until his death in 1539. Wolsey had been reluctant to relinquish his services, and Higden, for his part, became an important member of the Duke of Richmond's and later, the King's Council in the North. In the majority of cases, it is difficult to evaluate accurately the extent of Wolsey's influence. Certainly, in the offices of the archdiocese where Wolsey possessed

¹⁸⁴ TNA, SP 1/57, f. 289.

¹⁸⁵ TNA, SP 1/56, ff. 217-8.

¹⁸⁶ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p. 20.

the right of collation as archbishop, his patronage was total, although his decisions were almost certainly influenced by the petitions of friends, clients and suitors for the vacant offices. On an individual basis, there were some men who had already constructed successful careers in church and royal government before Wolsey's advent to power, and thus, Wolsey's influence on the career trajectory of these men was negligible. For example, Hugh Ashton had received numerous church dignities which resulted from his service in Margaret Beaufort's household before being collated by Wolsey to the archdeaconry of York in 1516.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, there are instances in which Wolsey promoted clerics to positions higher up the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Edward Kellett obtained the prebend of Langtoft in York Minster in 1524, from which he moved up to the precentorship in 1538. Similarly, Wolsey raised Thomas Donnington from relative obscurity by naming him his surveyor for the archdiocese.

Lastly, we can place Wolsey's distribution of patronage in the archdiocese of York in the context of his wider ecclesiastical patronage, both the patronage over which he wielded direct influence and the church patronage which was in the hands of either other ecclesiastics or lay persons, including the crown. The archbishopric of York was Wolsey's premier church office in the kingdom, but unusually for an English churchman, he combined it with an array of other offices which carried with them the right of patronage to an abundance of church benefices and offices. The bishopric of Durham, although not as wealthy as the diocese of Winchester, was probably the next most valuable in terms of patronage for Wolsey, because it was also a secular palatinate. The fees from its offices were more valuable because of the secular administrative aspect. For example, in 1512 the total cost to pay the bishop's officials was £208, nearly double what it has been estimated to pay for central officials in other large dioceses.¹⁸⁸ As in York, Wolsey relied on brokers to identify available rewards and potential clients.

Modern scholars have emphasised Wolsey's exercise of power over the administration of English dioceses held by foreign bishops, including the papal legate Lorenzo Campeggio's tenure as the bishop of Salisbury, and the diocese of Worcester, which was held by Guilio de' Medici and Girolamo Ghinucci successively from 1521 until 1534 when Ghinucci was deprived of the see in the aftermath of the Royal Supremacy. However, Gwyn has pointed out that only half of the prebends in Salisbury cathedral for which Wolsey held the collation became vacant during his administration of the diocese.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Claire Cross, 'Ashton, Hugh (d. 1522)', *ODNB*. (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006; BI, Reg.27 (Wolsey), f. 106v.

¹⁸⁸ Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, p. 81.

¹⁸⁹ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 300.

Thus, the potential for Wolsey to exercise patronage was far greater than he actually carried out in practice.

It is difficult to assess to what extent Wolsey influenced the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage which rested in the crown's hands, particularly because it was usually the times when Henry VIII and Wolsey disagreed over appointments that historians become aware of an on-going dialogue between them. The two most notable instances when the king and his leading minister had differing opinions on ecclesiastical patronage were the appointment of the abbess of Wilton in the diocese of Salisbury in 1528, which Wolsey did without referring to Henry, and Henry's nomination of the Franciscan friar, Henry Standish, to the see of St. Asaph in preference to Wolsey's nominee in 1518.¹⁹⁰ In both these cases, the king's opinion prevailed. It would be impossible to know the number of times when Wolsey and Henry did concur, or when Henry was bent to Wolsey's will on church appointments in the king's prerogative and thus, the subject defies any kind of quantification.

Wolsey's patronage networks in the English church imitated the administrative networks he constructed by securing leading county gentlemen throughout the kingdom in royal service. Wolsey created a network which provided him with important contacts in dioceses all around the country, but there were pockets in which he exerted greater influence, such as in York, and, even if it was only for a limited time, at Bath and Wells for five years, and at Winchester for one year. However, by holding large and important offices, as well as the administration of several other dioceses, Wolsey moulded a network of clients or agents who exercised his power and authority as the leading English churchman on a local level. This was the most discernible and important means through which Wolsey attempted to implement religious and administrative reform in the domestic church. The ecclesiastical rewards and benefices over which he exercised patronage were also important elements in his management of secular government. They provided him with a means of rewarding lay clients and royal administrators, and also of positioning trusted and experienced clerical servants in offices from which they could assist in the administration of royal government. This integration between church and royal administration is further explored in the section below.

Ecclesiastics and Royal Government

The integration of church and crown administration was a long-standing phenomenon and the involvement of ecclesiastical personnel in governing the realm was a

¹⁹⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4197; Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 298.

common feature of the later medieval period.¹⁹¹ In the early sixteenth century, their smaller numbers compared to laymen was counterbalanced by the fact that, on the whole, clerics held more prominent and influential posts.¹⁹² This section focuses on the role of clerics as agents of central government in the localities under Wolsey's supremacy and argues that their presence in the provinces and their actions on behalf of the royal government contributed to, rather than detracted from, the development of an increased crown presence throughout the kingdom and the centralisation of politics at the royal court. Claire Etty has suggested that presence of numerous clerics in governing the borders with Scotland reflects Henry VIII's desire to bring the region under more direct crown control.¹⁹³ Thus, Wolsey's management of the kingdom, in which he employed clerics, as well as county gentry and lawyers, does not represent a medieval form of governance from which Cromwell needed to break, but rather further enhanced the authority of the crown in the governance of its own polity. In this manner, Wolsey's administration can be situated in the context of early Tudor governmental development alongside the rise of 'new men' under Henry VII identified by Steven Gunn and Margaret Condon, and the departmental alterations taking place centrally which increased the importance of the court personnel in politics, enhancing the status of gentlemen of the Privy Chamber in particular.¹⁹⁴ At the same time, the supervision of the administrative activities of clerics by not only an eminent churchman but, more importantly, the principal crown servant, contributed to the subjugation of the domestic church to the authority of the crown, a goal which situates Henry VIII among his contemporary European Renaissance monarchs.¹⁹⁵ Rather than seeing the employment of clerics in acting upon royal policies as representing a challenge to royal prerogative, their subservience reinforced the crown's supremacy.

¹⁹¹ Dunning, 'Patronage and Promotion in Late-Medieval Church', pp. 167-8 argues that there was essentially no difference between ecclesiastical and secular government particularly because church revenues were being increasingly diverted to support royal administrators.

¹⁹² Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England', p. 255.

¹⁹³ Etty, 'A Tudor Solution', p. 219.

¹⁹⁴ Steven Gunn, "'New men and "new monarchy" in England, 1485-1524', in *Powerbrokers in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Stein (Turnholt, Belgium, 2001), 153-64; Idem., 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John L. Watts (Stroud, 1998), 117-153; Margaret Condon, 'Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. Charles Ross (Gloucester, 1979), 109-43; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*; David Starkey, and others, eds., *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), esp. David Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', 71-118; Christopher Coleman and David Starkey, eds., *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford, 1986); David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Bangor, 1992).

¹⁹⁵ Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)* (Aldershot, 2007), esp. chap. 7, 179-91. See E.W. Ives, 'Crime, Sanctuary and Royal Authority under Henry VIII: The Exemplary Sufferings of the Savage family', in *On the Laws and Customs of England: Essays in Honour of Samuel E. Thorne*, ed. Morris S. Arnold, and others (Chapel Hill, 1981), p. 302 for Wolsey's argument that church sanctuary was created by temporal princes which can be situated in this context.

This section will consider the role of clerics as commissioners in Wolsey's proposed judicial and social reforms by examining their presence on royal commissions addressing those issues. Unlike the archiepiscopal commissions issued by Wolsey in York which included primarily casual clients under the supervision of the most senior archdiocesan administrators, the clerics to whom royal commissions were issued were his most trusted servants representing the extended household circle of his affinity. The most important features which these men shared were residency in the locality for which the commission was issued, and the requisite legal training or administrative experience. Further, their positions as the most senior and prominent ecclesiastical officials in York meant that they possessed the social status required of local administrators to have the exercise of their authority recognised by the public. Wolsey's management of the Yorkshire peace commissions is examined in the following chapter.

Wolsey aspired to implement judicial reform and to intensify the prosecution of malefactors, thereby increasing the order and good governance of the localities. This process required that his clients shared both Wolsey's desire to institute the administration of justice and to act to bring offenders before the law.¹⁹⁶ Wolsey's agents in the diocese of Durham were particularly committed to establishing order in a historically turbulent region by citing offenders in the courts.¹⁹⁷ In the palatinate of Durham, like the liberties belonging to Wolsey as bishop of that diocese and archbishop of York, Wolsey's officials exercised the right of judicial process which would normally have been within the prerogative of the crown and thus, in these instances, were proceeding against lay criminals for crimes which would normally have fallen under the crown's jurisdiction. Otherwise, the judicial prerogative of Wolsey's officials resided solely in the church courts. However, when Wolsey's officials were named in royal judicial commissions, as outlined in the following chapter on the Yorkshire peace commissions, they undertook responsibilities within the realm of secular justice. Leading county gentry increased in numbers as Justices of the Peace throughout the sixteenth century; however, during Wolsey's supremacy, the clerical elites in the north maintained their overall supremacy as members of the regional councils, as will be shown below. Still, like their lay counterparts, the most prominent gentry in the localities, the secular activities of clergy enhanced the presence of the crown and its authority in the region, and helped to ensure the successful execution of royal policies, thereby contributing to the increasing intensification of royal power. Lastly, by providing another direct channel between the court and the

¹⁹⁶ William Huse Dunham, 'Wolsey's rule of the king's whole council', *AHR*, 39:4 (1944), p. 650. The role of clerics in the administration of justice in Wolsey's reformed Court of Star Chamber is considered in John Alexander Guy, *The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Hassocks, 1977).

¹⁹⁷ TNA, SP 1/32, f. 205r; SP 1/36, f. 55; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, nos. 1289, 2052.

outlying provinces, these clerics contributed to the growing centralisation of English government on the royal court.

Similarly, the vigilance of Wolsey's agents was required if he was to implement social reforms. On 28 May 1517, Wolsey issued a commission to enquire into what towns, hamlets, houses and buildings were destroyed and how much land had been converted into pasture and parks enclosed since the action had been made illegal by statute in the reign of Henry VII (4 Henry VII c. 19). The archbishop's liberties of Ripon and Beverley were excluded from the commissions issued for Yorkshire in the West Riding and East Riding respectively.¹⁹⁸ Among the commissioners assigned for Yorkshire were the resident clerics Hugh Ashton and Thomas Dalby.¹⁹⁹ Commissions were issued again the following summer for gathering further information about possible offenders against the enclosure statutes. Their information was entered into chancery and over the remainder of Wolsey's term in office as Lord Chancellor, 264 persons were brought on charges of illegal enclosing before the chancery court over which he presided.²⁰⁰ Scarisbrick has argued that it is difficult to fully understand the manner in which the panels for inquisition were constructed or exactly how they set about carrying out their commissions, but it is clear from the presence of Dalby and Ashton on the commissions, that Wolsey applied the same policy of using administrators as he did in other instances; that is, he chose trust-worthy men who had a history of loyal and efficient crown service, and who were familiar with the local area in which they operated. The implementation of commissions of enquiry into enclosures is a further example of the way in which a network of local administrators, including churchmen, was utilised to undertake work for the crown.

In addition to acting on commissions issued on a kingdom-wide basis, clerics were also involved on commissions which affected only the immediate locality in which they lived. In 1518, the dean of York, Brian Higden, the archdeacon of York, Hugh Ashton, and the abbot of St. Mary's, Edmund Thorneton, were among the notable men of the city and region who were named on the commission to enquire into the state of the sewers in the city of York.²⁰¹

Their knowledge of the locality and interaction among the local population meant that clerics were well-positioned to moderate central policies to suit the mood of the locality, an action which emphasises the importance of the judicious distribution of

¹⁹⁸ I.S. Leadam, 'The Inquisition of 1517. Inclosures and Evictions, ed from the Lansdowne MS I 153', *TRHS*, New Ser., 6 (1892), p. 176. A full account of Wolsey's involvement with the enclosure commissions and prosecutions is in Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 411-35.

¹⁹⁹ TNA, C 66/630; Edwin F. Gay and I.S. Leadam, 'The Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517 and the "Domesday of Inclosures"', *TRHS*, New Ser., 14 (1900), pp. 232, 241.

²⁰⁰ J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Cardinal Wolsey and the Commonweal', in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: essays presented to S.T. Bindoff*, ed. E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht, J.J. Scarisbrick (London, 1978), p. 52.

²⁰¹ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 4250.

patronage to skilful clients. When delivering the king's commission to muster the men of the bishopric of Durham against the Scots, William Frankeleyn and Sir William Bulmer, sheriff of Durham, informed Wolsey that they had decided to omit the clause which called for an inquiry into those with goods valued at £5 and above since it would have caused the locals to murmur.²⁰²

Residency and its consequent local knowledge, as well as the requisite legal skills, were important features in the choice of clerics to serve on the royal councils installed in the kingdom's borders. In 1525, the judicial supervision of the north was removed from the prerogative of the commissions of the peace for the northern counties and placed within the authority of a regional council under the nominal headship of the Duke of Richmond. The identification by historians of the intimate association between the cardinal and members of the council is correct; however, the interpretation that such use of local contacts constituted a challenge to royal authority is erroneous. The majority of both laymen and clerics on the council had previous experience in royal service. Out of the 17 person council, only five were clerics and thus, even here, clerics were outnumbered significantly by their lay counterparts. Most importantly, they were all resident in the region and of the five, Higden, Tate, Dalby and Frankeleyn all had some form of training in either canon or civil law.²⁰³ The fifth cleric, Thomas Magnus, was a long-serving royal administrator whose career progress was in no way related to his association with Wolsey.²⁰⁴ Significantly, those clerics who were members of the Duke of Richmond's Council prior to Wolsey's fall retained their place in the re-constituted King's Council in 1530. Like the continued presence in royal government of laymen from Wolsey's affinity after his fall, the continued reliance on 'his' clerics to govern the north suggests that they were identified as royal, rather than his personal administrators.

Nowhere prior to the 1530s is Henry's desire to subjugate the national church to the crown more evident than in the administration of the church of Ireland. By the mid-1520s, Wolsey's Irish policy can be seen as part of a larger scheme which included his more direct administration of northern England. Church and political reform, and its implicit subjugation, went hand-in-hand in Henrician Ireland. Thus, the English churchmen who took up posts in the Irish church had a blatantly political role, more so than their counterparts in England. Alen's intended reform of the bishopric of Dublin was carried out with the purpose of paving the way for the effective recognition of Wolsey's legatine

²⁰² TNA, SP 1/30, f. 254.

²⁰³ J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (2 pts. in 10 vols, Cambridge, 1922-54), pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 176; *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2214; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 44; Emden, *Register of Oxford to 1500*, vol. 2, pp. 930-1.

²⁰⁴ McGladdery, 'Magnus, Thomas (1463/4-1550)'; ETTY, 'A Tudor Solution', p. 219.

authority in the diocese.²⁰⁵ His elevation to the see of Dublin was effected simultaneously with his creation as vice-legate of Ireland which consolidated his authority over the Irish church by circumventing the authority of the archbishop of Armagh. His attempted reforms of his see and his presence on the 'secret' Irish council in 1529 brought Alen into conflict with the ninth earl of Kildare whose rule Wolsey was attempting to regulate.²⁰⁶ As ineffective as Wolsey's policies towards Ireland were, Cromwell attempted to continue them equally unsuccessfully throughout the 1530s, even relying on Wolsey's former deputy, Alen, until his murder at the hands of the Kildare affinity in 1534.²⁰⁷

Wolsey's policy of employing churchmen to undertake both ecclesiastical and secular administration in the outlying regions of the kingdom is further evident in his abortive administration of the bishopric of Tournai following Henry VIII's triumphant conquest of the city in 1513, the military campaign which propelled Wolsey to the pinnacle of the crown administrative hierarchy. While C.S.L. Davies has recently argued that Henry VIII emphasised the distinctiveness of Tournai from the other outlying English possessions of Wales and Ireland in order to reinforce his claims to the French crown, Wolsey's brief administration of the diocese, whose seat was in the city, was in keeping with his broader patterns of employing ecclesiastical patronage to establish control over secular affairs.²⁰⁸ The bishopric was strategically important for foreign diplomacy because it encompassed a large portion of Flanders, including the cities of Bruges and Ghent. Having been granted the administration of the bishopric by Leo X in June 1514 following Henry VIII's conquest of the city, Wolsey appointed Richard Sampson as his vicar general and chancellor to administer the see on his behalf. Sampson's efforts to promote Wolsey's entitlement to the disputed bishopric strengthened Henry VIII's claim over the outlying territory and, being located near Bruges and Ghent, provided Sampson with a base for his diplomatic duties.²⁰⁹

Acknowledging the training and skills of the clerics who were commissioned by Wolsey to undertake secular administration on behalf of the crown should take precedence over the fact that they served Wolsey in other capacities. Shifting the focus towards their ability or previous administrative experience enables us to see that these men were royal servants first and foremost, chosen because of their suitability to the task at hand, rather than men whose careers were made by Wolsey. The utilisation of clerics to perform royal

²⁰⁵ James Murray, 'Archbishop Alen, Tudor Reform and the Kildare Rebellion', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 89, C, 1 (1989), pp. 6-9.

²⁰⁶ Murray, 'Archbishop Alen, Tudor Reform and the Kildare Rebellion', pp. 13-4; S.G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (London, 1998), pp. 130, 132.

²⁰⁷ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, p. 134.

²⁰⁸ C.S.L. Davies, 'Tournai and the English Crown, 1513-1519', *HJ*, 41:1 (1998), pp. 6-7.

²⁰⁹ For example, in September 1514, Sampson was reporting from Bruges, *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, nos. 3283, 3285, 3287, 3296.

administrative tasks was not novel but, in the sixteenth century, can be interpreted as a means of subjugating the clergy to the crown and contributing to the increased authority of the central government and the court in local politics. By using trusted and knowledgeable servants on judicial and administrative commissions, Wolsey was ensuring that the directives were carried out effectively.

Conclusion

Because of the personal nature of government in the early Tudor period, it is only by examining relationships among the governing elites that historians can gain a complete understanding of the Tudor polity. One of the ways in which the crown extended its authority throughout the kingdom was by distributing offices and issuing commissions to retain leading local figures in continuous and task-specific patron-client relationships in which both parties exercised power to augment their individual and joint status. The authority, wealth and administrative structure of the church were managed by the crown as part of this process. Like their lay counterparts, clergymen were contracted by the crown to perform service on its behalf on administrative and judicial commissions. Further, church income and offices were utilised to retain and reward lay and clerical administrators alike. Following on from this, the next chapter will consider how the composition of the Yorkshire peace commissions can illuminate Wolsey's relationship with the county's political elites as a means for contributing to this process of enhancing crown presence and authority.

Wolsey's term as archbishop of York, which he held longer than any of his other ecclesiastical preferments, is a vital component of his political power and of his control over the administration of the English church and royal government. The archbishopric provided him and the crown with several benefits for administering the church and kingdom. First, it gave him a supervisory power over men, providing him with a network of established ecclesiastics, some of whom were already active royal servants. It also gave him patronage of church offices in the region in which he could place clerics and laymen to increase crown presence and create more effective administration in a traditionally troublesome and peripheral area of the kingdom. By contributing to his overall treasury of accessible patronage with which to reward clerical and royal servants, however, the distribution of such rewards was not restricted to those resident in the diocese. Ecclesiastical and secular patronage was used interchangeably: prebends, offices on archiepiscopal estates and in ecclesiastical liberties, and pensions from religious institutions could all be used to reward clerical and royal administrators. Rewarding royal servants, however, did not override the most important goal of ecclesiastical

administration, which was to ensure the effective spiritual governance of the archdiocese in the absence of the prelate. Thus, an evaluation of the degree of Wolsey's control over church and crown patronage, and his influence in the kingdom's administration, must include an examination of the archdiocese of York.

That many of Wolsey's former chaplains and ecclesiastical clients, including those in York, went on to enjoy outstanding careers in the church is indicative of broader trends in patron-client relations and royal government in the early Tudor period. Both Edward Kellett and Tristram Teshe were serving the archdiocese's consistory court under Archbishop Lee, and Higden served as dean of the cathedral until his death in 1539. These men were essential archdiocesan administrators under Wolsey and can in some sense be considered 'his creatures'. However, the fact that they remained in their offices after Wolsey's fall indicates that personal loyalty to their patron was not the chief consideration for their positions, rather that they provided good, obedient service to the crown. This was a polity in which education, administrative experience, local knowledge and social status were vital assets for clerics and laymen alike seeking to enter royal service. The use of clerics on royal commissions and in positions of royal authority served to both increase crown presence in the locality by being personal embodiments of royal and church governance, and also further subjugated the actions of leading English churchmen to the prerogative of the crown. Such a use of patronage places Wolsey's administration of the kingdom under Henry VIII within the context of a progressively centralised polity in which the directives for administration emanated from the royal court and were mediated by an increasingly broad network of lay and clerical servants who owed their obedience, fidelity and allegiance to the crown. Wolsey was not a patron to rival Henry VIII but a broker of royal patronage and as such, the primary channel through which royal authority was enhanced.

Chapter 4: Yorkshire Peace Commissions and Local Government

Introduction

This chapter examines the composition of the peace commissions for all three ridings of Yorkshire during the period in which Wolsey held the archbishopric of York, from 1514 until his fall from royal favour in 1529. Wolsey's relationship with the north's governing elites was a vital aspect of his greater interest in administering the realm, and will shed light on the extent to which Wolsey manipulated the personnel involved in local government with the intention of extending the centralised authority of the crown into the provinces. Wolsey's appointments to the peace commissions, along with the re-establishment of a regional governing council, concentrated the governance of the north in the hands of servants already within the royal affinity. Ultimately, Wolsey's management of the Yorkshire peace commissions remained within a traditional framework for governing but, in doing so, contributed to the extension of the crown's prerogative into the localities by vesting royal administrators with greater powers, a strategy which neither began nor ended with Wolsey.

In comparison with fifteenth-century peace commissions, Wolsey's appointments appear conventional. Resident landowners in the ridings, particularly knights and lawyers who had the requisite social status, local knowledge and administrative skills, remained the ascendant groups on the peace commissions, and their numbers and the distribution of their places of residency stayed relatively constant. The most significant group on the commissions included men already in the royal affinity: land-holders who had previously performed administrative service, whether in the royal household or in the localities on the crown's behalf. This reflects a long-standing royal strategy of constructing an affinity of gentlemen who were in a direct patron-client relationship with the crown based on administrative service in exchange for material rewards.¹ This policy was self-affirming: by securing the services of the leading gentry, it bolstered the crown's authority in the region while fortifying their status by vesting them with the authority and power of the crown. Further, it rewarded them for services rendered, thereby reasserting the notion of the crown as the kingdom's greatest benefactor and enabling the gentry to enhance their personal standing among the local population.

Like royal and local estate offices and other royal commissions, the peace commissions were a formal political structure in which the gentry were able to exercise

¹ Carol Arnold, 'The Commissions of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', in *Property and Politics in Later Medieval English History*, ed. Tony Pollard (Gloucester, 1984), 116-38; Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, CT., 1986), p. 247; Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 3.

social power. Such institutionalisation of power was necessary if the aims of the exercise of collective social power were to be achieved.² Therefore, the goals of the crown – to increase its control over the administration of law and order in the peripheral regions of the kingdom; and that of the gentry – augmentation of their social status and wealth, required the extension of formal political institutions, such as the peace commissions, to be accomplished. However, in order for the gentry to have access to the sites of royal politics, their social power needed to be based on landownership, social status and knowledge of the local community, incorporated with previous administrative service, particularly that undertaken on the crown's behalf, or legal training. Education in the common law at the Inns of Court in London was more practical than a university education in the humanities, equipping gentlemen with the requisite skills to execute the judicial and administrative responsibilities of a Justice of the Peace. These above-mentioned criteria were not new, Henry VII having placed more extensive governmental responsibilities into the hands of lawyers because of their skills, professions of loyalty, and their claims to gentry status.³ Since their services were in high demand from nobles, urban and ecclesiastical corporations, and their fellow gentry, lawyers' unique position in the existing power structure gave them a degree of freedom from noble influence in their actions.⁴ It was possible for crown and noble patronage networks to co-exist, but increasingly in the early Tudor period, the gentry were providing the crown with exclusive service.

In the Yorkshire peace commissions issued in 1514 fewer Justices were appointed overall, a change which may have been related to Wolsey's elevation to the archdiocese earlier that year.⁵ The next full set of commissions date from the middle of the 1520s and the number of Justices was greater, thereafter remaining stable throughout the rest of Wolsey's ascendancy.⁶ Further, throughout the 1520s, the commissions continued to be

² Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, Volume 1: A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1986), p. 7.

³ Steven Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John Lovett Watts (Stroud, 1998), p. 135; R.L. Storey, 'Gentlemen-bureaucrats', in *Profession, vocation, and culture in later medieval England: essays dedicated to the memory of A.R. Myers*, ed. C.H. Clough (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 95-6.

⁴ Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 253.

⁵ There is no direct evidence that Wolsey influenced appointments to the peace commissions in that year, but it was not unusual for bishops to make recommendations for the peace commissions of the counties which lay in their dioceses, A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1974), p. 62. Wolsey was certainly interested in the dynamics among the county gentry early in his ascendancy, Thomas Lord Darcy to Wolsey, 8 Jun 1517, *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 3346 and Earl of Surrey to Wolsey, 14 Aug 1523, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3240; George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, in *Two early Tudor lives: The life and death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish and The life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper*, ed. R.S. Sylvester and D.P. Harding (New Haven, CT., 1962), pp. 148-9.

⁶ My argument is that a more accurate assessment of Wolsey's relationship with the gentry and of the peace commissions can be achieved if the members of the Duke of Richmond's Council who appear on the peace commissions in the mid to later 1520s are excluded from analysis since they did not act as Justices of the Peace, see below, p. 198 and tables in appendix 6.

dominated by the leading landowners of their respective ridings. It was not unusual for gentry to cross riding boundaries and serve on those for other ridings since their concept of a community was not limited by artificial administrative boundaries. Specific noble affinities were more prominent on certain riding commissions, but this was largely a function of the geographical construction of affinities based on the distribution of the noble's estates, rather than an attempt to pack a commission with noble retainers.

These characteristics of the commissions suggest that Wolsey did not view the peace commissions as the main vehicle through which to secure a greater number of gentry in a direct patronage relationship with the crown, one of the means through which the royal affinity was built. This conclusion challenges the observations of previous historians who have argued that Wolsey intensified the connection between central and local government by employing a greater number of gentry as Justices of the Peace.⁷ Questions can also be raised about the degree to which peace commissions actually enabled social mobility among the early Tudor gentry. Membership on the peace commissions clearly did not advance gentlemen that far up the social hierarchy: unless they held other royal or archiepiscopal offices, these men did not act as brokers for royal patronage emanating from the court, implying that they were among the furthest and least influential circles of the royal affinity. This scenario may be explained by the fact that it was not until the later years of Henry VIII's reign when inclusion on the county bench became the most important yardstick for measuring social standing. Nor does it appear that Wolsey considered appointments to the commissions as rewards for non-resident crown servants. While peace commissions were the component of royal administration in the most immediate contact with the kingdom's subjects and one indicator of local prominence, the power designated to Justices was curtailed by the establishment of a regional council. The presence of the Duke of Richmond's Council did more than Wolsey's management of the peace commissions to inhibit traditional noble authority, as exercised through their affinities, in the region.

The second means by which the crown sought to extend its authority into the provinces was by inserting men who served in central administration or the royal household into various local offices or as members of commissions. This policy was not followed in regards to the peace commissions, but is most noticeable in the introduction of a regional governing council in 1525. While the numbers of Justices of the Peace in the county and their geographical distribution remained relatively steady, the formation of a regional council under the authority of the Duke of Richmond altered the power dynamics

⁷ R.B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-46* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 153-5; John A. Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity' in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), 54-75.

in the county. The reconstitution of the council, whose jurisdiction encompassed the border counties as well as Yorkshire, was not a reaction to Anglo-French hostilities which had commenced prior to 1525. Rather, in being managed by clerics who served in the archdiocese and by the county's leading lawyers, it represented Wolsey's attempt at creating an overarching administrative body which could handle both secular and ecclesiastical matters. The presence of the council members on the peace commissions reinforced the authority of the council in Yorkshire and precluded any potential jurisdictional conflict. The most important judicial and administrative matters were reserved under its prerogative, thereby excluding the nobility from their traditional administrative role. The reconstitution of the council in 1525 tipped the balance of power in the region towards the crown and, therefore, is the most significant development in the administration of local government in Yorkshire and the north in the 1520s.

The governing elite, which encompasses the traditional categories of nobility and gentry, and the myriad ways in which power was exercised in the locality, emerge as the subjects of this chapter. The focus is on the gentry who operated within noble affinity networks and the royal affinity, rather than on the heads of these affinities.⁸ Noble affinities, which stressed the primacy of familial alliances and the importance of preserving landed estates for posterity, were the dominant structure in which informal power networks were organised in the late medieval period.⁹ The diffusion of power locally was contingent upon the distribution of land-holding which provided the necessary support for claims to the exercise of social and political power over a subordinate population.¹⁰ As a resource for exercising social power, local offices in the north were dominated by the leading landed elites and the gentry in their affinities, and enhanced the holder's power by placing him in a position to control access to royal resources.¹¹

⁸ For further reading on Wolsey's relationship with the northern nobility see, for example, Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), especially pp. 213-35; N.L. Harvey, *Thomas Cardinal Wolsey* (New York, 1980); R.W. Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland, and the fall of the House of Percy, 1527-1537', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. G.W. Bernard (Manchester, c. 1992), 180-211; J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958); G.W. Bernard, ed., *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester, c. 1992); E.B. De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy: From the Conquest to the opening of the nineteenth century* (2 vols, London, 1887), vol. 1.

⁹ A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990), p. 100; Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), p. 26; Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 244.

¹⁰ Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (Cambridge, 2001), p. 15; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 27; Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 254.

¹¹ John Waterbury, 'An attempt to put patrons and clients in their place', in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, ed. Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London, 1977), p. 336; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 276; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 144; Roger Virgoe, 'The Crown, Magnates, and Local Government in Fifteenth-Century East Anglia', in *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.R.L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 83-4.

Economic changes in the later medieval period affected the nature of socio-political power so that, by the fifteenth century, a new form of lordship had emerged in which vertical ties of service had replaced bonds based on land tenure. While ties constructed on service were more flexible than those they succeeded, power networks were still concentrated locally on the estates of leading nobles. Thus, the possession of landed estates and its consequent wealth remained the fundamental component for claims to the exercise of social, economic and political power in sixteenth-century Yorkshire.¹² However, scholars have noted that holding crown offices under the early Tudors was central to social advancement if the profits ensuing from office were converted into the acquisition of land. The ability to secure increasingly lucrative offices from the crown in exchange for administrative and judicial service constituted the core of the patronage system oriented on the royal court and household.¹³ This study of the Yorkshire peace commissions in the early sixteenth century confirms the importance of land-holding for determining the selection of Justices of the Peace. Land ownership among its clients was important to the crown because its corresponding wealth, authority and influence in the locality enabled these officials to more effectively carry out crown directives. However, this chapter will argue further that the authority vested in the Justices of the Peace was limited since they relinquished their foremost position in local government to the Duke of Richmond's Council in 1525.

In a society in which landed estates and its consequent local authority formed the core of social status, the idea of a geographical community among the landed elites and the scope of influence are of the utmost importance. Revisionist historiography on the late medieval gentry has sought to situate their self-identity within the locality, emphasising the vertical connections between the greater, middling and lesser gentry, thereby challenging previous notions of a well-defined and tight-knit gentry community based on the county.¹⁴ Noble power was not constructed on the administrative boundaries of counties, and thus the gentry in their affinities were not limited by geographical boundaries either.¹⁵ However, because of the administrative importance of the county, manifested in the office of sheriff, judicial courts and representation in parliament, the county was prominent in the creation of gentry identity and spheres of influence.¹⁶ Multiple networks of associations

¹² Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 254; Barbara English, *Great Landowners of the East Riding* (Hemel Hempstead, 1990), pp. 7-9; J.T. Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry from Reformation to Civil War* (London, 1969), p. 8.

¹³ Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 258; English, *Great Landowners*, pp. 41-5.

¹⁴ See Colin Richmond, 'Ruling Classes and Agents of State: Formal and Informal Networks of Power', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 10:1 (1997), 1-26.

¹⁵ Christine Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *JBS*, 33:4 (1994), pp. 343-4.

¹⁶ Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 210-5; Virgoe, 'Crown, Magnates and Local Government', pp. 81-2.

and identities co-existed, not only at the manor and parish level, but also in the ‘immediate neighbourhood’ and ‘broader locality’.¹⁷ By assuming traditional noble affinities and their regions of interest and influence, the power of the crown expanded in both a centralised and nodal manner.

The concept of geographical association is important for the study of the membership of peace commissions since the commissions were issued on a riding basis and are assumed to reflect JPs’ areas of influence. From their inception in the fourteenth century, the peace commissions constituted the foundation of local administration and by the sixteenth century, served as the strongest link connecting royal authority, magnate power and the locality.¹⁸ In the mid-fifteenth century, parliament passed legislation requiring all Justices of the Peace to be resident in the county for which they were appointed and to possess a minimum clear income from land of £20 per annum, with the exception of those with legal training.¹⁹ The quantity of judicial and administrative duties of the justices, which they exercised at quarter sessions held four times a year, progressively increased until the second half of the sixteenth century. The Lord Chancellor was responsible for determining peace commission membership and the JPs were appointed by the crown. While the most serious felonies were reserved for the Justices on the assize circuits, JPs were commissioned to enquire into, hear and determine any trespasses, and to enquire into felonies, with the power of determining felonies reserved for the justices of the *quorum*. Justices of the Peace had the power to arrest suspects or to take surety for their future good behaviour. In addition, JPs also exercised a growing array of administrative duties, including, for example, the regulation of weights and measures, but possessed no authority in civil matters.²⁰

The extent to which monarchs manipulated the membership of the peace commissions as one of the means for augmenting the size of the royal affinity was variable throughout the later medieval period. While Richard II systematically used the royal affinity for governing the localities, Given-Wilson found that there was no sign that Henry IV had attempted to install knights from the royal affinity on to county benches.²¹ Meanwhile, Walker determined that the relationship between the Lancastrian affinity assembled under John of Gaunt and the peace commissions was vague.²² Local studies on

¹⁷ Coss, *Origins of the English Gentry*, p. 206.

¹⁸ Virgoe, ‘Crown, Magnates and Local Government’, p. 73.

¹⁹ Arnold, ‘Commissions of the Peace for the West Riding’, p. 117.

²⁰ J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750*, 2nd ed. (London, 1999), pp. 40-1; B.H. Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Edward III to Richard III* (London, 1938), pp. xxii-xxvii; *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 1533; S.J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 100-2.

²¹ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, pp. 252-5.

²² Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 243-5.

sixteenth-century peace commissions have stressed their role in solidifying the relationship between local and crown government, and the place of peace commission membership in gentry families' aspirations to augment their social status.²³ Lawyers and gentry in crown service had always been important members of the peace commissions, and historians have argued that their roles and responsibilities were increasing relative to those of the nobility under the early Tudors.²⁴

This chapter agrees with this historiography, arguing that the peace commissions were one of the means through which the crown reinforced its authority in the locality, and thus ensuring the quality of appointments was important. When considering the relationship between appointments as JPs and affinity connections, land-holding in the locality, its associated local status and knowledge, administrative skills and previous experience of crown office were decisive factors in determining inclusion on the commissions. On the other hand, judicial commissions also represented a venue for the gentry to share in the exercise of collective social power with the crown and to gain greater material and intangible rewards, thereby stimulating a growth in the presence and authority of royal administration at the local level.²⁵ Crown service by gentry and lawyers also augmented their social status at the expense of the nobility by providing an income and local authority outside the structure of traditional noble affinities. Thus, the peace commissions created a direct patron-client relationship between the crown and the country's leading landowners which was mutually beneficial.

However, this chapter also argues that the peace commissions were not the foremost method by which Wolsey endeavoured to secure a greater number of gentry, nor to place established royal servants as a means for intensifying the crown's local authority. More important than the peace commissions was the establishment of a regional council which surpassed the local commissions in authority. It was through the Duke of Richmond's Council in the northern borders and the Council of the Marches of Wales associated with Princess Mary that the crown sought to subdue the peripheral regions of the kingdom. In one sense, such a policy bypassed the traditional forms of government by introducing outsiders to the area to be governed, although, as will be demonstrated, many of those who served the Duke of Richmond were native to the region. On the other hand, it was a continuation of previous crown policy, particularly that of Henry VII to invest the administration of the most troublesome and distant areas of the realm in the hands of

²³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986); Smith, *County and Court*; M.L. Zell, 'Early Tudor JPs at Work', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 93 (1977), 125-43.

²⁴ Gunn, Steven, "'New men and "new monarchy" in England', in *Powerbrokers in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Stein (Turnholt, Belgium, 2001), p. 154.

²⁵ Michael Braddick, 'State formation and social change in early modern England: a problem stated and approaches suggested', *Social History* (Hull Univ.), 16 (1991), p. 1.

proven and trustworthy crown administrators.²⁶ Thus, while the peace commissions were important to the crown for being in close contact with the kingdom's subjects, their predominance in local government in the north during the later years of Wolsey's ascendancy was superseded by a regional council which gave the crown a more direct hand in local government.

The Peace Commissions

For the purposes of analysing the socio-economic composition of the Yorkshire peace commissions, I have adopted Smith's paradigm for his analysis of the sixteenth-century commissions in the West Riding, since the subject and time period correlates closely with my own. His research has asserted that the changing composition of the commissions from the ascendancy of Wolsey until the end of Henry VIII's reign was part of a larger royal policy to extend greater crown control in the north.²⁷ He argues that the alterations in the composition of commissions from 1513 to 1525, in which the number of local men were reduced and the numbers of outsiders and clerics increased, was part of Wolsey's policy of conflict against over-mighty subjects who resented his interference, and against common lawyers who opposed the introduction of civil law.²⁸

As a result of the numerous lay and ecclesiastical liberties, the political situation in the West Riding was complicated and thus, the high degree of flexibility which Smith noted on the riding commissions was atypical of the sixteenth-century peace commissions in Yorkshire.²⁹ Firstly, the crown owned large estates, totalling one-third of the riding, through the Duchy of Lancaster, which included the honours of Pontefract, Knaresborough and Tickhill. In the fifteenth century, peace commissions reflected both the land-holding situation but also office-holding in duchy administration. For example, from 1399, when the duchy became part of the royal patrimony, the steward of Pontefract was automatically a member of the peace commission.³⁰ The overwhelming crown presence in the riding meant that commission appointments were more likely to reflect crown policy towards northern governance, a scenario which is reflected in the fact that Henry VII appointed a greater proportion of non-resident gentry and men from the royal household after the death

²⁶ Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp. 67-9, 86-7.

²⁷ Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 159.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-5. For other historians who have made this general point see G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955), p. 83; Margaret Blatcher, *The Court of the King's Bench, 1450-1550* (London, 1978), pp. 27-9. Wolsey's most recent biographer has argued that Wolsey was not antagonistic to the nobility as a whole, Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 183. Further, John A. Guy has dispelled the notion that Wolsey was antagonistic towards practitioners of the common law, 'Thomas More as Successor to Wolsey', *Thought*, 52:206 (1977), 275-92

²⁹ Smith, *Land and Politics*, pp. 153-5.

³⁰ Arnold, 'Commissions of the Peace for the West Riding', p. 119.

of Henry Percy, the fourth earl of Northumberland.³¹ The riding was also home to significant ecclesiastical liberties, most notably the lordships of Sherburn, Ripon and Otley belonging to the archbishop of York, which were managed by men directly appointed by, and responsible to the archbishop.³² Both the monarch and the archbishops of York, including Wolsey, adopted the policy of appointing men to local offices who were familiar with the locality in question. Thus, while the possibility for introducing outsiders in the West Riding was greater than elsewhere, this was not necessarily the case, since the appointment of men who did not have the social capital inherent in landed estates would not have been in the interest of effective administration. Some of the largest lay liberties belonged to the Talbot family, earls of Shrewsbury, in Hallamshire, the Cliffords who possessed Skipton and Carlton in the wapentake of Craven, and the Earl of Northumberland who held a lordship at Settle and Gisburn in Craven and the Barony of Spofforth.³³ The extraordinary mutability of the membership of the West Riding peace commissions can be attributed to the sizeable crown presence in the riding, and also to the substantial ecclesiastical and lay liberties which augmented the quantity of estate officials relative to resident landowners. As mentioned above and in the previous chapter, estate officials were most often men who already had some interest in region in which the office lay, however, they may not have been of high enough social status to appear on peace commissions. Thus, because of the political landscape of the West Riding, Smith's study does not accurately represent Wolsey's modifications to the peace commissions or of his policy towards the north.

Smith divided the classification of the Justices of the Peace into two broad categories: insiders, who were men who held a considerable amount of land or their main estates within the riding; and outsiders, who did not own land in the riding. Within these general categories of geographical location, the members are further broken down by social status: nobles, knights, lawyers and others. Clerics are included in a separate category. Examining the Yorkshire peace commissions during Wolsey's ascendancy based on these factors will demonstrate who were the important local administrators in the early years of Henry VIII's reign and the criteria for their inclusion within the royal affinity, both of which serve to illustrate how the authority of the royal government was promoted throughout the kingdom.

Smith's model is useful because it makes distinctions between members based on land-holding, which was not only the major defining category of the governing elite, but

³¹ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 367; Arnold, 'Commissions of the Peace for the West Riding', pp. 132-3.

³² Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 62.

³³ *Ibid.*, App. II, pp. 282, 286-7.

also a character of its clients which was important to the crown. There are, however, several criticisms that can be made of Smith's classifications. For the major northern landowners, landownership was not restricted by riding boundaries, and thus describing them as a riding insider or outsider is contentious. The Danby family, originally settled at Thorpe Perrow in the North Riding, also held Farnley Hall in the West Riding. The Stapletons had family branches established at Carlton in the liberty of Holderness, Wighill in the Ainsty, and Warter in the East Riding.³⁴ The Fairfaxes, whose main estate was located at Walton in the Ainsty, established a cadet branch of the family at Gilling in the North Riding. Families could also change the location of their main estate and thus the focus of their influence. For example, Richard Tempest relocated his family, which had been settled at Bracewell in Craven (North Riding) since the twelfth century, to Bowling in Bradford (West Riding) on his wife's inheritance of the lands from her father.³⁵

The peers and greater gentry families also frequently owned land in another county. On his inheritance of the title of Lord Latimer from his grandfather in 1469, Richard Neville also came into possession of the family's estates in twenty-four counties.³⁶ Thomas Lord Wharton held the manors of Wharton and Nateby in Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, and Healaugh, West Riding.³⁷ The Eure family was seated at Witton in the bishopric of Durham. Other lands in their possession were at Durham, Bishop Auckland and Darlington in the bishopric, and in Old Malton and Stokesley in the North Riding.³⁸ The Metham family held estates in the East and North Ridings since the twelfth century, as well as lands in Northamptonshire.³⁹ Smith's classification of JPs as outsiders who were resident in Yorkshire ridings other than the commission on which they served can be disputed based on recent studies of the late medieval gentry, which have argued that the governing class's relational sphere, or 'community', was not restricted by administrative boundaries.⁴⁰ Landownership and the economic and social connections which it brought were not restricted by administrative boundaries and many gentry cannot be associated solely with one riding or county.

³⁴ Sir William Dugdale, *Dugdale's Visitations of Yorkshire, with additions*, ed. J.W. Clay (3 vols, Exeter, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 166-7, 169-71, 174. The Ainsty was considered part of the city of York for administrative purposes.

³⁵ R.W. Hoyle, 'The Fortunes of the Tempest Family of Bracewell and Bowling in the Sixteenth Century', *YAJ*, 74 (2002), pp. 169-71.

³⁶ L.L. Ford, 'Neville, Richard, second Baron Latimer (c.1467-1530)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 17 November 2006.

³⁷ George E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant*, ed. Vicary Gibbs (13 vols, Gloucester, 1987), vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 594.

³⁸ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 90; *Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, ed. J. Raine. SS, 45 (6 vols, Durham, 1865), vol. 3, pp. 214-5, 222-5; Mark Arvanigian, 'Landed Society and the Governance of the North in the Later Middle Ages: The Case of Sir Ralph Eure', *Medieval Prosopography*, 22 (2001), pp. 68-9, 71-2

³⁹ *Early Yorkshire Families*, ed. C.W. Clay, YASRS, 135 (Leeds, 1973), pp. 103-6.

⁴⁰ See above pp. 171-2.

Nor is the socio-economic status of individuals as clear-cut as Smith's categories would have us assume. Occasionally lawyers, such as Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Peter Vavasour, and later William Babthorpe, were also knights. Some nobility and gentry also possessed legal training but were not practising lawyers. Christopher, second Lord Conyers, studied at Lincoln's Inn for two years before joining Wolsey's household in 1517.⁴¹ Members of the same family might also be placed in separate categories. The younger sons of nobility who did not inherit the family title and patrimony can usually be classified as gentry. William Neville, appointed to the peace commissions for the West and North Ridings in 1525 and 1528, was the second son of Richard Neville, second Lord Latimer, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Giles Greville, but was himself not knighted.⁴² Socio-economic status had a certain degree of fluidity and could vary between members of the same family making it difficult to be definitive about their categorisation.

It is also necessary to consider factors other than land-holding that influenced a family's or an individual's standing in the region. Barbara English has demonstrated that, because the precise establishment of holdings of acreages and incomes from land cannot be verified, factors such as rank, manor size, office-holding, the value of moveable property, and tax assessments should also be used to evaluate family wealth and local prominence, and thus reminds us that in addition to land, a multitude of characteristics enhanced individual standing in the locality.⁴³ Other ways in which places on the peace commission could be acquired include marriage into a leading county family or legal training.⁴⁴ The family of Sir Godfrey Fuljambe originally hailed from Walton, Derbyshire, but Godfrey had married into the Fitzwilliam family of Aldwark, North Riding, which may explain his presence on the North Riding commissions in 1525 and 1528.⁴⁵ Legal training provided Anthony Fitzherbert, a lawyer trained at Gray's Inn, London, a King's Sergeant and Justice

⁴¹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 3, pp. 404-5; *Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Admissions, 1420-1893, and chapel registers*, ed. W.P. Baildon (London, 1896), p. 37; TNA, SP 1/14, ff. 54-5r.

⁴² *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1610 (11), vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10, 11); A.S.G. Edwards, 'Neville, William (b. 1497, d. in or before 1545)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 4 Nov 2006.

⁴³ English, *Great Landowners*, p. 8. This point is also raised by Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 351. George Bernard argues that the various facets of noble power included wealth and income, ownership of land, command over men, local and crown office, attendance at court and counsel to the king, and contemporary acquiescence to noble power and noble privileges, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility: A Study of the Fourth and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Sussex, 1985), p. 197.

⁴⁴ Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 55-6.

⁴⁵ *North Country Wills: being extracts of wills relating to the counties York, Nottingham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland at Somerset House and Lambeth Place 1383 to 1558*, ed. J.W. Clay, SS, 116 (2 vols, Durham, 1908), vol. 1, p. 175 and n; Fuljambe's presence on the West Riding commissions in 1525 and 1528 may be explained by his holding of the receivership for the hundred of Tickhill, Duchy of Lancaster, from 1510 until at least 1527, Robert Somerville, *History of Duchy of Lancaster, Volume One, 1265-1603* (1 vol, London, 1953), App., Pt. 4, p. 530. His presence in the north in general is also explained by his role as treasurer on the Duke of Richmond's Council.

of Common Pleas from Norbury in Derbyshire, with a place on all the riding commissions in the later 1520s.⁴⁶

More importantly for this study, Smith's model does not allow for an analysis of the commissions based on affinity. As it was the foundation of the local social structure, an examination of affinity will enhance our understanding of Wolsey's relationship with the county's leading residents, and their place as local governors in his and the royal affinity. An examination of affinities, both those belonging to the northern nobility and the crown, the patronage networks which held them together, and Wolsey's interaction with them, may further illuminate the shifting balance of power among noble affinities, and between the nobility and the crown. Despite the above complications and the nature of Smith's study, his model for classifying Justices of the Peace which emphasises the location of land-holding, will be retained in this study of the peace commissions in all ridings of Yorkshire. It will be supplemented by an analysis, similar to that used in John Guy's study, of the same data based on affinal connections in a later section.

My analysis of the riding peace commissions begins with Wolsey's translation to the archbishopric of York in 1514 rather than his appointment to the Lord Chancellorship in 1516. While the Lord Chancellor was responsible for selecting men for appointment to the commissions, he rarely made his decisions in isolation: court politics, legal officers and local notables could all influence the composition of the bench. In Elizabethan Norfolk, Smith identified two occasions on which the bishop of Norwich used his patronage to pack the bench with his friends and supporters.⁴⁷ Wolsey's translation to the archdiocese brought him a clear annual income of approximately £1,609 and thousands more in offices and benefices for dispersal in the form of patronage, and therefore it is probable that he took a strong interest in the region's administration. As archbishop he was also in the foremost position to exercise influence over appointments to the commissions of the peace. Further, Wolsey was already involved in organising the defence of the northern borders in 1513, and thus his interest in the composition of the peace commissions was an extension of his more general concern for bringing order to the north.⁴⁸

Bestowed by Henry VIII as a reward to his hard-working minister and as a means of extending the royal presence more directly into the northern reaches of the kingdom, Wolsey's elevation to the archbishopric of York appears to have had an impact on the peace commissions, the first consequence of which was an immediate reduction in their

⁴⁶ J.H. Baker, *The Order of the Serjeants at Law: A Chronicle of creations, with related texts and a historical introduction*, Seld. Soc. Supp. Ser. 5 (London, 1984), pp. 63, 166, 511; Sir John Sainty, *The Judges of England, 1272-1990*, Seld. Soc. Supp. Ser. 10 (London, 1993), p. 72.

⁴⁷ Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 61-4.

⁴⁸ Claire Etty, 'A Tudor Solution to the "Problem of the North"? Government and the Marches towards Scotland, 1509-1529', *NH*, 39:2 (2002), p. 214.

size. From the final commission of Bainbridge's pontificate on 11 July 1514 to the first of Wolsey's term on 18 October of that year, the commissions for all of the ridings became notably smaller. The North Riding commissions shrank from 22 members to 19, the East Riding from 25 to 20, and most dramatically, the West Riding from 34 members to 17. Eleven members of the previous West Riding commissions were excluded, including two of the riding's leading landowners, Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and John Hamerton of Wigglesworth. William Gascoigne was probably dropped from the commissions as a result of his disobedience following the Battle of Flodden in 1513. Both Gascoigne and his son and heir of the same name were knighted for their service at the battle, but the elder Gascoigne refused to obey the orders of Thomas Lord Dacre to help 'secure and convey guns' following the battle, an incident which may have resulted in his exclusion from the peace commissions.⁴⁹ It is probable that Sir William the younger was kept off the peace commissions until the later 1520s because of his disputatious nature. In 1517, Lord Darcy reported to Wolsey that Gascoigne's brothers-in-law, Sir Ralph Ryther, Sir Henry Boynton, Sir William Middleton and Sir Thomas Fairfax were all afraid of him.⁵⁰ John Hamerton was present at Flodden, but died the following year, his will being proved in early 1515, thus explaining his absence.⁵¹

Historians have interpreted the exclusion of five lawyers from the West Riding commissions in 1514 as representing Wolsey's antagonism towards the common law. When the peace commissions are considered as part of Wolsey's larger administrative policy, and the exclusions are dealt with on an individual basis, such an assumption becomes questionable. I have already posited that Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe was dropped from the commission because of his disobedience following the battle of Flodden. Thomas Grice of Wakefield and Sir John Norton of Norton Conyers were not only active on other local commissions, such as the subsidy commission of 1523, but both were reinstated in the 1520s as part of the general increase in the number of common law practitioners on the commissions.⁵² Lastly, only one new individual was introduced to the

⁴⁹ TNA, SP 1/5, f. 69r.

⁵⁰ TNA, SP 1/15, ff. 159r-60r.

⁵¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, pp. 45-6.

⁵² Thomas Grice reappears on the West Riding peace commission issued on 9 July 1521, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 1451; John Norton reappears on the West Riding commission of 10 December 1528, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10) despite being resident in the North Riding, which may explain why he was dropped from the commission in 1514. Other commissions for Grice include the inquisition into the Medley and Bradford lands, 11 July 1521, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 1451 (11); Subsidy Commissions 30 June 1523, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3282, Grice (West Riding), Norton (North Riding). The other two lawyers Sir Thomas Fairfax and Brian Stapleton were likely removed because of old age, Fairfax's will dating from 1520 and Stapleton's from 1518, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, pp. 121-3; Dugdale, *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire with additions*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1.

commission in 1514, Edward Stanley Lord Mouteagle, a ward in Wolsey's household, but whose family held extensive estates in the riding.⁵³

The changes resulting from Wolsey's translation on the North and East Riding commissions are less remarkable. Three members of the commissions were excluded in each riding. The Bigod family of Settrington lost their place on both commissions as a consequence of a minority following the death of Sir Ralph in early 1514. Sir Walter Griffith was excluded from the peace commission for the North Riding because he was not resident, his main sphere of influence being in Staffordshire, where he was an active crown official.⁵⁴ Only one new inclusion was made on either commission, that of Guy Palmes of Naburn in the Ainsty, a lawyer appointed King's Sergeant in 1513, who was added to the North Riding commission.⁵⁵ The stability of the East and North Riding commissions is surprising given that, as archbishop of York and later, bishop of Durham, Wolsey possessed extensive liberties in these ridings, including Beverley (East Riding) as archbishop of York, and Howdenshire (East Riding), Crayke (North Riding) and Allertonshire (North Riding) as bishop of Durham.⁵⁶ The major cuts which occurred to the West Riding commissions, which were much larger than North and East Riding commissions, may be a reflection of the fact that the commissions had grown too large to be viable or that many of the men named were not performing their duties, rather than a display of hostility towards the West Riding landowners.

These above mentioned peace commissions can be compared with those issued in 1525, the first full set of peace commissions which survive after Wolsey had reached the pinnacle of his powers.⁵⁷ 1525 is also significant as the year in which the regional councils were re-instituted in the northern and Welsh marches. The most significant changes occur in the West Riding in all socio-economic categories of members. The West Riding commissions witnessed a considerable decrease in the number of native landowners serving as members. In 1513, there were 30 West Riding men on the commission, but by 1525 the number had been cut to eleven. While significantly smaller in absolute terms, West Riding residents constituted half of the peace commission in 1525, the same proportion as in 1514. The commission also included two clerics, Edmund, Abbot of St.

⁵³ The Stanley family held the lordship of Brierley in the Honour of Pontefract (Duchy of Lancaster), Smith, *Land and Politics*, App. II, p. 284.

⁵⁴ *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 835, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 1081, vol. 3, pt. 2, nos. 2415, 2667, 3504, 3583, 3586, p. 1363.

⁵⁵ E.W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers in pre-Reformation England: Thomas Kebell, a case study* (Cambridge, 1983), App. D, p. 472.

⁵⁶ Allertonshire had its own commissions of the peace and Wolsey, as bishop of Durham, would have made appointments for Justices of the Peace and Justices of Gaol Delivery, *VCH: Yorkshire, North Riding*, ed. William Page. (3 vols, London, 1914), vol. 1, pp. 397-8. Beverley also had its own justices appointed by the archbishop of York who heard pleas of the crown, *VCH: Yorkshire, East Riding, volume 6, Beverley*, ed. K.J. Allison (7 vols, London, 1989), p. 11.

⁵⁷ See tables in Appendix 6.

Mary's, York, and William Holgill, Wolsey's surveyor of lands in the archbishopric of York, steward of the diocese of Durham, and Master of the Savoy.⁵⁸ The changes in the East and North Ridings are much less dramatic. The numbers of local men also remained stable on both the North and East Riding commissions between 1514 and 1525. In the North Riding, the percentage of resident gentry and nobility was around 50%, whereas in the East Riding, the resident members constituted only about one-third of the commission.

The presence of clerics is not as novel as it may appear at first, since clergy were commonly appointed to peace commissions prior to Wolsey's archiepiscopate.⁵⁹ John Carver, archdeacon of York from 1504 to 1515, and John Withers, one of Bainbridge's vicar generals, both appeared on the East Riding peace commission of 24 August 1509. Marmaduke Huby, the abbot of Fountains, appeared on the West Riding peace commission of 6 May 1513 and the abbot of St. Mary's, Edmund Whalley, appeared on the West Riding commission of 11 August 1525. An analysis of the inclusion of clerics on peace commissions must bear in mind the fact that ecclesiastical institutions were among the greatest landowners in the region prior to the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s. For example, some of the largest landowners in the East Riding were great ecclesiastical institutions: the archbishop of York, York and Beverley Minsters, the Augustinian priory of Bridlington, the Gilbertine house of Watton, and the Cistercian abbey of Meaux.⁶⁰ As seen in the previous chapter, clerics were traditionally important royal administrators, particularly the abbot of St. Mary's, who acted as an important link between the royal court and the government of the northern borders. Thus, it is possible to view the appointment of an abbot or prior, such as the prior of Durham Cathedral, to a peace commission as a major landowner or royal administrator more so than as a representative of the church.⁶¹ The use of prominent ecclesiastics also demonstrates how the crown exploited the wealth and social status of church administrators to implement its policies.

Thus, a study of the peace commissions of the three ridings in Yorkshire during Wolsey's ascendancy dissents from previous historiography which argued that he was personally hostile towards the affinities of the northern nobility. Rather, his management of men in the localities established a stronger relationship between the crown and the leading gentry who were important members of the noble affinities. Such a policy countered the retaining patterns of the northern nobility, but importantly, the crown had

⁵⁸ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2946; vol. 4, pt. 1, nos. 107, 1610 (11); vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 4229.

⁵⁹ Clerics were prominent in the administration of crown policies in the localities in the fifteenth century, A.K. McHardy, 'Clerical Taxation in Fifteenth-Century England: the Clergy as Agents of the Crown', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. B. Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), p. 168.

⁶⁰ English, *Great Landowners*, p. 10.

⁶¹ For an example of a leading ecclesiastical figure fulfilling the role of a local landowner, see D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 3, *The Tudor Age* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1961), Chapter IX, 'William More, Prior of Worcester, 1518-36', 108-26.

pursued such a method of securing the services of leading gentry over the course of several centuries. Following an immediate reduction in the size of the peace commissions for all ridings, the numbers of Justices of the Peace, and their geographical distribution remained stable. Location was far more important than socio-economic status, but profession and administrative experience were also crucial. Smith's study, which emphasises the location of a JP's estate, can help to reconstruct noble affinities for which locality was important. Locality was also important for the royal affinity since the crown needed men resident in the region to be administered. An examination of the commissions based on noble and royal affinal connections will be more instructive for exploring the changes in the region's power structure in the early Tudor period.

Noble and Royal Affinities

It has just been argued that appointments to peace commissions were a major means by which the crown secured the leading county gentry in a direct patron-client relationship, thereby expanding the size and authority of the royal affinity, and that the most important criteria for membership in the royal affinity were residency, legal training and administrative skills. As the crux of local society, it is important to understand how the crown related to the affinities of the northern nobility, and an examination of the peace commissions based on affinity can provide us with some sense of how the crown sought to manage localities distant from the centre of government. Noble affinities constituted one or several spheres of influence created through associations based on service, land tenure, marital and kin relations, and religious interests. In the north, these affinities centred on the households and estates of two major peers, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Richard Neville, earl of Westmorland until 1525 when the tenth Lord Clifford was raised to the earldom of Cumberland. Also, in the early Tudor period, the Talbots, earls of Shrewsbury, reoriented their sphere of influence from Shropshire and the Welsh marches into Derbyshire and Hallamshire, centred on Sheffield castle. Despite the marriage of the fourth earl's son and daughter into the family of Thomas lord Dacre, the bulk of their affinity remained in Derbyshire.⁶²

Affinities, however, were not the exclusive preserve of the nobility. Members of the greater gentry and lawyers each developed their own affinities composed of kin and marital relations, servants and wider contacts. Neither were affinities mutually exclusive. Lawyers were among those administrators who were frequently retained by several magnates simultaneously, as well as by monastic institutions and urban corporations. It was also possible to hold land from one noble and maintain marital or service connections

⁶² Bernard, *Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*, pp. 11, 139-40, 146.

with another. Such was the case when the Danby family acquired the manor of Gargrave in the Clifford honour of Skipton, but retained their ties with the Nevilles.⁶³ While there is evidence that some affinities were prominent in a riding due to their fundamentally regional character, belonging to a particular noble affinity was not the defining characteristic for determining commission membership.⁶⁴ Thus, making appointments of gentry irrespective of their affinity attachments reflects a shifting balance of power in the region in which the power networks of the traditional noble affinities were incorporated into the crown's formal administrative structures.

As mentioned above, affinities were not exclusive to the maintenance of other relationships, since they were constructed on the myriad ties of service, kinship and land. Robert Constable (d. 1454) of the Constables of Flamborough (East Riding), traditionally in the service of the Percies, earls of Northumberland, served as chancellor and receiver general of the palatinate under Bishop Robert Neville of Durham.⁶⁵ The Plumpton family, tenants in the Percy liberty of Spofforth in the West Riding, established friendship connections with some of the leading families resident in the Neville liberty of Richmondshire, Sir William Plumpton (d. 1480) also marrying the daughter of Sir Brian Stapleton, a lawyer frequently retained by the Nevilles.⁶⁶ Lawyers, whose expertise was a much sought after commodity, frequently appeared in more than one affinity.⁶⁷ Their ability to transcend traditional affinities, their multiple connections and their suitability for administrative work made their service more attractive to the crown.

Although ties of service and patronage between a family and its lord were enduring, allegiance to a noble could shift in times of necessity or when a greater opportunity for advancement arose elsewhere. The classic example is that of Thomas first Lord Wharton.⁶⁸ As the descendent of a minor gentry family from Westmorland, who were traditionally tenants of the Lords Clifford, in 1528 Wharton was appointed for life by Thomas Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland, as the comptroller of his household and steward of the Percy lordships of Healaugh and Tadcaster in the West Riding. He also served the earl as his comptroller in the marches in 1533.⁶⁹ The Constables of

⁶³ Mervyn James, 'The First earl of Cumberland (1493-1542) and the decline of northern feudalism', *NH*, 1 (1966), 43-69, reprinted in Idem., *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 1986), p. 156.

⁶⁴ This conclusion accords with Colin Richmond's argument that understanding a noble affinity is not tantamount to understanding the workings of provincial political society, 'After MacFarlane', *History*, 68 (1983), p. 58.

⁶⁵ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 2, pp. 174-7.

⁶⁶ Joan W. Kirby, 'A Northern Knightly Family in the Waning Middle Ages', *NH*, 31 (1995), p. 87 and n.

⁶⁷ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 103.

⁶⁸ See M.E. James, *Change and Continuity in the Tudor North: The Rise of Thomas First Lord Wharton*. Borthwick Paper, 27. (York, 1965).

⁶⁹ S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509-1558, volume 3, Members N-Z*. (3 vols, London, 1982), pp. 597-9.

Flamborough were tenants of the earls of Northumberland from at least the early fifteenth century, and acted as stewards of Percy lands in the East Riding, but shifted their allegiance to the Nevilles, lords Latimer around the time the sixth earl liquidated his estates in the early 1530s. In addition to holding the stewardship of the Percy lordships of Leconfield and Pocklington, Sir Robert had been a member of Northumberland's council.⁷⁰ The next generation of Constables appears as beneficiaries in the will of John Neville, Lord Latimer of Snape, in 1542.⁷¹ Thus, affinities were fluid and often overlapped, making it difficult to assign gentry to only one noble affinity.

Ties between previously established affinities were expressed or strengthened through common religious interests. The Carthusian house of Mountgrace was heavily patronised by members of the Neville affinity, for example, the Strangways family, whose own estates were situated near the priory, and the Bulmers, who also left bequests to the priory.⁷² Tenants of the Neville liberty of Richmondshire, the Boynton family was close enough to the Nevilles for Jane Boynton, who died in 1486, to leave a bequest to her goddaughter Jane Neville.⁷³ Sir John Everingham of Birkin, and the lawyers Thomas Strey of Doncaster and Walter Bradford of Houghton, all left bequests to the friars in nearby Pontefract.⁷⁴ Bequests to common religious institutions could be expressions of either geographical proximity or affinity. Affinities tended to be constructed on locality, but not all benefactors to religious houses or orders were members of the same affinity.

The wealthier monasteries, such as Mountgrace, tended to attract patronage from all over the region, and thus common patronage is not necessarily an indication of other affinal connections. The tenth lord Clifford was also a patron of Mountgrace, although he possessed no other affinity connections with the Nevilles.⁷⁵ Also associated with Mountgrace were the Maulverer family of Ingleby Arncliffe and the Fulthrope family of Tunstall in the bishopric of Durham and Hipswell (North Riding), neither of whom appeared on the county's peace commissions. Monasteries relied heavily on the counsel of local lawyers, such as Thomas Grice, Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and William Stapleton, all of whom were consulted by the priory. Other leading landowners appear to

⁷⁰ Christine M. Newman, 'Constable, Sir Robert (1478?-1537)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 29 Sep 2006.

⁷¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 6, p. 161.

⁷² *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, p. 307. Ralph, earl of Westmorland, was one of the executors of Sir William Bulmer's will dated 6 October 1531. The Bulmers were also founders of Marton Priory, *Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties in 1530*, by Thomas Tonge, *Norroy King of Arms: with an appendix of other heraldic documents relating to the North of England*, ed. W.H.D. Longstaffe, SS, 41 (Durham, 1863), p. 18.

⁷³ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 4, p. 14.

⁷⁴ BI, Prob.Reg, vol. 9, f. 417v, BI, Prob.Reg, vol. 10, ff. 15-v, ff.17v-18.

⁷⁵ *Letters of the Cliffords, lords Cumberland and earls of Cumberland, c.1500-1565*, ed. R.W. Hoyle. Camden Miscellany, 4th Ser., 31 (London, 1992), p. 15; *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.G. Dickens, SS, 172 (Durham, 1962), pp. 28, 62-7.

have desired burial in their parish churchyard or left money to their nearest religious institution. George Talbot, fourth earl of Shrewsbury, who held the lordship of Hallamshire, desired burial in the parish church of Sheffield.⁷⁶ The lawyer, Walter Bradford, asked to be buried in his parish church of Castleford, and left bequests to the friars of nearby Pontefract and Doncaster.⁷⁷ With the exception of the region's wealthiest monasteries and religious institutions, families were orientated towards institutions nearest their estates.

Feoffment of estates and wardship were other ways in which noble affinities were expressed and reinforced. Thomas Fulthrope who died in 1478 and whose family was based in Hipswell in Richmondshire, enfeoffed John Neville of Liversedge, Thomas Wortley and Christopher Sharp of his lands in Yorkshire and Durham, and gave wardship of his children to Ralph Bulmer, indicating that he was a tenant and follower of the Nevilles.⁷⁸ Despite coming from a legal family and having a connection with the Neville affinity, his descendent Christopher was not guaranteed a place on the riding's peace commissions in the sixteenth century. The feoffees of the manors of Sir William Bulmer who died in 1531 reads like a roll call of the affinity of the earls of Westmorland, including Sir John Lumley, Sir Christopher Conyers, Sir Thomas Tempest and Sir Thomas Hilton.⁷⁹ Feoffment of estates from tenants' wills can help us construct affinity connections, but these relations did not translate into appointments to the peace commissions.

Despite the importance which scholars have attached to the kinship networks of the late medieval and early modern gentry, its influence on the composition of the peace commissions in the early sixteenth century was minimal. This suggests that marriage networks furnished the nobility with kin to provide service in households and on estates and cemented already established patron-client relations, but that it did not automatically translate into royal favour or further career advancement.⁸⁰ It may also imply that Wolsey exercised firm control over commission appointments with little interference from local magnates who were unable to place relatives on the commissions. The various branches of the Neville family were related to the most prominent Yorkshire gentry families through marriage, including the Fairfaxes and Tempests, and lesser nobility such as the Scropes, all

⁷⁶ *North Country Wills*, vol. 1, p. 144.

⁷⁷ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, pp. 283-4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 241.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 313.

⁸⁰ Sharon Kettering, 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies* 16:2 (1989), p. 420 reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century France* (Aldershot, 2002). Members of Henry Algernon Percy's immediate family filled his council and attended upon him daily, *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland at his Castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire*, ed. Thomas Percy (London, 1827), pp. vi, 1.

of whom had representatives on peace commissions under Wolsey.⁸¹ While Wolsey dropped from the commissions the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe, who were related to both the Percies and Nevilles by marriage, the Scropes, Darcys and Tempests were all related to the Percies by marriage and retained their place on the peace commissions. Gentry appointments to the peace commissions were a consequence of their status as important local men and by having the necessary legal or administrative training, rather than their connection with a noble affinity through marriage.

The predominance of a particular affinity on a riding's peace commission resulted from the concentrated estates of that lord in the region, from which nobles recruited the bulk of their household and estate servants. For example, the Neville affinity, whose influence was concentrated in the liberties of Richmondshire and Mashamshire, continued to be strong on the North Riding commissions in the early sixteenth century, while the Percies were particularly dominant in the East Riding, their authority being derived from their possession of the Honour of Leconfield and the castles of Wressle and Leconfield.⁸² However, their representation on the commission was not exclusive to other affinities, nor did it contradict membership based on social status as a leading landholder. For example, Neville retainers, including William Langton of Riccall (East Riding), Robert Chaloner of Guisborough (North Riding) and Christopher Lord Conyers of Hornby (North Riding) all appear on the West Riding peace commissions of 1525. Being part of the Neville affinity was a common characteristic of many members of the North Riding commissions, rather than an explanation for their inclusion. With the exception of the Honour of Skipton in the West Riding, the Clifford affinity was less prominent on the commissions because the bulk of their estates lay outside the county in Westmorland and Cumberland.⁸³ Similarly, noble households were not restricted to riding boundaries and, thus, their servants could appear on the commissions for other ridings. For example, the Darcy household included Thomas Gargrave from Kinsley and Robert Ellerker of Risby in the West Riding, and Henry Eure of Old Malton in the North Riding.⁸⁴ The dominance of an affinity on a riding commission was the result of the primarily geographical nature of affinities, which did not, however, exclude members of affinities residing in other ridings.

⁸¹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 3, pp. 404-5, and vol. 11, pp. 569-70; *Visitations of the North*, ed. F.W. Dendy, SS, 122 (4 vols, Durham, 1912), vol. 1, pp. 69, 144-5; *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 4, pp. 72-4.

⁸² In the North Riding, half of the commission of 1525 can be placed in the Neville affinity; the same is true of the Percies in the East Riding. The accepted scholarly notion that Henry VII and Henry VIII were antagonistic towards Henry Percy, Fifth earl of Northumberland, and Wolsey towards his heir is not born out by the fact that their affinity continued to dominate local government offices in the East Riding.

⁸³ The Clifford affinity was less prominent on the West Riding commissions of 1525 likely as a result of Clifford's recent promotion to earl of Cumberland and appointment as warden of the West March, and thus his affinity was being employed on the northwestern borders.

⁸⁴ TNA, SP 1/22, ff. 185r-6r.

Similarly, family traditions of noble service cannot explain gentry representation on the peace commission, rather, potential members were judged on individual merits. Some heirs of fifteenth-century Percy retainers, such as Sir William Eure, Sir Guy Fairfax and Sir Robert Constable, continued to be appointed to their respective ridings' commissions. Other families who served the earls of Northumberland disappeared from the commissions upon Wolsey's translation as archbishop. Sir Thomas Metham from Metham in the liberty of Howdenshire (East Riding) was a fee'd retainer of the fourth earl, and sat on that riding's commissions of the peace until his death in 1514. Following his death, his son and heir, another Sir Thomas, did not replace him on the commissions, despite being already 30 years old.⁸⁵ John Pickering, another lawyer, was also in the service of the fourth earl and worked on the North Riding commissions of the peace in the early 1510s, but was not included in those of the 1520s, despite living until late 1536 or early 1537.⁸⁶ Members of Thomas Lord Darcy's household, Thomas Gargrave, escheator for Yorkshire from 1519 to 1520 and steward of Darcy's household from 1521 to 1537, and Sir Robert Ellerker, a captain in Darcy's retinue in 1523 and later sheriff of Yorkshire, were never appointed to the peace commissions.⁸⁷ It is possible to argue that the crown was not keen on working with Darcy, perhaps because he had failed to prove himself an effective administrator in his border offices, but it is more difficult to demonstrate a concerted crown policy against the lord since his household servants, such as Gargrave and Ellerker, held important county positions. However, the situation with Darcy's servants reveals that the crown recognised the importance of choosing its estate officers from the local area.⁸⁸

Holding administrative office on the estates of the local nobility, such as surveyors or auditors, did not result in a greater probability of being appointed to the peace commissions, where land remained the pre-dominant factor. Holding estate offices bolstered, rather than created, the social status of the region's leading tenants and reinforced pre-existing noble patronage networks. For the lawyer John Norton of Norton

⁸⁵ Dugdale, *Dugdale's Visitations*, vol. 3, p. 83.

⁸⁶ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 4, p. 306; *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1514-1553*, ed. F. Collins. YASRS, 11 (Leeds, 1891), p. 136.

⁸⁷ TNA, SP 1/22, ff. 185r-6r; S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509-1558, vol. 2, Members D-M* (3 vols, London, 1982), pp. 90-1, 188-9.

⁸⁸ Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons*, vol. 2, pp. 188-9, 90-1; It is possible to interpret the exclusion of Darcy household officers as an example of Wolsey's disfavour. After his removal from the captaincy of Berwick in 1515, the lord certainly had reason for his animus towards the cardinal at his downfall, see *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5749. Hoyle suggests that Darcy's possession of several Duchy of Lancaster offices in the West Riding was an attempt to reorient his sphere of influence to Yorkshire from the borders, R.W. Hoyle, 'Darcy, Thomas, Baron Darcy of Darcy (b. in or before 1467, d. 1537)' *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 29 Sep 2006. Coming from a family of minor gentry, Darcy's main but small estates, Temple Newsam and Temple Hirst, were in the riding, but Darcy's personal status resulted from having obtained the favour of Henry VII through his military prowess. The nature of his estates in the riding, suggesting that his affinity was, for the most part, made up of smaller landholders, accords with the argument of this chapter that landownership, especially when combined with crown service, was the most influential factor in determining peace commission membership.

Conyers, for example, his inclusion on the West Riding commission in 1528 cannot be attributed to his position as treasurer to the sixth earl of Northumberland, but rather to his family's tradition of crown service – his father had served as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1514 – and to his legal training.⁸⁹ On the other hand, there was a distinct connection between crown office-holders and the peace commissions, such as the link between officers in the Duchy of Lancaster and the West Riding commissions, which have helped to explain the greater rate of turn over in comparison with other ridings. In her study of West Riding peace commissions in the later fifteenth century, Carol Arnold observed a correlation between the holding of offices in the Duchy of Lancaster and appointment as Justice of the Peace. While it was traditional for officers, such as the steward of Pontefract, to be appointed *ex officio* to commissions, Arnold concluded that many duchy officers who were appointed were also lawyers, thus demonstrating that the characteristics for entry into the royal affinity – legal training, social status and residency – were the same, whether through offices or commissions.⁹⁰

Such characteristics continued to identify men who held crown office and positions on the West Riding peace commissions in the early part of Henry VIII's reign. For example, John Pulleyn of Killinghall near Harrogate in the West Riding, acted as the duchy vice-chancellor from 14 February 1515 until February 1528. Pulleyn had attended Lincoln's Inn and was appointed to the peace commissions for the West and North Ridings in 1525 and the West Riding in 1528.⁹¹ Also in 1515, Thomas Strey of Clement's Inn was appointed prothonotary for the duchy, a post which he held until February 1528, having been reappointed for life on 16 July 1523; he also sat on the West Riding commissions in 1525 and 1528.⁹² Other important members of the commissions of the peace who also served as duchy officials include William Fairfax, who served as Second Justice of the Duchy and Duke's Sergeant, while acting on commissions for all ridings in Yorkshire in the later 1520s.⁹³ Local office-holding on crown estates reinforced, rather than created, the social status of the region's leading landowners, providing them with a venue for exercising their share of social power which they held as a result of their landed authority. It was this authority residing in the possession of lands, and which was affirmed by the

⁸⁹ Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland', in *The Tudor Nobility*, pp. 187, 210.

⁹⁰ Arnold, 'Commissions of the Peace for the West Riding', p. 119.

⁹¹ Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 479; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1610 (11), vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10). He is to be distinguished from the John Pulleyn who served as town clerk of York 1507-1510 and recorder 1534-1537.

⁹² Somerville, *History of Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 488; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1610 (11), vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10).

⁹³ Somerville, *History of Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 473, 483; Ives, *Common Lawyers*, App. D, p. 461; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1610 (11), vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10 and 11), vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5243 (28).

conferral of royal offices, which the crown harnessed for effectively implementing its policies.

Scholars have questioned whether service on the same judicial and administrative commissions offered the gentry an opportunity to create meaningful social bonds.⁹⁴ A look at the marriage ties between the northern legal families reveals that there was a high degree of integration among them, which may have helped constitute a ‘community of the mind’ not contingent on locality alone. The Fairfax family, for example, was related by marriage to the Palmes of Naburn, the Vavasours of Hazlewood, the Rokebys of Sandal and the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe, all northern legal families, members of which were at one time or another appointed on judicial commissions.⁹⁵ It is noteworthy that while they were all legal families, they also all held estates within Yorkshire. Despite serving on the commission of gaol delivery for Newgate in London in 1511, there is no indication that William Fairfax established long-standing connections with his fellow commissioners who resided in south-eastern England.⁹⁶ Commissions alone did not encourage families to establish alliances outside of their region; rather, the evidence suggests that profession and geographical propinquity were some of the factors that influenced the creation of bonds. Like marriage and god-parentage, commissions reinforced already established affinal connections.

There is no indication that nobles set out to pack commissions with their tenants, servants or relatives. Arnold identified only two instances in which appointments to the West Riding commissions in the second half of the fifteenth century were influenced by local magnates: John Stafford in 1443, a retainer of Sir John Talbot, and Henry Sotehill in 1454, who was in the service of the earl of Salisbury.⁹⁷ An examination of *Letters and Papers* for the years 1524 and 1525 offers no evidence that the northern nobles solicited Wolsey to have their retainers placed on the commissions. As previously suggested by George Bernard, if a connection between the highest administrative offices and noble affinities can be identified, then the next step is to determine to what extent such appointments were influenced by local magnates, rather than reflecting the nature of land-holding.⁹⁸ In early sixteenth-century Yorkshire, there is no evidence that noble preferences shaped appointments to the peace commissions.

While noble affinities were, in one sense, strongly linked to certain peace commissions, a more significant connection can be made between commissions and the

⁹⁴ Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, p. 367.

⁹⁵ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, pp. 121-3 and vol. 6, pp. 187-9; *Visitations of the North*, vol. 1, pp. 144-5 and vol. 2, p. 19.

⁹⁶ *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 924 (14).

⁹⁷ Arnold, ‘Commissions of the Peace for the West Riding’, p. 119.

⁹⁸ Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 162.

royal affinity. Members of the royal affinity include those who were already knights of the body, held royal office either previously or concurrently, or served on other judicial or administrative commissions. Of the several hundred gentry families in early sixteenth-century Yorkshire, fewer than a dozen families occupied the highest administrative offices in the county, which suggests that, in the early Tudor period, the royal affinity was not being expanded to secure a greater number of gentry in Yorkshire, but offices and commissions were being issued to those who had already proven themselves useful to the crown.⁹⁹ These men also headed the major commissions, including those of the peace, subsidy, and the collection of the tenths of spiritualities in 1535. Traditionally, taxation assessment and collection involved greater numbers of lesser gentry, and this is verified by the constitution of the subsidy commissions of 1523, which included both royal office holders and gentry without office.¹⁰⁰ Like the judicial commissions, those enquiring into land in the 1520s, and the commission of 1518 to investigate wards and marriages belonging to the crown, were primarily the responsibility of lawyers. The highest expression of local status was election as a knight of the shire, which was confined to the county's greatest landowners below the status of the nobility. Thus, it is not surprising to find that parliamentary representation in Yorkshire was concentrated in the same families who played a prominent role in other facets of county administration.¹⁰¹ With the exception of Sir Thomas Wharton who was a privy councillor, however, most knights of the shire did not hold important office outside the north. It should not be surprising that royal officers and commissioners were frequently one and the same since, by having proven their merit in local governance, it assisted the crown in its choice of administrators.

By examining the dispersal of county offices, scholars have argued that a sizeable regional governing group is evidence of a strong local power structure. What a large number of potential administrators also indicates, on the other hand, is the size and strength of the royal affinity. Neither Carpenter nor Smith observed a connection between the holding of the offices of sheriff and membership on the peace commissions in their respective studies, suggesting that there was a large pool of potential administrators and, thus, a strong county community which could exclude the crown from its affairs at will.¹⁰² In contrast, M.L. Zell perceived a strong relationship between the families holding the shrievalities in fifteenth-century Kent and those on the peace commissions in the 1540s, demonstrating that the crown was not attempting to subvert the local power structure by

⁹⁹ Smith identified 350 gentry families in the West Riding in 1530 with a total income of over £10 per annum, *Land and Politics*, p. 65; Cliffe, on the other hand, believes that the number was closer to 270 in all of Yorkshire in 1500, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3282 (30 Jun 1523).

¹⁰¹ S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509-1558, vol. 1: Appendices, Constituencies, Members A-C* (3 vols, London, 1982), p. 238.

¹⁰² Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 273-5.

inserting non-resident administrators, but retaining men from the same families who had a tradition of crown administration.¹⁰³ It may also reflect the nature of a service-based patronage relationship which could include a variety of duties.¹⁰⁴ It appears that, in the fifteenth century, the size of the royal affinity expanded greatly, but by the early sixteenth century, had reached adequate proportions when the monarchs pursued a policy of drawing on only the most experienced and most trustworthy local men throughout the kingdom.¹⁰⁵

There are several members of the peace commissions who also served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire in the early sixteenth century, suggesting that the peace commissions reflected the distribution of offices to the leading landowners, rather than the crown using the commissions to expand the quantity of landowners being retained or as rewards for service elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Despite having their responsibilities curtailed as the medieval period progressed, sheriffs in the sixteenth century continued to exercise important judicial responsibilities, and those serving Yorkshire and the other northern counties performed essential defensive duties on the northern border against the Scots. More importantly, sheriffs presided over the county court at which the leading land-holders elected the knights of the shire.¹⁰⁷ All the men who served as sheriffs and justices were leading landowners and men of local status in their own right which made them attractive clients for the crown to retain. Sir Ralph Eure was knighted in 1497 and served as High Sheriff in 1505-1506 and 1510-1511. He became a fixture on the North and East Riding commissions beginning in May 1512. Sir Peter Vavasour served as sheriff in 1519-1520, but it was almost a decade later before he served on the East Riding peace commissions. Again, the number of men who were appointed as Justices of the Peace who had previously performed or were continuing to perform crown service in another capacity suggests that, under Wolsey, the objective of the peace commissions was not to increase the quantity of men in crown service, but to utilise those already in the royal affinity which further strengthened the local status and authority of these individuals and the crown.

Several sheriffs and members of notable Yorkshire families, however, never appeared on the peace commissions. Sir Richard Tempest of Bowling and Bradford served

¹⁰³ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, p. 246.

¹⁰⁴ Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Zell, 'Early Tudor JPs at Work', p. 131.

¹⁰⁶ Those men who appear both as High Sheriff of Yorkshire and on the peace commissions in the 1520s are: Sir William Bulmer (1517-1518), Sir Marmaduke Constable (1480-1481, 1488-1489, 1493-1494, 1509-1510), Sir Ralph Ellerker (1529-1530), Sir Ralph Eure (1505-1506, 1510-1511), Sir John Norton (1506-1508, 1514-1515), Sir William Percy, Sir Thomas Strangways (1520-1522) and Sir Peter Vavasour (1519-1520); Mark Ormrod, ed., *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1066-2000* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire, 2000), pp. 100-6.

¹⁰⁷ Ormrod, *Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, pp. 43-5.

as sheriff in 1516-1517, but was not on the peace commissions.¹⁰⁸ Sir John Carr, sheriff in 1515-1516 and a member of the royal household, who acted as an ambassador to Brittany in 1514 and was present at the marriage of Princess Mary to Louis XII of France, was also conspicuously absent from the commissions.¹⁰⁹ Despite serving as sheriff for Yorkshire three times between 1518 and 1528, Sir John Neville of Chevet was not appointed to the North Riding peace commission until 1532.¹¹⁰ While the holding of the shrievalty was not a direct influence on judicial appointments, the qualities needed to fulfill these roles – legal training, extensive land-holding and the corresponding social influence – were the same.

The increasing number of gentlemen in the royal affinity in the early sixteenth century suggests that the crown was assuming control over the patronage networks of the northern nobility rather than replacing them with one constructed separately by elevating men from positions of lower social status or from outside the region, although this was not done by a conscious policy of enlarging the peace commissions.¹¹¹ For example, from the Tempests of Bracewell, a family traditionally in the service of the Cliffords, Sir Richard became a royal knight of the body.¹¹² Roger Tempest of Broughton was Clifford's steward of the Honour of Skipton in 1514 and his escheator in 1516-1517 before appearing at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 as a member of Wolsey's household.¹¹³ Like other patron-client relationships, the impetus for patronage relationships between the crown and its leading subjects came from both parties. Ambitious gentry recognised a greater opportunity for advancement and richer rewards from the crown. For its part, the crown required the allegiance of its leading subjects in order to effectively administer the kingdom. The affinities of the northern nobility provided already established networks of experienced landowners who could utilise their skills on the crown's behalf.

The greater presence of the crown as established through gentry servants did not necessarily come at the expense of noble affinities. It was possible for crown and noble affinities to co-exist, and some Yorkshire men who entered the service of the crown continued to hold offices in the service of the region's nobility. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough was a royal knight of the body by 1517, and was appointed steward of the

¹⁰⁸ Tempest's exclusion from the peace commissions can be explained by his tendency to disrupt law and order rather than keep it, see R. W. Hoyle, 'Tempest family (*per. c.* 1500–1657)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 5 September 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Ormrod, *Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, p. 104; *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, App., p. 1547, and vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5243 (28).

¹¹⁰ Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons*, vol. 3, pp. 9-10.

¹¹¹ A similar trend in which noble patronage networks were brought under state control has been identified in seventeenth-century France. Sharon Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies* 17:4 (1992), p. 854, reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*.

¹¹² James, 'First earl of Cumberland', p. 157.

¹¹³ R.W. Hoyle, 'The First Earl of Cumberland: A Reputation Reassessed', *NH*, 22 (1986), p. 68.

crown's lordship of Sheriff Hutton and constable of the castle in 1520.¹¹⁴ Throughout the 1520s and early 1530s, Constable also maintained his links with the earls of Northumberland, holding the stewardship on the Percy lordships of Leconfield and Pocklington and serving on the council of the sixth earl.¹¹⁵ Sir Robert was executed for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which the Percy affinity may have played a significant role. Gentry, however, were increasingly leaving noble service to act solely on behalf of the crown in various administrative capacities, but it was still possible for these networks to co-exist and to be manifested in the same officers, a fact which was likely beneficial to the crown.¹¹⁶ Holding offices on noble estates and royal offices contributed to the justification for the gentry's claims to the exercise of authority.

A small but important portion of the peace commissions of the later 1520s was made up of men from Wolsey's northern ecclesiastical households, an extended part of the royal affinity. In total, there are six names which can be identified as serving the cardinal in various capacities. While associated with the cardinal, some men also held major estates in the area and were part of the region's natural administrative class. Several were members of notable Durham families, for example, the Constables and the Conyers's of Sockburn, who served the cardinal in his role as bishop of Durham.¹¹⁷ Robert Creyke of Marton, the deputy receiver of the archbishop of York's liberty in Beverley, appeared on the peace commissions for the East Riding in August 1525 and January 1529. Robert Wyvill of Constable Burton (North Riding) was an official for the archbishops of York in their liberty of Ripon and served on the peace commissions for the North Riding in 1525 and 1528.¹¹⁸ Although associated with Wolsey in some capacity, many of the members of his households who were introduced to the peace commissions were already men of some

¹¹⁴ *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 655.

¹¹⁵ Christine M. Newman, 'Constable, Sir Robert (1478?-1537)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 29 Sept 2006.

¹¹⁶ A classic example which historians have cited as representing Henry's hostility against the threat posed by retaining is that of Sir William Bulmer, who was retained both by the crown and by the Duke of Buckingham, John Alexander Guy, *The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Hassocks, 1977), pp. 32, 74. As the above example shows it was possible for gentry to serve both nobility and crown suggesting that Bulmer's real offence was wearing the duke's livery in royal presence rather than providing service to more than one lord.

¹¹⁷ Robert Constable appears as the official of the bishop of Durham in his liberty of Howdenshire in the East Riding in 1535, *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII. Auctoritate regia institutus. With an introduction and indexes by J. Hunter*, ed. John Caley (6 vols, London, 1810-34), vol. 5, p. 300. Sir Thomas Strangways was the surveyor for the bishopric, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 5111. The Conyers's were one of the few families who monopolized the office of sheriff in Durham in the sixteenth century, the others being Bowes, Hilton and Bulmer (1503-1516, 1523-1529), James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 151n. On 26 October 1516 William Conyers, first Lord Conyers wrote to Wolsey requesting that his son, Christopher's entrance into Wolsey's household be delayed until Easter the following year, allowing him to remain at Lincoln's Inn in the interim, Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 3, pp. 404-5; *Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Admissions*, p. 37; *LP*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 2481. Sir William Eure was also appointed to the office of escheator of the bishopric of Durham 6 March 1523 during the vacancy of the see following the death of Thomas Ruthal at which time Wolsey had administration of the diocese, *LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 2877.

¹¹⁸ Dugdale, *Dugdale's Visitations*, 2, p. 431; *Acts of the Chapter of the collegiate church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, A.D. 1452 to A.D. 1506*, ed. J.T. Fowler, SS, 64 (Durham, 1875), p. 149n.

standing in the north. Their selection can be attributed to their social status rather than their affiliation with Wolsey. The only example of a member of Wolsey's household being appointed to the commissions in Yorkshire who did not have a pre-established connection with the county was Sir William Gascoigne of Cardington, Bedfordshire, treasurer of Wolsey's London household, who was regularly appointed to the commissions for all Yorkshire ridings in the later 1520s.¹¹⁹

The presence of men from Wolsey's household on peace commissions was not a phenomenon unique to the north. Wolsey also employed men from his household in London on the peace commissions for other counties. John Skewish, a native of Cornwall and active administrator in the crown duchy, was included on the peace commission for Middlesex on 16 December 1528 which may reflect the fact that he was frequently in London as a practising lawyer.¹²⁰ Given the proximity of Middlesex and Surrey to London, it is not surprising to find several members of Wolsey's household, such as Richard Pace and Richard Page, serving interchangeably on these county benches throughout the 1520s, which mirrors the administrative situation in Yorkshire where neighbouring riding boundaries were easily crossed.¹²¹ This argument also stands for other household servants who served on peace commissions for counties adjacent to their native county. As has been argued throughout this thesis, Wolsey's household was an important arm of the royal affinity and thus these men should be identified first and foremost as representatives of crown authority rather than agents of Wolsey's personal power.¹²² Inserting royal servants onto the peace commissions in counties in which they were not resident represents the second of two means late medieval and early modern monarchs used for extending the exercise of its authority into the counties, and thus, the continuation of this policy by Wolsey establishes his governance as traditional while simultaneously placing it within the context of a more general development of the formal governmental structure.

While their very presence on the commissions may have served to reinforce the authority of the royal government, the efficacy of including men from his household and royal affinity is questionable. Richard Pace was primarily utilised as a diplomat and spent much of the early 1520s in Rome supporting Wolsey's nomination for the papacy

¹¹⁹ The Gascoignes of Cardington (Beds.) were not related to the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe (West Riding), who were descended from Sir William Gascoigne, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, (d. 1419). *Visitations of the North or, Some early Heraldic visitations of, and collections of pedigrees relating to, the North of England*, ed. F.W. Dendy, SS, 133 (4 vols, Durham, 1921), vol. 2, pp. 36, 44-6; *Visitations of the North*, ed. C.H. Hunter Blair, SS, 144 (4 vols, Durham, 1930), vol. 3, p. 151; *Heraldic Visitations of the Northern Counties in 1530*, by Thomas Tonge, pp. 14-5.

¹²⁰ *LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (16).

¹²¹ Neil Samman, 'The Henrician Court during Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Wales, 1988), p. 241.

¹²² Kettering has argued that service to a patron who was a member of royal government equated service to the king as the head of state under Louis XVI, 'Gift-giving and patronage in Early Modern France', *French History* 2:2 (1988), p. 135, reprinted in Idem., *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*.

following the death of Leo X in 1521 and Adrian VI in 1523. In addition, from 1522 onwards, Pace was seriously ill and it is doubtful that he ever actively participated in executing the administrative responsibilities of the commissions. Equally, it is likely that Wolsey's household treasurer Sir William Gascoigne was not an active member of the Yorkshire peace commissions. Since 1515, Gascoigne's sphere of activity had been centred in Northamptonshire and his home county of Bedfordshire, having served on the peace commissions for those counties, and on the subsidy commission and in the office of sheriff for the latter. Also, given the fiscal responsibilities he had for Wolsey which required him to be in London on a continual basis, it is difficult to imagine that Gascoigne was expected to fulfil the duties of his appointments. Rather, the appointment of such men who were intimately associated with Wolsey by serving in his household, a fact that certainly would have been known among the local population in which they resided, but also that such service to the leading crown administrator meant that they were royal servants at the centre of government, acted as a reminder of royal authority and reinforced the social standing of crown servants more generally in their localities.

While it is not possible to determine with certainty which resident members of the peace commission carried out their duties in practice, it is perhaps fruitful to speculate who was active under Wolsey, since it will provide a partial picture of those gentry involved in governing the kingdom on the crown's behalf. In the north, given that its judicial authority was derived from a special peace commission, the Duke of Richmond's Council was responsible for executing the commissions' most important judicial functions, and thus the Yorkshire peace commissions were more concerned with administrative rather than judicial matters. Local lawyers, such as Thomas Grice, Brian Palmes and William Fairfax, likely performed the commissions' routine administrative duties for which their legal training aptly prepared them. Landowners who held positions as estate officials, such as Roger Lascelles of Breckenbrough (North Riding), deputy-steward of the earl of Northumberland's lordship of Topcliffe, may also have been active on the commissions, given that they possessed the legal training, local knowledge and a certain degree of social standing among the population, both as landowners and as officials of the region's leading inhabitants, all qualities which were important among gentry in royal service.¹²³ Again, the crown had traditionally looked towards men such as Lascelles, Grice and Palmes who possessed most, if not all, of the above mentioned skills and qualities.

Lastly, it remains to look at the resident landowners who were not appointed to the commissions under Wolsey. Several prominent northern families, such as Boynton,

¹²³ M.E. James, *A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State: Henry Fifth Earl of Northumberland*. Borthwick Paper, 30. (York, 1966), p. 27.

Stapleton, Darell, De La River and Percehay, never served on peace commissions for the North Riding in the fifteenth century despite their leading socio-economic position; thus, we should not be surprised that they were absent from commissions in the early sixteenth century.¹²⁴ This complements Smith's conclusion that Norfolk's established elite families did not provide a ready made socio-economic group from which to construct the peace commissions.¹²⁵ While members of the North Riding bench were predominantly in the Neville affinity, affinal connections did not mean that families were automatically included. Other families who appear on commissions from the early part of the period were removed from the commissions by reason of a minority. Sir Ralph Bigod of Settrington, East Riding, died in 1515 leaving as his heir his grandson Francis, a seven-year-old minor who entered Wolsey's household as his ward, and who was later to pursue, famously and unsuccessfully, a rebellion against the crown following the collapse of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Other deaths resulted in the extinction of the male line. The death of Sir John Normanville of Kilnwick on 19 May 1520, who had served on the commissions of the peace for the East Riding until 1514, and his brother William on 14 December of the same year left the family with no legitimate male heirs, John having fathered only two bastard sons.¹²⁶ Interestingly, Roger Wombwell of Wombwell disappears from the West Riding commissions for having assumed the religious habit at Mountgrace Priory following the death of his wife in 1521, remaining there until his own death in 1531.¹²⁷ Thus, families could disappear from the commissions for various reasons not connected with royal favour and which opened up opportunities for other families of similar social status to take their place.

Sons did not automatically succeed to their father's place on the peace commissions, and to see a failure of immediate succession in a family as a consequence of royal disfavour is erroneous. In his study of the political culture of Elizabethan Norfolk, Smith argued that membership in a prominent family or kin group did not lead automatically to admission to the county bench. Strict succession did occur in some instances, but the majority of sons were forced to wait any where from six to thirty-two years before receiving their own spot on the commissions. Smith concludes that inclusion on the peace commissions was not based solely on family reputation, but that sons had to establish their own position within the county elite.¹²⁸ This is likely the case in only one instance in the Yorkshire peace commissions. John Hamerton, the West Riding's leading resident landowner, was removed from the peace commission on 18 October 1514

¹²⁴ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 165.

¹²⁵ Smith, *County and Court*, p. 57.

¹²⁶ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 1, pp. 123-4.

¹²⁷ Dugdale, *Dugdale's Visitations*, 2, p. 210.

¹²⁸ Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 57-9.

following his death, but was not replaced by his son Stephen on the commissions until 1528.¹²⁹ Like minorities, the failure of a son to immediately succeed his father on the commissions is not indicative of a lack of royal favour.

In the early sixteenth century, noble affinities and their networks of kinship, marriage, service and land tenure were still important features in determining the social and political landscape in the north. For the most part, the crown did not attempt to replace the affinity networks with its own by introducing men from central government, but gradually took over the pre-existing patronage networks by employing these men in crown offices and on commissions. In those instances in which new men were introduced into the government of the region, they were endowed with authority from royal service, such as offices on crown estates. Given that affinal connections appear to have had little influence on crown appointments to the peace commissions, it seems plausible to argue that the peace commissions were outside the purview of affinity, or that influencing their composition was no longer an important goal among the northern nobility. Further, the lack of noble influence on the peace commissions in Yorkshire may also demonstrate that noble connections were capable of securing only a limited amount of royal patronage in the localities on behalf of those clients who were seeking greater advancement or rewards from the crown. Clients who desired to obtain rewards from the crown's coffers and places in the royal affinity needed to engage in a patron-client relationship directly with the crown. Ultimately, the balance of administrative authority in the kingdom's largest county was tipped towards the crown, but it was not through the manipulation of the peace commissions. Rather, the crown gained the upper hand in the administration of justice and social policies through the establishment of the Duke of Richmond's Council in 1525.

The Duke of Richmond's Council

As previously mentioned, the peace commissions issued in 1525 were part of the crown's renewed interest in the administration of the kingdom's peripheral regions, a policy which also included the reconstitution of a regional council on the Welsh marches. The creation in 1525 of a royal council to govern the northern borders under the nominal headship of Henry VIII's illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond, and modelled on the regional councils from earlier reigns, did not represent a direct royal confrontation to noble power, but its very presence altered the power dynamics of the region. The duke's council drew its authority from two commissions, that of the peace, and that of oyer and terminer. It was issued a special commission of the peace which reserved for it the most serious

¹²⁹ Smith, *Land and Politics*, pp. 135, 154; *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10); *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, pp. 45-6.

judicial matters, thereby superseding the peace commissions in authority and leaving the routine administrative work to the local landowners.¹³⁰ Few records survive for the working of the council prior to its re-constitution as the King's Council in 1530, but in 1537 the council was sitting quarterly for a one-month period, and it is plausible to assume that a similar set up was in place in 1525.¹³¹

The establishment of the Duke of Richmond's Council in 1525 is directly responsible for the apparent increase in the overall size of the peace commissions in the northern counties issued for that year and subsequently. The lay members of Richmond's Council who appear on the riding's peace commissions were lawyers, and their presence gives the appearance that Wolsey manipulated the commissions to include more non-resident lawyers.¹³² Previously, historians have explained the addition of the Duke of Richmond's Council on the peace commissions as an effort to concentrate authority and administration in the hands of crown servants, which constituted a fundamental attack on the local nobility.¹³³ It can be surmised that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the council members to both attend upon the Duke of Richmond, since many of the council also served as his household officers, and to perform the responsibilities of Justices of the Peace. Therefore, although these men appear as Justices, it is likely that they were not actively performing the stipulated duties. Rather, the council's members were inserted as a means of policing the jurisdictional boundaries between the two administrative bodies and served as a reminder of the hierarchy of authority in which the council pre-empted the duties of the Justices of the Peace. A more accurate assessment of the development of the peace commissions in this period excludes the members of the Duke of Richmond's Council from consideration. Further, it calls for a re-evaluation of the continually increasing size of the peace commissions throughout the sixteenth century. Although their responsibilities grew on paper, in practice their authority was weakened by the presence of regional supervisory bodies representing crown authority. Thus, it was not harmful to central government to bestow the powers of Justices on an increasing number of gentry beginning in the 1530s. Also, by increasing the size of the commissions throughout the sixteenth century, the crown expanded the number of gentry who were entered into a direct patron-client relationship, thereby augmenting the number of those who relied on the crown for validating their social status.

¹³⁰ F.W. Brooks, *The Council of the North* (London, 1953), p. 12.

¹³¹ R.R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, (London, 1921), App. V, p. 506.

¹³² Those members of the council and household who did not appear on the peace commissions in 1525 were Sir George Lawson, the Duke's Cofferer and captain of the town of Berwick; John Uvedale, the Duke's Secretary; and Sir Christopher Dacre, who was introduced to the council through his appointment as Lieutenant of the West March in August. Reid, *King's Council*, pp. 103-5. They did not participate in the judicial functions of the Duke's Council which may explain their absence from the peace commissions.

¹³³ Reid, *King's Council*, pp. 92-3, 102, 108.

Some historians have interpreted the dramatic increase in the presence of clerics on the Yorkshire peace commissions as a demonstration of Wolsey's preference for canon over common law, and his desire to elevate the church's status at the expense of secular authority. This contention has been addressed in the previous chapter. Rather than demonstrating a desire to promote the rights of the church at the expense of the crown's prerogative, the use of clerics in royal government subjugated the church and its leading administrators to royal authority. The legal training of those clerics appointed to the council, including Thomas Dalby, Brian Higden and William Frankeleyn, meant that they were well-suited to handle judicial and administrative business.¹³⁴ Further, the clerics who appeared on the peace commissions were not acting as Justices of the Peace, but rather appeared as members of the Duke of Richmond's Council. Only two clerics who are not associated with Richmond's council figure on the commissions: William Holgill who appeared on all the riding commissions and Edmund Whalley, Abbot of St. Mary's, York, who appeared on the West Riding commission in 1525. But, as mentioned previously, the presence of clerics, not only on peace commissions but on other commissions addressing judicial and administrative matters was not novel or unusual. Like the gentry who were royal commissioners, the clerics possessed the necessary tools of the trade: social standing in the locality, a knowledge of the quirks of the local community, legal training and administrative experience.

Scholars have previously stressed the association of the council's members with the cardinal, but such an association is less important than the fact that they were drawn from the region's leading gentry and legal families, and had previously performed administrative, and ideally, crown service. Among the council's members were the heads of prominent Durham families, Sir Thomas Tempest, Robert Bowes of Streatlam, and Sir William Eure, men whom Mervyn James has identified as having recognised the potential for advancement from the crown, which was only possible under administrative bishops such as Wolsey's predecessor, Thomas Ruthal, Wolsey himself, and his successor Cuthbert Tunstal.¹³⁵ Sir William Eure, escheator of the palatinate of Durham and keeper of Tynedale and Redesdale, served as lieutenant of the Middle March in 1522-1523.¹³⁶ Walter Luke was a serjeant-at-law who practiced in Chancery.¹³⁷ Sir Richard Page,

¹³⁴ A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501-40* (London, 1974), pp. 930-1; *Beverley Minster Fasti: being biographical notes of the provosts, prebendaries, officers, and vicars in the church of Beverley prior to the dissolution*, ed. Richard Thomas Wright McDermid, YASRS, 149 (Leeds, 1993), p. 44; J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, part 1 to 1751* (2 pts. in 10 vols, Cambridge, 1922-54), pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 176.

¹³⁵ James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 45.

¹³⁶ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, pp. 179-81.

¹³⁷ *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5666.

Wolsey's household chamberlain, was knighted before 1516 at which time he was also a member of the king's Privy Chamber.¹³⁸ While he does not appear to have held land in the north, Page's local influence was augmented by his offices of chief steward of the archbishop's lordship of Beverley and the recordership of Kingston-upon-Hull.¹³⁹ Like their clerical counterparts, the lay members of the northern council could easily dissociate themselves from Wolsey at his downfall because they were not his, but rather the crown's servants. Sir Thomas Tempest, Sir William Eure, Thomas Fairfax, Robert Bowes and William Babthorpe all continued to serve the Duke's household and his council at least until his death in 1536, further reinforcing the association of the council members with crown rather than with Wolsey.¹⁴⁰ The re-introduction of a northern council made up of clerical and lay members allowed the crown to concentrate the supervision of ecclesiastical and secular judicial matters into the hands of a few men of local standing whose primary loyalty was to the crown, thereby overriding the authority of the commissions of the peace.

Conclusion

The peace commissions remained a fundamental facet of county administration in the early sixteenth century in that they were in the most immediate contact with their locality, but their importance in the north was superseded by the establishment of the Duke of Richmond's Council in 1525, whose jurisdiction encompassed Yorkshire and the northernmost shires. Several factors were important for determining appointments to the peace commissions, which accorded the gentry a share in the exercise of political power: possession of sufficient landed estates in the county but not specifically within the riding; a legal education; and earlier inclusion in the royal affinity. Peace commissions themselves, along with royal offices and commissions, represented the institutionalisation of social power, the venue in which political power was exercised. They constituted an official resource which could be used by the gentry to exercise social power and participate in royal politics in the localities. The formal political structure of the government co-existed with the informal social power structures in the localities, but it was by subsuming these patronage and power networks into the administrative structure that the crown gained greater control over local government, thereby engulfing the traditional power of the local nobility. By reasserting the social standing of the gentry and lawyers as one of the intangible benefits from office-holding, inclusion of the peace commissions could be seen as a reward distributed to secure gentry services as brokers in mediating central authority.

¹³⁸ Catharine Davies, 'Page, Sir Richard (d. 1548)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 20 Sep 2006.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Reid, *King's Council*, p. 113 and n.

The growth of crown prerogative was centralised but it was also nodal: it came from the royal household and court, but also emanated from nodes of power within the localities, such as peace commissions, royal offices and regional councils, whose networks of governance gradually spread outwards to absorb the surrounding regions.

Despite initial appearances, the number of Yorkshire gentry holding positions as Justices of the Peace was largely unaltered by Wolsey. This indicates that they were not the foremost forum in which he sought to secure a greater number of gentry in the royal affinity. Additionally, the geographical distribution of Justices of the Peace remained relatively stable. Riding landowners remained dominant on their respective commissions, although it was not unusual for them to cross riding boundaries to serve on other commissions within Yorkshire since administrative boundaries were not the foremost determinants of personal and professional connections. While more names appear on the peace commissions issued in 1525 than in 1514, giving the illusion that the commission grew substantially in the 1520s, the extra numbers were made up by members of the Duke of Richmond's Council, not gentry newly created as Justices of the Peace. The inclusion of the council members on the commissions can be attributed to a desire to regulate the jurisdictional divisions between the two bodies and to reinforce the superior status and supervisory function of Richmond's Council. This also accounts for the introduction of large numbers of clerics to the commissions, which historians have interpreted as representing Wolsey's preference for clerical, rather than lay, servants to administer royal affairs. In order to understand properly Wolsey's relationship with the Yorkshire gentry in the governance of county business, the members of Richmond's Council should be extracted from the numbers under consideration. The presence of a regional council directed by clerics and local lawyers, however, altered the power dynamics in the county by reserving for the council the most serious judicial and administrative matters from which the local nobility were excluded. Further, the composition of the Duke of Richmond's Council itself, combining locally resident clerics and laymen, suggests that Wolsey endeavoured to extricate religious offences from the purview of the church courts and to place them under the jurisdiction of the same body which would be dealing with secular matters, thereby subjugating the church to crown authority.

Wolsey's treatment of the commission appointments does not represent a general policy of antagonism towards the leading aristocracy, but rather, combined with the re-introduction of a regional council, is a continuation of conventional crown responses to perceived lawlessness in the north. While the crown employed gentry serving in the patronage networks already established by the northern nobility, it did not prefer one affinity over another nor attempt to restructure the traditional spheres of influence among

the affinities. The crown traditionally turned to local landowners for the administration of its estates, the maintenance of law and order, and the mustering of troops for war because of their social standing and familiarity with the local community. In return, gentry were interested in serving the crown because of the potential for greater material advantages than those provided by the nobility, as well as augmenting their local influence and the opportunity to personally exercise authority. As has been discussed in previous chapters, it was the most effective and efficient means for the crown to use men resident in the locality for which the commission was issued because their social standing among the local population facilitated the acceptance of their claims to exercise social and political power. Despite the growing importance of royal service, as exemplified by the career of Sir Thomas Wharton, the main vehicle for procuring and maintaining social power in Yorkshire resided in landed estates. These policies of governing the north reassert the place of Wolsey's administration within the broader context of the expansion of the crown's formal political structures throughout the kingdom, emphasising the continuity that existed from the Yorkist to the early Tudor polity; from Wolsey to his successor and protégé, Thomas Cromwell.

Chapter 5: Wolsey and the City of York

Introduction

In January 1528 two letters were sent on consecutive days to the city of York's chief patron. The second letter, dated 27 January, was addressed to the 'Most reverend father in God, our most especial and singular good and gracious lord', and was signed by the mayor and commonalty. Like the correspondence of the previous day, this letter reminded its recipient of the decay of this once great city and of the need to relieve the corporation of its overwhelming financial burdens if it was to regain its prosperity, 'whereby we trust nowell [sic] God's grace and your most gracious help that it shall and continue a city to our great comfort'. The first letter, dated 26 January, was not written by the city's corporation, but by a broker petitioning on the city's behalf. The intended goal of both letters was the same: to secure relief for the city from paying the £100 fee farm due to Lord Ros, Earl of Rutland, and help in enforcing its monopoly on the shipping of Yorkshire wools and fells. The significance of these two letters is that they illustrate some of the key operating features of the patronage relationship which existed for fifteen years between the corporation of York and its 'most especial and singular good and gracious lord', Thomas Wolsey.¹ Wolsey's monopoly over the city's clientage was unprecedented among urban patronage relationships in the early modern period and, somewhat paradoxically, brought the governance of the city more directly under the control of the crown.

Once the second most important city in the realm after London, York had suffered from a significant economic downturn in the later middle ages which, by the sixteenth century, had diminished drastically the quality of life within the city walls. Despite its economic contraction, as the principal administrative centre for the north and seat of the northern archdiocese, York retained its political and ecclesiastical significance. As such, the city and its corporation had a special relationship with Wolsey who, in his capacity as archbishop of York, was the city's principal patron and the figure to whom the city looked when seeking intervention with the king during the years of his political ascendancy. This chapter concentrates on the mechanics of the client-patron relationship between York and the cardinal: client and patron behaviour, the language employed, and the type of content exchanged and its quality. It endeavours to place this relationship within the context of late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century urban patronage by providing comparisons to Wolsey's relationship with the corporation of London, as well as placing it within the framework of his own political and ecclesiastical patronage by relating it to his

¹ TNA, SP 1/46, ff. 160r-1r.

management of local royal and ecclesiastical government in Yorkshire which has been discussed in the preceding chapters. From an examination of the letters which passed between the corporation, their intermediaries and Wolsey as recorded in the city of York house books, this chapter argues that, similar to his involvement in the other areas of northern governance, and despite his physical absence from York, Wolsey was the dominating figure in the corporation's governance of the city. It was the city, however, which dictated the agenda for the relationship which focused on such issues as its economic prosperity, civic office, representation in parliament, the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions, and, most pressingly, the elimination of its fee farm. Such behaviour further reinforces the notion that patronage was a reciprocal relationship in which clients, such as Yorkshire gentry or ambitious clergy, were just as active in seeking and shaping patron-client relationships.

During Wolsey's political ascendancy, York's corporation intentionally altered the orientation of its clientage. Wolsey was the sole patron to whom the corporation looked for assistance in its governance of the city, displacing previous patrons, such as the earls of Northumberland and other regional magnates. In its efforts to capitalise on Wolsey's dual position as the leading royal administrator and archbishop, the corporation deviated not only from its own pattern of clientage, but also from one which was typical of other English towns.² After Wolsey's fall from royal favour, the corporation once again sought the patronage of multiple individuals, both within the locality itself and in London. However, the period in which Wolsey was positioned as the city's chief patron signalled a change in the manner in which the city sought patrons. After 1530, the city looked to active administrators in the royal affinity who were positioned at the heart of court politics more so than members of the regional nobility, confirming the relocation of power networks to the royal court and household, and a consequent shift in the balance of power between the nobility and the royal affinity.³

The prominent role which members of the royal affinity played in mediating the relationship between York and Wolsey is similar to their presence in local governance in

² Rosemary Horrox, 'Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), esp. pp. 147, 149 where she argues that towns readily took advantage of both notable persons and members of the royal household residing nearby to secure crown patronage.

³ By replacing Wolsey with Thomas Cromwell, the royal secretary, as one of their principal patrons in the 1530s, York's patronage is also illustrative of a larger trend in court patronage in which lay state administrators replaced nobles and ecclesiastics as the prime patrons for court favours. For studies focusing on the changing personnel of the civil service see Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England, c.1520-1540' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Exeter, 1976). and G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642* (London, 1961). For more general information about the changing structures of central government see G. R. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government: administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1953); Christopher Coleman and David Starkey, eds., *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford, 1986) and David Loades, *Power in Tudor England* (Basingstoke, 1997).

the north more generally. The corporation initiated and sought to actively maintain an ongoing client-patron relationship with Wolsey by petitioning both the cardinal directly and his closest servants and colleagues. The involvement of brokers is another aspect of the patron-client relationship between Wolsey and the commonalty of York which mirrors that of his patronage relationships with other local governors. Further, brokers were located both in his attendant household in London and in the city of York. In this brokerage process, the position of the recorder of the corporation, held successively by members of Wolsey's household from 1519 until 1533, and the officers of his archiepiscopal household were key. Both the corporation, which was willing to grant the civic office to Wolsey's servants, and Wolsey himself, recognised that recorders were ideally situated to function in this role. As the city's legal representative in London, the position enabled Wolsey's agents to sustain their responsibilities to the city, to the cardinal and to the crown. They were among the members of the most intimate circles of his affinity, residing in his household, which put them at the heart of royal politics.

Significantly, there were instances when the corporation's appeals to Wolsey for assistance did not produce its desired outcome. It is possible that this results from the fact that it was the corporation, rather than Wolsey, which was interested in maintaining a connection and may indicate Wolsey's indifference to the state of the city's affairs. Such an attitude towards the city's governance stems from Wolsey's political and social agenda. On the whole, towns did not feature largely in Wolsey's proposals for social reforms. Gwyn has suggested that in attempting to address the country's agrarian problems by prosecuting for violations against the enclosure statute Wolsey believed he was helping to alleviate part of the financial difficulties in which some cities and towns found themselves in the early sixteenth century.⁴ However, based on the evidence, such a conclusion is unconvincing. Wolsey's campaign against enclosing and the resulting depopulation and unemployment was more likely prompted by a fear of social disorder and insurrection, rather than a desire to improve urban government or alleviate their financial woes. More plausibly, these cases suggest that while Wolsey may have felt a special obligation to offer the city aid as the seat of his archdiocese, his various ecclesiastical and secular roles required him to balance his interests which sometimes opposed those of the city. They also highlight the limitations on Wolsey's ability to manipulate the patronage which emanated from the royal court despite his favoured position by Henry VIII's side. Nevertheless, Wolsey was receptive to the pleas of the commonalty of York and sought to secure the royal grants they coveted. As such, his relationship with the commonalty may be placed within the 'casual client' circle of his affinity. Although the relationship extended

⁴ Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), p. 447.

throughout his entire term as archbishop and was not restricted, as previous historians have claimed, to his procurement of the shipping monopoly in 1523, the city did not provide continual and uninterrupted service, nor were the favours they received constant. They also paid for the privileges they secured, as demonstrated below, which is another feature of casual clients.

The most comprehensive work on Tudor York has been David Palliser's monograph by that title published nearly thirty years ago. Palliser's book provides a thorough survey of the administrative structure of the corporation, its economic well-being and its religious inclinations. However, since Palliser's study came out of the burgeoning interest in local studies of the 1960s and 1970s, it concentrated on York as an urban centre, and thus, observations on Wolsey's relationship with the seat of his archdiocese were peripheral.⁵ The majority of urban studies, meanwhile, have focused on the economic and population decline which plagued the city from the end of the fourteenth century until the accession of Elizabeth.⁶ In a more recent article on civic lobbying in the reign of Henry VIII, Richard Hoyle drew attention to Wolsey's role as good lord and intermediary with the king for York during the years of his ascendancy.⁷ As the dominant ecclesiastical and secular patron in the early reign of Henry VIII, however, Wolsey's role as the city's major patron is worthy of study in itself. Like his relationship with the leading county gentry and his position as archbishop of York, his connection with the urban corporation of the seat of his archdiocese is vital for understanding the way in which Wolsey, as the leading crown servant, utilised the royal and ecclesiastical patronage at his disposal to expand the crown's prerogative throughout the realm.

Given the deteriorating economic conditions in which the city found itself by the early sixteenth century, it is only natural that the corporation appealed to Wolsey most frequently on financial matters. Particularly onerous was the city's obligatory fee farm.

⁵ Palliser concludes that Wolsey's most substantial contribution to the welfare of the city was intervening with the King on the corporation's behalf to acquire a monopoly for the shipping of wools and fells in 1523, an act which in itself was neither innovative nor provided the city with long-term financial relief. D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), esp. pp. 46-7.

⁶ For more on the economic and demographic state of York in the sixteenth century see J. N. Bartlett, 'The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, New Ser., 12:1 (1959), 17-33; F. W. Brooks, 'York – 1066 to Present Day', in *The Noble City of York*, ed. Alberic Stacpoole and others (York, 1972), pp. 277, 287-8; D. M. Palliser, 'Epidemics in Tudor York', *NH*, 8 (1973), p. 46; P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Mortality and Economic Change in Diocese of York, 1390-1514', *NH*, 24 (1988), 38-55; C. Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns: York in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Liverpool, 1998) and Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or, The history and antiquities of the city of York, from its origin to this time* (Reprinted Wakefield, 1978), p. 227. For a history of the general decline facing English cities in the period see Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700: Essays in urban history* (London, 1972). Revisionist historians have argued that the economic troubles of some of the kingdom's urban centres was a regional rather than countrywide phenomenon, for which a study of the shortage of labour may provide the most illuminating subject of analysis. Alan Dyer, *Decline and growth in English towns, 1400-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 25, 51-52.

⁷ R. W. Hoyle, 'Urban Decay and Civic Lobbying: The Crisis in York's Finances, 1525-1536', *NH*, 34 (1998), esp. pp. 94-6.

York had been paying an annual fee farm of £100 to the monarch from as early as 1086, but the adjustment to the fee farm in 1212 by King John, raising it to £160 in exchange for granting the city greater freedom over the administration of its finances, proved ultimately to be the thorn in the city's side over the course of the following three centuries and more. The bulk of the fee farm was alienated in 1318 by Edward II to William de Ros, first Lord Ros, of Helmsley (North Riding), whose family later became the earls of Rutland.⁸ The remaining £60 was further partitioned into several annuities, including £35 14s 7d to the chapels of St. Thomas and St. Stephen at Westminster.⁹ Thomas Ros' attainder for treason in 1461 forfeited the family's right to collect their share of the fee farm along with their other possessions, but their interest was re-instated with the attainder's reversal following Henry Tudor's victory at the battle of Bosworth in 1485. Sir Thomas Lovell was appointed guardian of the Ros interest from 1492 until 1524 when Thomas Manners reached the age of majority, and acceded to the title of Lord Ros. Lovell had been willing to accept 20 marks in lieu of the £100, but in 1524, Manners sued the corporation in the Court of Exchequer for the payment of the full fee farm plus arrears since Lovell's death in May of that year.¹⁰ Thus, when the corporation dispatched its common clerk, Miles Newton, to London to plead with the king and Wolsey for the diminution of the fee farm in 1527, it was only the latest instalment in a centuries-long battle by the corporation to have the fee farm reduced or remitted.¹¹ The matter was still unresolved in January 1528 when Brian Higden, dean of York, interceded with Wolsey on the corporation's behalf, asking the cardinal to remember the 'great decay and poverty of the city which is not like to continue as a city' unless relieved of the £100 demanded by the Lord of Rutland.¹² The city was not released from this financial burden until 1536 when it agreed to pay £40 of the original £100 to Lord Ros, the amount payable to Westminster was reduced by £5 14s 7d, and an annual payment of £9 2s 6d to Lord Darcy was cancelled, all of which was achieved through the mediation of one of the city's new found patrons, Thomas Cromwell.¹³

The possible reasons as to why the corporation failed to obtain a favourable result from Wolsey regarding the reduction of the fee farm are varied. One explanation is that Lord Ros' initial request for the full payment of the fee farm in 1525 coincided with Wolsey's efforts to re-establish conciliar government in the kingdom's northern and

⁸ E. Miller, 'Medieval York', in *VCH: City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillott (London, 1961), p. 65.

⁹ Thomas Widdrington, *Analecta Eboracensia: Some Remaynes of the Ancient City of York*, ed. Caesar Caine (London, 1897), pp. 276-7.

¹⁰ Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 215-6; *Y(ork) C(ivic) R(ecords)*, ed. A. Raine, YASRS, 106 (Wakefield, 1942), vol. 3, p. 116.

¹¹ YCA, Class B, (Corporation) H(ouse) B(ooks), First Series, 11, f. 25r; A.G. Dickens, 'Tudor York', in *VCH: York*, ed. P.M. Tillott (London, 1961), p. 123.

¹² TNA, SP 1/46, f. 160r.

¹³ Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 48.

western borders, and thus Wolsey's attention and effort were diverted elsewhere. Alternatively, Wolsey may have chosen not to take the city's part as a way of supporting Manners' claim to the fee farm. The Ros family held considerable land in the north, and, in the early and mid-1520s, Manners was active there as a royal agent, having been appointed as the Warden of the East and Middle Marches in 1522, as well as serving on the Yorkshire peace commissions in 1525.¹⁴ Wolsey may have backed Manners' entitlement to the fee farm as recompense for his crown service in the north. Wolsey's non-intervention also needs to be placed in the historical context of York's struggle against the fee farm. While Henry VII had been willing to temporarily remit the fee farm after visiting the city, York's greatest patron in the fifteenth century, Richard Duke of Gloucester, refused the city's request to cancel the fee farm when acting as regent during the minority of his nephew, Edward V.¹⁵ Richard's meeting with the mayor and commonalty of the city in the chapter house of York Minster on 17 September 1483 during his first royal progress may have been intended to relieve either part or all of the fee farm, but the result was ambiguous and the city spent the rest of his reign trying to secure the requisite letters patent.¹⁶

Further instances in which he failed to satisfy the city's requests for favourable intervention in its affairs demonstrate Wolsey's need to balance the interests of a multitude of parties. In 1519, the corporation was cited before Wolsey's own Court of Star Chamber for illegally detaining the lead of a London merchant. Thomas Worthyngton, a draper and freeman of London, claimed that he had bought lead in Ripon from a Craven merchant and was intending to ship it to Hull when it was detained by the mayor and aldermen of York as it traversed the city. Although Worthyngton had proved at the previous sessions of assizes in York that his lead was foreign bought and thereby did not fall under the privileges of the city, the corporation had refused to release it. Worthyngton also argued that as a freeman of the city of London he had the right to buy and sell lead from merchants in any city of the realm without impediment. In retaliation for bringing the case before Star Chamber, the corporation had Worthyngton arrested for trespass.¹⁷ The case was concluded in 1521 when the city was ordered to pay £20 in reparation to Worthyngton and release his lead.¹⁸

¹⁴ M. M. Norris, 'Manners, Thomas, first earl of Rutland (c.1497-1543)'. *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online ed., accessed 29 Sep 2006.

¹⁵ *YCR*, vol. 1, pp. 72-3, 167-8; *York House Books, 1461-1490*, ed. Lorraine C. Attreed (2 vols, Stroud, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 509-10, 517-8, 522, 528-9, 589-90, 603-4, 666. As king, Richard granted the citizens relief from paying tolls and murage, 17 September 1483, *York House Books*, vol. 2, p. 729.

¹⁶ Lorraine C. Attreed, 'The King's Interest: York's Fee Farm and the Central Government, 1482-92'. *NH*, 17 (1981), 24-43.

¹⁷ *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings*, ed. William Brown, YASRS, 51 (4 vols, Leeds, 1914), vol. 3, pp. 175-8.

¹⁸ *YCA*, HB, vol. 10, f. 18r.

Ultimately, the case pitted the rights of the citizens of York against those of London embodied in the person of Worthyngton, and, by deciding in the lead merchant's favour, Wolsey permitted the rights of London to take precedence. Although by the end of his ascendancy Wolsey had endured a sometimes acrimonious relationship with the capital, at the time of the Worthyngton case in 1519, he was still on good terms with the corporation of London, having recently intervened with Henry VIII in 1517 on behalf of some of the leading malefactors involved in the Evil May Day riots.¹⁹ Certainly, it was in Wolsey's interest to keep the largest and most prosperous city in the country in his debt. In 1519, the deterioration of Wolsey's relationship with the corporation of London lay in the future, when the crown's increasing financial demands in the early 1520s created overt hostility.²⁰ Thus, even Wolsey's relationship with the wealthier and more powerful corporation of London was not always harmonious, and in terms of receiving his favour, York fared better than other provincial towns in which Wolsey appears to have shown no interest.

York's demands for Wolsey's intervention to ease the city's economic difficulties, including securing a monopoly on the shipping of wools and fells in 1523, should be evaluated in the context of the on-going struggle between the merchants of London and York for economic privileges, as well as in relation to the cardinal's deteriorating relationship with the city of London. Royal letters patent were issued on 22 August 1523 which awarded York a monopoly on the shipping of Yorkshire wools and fells overseas, similar to the privilege held by the citizens of Newcastle, and for which the corporation paid £14 7s 4d.²¹ Despite the grant, the merchants of York had difficulty enforcing their privilege, sending repeated instructions to their recorder in London seeking Wolsey's support in the matter.²² After Wolsey's fall from royal favour, the letters patent were cancelled by statute in the first session of the 1529 parliament, which declared that the privilege was a hindrance to the city's well being.²³ By that time, however, further damage had already been inflicted on the city's economy, York having conceded to London its predominance in its previously most successful mercantile activity, lead, in the early 1520s.

Wolsey's procurement of a monopoly over the shipping of wool and fells for the city in 1523 can also be understood in the context of cases, such as those involving

¹⁹ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 442-5.

²⁰ For more on Wolsey's relationship with the city of London see Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 163-9.

²¹ Widdrington, *Analecta Eboracensia*, opp. p. 276; Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 87.

²² YCR, vol. 3, pp. 92-94, 98, 100-01, 106, 110; TNA, SP 1/46, f. 161r.

²³ Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529-1536* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 97; 21 Henry VIII c. 17, reprinted in *Statutes of the Realm, from original records and authentic manuscripts, (1101-1713)*, ed. T.E. Tomlins, and W.E. Taunton (reprinted London, 1963), vol. 3, p. 216.

Worthyngton and Rutland's demands for the fee farm, in which he was unsuccessful or chose not to intervene in the city's favour. The monopoly may have been awarded as recompense for having allowed other interests to take precedence on previous occasions, thus balancing the scales. As it happened, the grant garnered opposition from the merchant staplers in London, which may have contributed to the growing animus between the city of London and Wolsey in the 1520s.²⁴ This may also explain why, while having successfully acquired the monopoly, the city's merchants faced continual difficulties in enforcing their newly won privilege. As the most powerful secular and ecclesiastical patron during his ascendancy, Wolsey had to ensure that his bestowal of privileges upon York did not compromise his other interests. These episodes also demonstrate that Wolsey did not have unlimited licence to exercise royal patronage as he pleased, but was limited by the competing demands of other patrons and clients. Failure to act does not mean that the cardinal was a defective patron but highlights the fact that patrons, even those as influential as Wolsey, were unable to satisfy all the demands made by their clients.

In addition to acquiring economic privileges, York sought the safeguarding of its civic autonomy against royal interference. Such episodes emphasise the degree to which the corporation relied on Wolsey alone to intervene on its behalf with the King. After having successfully fought for the privilege of self-government in the later medieval period, most cities jealously guarded their independence and were keen to have their liberties reconfirmed with the accession of each monarch.²⁵ By the early Tudor period, however, in York as elsewhere, it was not unusual for the crown to meddle in civic government. In 1516, disputes arising from the aldermanic elections and the city's failure to suppress the resulting uprising brought down the ire of the king upon the corporation, which then scurried for Wolsey's protection. Following the death of Alderman John Shaw, two men, John Norman and William Cure received an equal number of votes for the vacant office. The result had sparked rioting in the city and the king issued a commission to Robert Brudenell and Humphrey Coningesby, Justices of the Peace, to inquire into the disturbances. Having determined that a division among the aldermen was likely to cause more trouble in the city, they commanded that the opposing sides choose representatives to appear before Wolsey and the king's council on 6 April to answer to the 'trespassez, offensez and mysbehaviourz as thei were accused'. On 4 June, the council nullified the election and commanded that no man was to be elected to the office without Wolsey's consent.²⁶

²⁴ Hoyle, 'Urban Decay and Civic Lobbying', p. 95.

²⁵ Palliser, *Tudor York*, Chapter 3: 'City Government', esp. pp. 60-77.

²⁶ *YCR*, vol. 3, pp. 52-3, 56.

In the following January when a second aldermanic office became vacant, the corporation proceeded to elect both Norman and Cure to the two open positions, thereby solving their previous impasse. Further, the corporation brazenly voted in a new mayor, William Neleson, who was at the time incarcerated by the crown in Fleet prison for debt. Henry VIII sent an angry letter to the corporation dated 13 February appointing by letters patent John Dogeson as the new mayor in Neleson's place.²⁷ Norman and Cure, who had evidently taken up their offices despite the decision of the king's council to void their earlier election, were to be ejected.²⁸ The whole affair prompted the king to issue the city a new charter which regulated the election process and prevented crowds from gathering on St. Blaise's Day, the day appointed for annual elections.²⁹

The following month the corporation had still failed to act on the king's orders to install the newly-appointed mayor and remove the aldermen-elect. The new mayor was not installed until the day after a letter arrived from Wolsey ordering the corporation to carry out the king's commands. Two weeks later new elections were held for the vacant aldermanic offices, to which Paul Gylle and Symon Vycars were elected.³⁰ This episode demonstrates the degree to which the city viewed Wolsey as their sole protector and intermediary with the king. Further, it highlights one of the unusual aspects of the city's relationship with its patron. Typically, the patron bestowed his good lordship only after the potential client presented gifts or had undertaken administrative work on his patron's behalf as proof of his worth. In this instance, however, Wolsey's protection to the corporation was given prior to the receiving of a gift, which was the conferral of civic office on his nominee, as will be discussed in greater detail below. This was also a feature of Wolsey's relationship with the city of London, in which he offered protection before receiving recompense, and may be more characteristic of patronage relationships involving urban centres than of those with private individuals.

Despite this apparent anomaly, the patronage relationship between Wolsey and the city of York conformed to the pattern of sixteenth-century client-patron relations in its other aspects. For example, the language employed in the corporation's letters conforms to typical client letters from the late medieval and early modern periods. The corporation appealed to their patron's good lordship and there was the mutual recognition that Wolsey's lordship over the city rested firstly on his role as the good prelate. The cardinal

²⁷ YCA, HB, vol. 9, f. 88r.

²⁸ YCR, vol. 3, p. 57; Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 46-7. William Cure was re-elected as an alderman in April 1521, but died on 18 December, Y(ork) C(entral) L(ibrary), MS., R.H. Skaife, 'Civic Officials of York and Parliamentary Representatives', (3 vols), vol. 3, p. 195. John Norman was also re-elected in 1521 going on to serve as an MP in 1523 and Mayor in 1524-1525, S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, vol. 3, *Members N-Z* (3 vols, London, 1982), pp. 18-9.

²⁹ Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 207.

³⁰ YCA, HB, vol. 9, ff. 89v-90r.

exhorted the corporation, ‘all beyng our parysshons, and of the chief and princypale place of our provynce and dyoces’, to obey the king’s commands, and that they should quickly and quietly implement the king’s desires for, ‘we shalbe as glade as any man to do you all the good and furtherance that we can’.³¹ Throughout his first fifteen years as archbishop, the corporation had repeatedly sought Wolsey’s protection, asking him to intervene on its behalf with the king, ‘besuchyng your grace in our most humble maner to be mean unto his highnes to pardon us to our offencs’, and ‘we besech your grace to be mean to our said soveraigne lord to pardon our offencz affore maid’.³² Such wording further highlights the changing code of honour which has been identified by Mervyn James and discussed in previous chapters.³³ The city’s language suggests obedience and deference rather than loyalty and faithfulness, and in this way imitates language used by ambitious individuals seeking patronage. Moreover, the expressions used imply that the corporation recognised Wolsey as its special protector with the king by virtue of his office as archbishop of York, but also that his power to accomplish their requests was vested in his special personal relationship with Henry VIII.

The singularity of Wolsey’s position, combining the northern archiepiscopal seat with intimate royal service, is further highlighted when his patronage is compared with the city’s other ecclesiastical patrons in the early Tudor period. Not every archbishop became the city’s patron, particularly at the royal court. For example, there is no indication that the city solicited the services of another absentee archbishop and Wolsey’s predecessor, Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge, who was resident in Rome. His permanent residence outside the country meant that his influence in local or domestic national affairs was virtually negligible. Similarly, the council sought the intervention of Wolsey’s successor Edward Lee only in matters concerning the relationship between his archiepiscopal jurisdiction and the city’s rights, but did not seek his intercession in its affairs with the crown.³⁴

The exceptionality of Wolsey’s standing in relation to the city of York is further confirmed when, after his fall and death, the corporation reverted to a more traditional pattern of seeking patronage in which it contacted several potential patrons, all of whom were active administrators in the royal affinity. In 1532, the corporation sent letters regarding the fee farm to multiple recipients including Henry VIII, its recorder Sir Richard Page, the Earl of Rutland, Thomas Cromwell, Sir Thomas More, Wolsey’s successor as

³¹ *Ibid.*, f. 89v.

³² *Ibid.*, ff. 90v-91v.

³³ Mervyn James, *English politics and the concept of honour, 1485-1642*. Past and Present Supplement, 3 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 43-63.

³⁴ *YCR*, vol. 3, pp. 161, 169-71.

Lord Chancellor, and Sir George Lawson.³⁵ The last was a city alderman and one of its MPs, but more importantly a royal servant, being the royal treasurer of the garrison town of Berwick and cofferer for the King's Council in the North. Unlike the corporation's previous solicitation to members of Wolsey's household, asking them to intercede on its behalf with the archbishop, there was no greater patron who linked these men, which suggests that the corporation was looking to them to intervene directly with the king, rather than to act as brokers of a more powerful patron. Additionally, what is significant about this collection of individuals is that their status was based on their positions within royal administration, rather than the traditional power bases of the regional nobility. This suggests that the era of Wolsey's patronage of the city of York may signal a change in its approach to securing royal grants. This alteration, however, can be situated within the context of shifting urban patronage in which towns were increasingly seeking out lawyers and representatives at the royal court as patrons.³⁶

Out of all of these above-mentioned individuals, the basis for the city's approach to Cromwell for patronage is the most interesting. By this time he had become a royal servant, but his career was still in its nascent stages. Cromwell's prior service in Wolsey's household suggests that the corporation may have expected him to fulfil the role of patron in which his former master had operated. Unlike Wolsey, however, he had no special interest in York which obliged him to act on their behalf. The city's approach to Lawson is also significant, since it was the first time after the establishment of the Duke of Richmond's Council that the city appears to have approached members of the council.³⁷ This is certainly surprising given that the council was residing nearby at Sheriff Hutton and that it provided a ready made channel for accessing men who held influence at the royal court. However, the fact that the city did not approach the council for patronage until after Wolsey's fall further confirms the fact that they viewed him as their best option for securing royal favour.

As previously mentioned, clients were expected to provide gifts or service to their patrons prior to receiving favour. Unlike his clients in his affinity, the corporation of York did not, nor was it expected to provide administrative service to Wolsey or the crown. What Wolsey probably wanted most from the corporation was for it to keep good order and discipline within the city walls. Because of its self-proclaimed poverty, the corporation had a limited range of what it offered its potential patrons. The most valuable gift in its possession was the patronage of civic office. The proffer of material goods or

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-41.

³⁶ Horrox, 'Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century', p. 158.

³⁷ This excludes Brian Higden who headed the council but whose intervention with Wolsey was already sought by the city before the creation of the council in 1525.

money was conspicuously absent from the corporation's letters to Wolsey. Rather, the corporation offered Wolsey the conferring of civic offices as a reward for both his own and crown servants.³⁸ In contrast, the city offered Cromwell 'two ryalls of gold' in exchange for his patronage in 1532. The corporation also bestowed material gifts on other secular patrons, such as the earls of Northumberland and the Lords Clifford, as it had on a previous archbishop of York, Thomas Rotherham.³⁹ Later in 1536, when Cromwell's royal career was firmly established, the corporation agreed to his request to bestow the office of macebearer on his servant.⁴⁰ The absence of the offer of material rewards to Wolsey in exchange for his patronage from the corporation's letters is striking particularly when compared with its offers to other patrons. In spite of its self-professed poverty, it signifies that there was a certain level of expectation on the part of the city that it would receive the patronage it sought without needing to curry Wolsey's favour.

Since Wolsey was normally resident at either Hampton Court in Middlesex or York Place in London, brokers were vital components of his patronage relationship with the corporation of York, bridging both the geographical and social distance between them. They were important individuals in their own right, and their local status was augmented by the influence they had with more powerful men.⁴¹ The office of recorder was arguably the most important civic office which the corporation bestowed in order to secure a conduit for facilitating Wolsey's patronage. With an annual fee of 20 marks and livery, the position entailed serving as the city's official legal counsel and representative in London. Traditionally, the post was filled by a member of the local gentry with legal training not residing within the city.⁴² It was a particularly attractive post because of the gifts which the city regularly presented to the recorder as signs of gratitude for his assistance.⁴³ Between 1519 and 1533 the office was filled successively by members of Wolsey's household in London, the centre of his affinity. Yorkshire native Sir Richard Rokeby, comptroller of Wolsey's household and brother of William, archbishop of Dublin, occupied the office from 1519 until his death in 1523. The recordership then passed to Sir

³⁸ For example, the granting of the office of sword bearer on Wolsey's nominee in 1518 in return for his intervention with the King over the mayoral elections, see *infra* pp. 216-7. This is the only tangible reward that the city offered Wolsey. On several occasions the city promised to remember him in its prayers, *YCR*, vol. 3, pp. 60, 76.

³⁹ *YCA*, HB, vol. 9, f. 49v; *Ibid.*, vol. 11, f. 126v; *YCR*, vol. 1, p. 47; *York House Books*, vol. 1, pp. 243, 260, 284, 289, vol. 2, pp. 571-2; *YCA*, Class C, Chamberlains' Books of Account, CB.2, f. 118r. Both Archbishop Thomas Rotherham and the earls of Northumberland were resident in the North which may explain why they received gifts in kind rather than the patronage of civic offices or money.

⁴⁰ Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 47; *YCR*, vol. 4, p. 4.

⁴¹ Sharon Kettering, 'The historical development of political clientism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18:3 (1988), pp. 425-26, reprinted in *Idem.*, *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Aldershot, 2002).

⁴² Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 21.

⁴³ *YCA*, CB.2, ff. 65r, 68r.

William Gascoigne of Cardington, Bedfordshire, treasurer of Wolsey's household.⁴⁴ The last of Wolsey's servants to hold the office was Sir Richard Page, his household chamberlain and member of the king's Privy Chamber. Page also held other northern civic offices at this time, including the recordership of Hull and the chief stewardship of the archbishop's liberty of Beverley, all of which contributed to the augmentation of his local influence while he served as vice-chamberlain in the Duke of Richmond's household at Sheriff Hutton.⁴⁵ Thus, the corporation granted the office to men who had demonstrated efficient crown service and who were considered among Wolsey's most trusted servants.

Like the city's recorders, officers in Wolsey's archiepiscopal household and archdiocesan dignitaries were well placed to overcome the geographical distance separating the city and its archbishop. The corporation solicited the intervention of Wolsey's surveyor, William Holgill, both in the dispute with Robert Shorton over the lease of Tang Hall, and in their campaign to have the fee farm reduced.⁴⁶ The city paid 2d in 1526 for Miles Newton and John Slakey, aldermen, to meet with Brian Higden, dean of York, who was residing at his prebend of Ulleskelf, over an unspecified matter.⁴⁷ Brokers such as these were often paid a fee in return for their assistance, as was the case in 1528 when Higden wrote to Wolsey imploring him to help lessen the city's fee farm, for which the corporation paid him 12d.⁴⁸ Although not as closely associated with Wolsey as his attendant household, the officers of his archdiocesan household and administration formed an important component of his affinity and thus were vital intercessors with the cardinal.

In addition to acting as patronage brokers, Wolsey's servants and officers resident within the archdiocese of York were also petitioned by the city for aid and advice by virtue of their own social standing in the locality. In September 1517, the corporation sought the advice of Higden and Hugh Ashton, archdeacon of York, regarding Gilbert Bett, a woolmaker, who was brought before the council for diverse 'misreports' spoken by him about the aldermen and other citizens. Bett confessed to having committed the alleged offences and was pardoned on the condition of foreswearing the city and county. The council threatened to punish him by putting him in the pillory if he delayed leaving the

⁴⁴ Richard Hoyle has rightly identified the holder of the office of recordership at this time as Gascoigne of Cardington, Bedfordshire, 'Urban Decay and Civic Lobbying', p. 94, not Gascoigne of Gawthorp, West Riding, Yorkshire, as in Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 74. Although not native to Yorkshire. Gascoigne of Cardington was associated with the north by sitting as a Justice of the Peace for all Yorkshire ridings in the 1520s, *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1610 (11), vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5083 (10-11), vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 5243 (28).

⁴⁵ Page is the obvious exception to the rule that the recorders of the city of York were resident in London, as his duties as vice-chamberlain in the household of the King's illegitimate son required that he be in attendance upon the Duke.

⁴⁶ *YCR*, vol. 3, pp. 98, 116.

⁴⁷ The matter was most likely the remission of the fee farm, YCA, CB.3, f. 161r.

⁴⁸ *YCR*, vol. 3, p. 111; YCA, CB.3, f. 266r; Sharon Kettering, 'Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV', *HJ*, 36:1 (1993), p. 71, reprinted in *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*; Hoyle, 'Urban Decay and Civic Lobbying', p. 97n. Higden was Wolsey's most trusted servant having worked with Wolsey during his tenure as bishop of Lincoln and moving with him on his elevation to the see of York.

city.⁴⁹ In this instance, Higden and Ashton were not acting as Wolsey's representatives. The corporation clearly sought their assistance because of the authority they derived from their prominent ecclesiastical offices and their political power which stemmed from the performance of administrative responsibilities on behalf of the crown. Certainly, the knowledge that they were also closely affiliated with the leading crown minister enhanced their ability to exercise political and social power, their authority and status in the eyes of the locals. The fact that the corporation actively sought their assistance in the management of city affairs suggests that the projection of their authority had been positively received by the local population. Thus, the benefit of the presence in the city of Wolsey's household servants and ecclesiastical dignitaries who served as brokers was twofold.

Apart from requests for offices in exchange for protection and intervention with the king, Wolsey did not intervene more extensively in the disbursement of civic patronage in York. The leading citizens of York were not, for the most part, contracted into individual patron-client relationships with either the crown or Wolsey. Rather, the expectations for those men appointed to civic offices through Wolsey's influence were limited to the role of brokers in the patronage relationship between him and the city. In January 1518 Wolsey wrote to the council requesting the bestowal of the office of sword bearer on his nominee, Robert Fournes.⁵⁰ This request and the subsequent acquiescence of the corporation resulted from Wolsey's intervention with the king on behalf of the city regarding the disorder associated with the mayoral and aldermanic elections of the previous two years.⁵¹ Fournes' death in April 1520 opened up the office again and Henry Fawkes was elected as his replacement.⁵² While their gratitude to Wolsey for his intervention with the king may partially explain their willingness to grant the office to his nominee, it also suggests that the corporation was aware that it was a mutually beneficial transaction, providing a gift in the form of civic office in exchange for their patron's mediation.

The corporation's acceptance of Wolsey's nominees for city offices has even greater significance, bearing in mind that it repeatedly refused Henry VII's nominations for recorder and sword bearer, citing an ancient rule that anyone who sued to the king or a lord for civic office would never be eligible for an official position in the future.⁵³ In 1528, the corporation was willing to consider the appointment of the Duke of Richmond's servant to

⁴⁹ YCA, HB, vol. 9, ff. 93r-v.

⁵⁰ The basis for Fournes' relationship with Wolsey is uncertain. Although Fournes is described as 'his grace's servant', it does not necessarily mean that Fournes was a member of Wolsey's household. Rather, he may have had a more informal relationship with him. It is possible that he paid the cardinal for the privilege of having the office.

⁵¹ Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 47.

⁵² Fournes' will is dated 20 April 1520, BI, Prob.Reg, vol. 9, f. 96r. Fournes was likely a native of the city of York since he asked to be buried in the parish church of St. Martin's, Coney Street.

⁵³ *York House Books*, vol. 2, pp. 475-6, 478-9, 487-8; Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 43-4, 47. Henry's nominee, Richard Grene was made a city councillor instead of recorder, *York House Books*, vol. 1, p. 398.

the office of sword bearer in anticipation of a favourable decision from Wolsey and the king's council regarding the earl of Rutland's fee farm.⁵⁴ By bestowing offices on members of Wolsey's household, the city was recognising the mutual benefit for both the client and patron that ensued from their relationship. The presence of brokers in the city suggests that a patron-client relationship was not one of complete domination and blind submission, but that clients were aware of how to manipulate the system for their advantage. Not only did it allow Wolsey to reward his own clients for service rendered, but the city acquired an intermediary through whom it could appeal for assistance. The privilege of having civic office granted to his nominees was also a feature of Wolsey's relationship with the city of London.⁵⁵

Further avenues available to the corporation for pursuing its interests with its patron were opened up by men who served in both civic and archiepiscopal offices. These instances represent the few situations in which leading citizens were expected to provide administrative service for the crown, but significantly, such relationships were not established with the intention of creating greater opportunities for securing royal patronage on the city's behalf. Still, these men can be included among the 'extended household' of Wolsey's affinity. On 1 May 1523 Wolsey appointed William Wright, a city alderman, as master of his archiepiscopal mint at York in return for a rent of £5 per annum.⁵⁶ Wright was a prominent citizen and active in the city's government, having served as senior chamberlain in 1509-1510, sheriff in 1511-1512, master of the merchant guild from 1512-1514, and as mayor in 1518-1519.⁵⁷ Typically, the mint masters had the right of presentation of a subordinate officer, the mint's comptroller, however in this instance, the chancellor of the cathedral, William Melton, filled the office. In addition to providing a small measure of patronage through the right of appointing the comptroller, the mastership was attractive for the further privileges it bestowed upon the holder, in particular exemption from taxation, although this benefit was rarely upheld in practice.⁵⁸ It is unlikely that the men who occupied the mastership had a personal association with Wolsey, but as members of the urban oligarchy and servants of the archdiocese these men provided a potential link between the city and its patron.

Although several members of parliament for York had connections with either the crown or Wolsey, there is no indication that Wolsey exercised any influence over parliamentary elections in the city, the positions for which were normally occupied by the

⁵⁴ YCA, HB, vol. 11, f. 28r.

⁵⁵ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 445.

⁵⁶ YCL, Skaife, 'Civic Officials of York', vol. 3, pp. 860-1. The indenture has been printed at C. Caine, *The Archiepiscopal Coins of York* (York, 1908), pp. 59-61.

⁵⁷ Bindoff, ed., *House of Commons*, vol. 3, p. 663.

⁵⁸ C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978), p. 39.

incumbent mayor and one of the city's aldermen.⁵⁹ As mentioned above, William Wright's appointment to the mastership of the archiepiscopal mint gave him an official connection with Wolsey as a part of his greater affinity. However, he was an important citizen in his own right and thus there is no direct correlation between his election to parliament, which had been in 1515, and his service for Wolsey. Moreover, Sir George Lawson's election to the House of Commons as a member for York in 1529 and 1536 resulted from his crown service. Sir Richard Page, recorder of the city and a servant of Wolsey, was elected to represent York in parliament on 27 September 1529, only to be replaced by Lawson fifteen days after the opening of parliament, a move which may have been prompted by his association with the fallen cardinal.⁶⁰ It is noteworthy, however, that Page retained his position as recorder of the city until resigning with an annual pension in 1533, possibly because his standing in the royal household made him a vital link with the crown. Given Wolsey's propensity towards conducting business with a select group of councillors rather than appealing to parliament, it is possible that he did not consider parliamentary representation a matter worthy of his interference.⁶¹ Also, beginning in the fifteenth century, towns were increasingly securing the election of local gentlemen and lawyers who could provide them with a stronger defence of their economic and political privileges and more influence to secure their grants at court.⁶² The failure of York to adopt a similar policy suggests that the city was especially defensive about its political autonomy, but were willing to forfeit a certain degree of its independence by relinquishing control over ceremonial offices. Thus, men who served both civic and archiepiscopal office provided a connection between the corporation and Wolsey which the city could exploit to procure patronage. Generally, MPs were not used to act as intermediaries at the royal court, since their responsibilities were restricted to their duties in the Houses of Parliament. This was a feature of governance which distinguished York from other towns in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century who forfeited some of their independence in parliamentary matters in order to secure the political clout of an influential court figure.

⁵⁹ Bindoff, ed., *House of Commons*, vol. 1, pp. 251-2.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁶¹ The consensus among historians about Wolsey's relationship with parliament has generally been condemning, particularly with reference to the parliament of 1523, G.R. Elton and A. F. Pollard both characterising the session as 'stormy', G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955), p. 78; A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929), p. 133. Similarly, Steven Gunn characterised Wolsey's behaviour as 'bullying', S.J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 134 and John Guy noted that among the charges levied against Wolsey at his fall was the fact that his manner in parliament was 'arrogant and maladroit', J.A. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), p. 86. Robert Woods argued that rather than meeting defeat in parliament in 1523, Wolsey manipulated it to his own ends, which still suggests that he did not have much respect for it as a governing institution, Robert L. Woods, Jr., 'Politics and Precedent: Wolsey's Parliament of 1523', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 40:4 (Aug., 1977), p. 298.

⁶² Horrox, 'Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century', p. 158

The corporation was well aware of the need to remain on good terms with its patron and encouraged all signs of opposition to the cardinal to be brought to the city's attention, since word of any slander would become known to Wolsey's brokers, and through them to Wolsey himself, which might damage the city's chances of obtaining patronage in the future. In 1518, Robert Fournes, Wolsey's nominee and the city's newly-elected sword bearer, reported at a city council meeting that Richard Hessilwood had uttered slanderous words about his master, saying that 'ther was not oon in this Citie that luffed my lord Cardenall, or hym or eny other that longed to my lorde Cardenall'.⁶³ The action the corporation took as a result of this report is unrecorded, but it is unlikely that such dissent would have gone unpunished. Hessilwood, however, appears to have been a habitual slanderer, having said to Master John Perrott, precentor of York Minster, in 1504 many 'unfitting' words to the effect that there were 500 more like himself who were ready to 'pluk his hude over his hede'.⁶⁴ Thus, Hessilwood's problem appears to have rested with ecclesiastical authority in general rather than a specific animus directed at Wolsey in particular.

The preceding paragraphs have considered Wolsey's intervention with the king and central royal government on the city's behalf in his role as a crown servant, but now I will turn to Wolsey's relationship with the city in the exercise of his prerogative as archbishop in temporal affairs. The resolution of jurisdictional disputes between the city and the ecclesiastical dignitaries of York was the preserve of the ordinary, and in this regard, Wolsey acted as a traditional archbishop in intervening to settle conflicts. A common feature of the late medieval period, these conflicts largely touched on the right of common pasture. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, St. Mary's Abbey, York, the dean and chapter, and the vicars choral of York Minster were all embroiled in quarrels with the city over rights of common pasture on various fields surrounding the city walls.⁶⁵ Disputes of this kind continued throughout the early sixteenth century. A conflict arose between the corporation and the dean and chapter of York Minster over the common of Tang Hall, the manor and lands of which belonged to Robert Shorton as the prebend of Fridaythorp. Wolsey's intervention was sought, not only because Shorton was a canon of the cathedral, but also because he was serving as dean of Wolsey's household chapel, and the corporation undoubtedly hoped that Wolsey could persuade Shorton to yield to the city's interests in the matter. The affair first appears in the city's house books on 14 June 1524 when two aldermen, Masters Jackson and Pulleyn, were sent to London, one of their tasks being to

⁶³ YCA, HB, vol. 9, ff. 95v-96r.

⁶⁴ YCR, vol. 3, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁵ *York House Books*, vol. 1, pp. 213-4, 243-4, 265-7, 281, 320-1, vol. 2, pp. 525-7; YCR, vol. 2, pp. 93-4, 105-8, 110-1.

consult with the city's recorder and Wolsey's household treasurer, Sir William Gascoigne, regarding the Tang Hall common.⁶⁶ Further instructions on the same matter were issued to them three days later.⁶⁷ In September, one Robert Peirson was sent to London to deliver one letter to Wolsey and another to Gascoigne in connection with the matter of Tang Hall. Peirson was instructed to inform Gascoigne that the city was willing to pay £4 more than the current farmer, one Knayton, for a total of £20 per annum, 'in consideracon that he is our lords Grace chaplen and for that he shall by reason therof bere his favour towards the City of York'.⁶⁸

Apparently Shorton was driving a hard bargain because the lease was still not settled the following month. Having had their offer of £20 a year rejected, the corporation instructed their representatives in London that, if an agreement with the prebendary could not be reached, they were to put the matter directly to Wolsey first and, afterwards, to seek a commission from the king and Wolsey to have the matter put before the Justices of Assize.⁶⁹ The corporation was willing to offer £21 p.a. for the quit rent and farm-hold together, but by January 1525, Shorton had cited the corporation before the court of chancery.⁷⁰ The negotiations between Shorton and the corporation were concluded in May of that year when the two parties arranged for the corporation to lease the manor of Tang Hall and lands belonging to his prebend, and another close called Tonge Green, for 99 years at £23 p.a. Wolsey's precise role in resolving the affair is not recorded, but the charter was ratified and confirmed by him at York Place on 14 July.⁷¹ By petitioning Wolsey before resorting to the king or even common law as evidenced by the corporation's letters, the corporation believed that appealing to the kingdom's most powerful minister and their prelate was a more efficacious course of action.

One aspect of Wolsey's ecclesiastical interest in the city was in the exercise of his archiepiscopal rights within the city walls. As early as the twelfth century, the archbishop of York possessed the right to hold fairs, one of which was located at Horsefair from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, beginning on the day before and ending on the day after the Feast of St. Peter's Chains. The prelate also held a larger and more important fair over Lammas Day, which began on the afternoon of 31 July, and during which he

⁶⁶ YCA, HB, vol. 10, f. 86r.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 86v-87v.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 97r. Peirson's identity remains uncertain. In 1522, Mark Peyrson, chandler, was granted his freedom of the city by virtue of his father, Robert Peirson, merchant, *Register of Freemen of the City of York, volume 1, 1271-1558*, ed. Francis Collins, SS, 85 (2 vols, Durham, 1897), p. 244. He is not the same individual as Robert Peirson, whose will appears at BI, Prob.Reg 11, f. 136v, a merchant of Hornsea (East Riding). Despite leaving money to St. Mary's Abbey, York, which suggests a connection with the city, he does not mention a son by the name of Mark.

⁶⁹ YCA, HB, vol. 10, ff. 100v-1r, 103r-v.

⁷⁰ YCR, vol. 3, pp. 100, 103-4.

⁷¹ LP, vol. 4, pt. 1, no. 1348; *York Memorandum Book*, ed. Joyce W. Percy, SS, 186 (3 vols, Durham, 1973), vol. 3, pp. 275-8.

effectively assumed jurisdiction of the city, possessing the right to collect tolls on all goods passing through the city's bars and postern gates, and judicial authority which was exercised by his bailiffs.⁷² In 1521 a dispute arose between Wolsey and the city regarding the forfeited goods of John Floure. Floure had struck Christopher Ryder, a merchant and fellow citizen, on Lammas Day during the course of the archbishop's fair, but the victim did not die until ten days later, at which time Floure fled. Upon Ryder's death, the city's sheriffs, Peter Jackson and Robert Wylde, seized Floure's goods, which were to be diverted to the use of the commonalty of the city. The city claimed that although the man was struck during the archbishop's fair, he died after its conclusion, and therefore Floure was not considered a felon until Ryder's death. At the corporation's request, the recorder, Sir Richard Rokeby, consulted with Wolsey's archdiocesan surveyor, William Holgill, who wanted the goods to pass to the dean and chapter of York Minster. Unable to solve the issue between themselves, the matter was referred to the next sitting of the Justices of Assize at York.⁷³ This dispute between the city and Wolsey over the jurisdiction of forfeited goods of a felon is typical of the conflicts which arose between the city and the archbishops throughout the later medieval period and up to the Reformation.⁷⁴ Clashes such as these were not impediments to a successful client-patron relationship, but were part of the regular intercourse between the corporation and its prelate, and Wolsey and the city maintained a patron-client relationship for the remainder of his political ascendancy.

It is worth noting that these disputes were limited to temporal matters. The kind of jurisdictional confrontations involving ecclesiastical rights occurring in London between its citizens and the church were absent from York during this period. Although not directly an attack on ecclesiastical prerogative, lay resentment towards clerical fees and the legal power of ecclesiastical courts over the laity, which found their most overt expression at the commencement of the 1529 parliament, targeted the power of the church.⁷⁵ The most famous of such disputes in the pre-Reformation period, that of Richard Hunne, largely rested on the strong personality of the protagonist.⁷⁶ His refusal to pay the traditional mortuary fee to the clergy found support among the growing heretical community in London. The ecclesiastical hierarchy in the kingdom's capital subsequently faced a serious

⁷² K. J. Allison, 'Markets and Fairs', in *VCH: York*, ed. P.M. Tillott (London, 1961), p. 490; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 218; Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 182.

⁷³ *YCR*, vol. 3, pp. 75-6, 79-80; Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 182; YCA, CB.2, f. 72r to pay for a messenger to ride to London to take letters to the city's recorder.

⁷⁴ Another example is the dispute between Archbishop Thomas Savage and the city over the punishment of a woman who sold bread at the wrong weight in the archbishop's liberty of Boroughbridge, 11 May 1503, *YCR*, vol. 2, pp. 182-3.

⁷⁵ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 177.

⁷⁶ For a summary of the Hunne case see Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 98-103 and Pollard, *Wolsey*, pp. 31-42.

challenge from the merchant companies in which many heretical sects developed.⁷⁷ By contrast, the religious conservatism of York, resulting partly from its lack of contact with continental Europe, played a significant role in negating such lay-clerical disputes. Moreover, the economic contraction which the city faced left the merchants and secular government weaker than their counterparts in London, meaning that they would have been unable to mount a challenge to the ecclesiastical authorities who dominated the city. Thus, York did not have a record of jurisdictional conflicts between the city and the ecclesiastical authorities, despite the presence of large ecclesiastical liberties within the city walls.⁷⁸

Conclusion

Like many other towns and cities in provincial England in the early sixteenth century, York was faced with an economic and demographic crisis. The city's declining economy, further burdened by the obligatory payment of the fee farm, was closely associated with the corporation's other main area of concern – the ability of the community to continue as a self-governing body. This apprehension was manifested in the corporation's preoccupation with the status of its parliamentary representation, the distribution of civic office and the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions within the city walls. Fortunately, the type of civic-church disputes which plagued London during this period were largely absent from York, although the ecclesiastical authorities and their secular counterparts occasionally found themselves at odds over properties and goods, as exemplified by the case of John Floure.

Previous historians of York have remarked upon Wolsey's contribution to the economic welfare of the city in 1523 and the role of his household in mediating a relationship between the city and central government within the context of English urban studies. Until now scholars have not considered that relationship within the broader context of political patronage: its form and content, how it fits into Wolsey's wider responsibilities and obligations as the foremost crown and ecclesiastical servant, and how it illustrates the functioning of informal networks of power which contributed to the extension of the royal prerogative and the increasing submission of local government to

⁷⁷ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 121.

⁷⁸ The largest liberty belonged to the dean and chapter of York Minster, which included all the estates belonging to both the cathedral and to its prebends, but which, by the nineteenth century, had been limited to the Minster Yard and the Bedern. St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital also had liberties within the city walls in the sixteenth century, A. Leak, *The Liberty of St. Peter of York, 1800-1838*. Borthwick Paper, 77. (York, 1990), pp. 1-3. S. Brown, *The Medieval Courts of York Minster Peculiar*. Borthwick Paper, 66. (York, 1984), p. 19 argues that there were no conflicts between the city and the courts of the York Minster peculiar over bonds and debt jurisdiction. By the sixteenth century, the town of Beverley had endured a long-running battle with the Archbishops of York, lords of the manor, which culminated in Wolsey forcing the city to renounce its privileges in 1528, David Lamburn, *The Laity and the Church: Religious Developments in Beverley in the first half of the Sixteenth Century*. Borthwick Paper, 97. (York, 2000), p. 20 and *LP*, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 5107.

central directives. By laying their hopes for the resolution of their economic troubles and defence of their political autonomy in the hands of Wolsey and his affinity, the corporation of York was actually arranging itself more firmly within the sphere of central government and contributing to its greater domination by the crown.

The structure of the patronage relationship between the corporation and Wolsey was largely typical of that type of bond under Henry VIII. By virtue of his ability to grant the corporation's request for favours, Wolsey used his position as patron to manipulate the behaviour of the city's governors. In response to the electoral disputes of 1516-1517, Wolsey secured the civic office of sword bearer on behalf of his nominee. The language of submission on the part of the client and of future protection and favour from the patron was part of the discourse of patronage in the early modern period, in which the emphasis was shifting from loyal and faithful service to a patron towards obedience and deference to the crown. As in his management of the local government of the north more broadly, the relationship between the corporation and Wolsey was mediated by important brokers. The corporation's solicitations to Wolsey went through a collection of brokers who made up his archiepiscopal household resident at York, and also through those who occupied official positions within the urban governmental hierarchy, the most noteworthy being that of recorder. As members of Wolsey's resident and extended households, they were within the most intimate circles of the affinity of the leading crown servant. They were also valued in their own right as men of local standing and authority, status which was augmented by their connection to a greater and more powerful patron.

However, the relationship that developed between Wolsey and the corporation was unique in several ways. Undoubtedly, the difficult economic circumstances in which the city found itself prompted the corporation to pursue exceptional measures. In their efforts to secure Wolsey's favour, the corporation abandoned its traditional practice of seeking multiple and simultaneous patronage. His position as archbishop of York, as well as the king's favourite, and thus the filter for royal patronage, made Wolsey a particularly attractive patron for the city. For his part, as the most powerful secular and ecclesiastical patron in the kingdom during the years of his ascendancy, Wolsey was required to balance a variety of interests which sometimes weighed against those of the city. This constraint was manifested in Wolsey's failure to act on the city's behalf in the Worthyngton lead case of 1519, in which he allowed the privileges of London merchants to take precedence. In 1523 Wolsey made up for his previous non-intervention by procuring for the city a monopoly on the shipping of wools and fells. Whether or not Wolsey was successful in helping to ease some of the economic distress of the city is less important than the fact that

the corporation believed that it had a right to a special relationship with him by virtue of his archiepiscopal office and that it actively pursued its advantage.

This chapter has also demonstrated that the relationship between the cardinal and York was sustained over the entire period of his ascendancy and was not confined solely to the 1523 monopoly over shipping of wools and fells as scholars have previously claimed. Similarly, although there were occasions on which York played a secondary role to London, it fared better than the kingdom's other cities, which were neglected on the whole.⁷⁹ Once Wolsey was gone, the corporation reverted to tried and tested methods of appealing to several influential men simultaneously. Here, men already established within the royal affinity were playing an increasingly prominent role at the expense of the local nobility. At his fall, York was still enduring a difficult economic climate, and it may have appeared that with the loss of their 'most especial and singular good and gracious lord' there would be dark times ahead.

⁷⁹ Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 446.

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that during the years in which he acted as Henry VIII's leading minister, Thomas Wolsey deliberately constructed an affinity made up of senior ecclesiastical officials and the most prominent county gentlemen and lawyers with the intention of establishing a network of administrators throughout the kingdom to implement political directives issued from the royal court. Assembled by the leading royal administrator, this affinity constituted an integral component of the royal affinity and was the main vehicle through which the royal prerogative was extended and intensified throughout the realm. Wolsey's status as the most powerful governor under the king and his corresponding authority was based on his possession of the highest offices in the church hierarchy and royal administration, a position which was contingent upon maintaining Henry VIII's favour. Wolsey's household in London and his various secular and ecclesiastical offices, such as the archbishopric of York, provided the crown with additional venues for distributing patronage. With their own income and network of administrative offices, the crown secured both a greater number of clients in its patronage and reinforced ties with men already in the royal affinity.

The joint employment of men in Wolsey's service and in royal government offices shaped the enlargement of the crown's prerogative in the provinces in two ways: the first was by bringing established noble and gentry affinities into the orbit of central government by awarding their members offices and places on royal commissions; the second was by inserting central royal servants into the provinces in various official capacities. Such a process was not novel to the Tudor period, but situates Wolsey within the context of the increasing centralisation of politics at the royal court of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Further, by utilising the administrative capabilities of leading churchmen, the crown harnessed the wealth, authority and administrative structure of the church to realise its will and contributed to the subjugation of the domestic church to the rule of the crown, an objective shared by Europe's Renaissance monarchs. In order to implement such changes, Wolsey managed the most common form of social relationship, patron-client, acting as the kingdom's ultimate broker of royal patronage. By examining Wolsey's affinity and how it operated in the archdiocese and county of York, this study contributes to historians' understanding of the nature of the early Tudor royal affinity, the expansion of crown authority over the affairs of local government, and the changing qualities of client-patron relationships in the early sixteenth century.

The core of this thesis is a preliminary prosopographical examination of Wolsey's household based on subsidy lists compiled in response to a tax levied in parliament in

1523. Despite a number of problems posed by the nature of these lists, they provide the most complete resource for investigating the quality of men employed in Wolsey's household. His household was the collection of domestic servants and administrative officers in his daily attendance at his residences in London, who simultaneously maintained his domestic establishment and reflected his political supremacy by acting as the centre of his patronage network, the location for his hospitality, and the stage for displays of his status. Wolsey's household was populated by leading county gentlemen, lawyers, clerics and most importantly a large number of royal household officers, whose dual service in the two domestic and political institutions indicates that the minister's household should be considered as an element of the royal affinity.

The household was the heart of a greater affinity which was composed of twelve categories of men attached to Wolsey in a variety of ways. These concentric circles ranged from kinship as the most immediate and permanent form of attachment, followed by his household, to the outermost group consisting of suitors who solicited brokers in Wolsey's service for favours on an occasional basis in exchange for a gift in cash or kind. This affinity represented a departure from the affinities of its late medieval predecessors. Noble affinities were grounded in landed estates and military service, but because Wolsey's authority was derived from his offices in the church and royal government rather than a concentration of landed estates, the tie which united his affinity was administrative service. This service was performed both for the profit of the immediate patron but ultimately for the benefit of the crown.

The significance of Wolsey's household and affinity resides in the fact that they were the instrument through which he governed the kingdom on behalf of the crown. The lawyers and gentry in his household, such as his treasurer William Gascoigne who was appointed to judicial and subsidy commissions in his home county of Bedfordshire, participated in the administration of royal government in the localities. The presence of these men on royal commissions in the provinces, combined with their known status in the household of the kingdom's foremost administrator, reinforced their personal authority, thereby allowing them to carry out their duties more effectively and enhancing the authority of the crown. Wolsey's household also acted as a venue in which to bring leading gentry into the royal affinity, men such as Sir Christopher Conyers, a member of a prominent Yorkshire gentry family recently trained at the Inns of Court.

Appointments to judicial and administrative commissions also secured gentry into a direct patronage relationship with the crown, one which was not as steady as office, but which nevertheless enhanced the royal prerogative in the provinces. This study argues that in contrast with previous historiography about Wolsey's management of local government,

the peace commissions in Yorkshire were not the principal means through which Wolsey secured the loyalty of an increasing number of gentry nor was it the primary conduit to increasing central governmental authority.¹ Wolsey's selection of men to the riding peace commissions was largely conventional; the most important qualities for selection were residency and legal training or previous experience in crown administration, a trend which had commenced in the fifteenth century. Thus, the appointment of these men reinforced the social standing and authority of select gentlemen and lawyers already within the royal affinity. Further, the power of the Justices of the Peace was curtailed by the establishment of the Duke of Richmond's Council in 1525 which was given supervisory powers over the administration of law and order in the north. Thus, the work of the Justices was relegated to routine administrative business under the close supervision of the crown. By rendering the authority of the peace commissions largely ineffective, the crown could afford to appoint larger numbers of Justices as the reign progressed since the political power rested with Richmond's Council which supervised the Justices' activities. Also, by holding the archbishopric of York, Wolsey acquired direct supervision over a network of northern ecclesiastics, many of whom were already active in royal administration both within the county and on the Anglo-Scottish border, bringing the region more firmly into the orbit of central government.

Although his affinity represents a cohesive whole in which patronage and the clients to whom it was distributed overlapped and intersected, Wolsey's various spheres of interest – the church, education and royal government – remained distinct from each other in certain respects. These spheres of interest may be best represented as three circles conjoined in the middle, each individually containing one area of concern. The goal of patronage, the rewards available and the clients to whom the rewards were distributed were distinct in each sphere.

The distribution of educational patronage had several purposes for Wolsey. The first was to develop efficient crown administrators and diplomatic ambassadors highly trained in rhetoric. Secondly, education hampered the potential spread of heterodox religious opinions by constructing a cohort of clerics with a strong foundation in grammar and rhetoric, and a well-grounded understanding of the scriptures. Both of these goals are reflections of Wolsey's wider aims: the creation of strong and effective secular government throughout the realm and religious reform. The scale and magnificence of Cardinal College, Oxford has distracted scholars from the fact that the rewards were not lavished on friends or suitors, but was presented to leading humanist scholars from England and

¹ Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Sussex, 1977), p. 17.

abroad, confirming that the college was not simply an extravagant manifestation of his wealth and authority, but intended to provide the finest and most practical education for ecclesiastical and royal administrators.

The primary objective of his distribution of ecclesiastical patronage was to create a capable administration to regulate the spiritual life of the inhabitants of the archdiocese of York in the permanent absence of its prelate, reserving for his most senior and trusted officials the offices within the administrative hierarchy. Wolsey used the rewards at his disposal, which included cathedral prebends and dignities, as well as parochial livings, to reward archdiocesan administrators, thereby constructing an efficient administrative structure which was typical of the sixteenth century.² However, like his lay clients, these clerics were expected to provide administrative service for the benefit of the crown and for the increase of the crown's control over order and good governance. Similarly, rewards from his church offices could also be used to reward clients performing royal service, both in the localities and at the royal court. Ultimately, all of these goals tied into the overarching objective of extending crown authority over the church and realm conceived through his person, his offices and his patronage networks.

This study has also highlighted the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a time in which the conduct governing social relations was changing. The hallmark of the late medieval social and political landscape, noble affinities were being eclipsed in their ability to exercise power and authority locally and on a national basis.³ Constructed on various overlapping spheres of interest in which associations based on military service, land tenure, and marital and kin relations dominated, such bonds were being challenged in two ways. Firstly, the crown co-opted the existing patronage networks for its own purpose by engaging in direct and exclusive patron-client relations with noble retainers, enlisting them in royal offices or on royal commissions. Secondly, patron-client bonds were being constructed on the ability of clients to provide administrative service rather than military expertise, thus weakening the foundation of large noble affinities. Wolsey's patronage relationship with the city of York confirms this period as a time of transition in the functioning of these relationships. Having once sought the favour of northern nobles and local gentry, the commonalty of York turned its attention to seeking favour from those whose status was derived from their direct involvement in politics at the royal court. As the court was steadily becoming the foremost location for the distribution of patronage, clients turned to courtiers and administrators as patrons and intermediaries to secure

² Richard Brown, 'The Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Bishops of Winchester, 1282-1530', *Southern History* 24 (2002), p. 27; Steven Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops, 1500-1558'. (Unpubl. D.Phil. Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1984), p. 43.

³ R.B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-46* (Oxford, 1970), p. 258

economic benefits and political privileges in place of regional nobles whose power was restricted to their territories. The power and authority of the landed nobility was further eroded by the changing code of honour in which faithfulness to one's lord was being replaced by obedience to the crown as the most dominant political tie.⁴ Such an alteration was accompanied by changes in the concept of nobility, which was no longer determined by lineage and estates, but by acquiring virtue through a humanist-inspired educational program.⁵ This transformation in the composition of the governing elite both contributed to, and was a consequence of, the changing structure of patron-client relations in the early Tudor period.

Thus, as the character of patrons and their bonds with clients were changing, so too were the qualities which the crown sought in its clients, particularly legal training and administrative experience, when combined with land-holding. This last aspect – the possession of landed estates – was important to both patrons and clients. As a patron, the estates which accompanied Wolsey's ecclesiastical and royal offices provided him with income and venues for the exercise of further patronage which he mobilised for securing administrative clients. For their part, clients who were substantial land-owners possessed the social standing and knowledge of the local population necessary to have the authority and administrative power vested in them by royal commissions or offices recognised in the locality.⁶ Appointments to royal judicial and administrative commissions in Yorkshire have highlighted the importance of the location of, and residency on sizeable landed estates, in which resident landowners continued to be appointed to the peace commissions in significant numbers. The Duke of Richmond's Council, which consisted of lawyers and clerics resident in the north, emphasises the crown's continuing desire to employ men with a pre-existing interest in the locality. Therefore, appointments of leading county gentry, lawyers and clerics served the dual purpose of reinforcing their, and the crown's political status, and of establishing a continual patronage relationship in which the leading local figures governed the region on the crown's behalf.

A university education modelled on the humanist program was becoming more important for advancing careers in royal government, but also for ambitious ecclesiastical clients who sought successful careers in the church.⁷ Throughout the fifteenth century, university graduates were increasingly likely to be nominated to benefices and to realise

⁴ Mervyn James, *English politics and the concept of honour, 1485-1642*. Past and Present Supplement, 3 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 43-63.

⁵ Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986), p. 179.

⁶ Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 277.

⁷ Margaret Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 43; Andrew Allan Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops: Diplomats, Administrators, Scholars and Shepherds* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 23.

careers in the highest echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁸ Such a pattern of distribution of patronage is evident in the archdiocese of York, in which the most important central officials were university graduates. They united this educational background with committed and trustworthy service to Wolsey, the crown and the archdiocese. The ecclesiastical and lay clients in Wolsey's affinity shared the most important qualities of possessing the necessary training to undertake administrative work either through legal training or university education, independent social standing and authority within the locality in which they were resident, allowing them to perform the responsibilities of their commission effectively, and previous administrative experience undertaken on behalf of the crown.

Clients who did not possess the above qualities, or who were unable to provide a type of service were less likely to receive favours from a patron. The city of York's varying degrees of success in acquiring its desired mediation of royal patronage partly reflects its inability to offer service in return for the bestowal of privileges. In this case, Wolsey expected the city to keep order and discipline in return for favours. Its most valuable possession, the right to nominate to civic office, was granted to Wolsey on one occasion as remuneration for his intervention in the electoral disputes of 1517-1518.

Examining the socio-economic and geographical composition of Wolsey's household and its role in the distribution of patronage has illuminated the various routes through which clients gained access to the service of a prominent patron, particularly kinship with a household servant and previous administrative service to another patron, as John Alen had done for the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, as his proctor at the papal curia before becoming Wolsey's commissary-general in 1518. The geographical distribution of men who were employed within Wolsey's household, which was concentrated in the south-eastern counties, also demonstrates the importance of locality for entering the service of a patron. Connections determined through geographical proximity were one way in which to secure a recommendation to a patron's service. Also, like its noble counterparts, Wolsey's household recruited most heavily from its immediate locality, thus reinforcing the conclusion that, while the most important ties were those based on service, locality and land continued to be important in the creation of the households and affinities of the leading crown administrators of the sixteenth century.

Further, an examination of Wolsey's affinity exemplifies the types of rewards that patrons were distributing in the sixteenth century. As the head of a service-based affinity in which his authority and wealth were derived from his standing in royal and church

⁸ Guy Finch Lytle, 'Patronage Patterns and Oxford Colleges, c.1300-c.1530', in *The University in Society, volume 1: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century*, ed. Lawrence Stone (2 vols, Princeton, 1975), p. 130.

administration and Henry VIII's favour, the most valuable patronage which Wolsey controlled was that from royal coffers. Wolsey brokered the rewards of royal patronage in two ways: the first was indirect and consisted of mediating a patronage relationship between the crown and a client, such as the case with the city of York, in which the cardinal secured royal economic privileges on its behalf. The second means was direct and involved Wolsey distributing rewards which he enjoyed as the fruits of his offices. Wolsey's clients were most commonly rewarded with offices, cash payments, annuities and access to further royal patronage, such as favourable leases and wardships. Offices had the dual advantage to the patron and the client of establishing a stable patronage relationship in which continual service was expected from the client, and of keeping open the channel of patronage for the prospect of future rewards. Offices also conferred intangible benefits such as enhanced social standing and the exercise of local authority. The disadvantage to clients was that ties constructed through office were less enduring than those built on land, since office was granted during the pleasure of the lord. Some offices were granted as rewards in situations where no future service was expected. Such was the case with cathedral prebends in York Minster which were awarded to members of the royal household, such as the royal physician Thomas Linacre. The bestowing of cathedral prebends and offices on archiepiscopal estates to members of the royal household also demonstrate that the rewards accumulated by Wolsey were part of the same treasury of patronage and could be used interchangeably in his various spheres of interest. However, the practical necessities of effective administration outweighed conferring gifts solely for the purposes of recompense.

The final component of social relations among the governing elite in early Tudor England and essential to the functioning of the patronage relationships used to administer the kingdom were brokers. Brokers were crucial to the extension of the royal prerogative throughout the kingdom, mediating patron-client relations between the crown and the men in local administration. Wolsey was the most powerful patron, broker and client in the kingdom because he mediated access to, and regulated the distribution of royal patronage. The royal affinity, particularly those who served in Wolsey's household and at the royal court, were the next most important brokers because they were in the most immediate and frequent contact with the individual who regulated the flow of gifts and rewards. The secretaries in Wolsey's household, including Thomas Cromwell and Robert Toney, were frequently the recipients of requests for patronage. Further, men in the localities acted as brokers to bridge the distance between the patron and potential clients. The administrators serving in the archdiocese of York, such as the dean, Brian Higden, and the surveyor, Thomas Donnington, informed Wolsey of imminent vacancies in benefices in which to

place clients. The civic office of recorder was an important vehicle through which the mayor and commonalty of the city of York sought to keep the channel of communication open with their patron. Brokers reinforced the crown's authority in the locality by controlling the access to royal patronage which further augmented their socio-political standing among the local population.

The process by which Wolsey sought to enhance the administration of the kingdom and augment the royal prerogative in the localities can be placed within the broader development of the increasing centralisation of government on the royal court. Historians have identified a change in the personnel and method of government with the accession of Henry VII, but the policy of retaining in the royal affinity an increasing number of gentry and lawyers already involved in local administration had been pursued by Richard II and Henry IV.⁹ Beginning in the mid fifteenth century, monarchs augmented the size of the royal demesne with the intention of enlarging the amount of available royal patronage by increasing the number of estate offices.¹⁰ By re-introducing regional councils in the marches with Wales and the border with Scotland, Wolsey was continuing traditional royal strategy of concentrating the administration of the most troublesome and distant areas of the kingdom into the hands of the crown's most trusted and experienced administrators. This approach brought local government more directly under crown supervision by vesting the councils with the power to supervise the activities of the Justices of the Peace. Further, Wolsey also continued to place trusted central administrators into local offices or on local commissions. This was done through either royal or ecclesiastical offices, since the archbishopric of York also provided Wolsey with a network of offices in which to place potential clients, harnessed for the benefit of royal administration. The York archdiocesan administrators Brian Higden and Hugh Ashton were active royal commissioners in the city of York in 1518, and Sir Richard Page, a gentleman of the privy chamber, was placed in the office of receiver of the archbishop's liberty of Beverley. The very presence of these men and their known connection with royal government served as a reminder of the supreme power and authority of the crown.

By placing Wolsey in a wider temporal context, it encourages historians to re-evaluate the role of Wolsey's former secretary and successor in royal administration, Thomas Cromwell, in the development of central governmental institutions and the

⁹ Steven Gunn, "New men and "new monarchy" in England', in *Powerbrokers in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Stein (Turnholt, Belgium, 2001), p. 157; Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, CT., 1986), p. 254; Steven Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John Lovett Watts (Stroud, 1998), p. 152; John A.F. Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England, 1370-1529* (London, 1983), pp. 230-2.

¹⁰ David Ashton, 'The Tudor State and the Politics of the County: The Greater Gentry of Somerset, c. 1509 – c. 1558', (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1998), pp. 3-4.

increasingly intimate relationship between the royal court and local government. Wolsey and Cromwell were the heads of an emerging form of lordship where the household and affinity were constructed on the basis of ties of office and administrative service, rather than landed estates and military service. The officers comprising the ministerial household represented the personal power of the master, but were also utilised within the royal administrative structure to enhance the authority of the crown throughout the realm.¹¹ Their primary identification was as crown servants rather than as ministerial creatures, highlighted by the fact that most of those who were associated with service to Wolsey or Cromwell continued to perform in various royal offices and to have successful careers in royal administration after the fall of both ministers.¹² Rather than representing two contrasting styles of government management, Wolsey and Cromwell worked within the established parameters of the personal nature of monarchical rule in the early sixteenth century, in which the ability to effectively manage men and their social and political connections was of the utmost importance. The governmental reforms which historians have identified as modernising can be situated equally within the 1520s and the 1530s. Indeed, the long-term developments in the practices of royal government, which involved shifting the location of political power from the provinces to the centre and with which Wolsey and Cromwell can be associated, continued into the seventeenth century both in England and abroad.¹³ The polemical value of representing Wolsey as a prince of the medieval church deployed by propagandists in the 1530s has obscured the importance of his administrative changes for later generations of historians.

Furthermore, Wolsey can be situated within the broad context of religious reform, both in England and throughout Europe. Previously, historians have argued that Wolsey's contribution to the religious and political changes in Henry VIII's reign lay in his self-interested governance of the church which amplified pre-existing anti-clerical and anti-papal sentiment.¹⁴ Such a conclusion undervalues Wolsey's vision for church reform which was shared by some of his colleagues of the English episcopate, most notably Richard Fox and John Longland. Education formed an important component of this desire to implement religious reform, a fact which further places Wolsey within the traditional

¹¹ Mary L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants: The Ministerial Household in Early Tudor Government and Society' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 1975), p. 24.

¹² Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants', p. 406.

¹³ G.E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642* (London, 1961), p. 429-30; M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 8, 29, 34-5, 56; Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986), p. 233.

¹⁴ A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929), p. 342; G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955), p. 87; A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), p. 38; D.M. Loades, *Politics and the Nation, 1450-1660: Obedience, Resistance and Public Order* (Brighton, 1974), p. 150.

confines of his contemporary episcopal colleagues.¹⁵ The educational program constructed at Cardinal College, Oxford combined the study of the authoritative texts of the church fathers with a renewed examination of scripture and Greek and Roman texts in their original languages, and was designed to ensure the religious orthodoxy of his students and their ability to prevent the spread of heterodox doctrine, thereby promoting the good health of the commonwealth. The division caused by the introduction of Lutheranism to England among the early advocates of the new learning was intensified by the religio-political changes of the 1530s in which such men were expected to balance their loyalty to the crown with their desire to retain doctrinal orthodoxy. To promote and justify the religious changes of the 1530s, Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell employed men educated in the new learning to create royal propaganda, some of whom, such as Richard Morison and Thomas Starkey, can be directly linked to Cardinal College.¹⁶ By promoting the study of the new learning in the universities, whose students became the chief advisors to the king in the 1530s, Wolsey contributed to the disengagement of the English church from papal authority and to the rule of a monarch which knew no bounds.

Wolsey's place as a Christian prince in the kingdom of a Renaissance monarch was constructed on his patronage of humanist scholars and educators and through his religious reforms which situates him firstly, in the context of a European-wide courtly culture, and secondly, among his European contemporaries who sought to reform their national churches as a means for creating a domestic church more firmly under the authority of the crown.¹⁷ While Ferguson has argued that Wolsey's efforts at church reform represented a desire to implement reform from within, rather by acting to effect religious reform, Wolsey was promoting crown management of the church.¹⁸ By combining the principal offices in the church and royal government, Wolsey was the embodiment of increasing monarchical rule over the church. His supervision of clerical and lay administrative activities meant that the conduct of the leading church administrators was brought more directly under crown supervision. Such crown control was intensified in 1535 when a layman, Cromwell, assumed the headship of both secular and ecclesiastical administration as Vicegerent in Spiritualities.

An examination of Wolsey's household and affinity, which was constructed through myriad patronage relationships, provides an insight into the nature of early Tudor government and offers a re-evaluation of Wolsey's place in the progressive centralisation

¹⁵ Thompson, 'The Pastoral Work of the English and Welsh Bishops', pp. 210-5.

¹⁶ Gordon W. Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 10.

¹⁷ S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley, 'Introduction', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), p. 3; Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 193

¹⁸ Charles W. Ferguson, *Naked to Mine Enemies: The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (Boston, 1958), p. 176.

of politics at the royal court. By brokering royal patronage in an efficacious manner, Wolsey constructed a network of clerical and lay administrators to implement the commands from the royal government in the localities, thereby increasing the crown's prerogative. The men secured in royal service shared the characteristics of legal training or university education, previous administrative experience on behalf of the crown, independent social status and knowledge of local society, the latter two being derived from the possession of landed estates. Since Wolsey's power, authority, wealth and status were derived from his ecclesiastical and royal offices, and ultimately his favour with Henry VIII, the cardinal was not a challenge to royal authority nor was he an 'alter rex'.¹⁹ Rather, he was a man who had served his king more diligently than he had served God.

¹⁹ David Starkey, 'Introduction: Court history in perspective', in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey, and others (London, 1987), p. 20; Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: the Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (London, 2001), p. 108.

APPENDICES

Appendix Abbreviations

Abp: Archbishop	Cov and Lichf: Coventry and Lichfield Diocese
Abpric: Archbishopric	D: Died/death
Acol: Acolyte	DCL: Doctor of Civil Law
Adcn: Archdeacon	Dcn: Deacon
Adm: Admitted	DCnL: Doctor of Canon Law
App: Appears	Dep Lieu: Deputy Lieutenant
Appt: Appointed	Dioc: Diocese
Aut: Autumn	Disp: Dispensed/Dispensation
B&W: Bath & Wells diocese	DM: Doctor of Medicine
BA: Bachelor of Arts	Dors: Dorset
Bach; Bach fellow: Bachelor; Bachelor fellow	DTh: Doctor of Theology
BCL: Bachelor of Civil Law	Durh: Durham
BCnL: Bachelor of Canon Law	ER: East Riding, Yorkshire
Beds: Bedfordshire	Esq: Esquire
Berks: Berkshire	Exec: Executor
BM: Beverley Minster	Pr: Priest
Bp: Bishop	Preb: Prebend
BTh: Bachelor of Theology	GD: Gaol Delivery
Bucks: Buckinghamshire	Gent: gentleman
Camb: Cambridge	GI: Gray's Inn
Cambs: Cambridgeshire	Gloucs: Gloucestershire
Can: Canon	Hamps: Hampshire
Card Coll: Cardinal College	Herefs: Herefordshire
CCC: Corpus Christi College	Herts: Hertfordshire
Chanc: Chancellor	HoC: House of Commons
Chapl: Chaplain	Hunts: Huntingdonshire
Ches: Cheshire	Inc: Incepted
CJ: Chief Justice	Incorp: Incorporated
Comm: Commission	Ipsw: Ipswich
Coll: College	Ire: Ireland
CON: Council of the North	IT: Inner Temple
KB: Knight Banneret	O&T: Oyer & Terminer
KG: Knight of the Garter	Ord: Ordained

Kt: Knight	Oxf: Oxford
Kt Bach: Knight Bachelor	Oxon: Oxfordshire
Lancs: Lancashire	PC: Privy Councillor
LC: Lord Chancellor	Subden: Subdeacon
Leics: Leicestershire	Subs: Subsidy
LI: Lincoln's Inn	R: Rector
Lieu: Lieutenant	Rec Gen: Receiver General
Ldn: London	Res: Resigned
Lib: Liberty	Roch: Rochester Diocese
Lic: Licensed	SAL: Sergeant at Law
Linc: Lincoln	Salisb: Salisbury Diocese
Lincs: Lincolnshire	Sch: Scholar
LJ: Lord Justice	Shrops: Shropshire
M: Married	SI: Staple's Inn
MA: Master of Arts	Staffs: Staffordshire
Magd: Magdalen College	Suff: Suffolk
Mdx: Middlesex	Supp: Supplicated
Memb: Member	V: Vicar
MP: Member of Parliament	Warw: Warwickshire
MT: Middle Temple	Winc: Winchester
Norf: Norfolk	Worc: Worcestershire
Northants: Northamptonshire	WR: West Riding, Yorkshire
Norw: Norwich	Yeom: Yeoman
Notts: Nottinghamshire	YM: York Minster
NR: North Riding, Yorkshire	Yorks: Yorkshire

Appendix 1: E 179/69/8

The certificate of us William Gascoigne knight and Thomas Henege Esquire commissioners assigned by our sovereign lord the King for the taxation and assessment of the 4th payment of the Subsidy within the said household of all manner persons chargeable unto The same for their moveable goods whose names substance and sums Charged hereafter follow assigned unto the collection and gathering Of Thomas Rawlyns and Thomas Robyns high collectors thereunto Deputed by us given under our seals the 20th day of March in the 18th year of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII

First Richard Waren in goods	£300	£15
Thomas Lisle in goods	104s	66s 8d
Richard Ruthall in goods	£100	100s
John Aston in goods	£50	50s
John Hikkes in goods	£50	50s
John Nicolas in goods	£50	50s
John Hughys in goods	104s	66s 8d
Thomas Cromwell in goods	£50	50s
Richard Welles in goods	£100	100s
Olyver Leyther in goods	104s	66s 8d
John Croke in goods	£50	50s
William Jefson in goods	£50	50s
Henry Wymcote in goods	104s	66s 8d
Richard Wood in goods	£80	£4
John Judde in goods	£100	100s
Jamys Meryng in goods	£50	50s

Summa totalis – £64 16s 8d

Computat propria per auditoribus

William Gascoigne Kt

Thomas Heneage

Appendix 2: E 179/69/9

m. 1

1 Thomas Dennys	£13 6s	William Rector	2s 6d
2 William Gascoigne	£12 6s	Thomas Ba_tt	12d
3 Thomas Stanley	£16 13s	Richard Redmayn	2s
4 Richard Page	£10	Henry Tomson	20s
5 John Skewish	100s	John Bradley	5s
6 Thomas Heneage	£16 14s	John Lightfoot	_ 6d
7 Thomas Straunge	£10	William S_	20s
8 William Drury	44s	John Kelle[t]	2s 6d
9 Henry Torrell	£7	Robert Whet[nall]	2s 6d
10 Edmund Wyndham	100s	Edward	12d
11 John Seyntclere	£6 8s	Thomas [Spynke]	5s
12 John Reskymer	66s	Henry [Powys]	12d
13 Anthony Hansard	£6 10s	William For[de]	
14 Orphan his goods	£18	William Bolt[on]	
15 Thomas Lyle	66s	John Pope	
16 Ralph Pexhall	£7 11s	Richard Drabler	
17 Thomas Arundel	5s	Richard Potfyler	
18 William Tyrwhitt	5s	John Blakerley	
19 Thomas Rawlyns	5s	Orphans goods	
20 William Ogan	16d	William Elton	2s 6d
21 Miles Forest	11s	Roger Ward	12d
22 Richard Waren	20s	John Edmonson	12d
23 Richard Pygott	22s	Richard Yomans	2s 6d
24 Richard Hykkes	50s	William Poysyar	12d
25 Thomas Alford/Alvard	26s	Thomas Bray	5s
26 John Classy	8s	John Moore	12s
27 John Wuley	3s	Christopher Crowe	30s
28 John Torney	26s	Michael Frenchman	4s
29 William Daunce	5s	Thomas Randall	12d
30 John Marshall	26s	William Forde	3s
31 John Marton	40s	John Barne	12d
32 Robert Borough	8s	Edward Philippe	12d
33 Hugh Fuller	26s	Edward Dente	12d

34 John Eston	100s	John Armourour	12d
35 Arthur Newton	6s	John Sheres	12d
36 John Wylby	5s	William Mounteyn	12d
37 Thomas Robyns	2s	John Johns	12d
38 John Hales	2s 6d	John Leyland	12d
39 Richard Bowre	2s 6d	John Brygges	6s
40 John Johnson minor	2s 6d	Bartholomew Maves	18d
41 John Johnson minor	2s 6d	Jeremy Franke	4s
42 Robert Say	18d	John Chapman	5s
43 George Willoughby	100s	John Reede	12d
44 Ralph Edwards	6s	John Lyptis	3s
45 William Gowe	20s	Richard Reynelde	6s
46 John Whythorne	2s 6d	Edward Bolers	12d
47 Master Lee clerk of the Counsell	110s	John Bradwhall	12d
48 Edward Hasyllwood	£11 13s	Thomas Rivynford	5s
49 John Gostwyck	£11 13s	John Dyer	12d
50 Nicholas Lentall	4s	Thomas Rufford	20s
51 Andrew Luttrell	£13 6s	John Hykke	6s
52 Ambrose Skelton	3s	John Nicholas	50s
53 Edward Stanynges	50s	John Laurence	5s
54 Roger Mylward	8s	Richard Wynter	12d
55 Nicholas Fairfax	£4	Robert Sharpp	2s 6d
56 Robert Smyth	20s	Myhell Crofte	4d
57 John Lee	20s	Henry Rogere	2s
58 Thomas Meryng [crossed out]		Henry Olyver	4d
59 Thomas Person	26s	Richard Benet	4d
60 Ralph Melford	26s	Thomas Arowsmith	4d
61 John Wentworth	40s	Arthur Jenkenson	2s
62 Christopher Conyers	53s	Thomas Catur	2s 6d
63 Edward Aston	26s	John Bryer	4d
64 Robert Scargill	50s	William Carleton	4d
65 Richard Redman	26s	John Wylford	4d
66 Thomas Tempest	26s	William Breves	4d
67 John Trevethyn	£6 13s	Richard Craford	4d
68 Richard Welles	100s	John Colbe	4d
69 Oliver Leyther	66s	Alexander Edmonson	4d

70 John Croke	66s	Matthew Androsen	4d
71 William Jefson	50s	Richard Wade	4d
72 John Lymsey	13s	John Bolton	4d
73 John Gyler	66s	John Oxonherd	4d
74 John Evytt	26s	Robert Taylor	4d
75 William Gowe	26s	Christopher Wylkinson	4d
76 Richard ?D/A_rd	£4	Christopher Hyeson	4d
77 Thomas S_pte	6s	Robert C_	4d
78 Richard Evytt	6s	Ralph Burton	4d
79 William Mason	6s	William Edmonson	4d
80 William Hales	30s	Richard Lockewode	4d
81 John Hill	2s 6d	Reynold Grene	4d
82 William Holmys	5s	William Bullock	4d
83 ?Peter Larke	5s	Roger Cartar	4d
84 William Johns	2s	William Nottes	4d
85 Robert Alyn	2s	Rowland Frenchman	4d
86 James Edwards	6d	Geoffrey Barker	4d
87 Thomas Adams	2s	Thomas Waltham	4d
88 Laurence Tappour	12d	William Blakwod	4d
89 John Clerke	12d	William Hobson	4d
90 John Gardener	12d	John Bylyngton	2s
91 John Plasden	12d	Humphrey Owen	4d
92 Richard Salcote	12d	Thomas White	18d
93 Robert Kelsey	12d	William Smith	12d
94 William Wenlok	12d	George Pierson	12d
95 David Johns	2s 6d	Robert Cromwell	12d
96 Robert Pulley	12d	Richard Maston	12d
97 Thomas Joyce	12d	Richard Ireland	4d
98 John Stephen	12d	Reynold Fletcher	4d
99 George Tunstall	12d	Lowys Hurlok	4d
100 Thomas ap Richards	12d	Thomas Butler	4d
101 Richard Hanse	?s	Robert Norwood	4d
102 Richard Lee	12d	Thomas Catar	4d
103 Nicholas Markes	?	Gilbert Fraunce	4d
104 Robert		_ to the children	4d
105 Richard Whyte		Robert Crake	40s

106 Robert Hemmyngs		David Johns	2s
107 John Walker		Edward Suseley	12d
108 Robert D		John Holand	12d
109 William Sherwyn		Thomas _dle	4d
110 Brian _allar		John Clermont	4d
111 Philip Haye		Robert Fulwode	4d
112 John Potte		Robert Rede	12d
113 Philip Ba		Thomas C_ver/Cumber?	4d
114 John Bromfield	12d	Thomas Burges	4d
115 John Fleming	5s	Thomas Cansterd	4d
116 William S	12d	Thomas Beste	
117 George Gwyn	12d	John Fursse	12d
m. 2			
118 John Moyer [May?]	5s 3d	William Wray	4d
119 John Bromfield	12d	A_vey Lyster	4d
120 John Holand	12d	Thomas Brassowhayte	4d
121 Hugh Ussher?	12d	William Norton	4d
122 John Darvell	12d	Edmond Holgill	12d
123 James Reynalde	12d	Humphrey Thesnall	12d
124 John David?	12d	Nicholas Barton	12d
125 John Whytyng	4d	Ralph Lylborn	12d
126 Robert Turinur	4d	Richard Camper	12d
127 Hugh Williams	4d	Richard Dawes	12d
128 Thomas Meryman	7d	John Hornclyff	12d
129 William Bukke	4d	Thomas Crasseley	12d
130 Christopher Herbert	4d	John Horsekeper	12d
131 Edward Gerard	4d	Richard Eton	12d
132 Hugh Ap dd [ap David?]	4d	John Danyell	12d
133 John Fayrefax	18d	Richard Wylkinforth	12d
134 John Mole_er	16d	Robert Barbour	4d
135 John Blakwhat	16d	William Fawkener	4d
136 John Midylton	18d	Robert Saylour	12d
137 William Harrys	12d	William Reynolds	4d
138 William Belsham	4d	Thomas Johns	4d
139 Robert Gos_dyge [Gerryge?]	12d	John Horsekeper	4d

140 Robert Stukelan	6s	Thomas Gardener	4d
141 Roger Hunt	12d	Peter Saxton	4d
142 John Barkewell	3s	George Fryer	4d
143 John Leycett	2s	William Lekem	4d
144 John Batell	4s	Ralph Fryer	4d
145 John Phipps	4d	James Hughton	4d
146 Giles Marham	4d	William Watson	4d
147 Simon Stephenson	2s	John Potter	2s 6d
148 Nicholas Claydon	4d	Henry Prynce	12d
149 Thomas Hert	4d	John Pubslowe	4d
150 Thomas Swalowe	6s 8d	Thomas Myrdok	12d
151 John Bolton	4d	Richard Tylly	12d
152 Richard Bisshopp	4d	John Yonge	12d
153 John Horsebreth	2s	Thomas Coke	4d
154 William Belsham	12d	Edward Hanilt	12d
155 Thomas Borage	3s	John Lupton	12d
156 Robert Johnson	12d	Roger Byrche	12d
157 John Swetbon?/Swabon	10s	Richard Coke	26s
158 John Scargill	5s	Henry Romayn	20s
159 John Wryte	2s	Richard Vaux	20s
160 George Myllett	18d	Richard Cudde	5s
161 Robert Hogeson	6s	Thomas Matthew	5s
162 Robert Purser	12d	Edward Nycolson	4s
163 John Hert	4d	John Nicholas	3s
164 Thomas Carter	4d	John Brikmaster	18d
165 John Shepard	4d	John Geffrey	12d
166 John Cowherd	4d	John Mustyng	2s 6d
167 Gilbert Pynchebeke	12d	John Elmer	2s
168 Thomas Catfyld	4d	James Gaver	3s
169 Thomas Colherd	4d	John Burton	5s
170 Robert Marsshall	4d	John Kelsey	4d
171 John Horsekeper	4d	John Cordeley	4d
172 John Coke	4d	Henry Laughlyn	4d
173 George Musgrave	4d	Richard Bradford	4d
174 Christopher Dobson	4d	Anthony Hassey	3s
175 Robert Clere	4d	Thomas Cudde	6s

176 Arthur Clerk	2s 6d	Nicholas Clayes	18d
177 Randall [no second name]	4d	John Judde	£8 10s
178 Henry Stywe	4d	Thomas Neve	20s
179 William Myler	4d	Richard Parmenter	5s
180 William Deyke	4d	John Godsalve	20d
181 Richard Halsted	4d	John Alyn	12d
182 William Durant	4d	John Clyfton	12d
183 William Johnson	4d	Rowland Rokyng	4d
184 Richard Saunder	4d	Thomas Exton	4d
185 Robert Heppar	4d	William Myllet	12d
186 Roger Hooper	4d	John Valentyn	18d
187 John Colwyll	4d	Roger Thorne	12d
188 James Meryng	26s	Gervase Stace	4d
189 Nicholas Whyte	5s	Robert Moore	4d
190 John Stayntyn	4d	John Fisser	4d
191 John Griffith	12d	Reynold ap Hall [Holl]	4d
192 James Roberts	4d	Dunstan Redyng	3s
193 Richard Ap Hall?	4d	Reynold Harvyngton	2s
194 John Shorte	4d	William Stokeley	12d
195 Richard Foxlay	4d	John Blande	12d
196 Randall Kyrkeby	4d	George Bruge	40s
197 Richard Kyrkeby	4d	Hugh Carter	4d
198 John Wood	4d	John Payn	4d
199 Robert Haryngton	2s	Benett Legge [Logge]	4d
200 John Danyell	16d	John Fewour	4d
201 Thomas Statham	12d	Edward Coke	4d
202 Robert Dey	12d	William Holbroke	12d
203 Henry George	12d	William Kempe	12d
204 Robert ?/Jorxer	4d	Stephen Swallowe	23s
205 Edward Smyth	4d	Nicholas Hyll	12d
206 John Harvy	16d	Robert Lanham	4d
207 Thomas Rydley	12d	John Saylor	4d
208 Richard Coalsshyll	12d	Robert Dodyngton	4d
209 Thomas Holden	12d	Richard Piers	4d
210 John Banaster	4d	William Blake	4d
211 Robert Tooly	4d	Robert Fraunces	40s

212 Richard Hyppon	3s	Henry Argentyne	8d
213 Anthony Hyppon	4d	Miles Boswell	5s
214 William Redyall	4d		
215 John Lynley	4d		
216 Edward Caryngton	4d		

Appendix 3: E 179/69/10

Wolsey's Household Subsidy; Lands, Fees, Goods and Wages

m. 1

This indenture made the 10 day of January in the 16th year of our sovereign king Henry the eighth between Thomas Dennys knight chamberlain unto the most reverend father in God Thomas Lord Legate, William Gascoigne knight, Thomas Stanley, Esquire, _ and comptroller unto the lord most reverend father, Robert Toneys and Thomas Heneage commissioners to our said sovereign lord assigned in the household of the lord lord legate grace for the second payment of the subsidy granted unto our lord sovereign lord at his parliament held at London the 15th day of April the 14th year of his reign, etc

m. 2

1 Thomas Dennys, knight, in lands and fees	£146 13s 3d	£13 6s 3d
2 William Gascoigne, knight in lands and fees	£266 13s 4d	£4 6s 8d
3 Thomas Stanley, esquire, lands	£133 6s 8d	£6 13s 4d
4 Lord _ for his lands	£319	£35 19s
5 lands	£200	£20
6 Thomas Heneage lands	£266	£13
7 lands	£100	100s
8 lands	£200	£20
9 Bray lands	£44	44s
10 Henry Torrell lands	£100	100s
11 Edmund Wyndham lands	£100	100s
12 John Reskymer lands	£16 13s 4d	66s 12d
13 Anthony Hansard in goods	£133 6s 8d	£6 12s 4d
14 Orphans goods in his hands	£266 13s 4d	£13 6s 8d
15 Thomas Lisle goods	£66 13s 4d	66s 8d
16 Ralph Pexhall in lands and fees	£133 13s 4d	£6 12s 4d
17 Thomas Arundel in goods	£10	5s
18 Thomas Rawlyns goods	£66 13s 4d	66s 8d
19 William Ogan in wages by the year	53s 4d	16d
20 Miles Forest Lands and Fees	£20	20s
21 Richard Waren lands and fees	£20	20s
22 Thomas Alvard lands and fees	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
23 John Classy fees and wages	£7	7s

24 John Wuley goods	£6 13s 4d	3s 4d
25 John Torney in wages by the year	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
26 William Daunce in goods	100s	2s 6d
27 John Marshall goods	£14	7s
28 Robert Borough goods	£16	8s
29 Hugh Fuller in fees by the year	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
30 John Aston goods	£100	100s
31 John Wylby goods	100s	2s 6d
32 Thomas Robyns wages	£4	2s
33 William Hunt goods	£4	2s
34 George Willoughby lands	£100	100s
35 John Lee lands and fees	£110	110s
36 Edmund Hasyllwood goods	£200	£10
37 John Gostwyck goods	£133 6s 8d	£6 13s 4d
38 John Saintclare in lands and fees	£100	100s
39 Andrew Luttrell lands	£266 13s 4d	£13 6s 8d
40 Ambrose Skelton in goods	£6 13s 4d	3s 4d
41 Robert Smyth goods	£10	6s
42 John Moore goods	£10	5s
43 Thomas Pierson goods	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
44 Ralph Melford goods	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
45 Robert Scargill in lands	£50	50s
46 Richard Redmayn in lands	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
47 Edward Aston lands	£40	40s
48 Fraunciste Lovell lands	£366 13s 4d	£18 6s 8d
49 Henry Savell lands	£133 6s 8d	£6 13s 4d
50 Henry Burgh goods	£40	40s
51 Richard Ruthall goods	£100	100s
52 Wardys lands in his hands	£23 6s 8d	23s 4d
53 Walter Luke goods	£80	£4
54 John Cromwell goods	£40	40s
55 John Hewes goods	£20	20s
56 Thomas Awdeley in lands	£7	7s
57 John Millar goods	£4	2s
58 John Hancok wages	100s	2s 6d
59 Richard Bowre wages	100s	2s 6d

60 John Johnson greater	100s	2s 6d
61 John Johnson lesser	100s	2s 6d
m. 3		
62 Nicholas Lentall wages	100s	2s 6d
63 John Whitehorne wages	100s	2s 6d
64 John Reynolds wags	100s	2s 6d
65 John Thomas wages	100s	2s 6d
66 Ralph Edwards goods	£13 6s 8d	6s 8d
67 Robert Say wages	53s 4d	16d
68 Richard Wellys goods	£100	100s
69 Oliver Leyther wages	£66 13s 4d	66s 8d
70 John Croke goods	£100	100s
71 William Jefson goods	£50	50s
72 John Lymley lands by the year	£13 6s 8d	13s 4d
73 Henry Wymcote goods	£66 13s 4d	66s 8d
74 John Lambert goods	£13 6s 8d	6s 8d
75 John Evytt lands	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
76 John Gowe goods	£26 13s 4d	26s 8d
77 Richard Wood goods	£80	£4
78 Rowland Shakelady goods	£13 6s 8d	6s 8d
79 Richard Evytt goods	£13 6s 8d	6s 8d
80 John Hales goods	£30	30s
81 William Skyte goods	Nullus his quia solint in patria ut dicit _ inquiral	
82 John Hylles goods	100s	2s 6d
83 William Holmys goods	£10	5s
84 Peter Larke	£10	5s
85 William Johns goods	£4	2s
86 Robert Alyn goods	£4	2s
87 James Edwards goods	£4	2s
88 Thomas Adams goods	£4	2s
89 Laurence Tappour wages	40s	12d
90 John Clerke wages	40s	12d
91 John Gardener wages	40s	12d
92 John Plasden wages	40s	12d
93 Richard Catcote wages	40s	12d

94 Robert Kelsey wages	40s	12d
95 David Johns fees and wages	100s	2s 6d
96 Robert Pulley wages	40s	12d
97 Thomas Joyce wages	40s	12d
98 George Tunstall wages	40s	12d
99 Thomas ap Richards in wages	40s	12d
100 Thomas Hanse goods	£6 13s 4d	3s 4d
101 Richard Lee wages	40s	12d
102 Nicholas Markes goods	£20	20s
103 Robert Wood lands	£20	20s
104 Richard White goods	£4	2s
105 Robert Hemmyng goods	£13 6s 8d	6s 8d
106 John Walker goods	£6 13s 4d	3s 4d
107 Robert Curroure goods	100s	2s 6d
108 William Shywyth goods	£7	2s 6d
109 Bryan Waller wages	40s	12d
110 Philipp Hays goods	£4	2s
111 John Potter wages	40s	12d
112 Ralph Banaster wages	40s	12d
113 John Bromfyld wages	40s	12d
114 John Flemmyng goods	£10	5s
115 William Daby wages	40s	12d
116 George Gwyn wages	40s	12d
117 William Leche goods	100s	2s 6d
118 Thomas Gardyner wages	40s	12d
119 Richard Redmayn in goods	£4	2 (cut off)
120 Henry Tomson goods	£20	20s
121 John Bradley goods	£10	5s
122 John Lightfoote wages	40s	12d
123 John Kellet in goods	100s	2s 6d
124 Robet Whetnall goods	100s	2s 6d
125 Thomas Spynks goods	100s	2s 6d
126 Henry Lowys wages	40s	12d
127 William Forde goods	£10	5s
128 William Bolton goods	100s	2s 6d
129 John Pope goods	£10	5s

130 Richard Drawes goods	100s	2s 6d
131 Nicholas Potfyler goods	100s	2s 6d
132 John Nicholas goods	£50	50s
133 John Blakeston goods	£30	30s
134 Orphans goods in his hands	£20	20s
135 William Elton goods	100s	2s 6d
136 Roger Warde wages	40s	12d
137 John Edmonson wages	40s	12d
138 Richard Yomans goods	100s	2s 6d
139 William Poysyar wages	40s	12d
140 Thomas Bray goods	£10	5s
141 Christopher Crowe goods	£30	30s
142 Michell Frenchman wages	66s 8d	3s 4d
143 Thomas Randall wages	40s	12d
144 William Charetman goods	£6 13s 4d	3s 4d
145 Edward Philipps wages	40s	12d
146 Edward Dente goods	40s	12d
147 John Armouror wages	40s	12d
148 John Sheres wages	40s	12d
149 William Monteyn wages	40s	12d
150 John Johns wages	40s	12d
151 John Leyland wages	40s	12d
152 John Brigges goods	£5 13s 4d	3s 4d
153 Bartholomew Maves goods	40s	18d
154 Jeremy Francke goods	£4	4s
155 John Chapman in goods	£10	5s
156 John Rede in wages	40s	12d
157 Richard Benet in goods	40s	18d
158 John Lysan goods	40s	18d
m. 4		
159 Richard Reynolds goods	£8 6s 8d	6s 8d
160 Edmund Bowre wages	40s	12d
161 John Bradwhatt wages	40s	12d
162 John Dyer wages	40s	12d
163 Richard Wynter wages	40s	12d

164 Richard Marton wages	40s	12d
165 Adam Hylton goods	£10	5s
166 Richard Clarke wages	40s	12d
167 John Hasyll wages	40s	12d
168 John Laurence goods	£10	5s
169 Maurice Ogan wages	40s	12d
170 Robert Rawe wages	40s	12d
171 Fraunciste Cokett wages	40s	12d
172 Thomas Kychyn wages	40s	12d
173 Thomas Fox wages	40s	12d
174 Rowland Endson wages	40s	12d
175 Henry Argentyne goods	£30	30s
176 Thomas Wolvard goods	£4	2s
177 Robert Skipp goods	100s	2s 6d
178 Michael Croste goods	40s	12d
179 Henry Rogers wages	26s 8d	4d
180 Henry Olyver wages	26s 8d	4d
181 Thomas Arowsmyth goods	40s	12d
182 Arthur Jenkenson wages	26s 8d	4d
183 Thomas Catur goods	40s	12d
184 John Bryer wages	40s	12d
185 John Byllyngton goods	£4	2s
186 Humphrey Owen wages	26s 8d	4d
187 Thomas Whyte goods	40s	18d
188 William Smyth wages	26s 8d	4d
189 George Pierson wages	26s 8d	4d
190 Robert Cromwell in wages	26s 8d	4d
191 Richard Maston wages	26s 8d	4d
192 Richard Ireland wages	26s 8d	4d
193 Reynold Fletcher wages	26s 8d	4d
194 Lewis Hurlok wages	26s 8d	4d
195 Thomas Butler wages	26s 8d	4d
196 Robert Norwood wages	26s 8d	4d
197 Thomas Catur wages	26s 8d	4d
198 Robert Fraunce wages	26s 8d	4d
Payment to the children in wages	26s 8d	4d

199 John Moyle wages	26s 8d	4d
200 Thomas Burbank in wages	26s 8d	4d
201 William Petley wages	26s 8d	4d
29 grooms of the stable every of them taking by the year	26s 8d	any of them 4d – 10s 8d
202 David Johns wages	£4	2s
203 Edward Horseley wages	40s	12d
204 Thomas Pedder wages	26s 8d	4d
205 Robert Rede wages	40s	12d
206 Robert Edward wages	26s 8d	4d
207 Thomas Caustord wages	26s 8d	4d
208 Edmond Lytlebury wages	26s 8d	4d
209 Robert Grene wages	26s 8d	4d
210 John Judde goods	£100	100s
211 Orphans goods in his hands	£70	70s
212 Thomas Reve goods	£20	20s
213 Richard Parmenter goods	£10	5s
214 John Godsalve goods	66s 8d	20d
215 John Alyn in goods	66s 8d	20d
216 John Bromfyld wages	40s	12d
217 John Holand wages	40s	12d
218 John Darvall wages	40s	12d
219 James Reynolde wages	40s	12d
220 John Clerke in wages	40s	12d
221 Robert Turnour wages	33s 4d	4d
222 Hugh Williams wages	33s 4d	4d
223 Thomas Bolte goods	£13 6s 8d	6s 8d
224 John Vaughan wages	40s	12d
225 Thomas Meryman wages	26s 8d	4d
226 John Laneham wages	26s 8d	4d
227 Edward Mowrer wages	20s	4d
228 John Aylesbury wages	40s	12d
229 George Aylesbury wages	66s 8d	20d
230 Robert Gossett wages	40s	12d
231 Thomas Kettyll wages	8s 4d	16d
232 Thomas Kettyll wages	20s	4d

233 John Potter wages	£4 10s	2s 6d
234 Thomas Murdok wages	40s	12d
235 Robert Colson wages	53s 4d	16d
236 Nicholas Hill wages	40s	12d
237 Stephen Swalowe wages	40s	12d
238 William Holbroke wages	40s	12d
239 John Sterlyng wages	26s 8d	4d
240 Reynold Hanyngton wages	40s	12d
241 William Stokley wages	40s	12d
242 Dunstan Redyng wages	40s	12d
243 Robert Horley wages	40s	12d
244 Thomas Danyell wages	40s	12d
245 Richard Eton wages	40s	12d

Appendix 4: Prosopographical List of Wolsey's Household

Adams, Thomas (d. 1533)

Bathford, Wells

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £4, assessed: 2s

Will dated 10 Aug 1533; Pr 29 Apr 1534 (*Wells Wills*, p. 8)

Otherwise possibly identified w/ V Tollesbury, dioc Ldn, 8 May 1505-d before 22 Feb 1531/2 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 601)

Agostini, Agostino

Wolsey's physician, later in service of Cardinal Campeggio (Wilkie, *Cardinal Protectors of England*, p. 207)

Alen, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Alen, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £4, assessed: 2s

Possibly Robert Alen, idiot, son of Henry Alen, whose custody was granted by letters patent to John Warde, groom of the scalding house, 28 Nov 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3622 (28))

Possibly R Lichebarow, Linc dioc, app 1526 (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 153)

Alvard, Thomas

Suff

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in lands and fees: £26 13s 4d, assessed: 26s 8d

Sealer, Chancery, 30 Sep 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, 1621(30))

Customer of Ipsw, 1524 (Lock, 'Officeholding and Officeholders', p. 222)

Alyn, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 66s 8d, assessed: 20d

Amadas, Robert

Lombard St, Ldn (*LP*, vol. 3, 653)

Goldsmith

Master of the Jewels, 1526 (Lock, 'Officeholding and Officeholders', p. 227)

Apdd, Hugh (alias Vaughn)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Argentyne, Henry

E 179/69/9, assessed: 8d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £30, assessed: 30s

Labourer at Battersea, Surr, app 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1369)

Bailiff of Battersea and Wandsworth, Surr, app Feb 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 822)

Arundel, Sir Thomas (b. c. 1502 – d. 26 Feb 1552)

Lanherne, Cornwall

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

M Margaret Howard, 1530

Sheriff, Somers and Dors, 11 Nov 1530 (C 82/635)

Kt Bath, 30 May 1533 (Coronation of Anne Boleyn) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 149)

Rec Gen, Duchy Cornwall, 1533

Rec Gen, Earl of Northumberland

First Receiver Court of Augmentations for Cornwall, Devon, Somers, Dors

Receiver to Queen Anne of Cleves

Chancellor to Queen Katherine Parr

Kt of the Shire, Dors 1545, 1547

Bailiff of Cradley, Worcs, adcnry Suff, bpric of Heref, 6s 8d (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 3)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Stanton, 'Arundell, Sir Thomas (c.1502–1552)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 27 July 2007)

Aston, Edward

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £40, assessed: 40s

Subs Comm, Staffs, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1363)

Peace Comm, Staffs, 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002 (11))

Sheriff, Staffs, 7 Nov 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4914)

Comm to inquire into Wolsey's possessions in Staffs at his attainder for treason, 14 Jul 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6516)

Chief Seneschal, Stone Priory, dioc Cov and Lichf, 26s 8d (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 113)

Audley, Thomas (b. 1487/8 – d. 1544)

Walden, Essex

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £7, assessed: 7s

M 2nd wife Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, 2nd Marquess Grey, Apr 1538

Town clerk, Colchester, 1514-1532

MP Colchester, 31 March 1523; Essex, 1529

Subs Comm, Colchester, Aug and Nov 1523

Council of the Marches, Wales, Jul 1525

AG, Duchy of Lancaster, 11 Dec 1526-30 Sep 1531

Steward, Duchy of Lancaster, for lands in Essex, Herts, and Mdx, 24 Jul 1540

Constable, Hertford Castle

Groom of the King's Chamber, Jul 1527

SAL, 12 or 13 Nov 1531

Keeper of the Great Seal, 20 May 1532

Lord Chancellor, 26 Jan 1533

Created Baron of Walden, 29 Nov 1538

KG, elec 23 Apr, instal 19 May 1540 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 23)

Commissioner to negotiate peace between England and Scotland and between Mary, queen of Scots, and Edward, Prince of Wales, Jun 1543

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Ford, 'Audley, Thomas, Baron Audley of Walden (1487/8–1544)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 7 Feb 2007)

Babthorpe, William (c. 1490 - d. 27 Feb 1555)

Osgodby, Yorks

M Agnes, dau of Brian Palmes, SAL, of Naburn, recorder of York (*Reg of Corpus Christi Guild in the City of York*, p. 178)

Peace Comm ER, 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610 (11)), 28 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5243 (28)); WR, 10 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (10)); York, Yorks and Hull, 14 Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6490 (14))

Comm GD, York Castle, 20 Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6490 (20))

CON, 1525-d (Reid, *King's Council*, pp. 103-4, 113)

Steward of the Abp of York's lib of Beverley, app 1528-9 (*LP*, vol. 5, 822) and Feb 1532

Comm, survey of lands and goods of religious foundations, Apr 1535

Comm Chantries, 1546 and 1548

Comm inquiries into church plate, 1552-1553

Kt Bath, Coronation Edward VI, 20 Feb 1547 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 151)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from *Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2, pp. 8-11)

Banaster, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Hatfield, Yorks (ER) (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3062 (20))

Cantarist, Blessed Mary, Hatfield, dioc York, £4 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 48)

Barbour, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Groom of the Chamber, Royal Household, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 13)

Servant to Sir Brian Tuke, app Jan 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3865)

Barne, John

Heveningham, Suff and Finchingfield, Essex (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (3 m. 16))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Subs Comm, Essex, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1367)

Benet, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 40s, assessed 18d

Benet, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Benet, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Beste, Thomas or Bolte?

Stoneham Earl, Suff (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 102 (26))

E 179/69/9, assessed: [unknown]

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £13 6s 8d, assessed: 6s 8d

Bisshopp, Richard

Brailes, Banbury, Warws (*Visitation of Warw*, p. 86)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Servant to Sir Richard Wingfield, app 1515-1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 953, p. 1471, App. 41)

Bailiff of Higham, Northants, Higham Minster, dioc Peterborough, 6s 8d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 308)

Blake, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly Yeom of the Crown, app 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2861 (10))

Possibly Rec, Newburgh Priory, Notts, dioc York, 20s (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 154)

Bailiff of Newthorpe, Belle Valle Priory, Notts, dioc York, 26s 8d (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 156)

Blande, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Bolton, John

E179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Groom of bottles for the Queen, Royal Household, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 16)

Bolton, William

Possibly of Boyland, Norf, gent (*Visitation of Norf*, pp. 42-43)

E179/69/9, assessed: [unknown – page torn]

E179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Groom of the Kitchen, Royal Household, app 1509-1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 18, no 82, p. 39, no. 707)

King's Master Cook, app 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2485)

Possibly Toll Collector town of Pole, Dors, 1 Aug 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 158 (38))

Borough, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 8s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £16, assessed: 8s

Marshall, Wolsey's Household, app 1524, 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, 6748 (14), p. 3048)

Subs Comm, Leics, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3282, p. 1364); 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, 547, p. 237)

Bailiff to the Sacrist, Ramsey Abbey, dioc Linc, 33s 4d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 274)

Boswell, Miles

Ardesley, Yorks (WR) (*Visitations of the North*, pt. 2, pp. 54-55)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

Bailiff of Howden, dioc Durh, 40s (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 300)

Bowre, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Brabazon, Sir William (d. Jul 1552)

Eastwell, Leics

In patronage of Thomas Cromwell

Assisted in dissolution of monasteries for Card Coll, Oxf (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 5024, 5526, 5792)

Under-treasurer, Rec Gen, Treasurer at War, Ire, 26 Aug 1534 –d

PC Ire, 1534

LJ Ire, 10 Feb-11 Aug 1544, 1 Apr-16 Dec 1546, Feb-10 Sep 1550

Constable, Athlone Castle, Ire, 1547

Under-treasurer, joint w/ Andrew Wise, 20 Jan 1551

Commissioner, Court of Wards, 1545, 1547, 1548, 1550

Kt Bach, Mar 1546 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 58)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Lyons, 'Brabazon, Sir William (d. 1552)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 24 May 2006)

Bradford, Richard

Dymock, Gloucs and Luddington, Warws, husbandman or yeom, 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 14))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Bradley, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Subs Comm, Feb 1524, sub-collector Southwark (E 179/189/145)

Otherwise possibly Abbot of St. Sampson, Milton, Salisb, elected according to Wolsey's letters (SP 1/34, f. 161; C 66/646 m 15) or R Downham, dioc Ldn, 4 Apr 1531-d before 14 Mar 1538 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 221)

Bradwhall, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Bray, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Servant to Wolsey, app 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3841)

Possibly also V Yardeley, dioc Linc, app 1526 (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 178)

Bromfield, John

Bolingbroke, Lincs (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, p. 179)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Bromfield, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

3rd son of the above (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, p. 179)

Brygges, John

Possibly of Scremby, Lincs (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, p. 174) or Sale, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, pp. 55-56)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £5 13s 4d, assessed: 3s 4d

Possibly Alderman, City of Canterbury, app 29 Oct 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, App. 45)

Subs Comm, City of Canterbury, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1363), 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 235)

Could also be identified as Sir John Brigges of Gloucs and Mdx

Bully, William [or Bullock]

Possibly of Moulsham, Essex (*Visitations of Essex*, p. 645)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d [Bullock]

Wolsey's household, 1517 [Bully] (*LP*, vol. 2, 3841)

Burbank, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Burges, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Burley, Mr

Listed as a household servant in the inventory of Wolsey's belongings, 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, p. 2768)

Burton, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

Possible identifications include Royal Yeom of the Guard, app 1522 and Porter of Ludlow Castle, Shrops, 28 Jun 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2356 (28));

Wiredrawer, Feb 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, p. 1544);

Possibly Prior St. Frideswide's, Oxon, at its dissolution by Wolsey; elected abbot of St.

Oseney, Oxon, 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 302, 833, 1137)

Rec, Durh dioc (See *VE*, vol. 5, pp. 299-300)

Possibly man described as one of Wolsey's 'brykmen', 4 Jun 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3076)

Possibly Kt Bach, 14 Oct 1513 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 42)

Burton, Ralph

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Burton, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Butler, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

Possibly Royal Household, Courser in Stable, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20 (p. 19), no. 82 (p. 40)), 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1114)

Possibly soldier killed at Calais, 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no.2970)

Possibly Abbot of SS Peter and Paul, Shrewsbury, 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 5800, 5805)

Bylyngton, John

Ldn, Draper and Merchant-tailor (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 293)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £4, assessed: 2s

Cade, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Capon, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Carleton, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly William, son and heir of George Carleton, wardship granted to Robert Blagge, Baron of the Exchequer, 6 May 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4151)

Cartar, Roger

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Carter, Robert

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Carter, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Servant to Lord Mouteagle, app 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2234)

Peace Comm, Berks, 24 Nov 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6751 (24))

Chapman, John (Possibly d. by Apr 1541)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Possibly of Histon, Cambs, 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2640 p. 1117)

Possibly Subs Comm Town of Glouc, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 p. 1367), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547 p. 238)

Possibly BA adm 1511, determined 1512; MA by 1516

Ord subdcn 15 Feb 1516, pr 22 Mar 1516

Fellow De Vaux Coll, Salisb, app 1516

R Winterbourne Steepleton, Dorset –d (Emden, *Oxford 1501-1540*, p. 111)

Clere, Sir Robert

Ormesby, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, p. 74)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Peace Comm Norf, 20 Nov 1510, 6 Jun 1511, 11 Nov 1511, 24 Feb 1512, 22 Sep 1512, 24 Nov 1512, 28 May 1514, 12 Nov 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p.), 1 Mar 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 201), 14 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1152), 23 Feb 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 137 (23)), 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002 (11))

Comm of Array, Norf, 18 Jul 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 833 (58))

Comm GD, Norw Castle, 11 Dec 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3829)

Comm inquire into enclosures, Norf, 28 May 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3297)

Attended Field of Cloth of Gold and meeting at Gravelines, 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, nos. 703, 906)

Subs Comm, Norf, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 p. 1366), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547 p. 236)

Groom of the Acatery, Household of Princess Mary, 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1577 (12))

Possibly Kt Bath, 1 Nov 1494 (Creation of Prince Henry as duke of York) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 144)

Clerk, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Clerke, John

E 179/69/0, assessed: 12d

Probably canon, Card Coll, Oxf, 1528-9 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 3968, 4017, 4074, 4690, SP 1/56 f. 123), or Gent Usher, Henry VII's Funeral, 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 12)

Possibly Kt Bach, after 3 Nov 1529 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 47)

Clifton, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Coalshyll, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Coke, Edward

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

One of the children of the Royal Chapel, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 20, 82)

Coke, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly V Nafferton, dioc York, £14 10s (Fallow, 'East Riding Clergy', p. 65)

Cantarist at Holme upon Spaldingmoor, dioc York, £4 (Fallow, 'East Riding Clergy', p. 67)

Possibly Mercer, Alderman of Glouc, 22 Jun 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (1 m 7)

Subs Comm, Town of Gloucs, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1367), 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504 p. 1458), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 238)

Comm GD, Town of Gloucs, 1 Feb 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1662 (1), 26 Jun 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1466 (26))

Coke, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

Yeom of the Laundry, Household of Princess Mary, app 12 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1577 (12))

Coke, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Royal household, Groom of the King's Buttery, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 17)

Described as ale taker, king's buttery, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 39)

Colbe, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Cole, Arthur

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Colet, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Colynson [Colyns], Lancelot

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Conyers, Christopher

Rudby, Yorks

E 179/69/9, assessed: 53s

Son and heir of William, Lord Hornby

M Anne, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, 28 Sep 1515

LI, 1516

Entered Wolsey's Household, 1516

Kt Bach, 25 Sep 1523 (at Jedworth) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 44)

Parl, 9 Aug 1529-27 Apr 1536

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 3, pp. 404-405)

Cooke, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Cowper, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Craford, Richard

Possibly of Cambs (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4993 (16))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Crake [Creyke], Robert (d. 1538)

Beverley, Yorks

E 179/69/9, assessed: 40s

Esq

M Isabel daughter of Lyone Perchaye of Ryton, Yorks (NR) (*Visitations of the North*, pt. 2, p. 7)

Deputy Rec of Abp of York's lib of Beverley, app 1528-1529 (*LP*, vol. 5, 822)

Commissioner tenths rural deaneries of Buckroos, Holderness and Dickering, dioc York, 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, pp. 103, 108, 120)

Seneschal, Burton and Bentley in lib of Beverley, dioc York, 26s 8d (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 126)

Cantarist, Chantry BVM in church S Nicholas or V of Holme (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 136)

Will dated 20 Sep 1538

Bur Beverley Minster (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 6, SS 106, pp. 80-82)

Croke, John (b. 1489 – d. 2 Sep 1554)

Banbury, Bucks

E 179/69/9, assessed: 66s

E 179/69/8 value in goods: £50, assessed: 50s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £100, assessed: 100s

Eton Coll, 1503-1507

King's Coll, Camb, 1507-1509

Adm IT, 1515

Chancery Clerk by 1518

One of Six Clerks in Chancery, 1523 (14 Henry VIII c. 8, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Clerk of Hanaper, Chancery, 19 Sep 1528-1549 (C 82/606)

Clerk of Enrolments, Chancery, 1534-1541 (Baldwin, 'Select Documents 15', p. 20)

Master, Chancery, 1549 (Baldwin, 'Select Documents 15', p. 20)

Peace Comm, Bucks, 1539-d

SAL, 1546 (Baldwin, 'Select Documents 15', p. 20)

MP Chippenham, Wilts, 1547 (Baldwin, 'Select Documents 15', p. 20)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Baker, 'Croke, John (1489–1554)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 16 Nov 2007)

Cromwell, Sir Robert

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Cromwell, Thomas (b. before or in 1485 – d. 28 Jul 1540)

Putney, Surr

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £50, assessed: 50s

HoC, constituency unknown, 1523

Subs Comm, Mdx, 1524

Adm GI, 1524 (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 4)

Wolsey's service mid 1520s

Wolsey's council after 1526

Rec Gen Card Coll at Oxf and Ipsw

HoC, MP Taunton, 4 Nov 1529

PC, 1530

Rec Gen and supervisor of lands for KH8 Coll 1531

Master of Jewels, 14 Apr 1532

Clerk of the Hanaper, Chancery, 16 Jul 1532

Chancellor of the Excheq, 12 Apr 1533

Principal Secretary and Chief Minister, Apr 1534; res secretaryship, Apr 1540

Master of Rolls, 8 Oct 1534-2 Jul 1536

Royal Vicegerent of Eng Church, 21 Jan 1535

Lord Privy Seal, 2 Jul 1536

Dean, Wells, 26 Sep 1537-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 6)

Lord Great Chamberlain, 18 Apr 1540-d

Kt Bach, after 18 Jul 1533 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 50)

Baron of Wimbledon, 8 Jul 1536

KG, 5 Aug 1537 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 22)

16th Earl of Essex, 18 Apr 1540

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Leithead, 'Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex (*b.* in or before 1485, *d.* 1540)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 25 May 2006)

Crowe, Christopher

E 179/69/9, assessed: 30s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £30, assessed: 30s

Bailiff to Earl of Arundel, app 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1374)

Cudde, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

Royal Household, Herdman, Acaterly, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20 (p. 18), no. 82 (p. 40))

Dalby, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Danyell, John

Messing, Essex

E 179/69/9, assessed: 16d

Subs Comm, Essex, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1367), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, 547, p. 236)

Service to Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, app 1528 (C 82/607)

MT, app 1523 (*Calendar of Records of Inner Temple*, p. 459)

Darvell, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Possibly Official of the Adcn of Ldn, app 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 3307, 4029 (3))

Daunce [Dautesey], William (b. before 1501 – d. 28 May 1548)

Ldn

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Son and heir of Sir John Daunce (1484-1545) of Thame, Oxon and Ldn, Royal Administrator

Linc Coll, Oxf, 1514 (Emden, *Oxford 1501-1540*, p. 161)

M Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas More, 29 Sep 1525 (Bindoff, *HoC*, vol. 2, p. 23)

Teller of Exchequer, 7 Oct 1528 (C 82/607)

HoC, MP Thetford, 3 Nov 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6043 (p. 2692))

David, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Royal Household, Grooms of chamber, 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20 (p. 13))

Royal Household, Yeom of the Crown, annuity 6d p.d., app 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2736 (p. 876)), 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3699)

Yeom of the Almonry, Household of Princess Mary, 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1577 (12))

Royal Household, Valet of the Crown, app 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1939 (p. 869))

Dennys, Sir Thomas (b. c. 1477 – d. 18 February 1561)

Holcombe Burnell, Devon

E 179/69/9, assessed: £13 6s

E 179/69/10, value in lands and fees: £146 13s 3d, assessed: £13 6s 3d

Marshal, IT, 19 Nov 1514 (*Cal Inner Temple Records*, p. 32)

Royal Household, Kt of the Body, 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735)

Peace Comm, Devon, 26 Jun 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 625), 9 Nov 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 529

(9)), 16 Jul 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3485), 6 Jul 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2415 (6)), 18 Feb 1524

(*LP*, vol. 4, no. 137 (18)), 6 Feb 1526 (C 82/569), Apr 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5510), 4 Dec 1530 (C 82/636); Mdx, 18 Oct 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3495 (18))

Comm Enclosure, Cornwall and Devon, 28 May 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3297)

Auditor, Duchy of Cornwall, app 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4286), 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1533 (11))

Sheriff, Devon, 1518-1519 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4562), 1522-1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2667) 1527-1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3581)

Subs Comm, Devon and Exeter, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 pp. 1361-1362), 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 233)

Comm Musters, Devon, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3687)

Comptroller, Household of Princess Mary, Marches of Wales, 20 Jul 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2331 (2))

Named in Wolsey's Suite, 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3216) Kt of the Shire, Devon, 3 Nov 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6043)

Comm GD, Exeter Castle, Devon, 20 Jun 1530 (C 82/630)

Dey, Robert

How Carleton, Norf (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3049 (15))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Disney, William

Comm to seize property of all Scots in England, Lincs, 27 Aug 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2222 (16))

Comm to inquire into riots in Lincs, 7 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3408 (6))

Peace Comm, Kesteven Hundred, Lincs, 18 Oct 1514, (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1540), 14 Nov 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1081 (14)), 2 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (2)); Hants, 16 Feb 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3 no. 2862 (16)), 12 Nov 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 895 (12)), Apr 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1298), 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2002), 26 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5342 (26))

Comm Musters, Hants, 16 Mar 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2895 (ii))

Subs Comm, Hants, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 p. 1364), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 235); Kesteven Hundred, Lincs, 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504)

Treasurer, Wolsey's Household, app 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6473)

Will pr 6 May 1559 (*Lincs Wills*, p. 60)

Dodyngton, Robert

Doddington, Shrops (*Visitations of Shropshire*, p. 166)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Son of John and Anne, daughter of Walter Broughton of Henley

M Mary, daughter of Thomas Kettleby of Steeple

Donnington, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Drum, Michael

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Drury, William (b. c. 1500 – d. 11 Jan 1558)

Hawstead, Suff

E 179/69/9, assessed: 44s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £44, assessed: 44s

Eton Coll, before 1511

Sch King' Coll, Camb, 1511, left before graduation (Venn, *Alumni*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 69)

Adm LI 12 Feb 1517

M Joan, daughter of William St. Maur before 7 Feb 1517; m Elizabeth Sotehill before Feb 1521

Royal Household, Esq for the Body Extraordinary, 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735 p. 872)

Peace Comm, Suff, 26 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5243 (26)), 2 Feb 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 119 (2)), Undated 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1694 ii)

Comm Sewers, Suff, 8 Dec 1534 (*LP*, vol. 7, no. 1601 (4))

Comm Tenths of Spiritualities, Suff, 30 Jan 1535 (*LP*, vol. 8, no. 149 (78))

Servitor, Great Hall, Westminster, Coronation Anne Boleyn (*LP*, vol. 6, no. 562 i)

Ktd 30 May 1533 (Coronation Anne Boleyn) (*LP*, vol. 6, no. 601 (4))

Sheriff, Norf, Suff, 1536-1537, 1544-1545

Comm Benevolence, Suff, 1544/5

Comm Relief, Suff, 1550

PC by 1 Nov 1553

Kt Bach, 22 Feb 1547 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 60)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Bindoff, *HoC*, vol. 2, pp. 60-61)

Duke, Richard

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Dyer, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Edmonson, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly Subs Comm, Broad Blunsdon, Wilts, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3585)

Possibly R Muckton, Lincs, £5 6s 8d (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 12)

Edwards, James

Littlebury, Essex, yeom or gent, 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 10))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 6d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £4, assessed: 2s

Edwards, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Ellis, Thomas

Rec of the Abp of York's barony of Sherburn, app 1528-1529 (*LP*, vol. 5, 822)

Elton, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Wolsey's Household, Yeom of the Vestry, app Aug 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6599)

Eston, John

Ldn, Steyning, Suss, and Kimbolton, Hunts

E 179/69/9, assessed: 100s

E 179/69/8, £50 in goods, assessed: 50s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £100, assessed 100s

King's Cooper, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (3 m 20))

Wine Cooper or Merchant (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4691)

Described as Wolsey's servant, 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, p. 1534)

Eton, Richard

Essex (*Visitations of Essex*, p. 50)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Wolsey's Household, servant to William Bully, 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3841)

Eure, Sir William (b. c. 1483 – d. 15 Mar 1548)

Witton, Durh

Sheriff, Durh, 1519-1523

Sheriff, Northumb, 1526-1527

Lieu, Middle Marches, 1522-1523

Escheator, dioc Durh, Mar 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2877)

Marshall for the army of the rear against Sco, 1523-d

Captain, Berwick Castle, Northumb, 1538

Warden, East Marches 1538-d

Kt Bach, 25 Sep 1513 (Tournai) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 39)

Created Lord Eure, 24 Feb 1544

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, pp. 179-181)

Fairfax, Nicholas (b. 1498/9 – d. 1571)

Gilling Castle and Walton, Yorks

E 179/69/9, assessed: £4

M Jane dau of Guy Palmes, SAL (*Visitations of the North*, pt. 2, p. 148)

Peace Comm, NR 1530-d; ER 1561; ER, WR, Cumb 1569

Special Peace Comm, Northern Circuit, 1540, 1561, 1564

Sheriff, Yorks, 1531-1532, 1544-1545, 1561-1562

Comm Musters, NR 1539, 1569

Comm Benevolence 1544/5

Comm Chantries, Yorks 1548

Comm Relief, WR, NR, ER, 1550

Comm Goods of churches and fraternities, NR 1553

Comm for offences against Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, York, 1561

CON, Feb 1548-Sep 1553, May 1555-d

Chief Steward, former lands of St. Mary's Abbey, York, June 1557

Kt Bach, after 9 Nov 1531 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 48)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Bindoff, *HofC*, vol. 2, pp. 114-115)

Fayrefax, John

York (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1355)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 18d

Fell, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Fisser, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly Caretaker, Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 704)

Possibly Keeper of Office of Chamberlain, Kent and Surr for Duke of Buckingham, 40s, app 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3695)

Bailiff of Heywod, dioc Cov and Lichf, 40s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 130)

Possibly minister Chapel Royal, app 1522, 1526 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2016 (29), vol. 4, no. 1939)

Preb Pountesbury Minster, Heref Cathedral, 26 Jan 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2016 (29))

Forde, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 3s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Wolsey's Household, Saddler, app 4 Aug 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3841)

Possibly, yeom, Groom of the Acatery, Household of Princess Mary, 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1577 (12))

Forest, Miles

Morborn, Hunts (1540) (*LP*, vol. 15, no. 144 (22))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20s

E 179/69/10, value in lands and fees: £20, assessed: 20s

Royal Household, Gent Usher Extraordinary, 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735, pp. 873, 1470);

Sewer of the Chamber, 18 Jul 1546 (*LP*, vol. 21, no. 1383 (77))

Groom of the chamber, Wolsey's household, 1524, (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 107)

Servant to Duke of Richmond, (*CSP*, vol. 1, p. 311)

Bailiff of Middleham and Keeper of Le West Park, joint w/ Edward Forest in survivorship, 20 Sep 1519 (C 82/480)

Bailiff of Lordship of Deeping, Lincs, 21 Jun 1525 (C 82/561)

Keeper of Wolles Park, Barnard Castle, Yorks, joint w/ Cuthbert Thursby, in survivorship,
22 May 1528 (C 82/602)

Bailiff of Weston, Hunts, Ramsey Abbey, dioc Linc, 20s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 273)

Peace Comm, Hunts, 27 Feb 1545

Comm GD, Hunts Castle, 1 Dec 1545

Comm Sewers, Camb and Hunts 8 Feb 1545 (*LP*, vol. 20, no. 622, pp. 314-315, 318)

Comm Musters, Hunts, 20 Jan 1546 (*LP*, vol. 21, no. 91)

Escheator, Cambs and Hunts, 27 Nov 1547 (*CPR E6*, vol. 5, p. 315)

Comm Relief, Hunts, 16 Dec 1550 (*CPR E6*, vol. 5, p. 354)

Frankleyn, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Fraunces, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 40s

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Fuller, Hugh

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in fees by the year: £26 13s 4d, assessed: 26s 8d

Auditor, Abpric of York, app 1528-9 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 822)

Auditor lands belonging to Priory of S Oswald is suburb of city of Gloucester, dioc of
Glouc, 40s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 487)

Auditor, Rural deanery of Harthill for BM, dioc York, 7s 6d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 132)

Auditor, BM, Beverley, dioc York, 13s 4d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 134)

Gardener, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Possibly Alderman of Norw, app 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (2 m 9))

Possibly Coroner of Norw, app 30 Jun 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 804 (50))

Gardiner, Stephen

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Gardener, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

E 179/69/10, value in wages 40s, assessed: 12d

Royal Household, Baker, app 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 919, p. 332)

Gascoigne, Sir William

Cardington, Beds

E 179/69/9, assessed: £12 6s

E 179/69/10, assessed in lands and fees: £266 13s 4d, assessed £4 6s 8d

Peace Comm, Beds, 12 May 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, 457), 19 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1176), 14 Feb 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1186 (14)); Northants, 11 Jul 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 694), 28 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1213), 12 Dec 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3677)

Comm GD, Bedford, 3 Feb 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 112); Northampton, 22 Feb 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1580), 24 Jul 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2212), 24 Jan 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3898)

Gent, Lord Darcy's household, app 4 June 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1330)

Sheriff, Beds and Bucks, 9 Nov 1517-18 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3783)

Sheriff, Northants, 7 Nov 1518-19 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4562)

Subs Comm, Beds, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, p. 1367)

Treasurer, Wolsey's Household, after 11 Apr 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2946)

Recorder, City of York, 1523-1527 (Hoyle, 'Urban Decay and Civic Lobbying', p. 94)

Dissolutions of monasteries for Card Coll, Oxf (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 989, 1728)

Commissioner Tenths of Spiritualities, deanery Bedford and Shefford, Beds, 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 187)

Kt Bach, Jun 1520 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 43)

Chief Seneschal, Caldwell Priory, dioc Linc, 53s 4d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 188)

Seneschal of Bedford and Shelton, Beds, Caldwell Priory, 13s 4d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 190)

Seneschal, Cranfield, Hunts, Ramsey Abbey, dioc Linc, 66s 8d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 273)

Seneschal, Chicksand Priory, dioc Linc, 20s (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 195)

Seneschal, Northyell College, dioc Linc, 13s 4d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 196)

Seneschal, St. Neots Priory, dioc Linc, 26s 8d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 262)

Seneschal, St. Andrew Priory, Northampton, dioc Peterborough, 40s (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 315)

Geffrey, John

Chiddingly, and Hailsham, Suss, yeom, app 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 10))

E179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Godsalve, Sir John (b. in or before 1505 – d. 20 Nov 1556)

Norwich, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, p. 130)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 66s 8d, assessed: 20d

Adm GI, 1525 (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 4)

M Agnes Widerpole, 1530

Clerk of the Signet, Jan 1531

Protonotary Chancery, Jul 1537

Constable and Keeper of Gaol, Norw Castle, 1539

Subs Comm, Norf, 1540

Comm Chantries, Norf and Suff, 1546

Peace Comm, Norf, 1547

Kt Bach, 22 Feb 1547 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 59)

Comptroller Tower Mint, 24 Jun 1548-res 25 Mar 1552

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Hoak, 'Godsalve, Sir John (*b.* in or before 1505, *d.* 1556)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 17 Sep 2007)

Gostwyck, John

Willington, Beds (*Visitations of Bedfordshire*, pp. 22-24)

E 179/69/9, assessed: £11 13s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £133 6s 8d, assessed: £6 13s 4d

Royal Household, Gent Usher Extraordinary, app 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735, p. 873)

Auditor of crown lordships Middleham, Richmond and Sheriff Hutton, Yorks, Apr 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2131), 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 166 (26))

Wolsey's servant, app 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3841)

Comptroller, Wolsey's Household, app 1527, 1528, 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 3216, 4065, 6586)

Bailiff of Finchley, Mdx for Sir William Compton, before 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4442 (5))

Adm GI, 1530 (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 8)

Peace Comm, Beds, 5 Mar 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 909 (9)), Undated 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1694, ii)

Auditor of Exchequer

Treasurer, Rec Gen and Commissioner of First Fruits and Tenths, 7 May 1535 (*LP*, vol. 8, no. 802(20))

Commissioner compiling VE, Hunts, dioc Linc (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 253)

Kt Bach, after 15 Nov 1538 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 52)

Green, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Griffith, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Possibly Comm wards, marriages, reliefs and escheats, Staffs, 20 Aug 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 835)

Possibly Yeom of guard

Keeper of park of Harden, North Wales, 15 Nov 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1928 (6))

Possibly clerk, R Burton Frey, St. David's dioc, patron: Henry VIII (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 132 (79))

V of Wandsworth, £19, app Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5125)

R Towyn Merioneth, w/ chapels of Talyllyn, Pennal, and Llanvihangel, Bangor dioc, 3 Apr 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5510 (3))

Griffiths, David ap

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Hales, John (b. 1469/70 – d. 1540)

Tenterden, Kent (*Visitations of Kent*, p. 78)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £30, assessed: 30s

Adm GI, c. 1490 (*Reg of Adm Gray's Inn*, p. x)

Peace Comm, Kent, 4 Dec 1509, 22 Feb 1510, 23 Sep 1512, 20 Dec 1512, 21 Jan 1514, 3 Mar 1514, Mar 1514, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1539), 2 Jun 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 464), 2 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (2)); Mdx, 26 Nov 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 895 (26)); Suss, 22 Dec 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 961 (22)), 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002 (11)), 28 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5243 (28))

Comm GD, Canterb 13 Sep 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 587 (5)), 1 Jul 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1533 (1)); Canterb Castle, 12 Mar 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1732 (25)), 8 Oct 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2422 (5))

Subs Comm, Kent and Canterb, 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547 p. 235)

Comm Sewers, Thames, 1 Feb 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2684 (8)); Kent, 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2756); Marches of Calais, 12 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5102 (5) ii)

AG, Duchy of Lancaster, 1519-1522 (Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 407)

King's Gen Surveyor w/ Sir John Daunce, app 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1135), 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2975) – 1539 (Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration*, p. 488)

3rd Baron of the Excheq, 1 Oct 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2590) 1 Oct 1522

4th Baron of the Excheq, 1526, £46 13s 4d p.a. (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1939)

Clerk of the Peace, Mdx, 1535-1536 (*Clerks of the Counties*, p. 127)

Clerk of Hanaper, Chancery, joint w/ Ralph Sadler, 1545-1547 (Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration*, p. 486)

Hales, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 30s

Possibly younger son of John Hales and brother of Sir James Hales, lawyer and king's sergeant (*Visitations of Kent*, pp. 53-54)

Halsey, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Hamond, Anthony

Bailiff and Rec of the Abp of York's liberty of Sherburn, app 1528-1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6748 p. 3048 (15), vol. 5, no. 822)

Hansard, Anthony (d. 1588)

Coxwold, Lincs

E 179/69/9, assessed: £6 10s

E 179/69/10, assessed in goods: £133 6s 8d, assessed: £6 12s 4d

Will dated 16 Apr 1588; Pr 6 Jun 1588 (*Lincolnshire Wills*, p. 113)

Harrys, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Seneschal of all lands aforesaid Priory New Hospital St. Mary Virgin outside Bishopgate, Ldn (Ldn, Mdx, Herts, Essex, Dors, Surr), 20s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 402)

Bailiff and Rec of lands and tenements in Ldn, Southwark, and Bermondsey for Bermondsey Abbey, Winc, £6 13s 4d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 59)

Harvey, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 16d

Bailiff of Williford, Staffs, bpric Cov and Lichf, 7s 8d (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 130)

Seneschal Blythburgh, Suff, Priory of Wangford, dioc Norw, 33s 4d (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 439)

Possibly Kt Bach, between Feb and Nov 1523 (in Sco by Duke of Norf) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 44)

Harvye, Nicholas

Bailiff of the town of Ipsw, app 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5855)

Comm GD, Huntingdon Castle, 20 Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6490 (20))

Peace Comm Hunts, 4 Feb 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 119 (10))

Bailiff of The More, app 1533 (*LP*, vol. 6, no. 347)

Hasywood, Edward

Maidwell, Northants (*Visitations of county of Worcester*, p. 75)

Peace Comm, Northants, 11 Jul 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 694)

Hatton, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Heneage, Sir Thomas (b. before 1482 – d. 1553)

Hainton, Lincs

E 179/69/9, assessed: £16 14s

E 179/69/10, assessed in lands: £266, assessed £13

Servant of Wolsey, 1518; Gent usher by 1521

Customer of petty custom the port of Ldn, 2 Jul 1519-before 17 Jan 1522 (C82/478, *LP*, vol. 3, no. 405(2), *LP*, vol. 3, no. 2016)

Peace Comms, Linc, 14 Nov 1520 (C 82/495, *LP*, vol. 3, no. 1081 (14)), 18 Mar 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2145 (18)); Mdx, Apr 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2993), Oct 1523 (C 82/537, *LP*, vol. 3, 3495 (18))

King's PC, 1528 (Riordan, 'Heneage, Sir Thomas (b. before 1482, d. 1553)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006)

Royal Cofferer by 1532

Keeper of King's Privy Purse joint w/ Anthony Denny by 1536

Esquire of the King's Body, 1536

Chief Gentleman of the King's PC w/ Sir Francis Bryan, 1536 (Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', in *The English Court*, p. 114)

Groom of the King's Stool, 1536

Kt Bach, 18 Oct 1537 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 50)

KG, 23 Apr 1540

Retired from royal service, 12 Oct 1546

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Sil, 'Sir Thomas Heneage of Hainton')

Herbert, Christopher

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Hert, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly King's Trumpet, Royal Household, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 20 (p. 16), 82 (p. 43))

Possibly Keeper of Greenwich, app 1519-1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1114, p. 1534)

Hert, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly Royal Household, Groom, 11 May 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20)

Possibly King's Master Gunner, 1509-1526 (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 94 (3), 311n, 2308, 2346, vol. 3, nos. 2796 2876, 3288, 3694 p. 1528, App. 37)

Possibly Royal Household, Master of Ordnance, 1512-1519? (*LP*, vol. 2, nos. 1118, 1210, 1514, p. 422, 1887, 2236, 2644, 2984, p. 1455, p. 1513, vol. 3, nos. 58, 74)

Higden, Brian

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Higden, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Hill, John

Manor of Ingleham, Leics (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 171) or Hales, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, p. 154)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Auditor, Magd Coll, Oxf in dioc Linc, 20s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 281)

Comm Tenths of Spiritualities, Lincs, 3 Sep 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 1)

Auditor, deaneries Linc and Hyll, Linc Cathedral, 40s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, pp. 17, 64)

Rec, Tattershall Coll, dioc Linc, £6 13s 4d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 43)

Auditor, Revesby Abbey, dioc Linc, 20s (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 45)

Hobson, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly Bailiff of Shortesfelde, Syon Abbey, Ldn dioc, 16s (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 426)

Possibly Chapl of Topcliffe (Percies), York dioc, 3s ('The Fallow Papers', p. 249)

Holand, John (x2)

Estovening Manor in Swineshead, Boston, Lincs

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

2nd son of Sir Thomas, kt, and Eliz daughter of Sir Piers Tempest (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, pp. 504-507)

Bailiff of Kidderminster, Worc, Priory of Blessed Virgin Mary of Maiden Bradley, Salisb dioc, 26s 8d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 98)

Holden, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Possibly Yeom of Chamber to Queen Katherine of Aragon, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 17, no. 218 (22)), 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1604 (14))

Keeper Royal Household in Westminster Palace, joint w/ John Hunt, in survivorship, 12 Jan 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1604 (14))

Possibly Chapl Chantry St. Katherine, vge Rotherham, dioc York, £4 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 62)

Holgill, Edmund

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Holgill, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Holmys, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Possibly Master, St. Giles's Hospital, Beverley, dioc York (Fallow, 'East Riding Clergy', p. 64)

And possibly clerk, late R of Hersham, Norf, R of Carlyngton in Lyndryke, Notts, and Shirland, Derb, app 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (2 m 30))

Possibly Servant to Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, app 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 152)

Hughes, John

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £180, assessed: 66s 8d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £20, assessed: 20s

Rec of Faculties, app 1528 and 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4592 and p. 3048)

Hunt, Roger

Estnyng, Suff, Macclesfield, Ches, and Hinton, Camb, yeom, app 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 7))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Hykke, John

Tewkesbury, Gloucs (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1014)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 6s

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £50, assessed: 50s

Hyll, Nicholas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Possibly Chief Clerk, King's Spicery, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 39)

Possibly Royal Household, Clerk of Wardrobe, app 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 449 (14))

Ireland, Richard

Possibly Bucks (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 779 (26))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

Jefson, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 50s

E 179/69/8 value in goods: £50, assessed: 50s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £50, assessed: 50s

Servant to Cuthbert Tunstal, app 22 Jan 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2808)

One of Six Clerks of Chancery, app 1523 (14 Henry VIII, c. 8, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Johns, John

Possibly Moreton, Ches (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1285 p. 501)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Possibly Common Assayer of city of Ldn, app 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2781 (ii))

Johns, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Royal Household, Gent Usher Extraord, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 42), 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735, p. 873)

Keeper, Witley Park, Surr, joint in survivorship w/ son Robert, 20 Sep 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3324 (25)); reappt w/ son Thomas joint in survivorship, 20 Jul 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1451 (20))

Possibly Kt Bach, 1542 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 53)

Johns, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £4, assessed: 2s

Steward King's Chamber, app 1532

Keeper Carlyon Park, Lordship of Uske, Earldom of March, 25 Aug 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1270 (14))

Johnson, John, greater

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in not stated: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Page of the Queen's Chamber, app 1526

Office of King's Barge and Boat, 21 Aug 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2447 (21))

King's Messenger, app Aug 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6598)

Johnson, John, lesser

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in not stated: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Johnson, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Groom of the Pantry, Royal Household, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 17, no. 82, p. 39)

Possibly same as Sir Robert Johnson, Peace Comm, Surr, 8 Feb 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 137 (8))

Johnson, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

The Queen's Stable, Sumpterman for the bottles, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 42)

Judde, John (d. c. 1537)

Possibly of St. Pancras, Ldn and Dartford, Kent (Leadam, *Select Cases STAC*, vol. 2, p. 28)

E 179/69/9, assessed: £8 10s

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £100, assessed: 100s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £100, assessed: 100s

Clerk of Chancery, 1523-d (14 Henry VIII c. 8; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Kellet, Edward

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Kellet, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Bailiff of lib of Strotforde, dioc Ldn, £4 10s (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 357)

Kempe, Sir William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Olantigh, Kent (*Visitations of Kent*, p. 13)

Sumpterman for the cellar, Royal Household, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 42)

Kt for the Body, Royal Household, app 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735)

Peace Comm, Kent, 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002 (11))

Subs Comm, Kent, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 p. 1363), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 235)

Sheriff, Kent, 7 Nov 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4914)

Bailiff of Chalcots and Wyldes, Eton College, dioc Linc, 33s 4d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 219)

Killingworth, John (d. before 29 Sep 1522)

Administrator for Wolsey (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2383)

Kingsbury, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Kite, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Knollys, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Larke, Peter

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in not stated: £10, assessed: 5s

Servant to John Kite, Bp of Carlisle, app 25 Jun 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2345)

Received pensions from monasteries of Whitby, York dioc ('The Fallow Papers', p. 252) and Peterborough, Linc dioc, app 1525-6 (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 166)

Also received French pension of 25 crowns, app Nov 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3619)

Larke, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Laurence, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Esq for the Body, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 16)

Gent Waiter to attend Queen, Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 704, p. 245)

Adm GI, 1522 (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 4)

One of liveried esquires and gentlemen at Sir Thomas Lovell's Funeral, 25 May 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 366)

Lee, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20s

E 179/69/10, value in lands and fees: £110, assessed: 110s

Sheriff, Surr and Suss, 14 Nov 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 257 (49))

Peace Comm, Surr, 7 Jan 1511, 14 Feb 1511, 1 Jul 1511, 18 Mar 1512, 22 Mar 1512,

Undated Jan 1514, 7 Feb 1514, 8 Jul 1514, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1545), 16

Nov 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1081 (16)), 6 Jul 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2415 (6))

Comm GD Surr, 21 Mar 1511, (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 731 (28)), 18 Nov 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2484 (27)); Guildford Castle, 3 May 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1948 (10))
Comm Array, Hants, 18 Jul 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 833 (58, ii))
Comm to seize prop of Scots, Surr, 27 Aug 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 2222 (16))
Comm of Sewers, Thames, 1 Feb 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 2684 (8))
Possibly Kt Bath, 14 Nov 1501 of Wiltshire or of Stokewell (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, pp. 146-7)
Possibly Kt Bach, 11 May 1544 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 55)
Possibly otherwise identified as John a Lee, my lord Cardinal's cook, Dec 1525 (SP 1/36, ff. 248-9)
Possibly John Leghe, portioner of Wolley, 16s 8d, Card Coll, Book of Rec and Expenses, 1530 (E 36/104)

Lee, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Clerk of the Court of Star Chamber, app 1516 (Leadam, *Select Cases STAC*, vol. 2, p. 106), app 1527 (E 36/226)

Possibly Comm for Star Chamber in Kent, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3867)

Comm GD, Maidstone, Kent, 20 Dec 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 289 (43))

Comm Peace, Kent, 4 Dec 1509, 22 Feb 1510, 23 Sep 1512, 20 Dec 1512, 21 Jan 1514, 3 Mar 1514, Undated Mar 1514 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1539)

Comm to seize prop of all Scots, Kent, 27 Aug 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2222 (16))

Possibly Kt Bach, 11 May 1544 (of St. Albans) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 55)

Possibly any of the following Royal Household, Clerk of the Hall, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 20, 82)

Royal Household, Yeom of Jewel House, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 18)

Royal Household, Esq for the Body, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 42)

Legge [Logge?], Benett

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Lentell, Nicholas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Lentell, Philip

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Leyland, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Expenses of King and Queen at Calais and Guisnes, 16 Jul 1520; To John Leyland for 1365 lambs at 19d (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 919, p. 336)

Purser of Angell of Deptford, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3261)

Leyther, Oliver

E179/69/8, value in goods: [unknown], assessed: 66s 8d

E179/69/9, assessed: 66s

E179/69/10, value in wages: £66 13s 4d, assessed: 66s 8d

One of Six Clerks of Chancery, app 1523 (14 Henry VIII c. 8; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Lightfoot, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: [2]s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

LI

Possibly Bailiff of Rongeton (Sussex and Essex), Brewton Abbey, dioc B&W (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 150)

Possibly Cantarist, Chantry w/in Manor of Abp, app 1535 (*Memorials of Ripon*, p. 5)

Linacre, Thomas (b. c. 1460 – d. 20 Oct 1524)

Oxf by 1481; All Souls Coll, Fellow 1484; Florence c1489; Venice and Padua 1492-3; DM 1496

Ord subdcn 1515, dcn 1520; pr 22 Dec 1520

R Mersham, Kent, 23 Oct 1509-before Nov 1509

R Hawkhurst, Kent, 24 Mar 1511-d

R Holsworthy, Devon, 6 Mar 1518-Jun 1524 w/ yearly pension of £28

R Wigan, Lancs, 10 Oct 1519

R Freshwater, Isle of Wight, 15 Nov 1519-before Nov 1522

Custos Eng Hospice Rome, May 1491

Tutor to Prince Arthur by 27 Aug 1499

Royal Phys, 1509

Preb Easton in Gordano, Wells Cathedral, 14 Dec 1509-before 1522 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 47)

Preb St. Stephen's, Westminster

Preb, South Newbald, YM, 7 Oct 1518-29 Apr 1519 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 72)

Precentor, YM, 29 Apr-res before 11 Nov 1519 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 12)

Helped found College of Physicians, 1518

Founded two lectureships at Oxf and one at St. John's Coll, Camb on medicine

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Nutton, 'Linacre, Thomas (c.1460-1524)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006; Emden, *Register of Oxford*, vol. 2, pp. 1147-8)

Lovell, Francis

East Harling, Norf

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £366 13s 4d, assessed: £18 6s 8d

Royal Household, Esq for the Body Extraordinary, app 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735, p. 872)

Sheriff, Suff and Norf, 1526-1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2672)

Peace Comm, Norf, 4 Mar 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 166 (2)); 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1694 (ii))

Comm Sewers, Norf, 8 Dec 1534 (*LP*, vol. 7, no. 1601 (5))

Comm Tenths and Spiritualities, Norf and City of Norwich, 30 Jan 1535 (*LP*, vol. 8, 149 (43))

Lovell, Sir Thomas (b. c. 1449 – d. 25 May 1524)

Beachamwell, Norf

Adm Linc's Inn, 1464; Treasurer 1472-75; Reader Aut 1475, Lent 1482

Speaker HofC 1485

Councillor to H7 and H8

Exec will Margaret Beaufort 1509 (*CPL*, vol. 20, pp. 75-77 (55))

Treasurer King's Chamber 1485-1503

Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12 Oct 1485-1503

Treasurer of the King's Household, 1503-1519

Dep Lieu

Lieu of Tower of London, Michaelmas 1512

KB16 June 1487; KB 17 June 1497 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, pp. 24, 28)

KG after 17 Aug 1498 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 19)

Steward, University Oxf 1507, Camb, 1509

CJ, Royal Forests South of the Trent, 6 Feb 1510

Master of Wards, 14 June 1513-1520

Preb Buckland Dinham, Wells Cathedral, 31 Jul 1513-before d (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 8, p. 21)

(Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 18 Mar 2006:

Gunn, 'Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?', 116-154)

Luke, Walter (d. 21 Jul 1554)

Coupley, Beds

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £80, assessed £4

Peace Comm Beds, 1510-1532 (*LP*, vol. 1, p. 1533, vol. 3, no. 1186 (14), vol. 4, nos. 137 (14), 5510, 6135 (16), 6751 (24), vol. 5, nos. 909 (9), 1694 (ii)); Hunts, 1510-1532 (*LP*, vol. 1, p. 1538, vol. 4, nos. 137 (12), 961 (18), 1610 (11), 5083 (6), vol. 5, nos. 119 (10), 838 (20), 1694 (ii)); NR, 1528, WR, 1528, ER, 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (10, 11), no. 5243 (28))

Comm GD, Bedford Town, 22 Feb 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 381 (78)), 3 Feb 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 112); Cambridge Castle, 22 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1187); Bedford Castle, 20 Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6490 (20))

Subs Comm, Beds, 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547)

Comm Tenths of Spiritualities, Beds, 30 Jan 1535 (*LP*, vol. 8, no. 149 (54))

Special Comm O&T for trials of John Fisher, Charter House Monks and Sir Thomas More, Apr-Jul 1535 (*LP*, vol. 8, nos. 609, 886, 974)

Steward, Kimbolton, Hunts for Duke of Buckingham, before 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3695)

MT Reader Aut 1514 and Lent 1520; Serj 1531 (*Middle Temple Bench Book*, p. 131)

JKB 1532 (Sainty, *Judges of England, 1272-1990*, p. 29)

Ktd by 14 Oct 1534

Bur in Cople Church

Lupton, Sir John

E179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Rec of Petitions from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, Parl 15 Apr 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2956)

Commissioner for suppression of Beigham Abbey, Suss, for Card Coll, Oxf, 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1137 (2))

Luttrell, Andrew (d. 1540)

E 179/69/9, assessed: £13 6s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £266 13s 4d, assessed £13 6s 8d

Son and heir of Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster Castle, Somers
Subs Comm, Somers, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 p. 1366)

Peace Comm, Somers, 8 Feb 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 119 (26)), 4 Feb 1538 (*LP*, vol. 13, no. 384 (19)), 18 Mar 1538 (*LP*, vol. 13, no. 646 (46))

Wardship and marriage of John, son and heir, sold to Sir William Kingston, 17 Jun 1540
(*LP*, vol. 15, no. 831 (40))

Lyle [Lisle], Sir Thomas (d. 1542)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 66s

E 179/69/8, value in goods: [unknown], assessed: 66s 8d

E 179/69/10, assessed in goods: £66 13s 4d, assessed: 66s 8d

Royal Household, Kt of the Body, 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735 p. 872)

Peace Comm, Surr, 11 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (11)); Hants, 26 Jan 1529 (C 82/610)

Subs Comm Surr and Hants, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, pp. 1363-1364), 1 Aug 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, pp. 234-235)

Comm GD, Winchester Castle, Hants, 20 Jun 1530 (C 82/630)

Sheriff, Hants, 1526-1527, 1530-1531 (C 82/580, 635)

Lymsey, John or Lymley

Northfleet, Kent (*Visitation of Norf*, p. 192)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 13s

E 179/69/10, value in lands by the year: £13 6s 8d, assessed: 13s 4d

One of Six Clerks of the Chancery, app 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2807 (7)); 14 Henry VIII c. 8, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Maidwell, Thomas

Collector of rents of monastery in villis and lordships of St Albans, Parke, Tittenhanger, Sandridge, Burstons and Hexston, Herts and Beds, 1 June 1528, app Sep 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 4318, 6650)

Marshall, Cuthbert

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Marshall, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £14, assessed: 7s

Possibly Royal Household, Gent Usher, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 12)

Possibly also Escheator, Kent, app 28 Dec 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1353)

Could otherwise be identified Subs Comm Somers, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1366), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 236)

Possibly Adm GI, 1525 (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 5)

Marshall, William (d. 1532)

Dunstable, Beds

Steward of the manor of Sandridge, Herts, for St. Albans Abbey (Leadam, *Select Cases STAC*, vol. 2, p. 186)

Adm LI, 17 Apr 1496 (*Lincoln's Inn Reg of Admissions*, p. 28)

Granted annuity of £6 by Sir Henry Wyatt w/ William Gascoigne for use of Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, 10 Dec 1512 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1503)

Peace Comm, Beds, 13 May 1510, 28 Jun 1510, 4 Jan 1512, 3 Nov 1512, 1 Feb 1514, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1533), 12 May 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 457), 19 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1176), 14 Feb 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 137 (14)), 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610 (11)), Undated Apr 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5510), 16 Dec 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6135 (16)); Bucks, 4 Feb 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 137 (4)), 4 Feb 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1136 (4)), 16 May 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1377 (16)), 6 Feb 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 838 (9))

Comm GD, Home Circuit, 1 Feb 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1662 (1)); Bedford Castle, 20 Jun 1520 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6490), 1 Sep 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 457 (2)); Bedford, 20 Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6751 (24)); Gaol of Abbot of St. Albans, 12 May 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 278)

Comm to seize prop of all Scots in Eng, Beds, 27 Aug 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2222 (16))

Subs Comm, Beds, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1367), 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504, p. 1456), 1 Apr 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 214, p. 83), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 237)

Clerk to Sir Richard Broke, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, app 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, App. 133)

Owed £40 for victuals by St. Albans Abbey, before 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2583)

Marshall, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Marton, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 40s

Yeom of the Ewery (Martin), 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, p. 2767)

Mason, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 6s

Clerk in Chancery, app 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 579), 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 875), 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2439)

Possibly also clerk, LLD, Commissary and Official of adcnry of Leic, President of Consistory Court, dioc Linc, Can of New Coll of St. Mary, Leic, R of West Deeping, Linc, app 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (1 m 18)); Bowker, *Secular Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln*, pp. 22, 32)

Surveying monasteries for suppression for Card Coll, Oxf (E 36/165)

Maston, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

Groom, Household of Princess Mary, app 1519-1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 970)

Matthew, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

Harbinger, Field of Cloth of Gold, Jun 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 704, p. 245)

Possibly identified as V Bishopston, dioc Salisb, £12 0s 14d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 108)

Melton, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Meryman, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 7d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

King's cook, app 20 Mar 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4021)

Meryng, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s [crossed out]

LI, app 1523 (*Calendar Records Inner Temple*, p. 459)

Messaunger, Rowland

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Midylton, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 18d

Possibly Subs Comm, Worcs, 1 Apr 1524 (E 36/221)

Possibly overseer of workmen for building king's banqueting hall, 1527 (E 36/226, f. 1r, E 36/227, f. 48r)

Moore, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed 5s

Moore, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Peace Comm Dors, 4 Feb 1514, 1 Dec 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1536); Somers, 4 Feb 1514; 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1543), 29 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1220)

Comm to inquire into death of man killed at Pole, Dorset, 20 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1184)

Moyle, John

Bache, North Blake, and St. Germans, Cornwall

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

Peace Comm, Cornwall, 19 Jul 1510, 15 Feb 1510, 12 Jul 1510, 28 May 1511, 9 Nov 1511, 18 Nov 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1535)

In Wolsey's service by 19 Apr 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2191)

Musgrave, George

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Mustyng, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

Described as late servant of Countess of Richmond and Derby, 1529

Chief arras-maker to king w/ £10 p.a., 20 Jan 1529 (C 82/610)

Myllet, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Either William or George clerk of signet in Chancery, app 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1285)

Myllett, George

E 179/69/9, assessed: 18d

Mylward, Roger

Ldn

E 179/69/9, assessed: 8s

Goldsmith

Servant of Wolsey, app Dec 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 563)

Newham, Thomas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Newton, Arthur

Heightley, Shrops (*Visitations of Shropshire*, pp. 374-375)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 6s

Son of Peter, kt (sheriff 1503) and Matilda daughter of Rich Cholmeley of Chester;

M Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cornwall, kt

Adm IT, 7 Feb 1516 (*Calendar Records Inner Temple*, p. 36)

Peace Comm Shrops, 26 Jan 1529 (C 82/610)

Nicholas, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 50s

E 179/69/8 £50 in goods, assessed 50s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £50, assessed: 50s

Subs Comm, Collector Hilmarton and Clevancy, Wilts, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3585)

Nicholas, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 3s

Nooke, Robert

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Norrys, William

Royal Sewer, 11 May 1509, H7's Funeral, (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 13)

Possibly also Master of King's Hawks, 24 Jun 1509, Coronation of H8 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 42), 1519, (*LP*, vol. 3, pp. 1534, 1543), 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1114)
Keeper of Royal Park of Foly John, Windsor, 3 Nov 1510-8 Jun 1515 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 632 (1), vol. 2, no. 567)
Royal Househ, Gent of Privy Chamber, 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735)
Annuity of 40s from Duke of Buckingham, app 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3695)

Norton, William

Possibly of Waterden, Little Walsingham, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, pp. 208-209)
E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d
Subs Comm, Faversham, Kent, 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2862 (7))
War in Fra, 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2772 (31)); 1524 (C 82/544)

Owen, Humphrey

Shrewsbury, Shrops (*Visitations of Shropshire*, p. 390)
E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d
E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d
In Wolsey's service by 19 Apr 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2191)

Oxonherd, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d
Wolsey's servant, app Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6484)

Pace, Richard

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Page, Sir Richard

Rec of Abp of York's lib of Beverley, app 1528-9 (*LP*, vol. 5, 822)
Kt Bach, after 3 Nov 1529 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 47)
Seneschal, lands in Beverley belonging to Priory of Warter, dioc York, 40s (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 126)
Bailiff of manor of Esher, 31 May 1530 (*Reg Wolsey, Winchester*, pp. 142-4)

Payn, John

Itteringham, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, p. 217)
E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

SI, app 1523 (*Calendar Records of Inner Temple*, p. 461)

Adm IT, 1532 (*Calendar Records Inner Temple*, p. 101)

Seneschal, Priory of Hempton, dioc Norw, 13s 4d (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 383)

Person, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £26 13s 4d, assessed: 26s 8d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Pexsall, Ralph (d. 1537)

Parva Weldon, Northants (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3582 (20))

E 179/69/9, assessed: £7 11s

E 179/69/10, value in lands and fees: £133 13s 4d, assessed: £6 12s 4d

One of Six Clerks of Chancery, 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (3 m 7))

Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, 6 Mar 1522-d (Lock, 'Officeholding and Officeholders', pp. 75, 88)

Keeper of the King's 'deer hounds', 16 Jul 1512 (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 3317, 5700)

Peace Comm, Hants, 3 Jun 1513, 24 Jan 1514, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1537)

16 Feb 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 170), 6 Jul 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 670), 1 Feb 1518 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3917), 6 Jul 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2415 (6)), 16 Feb 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, 2862 (16)); Surr,

Undated Jan 1514, 7 Feb 1514, 8 Jul 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1545); Devon, Jul 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2415); Mdx, Mar 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 166)

Sheriff, Devon, 1519-1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 500)

Feodary and Rec Gen of crown lands, Hants, 16 Apr 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 206)

Wolsey's Household, 1522

Subs Comm, Hants, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1364)

Comm GD, Hants, 20 Jun 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6490)

Piers, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Common Wait, Town of Dover, app 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, App. 89)

Pigott, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 22s

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Pilkington, John
(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Plasden, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10: value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Possibly John Plandon, clerk of lands of Card Coll, Oxf (*LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6698; SP 1/58/137) 20 Oct either 1528 or 1529 (Ward, 'Origins of Thomas Cromwell's Public Career, p. 125)

Pope, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: [unknown – page torn]

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 5s

Bailiff and collector of lands and manors for Priory of Great Malvern, dioc Worc, 40s (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 237)

Potter, John

Possibly of Westerham, Kent (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1732 (12))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: £4 10s, assessed: 2s 6d

Peace Comm, Kent, 2 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (2))

Subs Comm, Kent, 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547 p. 235)

Potter, John

Possibly of Ldn, fruiterer, costermonger, baker, app 1514 (C 82/544)

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Pynchebeke, Gilbert (b. c. 1492 – d. 10 Feb 1528)

Hagbech Hall in Whaplode and Pinchbeck, Lincs (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. 3, pp. 783-784)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Subs Comm, Holland Hundred, Lincs, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547 p. 238)

Randall, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Royal Household, Yeom of the Acatery, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 18, no. 82, p. 40)

Rawlyns, Thomas

E 179/69/8, 20 March 1527 joint high collector w/ Thomas Robyns

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £66 13s 4d, assessed: 66s 8d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Rede, John

Possibly of Leic (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (3 m 1))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Subs Comm, Leic, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1458), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 237)

Possibly Keeper of great garden at Beaulieu, Hants, app 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5738)

Possibly Warden of New Coll of St. Mary, Winc, app 1509-1511, of Kingsley, Hants (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 257 (95), 414 (6), 438 (3 m 12), 1803 (2 m 3))

Rede, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Redman, Richard

Yorks

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £26 13s 4d, assessed: 26s 8d

Redman, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £4, assessed: 2[s]

Possibly Cantarist Farnham, dioc York, app 1525 (E 36/61, f. 12r)

R Kirkby Lonsdale, dioc York, app 1525 (E 36/61, f. 19r)

Reskymer, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 66s

Possibly a minor or ward (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 6))

Likely related to William, page of the king's chamber, app 1516 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 2735), 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1939, p. 870), 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1598 (11))

Reynelde, Richard

Possibly of Ldn, mercer (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4318, vol. 4, nos. 952, 3798 (2), 6005)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 6s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £8 6s 8d, assessed: 6s 8d

Possibly of Leic, mayor and alderman

Comm GD, Leic, 9 Feb 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2684 (41)), 24 Jun 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3049 (26))

Subs Comm, Leic, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1364), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 237)

Reynolds, William

Braunston, Leics and St. Clement's Danes, Mdx, gent, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (3 m. 3))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Peace Comm, Leics, 25 Feb 1514, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1539), 28 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1213)

Possibly same as joint Auditor w/ Richard Owen, Principality of South Wales, 20 Mar 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 414 (56))

Rhys, Robert ap

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Robyns, Thomas

E 179/69/8 20 March 1527 joint high collector w/ Thomas Rawlins

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in wages: £4, assessed: 2s

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Rogere, Henry

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

Possibly Kt Bach, 14 Nov 1501 (Marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 145)

Rokeby, Sir Richard (d. 1523)

Brother of William, Abp Dublin

Comptroller, Wolsey's household (Newcombe, 'Rokeby, William (d. 1521)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 30 Mar 2006)

Recorder, City of York, 1519-1523 (Hoyle, 'Urban Decay and Civic Lobbying', p. 94)

Russell, Sir John (d. before 17 Dec 1547)

Oundle, Northants

Adm at King's Coll, Camb, sch from Eton, 17 Nov 1499; BA 1503-1504; MA 1506; BD 1517; Fellow 1502-1505; Ord dcn 28 Mar 1506; Master Fotheringhay Coll, 1522, still 1526 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 500)

Preb Welton Brinkhall, Linc Cathedral, 9 Nov 1542-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1541-1857*, 9, p. 125)

Possibly Kt Bach, after 3 Nov 1529 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 47)

Possibly Kt Bach, 1 Jul 1523 and KG, 24 Apr 1539, afterwards 3rd earl of Bedford (d. 14 Mar 1555) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 45, vol. 1, p. 22)

Ruthall, Richard

E 179/69/8, £100 in goods, assessed: 100s

Escheator, Bucks, app 1527 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1370 (8))

Sampson, Richard

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Saunders, Richard

Possibly of Reading, Berks, vintner (C 82/544)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Savile, Henry (b. 1499 – d. 23 Apr 1558)

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £133 6s 8d, assessed: £6 13s 4d

Thornhill, Tankersley and Elland, Yorks

M Elizabeth Sotehill of Dewsbury, Yorks (WR)

Peace Comm, WR, 10 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (10)), 1534-d; ER, NR, 1544-d,

Northern Circuit 1539-d

Kt Bath, 30 May 1533 (Coronation of Anne Boleyn) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 150)

Sheriff Yorks, 1537-1538 (*LP*, vol. 14, no. 50), 1541-1542, 1542-1543

MP Yorks, 1539

Steward, Duchy of Lancaster, Pontefract Honour, 4 Nov 1537-27 Nov 1549, joint w/
George 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, 27 Nov 1549-d

Captain Pontefract Castle, Yorks, 1539 (*LP*, vol. 14, nos. 399, 400, 1295), app 1544 (*LP*,
vol. 19, no. 99)

Captain, Bamborough Castle, Yorks 1546

CON 1542-1549, by 1552-d (Reid, *King's Council*, pp. 169, 186)

Comm Benevolence, WR 1544/5

Comm Relief, WR, NR, ER, 1550

Captain against Sco 1544 (*LP*, vol. 19, no. 569)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Bindoff, *HofC*, vol. 3, pp. 280-281)

Scargill, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 50s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £50, assessed: 50s

Kt Bach, Corpus Christi Day 1527 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 46)

Seyntclere, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: £6 8s

E 179/69/10, value in lands and fees: £100, assessed 100s

Appreciator General, app 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 373)

Keeper, Manor of Tittenhanger, Herts, St. Albans Abbey, 4d p.d.

Gen keeper of various woods, Herts, belonging to St. Albans Abbey, w/ annual rent of
100s, 1 June 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4318)

Kt Bach, 1 Jun 1533 (Coronation of Anne Boleyn) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p.
49)

Shakelady, Rowland

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £13 6s 8d, assessed: 6s 8d

Adm LI, 29 Jun 1527 (*Lincoln's Inn Reg of Adm*, p. 43)

Sharpp, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Shepard, John

E179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly collector of subs, Herts, 1511 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 627)

Shorton, Robert

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Skelton, Ambrose

E 179/69/9, assessed: 3s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £6 13s 4d, assessed: 3s 4d

Keeper of manor of North Park, Duke of Buckingham's lands in Surr, before 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3695)

Gent Usher, Wolsey's household, app 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, p. 2767)

Skewish, John

Cornwall (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 6))

E 179/69/9, assessed: 100s

Peace Comm, Cornwall, 19 Jul 1509, 15 Feb 1510, 12 Jul 1510, 28 May 1511, 9 Nov 1511, 18 Nov 1511, 4 Jul 1512, 12 Dec 1512, 20 Dec 1512, undated 4 H8, 11 Feb 1514, 4 Jul 1514, 18 Oct 1514, 14 Nov 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1539)

Peace Comm, Mdx, 16 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (16))

Commissioner, Duchy of Cornwall, 20 Sep 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3324 (24)), 4 Jul 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1391)

LI, app 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4584), 1523 (*Calendar Records Inner Temple*, p. 459)

Sheriff, Cornwall, 1520-1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1042, 6 Nov 1520)

Counsel to Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, app 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2702)

Comm for suppression of monasteries for Card Coll, Oxf, 1525-6 (C 66/645 and E 36/154, p. 6)

Smith, John

Auditor of building works at Card Coll, Oxf, app 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (8), p. 3042)

Smith, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

Possibly Gent Usher, app 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 632 (17)), 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1939, p. 868)

Possibly Chief Steward, Lordship Shenston, Staffs, 26 Feb 1519-before 16 Feb 1527 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 102 (26), vol. 4, no. 2927 (16))

Kt, in attendance at meeting at Gravelines, 10 Jul 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 906)

Sheriff, Staffs, 1522-1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2667)

Subs Comm, Staffs, 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504 p. 1457)

Auditor Card Coll, Oxf, app 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5320 (2))

Smyth, Robert

Possibly of Cambs

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £10, assessed: 6s

Possibly Yeom of the Robes, Royal Household, app 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 663)

Possibly Bailiff of Camb, app 1512 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1526)

Subs Comm, Town of Camb, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1365); Hundred of Kyngbrygg: Chesilden, Hodston and Batilbury, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3585; E 36/221, p. 83); Cambs, 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 214, p. 237)

Wolsey's servant by 1530 (SP 1/57, ff. 163-4)

Possibly Rec Gen Catworth, Beds, Corpus Christi Coll, Oxf, app 1535, 40s (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 247)

Spynke, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Stanley, Sir Thomas (d. 1560)

E 179/69/9, assessed: £6 13s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £133 6s 8d, assessed £6 13s 4d

Adm GI, 1520 (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 1)

Peace Comm, Oxon, 12 Feb 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 137 (12)); 24 Jan 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1049 (24)); Mdx 26 Nov 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 895)

Subs Comm Oxon, 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 237)

He is plausibly identified with Thomas, the son of Edward Stanley, first Baron Mounteagle of Hornby, Lancs (d. 1523) and his second wife Elizabeth Vaughn (d. 1515) rather than his

illegitimate son Thomas (d. 1569), who later became Bishop of Sodor and Man (Phillips, 'Stanley, Edward, first Baron Monteagle (c.1460–1523)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 27 July 2007)

Stanynges, Edward

E 179/69/9, assessed: 50s

Comm Muster, Somers, 30 Mar 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2759)

Subs Comm, Somers, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1366)

Staveley, John d. 1545

Warden or keeper of park at Ripon, joint w/ Miles, 7 Dec 1516 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 114v)

Staveley, Miles

Warden of keeper of park at Ripon, joint w/ John, 7 Dec 1516 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 114v)

Rec of Abp of York's lib of Ripon, app 1527, 1528-1529 (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 5, p. 235; *LP*, vol. 5, no. 822)

Stayntyn, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Royal Household, Yeom Officer, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 15)

Keeper of the King's Standing Wardrobe at Richmond, app 11 Mar 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 731 (33)); 16 Apr 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 749 (40)); 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1114)

Stephen, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Possibly Marshall of the Hall, Royal Household, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, nos. 20, p. 18, 82, p. 40)

Possibly minister in Chapel Royal, app 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1939)

Strange, Thomas

Hunstanton, Norf (*Visitation of Norf*, p. 226)

E 179/69/9, assessed: £10

Peace Comm, Norf, 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002 (11))

Subs Comm, Norf, 2 Nov 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3504, p. 1457)

Kt Bach, after 3 Nov 1529 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 47)

Stubbs, Laurence

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Stukelan, Robert

Lolworth, Cambs (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2640, p. 1117)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 6s

Tate, William

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Taverner, John

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Taylor, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly Ship Captain, King's Navy, app 1523-1524 (*LP*, vol. 3, nos. 3071, 3493, vol. 4, no. 691)

Possibly V Stoke Pogies, Linc dioc, £6 13s 4d (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 220)

R Chilton, Linc dioc, £5 13s 4d (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 239)

Tempest, Sir Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

Seneschal, bpric of Durh, £20 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 300)

Seneschal, Durham Cathedral, £6 13s 4d (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 302)

Seneschal, Priory of Gisborough, dioc York, 20s (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 81)

Commissioner for tenths, dioc Durh, 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 299)

Kt Bach, 25 Sep 1523 (at Jedworth) (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 44)

Thorne, Roger

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Yeom

Possibly Fought at Tournai, 1514-1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, p. 1512, App. 2)

Possibly clerk, Rec, Glastonbury Abbey, dioc B&W, 60s (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 147)

Tomson, Henry

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £20, assessed: 20s

Clerk of the Signet, app 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 302)

Tomyow [Tomeo], Richard
(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Toneys, Robert
(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Tooly, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Brother of William, ship captain against the French, 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1851)

Torney, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in wages by the year: £26 13s 4d, assessed: 26s 8d

Subs Comm, Lindsey Hundred, Lincs, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282 p. 1365); 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 238)

Torrell, Henry (d. before 15 Jul 1526)

Heron, Essex

E 179/69/9, assessed: £7

E 179/69/10, assessed in lands: £100, assessed 100s

Peace Comm, Essex, 2 Feb 1525 (C 66/645)

Subs Comm, Essex, 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 236)

Comm Musters, Essex, 6 archers and 4 billmen (SP 1/184, f. 95v)

Wardship of Humphrey, son and heir of Henry Torrell, granted to Thomas Leventhorp, 15 Jul 1526 (C 82/576)

Kt Bath, 20 Feb 1547 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 1, p. 152)

Townley, Nicholas

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Trevethyn, John

E179/69/9, assessed: £6 13s

Gent (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 11))

One of Six Clerks of Chancery, app 1509-1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 11), 1523 (14 H8, c. 8, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Turinur, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 33s 4d, assessed: 4d

Possibly Yeom, married, of the Chamber to the Duke of Richmond (SP 1/105, f. 157)

Possibly Clerk, not married, to the same (SP 1/105, f. 167)

Tyrwhitt, Sir William (b. c. 1501 – d. 19 Mar 1541) (Lincs Wills, p. 50)
Scotter, Lincs

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

Eldest son of Sir Robert of Kettleby, Lincs

Peace Comm, Lindsey Hundred, Lincs, 4 Feb 1531 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 119 (14)), 23 Feb 1532
(*LP*, vol. 5, no. 838 (27)), Undated 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1694 ii)

Comm Tenths of Spiritualities, Lincs and city of Linc, 30 Jan 1535 (*LP*, vol. 8, no. 149
(44))

Seneschal, Nunnery of Gokewell, dioc Linc, 20s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 140)

Sheriff, Lincs, app 8 Mar 1537 (*LP*, vol. 12, no. 608)

Comm Sewers Lincs, Cambs, Hunts and Northants, 11 Sep 1540 (*LP*, vol. 16, no. 107 (7))

Comm GD, Linc Castle, 12 Nov 1540 (*LP*, vol. 16, no. 305 (28))

Eldest son Robert MP Lincs, Mar 1553, Apr 1554, 1558; son Marmaduke MP Great
Grimsby, 1558 (Bindoff, *HoC*, vol. 3, pp. 500-501); son Tristram MP Huntingdon, 1571;
Derby, 1572; Great Grimsby, 1586, 1589 (Hasler, *History of Parl*, vol. 3, p. 538)

Valentyn, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 18d

Customer Port of Ipsw, app 1544 (Leadam, *Select Cases STAC*, vol. 2, p. 280)

Vannes, Peter

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Vaux, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20s

Subs Comm, Hants, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282, p. 1364); 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4,
no. 547, p. 235)

Wade, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Ward, Roger

Elton and Scarrington, Notts, Cadney, Lincs, and Droylsden, Lancs

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Yeom or servingman, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (2 m 25))

Waren, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 20s

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £300, assessed: £25

E 179/69/10 value in lands and fees: £20, assessed 20s

Bailiff of Bp of Durh's libs in Crayke, Yorks, £6 16d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 300)

Watson, William

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Conduct of the King's Bakehouse, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 16)

Welles, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 100s

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £100, assessed: 100s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £100, assessed: 100s

One of Six Clerks of Chancery, app 1523 (14 Henry VIII, c. 8, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, p. 216)

Possibly same as Deputy Sheriff, Shrops, app 1526 (C 82/580)

Chapl, Slimbridge, dioc Worc, app 9 Nov 1498 (*Reg John Morton*, vol. 1, p. 139)

Wentworth, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 40s

Gent Usher, Wolsey's household, app 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6184, p. 2767)

Peace Comm, WR, 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610 (11)); 10 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (10))

Kt Bach, 22 Feb 1547 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 59)

Whalley, Edmund

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

White, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 18d

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 40s, assessed: 18d

Messenger of the Royal Chamber, app Nov 1515, Jun 1519, Feb 1529 (*LP*, vol. 2, p. 1469, vol. 3, no. 347 (26), vol. 4, no. 5289)

Whyte, Nicholas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

Surveyor, King's Works, Tillingham, Southwark, Essex, app Aug 1528 (*SP* 1/49, f. 215)

Williams, Hugh

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 33s 4d, assessed: 4d

Caretaker, Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 704, p. 245)

Willoughby, George (b. by 1515 – d. 8 Aug 1550)

Netherton, Worc

E 179/69/9, assessed: 100s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £100, assessed: 100s

Wolsey's servant, app 1521 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1374)

Peace Comm Worcs, 4 Feb 1538 (*LP*, vol. 13, no. 384 (21))

HofC 1547, Unknown Constituency

Illegit son of Robert, 2nd Lord Willoughby de Broke by Joan Pye of Chippenham, Wilts

M by 1544 Anne dau of Thomas Huncks of Radbroke, Gloucs

Auditor, IT 1536, 1546-1547, bencher 1546, attendant on reader 1547, 1549, Aut reader 1548, Lent reader 1549 (*Calendar Records Inner Temple*, pp. 114, 142, 148)

Peace Comm, Worcs 1538-d, Ches, Herefs, Mon, Warw, Shrops 1547

Comm, O&T Oxf Circuit 1539, 1543, 1544

Comm Musters, Worcs, 1539

Subs Comm, 1543

Comm chantries Herefs, Worcs, 1548

Escheator, Worcs, 1541-1542, 1545-1546

Attorney, Council of the Marches, Wales 28 Apr 1546-d

Particular Rec Queen Catherine Parr, Herefs and Worcs by 1547-8; member council of John Dudley, earl of Warw by 1547

SAL by 1550

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Bindoff, *HofC*, vol. 3, pp. 628-629)

Wilson, Richard

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Wilson, Robert

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Winter, Thomas (b. c.1510 – d. c.1543)

Illegit son of Wolsey

Louvain, 30 Aug 1518, 1524; Padua by 1523; Paris 1526-1528

R Hutton Rudby 1526 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 88)

R St. Matthew's, Ipswich (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 88)

Preb Fridaythorpe, YM, 30 Sep 1522, exch for Preb Strensall, YM, 9 Jan 1523-res by 20 Dec 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 6, p. 52)

Preb St. Peter's, BM, dioc York, 1526-before 1535 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 88)

Can and Preb Norwell Palishall, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 2 Jun-res by 31 Aug 1522 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

Can and Preb Overhall, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 2 Aug 1522-res by 2 Aug 1529 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

Preb Milton Ecclesia, Linc Cathedral, 28 Mar 1522-res by 1 Dec 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 1, p. 92)

Adcn York, 31 Aug 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 6, p. 19)

Adcn Richmond, 24 Mar 1526-res before 7 Dec 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 6, p. 27)

Adcn Suff, 12 Nov 1526-1529, exch for Adcn Norf, app 25 Apr 1529-res by 1 Mar 1530 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 4, pp. 30, 34)

Adcn Cornwall, 8 Oct 1537-by 25 May 1543 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 9, p. 17)

Provost, BM, dioc York, by Mar 1526-res by 8 Jun 1543 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 12)

Chancellor Salisb (Wilkie, *Cardinal Protectors of England*, p. 185; (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 3, p. 18)

Dean B&W, 28 Nov 1525-Jun 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 8, p. 6)

Warden, St. Leonard's Hosp, York, 17 July 1528-1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4526)

Wolman, Richard

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Wood, John

Possibly of Fulbourn, Cambs (*Visitations of Cambs*, p. 101)

E179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly LI

Peace Comm, Town of Camb, 19 Nov 1509, 141 Feb 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1534); Cambs, 24 May 1511, 12 Dec 1512, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 1534), 24 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1196), 20 Dec 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1311), 11 Jul 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4312); Hunts, 22 Feb 1510, 26 Feb 1510, 14 Jun 1510, 5 May 1513, 18 Oct 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. App. 1 p. 1538)

Comm GD, Town of Camb, 12 Dec 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 289 (31), 7 May 1512 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1221 (21)), 17 Mar 1514 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2772 (39)), 23 Aug 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 844); Ramsey Abbey, 19 Mar 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 414 (55)), 4 Sep 1510 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 587 (1)), 12 Jan 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1602 (10)); Wisbech Castle, 7 Jul 1511 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 833 (22)); Camb Castle; Huntingdon, 22 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1187), East Dereham, 27 Nov 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1204)

Comm to seize prop of all Scots, Camb, 27 Aug 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2222 (16))

Comm to inquire into enclosures, Cambs, Hunts and Herts, 28 May 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3297)

Possibly Labourer, Battersea, Surr, app 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1369)

Wood, Richard

E 179/69/8, value in goods: £80, assessed: £4

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £80, assessed: £4

Office of Robes for Queen at Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 704, p. 246)

Groom of Chamber, Household Princess Mary, 1519-1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 970)

Keeper Cosham Park, Hants, in the possession of Anne Boleyn, app 1534 (*LP*, vol. 7, no. 352)

Wryte, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

Page of the Queen's Chamber, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 82)

Wolsey's servant, app 1522 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2545)

Wuley, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 3s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £6 13s 4d, assessed: 3s 4d

(See Ecclesiastical Appendix)

Wylkinson, Christopher

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Cloth Merchant, Ldn, 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 852, p. 295)

Possibly Cantarist, Sutton Coll, dioc York, app 1526 (SP 1/37, f. 178)

Wyndham, Edmund (b. by 1496 – d. 1569)

Felbrigge, Norf

E 179/69/9, assessed: 100s

E 179/69/10, value in lands: £100, assessed: 100s

Eldest son of Sir Thomas of Felbrigge and Eleanor, daughter of Rich Scrope of Upsall, Yorks

M by Oct 1521 to Susan daughter of Sir Roger Townshend of Raynham, Norf

3 sons incl Francis, 3 daughters, 1 daughter illegit; succeeded father 29 Apr 1522 (Bindoff, *HofC*, vol. 3, pp. 675-6)

Later in household of Thomas, Duke of Norf

Kt of Shire, Norf 1539, 1559

Subs Comm, Norf, 1523

Comm Tenth of Spiritualities, 1535

Comm Benevolence, 1544/5

Comm Relief, 1550

Comm Goods of churches and fraternities, 1553

Comm to enforce Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559

Comm Eccl causes, 1569

Peace Comm, Norf 1532-1554, quorum 1558/9-d

Sheriff Norf and Suff 1537-1538, 1545-1546, 1549-1550

Deputy Lieu Norf 1559, Lord Lieu joint w/ Sir Chr Heydon 1560

Kt Bach, after 12 Nov 1549 (Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 64)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Alsop, 'Wyndham, Thomas (*d.* 1554)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 11 September 2008)

Appendix 5: Prosopographical List of Ecclesiastics in Wolsey's Affinity

Alen, John (b. 1476 – d. 28 Jul 1534)

Gonville Hall, Camb pensioner 1491-1495; Peterhouse, Camb pensioner fellow 1495; fellow 1495-1503/4; BA 1494-1495; MA 1498; DCnL and DCL at univ abroad by 1508; Incorp Camb 1522-1523; Incorp Oxf 1526 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 17)

Ord subdcn 23 Feb 1499; dcn 16 Mar 1499; pr 25 Aug 1499

Commissary of Richard Fitzjames, bp of Rochester 1499

R Peldon, adcnry Colches, dioc Ldn, btw 1496 and res before 27 Nov 1518 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 466)

V Chislet, Kent, 6 Jul 1503

R Aldington, Kent, 6 Mar 1511-before Mar 1512

R South Ockendon, Essex, dioc Ldn, 1 Mar 1516-before Dec 1526 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 448)

R Gaulby, Leics, 2 Dec 1523

V Aldbourne, Wilts, 19 Nov 1524

R Llanilstyn, Carnarvs, Aug 1525

R Little Wilbraham, Cambs, before 1526

Preb Asgarby, Linc Cathedral, 4 Apr 1503-res by 28 Sep 1528 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, 1, p. 30)

Can and Preb Goderynghall, Westbury-on-Trym, Gloucs, 18 Aug 1505, still in 1508

Rural Dean Monks Risborough, Bucks, 29 Jan 1512-before Sep 1528 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 21)

Adcn Gallipolis, app 1518

Preb Normanton, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 18 Jun 1526-res by 2 Oct 1528 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

Preb Reculversland, St. Paul's, Ldn, 13 Mar 1527-3 Sep 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 59)

Preb in Exeter Cathedral, 4 Mar -Nov 1528 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 64)

Proctor Abp William Warham of Canterb at Roman Curia, c. 1503-1514

Adm confraternity English Hospice at Rome, 1502; chaplain, 1502; acting warden, 1504; exp 1511

Wolsey's household, 1518; Commissary General, 1519; Audiencer, 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3216)

One of two special legatine commissaries for the probate of wills by Wolsey and Warham 1523-1529

Agent in the monastic suppressions of 1524 and 1525 for Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipsw (Ferguson, *Naked to Mine Enemies*, p. 197; *LP*, vol. 4, nos. 1001, 1063)

LC Ire and Keeper of the privy seal, 19 Sep 1528-Jul 1532 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4758)

Secret council, 1529 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, pp. 3, 119)

Abp Dublin, 3 Sep 1529-d (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 336)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Murray, 'Alen, John (1476-1534)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006; Emden, *Register of Oxford*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1)

Apdd, Hugh (alias Vaughn)

R Notley-nigra, 12 Jul 1532-d before 1 Jul 1564 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 443)

V Bardfield-magna, dioc Ldn, 25 Apr 1533-res before 14 Mar 1533, patron: John Clark on grant from dean and chapter of Stoke (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 29)

Ashton, Hugh (d. 9 Dec 1522)

Lancas

MA, Oxf, 1507; BCnL, Camb, 1507 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 46)

Household Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby; Rec Gen 1502; Controller 1508; Exec of will, 1509 (*CPL*, vol. 18, pp. 75-7 (55))

R Normanton, Derbys, 7 Jan 1496

R Barnack, Northants, 1502-1517

R Lythe, Yorks, 27 Nov 1504 (Reg. 25 (Savage), f. 64r)

R St. Oswald's, Grasmere, Westmorland ?-1509

R Burton Latimer, Northants, Jul 1522-d

Preb in Stafford 1504

Can and Preb, Exeter Cathedral 26 May 1507-res by 2 Sep 1516 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 61)

Preb Lyme and Halstock, Salisb Cathedral, 9 Apr 1509-res by 21 May 1517 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 66)

Can St. Stephen's Westminster, 27 May 1509-d (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 46)

Preb Strensall, YM, 18 May 1516-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 102r; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 82)

Preb Thorp, SS. Peter and Wilfrid Cathedral, Ripon, 2 Jan 1522-d (*Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, p. 221)

Adcn York, 8 Aug 1516-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 106v; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 19)

Adcn Winchester, 22 Oct 1511-res 20 May 1520 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 51)

Adcn Cornwall, 28 Sep 1515-res by 3 Feb 1517 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 17)
Land Inquisition Commission, York, 28 May 1517, (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3297; C 66/630)
Sewers Commission, York, 21 Jun 1518 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 4250; C 66/632)
Benefactor St. John's Coll, Oxf (or Camb) (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 46)
(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Cross, 'Ashton, Hugh (d.1522)', *ODNB*,
online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006)

Benet, Thomas (d. 16 Jul 1558)

BCL supp 18 and 26 Jun 1505

DCL by 1512

R Erneshill, dioc B&W, 16 Apr 1517 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 3134)

V Warminster, Wilts, 19 Sep 1520-Oct 1529

R Odstock, Wilts, 2 Apr 1526, still in 1550

R Boxford, Berks, 17 Sep 1526, vac by Jun 1532

R Kilmington, Winc, 8 Jul 1527 (*Reg Wolsey, Winchester*, p. 52)

V Downton Wilts, vac by Nov 1528

R Little Langford, Wilts, 10 Mar 1528 – vac by Mar 1530

R free chapel W Hemsworth, Dorset, 27 Sep 1533, still in 1536

R Corscombe, Dorset, 22 Jul 1536

R Corfe Castle, Dorset, app 1536

R Sutton Veny, Wilts, app 1550, 1553

R Boynton, Wilts app 1550, 1553

Wolsey's auditor, app 1524

Wolsey's audiencer w/ John Alen, 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 3216)

VG Salisb, 10 Feb 1525-1529; 1533-? (Wilkie, *Cardinal Protectors of England*, p. 147)

Preb Ealdstreet, St. Paul's, Ldn, 26 Nov 1517-10 Oct 1521 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5,
p. 36)

Preb Rugmere, St. Paul's, Ldn, 10 Oct 1521-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 60)

Precentor, Salisb, Jun 1536-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 16)

Preb Chisenbury and Chute, Salisb Cathedral, 26 Sep 1533-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*,
3, p. 45)

Preb, Axford, Salisb Cathedral, 6 Oct 1529-26 Sep 1533 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p.
26)

Preb Combe Quarta, Wells Cathedral, app 1535-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 27)

Treasurer, St. Paul's, Ldn, 12 Mar 1521-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 16)

Subsidy Commission, borough of New Windsor, 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, p. 1364)

Subsidy Commission, Berks, 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547, p. 235)

Peace Commissions, Wilts, 12 Jan 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1049 (12)), 6 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002 (6)), 28 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5243 (28))

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Oxford 1501-40*, pp. 42-43)

Benet, William (d. by 5 Oct 1533)

Fellow, All Souls Coll, Oxf, adm 1485; DCL

V Llangennith, Glamorgs, 10 Aug 1487-before Jun 1497

R Aston, Herts, 2 Jul 1527-d

R Marnhull, Dorset, before Oct 1533-d

Auditor of Wolsey's household, 1527

Preb Litton, Wells Cathedral, app 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 56)

Preb North Muskham, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 4 Oct 1526-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

Preb Ealdland, St. Paul's, Ldn, 26 Nov 1526-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 34)

Adcn Dorset, dioc Salisb, 20 Dec 1530-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 8)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 167)

Blande, John

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Chapl Warkworth Chapel, Linc dioc, app 1526 (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 150)

Burbank, William (d. by 8 Jan 1532)

DTh; DCnL

Royal notary

Bainbridge's household Rome

Head of English Hospice at Rome 1510

Preb Fenton, YM, 1 Jun 1512-res by 8 Mar 1531; 1531-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 49)

Preb Grantham Australis, Salisb Cathedral, 14 Sep 1522-res by 5 Mar 1528 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 55)

Preb Thockrington, YM, 13 May 1524-1531 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 84)

Preb Welton Westhall, Linc Cathedral, 13 Jun 1527-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 128)

Adcn Carlisle app 1520, 1530 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 102)

V Stanwell, dioc Ldn, 5 Jun 1521-res before 2 Aug 1522 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 736)

Burges, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

V Eton, dioc Linc, app 1526 (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 185)

Burgh, William (d. before 7 May 1525)

Balliol Coll, Oxf, Fellow 1469; BA Sep 1465; MA by 1469

Ord subden 25 Feb 1469; dcn 18 Mar 1469

R Tydd St. Giles, Camb, 7 Oct 1477

Can and preb of Hemmingburgh, dioc York, 23 Dec 1504

Preb Apesthorpe, YM, 2 Jun 1514-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 30)

R of Moremonkton, dioc York, ?-20 Apr 1525

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, pp. 310-311)

Burton, Ralph

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Rector choral to altar of St. Michael, BM, app 1525-1526 (Fallow, 'East Riding Clergy', p. 66), app 1535, £6 13s 4d (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 132)

Burton, Thomas (d. by 1535)

Adderbury, Oxon

Magd Coll, Oxf, fellow, 1518-1526; MA 31 Mar 1522; BTh Jun 1528; Lecturer Nat Phil, 1524-1525; supp DTh Oct 1531; Keeper ancient university chest 1522, master of disputations at Austins 1522, 1525; master of schools 1523; Northern Proctor of Univ, 1526-1527

Can Card Coll, Oxf, 1526-1531

Ord dcn 17 Dec 1524; pr 15 Apr 1525

Cantarist St. ? Pontefract, 28 Nov 1517 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 32r)

Can and Preb Norwell Palishall, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 22 Apr 1532-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 153)

V Bampton, Oxon ?-d

Chaplain to Wolsey 1528

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Oxford 1501-40*, p. 88)

Cade, Thomas (d. 1538 x 1543)

Surveyor, Duke of Buckingham, app 1519 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 469); Rec Gen, app 1521 (*LP* vol. 3, no. 1284(4), p. 495)

Rec Gen and Surveyor, St Albans Abbey, app 1528-1529 (SP 5/4, ff. 98r-110r)

Surveyor of The More, c. 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 976)

Peace Comm Hunts, 18 Dec 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 961(18)); Beds, Hunts, 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610(11)); Herts, 11 Feb 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2002(11)), 4 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083(4)); Hunts, 6 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083(4))

R Buckworth, Hunts, 28 Oct 1495 (*Reg John Morton*, vol. 1, p. 208)

Stip chapl of Framlingham; visitation of Suff and Sudbury adcnries, dioc Norw, app 1499 (*Reg John Morton*, vol. 3, p. 191)

V Burforde w/ chapel of Fulbroke in gift of abbot and convent of Keynysam, dioc Oxf, £32 3s 7d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 2, p. 179)

R Tembia, dioc St. David's, in collation of St. Albans Abbey, £26 10s 8d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 385)

R Hadley, dioc Ldn, 9 Sep 1550-depr 25 Jul 1554 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 291)

Capon, William (d. by 28 Feb 1550)

Salcot, Essex

Camb (BA 1499; MA 1502); BTh 1511; DD 1517; St. Cath's Coll, Camb fellow c. 1509; Proctor 1509-1510

V Great Shelford, Cambs, 1516

R St. Mary Woolchurch, dioc Ldn, 9 May 1517-res before 1 Feb 1532/3 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 460)

R Barkway, Herts, until 1534

R Duxford St. Peter, Cambs, 1543

V Berkley, Gloucs

R Simonsbury, Dorset

R North Stoneham, Hants

V St. Mary, Southampton Master Jesus Coll, Camb 21 Jul 1516-10 Nov 1546

Dean Tettenhall, Staffs, 1533-1548

Dean St. Mary's Coll, Ipsw

Dean Wolsey's Coll, Ipsw 1528

Preb St. Katherine's Altar, BM, app 1535-1548 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 111)

Preb Combe Secunda, Wells Cathedral, app 1535-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 24)

Preb Torleton, Salisb Cathedral, 29 Nov 1541-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 93)

Preb Bangor dioc, 1535, 1539 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 11, p. 16)

Precentor St. Mary's, Southampton

Wolsey's almoner by 1527

VG to bro John Salcott (alias Capon), Bp Bangor 1534-1539

Founded King Edw VI School, Southampton

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Williams, 'Capon, William (c.1480-1550)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 28 Jun 2007; Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, p. 290)

Cartar, Roger

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Chaplain Ellveley, Deanery of Harthill and Hull, dioc York, app 1525-1526 (Fallow, 'East Riding Clergy', p. 73)

Carter, Robert (d. c. 1541)

Magd Coll, Oxf, Fellow, 1505; MA 1506; Lecturer Logic 1506-1508; Jr Dean of Arts 1507-1508; Southern Proctor 1508; Lecturer Phil 1509-1511; VP 1510-1511; Supp BCnL; BD in 1520; supp DD 15 Apr 1524

Wolsey's household chaplain; steward 1524; seneschal 1526

Present at surrender of St. Frideswide's priory 24 Apr 1524

R St Martin's Vintry, dioc Ldn, 14 Apr 1519-d before 22 Feb 1540/1 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 422)

R Yardley Hastings, dioc Linc, 1519-1531 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 34)

R Woolpit, dioc Norw, 1521-1529 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 34)

R All Hallows, Barking, dioc Ldn, 19 Apr 1525-res before 31 Mar 1530 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 242)

R Islip, Linc, 20 Apr 1526-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 34)

Can of Card Coll by 1527, Can KH8 Coll from 1532

Preb St Andrew's Altar, BM, dioc York, by 1526, still 1535, possibly -d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 34; *VE*, vol. 5, p. 131)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, pp. 364-365)

Carver, John (d. by 11 Aug 1516)

BCnL and BCL before 1478, incept at Camb 1483-1484; DCnL inc at Oxf 1494-1495

Chapl chantry All Hallows, Barking, 2 May 1476-before Jul 1476

R Great Hadham, Herts, 2 Mar 1478-May 1515

Preb Weighton, YM, 1 Jun 1506-16 Dec 1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 89)

Preb Strensall, YM, 16 Dec 1509-res 31 May 1515 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 82)

Adcn Mdx 8 Mar 1497-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 13)

Adcn York 12 Jun 1504–res by 15 May 1515, pension of £90 p.a. (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 6, p. 19)

Comm gen in peculiars of Bp of Ldn, 23 Apr 1489

VG Abpric York, 1501-1514

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, pp. 365-366.)

Chaunterell, Nicholas

Preb Grindale, YM, 1506-1532 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 6, p. 56)

Clayburgh, William (d. by 30 May 1534)

DCnL and DCL

Preb Rampton, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 10 Jul –res by 30 Oct 1527 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 153)

Preb Dunham, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 20 Aug 1527-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 153)

Preb Bury, Chichester Cathedral, 20 Sep 1527-d (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 7, p. 17)

Preb of Bangor, app 12 Feb 1534-d (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 11, p. 16)

Adcn Worc, 4 Apr 1531-d (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 4, p. 63)

Clerk, John (b. 1481/2 – d. 31 Jan 1541)

Much Livermere, Suff

Camb, BA 1498, MA 1502; Bologna, DCnL 1510

Bainbridge's Household, Rome

Chamberlain Eng Hospice, Rome

R Rothbury, Northumb, 1512-1523

R Portished, Somers, 1513-1519

Ditcheat, Somers -res by 1519

Ivychurch, Kent, 1514-1523

South Molton, Devon, 1519-1523

Adcn Colchester, 22 Oct 1519-26 Mar 1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 5, p. 14)

Dean Chapel Royal, 1516

Dean St. Geo's Windsor, 9 Nov 1519

Master of the Rolls, 20 Oct 1522

Bp B&W, 26 Mar 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 8, p. 3)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Rex, 'Clerk, John (1481/2?-1541)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 24 May 2006)

Clifton, Gamaliel (d. before 2 May 1541)

Clifton, Notts

BCnL 1503-1504; DCL and DCnL; Incorp at Oxf, 1521 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 356)

Ord acolyte, 13 Mar 1500; subdcn, 18 Apr 1500 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 356)

King's chaplain

R Wylford, dioc York, £18 15s 9d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 167)

R Hawton, dioc York, £17 13s 2d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 186)

R Weston, dioc York, £19 2s 10d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 187)

Preb Wistow, YM, 15 Jul 1500-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 94)

Preb Pratum Minus, Heref Cathedral, 14 Apr 1528-before 16 May 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 2, p. 44)

Preb Colwall, Heref Cathedral, 16 May 1529-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 2, p. 19)

Can, SS. Mary and George, Windsor Castle, 7 Aug 1522

Dean Heref, 22 Jul 1529-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 2, p. 5)

Clifton, William (d. before 24 Sep 1548)

Clifton, Notts?

Little White Hall, Oxf (now part of Jesus Coll) 1507

Sch Cn and CL; supp BCn and CL 17 Mar 1506; supp DCnL 24 Nov, 16 Dec 1516; lic

DCL 7 Feb 1517; may have received degree from Univ of Turin

R Surfleet, Lincs, 19 May 1508

R Bratoft, Lincs, 23 Sep 1508; still in 1535

R Muston, Leics, 30 Oct 1514

R Kirkby-on-Bain, Lincs, 1526

Preb St. James' altar, BM, dioc York, 1535-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 45)

Succentor, YM, 1522-1529

Subdean, YM, 13 May 1529-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 17)

VG to Wolsey, Abpric York, 1523

Benefactor Brasenose Coll, 1538

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 443)

Coalshyll, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Chorister, Exeter Cathedral, vac by 19 dec 1532 (Orme, *Minor Clergy Exeter Cathedral*, p. 129)

Cole, Arthur (d. 18 Jul 1558)

Magd Coll, Oxf, BA 1519; supp MA Jan 25, inc 31 Mar 1522; supp BTh Apr 1532, Jul 1543, adm BTh 7 Jun 1554; Keeper Ancient Univ Chest 1522; Clerk of the Market, 1522, 1523; Master of the Schools, 1522-1523; Collector of Univ Rents, 1524, 1525; Sr Proctor of Univ 1527-1528

Ord Subdcn 11 Mar 1525

Cross bearer to Wolsey, 1528

R Clifford Chambers, Gloucs before 1532-d

V Birstall, dioc York, 31 Oct 1535-Oct 1537

R Bolton Percy, dioc York, 5 Aug 1537-d

R Oddington, Gloucs, 6 Nov 1547-d

R Remenham, Berks, 21 Feb 1548-d

Can of Windsor, 18 May 1543-d

Preb Twiford, St. Paul's, Ldn, 28 Apr 1554-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1541-1857*, 1, p. 60)

Treasurer and Preb Monkton Episcopi, SS. Peter and Wilfrid Cathedral, Ripon, dioc York, 10 Jan 1543 (*Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, p. 234)

Pres Magd Coll, Oxf, 22 Apr 1555

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Oxford 1501-40*, p. 128)

Colet, John (b. Jan 1467 – d. 16 Sep 1519)

Entered Oxf, c.1483; MA inc. c. 1490; at Orleans, Paris and Italy between 1493 and 1496;

BTh adm c. 1501; DTh, inc. 1504

Parish of St. Antholin, Watling Street, Ldn

Possibly Magd Coll, Oxf, BTh 1501, Incorp DTh 1504, or at Camb, 1485-1489

Ord dcn 17 Dec 1497, pr 25 Mar 1498

R Dennington, Suff, 6 Aug 1485-d

R free chapel of Hiberworth, Norf, 1486

R Thurning, Hunts, 1490-before Feb 1494

V Stepney, after 1499-before Sep 1505

R Lamburn, Berks, Jun 1505 (annexed to deanery St. Paul's, Ldn)

Preb Botevant, YM, 13 Dec 1496-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 38)

Can and Preb Goodeaster, St. Martin's-le-Grand, by 1497-1504

Preb Durnford, Salisb Cathedral, 27 Jan 1503-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 48)

Preb Mora, St. Paul's, Ldn, 5 May 1505-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 49)

Dean, St. Paul's, Ldn, 2 Jun 1505-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 7)

Treasurer Chichester, after 1508-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 7, p. 11)

Refounded St. Paul's Cathed School, 1508

Doctors' Commons, 1505

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Trapp, 'Colet, John (1467-1519)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 28 Jun 2007; Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 463)

Colynson (Colyns), Lancelot (d. before 9 Apr 1538)

Nephew of Cardinal Bainbridge, in his service at Rome, 1511

Studying at Bologna, 1516

Preb Weighton, YM, 10 Feb 1510-5 May 1514 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 89)

Treasurer, YM, 5 May 1514-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 15)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Chambers, *Bainbridge in Rome*, p. 115)

Cooke, John

Notary public

Registrar, dioc Winc, 10 Dec 1524-?

May be same as Cooke, chapl of Magd Coll, 1523 (Emden, *Oxford 1501-40*, p. 134)

Cowper, Thomas

Clerk to the Auditor for the building of Card College, Oxf, c. 1525-1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6748 (8), p. 3042)

Receiver, nunnery of Staynfeld, dioc Linc, app 1535, 53s (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 83)

Stip chapl of Eyke, dioc Norw, app 1499 (*Reg John Morton*, vol. 3, p. 191)

Cantarist, New College, dioc Leics, app 1535, £7 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 172)

Preb Urpeth, Chester-le-Street Minster, dioc Durh, 46s, (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 312)

Cromer, George (d. 16 Mar 1543)

Kent

Scholar Oxf 1497; MA by 1510

R Vange, Essex, 11 Feb 1497-Feb 1510

V Lynsted, Kent, 14 Feb 1510-before Oct 1511

R East Guldeford, Sussex, 3 Feb 1511, still in 1513

R Stanford-le-Hope, Essex, 19 Jul 1511-before Feb 1514

R Murston, Kent, Jun 1511-before Jun 1513

V Benenden, Kent, 27 Oct 1513, still in 1536

Chapl to H8 by 1521

Master Cobham Coll, dioc Roch, 22 May 1512-1532 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1221 (117))

Abp Armagh, 2 Oct 1521-16 Mar 1543 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 335)

LC Ireland and Keeper of Great Seal, 5 Jul 1532 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 331)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Jeffries, 'Cromer, George (d.1543)',

ODNB, online ed., accessed 30 Mar 2006; Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 520)

Cromwell, Sir Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 26s 8d, assessed: 4d

R Reed, dioc Ldn, btw 1479 and res 1511/2 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 861)

V Battersea, app 1515

Surveyor Wolsey's buildings at Battersea, app 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 1369)

Dalby, Thomas (d. 26 Jan 1526)

Oxf, MA by 1482; BCL by 1499; DCnL 1500

Royal chapl and councilor to H7 and H8

Treasurer, Household Thomas Savage, Abp of York, c. 1501

Dean of Chapel and Surveyor, Duke of Richmond, 1525-d (Reid, *King's Council*, p. 84)

R Welby, dioc Linc, before Jul 1482

V Foxton, Leics, 30 Jun 1482-before Nov 1483

R Ashby Parva, Leics, before Jan 1496

R Brant Broughton, Leics, 28 Apr 1497-d

V Guilsborough, Northants, 10 Jun 1499-before Jul 1501

V Normanton, dioc York, 11 Jun 1499

V Dean, Beds, 29 Jul 1501-before Jul 1506

Adcn Richmond, dioc York, 24 Sep 1506-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 27)

Provost, BM, dioc York 12 Sep 1503-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 11)

Preb South Newbald, YM, 1 Jan 1506-9 Jan 1507 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 72)

Preb Stillington, YM, 9 Jan 1507-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 80)

Can and Preb North Leverton, Southwell Minster, 4 Nov 1505-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 151)

Preb St. James' Altar, BM, dioc York, 1509-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 44)

Peace Comm WR, NR, ER, Westmorland, Northumb, 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610 (11))

Dean of Chapel and Surveyor, Duke of Richmond's Househ, 1525-d (Reid, *King's Council*, p. 102)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 533)

Denton, James (d. by 11 Apr 1533)

Eton; King's Coll, Camb, King's Sch, 1486; BA, 1489; MA, 1492; Fellow, 1489; Proctor, 1495-1496; Bursar 1496-7, 1498-1500; Valence DCnL; Incorp DCnL Camb, 1505 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 34)

R St. Olave's, Southwark, 1507 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 34)

R Headbourne Worthy, Hants (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 34)

Royal Chaplain; app Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520

R Sladbourne, dioc York, 20 Sep 1509

Can St. Geo's, Windsor, 20 Aug 1509

Preb Highworth, Salisb Cathedral, 12 Aug 1510-d by 11 Apr 1533 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 60)

Preb Stotfold, Lichf Cathedral, 17 Jan 1510-7 Jan 1522 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 57)

Preb Liddington, Linc Cathedral, 9 Dec 1514-res by 10 Aug 1532 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 86)

Almoner to Princess Mary, king's sister, app 23 Sep 1514

Pres coll church Windsor, app 9 Nov 1519

Dean Lichf, 7 Jan 1522-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 7)

Adcn Cleveland, dioc York, 26 Dec 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 21)

Chancellor Princess Mary's Council in March of Wales 1526-d

Benefactor King's Coll and St. Geo's Chapel, Windsor

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Tout, Denton, James (d. 1533)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006)

Donnington, Thomas (d. by 19 Nov 1531)

Dunnington, Yorks

Perpetual cantarist, YM, 14 May 1512 (*CPL*, vol. 19, pp. 424-5 (750))

Subtreasurer, YM, 1519

Preb Givendale, YM, 21 Aug 1525-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 53)

Surveyor, Wolsey's Household, Abpric York, 1527 (SP 1/41, f. 167; *LP*, vol. 4, no. 3043)

Steward, Wolsey's Household, Abpric York, by 1530 (SP 1/57, ff. 163-4; *LP*, vol. 4, no. 6447)

Can and preb Norwell Palishall, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 20 Sep 1525-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 153)

Precentor, BM, by 1520-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 126)

Member Corpus Christi Guild, York, 1519 (*Reg of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, p. 193)

R Finghall, adcnry Richm, dioc York, app 1525 (E 36/61, f. 7r)

Drum, Michael

Camb, fellow; Card Coll, Oxf 1525, later canon; BA 21 Jun 1527; MA 17 Jul 1531; BD 20 Sep 1540; Greek Reader 1536, 1539; Dean of Arts, 1537, 1539 (Emden, *Oxford 1501-40*, p. 177; Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 68))

One of six preachers appt by Cranmer to preach Canterb Cathedral 1541 (MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 284)

Duke, Richard (d. by 2 Aug 1539)

Exeter Coll, Oxf, MA by 1505; adm BTh 19 Jun 1515; DTh 5 Nov 1516; Jr Proctor Univ, 1509-1510; Chancellor's Commissary Nov 1518, Oct 1519

Ord subdcn 12 Aug 1505; dcn 28 Mar 1506; pr 16 Apr 1506

R Holy Trinity, Exeter, 6 Oct 1515-before Sep 1526

R Whimble, Devon, 3 Nov 1526-d

V Congresbury, Somers, app 1536

Dean Wolsey's household chapel

Preb Dunnington, YM, 7 May 1523-res by 27 Feb 1530 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 47)

Can and Preb, Exeter Cathedral, 20 Aug 1528-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 64)

Preb Ratfyn, Salisb Cathedral, 4 Feb 1530-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 82)

Preb Buckland Dinham, Wells Cathedral, app 1533, 1535-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 21)

Adcn Salisb, app 1535-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 13)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 602)

Dyer, John (d. 2 May 1527)

Glastonbury, Somerset

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

E 179/69/10, value in wages: 40s, assessed: 12d

Possibly Winc Coll, scholar adm 1481; New Coll scholar adm 1 Feb 1487, Fellow 1488, vac 1496; Winc Coll, fellow adm 11 Apr 1503, vac 1505, re-adm 7 Apr 1526-d

MA inc 21 Dec 1494

Ord acol 31 July 1491, dcn 21 Apr 1492, pr 17 June 1492

R Radclive, Bucks, pres by New Coll, 6 July 1496-d

(Emden, *Reg of Oxf*, vol. 1, p. 615)

Edwards, William (d. before 29 Jan 1538)

Notary Public (*Reg of Wolsey, B&W*, p. 78 (473))

One of Wolsey's secretaries

Preb Pratum Minus, Heref Cathedral, 27 Jan 1513-14 Apr 1528 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 2, p. 44)

Preb Hunderton, Heref Cathedral, 14 Apr 1528-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 2, p. 29)

Possible same as probationary fellow Magd Coll Jul 1490, BA 1493, MA 1502 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 628)

Fell, William (d. before 11 Jan 1528)

Lancs

Magd Coll, Oxf, MA by 1480, DTh by 1496; prob fellow 1480, fellow 20 Jul 1482-1486;

Sr Commoner 1486, Jr Dean of Arts 1482-1483, Bursar 1484-1485

Ord subdcn 23 Dec 1480, dcn 17 Mar 1481

R Byfield, Northants, 11 Jun 1496-before Jan 1499

R Theydon Mount, Essex, 18 Sep 1499-res before Oct 1514 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 585)

V Newcastle, 3 Sep 1516

R Combe Martin, Devon, 3 Jun 1501-d

Adcn Nottingham, 8 Aug 1516-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 106v; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 25)

King's Chaplain, Field of Cloth of Gold 1520 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 704)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 675)

Foxe, Thomas

Ldn dioc

CCC, fellow nominated by founder, 5 Mar 1517

Mag (Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 214)

Ord sdcn 19 Jun 1519; dcn 24 Sep 1519; pr 17 Dec 1519 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 185r-v, 186r)

Notary Public; Confirming monastic elections York dioc, app 1518-1527 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 39v, 53r-v, 64r, 69r, 87v)

Frankleyn, William (b. 1480/1 – d. 1556)

Bedlow, Bucks

Eton, sch 1496; Camb BCnL 1504-1505

Chapl to Wolsey by 29 Aug 1515 (*LP*, vol. 2, no. 861)

V Thurleigh, Beds, Feb 1510

R Easington, dioc Durh, 1515

R Houghton-le-Spring, dioc Durh, 1522

R Stanmore, Mdx, 1537

R Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks, 15 Nov 1540

Master Hosp St. Giles, Keping, dioc Durh 1515

Chancellor, dioc Durh, 1514

Adcn Durh, 1515-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 113)

Preb Haydour-cum-Walton, Linc Cathedral, 21 Feb 1518-15 Nov 1540 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 69)

Preb Stillington, YM, 13 Feb 1526-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 80)

Pres Queen's Coll, Camb, 1527-1528

Dean of Windsor, 17 Dec 1536-1552

Dean Wolverhampton, 1536-1548

Can and preb Saltmarsh, Howden Minster, dioc York (pec jurisd Durh), 14 Oct 1518-1528 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 39v)

Duke of Richmond's council 1525 (Reid, *King's Council*, p. 103)

Peace Comm Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumb, WR, 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610 (11)); WR, 10 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083 (10)); ER, 28 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5243 (28))

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 176)

Fraunces, Robert (d. by Feb 1559)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 40s

R Farringdon, dioc Winc, 1526-d, £18 5s 11d (Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 215; *VE*, vol. 2, p. 12)

Cn and CL for 5 yrs at Camb and Oxf, BCnL adm 12 July 1535

Pr by Mar 1535

Gardiner, Stephen (b. c. 1495 x 8 – d. 12/3 Nov 1555)

Bury St. Edmunds, Suff

Trinity Hall, Camb, BCnL, 1518; DCL, 1521; DCnL, 1522

Master, Trinity Hall, Camb, 1525-1549

Wolsey's household 1524

Preb Teinton Regis, Salisb Cathedral, c. 1526-res by 22 Dec 1531 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 91)

Adcn Taunton, B&W dioc, 8 Feb 1526-1531 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 17)

Adcn Worc, Nov 1529-Dec 1531 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 63)

Adcn Norf, 1 Mar 1530-Dec 1531 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 30)

Adcn Leic, 25 Mar 1531-Dec 1531 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 13)

Royal Secretary, 1529-1534

Bp Winc, Dec 1531-depr 14 Feb 1551; restored Aug 1553 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 47)

LC, 23 Aug 1553

Chancellor, Camb, 1540-47; 1553

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 193;

Armstrong, 'Gardiner, Stephen (c.1495x8-1555)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 30 May 2006; Redworth, *In defence of the Catholic Church*)

Green, Thomas

Deputy to Thomas Cade, Rec Gen and Surveyor of St. Albans Abbey (SP 5/4, ff. 81r-107r)

Peace Comm, WR, 1532 (*LP*, vol. 5, no. 1694)

V Fletwyk, Linc dioc, £7 17s 0d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 214)

Griffiths, David ap

Keeper of monastery of St. Frideswide's, Oxford 1524-1528 and overseer of workmen at

Cardinal College, Oxford (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6748 (8), p. 3042)

Halsey, Thomas

Lincs

Fellow All Souls Coll, Oxf, 1495-1501; BCL by 1498; Studying at Bologna 1504; DCnL and DCL probably from Bologna (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 857)

Ord acolyte 23 Feb 1499; subdcn 16 Mar 1499; dcn 30 Mar 1499; pr 24 May 1499

(Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 857)

In service of Cardinal Bainbridge and Cardinal Castellesi, before entering Wolsey's service (Wilkie, *Cardinal Protectors of England*, p. 109)

English Hospice at Rome, confraternity, 1510; chamberlain, 1510, 1516; warden 1512-1513 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 857)

Penitentiary, chaplain, *continuus commensalis*, Household Pope Leo X before 20 May 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 1910)

Bp Elphin, 20 May 1513 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 3617)

Hatton, John (d. by 21 Sep 1516)

May have studied at Oxf (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 886)

R Garforth, dioc York, 16 Jan 1506-before Sep 1506 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 886; Reg. 25 (Savage), ff. 44r, 47r)

Preb Givendale, YM, 29 Oct 1503-9 May 1504 (Reg. 25 (Savage), f. 24r; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 53)

Preb Ulleskelf, YM, 9 May 1504-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 86)

Preb Sacrista/Treasurer, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 15 Feb 1509-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 151)

Adcn Nottingham, 1 Aug 1506-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 25)

Bp Negroponte, Bp Suffragan dioc York, from at least 1502-d (Reg. 25 (Savage), f. 113r)

Reappted Bp Suffragan for Wolsey, 14 Nov 1514 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 4r)

Higden, Brian (d. 5 Jun 1539)

Broadgates Hall, Oxf (now Pembroke Coll), principal 9 Sep 1505-res 10 Mar 1508, BCL 1499, supp DCL 21 Jun 1505, lic 28 May 1506, disp 15 Oct 1506

Proctor in chancellor's court 1504, 1505

Ord acol Feb 1505; subdcn 8 Mar 1505; dcn 21 Mar 1505; pr 21 Apr 1508

R Bucknell, Oxfords, 15 Jun 1505, still in 1508

R Kirkby Underwood, Lincs, 3 Jul 1511-?

R Nettleton, Lincs, 18 Dec 1513-before 1526

R Stokesley, York dioc, 28 Apr 1517-? (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 25r)

R Warton, adcnry Richm, dioc York, app 1525 (E 36/61, f. 8)

Preb Welton Ryvall, Linc Cathedral, 29 Aug 1508-15 Jan 1513 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 128)

Preb Clifton, Linc Cathedral, Jan 1513, exch w/ John Talbot for Aylesbury 26 Jun 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 53)

Preb Ulleskelf, YM, 14 Jun 1516-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 103r; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 86)

Preb Nesdon, St. Paul's, Ldn, 1536-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 50)

Subdean Linc 12 Nov 1511-by 1 Jul 1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 6)
VG York 24 Sep 1513; reappt 13 Nov 1514
Adcn York, 15 May 1515-27 Jun 1516 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 101r; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 19)
Dean, YM, 27 Jun 1516-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 8)
Chanc, Duke of Richmond's Council, 1525; reapp 1530-d (Reid, *King's Council*, p. 102)
Official of the Consistory Court of York on Wolsey's translation, 1514
Sewers Comm, York, 21 Jun 1518 (C 66/632; *LP*, vol. 2, no. 4250)
Benefactor Brasenose Coll, Oxf (£110 for stipend to fellow elec alt from Yorks and Lincs)
(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Chibi, 'Hygden, Brian (d.1539)', *ODNB*,
online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006; Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 930)

Higden, John (d. c. 19 Dec 1532)

Magd Coll, Oxf, fellow, elec c. 1495-1505; MA by 1498, lic for DTh 29 Jan 1514, disp. 10
Feb 1514, DTh inc. 20 Feb 1514; Lecturer Sophistry 1498-1499, 1500-1503; Sr Dean of
Arts 1500-1501, 1503-1504; 2nd Bursar 1502-1503; VP 1504-1505
Ord subdcn 4 Apr 1500, dcn 18 Apr 1500, pr 13 Jun 1500
Pres, Magd Coll, Oxf, 17 Dec 1516-res 6 Nov 1525
Dean, Card Coll, 1525
Dean KH8 Coll, 19 Jul 1532-d
V Beeding, Sussex, 3 Aug 1502-before Jan 1505
R East Bridgford, Notts, 20 Dec 1504-1533
V Sutterton, Lincs, 27 Sep 1510, still in 1526
R Church Hanborough, Oxon, 2 Jul 1518-d
V Bishop Wilton, dioc York, app 1526 (SP 1/37, f. 177v)
R Witney, Oxon, Apr 1529-d
Can and preb Milton Manor, Linc Cathedral, 26 Dec 1521-res by 12 Dec 1532 (Le Neve,
Fasti, 1300-1541, 1, p. 94)
Can and preb Weighton, YM, 2 Dec 1524, exch for Wetwang 15 Apr 1529-d (Le Neve,
Fasti, 1300-1541, 6, p. 89)
Founded exhibitions at Magd Coll for four probationary fellows and four demise, 30 Sep
1532
(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 931)

Holgill, Edmund

E 179/69/9, assessed: 12d

Clerk, received annuity from Hexham Priory, 1541-1546 (*LP*, vol. 16, no. 745, vol. 17, no. 258, vol. 18, pt. 1, no. 436, pt. 2, no. 231, vol. 19, no. 368, vol. 20, no. 557, vol. 21, nos. 643, 775)

Holgill, William (d. before 24 May 1549)

Adm BA Oxf 1535, determined 1536 (Emden, *Oxford, 1501-1540*, p. 294)

Steward to Wolsey in Abpric York, app 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2946)

Surveyor to Wolsey in Abpric York, app 22 Jul 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 4229)

Master of the Savoy, app 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 107)

R Chylcombe, dioc Winc, 8 Feb 1506 (*CPL*, vol. 18, p. 401 (555))

R Denge, adcnry Essex, dioc Ldn, 30 Sep 1533-res before 17 Sep 1535 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 212)

R Great Salkeld, 1534 (approp to Adcn Carlisle)

R Guiseley (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 6, p. 30)

Preb Fridaythorpe, YM, 19 May 1522-6 Sep 1522 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 52)

Preb South Cave, YM, 7 Oct 1534-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 44)

Preb St. Martin's Altar, BM, Oct 1534-before 1548 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 58)

Precentor, YM, 6 Sep 1522-7 Oct 1534 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 12)

Adcn Carlisle, app 1534, 1540 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 103)

Peace Comm ER, 11 Aug 1525 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1610 (11)), 28 Jan 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5243); WR and NR, 10 Dec 1528 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5083)

Incent, John (d. Sep 1545)

Great Berkhamsted, Herts

All Souls Coll, fellow, 1506; still in 1510-1511; 1 yr study CL at Camb, 5 yrs at Oxf, BCL by Jan 1507; DCL 20 Nov 1513

Chancellor's Court, 1509; still in 1511

Notary Public by 1507

Ord dcn 19 Feb 1513; pr 12 Mar 1513

R Compton, Hants, 15 Nov 1512

R Chinnor, Oxfords, 20 Jan 1520-d

R St. Maurice's, Winc, before Nov 1511

V Chieveley, Berks, 8 Feb 1520

R Lockinge, Berks, 26 Oct 1521

R All SS, Southampton, before Oct 1522

R Kimpton, Hants, 13 Jun 1524-d

R Sutton, Surrey, 16 Oct 1533

R Tadmarton, Oxfords, in 1535-d

Master free chapel St. Laurence, Nantwich, Ches, in 1535

Master, Godshouse, Portsmouth, 25 Apr 1522-dissolved 1540

Master, St. Cross Hospital, Winc, 13 Jun 1524-d

VG to Wolsey, dioc Winc

Preb Urchfont, St. Mary's Abbey, Winc, 21 Sep 1526

Can of Gnosall, Staffs and Preb of Pendford in 1535

Precentor St. Mary's Southampton, 11 Nov 1526

Dean, St. Paul's, Ldn, 10 Jun 1540-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 7)

Contributed to foundation of Berkhamsted School 1523

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 999)

Inge, Hugh (d. 3 Aug 1528)

Somers

Winc Coll, Oxf, sch 1480; New Coll, Oxf, sch 1482, fellow 1484, grad 1488; MA by 1491;

DTh foreign university 1508, Incorp Oxf 1511

Ord subdcn, dcn and pr, 28 May-17 Dec 1491

R Wappenham, Northants, 14 Nov 1494-1512

R Stonar, Kent, 14 Jan 1492-Feb 1498

V Wellow, Somers, 15 Jul 1495-1512

V Olveston, Gloucs, 18 Jan 1504-before Jul 1508

V Weston Zoyland, Somers, 17 Apr 1508

V Doulting, Somers, 19 Nov 1509-1512

Preb Cudworth, Wells Cathedral, 1501, exch for Eastharptree, 1503

Succentor, Wells Cathedral, 22 Oct 1503; still in 1508

Rome, 1504

Papal penitentiary, 1504

Warden of the English Hospice at Rome, 4 Nov 1504-1508

Bp Meath, 28 Jan 1512-27 Feb 1523 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 336)

VG to John Kite, Abp Armagh

Abp Dublin, 27 Feb 1523-d (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 336)

LC Ireland and Keeper of Great Seal, 8 Feb 1522-d (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 331)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Newcombe, 'Inge, Hugh (d.1528)', *ODNB*, online edn., (accessed 30 Mar 2006); Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 1000)

Kellet, Edward (d. before 19 Sep 1539)

2 yrs study CL at Camb, 1 yr at Oxf, 1 yr at Orléans, granted grace to enter CL at Camb
1501-2 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 340)

Chapl, Cardinal Bainbridge's household (Marshall, 'Face of the Pastoral Ministry', p. 12)

One of three officials of the York consistory court on Wolsey's translation (Reg. 27
(Wolsey), f. 1r)

V Dewsbury, dioc York, 7 Sep 1506 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 340; Reg. 25
(Savage), f. 46v)

R Huggate, dioc York, 26 Mar 1523 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 68r)

Can and Preb Skipworth, Howden Minster, dioc York (pec jurisd Durh) 18 Aug 1517, app
1535

Preb Langtoft, YM, 2 Sep 1524-10 Apr 1538 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 63)

Precentor, YM, 10 Apr 1538-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 12)

Kingsbury, Thomas

Oxf, BTh, supp 28 Mar 1506, adm 4 Mar 1512 (Foster, *Alumni Oxon*, p. 855)

Adcn St. Albans, dioc Ldn, app 1529 (SP 5/4 f. 98r)

Kite, John (d. 19 Jun 1537)

Ldn

Eton, sch c. 1476; King's Coll, Camb, sch 1480; proc BCnL 1494/5 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1,
pt. 3, p. 27)

R Harlington, Mdx, until 1510 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 27)

R Wolferton, Norf, 1496

R Boscombe, Wilts, 1499

R St. Stephen in Walbrook, Ldn, 1520-1534 (*CPL*, vol. 20, p. 67 (114))

Royal Chaplain by 1509

Subdean, Chapel Royal, by Feb 1510

Can and Preb Wilmercote, College of St. Edith, Tamworth, Staffs, dioc Cov and Lichf

Preb Wightring, Chichester Cathedral, 12 Apr 1507-before 28 Mar 1508 (Le Neve, *Fasti*,
1300-1541, 7, p. 49)

Can and Preb Stratton, Salisb Cathedral, 30 Apr 1510-res by 24 Feb 1518 (Le Neve, *Fasti*,
1300-1541, 3, p. 90)

Can and Preb in Crediton Minster, Exeter, 1513

Bp Carlisle, 12 Jul 1521-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 99)

Abp Armagh, 24 Oct 1513-12 Jul 1521 (*CPL*, vol. 20, p. 67 (114); Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 335)

Abp of Thebes *in partibus infidelium*

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Newcombe, 'Kite, John (d.1537)', *ODNB*. online ed., accessed 14 Mar 2006; O'Grady, *Henry VIII and the Conforming Catholics*, p. 69; Wilkie, *Cardinal Protectors of England*, pp. 80, 163)

Knight, William (b. c. 1475/6 – d. 29 Sep 1547)

Sch Winc Coll, Oxf, 1487, aged 11; New Coll Oxf sch 12 May 1491; Fellow 12 Jun 1493-1495; Ferrara BCL by 1504; DCL by 28 Oct 1506; Incorpor DCL Oxf 12 Oct 1531

Royal chapl by Mar 1513

Royal Ambassador

Royal Secretary 1526

Protonotary apostolic by Feb 1514

R Barton, Beds, 9 Feb 1504–before Jun 1511

R Sandhurst, Kent, 27 Feb 1508–before May 1515

R Stowting, Kent, before Jul 1513

R Chartham, Kent, 13 Apr 1514–Apr 1515

R All Hallows, Bread Street, dioc Ldn, 10 Mar 1515–before Oct 1537

R Romaldkirk, dioc York, 12 Jan 1518–1541

R Bangor Monachorum, Flintshire, 22 Jun 1527–1541

Dean Hosp and Coll Newarke, Leic, 4 Dec 1515–before Jun 1517

Preb Farndon-cum-Balderton, Linc Cathedral, Jan 1516–1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 66)

Preb Horton, Salisb Cathedral, 1 Aug 1517–1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 62)

Preb Chamberlainwood, St Paul's, Ldn, 1517–1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 30)

Preb St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1527–1541

Preb Bangor, 1530–1541, (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 11, p. 16)

Preb Haselbere, Wells Cathedral, app 1535–1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 49)

Adcn Chester, 11 Nov 1522–20 May 1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 14)

Adcn Huntingdon, 12 Sep 1523–23 Apr 1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 10)

Adcn Richmond, 7 Dec 1529–23 Apr 1541 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 27)

Bp, B&W, 23 Apr 1541-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 3)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Clark, 'Knight, William (1475/6-1547)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006; Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 1063)

Knollys, Thomas (d. 9 May 1546)

Westgate, Yorks

Magd Coll, Oxf, bach fellow 1495, fellow by 1498/9-1502; Ingledew chapl 1500-1501; 2nd bursar 1501-1502; Pres elec 6 Feb 1528-res 3 Feb 1536; Supp BTh and DTh 4 Nov 1512, BTh 19 Apr 1515, Incorp DTh Jun 1518

Ord acolyte, 19 Dec 1495

V Wakefield, dioc York, 30 Jun 1502-d

Subdean, YM, 17 Feb 1508-11 May 1529 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 17)

Preb Apesthorne, YM, 11 May 1529-res by 1 Apr 1546 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 30)

V South Kirkby, dioc York, 7 May 1536-d

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 1060)

Langton, Robert (b. 25 Jun 1470 – d. Jun 1524)

Appleby, Westmorland

Cousin of Cardinal Bainbridge, nephew of Thomas Langton, Bp of Winc

Queen's Coll, Oxf after 1487; studying at Bologna by 1493; DCL 18 May 1498; Incorp DCL, Oxf, 1501 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, pp. 1100-1101)

R Bishopstone, Wilts, 1507-d (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 1101)

V West Alvington, Devon, 9 Jul 1508-d (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 1101)

Preb Charminster and Bere, Salisb Cathedral, 30 Jan 1488-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 43)

Preb Weighton, YM, 2 Jun 1514-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 89)

Preb Welton Westhall, Linc Cathedral, 10 Oct 1483-before Mar 1518 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 128)

Preb Fordington and Writhlington, Salisb Cathedral, 29 Sep 1485-30 Jan 1488 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 52)

Preb North Muskham, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 13 Jul 1514-res by 18 Jan 1517 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

Treasurer, YM, 24 Apr 1509-2 Jun 1514 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 15)

Adcn Dorset, 25 Jun 1486-res by 20 Mar 1514 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*,

Protonot Apost

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Summerson, 'Langton, Robert (1470-1524)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 9 Jul 2008)

Larke, Thomas (d. 20 Jul 1530)

Camb DCL, 1477-1478; Possibly King's Hall, 1508-1509 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 48)

Wolsey's confessor, c. 1511-1530

Chapl to H8 in 1511

Royal comptroller of works

Supervised building at King's Coll Chapel and Card Coll, Oxf (Thurley, 'Domestic Building Works of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 80)

R Kettering, Northants, 1512-1515 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 48)

R Folsham, dioc Norw, app 1512 (*CPL*, vol. 19, pp. 374-375)

Chapl, royal free chapel, Bridgnorth Castle, Shrops, dioc Cov and Lichf, app 1512 (*CPL*, vol. 19, pp. 374-375)

R West Dereham, dioc Norw, by 1520

Preb St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1511-?

Preb Lyme and Halstock, Salisb Cathedral, 21 May 1517-res by 21 Nov 1518 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 66)

Preb Welton Ryvall, Linc Cathedral, 20 Sep 1514-before 3 Jun 1517 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 128)

Preb St. James's, BM, after 1517, again after 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2001; McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 44)

Adcn Sudbury, 17 Feb 1517-9 Apr 1522

Adcn Norwich, 9 Apr 1522-res by 26 Jun 1528 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 28)

Dean St. Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shrops, 1508-res 1515 (*VCH: Shrops*, vol. 2, pp. 126, 128)

Dean Chichester, 4 Mar x 24 Oct 1517-res 9 Nov 1518 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 7, p. 5)

Master Trinity Hall, Camb, 1517-1525 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 48)

Lee, Rowland (b. c. 1487 – d. Jan 1543)

Morpeth, Northumberland

Camb 1503, BCL 1510, DCnL 1520; possibly incorp at Oxf, 1524

Ord subdcn, dcn, pr 5 Jun-18 Dec 1512

R Foston, dioc York, 5 Mar 1509

R Washington, dioc Durh, 1524

R Banham, Norf, 26 Oct 1520-1533

R Ashdon, Essex, dioc Ldn, 24 Jul 1522- res before 11 Nov 1533 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 16)

R Fenny Compton, Warws, 1 Oct 1526-1533

V St. Sepulchre, Ldn, Aug-Dec 1532

Preb Coll of Norton, dioc Durh

Preb Curborough, Lichf Cathedral, 7 Apr 1527-10 Jan 1534 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 29)

Advocate and memb Doctors' Commons, 8 Oct 1520

Wolsey's household after 1528

Auditor Wolsey's legatine court, 30 Oct 1528

Adcn Cornwall, 8 Sep 1528-10 Jan 1534 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 17)

Adcn Taunton, dioc B&W, app 10 Sep 1533-10 Jan 1534 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 17)

Bp, Cov and Lichf, 10 Jan 1534-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 3)

Lord Pres Council in the Marches of Wales, 10 Aug 1534-d

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 65)

Lentall, Nicholas

Memb Wolsey's chapel

Master of the choristers at Card Coll, Ipsw

Recalled to Wolsey's chapel, Christmas 1528

Preb North Leverton, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 6 Jul -res 1529 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 153)

Possibly same Lentall studying at Magd Coll, Oxf 1533, 1534 (Emden, *Oxford 1501-40*, p. 352)

Preb of Hamsterley, Auckland Minster, dioc Durh, app 1535, £4 6s 8d (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 315)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Bowers, 'Cultivation and Promotion of music in the household of Thomas Wolsey', p. 198)

Lentell, Philip

Clerk to the auditor of Card Coll, Oxf, c. 1525-1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6748 (8), p. 3042)

Magnus, Thomas (b. 1463/4 – d. 28 Aug 1550)

Newark-on-Trent, Notts

Incorp Oxf, 1520

Chapl to H7

Patronage of Th Savage, Abp of York

Adcn East Riding, dioc York, 12 Jun 1504-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 23)

King's treasurer for wars in north 1512

Gen Surveyor and Rec Gen of the lands in king's by min of heirs, 23 Oct 1520

Rec Gen and Surveyor for Duke of Richmond, 1525 (Reid, *King's Council*, p. 102)

V Kendal, Westmorland

R Bedale, dioc York, app 1525 (E 36/61, f. 7r)

R Kirkby, Cleveland, dioc York

R Sessay, dioc York

Master, Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, app 1524

Master, St. Leonard's Hosp, 11 Dec 1529-1 Dec 1539

Master, Coll of St. Sepulchre, York

Master, Coll of Sibthorpe, Notts

Can Windsor, 1520-1547

Preb North Kelsey, Linc Cathedral, 7 May 1521-25 Mar 1522 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 100)

Preb Corringham, Linc Cathedral, 25 Mar 1522-before 16 Mar 1549 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 55)

Dean St. Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shrops, 1517-1548

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from McGladdery, 'Magnus, Thomas (1463/4-1550)', *ODNB*, online edn., (accessed 13 mar 2006))

Marshall, Cuthbert (d. before 31 Jan 1550)

Camb, BA 1508-1509; MA, 1512; BD 1518; DTh, 1523; Fellow Pembroke, 1511 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 146)

R Whitburn, Durh, 1525-d (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 146)

Wolsey's chapl, app 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 5400)

Preb Husthwaite, YM, 23 Jul 1526-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 59)

Adcn Nottingham, 11 Jan 1528-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 25)

Marsshall, Robert

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Possibly R Siwell, dioc Linc, £10 (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 125)

Possibly also V Haldenham, dioc Linc, £24 13s 4d (Salter, *Lincoln Subsidy*, p. 171)

Melton, William (d. 25 Oct 1528)

Yorks

Camb, BA 1476; MA 1480; BTh 1491; DTh 1496; Fellow Michaelhouse 1485-1495
(Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 175)

Ord pr 23 Sep 1486

R Clayworth, Notts, 18 May 1490

R Aston, dioc York, 6 Jun 1496-res 1517

Preb Thockrington, YM, 29 Oct 1493-res by 2 Jun 1494 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 84)

Preb Laughton, YM, 1498-d (United w/ Chancellorship)

Chancellor, YM, 8 Jul 1498-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 10)

R of Eaufeld (Caufeld?), adcnry Richm, dioc York, app 1525, £10 (E 36/61, f. 7)

Messaunger, Rowland

One of the Comptrollers for the building of Card Coll, Oxf, app 1526-1527, 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, nos. 3676, 6748 (8), p. 3042)

V Wycombe, Linc dioc, app 1533 (*Early Lincoln Wills*, p. 201), 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 251)

R Wynwyk, deanery Haddon, dioc Peterb (formerly Linc), app 1535, £15 6s 8d (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 325)

Preb of St. Bothi, Linc Cathedral, 20s, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 20)

Musgrave, George

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

R Oxcombe, Linc dioc, app 1525-1526 (Salter, *Linc Subsidy*, p. 9)

Newham, Thomas

Subprior St. Albans Monastery, app 1529 (SP 5/4, f. 98)

Nooke, Robert (d. by 11 May 1529)

Adm at King's Coll, Camb from Eton, 1500; BA 1504-1505; MA 1507-1508; BTh, 1516-1517; Fellow 1504-1527; Vice-Provost (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 262)

V Prescott, Lancs, c. 1509 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 262)

V Wedmore, dioc B&W, 9 Jan 1526-d (*Reg of John Clerk, Bp of B&W*, p. 43 (246))

V Ilmyster, dioc B&W, 10 Sep 1526-d (*Reg of John Clerk, Bp of B&W*, p. 46 (264))

Preb Apesthorpe, YM, 9 May 1525-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 30)

Preb North Leverton, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 6 Jul 1526-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

V Hatfield Regis, dioc Ldn, 25 Feb 1529/30-d before 25 Sep 1548 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 307)

R Fifield, dioc Ldn, 24 May 1544-d before 13 Nov 1547 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 262)

Pace, Richard (b. c. 1483 – d. 28 Jun 1536)

Winchester, Hamps

Univ Padua, 1498; Bologna 1501; Ferrara by 1508

Ord 1 May 1510

Amanuensis, household of Thomas Langton, Bp Winc, 1493-1501

Household of Cardinal Bainbridge at Rome 1509; Latin and Italian Secretary 1511

Wolsey's household 1515

R Barwick-in-Elmet, dioc York, 1519

V St. Dunstan's, Stepney, dioc Ldn, 12 May 1519-res before 18 Jun 1527 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 739)

Preb North Muskham, Southwell Minster, 4 Jun 1510-res by 13 Jul 1514 (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 151)

Can and Preb, Exeter Cathedral, 21 Mar 1519-res by 25 Jul 1527 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 63)

Preb of Finsbury, St. Paul's, Ldn, 22 Oct 1519-res by 25 Jun 1527 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 38)

Adcn Dorset, 20 May 1514-1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 8)

Adcn Colchester, 6 Feb-Oct 1519 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 14)

Dean, Exeter, app Jun 1525-res by 8 Jul 1527 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 5)

Dean, Salisb, 6 Jun 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 5)

Dean, St. Paul's Ldn 25 Oct 1519-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 7)

Personal Secretary to H8, 1516

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Curtis, 'Pace, Richard (1483?–1536)', *ODNB*, online edn., (accessed 25 Apr 2006))

Penny, John (d. 1520)

Leicester

May have studied at either Oxf or Camb (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 1458; Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 342)

Can Abbey St. Mary's, Leics 1477; Prior 1493; Abbot 25 Jun 1496-1508

Prior Bradley, Leics 14 Sep 1503-18 Jan 1509

Bp Bangor, 30 Aug 1505-22 Sep 1508 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 11, p. 5)

Bp Carlisle 22 Sep 1508-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 99)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Cocks, 'Penny, John (d. 1520)', *ODNB*. online ed., accessed 14 Mar 2006)

Perott, John (b. c. 1437 – d. 3/12 Feb 1519)

Entered Oxf c. 1460; BCnL

Ord subdcn, 3 Aug 1462

Chapl St. Lawrence's Chapel, Halling, Kent, 1453-d

R Stone, Kent, 4 Aug 1461-1465

R Snodland, Kent, 15 Jun 1464-Oct 1499

R Woldham, Kent, 27 May 1465-d

R Lee, Kent, 1494-1495

Preb Harleston, St. Paul's Ldn, 12 Aug 1498-before 28 Oct 1499 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 39)

Preb Brownswood, St. Paul's Ldn, 28 Oct 1499-before d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 22)

Preb Driffield, YM, 28 Sep 1503

Adcn Colchester, app 1509-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 14)

Precentor, YM, 20 Dec 1503-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 12)

Official of Rochester, 1475-1503

VG Rochester, 30 Mar 1493

Commissioner of Exchequer of Abp Savage, before 1509

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 1465)

Person, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 26s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £26 13s 4d, assessed: 26s 8d

R Tillington, Suss, 14 Dec 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6803 (14))

One of king's chapl and chantry priests in Chichester Cathedral, 14 Dec 1530 (C 82/636)

Pigot, Richard

Whaddon, Bucks (*Visitations of Bedfordshire*, pp. 46-47)

Master of choristers, Wolsey's household chapel, app 1521 (Bowers, 'Cultivation and promotion of music in household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey', p. 184)

Mastership Hosp of Bawtre, Notts, York dioc, 26 Mar 1515 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 128r).
app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 177)

Member of Royal Household by 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 1939, p. 870)

Master of Children of Royal Chapel, 1 May 1527 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 142 (1))
Preb Norwell Tertia Pars, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 6 May 1517-res by 17 Sep 1523
(*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)
Preb Wilmecot, Coll of St. Edith, Tamworth, Staffs, dioc Cov and Lichf, 24 Apr 1533-?
(*LP*, vol. 6, no. 578 (30); *VE*, vol. 3, p. 148)
Preb Combe Quartadecima, Wells Cathedral, app 1535, Nov 1545 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 8, p. 38)
Subsidy Comm, Oxon, 30 Aug 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 3282), 1 Aug 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 547)

Pilkington, John

One of Wolsey's cross bearers, app 1530 (*LP*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 6748 (14), p. 3048)

Pole, Reginald (b. Mar 1500 – d. 17 Nov 1558)

Stourton Castle, Staffs

Second cousin of Henry VIII

Christ Church Canterb or at Charterhouse at Sheen; Magd Coll, Oxf 1512-1519; BA 27 Jun 1515; CCC, Oxf, Fellow, 14 Feb 1523

Padua 1519

Chancellor Univ Camb, 9 Mar 1556-d

Chancellor Univ Oxford, 26 Oct 1556-d

Ord pr 20 Mar 1556

R Hartling, Sussex, 10 Apr

V Piddletown, Dorset, 20 Dec 1532-Jan 1536

Preb Ruscombe Southbury, Salisb Cathedral, 19 Mar 1519, exch for Yetminster Secunda, 10 Apr 1519-depr by 13 Jul 1537 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 3, pp. 84, 103)

Preb Knaresborough, YM, 22 Apr 1527-res by 21 Apr 1537 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 6, p. 61)

Can Exeter, 25 Jul 1527-depr by 5 Jun 1537 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 9, p. 64)

Dean Exeter, 12 Aug 1527-depr 1537 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 9, p. 5)

Dean Wimborne, Dorset, 12 Feb 1518-depr Jun 1537

Cardinal, 22 Dec 1536

Papal Legate, 7 Feb 1537; for Patrimony of Peter, 12-13 Aug 1541; for Council of Trent, Oct 1542; for Eng, 5-6 Aug 1553-1559 Apr 1557

Head Eng Hospice at Rome, 8 Mar 1538

Perpetual Governor Bagnoregio, 1542

Abbot Canalnuovo or Gavello in the Polesine, Oct 1549

Abp Canterb, 11 Dec 1555-d

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Mayer, 'Pole, Reginald (1500–1558)'.
ODNB, online ed., accessed 13 Jun 2006; Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 453)

Rawlins, Richard (d. 15 Feb 1536)

Merton Coll, Oxf; Bach 1480; bach fellow c. 1481-16 Oct 1492; 3rd Dean 1486-1487;
almoner Dec 1486; 2nd Bursar 1487-1488; 2nd dean 1488-1489; 1st dean 1489-1491,
1492; Master of Wyliot's foundation 1491-1492; King of the beans, 20 Nov 1492; Warden
17 Feb 1509-19 Sep 1521; MA inc. 2 Jul 1484; Sch Th 22 Oct 1488; BTh 19 Feb 1493;
DTh by Feb

Ord acol 1 Mar 1488; dcn 19 Dec 1489; pr 6 Mar 1490

Warden, Merton Coll, Oxf 17 Feb 1509-1521

Chapl to H7; attended funeral of H7 1509; preacher at funeral of Prince Henry 1511

King's almoner by 1509

R St. Mary Woolnoth, dioc Ldn, 15 Mar 1494-11 Mar 1523 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p.
463)

V Hendon, Mdx, 29 Jan 1504-before Feb 1514

Preb Wilsden, St. Paul's, Ldn, 7 Sep 1499-11 Mar 1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p.
71)

Preb St. Michael's altar, BM, dioc York, 28 Sep 1503-Oct 1504 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p.
76)

Preb Skipwith, Howden Minster, dioc York (pec jurisd Durh), 8 Aug 1506 (Reg. 25
(Savage), f. 87r)

Preb of St George's Chapel, Windsor, 28 Nov 1508-11 Mar 1523

Can St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 28 May 1518-11 Mar 1523

Preb Llangan, St. David's Cathedral, app 1535

Subdean, YM, 1 Oct 1504-13 Jun 1507 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 17)

Adcn Cleveland, 13 Jun 1507-11 Mar 1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 21)

Adcn Huntingdon, 18 Nov 1514-11 Mar 1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 10)

Bp St David's, 11 Mar 1523-d

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, pp. 1551-
1552)

Rawlyns, Thomas

E 179/69/8 20 Mar 1527 joint high collector w/ Thomas Robyns

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £66 13s 4d, assessed: 66s 8d

R Exhall, dioc Worc, app 1535, £8 17s 3d (*VE*, vol. 3, p. 92)

Rawson, John (b. c. 1470 – d. c. 1547)

Water Fryston, Yorks

Order Kts of St. John before 1497

Preceptories of Quenington, Gloucs, Swinfield

Prior Hosp of St. Jerusalem, Kilmainham, Dublin 1511-22 Nov 1540

Treasurer, Ire, 1517, 1522, 1528 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 332)

Under-treasurer, 1529

Secret Council, Ire, Sep 1529-Aug 1530 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 119)

Dep Lieu, Duke of Richmond

Viscount Clontarff, 20 Jun 1541-d

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Lyons, ‘Rawson, John (1470?-1547?)’, *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 28 Jun 2007)

Rhys, Robert ap

One of Wolsey's best known agents in NE Wales; father was Rhys Fawr who had been Henry VII's standard bearer at Battle of Bosworth, 1485

Took eccl law at Oxf and rec eccl benefices despite getting married

Chaplain and Cross-bearer to Wolsey

Created successful career for himself thanks to Wolsey's favour

One of founders of gentry families in area, despite clerical vows

(All references from Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales*, p. 249)

Robyns, Thomas

E 179/69/8 20 Mar 1527 joint high collector w/ Thomas Rawlyns

E 179/69/9, assessed: 2s

E 179/69/10, value in wages: £4, assessed: 2s

Ord acolyte 28 May 1496, Cov and Lichf dioc (*Reg John Morton*, vol. 1, p. 116)

Clerk of the King's Private Seal, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 18)

Rokeby, William (d. 29 Nov 1521)

Kirk Sandall, Yorks

Rotherham Coll; Camb by 1488, adm BCnL 1490, inc DCnL 1495; King's Hall, Fellow, 1495-1506 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 482)

Ord Subden 1 Mar 1488 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 482)

Canon lawyer, Consistory Court, Dean and Chap York, 1505
R Fakenham w/ Thorpland, dioc Norw, 24 Nov 1496-d
R Kirk Sandall, dioc York, 4 Aug 1487-before Jun 1501
R Sproatley, dioc York, 5 Jun 1501-before Feb 1503
V Halifax, dioc York, 14 Jun 1502-d
Preb, St. Andrew's Altar, BM, 13 Feb 1503-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 33)
Master, St. Mary's Hosp, Sibthorpe, Notts, 18 Jun 1498
Warden, free chapel, Ferrybridge, dioc York, 13 Jun 1501-1512
Adcn Surrey, 27 Mar 1519-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 49)
Bp Meath, 28 May 1507-28 Jan 1512 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 336)
Abp Dublin, 28 Jan 1512-d (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 336)
LC Ire, 21 May 1512-6 Nov 1513; reappt, 24 Mar 1516-d (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 331)
(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, pp. 1585-1586)

Ruthal, Thomas (d. 4 Feb 1523)

Oxf, BCL 1488, lic. CnL 1490, DCnL by 1 Jul 1493; Incorp Camb, 1499/1500
Ord Acol 13 Sep 1488, dcn 10 Apr 1490
R St. Peter's, Barnsley, Gloucs, by 1493
R Bocking, Essex, 29 Nov 1495-before Apr 1507
R Monks Risborough, Bucks, 10 Oct 1500
R Southam, Warws, 12 Nov 1500
R Stratton, Gloucs, before Apr 1502
Dean Salisb, 10 Sep 1502-5 Jul 1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 5)
Adcn Gloucester, 7 Dec 1503-5 Jul 1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 61)
Preb Leighton Buzzard, Linc Cathedral, 19 Jan 1505-1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 81)
Preb Timberscombe, Wells Cathedral, 18 Sep 1502-res by 22 Mar 1504 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 67)
Can and Preb, Exeter Cathedral, 26 May 1508-1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 61)
Adm to fraternity of Christ Church Canterbury, 1494
Papal Protnot, 14 Jun 1499
Secretary to H7, 1500-1516
PC, 1504
Chancellor, Univ Camb, 1503-res 1504
Bp Durh, 11 Jun 1509-d

Exec H7's will, 1509

Keeper Privy Seal, 18 May 1516-d

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, pp. 1612-1613; Johnson, 'Ruthall, Thomas (*d.* 1523)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 14 Mar 2006)

Sampson, Richard (d. 25 Sep 1554)

Berks

St. Clement's Hostel, and later Trinity Hall, Camb, BCL 1505-1506; Studied at Paris, Perugia, Siena; Camb, DCL 1513, DCnL 1520; advoc 20 Mar 1515; Incorp Oxf 1521 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 12)

V Stepney, 18 Jun 1527-res before 31 Mar 1534 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 739)

R Hackney, Ldn, 31 Mar 1534-res before 3 Jun 1536 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 618)

Dean St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1516

Dean Chapel Royal, 1516

Royal secretary

Dean Windsor, 14 Nov 1523

Preb South Newbald, YM, 23 Apr 1519-res by 12 Apr 1534 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 6, p. 72)

Preb Langford Ecclesia, Linc Cathedral, 28 Mar 1527-3 Jun 1536 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 1, p. 75)

Preb Chiswick, St. Paul's, Ldn, after 1525-res by 31 Mar 1534 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 5, p. 31)

Preb Stotfold, Lichf Cathedral, 12/13 Mar 1533-d (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 10, p. 57)

Dean, St. Paul's, Ldn, 27 Jul 1536-by 3 Jun 1540 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 5, p. 7)

Adcn Cornwall, 3 Feb 1517-res by 8 Sep 1528 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 9, p. 17)

Adcn Suff, 11 Jan 1529-before 1 Nov 1536 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 4, p. 34)

Adcn Taunton, dioc B&W, app 1535 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 8, p. 17)

Dean Lichf Cathedral, 21 Apr or 19 May 1533-1536 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 10, p. 7)

Treasurer, Salisb Cathedral, 16 Mar 1535-before May 1540 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 3, p. 21)

Bp Chichester, 3 Jun 1536-19 Feb 1543 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541, 7, pp. 3-4)

Bp Cov and Lichf, 19 Feb 1543-d

Wolsey's household chaplain

Chancellor and VG of Tournai for Wolsey, 2 Sep 1514

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Chibi, 'Sampson, Richard (*d.* 1554)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 30 May 2006)

Sharpp, Robert

E179/69/9, assessed: 2s 6d

Chapl, Filey, York dioc, app 1525-1526 (Fallow, 'East Riding Clergy', p. 78)

Shorton, Robert (d. 17 Oct 1535)

Jesus Coll, Camb, BA 1501; Fellow 1503; Pembroke Coll, Camb Fellow, 25 Nov 1505;

Treasurer, 1509; Lector divinity btw 1509 and Feb 1511

Master St. John's Coll, Camb, 9 Apr 1511-1516

Master Pembroke Coll, Camb, 21 Oct 1516-1534 or 1535

R Kettering, Northants, 1515-1529

R St. Nicholas, Ldn, 1517-1523

R Sedgfield, Durh, 1518

R Stackpole, Pembroke, 1522

Dean of Wolsey's household chapel, 1520s

Dean, Coll of Stoke by Clare, Suff, 1529

Master St. Leonard's Hosp, Newport, Essex

Preb Dunnington, YM, 1 Nov 1517-7 May 1523 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 47)

Preb Fridaythorpe, YM, 7 May 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 52)

Preb Louth, Linc Cathedral, 14 Apr 1523-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 87)

Can and Preb St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1527

Preb Dultingcote, Wells Cathedral, app 1535 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 45)

Adcn Bath 1529, 1535 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 15)

Almoner, Queen Katherine of Aragon

Bur choir coll Stoke, will dated 8 Oct 1535 (*North Country Wills*, 116 (1908), pp. 283-284)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 69)

Spynke, Thomas

E 179/69/9, assessed: 5s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: 100s, assessed: 2s 6d

Cantarist, chapel of St. Mary the Virgin upon Wakefield Bridge, dioc York, 22 May 1514

(*LP*, vol. 1, no. 2964 (62))

Staples, Edward (b. c. 1490 – d. after 1558)

Lincs

Camb, Peterhouse, 1510-1511, BA 1510-1511; inc. MA 1514; Oxf supp BTh, DTh 1526
(Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 150)

Can Card Coll, Oxf 1525

Chapl to H8

R Covington, Hunts, 1526-before Jul 1528

V Thaxted, Essex, 25 Apr 1523-? before 9 Feb 1534/5 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 582)

V Gainsborough, dioc Linc, 29 Oct 1539

R Ardraccan, dioc Meath 7 Apr 1544, 1558

R Trent, Somers, 17 Sep 1557

Preb Wigginton, Coll of St. Edith, Tamworth, Staffs, dioc Cov and Lichf, 7 Mar 1528-3
Sep 1529

Master St. Bartholomew's Hosp, Ldn, 3 Sep 1529-Jul 1532

Bp Meath, 3 Sep 1529-depr 29 Jun 1554 (Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 337)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 536)

Stubbs, Laurence (d. before 31 Aug 1548)

Magd Coll, Oxf, MA by 1500, Ingledew fellow; Jr Dean of Arts 1500-1501; Bursar 1501-
1502; Sr Dean of Arts 1502-1503; Lecturer Phil 1504-1505; Proctor 1504; Supp DD 15
Dec 1511, adm 20 Feb 1514; Commissary to university 1514

R Fobbing, dioc Ldn, 6 Sep 1511-d (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 268)

V Kingston-on-Thames, Surr, 1532-d

R North Cerney, Gloucs exch w/ John Benolt for Monkton Moor, dioc York, Feb 1533

Napery, Wolsey's household, 1516-1527

Pres Magd Coll, Oxf, 22 Nov 1525-16 Jan 1528

Almoner, Card Coll, Oxf, 1528 (E 36/102)

Preb Bugthorpe, YM, 31 Jul 1526-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 41)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 1809)

Tate, William (d. before 28 Oct 1540)

Camb, BA 1489-1490; MA 1493; DCL; Proctor, 1496-1497 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p.
201)

Member of the pope's household, 1505

V Everingham, dioc York, 1508-1524 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 118)

R Thwing, 1509-1528 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 201)

R Chelnysforde, Ldn, 13 Apr 1522

Treasurer, BM, 1507, still 1538 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 118)

Preb Botevant, YM, 5 Nov 1522-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 38)

Can St. Mary and St. George, Windsor Castle, 27 Apr 1523-1540 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 201)

Almoner for Duke of Richmond, 1525 (Reid, *King's Council*, p. 104)

Taverner, John (d. 25 Oct 1545)

Lincs

Choirmaster, Card Coll, Oxf, 1526-Apr 1530 (Brown, *Robert Ferrar*, p. 14; Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 557)

Taverner, Richard

Commissary w/ Brian Higdon to confirm monastic elections in adcnry Nottingham, 4 Jul 1518, 14 Feb 1523, 19 Sep 1526 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 37v-38r, 69r, 83v)

Official to William Fell, adcn of Nottingham, app Sep and Nov 1522, 19 Sep 1526 (*LP*, vol. 3, pt. 1, nos. 2578, 2688; Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 83v)

Possibly identified w/ reformer of same name who was petty canon at Card Coll, Oxf, c. 1525-1529 (see McConica, *English Humanists*, p. 117; Taylor, 'Taverner, Richard (1505?-1575)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 1 Jun 2008)

Teshe, Thomas (d. by Feb 1539)

BCL adm 2 Jul 1509, disp by Abp Canterb to enjoy privileges of DCL, 20 Aug 1538

Notary Public, 1521 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 53r-v)

Official of Consistory Court, York dioc, app 12 May 1524, 26 May 1528 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 75v, 92v)

Commissary w/ Brian Higdon to confirm monastic elec, York dioc, 1522-1527 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 61v, 62r, 63r, 72v, 77r, 82r, 86v, 87v, 98v, 92v, 98v)

Official of Adcn of Cleveland, app 1526-1527 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 86v, 98v)

V Crambe, York dioc, 13 Nov 1521 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 61)

V Wath-upon-Deerne, York dioc, 18 Dec 1527-vac Feb 1533 w/ pension of £4 p.a.

R Welbury, York dioc, 10 Jan 1528 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 89v)

V Batley, York dioc, 10 Jan 1528-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f. 90)

R Turnscoe, York dioc, 1534-1535 (*VE*, vol. 5, p. 52)

R Beeford, York dioc, 5 Feb 1536-d

Can and Preb Osbaldwick, YM, coll 4 Jan 1539-d (Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 562)

Teshe, Tristan

Notary Public, app 1521 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 53r-v)

Clerk of Acts of Consistory Court, York, app 1524, 1528 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 75v, 92v)

Rec Gen of possessions in Yorks following attainder of rebels from Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536 (*Suppression Papers of the Yorkshire Monasteries*, pp. 50-51)

Tomyow (or Tomeo), Richard

Preb Norwell Tertia Pars, Southwell Minster, York dioc, 12 May 1530-before 4 Jun 1537

(*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 153)

Comptroller, Princess Mary's Household, app 1533 (*LP*, vol. 6, nos. 1199, 1542, 1543)

Toneys, Robert (d. before 30 Jul 1526)

BCL

Notary apostolic

R Free chapel of Earley Whiteknights, dioc Salisb, 1495-? (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 67)

Preb Clifton, Linc Cathedral, 31 Aug 1504-res by 4 Jul 1505 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 53)

Preb Bugthorpe, YM, 14 Jun 1516-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), 103v; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 41)

Preb Welton Brinkhall, Linc Cathedral, 24 Mar 1502-1531 Aug 1504 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 124)

Preb Axford, Salisb Cathedral, 27 Nov 1494-23 Aug 1499 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 25)

Preb Bedminster Secunda, Salisb Cathedral, 23 Aug 1499-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 33)

Preb Westminster Palace, 30 Apr 1523 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 2987)

Preb St. Katherine's Altar, BM, 1514-1516 (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 110)

Preb St. Mary's, BM, app 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2001; McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 67)

Wolsey's household, finances

Clerk of Court of Chancery, 1520

Clerk of the Hanaper, Chancery, app 1521, 1526 (*LP*, vol. 3, no. 1379; vol. 4, p. 870)

Townley, Nicholas (d. Nov 1532)

Littleton, Mdx (*Middlesex Pedigrees*, p. 170)

Mag by 1524, Oxf

V Stortford, 7 Mar 1513-? Before 1551, Patron: Wolsey as precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral (w/in peculiar of Bps of Ldn) (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 896)

R St. Nicholas, Calais, 8 Oct 1522

V Battersea, Surr, until Mar 1524

R Wigan, Lancs, app 1528-d

Preb Dunnington, YM, 30 Dec 1531-d

Comptroller building Card Coll, Oxf, 1525, 1527

Surveyor king's works at Hampton Court, Nonsuch, Oatlands, 1527-1532

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford, 1501-1540*, p. 573)

Vannes, Peter (b. c. 1488 – d. 28 Mar x 1 May 1563)

Lucca, Italy

BTh, incorp Camb 1523

Latin Secretary to Wolsey 1514

Latin Secretary to H8 after 1528, and to E6; reappt for life 13 Dec 1549

R Mottrum, Ches, 12 Nov 1521-before Apr 1547

R Ashbury, Berks, 28 Mar 1522, still in 1553

R Wheathamstead, Herts, 16 Dec 1529, still in 1549

R Tredington, Worcs, 20 Jun 1541

Preb Grantham Australis, Salisb Cathedral, 5 Mar 1528, exch for Bedwyn 4 Dec 1529, diss by act of parl 1543 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, pp. 30, 55)

Preb Cublington, Heref Cathedral, 4 Jun 1527-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 2, p. 20)

Preb Bedwyn, Salisb Cathedral, 4 Dec 1529-1543 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1541-1857*, 3, p. 25)

Preb Compton Dundon, Wells Cathedral, 20 May 1534-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 41)

Preb Bole, YM, 22 Feb 1535-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 36)

Preb Shipton, Salisb Cathedral, 12 Mar 1544-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1541-1857*, 3, p. 70)

Preb Cadington Major, St. Paul's Ldn, 3 Apr 1542-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1541-1857*, 1, p. 22)

Can KH8 Coll, –1545

Adcn Worc, 12 May 1534-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 63)

Dean Salisb, 6 Jul 1536-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1541-1857*, 6, p. 6)

Collector Papal Taxes in Eng, 17 Jul 1533

Eng Ambassador to Venice, May 1550

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, pp. 590-591)

Wade, Richard

E 179/69/9, assessed: 4d

Rotherham, Yorks (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438 (4 m 19))

V Sittingbourne 7 Dec 1492 (*Reg John Morton*, vol. 1, p. 149)

R Moresby, Deanery of Horncastle, Linc dioc, app 1525-1526 (Salter, *Linc Subsidy*, p. 7)
V Wedmore w/ Marke Chapel belonging to preb in Wells cathedral in possession of Rich
Wolman, Dean of Wells, app 1535– before 16 Apr 1542, £20 8s 5d (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 191; *Reg
Wolsey Winchester*, pp. 95-96)

R Burton, dioc Bristol (formerly Salisb), £25 3s 0d, app 1535 (*VE*, vol. 1, p. 232)

Whalley, Edmund

Abbot St. Mary's, York, 1 Feb 1522 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 64r-65v)

Possibly same Edmund Whalley, Camb BA 1524-1525; MA 1528; BTh 1539-1540;

Fellow St. John's Coll, Camb 1528 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 376)

Wilson, Richard

May have studied at Oxf (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2052)

Preb Norwell Palishall, Southwell Minster, dioc York, 31 Aug 1522-res by 20 Sep 1525
(*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 152)

Prior Drax, dioc York, 25 Oct 1507-1529 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2052)

Bp Negroponte, Suffragan of dioc York, 21 Sep 1516-27 Feb 1523 (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), f.
19r; *CPL*, vol. 20, p. 571)

Bp Meath, 27 Feb 1523-1529 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2052; Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*,
p. 337)

Wilson, Robert (d. 1534)

Magd Coll, Oxf, Ingledew fellow and chapl 1494-1499/1500; 3rd Bursar 1496-1497; 2nd
Bursar 1497-1498; MA

V Washington, Sussex, 1502-d

V Carisbrooke, Isle of Wright -d

(All references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2052)

Withers, John (d. by 7 Oct 1534)

Somers

Magd Coll, Fellow 1485-1495; 3rd Bursar, 1487-1488, 1489-1490; 1st Bursar, 1492-1493;

Sr Proctor Univ 1491-1492; DCnL 1513 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2066)

Chancellor, dioc Durh, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438, p. 269)

Master, Sherbourne House, dioc Durh, app 1509 (*LP*, vol. 1, no. 438, p. 269)

Commissary, Rec Gen, Surveyor, Sequestrator Gen, Abpric York, 1508-1514 (Thompson,
English Clergy, p. 196)

Can and Preb Saltmarsh, Howden Minster, dioc York (pec jurisd Durh), 1508-1512
 (Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2066)
 Preb South Cave, YM, 30 Jun -res 30 Sep 1509, exch Dec 1512-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 43)
 Preb Knaresborough, YM, 4 Aug 1512, exch w/ Geoffrey Wrenne for South Cave, 18 Dec 1512 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 61)
 Preb St. Martin's, BM, Nov 1512-d (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, pp. 57-8)
 Preb Netheravon, Salisb Cathedral, after 1490-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 3, p. 72)
 Master, St. Mary's Hosp, Bootham, York, 1510-? (McDermid, *BM Fasti*, p. 57)

Wolman, Richard (d. by 1 Oct 1537)

Clavering, Essex

Corpus Christi Coll, Camb BCL, adm Jun 1503; inc. CnL adm 1511-1512; DCnL Camb, supp at Oxford for incorp 10 Oct 1523; DCL foreign univ, supp incorp at Oxford, 12 Oct 1531 (Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 448)

Ord acolyte 18 Dec 1506

R Kingham, Oxfords, 15 May 1508, still in 1526

V Brompton Regis, Somers, 20 Jul 1519-May 1520

V St. Cuthbert's, dioc B&W, 30 Nov 1519-Sep 1530

V Dulverton, Somers, before Jan 1522

R Winford, Somers, 24 Jan 1522-Sep 1530

R Amersham, Linc, 4 Jul 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 2362 (4))

V Chittlehampton, Devon, 26 Jul 1526-d

V Doulting, Somers, 25 May 1529-Jan 1530

R High Ongar, Essex, dioc Ldn, 5 Jul 1530-d (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 453)

Can and Preb of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, 26 Jul 1524 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 546 (26))

Preb Finsbury, St. Paul's, Ldn, 25 Jun 1527-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 38)

Preb Cropredy, Linc Cathedral, 8 Aug 1530-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 1, p. 59)

VG to Wolsey, dioc B&W, 24 Sep 1518 (*Reg of Wolsey, B&W*, p. 1)

VG to Wolsey, dioc Salisb, dioc Exeter, 31 Jul 1521 (*Reg of Wolsey, B&W*, p. 21)

Royal Household, 1526 (*LP*, vol. 4, p. 864)

Dean, Wolsey's household chapel

Adcn Sudbury, Norw dioc, 9 Apr 1522-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 4, p. 32)

Adcn Salisb, 1529 (SP 1/56, f.69v)

Dean, B&W, app 1529-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 6)

Elec proculator convocation, 8 Nov 1529 (*LP*, vol. 4, no. 6047, p. 2701)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Oxford, 1501-40*, p. 636)

Wuley, John (d. 1540 x 1541)

Cumberworth and Well, Alford, Lincs (*Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, pp. 1102-1104)

E 179/69/9, assessed: 3s

E 179/69/10, value in goods: £6 13s 4d, assessed: 3s 4d

V Falstrop, Linc dioc, app 1525-1526 (Salter, *Linc Subsidy*, p. 19), 1535 (*VE*, vol. 4, p. 54)

Will dated 29 Oct 1540, proved 27 June 1541

Wyat, Richard (d. 23 Jul x 6 Sep 1522)

Camb BA, 1492-1493; MA 1496; BTh 1504-1505; DTh 1506-1507; Fellow of Christ's Coll; Master 1507-1510; Jr Proctor, 1501-1502

Ord acolyte 1493-1494

R Wigan, Lancs, 1506-1519

R Bingham, Notts, 1508-1522

Surveyor of Works of Great St. Mary's, Camb, 1507

Preb Northwell Overhall, Southwell Minster, York dioc, 3 Sep 1507-d (*Memorials of Southwell*, p. 151)

Preb Bishophull, Lichf Cathedral, 24 Sep 1506-10 Feb 1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 22)

Preb Ryton, Lichf Cathedral, 10 Feb 1509-res before 21 Jun 1522 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 10, p. 53)

Preb Easton in Gordano, Wells Cathedral, app 15 Jul 1522 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 8, p. 47)

Precentor, YM, 13 Nov 1519-d (Reg. 27 (Wolsey), ff. 159r-v; Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 12)

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Venn, *Alumni*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 480)

Yong, John (b. c. 1466/7 – d. 25 Apr 1516)

Heyford, Oxf

Winc Coll, Oxf, sch 29 Sep 1478, aged 11; New Coll, Oxf, sch 30 Jan 1484; Fellow 1486-1500; BCL by 1494; studied at Bologna; DCL from Ferrara 1500

Ord subdcn 15 Mar 1494; dcn 29 Mar 1495

R Codford St. Peter, Wilts, 2 Sep 1502-before Jun 1509

R St. Stephen's Walbrook, dioc Ldn, 17 Mar 1503

R St. Mary-le-Bow, dioc Ldn, 19 Mar 1505-May 1514

R Saltwood, Kent, before Jul 1514

R Hayes, Mdx before d

Dean Chichester by Aug 1507-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 7, p. 5)

Dean Exeter, 1509 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 5)

Preb St. Probus, Cornwall, 23 Jul 1509

Can and Preb Holbourn, St Paul's, Ldn, 28 Nov 1511-10 Feb 1512 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 41)

Preb Newington, St Paul's, Ldn, 10 Feb 1512-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 52)

Warden, Hosp of St. John the Baptist, Brook Street, South Weald, Essex, 19 Feb 1509

Dean Newarke Hosp and Coll, Leics, 4 Jan 1513-res by Dec 1515 w/ pension of £20 p.a.

Can and Preb Apesthorpe, YM, 6 Apr-17 May 1514 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 30)

Dean, YM, 17 May 1514-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 8)

Preb Bugthorpe, YM, 18 Sep 1514-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 6, p. 41)

Adcn Barnstaple, dioc Exeter, after 1508-res by 12 Apr 1515 (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 9, p. 21)

Adcn Ldn, 28 Mar 1514-d (Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541*, 5, p. 9)

Patronage of William Warham, Abp of Canterb, Commissary in prerogative court, 28 Jan 1504; Chancellor and Auditor of Causes, Aug 1507

Master of the Rolls, 22 Jan 1508; reappt by H8, 11 Jun 1509-d

Treaty of Cambrai with Wolsey, 1509

Exec will H7

(Unless otherwise indicated all references from Emden, *Reg of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 2136;

Fritze, 'Yonge, John (1466/7-1516)', *ODNB*, online ed., accessed 13 Mar 2006)

Appendix 6: Yorkshire Peace Commissions, 1513-1529

Table 1: East Riding Peace Commissions, 1514-1529

	27 Jun 1514	11 Aug 1525	28 Jan 1529
<i>East Riding Men:</i>			
Nobles:	3	4	3
Knights:	3	5	6
Lawyers:	1	0	0
Others:	2	2	2
<i>Outsiders:</i>			
Nobles:	2	3	3
Knights:	2	8	7
Lawyers:	4?	3	5
Others:	2	5?	5?
<i>Clergy:</i>	0	5 + Wolsey	5 + Wolsey
Total:	19	36 (incl Wolsey)	37 (incl Wolsey)

Table 2: North Riding Peace Commissions, 1514-1528

	11 Jul 1514	11 Aug 1525	10 Dec 1528
<i>North Riding Men:</i>			
Nobles:	5	6	5
Knights:	2	2	3
Lawyers:	0	1	2
Others:	0	3	2
<i>Outsiders:</i>			
Nobles:	1	3	3
Knights:	5	5	4
Lawyers:	5	5	7
Others:	3?	5?	6?
<i>Clergy:</i>	0	5 + Wolsey	5 + Wolsey
Total:	21	36 (incl Wolsey)	38 (incl Wolsey)

Table 3: West Riding Peace Commissions, 1513-1528

	6 May 1513	11 Aug 1525	10 Dec 1528
<i>West Riding Men:</i>			
Nobles:	5	3	4
Knights:	8	0	1
Lawyers:	6?	4?	5?
Others:	11	8	8
<i>Outsiders:</i>			
Nobles:	0	4	2
Knights:	1	5	5
Lawyers:	0?	6?	6
Others:	3	0	2?
<i>Clergy:</i>	1	6 + Wolsey	5 + Wolsey
Total:	35	37 (incl Wolsey)	39 (incl Wolsey)

**Appendix 7: Wolsey's Ecclesiastical Benefices and their clear value in temporalities in
the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535**

Archbishop of York (5 Aug 1514-d 29 Nov 1530)	£1,839 13s 2 3/4d*
Bishop of Bath and Wells (27 Jul 1518-1523)	£1,843 14s 5d
Bishop of Durham (21 Mar 1523-1529)	£2,398 7s 10d
Abbot of St. Albans (7 Dec 1521-17 Feb 1530)	£2,102 7s 1 1/4d
Bishop of Winchester (8 Feb 1529-17 Feb 1530)	£3,881 3s 3d

* No valuation of the lands for the Archbishopric of York before the reformation is extant and this value is taken from a survey conducted by the ecclesiastical visitors Richard Layton and Thomas Legh on 12 January 1536 (TNA, SC 11/766) in Claire Cross, 'The Economic Problems of the See of York: Decline and Recovery in the Sixteenth Century', in *Land, Church and People: essays presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, ed. J. Thirsk, Agricultural History Review Supplement, 18 (Reading, 1970), p. 68.

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Reg.26, Christopher Bainbridge (1508-1514)

Reg.27, Thomas Wolsey (1514-1529)

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C 82, Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series II

E 24, Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Deeds relating to Cardinal Wolsey's Colleges in Oxford and Ipswich

E 36, Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Miscellaneous Books

E 179, Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Particulars of Account and other records relating to Lay and Clerical Taxation

PROB 2, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and other probate jurisdictions: Inventories compiled before 1661

SC 11, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys, Rolls

SP 1, State Papers, Henry VIII: General Series

SP 5, Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Miscellanea relating to the Dissolution of the Monasteries and to the General Surveyors (formerly State Papers Henry VIII, Suppression Papers)

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