The Canterbury Archiepiscopates of John Stafford (1443-52) and John Kemp (1452-54) with editions of their registers

Foss, David Blair

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THE CANTERBURY ARCHIEPISCOPATES

OF JOHN STAFFORD (1443-52)

AND JOHN KEMP (1452-54)

WITH EDITIONS OF THEIR REGISTERS

DAVID BLAIR FOSS

VOL I

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D. (London)

Registered at King’s College

1986
THE CANTERBURY ARCHIEPISCOPATES OF JOHN STAFFORD (1443 - 52)
AND JOHN KEMP (1452 - 54), WITH EDITIONS OF THEIR
REGISTERS

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This edition of Stafford's and Kemp's Registers fills the gap in printed Canterbury Registers between Chichele's and Bourgchier's. The entries, predominantly in Latin, some wills in English, are summarized and transcribed, or calendared where in common form. They include the customary range of the archbishop's bulls of provision, provisions to bishoprics within the province, commissions of ecclesiastical and secular officers, licences, mandates, grants, visitations, vacancy in suffragan sees, institutions to benefices, ordinations, records of Convocation, and wills proved by the archbishop (which occupy more than half of the Registers). Indices to the Registers are provided. Kemp's Register is more systematically ordered than Stafford's, and includes a greater proportion of entries in common form.

The edition of the Registers is supplemented and introduced by a study of the careers of the two archbishops, concentrating on their tenures of the primatial see of Canterbury: the process of their accession, their administration and officers, visitation and exercise of jurisdiction, relations with religious houses, metropolitan jurisdiction, relations with the archbishopric of York and the papacy. Tenure of Canterbury was however only part (in Kemp's case, a very small part) of their long careers. The study also examines their previous and concurrent exercise of high office in Church and realm, as bishop of Bath and Wells (Stafford) or archbishop of York (Kemp), and as Chancellor of England (held by one or other from 1426 to 1454). An assessment is offered of the worth of their contribution to the Chancery, particularly development of its equitable jurisdiction (Stafford) and maintenance of the Lancastrian government in the last years before its collapse in civil war (Kemp). Though not greatly inspiring figures, they leave an impression of stability, long service, competent administration, unspectacular reliability, and appear to deserve not a bad reputation.
Volume I (pp. 1 - 310): The Canterbury Archiepiscopates of John Stafford and John Kemp

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THE CANTERBURY
ARCHIEPISCOPATES

OF JOHN STAFFORD (1443-52)

AND JOHN KEMP (1452-54)

WITH EDITIONS OF
THEIR REGISTERS

VOLUME I

The Canterbury Archiepiscopates of

John Stafford

and John Kemp
## ABBREVIATIONS

(1) The following abbreviations are employed in the text, especially in the registers of institutions, lists of ordinations, index:

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<td>ab. (or abb.)</td>
<td>abbot</td>
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<tr>
<td>abp.</td>
<td>archbishop</td>
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<td>abs.</td>
<td>abbess</td>
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<td>admin.</td>
<td>administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>adn.</td>
<td>archdeacon</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. (in degrees)</td>
<td>bachelor of (bacallarius)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ben.</td>
<td>benefice (beneficium; usually -ficii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bp.</td>
<td>bishop</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.L.</td>
<td>civil law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cn.L.</td>
<td>canon law</td>
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<td>can.</td>
<td>canon</td>
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<td>Cant.</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
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<td>cath.</td>
<td>cathedral</td>
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<td>cert.</td>
<td>certificate</td>
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<td>Ch. (in R.Ch)</td>
<td>Chichele</td>
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<td>ch.</td>
<td>church</td>
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<td>chap.</td>
<td>chaplain</td>
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<td>chron.</td>
<td>chronicle</td>
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<td>cit.</td>
<td>citizen</td>
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<td>civ.</td>
<td>civitas (usually -tatis)</td>
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<td>coll.</td>
<td>college or collegiate</td>
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<td>colln.</td>
<td>collation</td>
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<td>comm. (gen.)</td>
<td>commissary (general)</td>
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<td>conv.</td>
<td>convent</td>
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<td>d. (dep. on context)</td>
<td>deacon</td>
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<td>d. (&quot;&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>died or death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. (dep. on context), dio. or dioc.</td>
<td>diocese of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. (in degrees)</td>
<td>Doctor of</td>
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<td>D.D.</td>
<td>doctor of Divinity</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. &amp; C. (or d. &amp; c.)</td>
<td>dean &amp; chapter</td>
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<td>dec.</td>
<td>deceased</td>
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<td>Decr.</td>
<td>of Decrees</td>
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<tr>
<td>dim.</td>
<td>see litterae dimissoriarum</td>
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<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>domus</td>
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<tr>
<td>eccl.</td>
<td>ecclesia</td>
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<td>esq.</td>
<td>esquire</td>
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<td>ex.</td>
<td>exchange (of benefices)</td>
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<td>ext. (mur.)</td>
<td>extra (murorum)</td>
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<td>f(f)</td>
<td>folio(s)</td>
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<td>fr.</td>
<td>frater</td>
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<td>frat. (dep. on context)</td>
<td>fraternity or fratrum</td>
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<td>hosp.</td>
<td>hospital</td>
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<td>immed. juris.</td>
<td>immediate jurisdiction</td>
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<td>ind.</td>
<td>inductor</td>
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<td>inst.</td>
<td>institution</td>
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<td>K.B.</td>
<td>King's Bench</td>
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<td>kt.</td>
<td>knight</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lam.</td>
<td>Lambeth</td>
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<td>Leg.</td>
<td>of Laws (in Legibus)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lic.</td>
<td>licence or licentiate</td>
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<td>Lich.</td>
<td>Lichfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>litt.</td>
<td>littere (letters) or litteratus (literate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(per) litt. dim.</td>
<td>(per) litteras dimissoriarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LL.</td>
<td>in both Laws (i.e. canon &amp; civil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. (in degrees)</td>
<td>master (magister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mr. or magr.</td>
<td>master (magister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mem.</td>
<td>membrane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon.</td>
<td>monasterium (usually -i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon.</td>
<td>monachus (or monachi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.S.</td>
<td>manuscript</td>
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<tr>
<td>mur.</td>
<td>see ext. (murorum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>ordo, ordines</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.Carm.</td>
<td>Carmelites (ordo Carmelitarum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.Cartus.</td>
<td>Carthusian (ordo Cart(h)usiensis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.Clun.</td>
<td>Cluniac (ordo Clun-iacensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Cist.</td>
<td>Cistercian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.P.M. or ord.min.</td>
<td>Franciscan (ordo fratrum minorum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.P. or ord.pred.</td>
<td>Dominican (ordo predicatorium)</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.Prem.</td>
<td>Premonstratensian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.S.A.</td>
<td>Augustinian (ordo sancti Augustini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.S.B. (or ord.S.Ben.)</td>
<td>Benedictine (ordo sancti Benedicti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>patron</td>
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<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>priest</td>
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<tr>
<td>par.</td>
<td>parish (parochialis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>perp.</td>
<td>perpetual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr.</td>
<td>priory (prioratus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr.</td>
<td>prior</td>
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<tr>
<td>pref.</td>
<td>prebend or prebendary</td>
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<tr>
<td>pss.</td>
<td>prioress</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. or r.</td>
<td>rector</td>
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<tr>
<td>reg.</td>
<td>regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>res. or resig.</td>
<td>resignation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.P.P.</td>
<td>sacre pagine professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.T.</td>
<td>scolar sacre theologie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.T.P. (or Prof.)</td>
<td>sacre theologie professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.v.</td>
<td>sede vacante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti. or tit.</td>
<td>title (titulum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. or v.</td>
<td>vicar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vac.</td>
<td>vacant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vic.-gen. in spir.</td>
<td>vicar-general in spirituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westm.</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The following abbreviations are employed especially in the footnotes and Bibliography:

- B.I.H.R. - Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
- B.J.R.L. - Bulletin of the John Rylands (University) Library (of Manchester)
- B.L. - British Library
- B.R.U.O. - Biographical Register of the University of Oxford (Emden)
- C.C.R. - Calendar of Close Rolls
- C.F.R. - Calendar of Fine Rolls
- C.P.L. - Calendar of Papal Letters
- C.P.R. - Calendar of Patent Rolls
- Corr.Bek. - Correspondence of Bekynton
- E.H.R. - English Historical Review
- J.E.H. - Journal of Ecclesiastical History
- M.S.(S) - manuscript(s)
P.B.A. - Proceedings of the British Academy
P.L. - Paston Letters
F.O.P.C. - Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council
P.R.O. - Public Record Office

R. - Register
R.Ch. - Register of chiches*
R.H.S. - Royal Historical Society
R.N.C. - Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, Register N
R.K. - Register of Kemp
R.S. - Register of Stafford
R.S.B.W. - Register of Stafford as bishop of Bath & Wells**
R.S.C. - Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, Register S
Rot.Parl. - Rotuli Parliamentorum

T.R.H.S. - Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
V.C.H. - Victoria County History

(3) The following abbreviations are employed in the text of the transcriptions where common forms are frequently used:

(STAFFORD) Johannes (etc.) - (1-15) Johannes Dei et apostolice sedis gracia ecclésie Cant' electus confirmatus
(from 16) Johannes permissione (or miseracione) divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, tocius Anglie primas et apostolice sedis legatus

(KEMP) Johannes miseracione divina episcopus sancte Rufine sacrosancte Romane ecclésie cardinalis, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, tocius Anglie primas et apostolice sedis legatus

Eugenius (Nicholaus)(etc.) - episcopus, servus servorum Dei
salutem (etc.) (in papal letters) - salutem et apostolicam beneficcionem
salutem (etc.) (in archiepiscopal letters) - salutem, graciam et beneficcionem
directo/-is (etc.) - directo(-tis) in Christo filio(-iis)
In cuius rei (etc.) - In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum (or duximus apponendum, etc.)
Datum (etc.) - Datum in manerio nostro de

(etc.) is also employed in documents to indicate the obvious repetition of a phrase or phrases occurring earlier in the same document.

(In the Ordination lists in Stafford's Register, ff. 196 - 208 v)

per reverendissimum (etc.) - per reverendissimum patrem et dominum Johannem Dei gracia Cantuarien' archiepiscopum, tocius Anglie primatem et apostolice sedis legatum

per venerabilem (etc.) - per venerabilem patrem dominum Ricardum Rossen' episcopum vice et auctoritate reverendissimi patris domini domini Johannis Dei gracia Cantuarien' archiepiscopi, tocius Anglie primatem et apostolice sedis legati

in capella de Ot(te)ford' (etc.) - in capella de Ot(te)ford' ab ecclesia parochiali de Shorham jurisdictioe domini immediate (notorie) dependente

SOME NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

(1) Omissions from the text. Where a document from either Register has been extracted and printed elsewhere in a reasonably reliable and accessible form (e.g. in I. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, or D. Wilkins, Concilia, it is not printed here, but clear reference is given concerning where it may be found. The same applies where a document is identical (or nearly identical) except with regard to names and dates with a similar document printed elsewhere (e.g. in Chichele's Register), in which case clear reference is given to the parallel and any difference between it and the document in Stafford's or Kemp's Registers is noted. (See however the Appendix to Stafford's Register, p. 766 ff., where in the interest of completeness are printed some significant wills which are available elsewhere, but not satisfactorily.) In the case of a succession of documents in common form (e.g. in the registers of institutions) an initial example of the form is transcribed, and thereafter the entries are calendared.

(2) Dating. In the summaries of the transcriptions contemporary dating is employed: e.g. the period 1 January - 24 March following 31 December 1443 is given as 1443/4. (In the chapters modern dating is employed; e.g. 1 January - 24 March after 31 December 1443 is described as 1444.)
(3) 'c' or 't' is printed according to which letter appears to have been written in the M.S. (e.g. *execucio*).

(4) The Latin documents are transcribed as in the M.S. Suspensions of proper names (e.g. Cant', Cantuar') are retained as they appear in M.S. Other words suspended in the text are generally printed in full (e.g. *ad cognoscend' as ad cognoscendum*).

(5) The English documents are transcribed as in the M.S., with spelling as given. Technically unnecessary suspensions are retained if the M.S. appears to contain such (even when merely decoration - e.g. London'). 'y' is transcribed 'th' (e.g. *y* as *th*).

(Some discussion of the Registers is given in ch. IV, pp. 77 - 79.)
I  INTRODUCTION: STAFFORD AND KEMP - THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

John Stafford was archbishop of Canterbury from 1443 to 1452, and John Kemp from 1452 to 1454. Our prime concern is to present an edition of their archiepiscopal registers, to supplement the great number of registers of Canterbury and other dioceses published in recent years, and in particular to fill the gap left between E. F. Jacob's work on Henry Chichele (1414 - 43) and F. R. du Boulay's on Thomas Bourghier (1454 - 86). The accompanying study is intended to provide an introduction to and commentary upon the registers.

The study is concerned also to discover what can be known of Stafford's and Kemp's tenures of the metropolitical see of Canterbury from the registers and from other sources. Tenure of Canterbury was however only a part (and in Kemp's case, a very small part) of their careers as bishops of the Church. Stafford was bishop of Bath and Wells for eighteen years (1425 - 43), twice the length of his archiepiscopate. Kemp held three bishoprics in six years (Rochester 1419 - 21, Chichester 1421, London 1421 - 25); none of these brief episcopates was important in itself, but his quarter century tenure of York (1425 - 52) represented the major part of his archiepiscopal career, and his short time at Canterbury was little more than a postscript to this. Kemp was also a cardinal of the Roman church from 1440, first as cardinal priest of St. Balbina, but while at Canterbury, cardinal bishop of St. Rufina.
High ecclesiastical office even so represents only part of these men's careers, for they achieved equal eminence in offices of state. Kemp was Keeper of the Privy Seal and Chancellor of Normandy, and twice Chancellor of England (1426 - 32 and 1450 - 54). Stafford was Keeper of the Privy Seal and Treasurer; he was Chancellor only once, but his period of office stretched the eighteen years which intervened between Kemp's tenures of the chancellorship. Both were members of the royal Council for ever thirty years, and one or other served as Chancellor for twenty eight years, at a time when Lancastrian government proceeded rapidly through incompetent administration towards loss of France and the outbreak of civil war. An adequate study of Stafford and Kemp must therefore devote much attention to their occupancy of the major offices of state.

There were of course many other lawyer- royal servant- bishops in this period, but Stafford and Kemp seem to belong naturally together, not only because they were successive archbishops of Canterbury. They were of similar age and life span, and similar in ambition (or greed or neglect of pastoral oversight). Both emerged from service in Chichele's legal administration. Their careers dovetailed to a remarkable degree, with Kemp always apparently a step ahead. Kemp was Keeper of the Privy Seal before Stafford, and Chancellor of Normandy while Stafford was Keeper. Kemp was consecrated

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1 E.g. E. F. Jacob, Stafford and Kemp were "the two most ambitious prelates among the higher clergy" - R.Ch. i, p. xci; J. Nigota, "Their names have been linked... as representing the worst side of the Lancastrian episcopate" - Kempe, p. 182; R. L. Steroy, they were "the most notorious absentees of their day" - Dio. Admin., p. 17.
bishop six years before Stafford, and held an archbishopric when
Stafford had only recently become a bishop. Kemp was a cardinal of
the Roman church, a rank which Stafford never achieved, and Chan-
cello\r
cellor of England before Stafford. Yet Stafford's service as Chan-
cello\r
cellor was the more remarkable by virtue of its length; and Stafford
gained Chichele's confidence while Kemp's receipt of papal favours
earned his opposition. As a result, Stafford acceded to Canterbury
before Kemp, and Kemp occupied the chair of St. Augustine, so near
his family home, only briefly in extreme age when overburdened by
secular care.

Stafford's and Kemp's Canterbury archiepiscopates, therefore,
must be studied with reference to their wider careers in government
of Church and realm which culminated in their elevation to the prim-
acy. We shall concentrate on their archiepiscopates, however, since
this is our prime concern, and therefore we shall be more interested
in Stafford than in Kemp, for his was the longer tenure. Since no
full scale study has been made of Stafford's career, this work will
attempt to provide a full account of his early career, his episcopate
of Bath and Wells, his royal service as Keeper of the Privy Seal,
Treasurer, and especially Chancellor, as well as his period as
archbishop of Canterbury. Examination of the archiepiscopate will
occupy three chapters (4 - 6). Of these, chapter 4 will discuss
Stafford's accession to Canterbury, his administration and appointment
of officers, his visitations, his regulation of faith and conduct and
his dealing with heresy in both diocese and province. Chapter 5 will
examine the archbishop as metropolitan (his jurisdiction over vacant sees
and presidency of Convocation), while the concern of chapter 6 will be his external relationships, with the cardinal archbishop of York and with the papacy.

In contrast with Stafford, Kemp has been the subject of more attention in recent research, most notably in J. Nigota's thesis John Kempe¹, which examines the whole of Kemp's career except the final brief Canterbury archiepiscopate.² Our chapters summarizing Kemp's career before 1452 are included to provide a coherent and consistent study, but, while they make full reference to primary sources, no claim is made for them, as for the remainder of the thesis to offer fresh material. Kemp's tenure of Canterbury appears something of a postscript to his distinguished career, and cannot be held to be of overwhelming interest, even in the context of the history of the metropolitical see.

How important are the years 1443 - 54 in the history of the see of Canterbury in the late medieval period? Three interpretations or groupings are possible:

1443 - 54 is an interlude of short, relatively unimportant archiepiscopates in contrast to the more substantial and significant


² His itinerary covers the final period: see cit. Appendix, pp. 541 - 64.
on tenures/either side, of Chichele (1414 - 43) and Bourgchier (1454 - 86). A study of the intervening years is but the plugging of a gap. This is to underestimate real and substantial developments during this period.

Canterbury enjoyed, doubtless accidentally but consistently, a succession of archbishops alternately of noble and modest birth. The former were Arundel, Stafford and Bourgchier, the latter Chichele, Kemp and Merton. Modern study has questioned the belief that noble birth alone qualified for promotion to the greater bishoprics; while birth gave an undoubted advantage, the essential qualification was ability and experience, usually acquired through and exemplified in royal legal and administrative service. This accounts for the existence of the sons of "franklins, yeomen and traders"\(^1\) on the episcopal bench beside those of more favoured provenance. J. T. Rosenthal analysed the social and educational background of 79 15th century bishops, and found among them 17 aristocrats, 23 gentry and 39 men from minor and obscure families. Only six had no university education, and secular service to the Crown was an important qualification, indispensable after 1468.\(^2\) L.-R. Betcherman, sharing the American interest in English episcopal breeding, concluded that whereas Henry IV appointed civil servants and Henry V diplomats who had served in France or at the Council

of Constance, the minority Council favoured aristocrats, but this was tempered by Chichele's sponsorship of Canterbury professionals, in particular "civil servants like Stafford".\textsuperscript{1} Betcherman rightly categorizes Stafford as a civil servant, for his claim to be numbered with the scions of noble houses is not well founded. The Staffords were a noble family, but different branches of it occupied different social levels. Humphrey, sixth earl of Stafford and first duke of Buckingham, was the archbishop's kinsman, but his father was a shire knight. Sir Humphrey Stafford of Southwick in Wiltshire and Hooke in Dorset, and John was his illegitimate son by Emma of North Bradley, in which the manor of Southwick lay.\textsuperscript{2} Kemp, a son of the gentry,\textsuperscript{3} is also most satisfactorily categorized as one of Chichele's civil servants. Ability mattered more than birth.

It may be argued that during this period it was established as a norm that the archbishop of Canterbury should be also a cardinal of the Roman Church. Previously, an archbishop raised to the cardinalate resigned his see, as did Kilwardby in 1349 and Langham in 1366. In the 15th century, Beaufort painfully established that it was acceptable for a man to be both bishop of an English see and a cardinal. Kemp, in so many ways Beaufort's protégé, extended this principle to cover the English archbishoprics:


\textsuperscript{2} See below, ch. 2, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{3} See below, ch. 7, p. 143.
king and pope stated explicitly that neither intended that Kemp's new dignity should release him from either of his metropolitical sees.¹ Stafford was the last of the old order who stood with Chichele apart from the post-schismatic papacy. Kemp inaugurated via York a new archiepiscopal papalism which saw a succession of cardinals at Canterbury, himself, Bourghier and Morton.

While not an insignificant development in itself, this new factor made no appreciable difference to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Commentators of an earlier, less ecumenical age than our own have expressed anger at what they supposed to be Kemp's 'treachery': the anonymous author of a monograph in the Church Quarterly Review 1881 fulminated thus:

"For the first time in its annals was this disgrace inflicted on the Church of England by Cardinal Kemp...to accede to office in this capacity was a great lowering of the English primacy, as well as a plain infringement of the law of the land...Of what sort of texture the morality of the new Cardinal was may be judged by a comparison of the two oaths - one to the Pope and one to the King - which he did not scruple to take... It was nothing less than treachery to the national Church to have put it so completely into the hands of the Pope as was done by Kemp."²

2 Church Quarterly Review, xiii (1881 - 82), pp. 349 - 51.
This extraordinary outburst is too dramatic. But it may underline for us that 1452 may be regarded as a significant year in the history of Canterbury, not merely the date when a brief episcopate succeeded an unimportant one.
II  THE CAREER OF JOHN STAFFORD TO 1426

BIRTH AND EARLY PREFERMENT

There appears to be no record of Stafford's date of birth. His ordination as subdeacon in 1409\(^1\) would suggest a date of birth before or during 1388, but he need not have been of canonical age at ordination.

Stafford was the natural son of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Southwick in Wiltshire and Hooke in Dorset, by Emma of North Bradley, in which the manor of Southwick lay.\(^2\) He was pardoned for acquiring the manor of Hooke from Sir Humphrey Stafford without licence on 8 July 1429.\(^3\) His mother became a sister of Holy Trinity priory, Canterbury, where she died on 5 September 1446, and was buried by her son the archbishop in North Bradley church.\(^4\) This may lie behind Gascoigne's confused story of Stafford begetting children by a nun while bishop of Bath and Wells.\(^5\) Stafford was dispensed from his illegitimacy in 1408, as is evident from a papal letter of 8 March 1423 (at which time he was archdeacon of Salisbury and Keeper of the Privy Seal).\(^6\)

1 H. Bubwith (Bath and Wells), Somerset Record Society, ii, 490.
2 C.P.L. vii, 252; Jacob, Stafford, p. 1; Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritate, p. 40.
3 C.P.R. (1422 - 29), 541.
4 C. L. Kingsford, D.N.B., xviii, p. 862.
5 Gascoigne, op. cit., p. 231.
6 C.P.L. vii, 252, 274.
The illegitimacy caused anxiety to Victorian scholars, who asserted its untruth.¹ John Lord Campbell went so far as to suppose Stafford of "illustrious descent", the son of the earl of Stafford by lady Anne Plantagenet, daughter and heiress of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester.² Jacob curtly reminds us however that the papal dispensation puts the matter beyond all doubt.³

Stafford's genealogy on his father's side is complex. His father's mother was a daughter of Ralph, first earl of Stafford, who fought at Crecy and took part in the negotiation of the treaty of Bretigny. John's most significant relative therefore was Humphrey, sixth earl of Stafford and first duke of Buckingham, who was killed at Northampton in 1460 - "the most resplendent of the Staffords".⁴ John's father, Sir Humphrey, who died in 1413, was a shire knight of standing and influence, who held lands in Dorset, Wiltshire, Staffordshire and Cornwall. The name Humphrey was common to both branches of the family, John's (the southern Staffords) and the Worcestershire branch of the family which held lands in Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Northampontshire. Not all the Staffords were Lancastrians: John's father's legitimate great-grandson Humphrey was made lord Stafford of Southwick by Edward IV in 1461, and earl of Devon in 1469.⁵

3 Jacob, Stafford, p. 1.
5 Ibid.
John Stafford seems to have been close to his half-brother Sir Humphrey Stafford of Hooke, nine times knight of the shire for Dorset, sheriff of Staffordshire 1403–04 and of Dorset and Somerset 1415–16, and a landowner of considerable importance in the midlands and west of England. In his will, dated 14 December 1442, Humphrey left John a pair of silver gilt flagons and a silver gilt figure of the beheading of John the Baptist, and a great Arras tapestry, and he appointed the bishop his principal executor. It is probably this bequest which caused the memory of Humphrey Stafford "of the silver hand" (a generous, not an artificial hand) which occasioned Hook some difficulty with the Stafford genealogy.

Following his dispensation in 1408, Stafford was ordained acolyte and subdeacon on 6 April 1409. He was granted letters dimissory for the diaconate on 23 February 1414, and ordained priest on 7 April 1414. He began collecting benefices while still a tonsured clerk: the rectory of Hulcote, Buckinghamshire, on 14 December 1404; that of St. Nicholas, Durham, to which he was collated on 1 January 1407; the rectory of Farborough, Somerset,

1 R.Ch., ii, 620–24.
2 Hook, op. cit., v, p. 131.
3 R. Bubwith, ii, 490.
4 Ibid., i, 169, ii, 568.
5 R. Repyndon (Lincoln), xv, f. 13v.
6 R. Langley (Durham), i, 19–20.
to which he was instituted on 25 September 1408, and had vacated by March 1416. He was granted a portion of St. Teath, Cornwall, in 1409, though he had to defend possession against the provisor Roger Sayer, who had a royal licence. At this time he was dispensed to hold any number of mutually compatible benefices, and added the vicarage of Bathampton, Somerset, which he had vacated by July 1410.

Stafford took the doctorate of civil law at Oxford before the end of 1413. He was present in convocation on 4 March 1414, and was named as one of the doctors to appear before Philip Repyngdon, bishop of Lincoln, when he visited the university to inquire into the strength of Lollardy there. Stafford may have been a representative of Oxford on Canterbury Convocation's commission of inquiry into methods for the more effective promotion of university graduates.

Stafford was closely connected with Chichele from the beginning of the latter's primacy. He was appointed advocate

1 R. Bubwith, i, 40, 231.
3 C.P.L., vii, 252, 274.
4 R. Bubwith, i, 82.
6 Jacob, Stafford, p. 3.
in the court of Arches on 5 December 1414, with dispensation for his priest's orders.  

By 1419, he was auditor of causes of the archbishop's audience, "a colleague of Lyndwood and in the heart of the provincial system". Like Kemp, he is believed to have been a member of the council of the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1416, on the evidence of Wolasshe's register. He was collated to the prebend of Barton in Wells on 11 November 1413, and to a canonry of Exeter on 10 April 1414. He was admitted rector of Clifton Campville in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield on 22 February 1416. On 9 September 1419 he was collated to the archdeaconry of Salisbury; he vacated the archdeaconry for the chancellorship and prebend of Brixworth, to which he was presented on 2 December 1420 and collated on 30 October 1421. He exchanged this again for a canonry and the prebend of Highworth in Salisbury on 7 March 1422.

After obtaining the archdeaconry of Salisbury, he secured the necessary papal dispensation to hold two incompatible benefices for life, and three for five years. He was presented to the rectory of

1 R.Ch., iv, 110, i, pp. clix – xx.
2 R.Ch., iv, 68, 641; Jacob, Stafford, p. 3.
3 Jacob, Stafford, p. 3; Bedleian Liby., Tanner MS. 165, f. 124.
4 Nigota questions the existence of a prior's council: Kempe p. 40.
5 Ibid.; R. E. Stafford (Exeter), 168, 373.
6 Ibid.; R. Catterick (Coventry & Lichfield), f. 13.
7 Ibid.; R. Chaundeler (Salisbury), pt. 1, ff. 25, 40v.
9 C.P.L. vii, 252.
* He served also as Chichele's chancellor, in which capacity he was present with Lyndwood at the inquisition into the election of William Turner as prior of Rochester on 31 August 1419 (R.Ch. i, p. lxxxiii).
the third portion of Crewkerne on 4 July 1422, and on 18 December 1422 was given the deanery of St. Martin le Grand, London. On 18 May 1423 he was presented to the rectory of All Cannings, diocese of Salisbury, and by September that year was canon of the collegiate church of South Malling, diocese of Chichester, with the chancellor's prebend.

The revised letter of dispensation for illegitimacy was issued at Stafford's request with mention of the benefices he currently held, lest the previous letter be thought spurious. It thus provides a checklist of the benefices he held on 21 September 1423: the rectory of Clifton Campville (valued at 150 marks); the canonries and prebends of Highworth in Salisbury (120 marks), Sutton in Chichester (33) and Malling (15); the deanery of St. Martin le Grand (300); the portion of St. Teath (20); the prebend of Barton in Wells (20) and the canonry of Exeter (6) - a grand total of 664 marks.

By the date of the amended dispensation, Stafford's election as dean of Wells had been confirmed, on 9 September 1423. In 1424, he became a canon of Lincoln, occupying the prebend of Milton Manor from 25 September until he exchanged it on 27 December for that of St. Mary Stewe. This was his last new acquisition before he vacated his

1 Emden, op. cit., iii, 1751; C.P.R. (1422 - 29), 15.
2 Ibid.; ibid., 97.
3 Ibid.; R.Ch., i, 225.
4 C.P.L., vii, 274.
5 Emden, op. cit., iii, 1751; R. Bubwith, i, pp. li - liii.
6 Ibid.; R.Ch., i, 326, 335.
benefices on promotion to the bishopric of Bath and Wells.¹

By 1418, he was in the royal view. The patent rolls record two commissions to him in that year: with William Lyndwood and Thomas Kingston, to hear an appeal against a judgment of ransom by Bedford's lieutenant, Sir Robert Denny, in the court of the constable; and with other ecclesiastical and civil judges, to hear an appeal from a judgment in the admiralty court brought by two citizens of London.²

Between 1419 and 1421 Stafford was named a member of three diplomatic missions. On 23 February 1419 he was commissioned to take part in the preliminary stages of the conference of Melun, and on 22 April and 6 May to treat with the king of France concerning peace and a possible interview between him and the king of England.³ In the following year, in commissions dated 15 July and 1 August, he was sent as an envoy to the duke of Burgundy about the observance of the treaty of Troyes.⁴ On 1 May 1421 he

¹ He vacated the rectory of Clifton Campville by May 1425 (R. Heyworth, Coventry and Lichfield, f. 51); the prebend of Highworth (W. H. Jones, Fasti Eccl. Sarish., 392); the deanery of St. Martin (C.P.R., 1422 - 29, 15); the canonry and prebend of South Malling by May 1425 (R.Ch., i, 225); the prebend of St. Mary Stowe (C.P.R., 1422 - 29, 264).
² C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 134, 174.
⁴ Foedera, x, 5, 15.
was appointed to negotiate an alliance with the Genoese envoys in London.\(^1\) In December 1423 he was involved in the negotiations for the release of James I of Scotland, which issued in the treaty of London.\(^2\)

On 25 February 1421 Stafford was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal,\(^3\) in succession to Kemp, who had become Chancellor of Normandy. He held this very busy office during the last eighteen months of the reign of Henry V. The area of concern of the privy seal had been greatly extended by the first two Lancastrian kings, and involved all the preparation for strengthening the English occupation of the conquests in France, and confirmation of all the loans raised by the King's journeys round the counties after his return from France in June 1421.

Stafford thus became a member of the Council under the chancellorship of Langley and the presidency of Bedford. His commission lapsed on the death of Henry V on 31 August 1422, but Gloucester and the lords issued writs for Parliament to meet on 9 November. Then Langley was reappointed Chancellor, Kinwolmarsh Treasurer and Stafford Keeper of the Privy Seal. Kinwolmarsh died within a week, and Stafford succeeded him. The question is asked, with which faction in the Council is Stafford to be grouped, Beaufort's or Gloucester's? Jacob insists that Stafford's patron was always Chichele, and to identify him too readily with either antagonist is a source of confusion.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Wylie & Waugh, op. cit., iii, p. 288.
\(^2\) Fondate, x, 301, 302, 324.
\(^3\) C.P.R. (1416 -22), 406; C.C.R. (1419 - 22), 213, 226; (1422 - 29), 46.
\(^4\) Jacob, Stafford, p. 5.
TREASURER (1422 - 26)

Stafford was appointed Treasurer on 18 or 19 December 1422, immediately after the death of William Kinwolmarsh. On 16 December Council had authorized payment to Stafford as Keeper of the Privy Seal of 20 s. per day, backdated to 1 August, and a similar amount to Kinwolmarsh; Stafford's successor as Keeper, William Alnwick, received payment from 20 December, and warrants for payment to Treasurer and Keeper were authorized by Council on 15 January 1423. On 10 July 1424 Council laid down a scale of payments for councillors, under which Stafford was awarded 200 marks per annum, the standard rate for bishops and earls; the same sum was paid to his successor, Lord Hungerford. Stafford resigned from the Treasury on 13 March 1426. On the same day Beaufort resigned as Chancellor, and on 18th Stafford, acting on Beaufort's behalf, delivered the great seal to Bedford, who delivered it into the custody of John Kemp, bishop of London.

Stafford's period of office as Treasurer saw retrenchment after the expansionist demands of Henry V. He inherited from Kinwolmarsh a balance of some £6000. Stafford augmented casual

1 C.P.R. (1422 - 29) 80 (18th); P.O.P.C. iii, 8 (19th).
2 P.O.P.C. iii, 8.
3 P.R.O. E 404/39/721.
4 P.O.P.C. iii, 24.
5 P.O.P.C. iii, 154; Rot. Parl. v, 404a - 05a. The archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Winchester were to receive 300 marks, barons £100 and esquires £50. There were to be fines for non-attendance, which Stafford will have rarely incurred. The Receipt Roll, Easter 1425, records payment for allowances and expenses: PRO/E 401/711.
6 P.O.P.C. iii, 212 (24 Oct. 1426)
7 Rot. Parl. iv, 299a.
8 Jacob, Stafford, p. 6.
9 A. B. Steel, The Receipt of the Exchequer, p. 166.
revenue by requesting the renewal (i.e. repurchase) of all kinds of immunity and franchise. He asked no subsidy from the Council in 1422 and 1423; and from the Leicester parliament of 1425 he received only the prolongation of existing customs duties for two years, and the right to exact tunnage and poundage from denizens for one year. The garrison at Calais made the largest demand on customs revenue. On 2 March 1423 Council authorized that 13s 4d. from every sack of wool exported from every port except Southampton be paid to Richard Bekeland, treasurer of Calais, to maintain the garrison. The soldiers were in the habit of arresting the wools passing through Calais when their wages were not paid; on 27 April 1423 the Treasurer was instructed to repay £4000 lent by the mayor and merchants of the Staple to pay the soldiers in order to get the wools released, and on 18 May assignment of £4000 for the Calais garrison was made on the arrears due from South and North Wales. A letter from the Council dated 19 May assured the garrison that provision had been made of £5000 plus 13s. 4d. on each sack, and promised more when further supplies were provided. Customs proved sufficiently buoyant until Michaelmas 1425 to carry the weight of assignments laid upon them and to counteract the absence of parliamentary taxation, though serious failures to

1 Jacob, Stafford, p. 6.
2 Rot. Parl. iv, 275 – 76.
3 K. B. McFarlane, At the Deathbed of Cardinal Beaufort, pp. 412 – 13; Beaufort held assignment of export duties from Southampton until his loan of £20, 149 0 s. 5 d. should be repaid.
4 P.O.P.C. iii, 49.
5 Ibid., iii, 67.
6 Ibid., iii, 89.
7 Ibid., iii, 95.
meet assignments were already apparent: £1300 on 21 tallies to the treasurer of the household, Sir John Hototf, in October 1424, and £1500 on 17 tallies to the earl of Northumberland on 17 February 1425.1 The latter was especially unwelcome in view of the Percies' propensity to regard 'bad tallies' as reason for revolt.2

The Treasurer had the goods of the late King from which to pay royal debts.3 The duke of Exeter received £600 from this source on 6 March 1423, and from it the earl of Northumberland and others received wages for their visit to the Council of Pavia.4 Northumberland received a further payment of 3000 marks on 21 May 1423.5 The late King's pledges to Sir Walter Hungerford were to be retained by the Treasurer until their value could be paid.6 The goods, jewels and chattels of the late King had of course to be delivered to the executors he had named in his will, who included Stafford;7 Council ordered him to deliver goods to the executors to the value of 40,000 marks on 18 May 1423.8 To this end it was resolved on 18 July that when the Treasurer notified to the Keeper of the Privy Seal the names of those who

1 Steel, op. cit., p. 168.
2 I.e. in 1403; see Jacob, The 15th Century, p. 49 (though the sum involved then was over £10,778 — Steel, op. cit., p. 139).
3 P.O.P.C., iii, 43 (24 Feb. 1423).
4 Ibid., 59, 54.
5 Ibid., 99.
6 Ibid., 67 (27 Apr. 1423).
8 P.O.P.C. iii, 89.
held the late King's goods in their possession, these persons should be commanded to deliver them to the Treasurer or to the King's administrators. ¹

The expenses of the war in France were a mounting burden. Stafford had to make account with Tiptoft, the seneschal of Guienne. ² The expenses incurred by the King at the visit of the first president of the parliament of Paris had to be met.³ Kemp, bishop of London, had to be paid the £200 owing to him of the £400 which he was granted as half a year's salary for attending the King's Council in France, since it seemed unlikely that Bedford would provide the sum, plus a further 100 marks.⁴ The Treasurer had to account also with Sir Thomas Burton, for 2½ years' custody of the count of Eu, Arthur of Brittany and Bursegaud Marshal of France, at the rate of 23 s. 4 d. per week when they were staying with him, and 33 s. 4 d. when travelling;⁵ his petition for £178 10s. 0d. was granted on 25 January 1425.⁶ Nobles taken prisoner at Agincourt were a cause of considerable expense, even when it was agreed that the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon should sustain their own expenses.

¹ P.O.P.C., iii, 115.
² Ibid., 62 (6 Mar. 1423).
³ Stevenson, Letters, 400.
⁴ P.O.P.C., iii, 70, 72 (5 & 6 May 1423).
⁵ Ibid., 118 (3 Nov. 1423).
⁶ Ibid., 132.
in England after Easter 1424. On 27 June 1423, Council authorized payment to Sir John Cornwall of 5500 marks for the release of the count of Vendome.

The unpaid debts of the Agincourt campaign itself had still to be met. On 10 June 1423 the Treasurer was instructed to account with Thomas duke of Exeter for rewards specified in his indentures when he was retained by Henry V on 8 July 1415. Sir William Talbot and Sir William Carew were also retained in 1415, the former with 4 lances and 12 archers, the latter at sea for half a year with 315 men at arms and 632 archers. They were to be paid at last on 28 November 1423; Carew had found it specially difficult to secure his wages because the relevant muster roll had been lost. Some immediate demands were pressing: the town and castle of Gotoys could be rescued only by a loan of £1000 from the feeoffees of the duchy of Lancaster.

Scotland, by contrast, brought money into the Exchequer during Stafford’s period of office. Kemp’s expedition to the marches in February 1424 to negotiate the release of James cost £80, and James’s marriage before leaving England to Henry IV’s niece Lady Jane Beaufort cost the Treasury £24 in the shape of a silk cloth of gold as a wedding present, but the agreement

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 133 (26 Jan. 1424).
2 Ibid. iii, 108.
3 Ibid., 101.
4 Ibid., 124.
5 Ibid., 135 (5 Feb. 1424).
6 Ibid., 137.
7 Ibid., 133.
ending James's eighteen years' long captivity brought 40,000 marks to cover his expenses while in England.\(^1\)

Some money was forthcoming as subsidy from Convocation of Canterbury; not, however, from that summoned to meet on 12 October 1424 in the hope that it would grant a notable subsidy.\(^2\) Beaufort, Warwick, Stafford and Alnwick visited Convocation on 18 October, and again on 26th, to plead for a subsidy, but the proctors refused to make a grant, insisting through their prolocutor Lyndwood that their electors had not permitted them this power owing to the poverty of the parishes. The Archbishop prorogued Convocation for nearly three months to allow his suffragans to convene their clergy and induce them to empower the proctors to make the concession. Despite this, two further visits from the royal councillors on 29 January and 8 February 1425, and the emphatic pleading of Chichele, Convocation remained obdurate, and was dissolved on 17 February. A new Convocation was quickly summoned, to meet on 23 April.\(^3\) Beaufort, Stafford and other councillors appeared on 4 May to make a specific request for aid for the duke of Bedford in France. Again Convocation was obstinate and again had to be prorogued, until it reluctantly agreed to grant a subsidy of a half tenth on 18 July. The sum of 5000 marks raised from this half tenth was lent to Humphrey duke of Gloucester on 5 November 1425.\(^4\)

1 *P.O.P.C.* iii, 164 (9 Dec. 1424).
3 *R.C.H.*, iii, 101 - 17. (Apart from their length, these Convocations were significant for their proceedings against the Minorite, William Russell.)
4 *P.O.P.C.*, iii, 179.
Inevitably the Treasurer had to resort to the raising of loans. The trend in Stafford's period as Treasurer was to move away from many small loans to a few large ones, from leading bishops, London merchants and northern magnates. London was repaid a loan of 200 marks from the previous reign on 21 October 1423, and £2000 on 15 February 1424.

Stafford's own lending was small: 200 marks on 3 March 1425 (when Kemp lent 500 marks, and Chichele 1000). Beaufort, in these years as throughout his life, was the unrivalled chief moneylender to the Crown: Steel estimated Beaufort's total loans to 1442 at £213,000, with a further £36,666 in the last five years of his life; by contrast, all other lenders in the decade 1442 - 52 provided a mere £8500 altogether. The Proceedings of the Privy Council are punctuated by repayments to Beaufort and delivery to him of royal jewels as security for his loans.

1 Jacob, Stafford, p. 6.
2 P.O.P.C., iii, 116, 142.
3 Ibid., 167.
4 Steel, op. cit., p. 253.
5 E.g. £2400 and £483 6s. 8d. in Jan. 1430 (P.O.P.C., iv, 16); in March 1431, £2815 13s. 4d. lent to the King in Normandy in November last, and £666 13s. 4d. lent in February, plus £1659 6s. 9d. for his attendance on the King's Council in Normandy, £666 13s. 4d. for attendance in England, and £2000 for his attendance about the King in the next half year (ibid. 79); in March 1432, three sums amounting to £1816 13s. 4d. (ibid. 109); in May 1433, 10,000 marks (ibid. 162); on 15 June 1434, £6000, with pledges for repayment of 10,000 marks he was about to lend, in gold, not silver, and guaranteed assignments (ibid. 232 - 36); on 23 June 1434, repayment of 10,000 marks plus 3000 marks plus £500, with jewels as security for 10,000 marks, 3000 marks plus £6000, (ibid. 247 - 50; indenture with Treasurer concerning the jewels, 250 - 54). These figures, illustrating Beaufort's stranglehold on the Treasury over many years, set into context any criticism which may be levelled at Stafford for his dealings with Beaufort when Treasurer. See discussion in McFarlane, "At the Deathbed of Cardinal Beaufort."
In the years of their closest association, while Stafford was Treasurer and Beaufort Chancellor, a loan of 14,000 marks by Beaufort was repaid on 26 February 1424 in the form of jewels to the value of 6000 marks, and letters patent authorizing him to receive 8000 marks from customs on wools, hides and skins in the ports of London and Kingston-upon-Hull. The Treasurer delivered 4000 marks' worth of these jewels on 28 February.

On 6 June 1425 grant was made to Beaufort to recover £11,032 16s. 1d. from customs; for security he might retain a gold crown pledged with him by the late Henry V, and a golden collar with precious stones pledged by the present Treasurer.

The use of the royal jewels as security for loans was not singular, nor of itself reprehensible. The bishop of Durham and others delivered jewels they held for £1000 to the Treasurer on 27 February 1424—these were presumably promptly redelivered to Beaufort as part of the larger consignment made to him on the following day. What was scandalous in the case of Beaufort's dealings was the tendency seriously to undervalue the jewels handed over to him as security. The jewels delivered to him in 1424 were to be forfeit to him if repayment was not forthcoming by Easter 1425, "not withstanding that the said jewels have been priced at a greater price than that at which our said cousin shall perhaps wish to receive them." It was not until 1440 that Gloucester

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 144.
2 Ibid., 146.
3 C.P.R. (1422 - 29), 293.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 145.
5 McFarlane, art. cit., p. 414.
openly and with justice accused Beaufort of defrauding the King of his jewels, "keeping them still to his own use to your great loss and his singular profit and avail". But the matter was for long a running sore, and McFarlane argues convincingly that the odium incurred by Stafford through involvement in this sharp practice was the cause of his resignation as Treasurer on the day when Beaufort ceased to be Chancellor.¹

¹ McFarlane, *art. cit.*, p. 419.
BISHOP

John Stafford was provided to the see of Bath and Wells on 16 December 1424, though the bull is not entered in Chichele's register. Royal assent to his election by the chapters was signified to the Pope on 26 December. Temporalities were restored on 12 May 1425. Stafford was consecrated by Beaufort at the church of the Blackfriars, London, on Whitsunday, 27 May 1425. Spiritualities were restored on 28th, and he made his profession of obedience in the chapter house of St. Paul's on 31 May. He was enthroned at Wells on 16 September.

Having been Treasurer for two years, Stafford's appointment to a bishopric was overdue, but the process by which he came to be bishop of Bath and Wells is an involved one. Two factors were significant: his influence, or lack of it, in the Council, and alignment, or non-alignment, with Beaufort or Gloucester; and influence, or lack of it, in Rome, particularly in his dealings with the English agent at the Curia, William Swan.

2 C. P. R. (1422 - 29), 265.
3 Ibid., 274.
4 R. S. E. W., 2; Stubbs, Reg. Sacr. Anglic.
5 R. Ch., i, 87 - 88; Churchill, Cant. Adm., i, 269, ii, 137.
6 Jacob, Stafford, p. 9.
7 R. A. Griffiths, The Reign of Henry VI, p. 47.
8 It is discussed in Jacob, Stafford; R. G. Davies, Martin V and the English Episcopal; L.-R. Betcherman, The Making of Bishops in the Lancastrian Period; and elsewhere.
Stafford's promotion to Bath and Wells was part of the lengthy and complex disposition of bishoprics which was set in train by the death of Henry Bowet of York on 20 October 1423. *Congé d'élire* was issued on 16 November, and Council consented to the postulation of Philip Morgan of Worcester on 25 January 1424. Council intended that Stafford should replace Morgan at Worcester, an intention it stated as late as 2 November 1424 in a letter to Martin V. It was however Richard Fleming of Lincoln whom Martin translated on 15 February 1424, anxious to assert the independence of the post-schismatic papacy, and to reward Fleming for his services to the papal cause at the Council of Siena; Fleming would also be more likely than the Council's choice, Morgan, to assist the campaign for the abolition of the statute of Provisors which Martin was waging. Fleming's translation was unacceptable to the Council by virtue of this very statute; Fleming was summoned before the Council, reminded of the penalty of Praemunire, and given the opportunity to escape it provided he renounced all claim to York, aided instead Morgan's case, and accepted retranslation to Lincoln.

The Fleming affair caused delay in disposing of York and therefore of the other bishoprics contingent upon it. It

1 C.P.R. (1422 - 29), 169; Davies, *art. cit.*
2 Cotton Cleopatra C IV ff. 174 - 75 (letter of Privy Seal).
3 C.P.L. vii, 345 - 46; R.Ch., i, p. xcii.
coincided too with changes in the Council. In October 1424 Gloucester departed on his expedition to Hainault, leaving Beaufort the predominant voice in the Council. Gloucester returned in failure in April 1425, and Council became paralyzed by the hostility between the two, which at one point broke into armed conflict. Eventually on 30 December 1425 Bedford arrived from France at Beaufort's agitated summons to replace Gloucester as protector of the realm and chief councillor. Bedford's protégé was Kemp, who was with him in France. Bedford made an agreement with the Pope to translate Kemp to York, in return for certain privileges which Bedford granted to the Pope in the English possessions in France. Martin translated Kemp on 20 July 1425; the Council, under Bedford's leadership, agreed to Kemp's translation on 14 January 1426.¹

The result of Kemp's move to York in place of Morgan meant that Worcester was not available for Stafford — though Morgan did leave Worcester, for Ely, to be succeeded at Worcester by Polton of Chichester — all these moves (including Fleming's back to Lincoln) were agreed by Council at the grand disposition of nine bishoprics of 14 January 1426.² Ironically Stafford was not included in these moves, for he was already bishop of Bath and Wells, and is listed as present at that meeting for the first time as 'Bathon'. The death of Nicholas Bubwith provided

¹ P.O.P.C., iii, 180. The events leading up to Kemp's translation to York are discussed more fully below, ch. 7.
² Ibid.
an opportunity to break the logjam, and in its letter to the Pope of 2 November 1424, Council asked that though Stafford had been nominated for Worcester, Martin would now provide him to Bath and Wells, and keep Worcester, when at last it became vacant, for William Alnwick, Keeper of the Privy Seal. Stafford always considered that he had been fobbed off with a second class see, and gave vent to his anger upon the agent at the Curia, Swan, when it might better have been directed against the Council of which he was a member, dominated at the time of his nomination by Beaufort.

The question of Stafford's political allegiance is a difficult one. Kingsford supposed that Stafford was a supporter of Beaufort, and the procurement of Bath and Wells for him the reward for his support. It could equally be interpreted as the disposal of an opponent. The former view can rest only upon the fact that Beaufort, not Chichele, was Stafford's chief consecrator; but while usual for the metropolitan to preside, it was not canonically necessary. Further, Stafford's resignation as Treasurer on the same day as Beaufort's as Chancellor is open to misinterpretation, for while he ceased to be Treasurer, he never left the Council. Jacob is undoubtedly right to align Stafford with Chichele — and in the 1420s, this means effectively with Gloucester, for Chichele and Beaufort had a longstanding antipathy for each other because of Beaufort's ambition to be made cardinal. It was after all the Beaufort Council which sent Stafford to a bishopric he did not want.

1 B.L. Cotton Cleopatra C IV ff. 174v–75.
2 DN.B.
3 Jacob, Stafford, p. 5.
Bath and Wells was not good enough, however, for "the greatest pluralist of his day" for whom not any see would do.¹ He made this clear to his proctor in the Curia, William Swan. Swan’s letter book is preserved in the British Library.² It contains the dealings of that agent with several English clients, including Stafford and Kemp. Kemp had been known to Swan longer, and Swan felt able to be frank with him, while he exercised caution with Stafford, who was a new client. All bishops intrigued, though Kemp, who has been described as "an ambitious intriguer"³ and "the most unscrupulous villain among the episcopate"⁴ has left more evidence of doing so and was more successful than most; but Davies rightly questions how much from evidence of intrigue for promotion can fairly be concluded.

When Swan encouraged Kemp to seek promotion in 1424, Kemp frankly informed him that he was interested in only five bishoprics (Davies suggests these were Canterbury, York, Durham, Winchester and Ely), and that he would write to the Pope and friendly cardinals, and send Swan something to distribute.⁵ Stafford was equally specific: he would consider only two sees, but was specially anxious to have Worcester. On 10 January 1424 Swan informed Stafford that he had endeavoured to persuade the Pope and cardinals to translate Morgan to York, and to leave Worcester vacant for Stafford. The reason for the delay is not

¹ R. G. Davies, Martin V and the English Episcopate.
² Cotton Cleopatra C IV.
³ Davies, art. cit.
⁴ Jacob, The 15th Century, p. 269.
⁵ Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 156 - 57v.
Stafford's *simplicitas* (i.e. inexperience in intrigue), but another reason, and he is sure that Stafford will be provided at least to Hereford or Chichester. If this should be the outcome, should he sue for the necessary bulls? Stafford replied that Swan should continue to press for Worcester. He was sending new royal letters to the Pope and the cardinals, especially Cardinal Orsini, who Swan assured him specially favoured him. Hereford or Chichester would not satisfy the Council, but in the event that Worcester proved unavailable, a second church, unnamed, should be applied for, unless Stafford subsequently named another. Jacob believed that the second church was Norwich, since Stafford's name appears as provided to that see in a summary list of provisions in *Armoria* 12 of the Vatican Archives.

Evidently Stafford held Swan responsible for his diversion to Bath and Wells. A letter from Swan to Stafford reveals that Stafford accused Swan of sacrificing his interests to those of Polton of Chichester, and of defaming him by stating publicly that Stafford had paid him only twenty shillings for his services when in fact he had handed over three nobles. Swan protested his innocence. Kemp's translation was settled a month before he returned to the Curia. He then did all he could to secure Worcester for Stafford. When it became clear that this was impossible, he tried to obtain for him one of the best churches in the kingdom.

1 Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 168v - 69.
2 Jacob, *Stafford*, p. 7.
Stafford, therefore, had to make do with Bath and Wells, and before long had settled comfortably into the system. His second interchange of letters with Swan in 1428 shows him anxious to be thought well of by the Pope at the time when the Council of which he was a member was blocking Martin's campaign for repeal of the Statute of Provisors. On 16 January 1428 he acknowledged Swan's letters despatched from Rome on 23 October and received by him on 24 December. Swan had reported the Pope's remark that before his promotion, he had heard much in Stafford's favour. The implication — "but not since" — was left unmade. Stafford expressed his nervousness at the lack of explication, and his anxiety lest this were a sign of papal displeasure. Such displeasure might be the result of Stafford's lack of subventions since his promotion; this will shortly be made good. He assured Swan that he had paid the annual pension of 10 marks to Swan's brother, as they had arranged, and promised to do his best to secure the promotion of his nephew. He concluded that the archbishops and prelates were endeavouring in Parliament to secure the abolition of the

1 Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 152 – 53v.
2 Jacob, _cit._, p. 8.
statute, and hoped to be able to send good news before long.\textsuperscript{1}
Jacob comments: "The Stafford letters of 1428 show him...doing all that an English bishop, who was also a member of the Council, could under these circumstances do: making loud professions of devotion to the liberty of the Church."\textsuperscript{2}

From the evidence afforded by his register, Stafford may be judged a reasonably conscientious bishop of Bath and Wells. He was "a vigilant diocesan - not a John Kemp".\textsuperscript{3} His secular responsibilities necessitated a considerable degree of non-residence, though it may be argued that one reason for his resignation from the treasurership in 1426 was a wish to devote more time to the diocese to which he was now reconciled: "now that secular business is removed" he declared himself given "to the profit and salvation of the souls of our subjects".\textsuperscript{4} He executed a good deal of diocesan business from his London house, in the parish of St. Clement Danes outside Temple Bar, from where many of the entries in the register are dated. On 9 December 1428 he obtained licence from Cardinal Beaufort to celebrate orders and exercise episcopal jurisdiction over Bath and Wells in his manor of Dogmersfield in Hampshire, in the diocese of Winchester;\textsuperscript{5} after this date the great

\textsuperscript{1} Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 173 - 73v.
\textsuperscript{2} Jacob, Stafford, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 10.
\textsuperscript{4} R.S.B.W., 48 f.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 203.
majority of entries in the register not dated in London were dated at Dogmersfield. Those entries dated in the diocese were largely dated at Stafford's manor of Wookey.

73 ordinations are listed in the register. Of these Stafford administered 22: 14 at Dogmersfield, 4 at Wookey, 3 at Bath and one at Yeovil. The remaining 51 were administered by his suffragans, in a variety of locations in the diocese. Richard bishop of Inniscattery, commissioned on 5 June 1425, celebrated 28 ordinations between that date and 2 June 1437, and John bishop of Olensis (Iceland) 23 between 10 March 1437 and the end of Stafford's episcopate. On six occasions Stafford held an ordination at Dogmerfield on the same day as a suffragan was ordaining elsewhere; at two of these, he had only one candidate: master Vincent Clement, rector of St. Martin Vintry, abbreviator of papal letters, and one of Stafford's proctors in the Curia, made deacon on 15 April 1441, and the rector of Old Romney, Thomas Bank, on letters dimissory from Canterbury, made subdeacon on 23 December 1441.

The Bath and Wells register contains 252 leaves. The writing itself, the method of entry and the arrangement of the contents suggest that no part of it was written in London, but copies of

1 R.S.B.W., 287 - 467.
2 Ibid., 2.
3 Ibid., 392. (The other proctor was master Thomas Chapman, abbreviator, occurs 20 May 1440: Ibid. 251.)
4 Ibid., 398. (Bank was instituted to Old Romney on 6 Aug. 1422 - R.Ch., i, 205.) These six 'double ordinations' led A. H. Thompson to count 67 ordinations - The English Clergy, p. 204.
the bishop's acta were brought from London to Wells and written into the quires in the registrar's keeping. The registrar, master John Boghere, worked under the direction of the commissary-general, John Bernard. Bernard, who was succentor of Wells from 10 February 1427, was judge in the consistory court, and had Stafford's commission to inquire, correct and punish, and to open, insinuate and prove wills. Towards the end of his episcopate, Stafford enjoyed the service of John Stevens as commissary-general; Stevens was a distinguished lawyer, formerly in Chichele's service, who moved to Canterbury to Stafford to act as his examiner-general. Master William Fulford, bachelor in both laws, was appointed commissary-general in partibus on 9 October 1441.

Stafford's official-principal was master John Storthwayt, bachelor in both laws. Storthwayt was commissioned on 5 June 1425, while succentor of Wells; he became precentor on 10 February 1427, replacing master John Eody, now chancellor, and was succeeded as succentor by John Bernard. Storthwayt was collated to the prebend of Lytton in Wells on 15 May 1435, and instituted to the rectory of Lympsham on 31 December 1436. On 19 March 1440 he succeeded Eody as chancellor.

1 Jacob, Stafford, p. 9.
2 R.S.B.W., 95. (Boghere is described as "scribe in cases of corrections and registrar").
3 Ibid., 44.
4 Ibid., 87.
5 Jacob, art. cit., p. 9; R.S., 37.
6 R.S.B.W., 272.
7 Ibid., 3.
8 Ibid., 182, 201.
9 Ibid., 247.
Hody was Stafford's first vicar-general, appointed 5 June 1425.\(^1\) Several vicars-general might be commissioned simultaneously; when Stafford went to France with Henry VI in 1430, he commissioned John Forest, dean of Wells, Thomas Bubwith, arch-deacon, John Price and John Bath, canons of Bath.\(^2\) The apparitor-general was Peter Colle, appointed 28 March 1427.\(^3\)

We have mentioned the two suffragan bishops active in Stafford's episcopate, Richard bishop of Inniscoattery, commissioned 5 June 1425, and John bishop of Olensis, 10 March 1437.\(^4\) Their periods of service overlapped slightly, Richard conducting his last ordination on 2 June 1437.\(^5\)

Significant names among the list of collations to prebends of Wells are those of Henry Penwortham, registrar of Canterbury, to Combe 6 on 17 March 1426, and to Warminster-Luxvile on 7 June 1434; Thomas Bourchier to Combe 13 on 30 November 1441; William Bycennyll, official of the court of Canterbury in 1444, to Curry on 5 June 1432 and Dultingert on 4 May 1443; Thomas Bakynton, Henry VI's secretary, and Stafford's successor in the see, to Wermestre on 21 April 1439 and Dultingert on 11 April 1441;

\(^{1}\) R.S.B.W., 1. (Hody was precentor in 1425; chancellor 4 Sep. 1426 – March 1440; prebendary of Compton Bishop, 27 Apr. 1439; \textit{ibid.}, p. xxxiv.\)
\(^{2}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. xxxiii.
\(^{3}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. xxxiii.
\(^{4}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. xxxiii.
\(^{5}\) \textit{Ibid.}, 358.
William Lyndwood to Taunton on 15 May 1435; and Adam Moleyns, doctor of laws, later Keeper of the Privy Seal and bishop of Chichester, to Wedmore on 1 March 1436. Moleyns was commissioned as one of the bishop's proctors at the Council of Basel on 4 July 1435, and on 1 January 1441 he was collated to the archdeaconry of Taunton and its appropriated prebend of Wilverton.

Lollardy was a serious problem for Stafford, especially because Bristol, a stronghold of Lollardy, was situated in the diocese. In 1426 he forbade a certain William to preach, who is probably to be identified as William Russell, one of the three Minorites accused of heresy in the Convocation of 23 April 1426, who had taken refuge at Bedminster near Bristol. On 10 March 1429 William Emayn of Bristol was arraigned for heresy at Wells before the bishop, dean and abbot of Glastonbury. Emayn's opinions were uncompromisingly Wycliffite:

"Item, Maister John Wyclif was holier and now is more in blisse and hier im heven glorified than Seint Thomas of Canterbury the glorious Martir."

He farther held that Sir John Oldcastle and his followers were holy men, true and Catholic martyrs. Emayn abjured on 28 March 1429.

1 R.S.B.W., p. xxxiv.
3 Ibid., 260.
4 Ibid., p. xxxv; R.Ch., iii, 173 - 79.
5 Ibid., 76 - 80.
Similar episodes occurred periodically throughout the episcopate. In 1434 the relapsed heretic William Taylour was handed over to the secular authorities.¹ In August 1438 there was the case of Agnes Hancock of Montacute, accused of witchcraft.² On 5 April 1441, John Jourdan of Bristol abjured his errors and heresies in the vulgar tongue before the bishop, chapter, public notaries and many others in the chapter house at Wells. These included his stated beliefs that a child born of a Christian man and woman does not need baptism; that bread remains bread at the sacrament of the altar; and that the sacrament of orders is vain, void, superfluous and unnecessary.³ Five days later a monition was issued against Thomas Oke, brewer of Taunton, because of his Wycliffite heresy.⁴ On 24 August 1431 Stafford had issued a mandate to the archdeacons of Wells, Bath and Taunton and the abbot of Glastonbury to act against sorcery, false swearing and perjury, Lollardy, Lollard books and anything else written in the vulgar tongue.⁵ Ten years later, following the latest outbreak, he once more instructed them to suppress false doctrine.⁶

The best weapon against Lollardy was sound and clear Catholic teaching. On 20 March 1435 Stafford sent a long letter to the dean

¹ R.S.B.W., p. xxxv ff.
² Ibid., 225 - 27.
³ Ibid., 266.
⁴ Ibid., 267 - 69.
⁵ Ibid., 103 - 08.
⁶ Ibid., 267 - 69.
of Wells and the archdeacons concerning religious instruction of the common people. The fourteen articles of faith, ten commandments, two precepts of the Gospel, seven works of mercy, discipline of the five senses, seven deadly sins, seven capital virtues and seven sacraments of grace, should be preached and taught four times a year, their meaning clearly stated without curious subtlety, in English: detailed examples are given.¹

In addition to sound teaching, the bishop set store by rigorous ecclesiastical discipline, and sought to root out high-handed or neglectful administration by secular and monastic clergy. The tale of Nicholas Calton, the troublesome archdeacon of Taunton, who arrogated to himself probate of wills, and levied double visitation procurations, of food and money, belongs essentially to Bubwith's episcopate, but in Stafford's time he caused trouble by allowing dilapidations to accumulate on his prebendal estates, and Stafford admonished the president of the chapter to exercise vigilance in this matter.² An inquiry which Stafford undertook into the income of vicarages resulted in his insistence upon a portio congrua for incumbents of churches appropriated to religious houses.³ This was one of many faults of Bruton priory, as a result of which Shepton Montis had no vicar; the chapter was ordered to present a vicar and augment the stipend.⁴

¹ R.S.B.W., 173 - 80.
³ Ibid., 344.
⁴ Ibid., 94.
Stafford insisted on the personal residence of incumbents. William Bradley of East Pennard and Bradley was charged with giving insufficient time to Bradley, and ordered to say mass and offices there.¹ John Touker, rector of Long Sutton, was deprived for non-residence in 1436, as was John Smyth, rector of Lufton, in 1440.² There were licences to be absent for study, such as that for two years granted to Walter Strotinger, rector of Wolton Courtney, on 13 May 1441.³ The rector of Eastquants—head was dispensed for three years on 4 May 1440 to attend any place where he could obtain medicine for his bad eyesight.⁴

Consideration was also shown to the rector, vicar and parishioners of Wookey, who were given permission on 11 September 1439 to change their dedication festival from the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 September) to the Sunday after the feast of St. Jerome (30 September), in order that it should not interfere with the gathering of the harvest.⁵ A sterner Stafford issued a monition against clerical concubinage in August 1431, which was to be published to clergy chapters four times a year,⁶ and on 15 May 1436 he ordered the vicars of the cathedral church of Wells strictly to observe the statutes and ordinances under which they were constituted.⁷

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1 Jacob, Stafford, pp. 10 - 11.
2 R.S.B.W., p. xxxv f.
3 Ibid., 270.
4 Ibid., 250.
5 Ibid., 239 - 40.
6 Ibid., 333.
7 Ibid., 220 - 23.
Among the religious houses in the diocese, Bruton proved the least satisfactory. On 20 March 1428, having made visitation of the priory, Stafford issued detailed injunctions for reform.¹ No improvement resulted, despite the election of a new prior, Richard Glastrynbury, whose election Stafford confirmed on 8 August 1429.² By November 1430 it was clear that the injunctions had gone unheeded, and Stafford ordered that they be read in chapter twice a week.³ By contrast, Muchelney was pliant. Visited on 30 August 1437, most of the complaints against the abbey were of excessive worldliness, and on 3 October the bishop instructed the abbot to close the Sextongate through which after Compline monks were wont to pass into the town, and townspeople into the abbey. Apparently affairs were quickly satisfactory, since on 26 November it could be certified that visitation of Muchelney was at an end.⁴

Stafford seems to have enjoyed good relations with the chapter of Wells. On 3 April in an unspecified year, the bishop made an agreement to give the dean and chapter ten books, whose use he would retain for life; there is no record that the books were received.⁵ On 15 August 1433, he granted the dean, John Forest, and chapter the gate to the close called the Camery with free ingress and egress.⁶

¹ R.S.B.W., 80 - 83.
² Ibid., 286.
³ Ibid., 92.
⁴ Ibid., 209 - 10.
⁵ Muniments of D.& C. of Wells, Charter 637.
COUNCILLOR

Stafford's resignation from the treasurership on 14 March 1426 in company with the Chancellor, Beaufort, is unlikely to have been solely for the purpose of devoting more time to his diocese. Nor does it necessarily mean that Stafford is clearly to be identified as a member of the Beaufort party. When Bedford endeavoured to reconcile the warring contenders early in 1426, Council deputed a body of nine members, including Stafford and Chichele, to examine Gloucester's complaints and hear Beaufort's defence of his actions. We may agree that Stafford was displaced because of the general odium against members of the Beaufort ministry, and in particular because of his part in the scandal over the royal jewels. He did not however leave the Council. Jacob regards him as too valuable a member of that body for his services to be lost. Hence he is found subscribing a petition on 1 July 1426; taking part in discussions about the recovery of pledged jewels belonging to the Crown from persons holding them as security, on 11 July; and named in a list of lords of the Council on 24 November when Council minuted the rules it had formulated for the receiving of petitions and the conduct of other business. In 1428 he was one of the councillors present at the meeting at Duke Humphrey's house on 11 November, when Council criticised Beaufort for accepting the office of papal legate. Stafford was one of the councillors who accompanied Henry VI

1 Jacob, Stafford, p. 11; The 15th Century, p. 230 (where he regards Stafford as one of the members "friendly to Beaufort").
2 See above, pp. 29 – 30.
3 Jacob, art. cit., p. 11.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 199 – 200.
5 R.Ch., i, p. xlviii.
to France in 1430, which necessitated his absence abroad from 27 March to 8 September.\footnote{1}

Stafford was frequently one of the delegates of Council who attended meetings of Convocation of Canterbury to request as a subsidy, whether clerk or bishop, Treasurer or Chancellor. He appeared for this purpose at the Convocation of 12 October 1424 - 17 February 1425, on 18 and 26 October, 29 January and 8 February.\footnote{2} In the Convocation of 23 April to 18 July 1425, he was present with Beaufort and other councillors on 4 May, and secured a grant of a half tenth.\footnote{3} As Chancellor, he addressed the Convocation of 15 - 24 September 1432, supported by Lyndwood, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and obtained a half tenth;\footnote{4} and that of 7 November - 21 December 1433, which granted a half and a quarter tenth.\footnote{5} The Convocations of 29 April - 8 May 1437 and 21 November - 22 December 1439 both yielded a whole tenth; on the latter occasion Stafford was supported by the earls of Stafford and Northumberland and Lords Cromwell and Scrope.\footnote{6} Stafford's practice was to stand with the secular lords to request the subsidy, then to remain in Convocation as bishop when they withdrew - an apparently successful method, since after his consecration Stafford never failed to secure a grant.\footnote{7}

1 \textit{P.O.P.C.}, iii, 310, iv, 29.
2 \textit{R.Ch.}, iii, 91.
3 \textit{Ibid.}, 103 - 10.
4 \textit{Ibid.}, 233.
5 \textit{Ibid.}, 247.
6 \textit{Ibid.}, 259, 282 - 83.
7 Jacob, \textit{Stafford}, p. 12.
Before turning to Stafford's long tenure of the office of Chancellor, it is right to remark upon his long membership of the Council, from his appointment as Keeper of the Privy Seal on 25 February 1421 to his death on 25 May 1452 - a record matched only by Kemp.¹ The Council does not consistently offer a record of attendance, because records were not always kept or have been lost. An incomplete picture must be built up from odd minutes surviving from the years 1437 - 46, a few lists of members, warrants to move the great or privy seals which include the names of councillors present when the warrant was issued, and records of payment for councillors' attendance. Payment was made during the reign of Henry IV, by the Minority Council and the Yorkist Protectorates of 1454 - 55. The scale laid down for members of the Minority Council was £200 per annum for an archbishop, a duke, the Chancellor and the bishop of Winchester. Other bishops received 200 marks, barons and knights £100 and esquires £40.² When the minority ended in 1437 and the King reappointed the Council, no bishop save Stafford the chancellor continued to receive a salary, though Kemp was granted an annuity of £200 in 1438.

The Minority Council's quorum was four, plus the three great offices. The usual attendance was eight - the officers

² P.O.P.C., iii, 154 (10 July 1424).
and five bishops (Chichele, Beaufort, Morgan, Kemp and Wakering). Stafford continued to attend when not holding office between 1426 and 1432. He was one of a group of councillors assembled in the 1420s who proved remarkably durable. 22 councillors were nominated by Parliament in 1426; 14 of these were still attending meetings regularly at the end of the Minority Council in 1437, including the bishops Chichele, Beaufort, Kemp, Stafford and Alnwick. In the 40s death took their toll, but Kemp, Stafford and Lord Cromwell continued into the 50s, and the extreme example of this conciliar longevity was Kemp's reappointment as Chancellor in 1450. Beaufort's dominance over Council was effectively at an end by 1443, but Suffolk, Kemp, Stafford and Cromwell continued his general policy. Suffolk's period of supremacy, 1447 - 50, was a time when no independent role was allowed to Council: morale fell, and attendance dropped to an average of five, two of whom were Stafford and Kemp. The nadir was reached in 1449 - 50, when the two archbishops and Cromwell retained the last links with the days of Henry V and the Minority Council, but Kemp and Cromwell were on bad terms with Suffolk, Kemp over Suffolk's attempt to block his nephew's promotion to the see of London, while Stafford was anxious to lay down the burden of the chancellorship. Neither archbishop lived to see the 'sad and substantial' Council which Henry VI promised to establish in the wake of the Cade uprising.
Between 1432 and 1450, Stafford's tenure of the chancellorship made him the most regular attender at Council meetings. Virgoe records that between 15 November 1437 and 13 July 1443, Stafford was present at 188 sessions out of 204 at which attendance was noted. (Kemp attended 63, Beaufort 50, Chichele 8.) Between 10 October and 14 December 1446, Stafford was present on 93 occasions out of a possible 101 (Kemp 21). Between 29 April 1447 and 20 December 1449, he attended 54 sessions out of 57 (Kemp 35). In these 12 years, then, Stafford missed only 27 sessions out of 362. When their roles were reversed and Kemp became Chancellor in 1450, Kemp attended 38 of the 50 sessions between 22 March 1450 and 29 August 1453; Stafford was present at 11 before his death in May 1452.¹

Probably not much significance in the way of victory for one party or the other should be read into Stafford's appointment as Chancellor in 1432. If Council still wished this office to be discharged by a civil servant, Stafford, of similar disposition and experience to Kemp, was a natural choice for his successor.²

¹ Virgoe, *Art. cit.*
² Stafford, Jacob, p. 12.
Stafford was appointed Chancellor on 25 February 1432. He issued his first writ in this capacity on 7 May 1432. He received a salary of £200 per annum in 1437, plus expenses, for example the five marks incurred in writing to the Pope to inform him of the death of the Cardinal of Luxemburg. In December 1448 the King awarded him £500 for diligent service and attendance.

Much was made by older writers of the fact that Stafford is the first Chancellor who is referred to as Lord Chancellor. Not much significance should be attached to this. The first clear occurrence of the more exalted designation appears to have been on 1 February 1445, when the Lord Chancellor instructed Suffolk that it was the King's will that he go on the embassy to France, and that he need not fear the King's 'heaviness', for he stood always in his good grace. May the title 'Lord' have been more readily accorded after Stafford became archbishop?

The Council writ of 8 November 1439, which records as present in

2 P.O.P.C., iv, 113.
5 E.g. Kingsford in D.N.B.
6 P.O.P.C., vi, 31.
in Council the lords Chancellor, Suffolk and Tiptoft, is of interest because in it and thereafter, Stafford is named first among those present in Council;¹ before this date his name usually followed those of more distinguished members.²

Stafford may have contributed, through his long tenure of the Chancery, to holding together a disintegrating government, though he appears to have shared the odium directed at other ministers and royal associates; he was for example able to come and go freely during the Cade uprising. He prepared for his resignation (exoneratio) on 31 January 1450³ by obtaining a pardon of all his trespasses and offences.⁴ Hasted kindly attributed his departure to "weariness of so painful a place".⁵ R. A. Griffiths has found evidence which suggests that his resignation may have been forced.⁶ He may have wished to avoid presiding over the destruction of Suffolk, his associate for many years, a qualm which his successor Kemp, an adversary of Suffolk, would not have shared. Alternatively, Parliament may have wished Suffolk's friend not to hold the great seal when its impeachment was done.

¹ Writs of Council, P.R.O. C 81/1545/70. (The writ licenses John bishop of Olyensis, suffragan of Canterbury, to bring the fruits of his church to England in two ships, to secure the papal bulls of provision to the see to which he had been appointed three years before, which were held by merchants of London for want of payment of firstfruits, and the Pope was threatening to provide another to the see.)
² E.g. C 81/1545/32: writ of 3 July 1432, signed by H. Gloucestre, J. Ebor', J. Bathon' Canc', Suffolk.
³ C.C.R. (1447 - 54), 150; Rot. Parl., v, 172a.
⁴ C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 307.
⁵ E. Hasted, The History of the Ancient and Metropolitical City of Canterbury, 1799, p. 646.
⁶ An Historical Collection of the 15th Century, Appendix II,
More significant than Stafford's long tenure of the office of Chancellor is the development of the office which took place during his years of office, and which his long tenure made possible. Jacob singles out two functions as particularly worthy of comment: the Chancellor's role as Council's spokesman in Parliament, and the development of Chancery's equitable jurisdiction.¹

The most conspicuous task of the Chancellor in the first of these roles was the delivery of the pronuntiatio which opened a new parliament. This, a well-established but contrived form of address, combined the announcement of news and agenda for discussion with a moralizing sermon, which incorporated within itself an exposition of the circumstances which had occasioned the parliament's summons; it ended with direction to the Commons to choose their speaker, and the appointment of triers of petitions. The characteristics of the sermon were a delightfully apt text, a heavily allegorical exposition of that text, and a direct application of the scriptural parallel to the present situation.

¹ Jacob, **Stafford**, p. 12.
Ten parliaments met during Stafford's chancellorship.\(^1\)

The Rolls of Parliament record Stafford's text and a summary of his address for the first eight: not, unfortunately, for the two parliaments of 1449, when the address is dismissed in a stereotyped formula.

Some addresses discourse generally upon the principles of rule and obedience. In 1432 I Peter 2:16, with the obvious cross reference to Romans 13: 1 ff., is used to extol true and faithful obedience as the mother and guardian of all virtues; England will enjoy the blessing of peace and sweetness of prosperity when obedience to God and reverence for the King are accorded without dissimulation and deceit. Parliament has been summoned to render such obedience and such reverence, and only thirdly because of the penury of the realm.\(^2\) In like manner in 1433 the Chancellor understood the 'mountains' of Psalm 72: 3 to refer to the prelati, procurers et magnati whose duty in their deliberations was to bring peace, and the 'little hills' the milites, armigeri et mercatores who were to foster righteousness

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1 12 May 1432; 8 July 1433; 10 October 1435; 21 January 1437; 12 November 1439; 25 January 1442; 25 February 1445; 10 February 1447; 12 February 1449; 6 November 1449. Rot. Parl. iv, 388, 419, 481, 495; v, 3, 35, 66, 128, 141, 171. All were opened at Westminster except that of 1447, held in Bury St. Edmunds.

2 Ibid., iv, 388.
and justice, for the benefit of the populace, the cultores, artificeres et vulgares, whose reciprocal obligation was obedience.¹

Some of Stafford's most ingenius allegories are derived from the regalia of kingship itself. In 1437, inspired by Isaiah 62:3, he spoke of the crown which God had awarded to all ranks - baptism for ordinary Christian folk, the tonsure for clerks, but a golden bejewelled crown for the king. The crown symbolizes the seat of all virtue in the king. In its four flores reside the four cardinal virtues. But each flos is built up of three jewels, which suggest the subdivisions of each virtue: prudence into memory of the past, circumspection in the present and forethought for the future; fortitude into courage, patience and perseverance; temperance into restraint of lust, of loquacity and luxury; and justice to superiors, equals and inferiors. Parliament is summoned to forward justice and peace, improve the well-being of the realm, and to restrain the malice of the rebellious enemies of the King.² In 1442, the throne of Proverbs 29:14, which will be established forever if the King judges the poor with equity, is likened to Solomon's throne, to which six steps led. These steps signify the six orders of society, prelates, knights, clergy, merchants, scholars, and artificers and common people, who are responsible for maintaining

¹ Rot. Parl., iv, 419.
² Ibid., 495.
the stability of the throne. This requires them to shun the six vices which St. Augustine lists, and to embrace the six virtues, of which the fourth — prudent provision — delicately introduces the need for a subsidy. The reference here to the necessity of law upheld by Seneca in *Epistle* 94 and St. August-ine in *Epistle* 24 illustrates the occasional use of classical and patristic authorities in these addresses. \(^1\)

The scriptural text might be made to refer to more specific events. In 1444 an announcement of Suffolk's journey overseas in connection with the peace terms and the Anjou marriage was introduced by the text "Justice and peace have kissed each other" (Psalm 85:10).\(^2\) In 1447 Henry VI's meeting with René of Anjou was an illustration of the joy which follows those who enter the council of peace (Proverbs 12:20).\(^3\) Psalms and Wisdom literature obviously provide much of the inspiration for this type of allegorising, though the historical books also supply models: in 1439 Stafford suggested that the strength of a nation resides in unity of the kind which ensured Israel's success against Gibeah (Judges 20),\(^4\) while in 1447 he held up Achier (Judith 6) as the model of a good councillor.\(^5\)

1 Rot. Parl., v, 35 - 36. (C.f. Tractatus de Regimine Principium ad Regem Henricum Sextum, ed. J.-P. Genet, *Four English Political Tracts of the Late Middle Ages*, Camden 4th Ser., xviii, 1977, pp. 40-173, which visualizes the kingdom as built on six virtues (humility, charity, peace, etc.) of which the six steps of Solomon's throne are an allegory. The author and date are unknown: perhaps a royal chaplain, involved in the foundation of the royal colleges, in the 1430's. The significance of the steps is different in the tract from the sermon, but perhaps Stafford knew the tract, or the author knew Stafford's sermon; see Genet's note, p. 47.)

2 Ibid., 66.
3 Ibid., 128.
4 Ibid., 3.
5 Ibid., 128.
Occasionally the seriousness of the current state of affairs appears not to have afforded the Chancellor the luxury of an allegorical sermon. The parliament of 1435 received a detailed account of the breakdown of negotiations at Arras and the duke of Burgundy's treachery. On 12 February 1449 it is merely noted that the Chancellor "pronounced and declared the causes for the summons of parliament". On 6 November 1449 the summons was "for certain urgent business of the government of England".

In the first parliament of Kemp's second chancellorship, that of 6 November 1450, the causes of the summons are detailed more fully:

"...to provide for the defence of the realm and the safe keeping of the seas; to provide aid for the duchy of Aquitaine against the adversary of France; for the punishment and resistance of the riotous populace, who had made congregations, commotions and insurrections in various parts, to the great disturbance of the realm."

The pronuntiatio of the second, given by the bishop of Lincoln, is dismissed by the brief formula.

1 Rot. Parl., iv, 481.
2 Ibid., v, 141.
3 Ibid., 171.
5 Ibid., 227. (The most practical and explicit address in this period was that given by Archbishop Bourchier in the parliament which followed the first battle of St. Albans in 1455; see Chrimes, English Constitutional Ideas in the 15th Century, p. 144.)
The value of these addresses has been variously assessed. John Lord Campbell judged Stafford's speeches "very dull and quaint". Foss thought his attempts "occasionally animated and impressive", though more often "far-fetched and tasteless", but excusable in view of "the absurd practice of opening Parliament with a political speech introduced by a scripture text". Chrimes by contrast regarded Stafford's political philosophy as valuable, not least for its development of the concept of the three estates of Parliament. Of particular significance in this regard were his references in 1435 to the Treaty of Troyes, approved per utriusque Regnorum predictorum Trinos Status; in 1439 to the three estates in which resided principatus, potestas et prudentia ad ipsius Regni directionem; and in 1447 to provision requiring mature deliberation cum sano et salubri consilio Trium Statuum dicti Regni.

The Chancellor stood also in the forefront of conflict in the Council. At the Great Council held in the Parliament Chamber on 24 April 1434, the duke of Gloucester made observations on the conduct of the war in France. The duke of Bedford

3 S. B. Chrimes, English Constitutional Ideas in the 15th Century, p. 120.
4 Rot. Parl., iv, 481, v, 128.
demanded that these be put in writing. On 26th, Gloucester produced them in writing; Bedford requested a copy. On 8 May Bedford declared in writing his remarks upon Gloucester's observations, in defence of his honour and estate. The Chancellor read these. Gloucester rejoined that the writings contained certain assertions which impaired his honour and estate, and demanded a written copy in order to formulate his reply. At this point the King intervened to declare all the writings null and void. The matter should not proceed further, and nothing prejudicial to either of his favourite uncles had been brought to light. All present subscribed to this. On 5 May Gloucester had offered to serve in France himself, but the £48,000 - £50,000 which such an expedition would require could not be raised. The Great Council directed the Chancellor to ask the duke his opinion whether the people of the land should be called out in the accustomed form, and on the 7th the knights and the esquires assembled in the bishop of Durham's palace replied affirmatively to the Chancellor's question whether the King should assent to this proposal, but nothing came of the expedition.

1 P.O.P.C., iv, 210 - 13.
2 Ibid., 213 - 16.
In the wake of the worsening situation in France following the defection of the duke of Burgundy at Arras, the parliament of October 1435 granted a novel subsidy of 2s. 6d. on 100s. freehold. The Chancellor and Treasurer, Lord Cromwell, were to examine barons and ranks above as to their freehold. Stafford's own contribution to the needs of the Exchequer in the way of loans was small: between 1442 and 1452 he lent £833 as archbishop and £136 as Chancellor, in contrast to Beaufort's £25,333 in only half that period (with another £11,333 from his executors), and even Kemp's £2040, Aiscough's £1602 and Moleyns's £1093. Stafford seems to have accepted the necessity for a policy of peace with France by 1445. On 1 February 1445 he conveyed to the duke of Suffolk that it was the King's will that he undertake the mission to France, from which Suffolk was anxious to excuse himself. The duke would stand always in the King's good grace, and need not fear his 'heaviness'. Suffolk nevertheless requested this assurance in letters patent under the great seal. In Parliament it was Stafford's opinion that the King should give up the

3 P.O.P.C., vi, 31.
royal title in France in the interests of peace. Stafford nevertheless remained a firm negotiator. On 15 July 1445 the French embassy led by the archbishop of Rheims had a meeting with the King, at which Stafford, Kemp, Gloucester, Warwick and others were present. The Chancellor addressed the envoys in French, whereupon the King advanced to express his displeasure that the Chancellor had not spoken words of greater friendship. Here the double role of statesman – ecclesiastic is perhaps complementary: friendship had been expressed in Stafford's cathedral, in his absence, when eight days before, at the prior's invitation, the archbishop of Rheims had celebrated Mass and Vespers of the Translation of St. Thomas, assisted by the bishop of Ross.

1 Rot. Parli., v, 103. See discussion of this by Nigota, Kemp, p. 308. Gloucester accused Kemp of this proposal. Allmand (La Normandie devant l'opinion anglaise à la fin de la guerre de cent ans, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartres, cxxviii (1970), p. 364, n. 1) asserts that Kemp stated this view in the parliament of 1445; but the opinion he cites is Stafford's, not Kemp's.


The Chancellor's second function of note is that he was the official by whom the royal prerogative in matters of law was mediated and communicated to his subjects. The equitable jurisdiction of the Chancery (cases where no remedy had been found available at common law) underwent a remarkable growth in the Lancastrian period. This was the result originally of Henry V's absences abroad, when petitions directed to the King were passed to the Chancellor. In Henry VI's reign, it resulted first from the minority, then from the increasing lawlessness of the 40s and 50s, when the breakdown of central authority permitted local strong interests to manipulate justice in their own behalf. This increase must be attributed to deficiencies in the substance and execution of common law, severe social and economic conditions and a threatening political climate; but in addition, "the long chancellorship of John Stafford from 1432 to 1450 provided an essential continuity of administration at a decisive period in the development of chancery."¹ This continuity made for a period of remarkable institutional growth and administrative efficiency despite the political conflicts at the centre of government - indeed because of them, since they made such development even more necessary.

Chancery proceedings are difficult to interpret, since before 1440 the petitions alone were enrolled, and only after that date were answers, replications and examinations included, while recorded judgments were still rare. Some measure of the increase is however afforded by the totals of petitions recorded from Essex and Kent after 1425. In Kemp's first chancellorship (1426 - 32) these totalled 57, roughly 10 per year. In the eighteen years of his chancellorship, Stafford received 389 petitions from these counties, an average of 21 each year. In Kemp's second chancellorship, (1450 - 54), there were 149 - 37 a year. Avery estimates that before 1417, only 25 percent of cases were equitable compared with 75 percent at common law; between 1450 and 1460 90 percent were equitable compared with 10 percent at common law. The increase is remarkable, even allowing for the political situation; it must reflect not only the length of Stafford's chancellorship, but also its quality and the confidence it inspired.

Petitions to Chancery range widely in content. Some are from humble persons concerning straightforward matters: in 1443 William Brigge, parson of Wiveton, Norfolk, petitioned Stafford for payment of 8 marks due to him from his elder brother Thomas under the terms of their father's will.

1 M. E. Avery, cit., p. 144.
2 P.R.O. Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 11, no. 111, listed in Select Cases in Chancery, Selden Society x (1364 - 1471), London 1896, p. 136.
Others reflect the effect of the lawlessness of the times: in 1441 Margaret Butvelyn's executor petitioned for £10 from the estate of her late bailiff Walter Brett, which was due to her, but could not be collected because Walter had died an outlaw and his goods were confiscated by the King.\(^1\) The more serious cases verge on conduct of private warfare: in 1443 John Busahop of Hamble near Southampton was abducted at midnight by John Wayte and the brothers Neuport in war array, who robbed him and imprisoned him in the stocks at Sidingworth and Sparshot for seven days.\(^2\) Examples of oppression and extortion by the well connected are unhappily common: Kemp was petitioned in March 1431 by Richard and Margery Sackeville, who had been dispossessed of their land at Nethercumebe, Devonshire, by Henry Fortescue, late justice of Ireland.\(^3\) In his second chancellorship, he received a petition from John Brown, who had released lands to James lord Say under duress of imprisonment; it was claimed that Say had confessed his guilt and desired his wife to make restitution, immediately before his death at the hands of Jack Cade.\(^4\) In 1454 the Yorkist Chancellor Salisbury received a plea from William Middleton for restitution of 20 marks extorted from him by William Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury, by threat of withholding good lordship and expulsion from his land.\(^5\)

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1 Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 9, no. 179; Select Cases, p. 137.
2 Ibid., 16, 436 – 38; p. 139.
3 Calendar of Proceedings in Chancery, Record Commission, liv, 1830, vol. ii, xviii.
4 Ibid., liii, 1827, vol. i, lxvii.
5 Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 24, no. 220; Select Cases, p. 140.
Equitable jurisdiction included cases of feoffments to use, contract, trespass, offences against the common law, maritime cases, contempt of court of Chancery. The petitions indicate that certain types of cases grew more numerous in reflection of the increasing lawlessness of the period: non-fulfilment of contract or agreement because of disturbed or abnormal conditions; refusal to produce documents in evidence essential to a case; causing civil commotion in order to avoid arrest; intimidation preventing execution of judgment; cases connected with the ransom of prisoners; and piracy. A similar increase of cases offending against ecclesiastical jurisdiction is evident, particularly of refusal to obey the findings or awards of the Court of Arches or the archbishop’s prerogative jurisdiction, and non-performance of clauses of wills by executors which resulted in frustration of the intentions of the testator.¹

Most cases would have been disposed of by Stafford’s officials. N. Pronay has demonstrated an increasing professionalization of Chancery personnel in this period, particularly a change from officials trained in theology to those trained in law; 1448 is a significant date, in that master Richard Wetton, D.C.L., became the first master in Chancery not to have "risen from the ranks".² This stands to the credit of the Chancellor who recruited them.

¹ Jacob, Stafford, p. 14 (and references there given).
Stafford is likely to have dealt personally with only relatively few petitions, though these will have included all petitions involving important persons, such as Duke Humphrey's request to him to try himself a plea in which Sir John Fastolf was suing for trespass on the high sea certain men of the Cinque ports, of which Gloucester was warden, and feared that his office would be undermined; and Queen Margaret's letter concerning a debt owed by a York tradesman to Baldwin of Siena, a merchant of the Spinnelli, who was under her protection. Even so, the evident growth in confidence in the integrity of Chancery displayed by all levels of society, at a time when just judgment elsewhere was increasingly difficult to come by, pays tribute to the reputation enjoyed by Chancery in the exercise of its legal functions, and this is in no small measure due to the stability afforded to the institution by Stafford's long tenure as its head.

1 Jacob, Stafford, pp. 13 - 14. P.R.O. S.C. 1/44/8, 13. The Queen instructed the Chancellor on 8 Jan. 1446 to proceed to judgment in the suit before him — Ancient Correspondence (P.R.O.), vol. 44, no. 13.
IV STAFFORD AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1443 - 52 (I)

STAFFORD'S ACCESSION TO CANTERBURY

On 10 April 1442 Henry Chichele wrote to the Pope requesting permission to resign his see. "Dimitte me, beatissime pater", he asked, because he was "nunc octogenarius", "fractus et fatigatus", "infirmus" et "debilis", even "in hoc sevo imbecillitatis atque extreme debilitatis", and went on to offer many and lengthy quotations to establish his case. In his place he confidently recommended John bishop of Bath, Chancellor of England, "patrem maxime ineritum", on account of his eminent knowledge and other gifts of virtue which easily surpassed those possessed by other men, his nobility of blood, the power of his friends and those connected with him, his grace of hospitality, devotion, faith, obedience, zeal and love for the Roman see and its holder, the honour of his dignity and the rights and liberties of his see, a quality which was not easily found. ¹ Henry VI wrote in support of Chichele's request on 24 April, and also testified to Stafford's service to the Church.² Eugenius IV however did not accede to the request. Chichele died on 12 April 1443,³ and Henry wrote to the College of Cardinals to inform them of this, and again recommended Stafford for his wisdom, piety and docility (mansuetudo) which he

² Ibid., 149.
³ At Lambeth, at 7 a.m. - R.S.C., f. 153.
had shown in his exercise of the office of Chancellor, in which capacity he had done many and wise things, and achieved the difficult feat of being universally loved.¹

On 22 April 1443 John Elham, subprior, and Robert Lynton, B.S.Th., monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, were sent by the chapter to the King to request licence to elect a successor to Chichele.² Constat d'oblire was granted on 27 April.³ The monks returned with the licence on 1 May, and reported to the prior and convent on the 2nd. On 19 May the earl of Stafford appeared to declare the King's will in the matter, and on 20th chapter postulated John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, per viam Spiritus sancti. On 22nd the subprior and John Woodnesburgh, Decr.D., were despatched to inform the King and the bishop.⁴ Royal assent to the election was signified to the Pope on 24 May.⁵ On Ascension Day, 30 May, the election, postulation and confirmation of Stafford were formally read in chapter, and information to this effect sent to the Curia.⁶

² Chron. Stone, p. 31.
³ Foedera, xi, 26.
⁴ Chron. Stone, p. 31.
⁵ C.P.R. (1441 - 46), 176.
⁶ Chron. Stone, p. 31.
Eugenius IV issued the bulls of translation at Sens on 3 Iudea (13) May.\(^1\) The archbishop elect received the bull on 5 August in his hospice in the parish of St. Clement Danes, outside the bar of the New Temple, London, and on 6th he took the oath of fealty and did homage to the King at Eltham, in the presence of the earls of Huntingdon, Stafford and Suffolk, Lord Sudeley, the Treasurer, and master Adam Moleyns, LL.D., dean of Salisbury.\(^2\) The prior of Canterbury, John Salesbury, also received the bull on 5 August, in his manor of Chartham; it was read in chapter on the 6th, followed by a sermon given by a monk on the theme, "Annuncio vobis grandium magnum", and a high mass. In the afternoon of the 6th the prior set out for London bearing the cross of Canterbury, which he presented to the archbishop in his hospice on the afternoon of the 7th, in the presence of the earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk and Shrewsbury, Moleyns and master William Byconnyll, LL.D.\(^3\)

The King had ordered the escheators of Kent, Middlesex and London to restore the temporalities of Canterbury to Stafford on 25 June.\(^4\) On this day too (7 Kal. July) the Pope directed the bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph to receive Stafford's oath of obedience.\(^5\) A bull dated 14 July ordered

1 R.S. 1 - 5.
2 R.S. 1b.
3 Chron. Stone, pp. 32 - 33; R.S. 7.
4 Foedera, xi, 29; C.P.R. (1441 - 46), 190.
5 R.S. 6.
the bishops of London and Rochester to confer the pallium and receive the oath, and on the same day Eugenius issued a bull informing Stafford to this effect. Stafford received his letter from master Thomas Byrd, O.P., professor of theology, in London on 20 August, and the bishop of Rochester two days later. On 23 August, at 7 a.m., the new archbishop celebrated mass of the Holy Spirit in the chapel of his inn, took the oath of obedience, and received the pallium from the bishop of Rochester; the bishop was assisted by four doctors of law, masters Thomas Bekyngton, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Stafford’s successor at Bath and Wells, Adam Moleyns, William Byconyll and William Sprener, in surplices and , and the duke of Norfolk and Suffolk and other lords were present at the ceremony. The form of the oath is given in the Register. Jacob draws attention to its critical difference from the form of the oath taken by Chichele, in the clause:

"regulas sanctorum patrum, decretarum, ordinaciones, sentencias, disposiciones, reservaciones, provisiones et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo et faciam ab aliis observari"

- which betrays the insistent hand of Martin V, and if pronounced in Henry V’s time might have incurred the penalties of Praemunire.

1 R.S. 9.
2 R.S. 8.
3 R.S. 10.
4 R.S. 11.
5 Jacob, Stafford, p. 15.
After receiving the pallium, Stafford's style in documents changed from *Johannes Dei et Apostolice sedis gracia sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie electus confirmatus* to *Johannes permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus tocius Anglie primas et Apostolice sedis legatus*.

Total payment due to Rome for translation to Canterbury in 1443 was 10,000 florins common service, due in two six monthly instalments, plus 1923 florins 'petty services'.

Vincent Clement, papal subdeacon, and Richard Canton, cameral clerk, were responsible for obtaining payment; thirteen cardinals were to be satisfied. The *Obligationes et Solutiones* registers show payment of 5384 florins, 30s. 9d. on 25 June 1443, and 5000 florins in common service to the Pope on 3 July 1443: *solvit* is noted in the margin.

Stafford was enthroned at Canterbury on 22 September 1443, the feast of St. Maurice and his friends. The prior and convent processed in white copes, joined by the abbots of St. Augustine's, Faversham, Langdon and St. Radegund's. The archbishop was attended by William Wells, bishop of Rochester, Richard, bishop of Ross,


2 Ibid., p. 762. See reference there given.
and by the earls of Huntingdon and Stafford and others. The enthronement is described in detail by Stone.¹

Two related questions must be asked: why Stafford? and, why not Kemp? The 'qualifications' which Chichele recited to the Pope in 1442 are formal ones, especially nobility of blood (though the presence of the earl of Stafford at the enthronement evidences the good relations which always existed between the noble house of Stafford and their bastard scion). Henry's letter to the Pope in April 1443 remarking Stafford's service as Chancellor more truly reflects a real state of affairs: Stafford had served ably in this office for eleven years now, already an unprecedentedly long tenure.

At the risk of repetition, we must touch on the subject of the competing political factions in the reign of Henry VI and the ecclesiastical ambitions of some of the churchmen involved in them. Against the tendency to follow Ramsey's assertion that Stafford was a protégé of Beaufort,² we have argued that Stafford cannot convincingly be grouped with Beaufort in the way that Kemp can,³ in for example close association in peace negotiations, in the hatred by

¹ Chron. Stone, pp. 33 - 34.
² Ramsey, Lancaster and York, ii, p. 55; followed by Kingsford in D.N.B., liii, pp. 454 - 55.
³ See above, p. 34.
Gloucester on that account, and in possession of a red hat. Stafford was "one of Chichele's best lawyers and a close associate" though Kemp was too, and "if...Stafford is to be grouped with anyone, it is likely to have been with his old patron the archbishop...rather than with Beaufort himself"; and while in 1426 he resigned with the bishop of Winchester, "it will be noticed that he never left the Council during that crucial year" – he was not a party man, but "essentially the civil servant", one like Chichele himself. But as L.-R. Betcherman rightly points out, to be pro-Chichele in the 20s is to be anti-Beaufort, and to that extent pro-Gloucester, over the issue of the red hat. This was the rub. It was a novel doctrine in England that a man could be elevated to the cardinalate and retain his English preferments in commendam. In April 1429 the Lords barred Beaufort from attending the St. George's day celebrations at Windsor, at which the bishop of Winchester customarily presided; and a full debate in Council on 6 November 1431 heard how the bishop of Lichfield had procured on Beaufort's behalf and paid for a papal exemption from the loss of Winchester. The lords believed that the laws of the realm should be observed (that is that Beaufort should give up his English see on becoming a cardinal), but in view of

1 Jacob, Stafford, p. 1.
2 Ibid., p. 5.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 325.
the cardinal's consanguinity to the King and services to the realm (notably the diversion in July 1429 of 250 lances and 2000 archers raised for the crusade in Bohemia to the war in France¹), the matter should not be proceeded with until the cardinal returned. ² Precedent in the case of Langham and Kilwardby had established the principle of surrender of see, and the lords in 1429 could not believe that it was possible for the same person to be both cardinal and bishop of Winchester.³ Even for one as powerful as Beaufort, holding the two together involved a decade's wait, much suspicion, and long diplomatic absence abroad. But Beaufort by endurance set a precedent of which Kemp was the first beneficiary. Kemp escaped most of the odium which Beaufort had incurred when in 1440 he was made cardinal with the blessing and thanks of the King and the express request that he be able to keep York.⁴ What Kemp did not escape was the suspicion and ill will of Canterbury at the honour done to a second inferior prelate and the further strain this imposed on the traditionally delicate question of precedence. When there was only one 'Cardinal of England', the aggravation could be tolerated. A second was too much, and there is evidence of

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 339.  
2 Ibid., iv, 100.  
3 Ibid., iii, 323.  
considerable friction between Chichele and Kemp over the matter, which continued into Stafford's archiepiscopate.¹

It was not possible for Chichele to recommend a cardinal for Canterbury. This new departure had to wait until 1452. Kemp, who had throughout his career been slightly ahead of Stafford — holding great office of state first, a bishop first, already an archbishop of eighteen years' standing — had to remain in his non-resident occupation of the northern metropolitan see. The cardinalate cost this man of Kent the see of Canterbury, the crown of his career, until his very brief tenue in extreme old age. Kemp's name was coupled with Beaufort, and Beaufort's influence was declining; Kemp never enjoyed the same rapport with the new rising star, Suffolk, with whom he fell into conflict over conciliar allocation of episcopal sees to members of the Kemp family — but Stafford seems to have enjoyed such a rapport, evidenced perhaps in Suffolk's attendance at Stafford's receipt of his pallium. It might have been as well for Kemp that Suffolk was dead before Canterbury again fell vacant in 1452.

ADMINISTRATION

The Register

Stafford's Register at Lambeth consists of 210 folios, bound, like Chichele's and Kemp's, by a Londoner whose work covered books printed between 1515 and 1523. Jacob found Stafford's record "a little disappointing" after the order, neatness and fulness of Chichele's Register. Kemp's Register is impressive for the quality of its handwriting, equal and generous spacing of its entries, careful and consistent collection of types of entry and clear and attractive heading of individual entries. There is none of this in Stafford's - entries follow one another in profusion, sometimes not even in separate paragraphs. Most of the headings have been supplied marginally by a later hand. Major groups of documents are scattered throughout the Registrum Commune rather than gathered together in one section - for example the papal bulls of provision to bishoprics, while some individual entries, such as odd wills, are manifestly wrongly placed.

On the other hand, Stafford's is by no means as 'chaotic' as Kemp's other Register, of York, which Thompson described as indigesta molem, and Nigota as "uncontrolled disorder - a chaotic shapeless bulk". Stafford's Register begins properly with the

1 R.Cli., i, p. xvi.
2 Jacob, Stafford, p. 15.
3 Nigota, Kempe, p. 331.
bulls of provision (ff. 1 – 4v), documents of appointment and commissions of his legal, temporal and pastoral officers (up to f. 53v). In clear separate sections there are full registers of institutions, exchanges and other business relating to benefices in the diocese of Canterbury, the archbishop's immediate jurisdiction and vacant sees (ff. 74 – 109v: those of Norwich are bound with the sede vacante register, ff. 58 – 59); and an important section of wills (ff. 111 – 95) which contains the wills of some important personages, such as Henry Beaufort, with whose will the section begins (ff. 111 – 13v). But the Register lacks collections of royal writs, significations of excommunication, even of miscellaneous letters. There is only a handful of commissions to law officers, and it would appear that the courts of Audience and Arches maintained their own registers - a suspicion borne out by the commission of master John Gerebert on 25 August 1443 as principal registrar, with oversight of the registers and all muniments and all other documents of the kind.¹ There are no minutes of Convocation. There is only one sede vacante register, that of Norwich (ff. 57 – 73v). Visitation records are confined to the incomplete documentation of visitations of Canterbury and Rochester (ff. 41 – 42v).

The impression remains of the Registrum Commune, the first 53 folios, as something of a hodgepodge, where groups of documents,

¹ R.S. 16.
such as commissions to officers and provisions to bishoprics, are interspersed with odd licences to solemnize matrimony (f. 6), nominations of nuns to convents (f. 6v), commissions to schoolmasters (f. 7), an injunction to the bishop of Hereford to punish adultery (f. 7v), licences to celebrate mass (ff. 8v - 9v), indulgences (f. 10), letters dimissory (f. 11), corrodies (f. 12v), dispensations for non-residence (f. 18), and for other failings, including papal dispensations for marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity (ff. 52v - 53), the foundation of Brenchesle's chantry (ff. 35v - 38v), and the odd detached will (f. 52).

There occur also more singular documents: the petition in 1446, in English, of bishops and clergy against the Statute of Praemunire, which was apparently being applied to stop not merely cases in church courts carried to Rome or elsewhere outside the kingdom, but also to cases in church courts within the country (f. 24);¹ and the prolonged business of the subsidy requested by the Pope in connection with his projected crusade to deliver the Holy Land, an involved episode in Canterbury's relations with the Holy See.²

It was also thought worthwhile (by Stafford himself?) to enregister his royal pardon granted on 30 January 1450 for all trespasses and misdemeanours, which he obtained in preparation for his departure from the Chancery.³

¹ Printed in Wilkins, Concilia, iii, 55, and ed. A. R. Myers, English Historical Documents, iv, 684 - 85.
² See below, ch. 6.
³ RsS. 264.
Officers

Noteworthy among the commissions of Stafford's officers is that of James Fenys, lord Say and Sele, on the King's recommendation, as seneschal on 25 September 1443. Some lesser associates of Fenys in the Suffolk connection also found employment under Stafford, such as Stephen Slegge, appointed bailiff of Aldington on 24 September 1443 and auditor of account on 5 November 1447.

For the most part, however, and in more responsible positions, Stafford was happy to continue the employment of the professional administrators who had held office under Chichele. Master Thomas Moonie, Decr.L., who was commissioned as commissary-general on 8 August 1443, had served in that office, though not continuously, since before 28 July 1422. Master Zanobius Mulakyn, Decr.D., was acting as commissary-general of the prerogative from May 1441, and is found in this capacity from November 1448; so too is master Alexander Prowet, Decr.B., who was appointed on 4 October 1443, despite the withdrawal of his commission to prove wills on 8 February 1447. Master William Byconnyll, LL.D., Chichele's auditor of causes

2 R.S. 27b, 173. Slegge's coadjutor was William Kene, who succeeded Fenys as seneschal in February 1452 - R.S.C., f. 192v.
3 R.S. 12.
4 R.Ch., i, p. lxv, iv, 242.
5 Churchill, Cant. Admin., ii, 229 f.
of audience and chancellor by 1443, was commissioned official of the court of Canterbury on 14 June 1444. Mulakyn was appointed dean of Arches on 14 August 1443. Master John Stevenes, LL.B., was commissioned examiner-general of the court of Canterbury on 14 October 1443; a chaplain to Henry V and a public notary of long standing, he had attested the decree of postulation of Chichele as archbishop on 12 March 1414. Master John Gerebert, LL.B., commissioned registrar of the court of Canterbury on 25 August 1443, was originally appointed to this office by Chichele on 22 February 1424. Master John Stokes, much in evidence in Kemp's archiepiscopate, was auditor of causes to both Stafford and Kemp; the same man may have been a commissary of Chichele in 1426.

Of Stafford's Bath and Wells officers, only Stevenes, his commissary-general, a westcountryman with long Canterbury associations, moved to Canterbury with him to fill a major office, but some former associates were given lesser responsibilities, such as sir William Stevenes, precentor of Wells, appointed supervisor of the archbishop's manors in August 1443, and auditor of account (with Stephen Slegge) in 1445.

1 R.Ch. i, p. lxxvii n.
2 R.S. 80
3 R.S. 13, 24; printed in Chichill, Cant. Admin., ii, 192.
4 R.S. 37.
5 R.Ch., i, pp. xxxii - xxxiii.
6 R.S. 16.
7 R.Ch., iv, 251.
8 R.S. 262; R.K. 82.
9 R.Ch., i, 348.
10 Jacob, Stafford, pp. 9 - 10.
Suffragans

As his suffragans, Stafford commissioned Richard bishop of Ross and John bishop of Olenensis on 5 October 1443. They were empowered to confer orders, admit nuns, consecrate altars, vessels, bells, vestments, etcetera. Richard Clerk, bishop of the Irish see of Ross, was active in Canterbury between 1439 and 1465, but also assisted in London between 1434 and 1441, and in Salisbury in 1454. John Bloxwysh, bishop of Olenensis or Olenus, in Iceland, in partibus infidelium, came with Stafford from Bath and Wells, in Exeter and in and served briefly also. /Salisbury in 1442.

Olenensis performed 23 ordinations on Stafford's behalf in Bath and Wells between 1437 and 1443, but is not recorded as having conducted a single ordination in Canterbury. Of the 46 ordinations recorded in Stafford's Register, the archbishop conducted 10, and the bishop of Ross 36. In every case where the archbishop celebrated the sacrament, the heading in the Register notes this fact before the place where the ordination was held; in cases where the suffragan celebrated, the place is given first.

Of the 10 ordinations performed by Stafford, 8 were held in Christ Church, Canterbury. The archbishop celebrated the Easter ordination every year from 1444 to 1450, and in 1451 he held an

1 R.S. 34, 44; printed in Churchill, Cant. Admin., ii, 36.
2 Handbook of British Chronology, section "Bishops in Partibus".
3 R.S.B.W., 362 - 406.
4 R.S., ff. 196 - 208v.
ordination in his cathedral soon after Easter (24 April). Only in 1452, in the last weeks of Stafford's life, did Ross perform the Easter ordination in the archbishop's place. The remaining two ordinations held by Stafford took place in the chapel of his manor of Otford on two ember days in 1447.

26 of Ross's 36 ordinations were likewise at Otford. Of the remainder, 5 took place at Christ Church, Canterbury, and one each at Rochester cathedral priory (sede vacante), Sittingbourne, Faversham, Leeds and Croydon. As a rule, Ross was charged with conducting the 'routine' ordinations on the ember days, at which the number of ordinands was usually in single figures. The archbishop conducted the large ordinations, at which as many as 46 men, mainly members of the religious orders, were ordained.

528 men were ordained in the period covered by the Register. Stafford ordained 249, and Ross 279. Of these 528, 344 (65 percent) were members of religious orders, and the remaining 184 secular clergy. The vast majority of the seculars were ordained to titles offered by religious houses; only 4 were ordained to benefices, and 5 to university colleges. 95 of the seculars (52 percent) were ordained by letters dimissory from other dioceses.
Olenensis's apparently total inactivity in all other aspects of episcopal ministry leads one to suspect that he hardly functioned at all in the diocese. By contrast the bishop of Ross is found performing all manner of functions in the place of the absent archbishop. He received the French embassy at Canterbury in 1445, and assisted the archbishop of Rheims at Mass and Vespers of the Translation of St. Thomas on 6-7 July. He consecrated an altarpiece in the chapel of the prior of Canterbury's manorhouse at Chartham on 6 March 1447. He was a co-consecrator of Reginald Pecock to the bishopric of St. Asaph. He was commissioned to inquire into the pollution of the chapel of Hythe by the shedding of blood. He was responsible, in company with master Thomas Moonie, the commissary-general, for continuing the archbishop's primary visitation of the diocese of Canterbury, and for correcting abuses already detected. He was one of the keepers of the spiritualities of the bishopric of Winchester after the death of Beaufort. He celebrated mass at Canterbury in the archbishop's presence on Maundy Thursday, 22 March 1448, and one of the three masses on the day of Stafford's burial, 30 May 1452. Like other senior officers, the suffragan enjoyed the fruits of choice benefices:

1 Stevenson, Letters and Papers, 91.
3 R.S. 76.
4 R.S. 110 (no date).
5 R.S. 225 (20 Aug. 1444).
6 R.S. 162.
7 Chron. Stone, pp. 43, 53.
on 21 April 1446 Ross resigned S nave on presentation to the vicarage of Northbourne. Kemp appointed him dean of Shoreham on 11 September 1452.

Archdeacon and Deans

The archdeacon of Canterbury in Stafford's time was master Thomas Chichele, who had succeeded Cardinal Prospero de Colonna, nephew of Martin V, on 14 December 1434. There is no evidence of friction between competing jurisdictions of archdeacon and archbishop. In 1445 a bull of Eugenius IV confirmed the 1397 composition between them concerning the registration of wills and the administration of the property of those who had died intestate.

The archbishop of Canterbury exercised a considerable extra-diocesan immediate jurisdiction, in the deaneries of Croydon, Shoreham, Bocking, Risborough, Pagham and Tarring, Southmalling, and the London deanery of Arches. Commissions to the deans to induct to benefices in the jurisdiction are almost as frequent as those to the archdeacon to induct in the

1 R.S. 536 - 37.
2 B.K. 49.
3 R.Ch., i, pp. lxxi - lxxiii, 282.
diocese. The dean of Pagham, sir Patrick Greene, served also as commissary of the archbishop's prerogative in the diocese of Chichester. Kemp seems to have treated these offices as posts of singular responsibility, and appointed to them men of note, such as master John Stokes to Pagham and Richard bishop of Ross to Shoreham.

DISCIPLINE

Visitation

Primary visitation of his diocese was an early obligation on a new bishop, who in the case of an archbishop was expected to have completed visitation of his own diocese before presuming to descend on any other in his province. In Canterbury visitation began with Christ Church cathedral priory. On 1 March 1444, the archbishop sent the prior his mandate of visitation on 30th, which the prior acknowledged on 27th. Stafford proposed to move on to the college of Wingham on 1 April, then St. Martin's, Dover, Faversham, Leeds and St. Gregory's, Canterbury - mandates were sent

1 R.S. 105.
2 R.K. 47, 49.
3 R.S. 219; R.S.C., f. 159.
to all these houses on 12 March.\footnote{R.S. 220 - 23.} On the same day the official of the archdeacon of Canterbury was mandated to summon the clergy and people of the diocese, with the exception of the deaneries of Lympne and Charing.\footnote{R.S. 224.} All these were accomplished on 3 April, and on 4th the archbishop instructed the commissary-general, master Thomas Moonie, to collect the procurations due from the recent visitation of the deaneries of Bridge, Sandwich, Dover, Elham, Westbere, Ospringe and Sittingbourne.\footnote{R.S. 71} On 20 August, the archbishop himself having done no more, Moonie and Richard bishop of Ross were commissioned to reform abuses detected in the visitation, and to visit monasteries, priories, colleges et alia pia loca which had not yet been visited.\footnote{R.S. 225.}

On 26 March the prior of Christ Church, John Sarisbury, cited all monks to appear at the forthcoming visitation, save William Thornton, William Rychennid and William Chart, who were at the university.\footnote{R.S.C., f. 159.} The archbishop was received by prior and convent vested in red copes, and the opening sermon was preached on the text, "I have come down to my garden to look at the
blossoms of the valley” (Song of Songs 6:11). But no detecta nor comperta are known from this visitation.  

On 12 March 1444 Stafford also issued notice of visitation on 27 March to William, prior of Rochester, which he acknowledged on 16th. Rochester was vacant following the death of William.

1 Thus Chron. Stone, p. 34. The Vulgate text is “Descendi in hortum nucum”, “I have come down to the nut orchard”, rather than the more usable “Descendi in hortum meum”. Stone dates the visitation on 28 March.

2 The fullest record of a visitation of Christ Church in this period is that given by Register S of Bourchier’s visitation on 25 August 1484. This illustrates what will have happened in 1444. The sermon was preached on the text, “Thou art come to make inquiries about Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of thy God” (Ezra 7:14). The reasons for the visitation were declared in English by master William Pykenham, LL.D., the archbishop’s chancellor and commissary for the visitation; they included concern over propriety of the conduct of divine service and the general state of religion, and the squandering of goods. The prior secretly revealed his conscience to the archbishop, commissary and scribe; then the archbishop withdrew, and the monks in order of seniority came one by one to the commissary and scribe. Certain things, not detailed, needed reform, but they were few and not serious. R.S.C., f. 333, printed in translation by W. P. Blore in Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle, xxvi, 1937, pp. 22 - 27.

3 ReS. 231.
Wells, and by virtue of the particular prerogative of Canterbury over Rochester, licence to elect was sought by the prior and chapter from the archbishop on 4 March 1444. Nothing is recorded of this visitation; it must have been made by right of vacancy in see rather than metropolitical right, since this could not be exercised until visitation of Canterbury had been completed.

Visitation of Norwich, vacant by the death of Thomas Brouns on 5 December 1445, was carried out by commissary in accordance with the terms of the composition made between the prior and chapter of Norwich and Simon Islep. On 8 December the prior submitted the names of three persons, John Forneset, S.T.P., prior of Lynn, John Felsham, S.T.B., and Robert Yernemuth, monks of Norwich, from whom the archbishop had to select one to visit the chapter, city and diocese. Stafford selected Forneset, and commissioned him on 14 December. On the same day he commissioned master John Wigenhale, Decr.D., to administer the oath to Forneset, that he would faithfully carry out the visitation, and after deducting moderate expenses, would distribute monies received in the ratio of two thirds to the archbishop and one third to the chapter of Norwich. Forneset was to visit the chapter first, and correct any defects he found; then the city and diocese, with power to confer absolution and appoint penitentiaries.

1 R.S. 230.
3 R.S. 275 - 79.
Faith and Conduct of the Laity

The same concern to maintain right faith and conduct which Stafford showed at Bath and Wells is evident at Canterbury. On 19 April 1445 he forbade barbers to carry on their trade on Sundays, and he also prohibited fairs and markets in cemeteries on Sundays.¹ The adultery of Sir John Baskervyle and Joan Bruyn called forth an instruction to the bishop of Hereford to correct it.² Only three papal dispensations for marriage within prohibited degrees of consanguinity are to be found in the Register, all from the years 1446 - 48, two in the third degree and one in the fourth.³ (By contrast, at the same time - 1447 - the Pope granted Cardinal Kemp of York wideranging faculties of dispensation, including power to dispense eight men and eight women to marry within the third and fourth degrees, and eight persons of illegitimate birth to be promoted to holy orders and hold benefices; in July 1453, when archbishop of Canterbury, Kemp was granted similar faculties in the cases of ten persons in each category.⁴) Anne countess of Warwick received dispensation to eat eggs and other milk foods in Lent during her pregnancy, and Edmund lord Ferrers of Groby was permitted to have the child to be born to him baptized in the chapel of his manor at Groby, because it stood at a great distance from the parish church, and the roads between were muddy and deep.⁵

¹ B.L. 4380 ee 18 (7); A. E. McKilliam, A Chronicle of the Archbishops of Canterbury, pp. 268 - 71.
² R.S. 30.
³ R.S. 271 - 73.
⁴ C.P.L., x, 180 - 81, 249.
⁵ R.S. 60, 154.
Only one licence to hear mass celebrated privately is recorded, given to two couples.1 Apart from licence to the rector of Nomukisille to hear the confessions of his parishioners,2 there is only one commission of a confessor, that of John Sevenok, prior of Christ Church, London, on 15 December 1443, to hear the confessions of the faithful throughout the province.3 Sevenok was experienced in this ministry, having received the identical commission from Chichele on 4 November 1421.4

Clerical Discipline

The document Constituciones de moribus clericorum in the British Library is apparently Stafford's work.5 This attempts to regulate the lives of the clergy in a series of traditional  

1 R.S. 17.
2 R.S. 21.
3 R.S. 51. (With regard to Stafford's own use of the sacrament, a papal indult of 17 June 1450 permits that a confessor of his choice might, once in his life, after hearing his confession, grant him absolution from all his sins, even in cases reserved to the Apostolic See, enjoin penance, release him from all sentences of excommunication, and grant him, once only in the hour of his death, plenary remission of all his sins. The indult imposed on him fasting on Fridays for a year. Stafford apparently feared his death was near in 1450. C.P.L., x, 525.)
4 R.Ch., iv, 222.
5 B.L., Additional MSS. 16,170, ff. 162v - 67.
precepts: clergy must live honest lives, free from ill-repute, on pain of expulsion; they must abstain from fornication and from entering taverns, etcetera. Thirteen dispensations for clerical non-residence are granted, three of them specifically for the purpose of study.\(^1\) William Wyram, rector of Merston in the diocese of Chichester, had removed himself from his church of his own volition, and his bishop, Adam Moleyne, was ordered to correct him.\(^2\) Nicholas Chilton, one of the two priests serving the Prince of Wales chantry in Canterbury cathedral, was dispensed from the provisions in the composition between the two priests which required common eating.\(^3\)

Papal dispensations, all from 1447 - 49, to hold two incompatible benefices, are enregistered for sir Robert Smyth, rector of Wickhambreux, and sir Thomas Eachdale, rector of Fortilmouth, diocese of Exeter.\(^4\) Master John Stokes, archbishop's chancellor and auditor of causes, and archdeacon of Ely, was permitted to hold three incompatibles when Stafford collated him to Tring, vacant by the death of master William Byconnyll.\(^5\)

\(^1\) R.S. 85 - 87, 91, 95 - 97, 101 - 03, 136 - 37, 174. 103, 136 and 137 are for study.
\(^2\) R.S. 157.
\(^3\) R.S. 125.
\(^4\) R.S. 260 - 61.
\(^5\) R.S. 262.
Stafford tried to control the practice of preaching, in
maintenance of Arundel's strict regulation of unlicensed preach-
ing, and was apparently notorious for his strictness: "he wol
ten suffre the clerkes preche; Trowthe in no wise he wille not
teche". Stafford's apparent distrust of preaching may be signifi-
cant in relation to his alleged inactivity in the case of Reginald
Pecock.2

Heresy and Sorcery

Incidents of heresy, common in the 1430s and 50s, were rare
in the 40s. Stafford at Canterbury had to deal with nothing like
the cases of Emayn, Jourdan, Oke and Agnes Hancock which he had
encountered at Bath and Wells,3 nor like the cases against Taylor
and Russell his predecessor had brought before Convocation of
Canterbury in the 20s.4 There were no scares of Lollard risings
like that of 1431, when Gloucester had acquitted himself so well
in Council's eyes by killing the rebel leader, William Perkins
alias Jack Sharp,5 the "Surrey plot" of 1440, when Adam Millward,

1 R. G. Davies, "The Episcopate", in ed. C. H. Clough, Profession,
Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England (Essays in
honour of A. R. Myers), Liverpool 1982, p. 79, quoting
Political Songs and Poems, p. 231, n. 12.
2 See below.
3 See above, pp. 42 - 43.
4 R.Ch., iii, 159 - 60, 173 - 79.
5 P.O.P.C., iv, 105. On the 1431 rising, see M. E. Aston, Lollardy
and Sedition 1381 - 1431, Past and Present, xvii, 1960. This
rising caused Stafford as bishop of Bath and Wells to issue
his mandate against sorceries, perjuries, Lollards and Lollard
books, on 24 August 1431: R.S.B.W., i, 103 - 07.
a weaver of Farnham, plotted against the King, called for the spoliation of the Church, and burned an image of the Virgin Mary, was crushed when it was disclosed to Stafford as Chancellor.\(^1\)

Almost Stafford's first business as Chancellor, on 9 May 1432, was Council's interrogation for sorcery of Margery Jodemain, John Virley, clerk, and John Asshewell, friar of the Holy Cross.\(^2\) Stafford was involved in the trial of Eleanor Cobham, wife of the duke of Gloucester, though the major part in her prosecution was taken by Beaufort, Kemp and Chichele.\(^3\) It cannot be supposed, therefore, that Stafford was not alive to the threats to both spiritual and temporal order posed by the related evils of heresy and sorcery.

In Canterbury however these appeared to have receded. The Weald of Kent was a hotbed of heresy, especially Tenterden; the Brut continuator claimed that five men were burned at Maidstone after serious trouble in Tenterden in 1438.\(^4\) Heresy did not break surface in Kent between 1440 and 1450, but in the early 50s it appeared again in the wake of the Cade rebellion. In the late summer of 1450 a Tenterden woman was charged before Canterbury

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1 P.R.O. Ancient Indictments (K.B.) 9, file 234, ff. 78 - 78v; J. A. F. Thompson, The Later Lollards, p. 65.
2 P.O.P.C., iv, 114.
4 Ibid., p. 472. (There is no evidence of this in King's Bench files - J. A. F. Thompson, The Later Lollards, p. 178. Thompson argues that in Kent the rising occurred in 1438, not 1431 - "A Lollard Rising in Kent, 1431 or 1438?", R.I.H.R., xxxvii (1964), pp. 100 - 02.)
consistory court with saying that offerings should not be made in churches and at visitations of saints, and with having eaten flesh in Lent: only the charge survives. The charge of heresy was flung at Cade's followers, but in unspecific terms, and there appears to have been no John Ball figure in 1450. The post-Cade disorders in Kent however tended to occur in those areas where heresy had been strong — Appledore on 31 August 1450, Cranbrook late the same year, Brenchley and Eastry at Easter 1451, and Marden, Cranbrook and elsewhere in May 1452, the month of Stafford's death. Some of the indictments for the earlier troubles make specific accusations of heresy; the later rioters, who urged that bishops should have no power, nor priests possessions, are alleged to be speaking ut heretici et lollardi. After the deaths of Stafford and Kemp, Thomas Cooper of East Sutton was prosecuted in late 1454 for antisacramentalism, having declared that he would no more wish to hear mass from a bad priest than from a barking dog, and would be as happy buried under an oak as in a churchyard, while in 1456 there were further disorders in the usual places on the Kent-Sussex border.

1 Muniments of D. & C. Cant., X1.1 (Canterbury Consistory Court Book 1449 - 57), f. 19v.
2 C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 453.
3 P.R.O., K.B. 9, file 47, nos. 5, 12, 25.
4 Ibid., file 48, nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15; 273, 11.
5 X1.1, ff. 67 - 68.
Clear cases of heretical leanings occurred elsewhere than the diocese of Canterbury in the 1440s. John Bredon, priest, O.F.M., preached at high mass in several churches in Coventry, in terms anticipating the famous Hunne case, against the right of Coventry cathedral priory that any corpse brought for burial had to be taken to the church in apparel of wax, the cathedral receiving the wax. Bredon asserted that all offerings should be given solely to those who minister the sacrament to the parishioners, and declared that "in England was not so covetous a place as the priory of Coventry". On 14 March 1446 the King ordered Bredon to leave Coventry and take his way to the Minister Provincial of the Friars Minor. For his part the Minister Provincial was ordered to remove Bredon 40 or 50 miles from Coventry, and the mayor and citizens of Coventry were informed that Bredon had been instructed to recant his errors according to a schedule which was enclosed. The single burning in this decade appears to be that of John Cardemaker, whose death on Tower Hill in March 1449 for errors specifically described as Lollard is noted in Benet's Chronicle.2

1 P.O.P.C., vi, 40 - 45.

(N.B. Bredon's case is perhaps better understood not as heresy but as simple - and common - anticlericalism.)
Reginald Pecock

The Kent-Sussex weald, an area of notorious heresy, connects the dioceses of Canterbury and Chichester. Master Reginald Pecock, M.A., S.T.B., priest of the diocese of St. Davids, was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph by Stafford on 14 June 1444. In 1450 he was translated to Chichester to fill the vacancy caused by the assassination of Adam Moleyns. He was provided to the see on 23 March, and made his profession of obedience and received the spiritualities on 31 May. These routine records are the only references to Pecock in Stafford's Register.

Pecock was the author of several substantial works of theology, many written in English. Most of his forty or so works did not survive the burning of his books in 1459, and only seven have come down to us, including The Donet, The Poore Mennis Myrrour, The Reule of Crysten Religioun and The Repressor of Over-Much Blaming of the Clergy.

1 Bull of provision 22 April 1444. R.S. 76 - 79.
In extolling the place of "the doom of reason" and in ridicule of the uncritical literalism of the Lollards, Pecock should perhaps be seen as a significant figure of the Renaissance in England whose contribution to English thought has perhaps yet to be fully recognised. He essayed a synthesis of reason and faith against a background of the threat posed by Lollardy and the growth of an articulate laity whose education was increasingly secular in origin and purpose. His response to this was to propose a new Christian curriculum based in traditional fashion on the seven matters of religious knowledge and the four tables of moral virtues, which endeavoured at the same time to clarify the core of essential Christian belief in a manner which appealed to the rational mind. He accordingly treated reason and scripture as equal primary sources for theological construction, in order to evolve a methodology responsible to scripture and tradition which was also open to the critical experiential awareness of the present.

Pecock deserves full credit for his pastoral motivation, linguistic originality and theological integrity. The system failed to commend itself however, because it was attached to a conservative ecclesiology which left the structure of the Church, particularly the function of the episcopate, unchanged, and went no way towards meeting the challenge of the Lollards in particular and the anticlerical mood in general. In addition, it relied upon the concept of lay study of vernacular scripture, which the English
episcopate would be unlikely to regard with equanimity; and upon the supposition, too sophisticated for its time, that some sections of historical formularies like the Apostles' Creed can be called into question without placing in jeopardy the credibility of the remainder.¹

Pecock's immediate notoriety stemmed from his sermon at Paul's Cross in 1447, in which he claimed that it did not belong to the office of a bishop to preach, or to be resident in his see. It appears that a vindication or explanation was required of him, and he appeared before Stafford, Moleyns of Chichester and Waynflete of Winchester in St. Paul's. He had said, it was alleged, that a bishop was bound to preach, but not by virtue of the fact that he was a bishop; that is, preaching is a good and necessary work, but is not a function of episcopate per se: "Episcopus tenetur predicare, sed non in quantum episcopus". Stafford and Moleyns flatly contradicted this - preaching is inherent in the office of bishop: "Nos scimus quod episcopus tenetur predicare ex debito officii sui".² Pecock went on to argue from precedent: he claimed that pope Dionysius (259 - 68) had given the cure of souls to rectors and curates, and then "papa Dionisius disoneravit episcopos ab onere predicandi in suis diocesibus et a multiplici cura imposita

1 See especially Brockwell, op. cit.
2 Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritatum, p. 208.
tunc per illum papam Dionisium curatis ecclesiarum parochialium."

Pecock's authority for this extraordinary statement is not revealed.

Stafford's silence following this hearing had been interpreted as meaning that there was found insufficient cause to act against Pecock: "the vindication was hardly that, but apparently placated Stafford, a tactful diplomat". Perhaps the suggestion of Lewis is correct that Pecock promised to write a fuller study of preaching. Later Pecock maintained before Kemp and Bourchier exactly what he had done before Stafford, but in 1457 he was condemned for heresy by Bourchier and imprisoned for life in Thorney abbey.

Argument rages over the reasons why Pecock fell: the fact that "the doom of reason" required the excision of certain articles of the Creed and the 'vilipending' (vituperation) of the Fathers; that he fell between two stools, offending the 'conservatives' by appearing to deny authority and faith, while failing to satisfy the 'radicals' by attempting to defend the existing order; or because he was disliked for his personal vanity and indiscreet championship of the Lancastrian cause at a time of growing Yorkist power.

1 V. H. E. Green, op. cit., pp. 50 - 52.
3 Gascoigne, op. cit., p. 208.
4 Jacob, The 15th Century, p. 684. ('Vilipending' is Gascoigne's word, and refers to Pecock's lost The Just Apprising of Doctors.)
5 A. R. Myers, England in the Late Middle Ages, p. 151.
Stafford's supposed inaction may be the result of the fact that he inquired into only one statement of Pecock's opinion, made when Pecock had not said the last word on the two related issues it raised. Bourchier on the other hand acted out of concern with the full forty works and the whole of Pecock's system. It might be argued that under normal conditions, had any doubt attached to Pecock's orthodoxy in 1447, he would never have been translated from a Welsh see to an English one, even to succeed a murdered bishop; but the circumstances in January 1450 were extreme, and in those circumstances Pecock's unquestioned fervent Lancastrianism may have proved a more telling consideration in the mind of the court than his questionable theological rationalism.
V STAFFORD AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1443 – 52 (II)

STAFFORD AS DIOCESAN

Christ Church Cathedral Priory

Stafford was archbishop of Canterbury for 8 years, 10 months and 13 days. He was enthroned in the cathedral church of Christ on 22 September 1443, and made his primary visitation of the monastic chapter on 30 March 1444. He was present in chapter at the election of John Elham as prior in succession to John Sarysbury on 12 April 1446, and that of Thomas Goldstone on 9 April 1449.

In the latter case, Stafford had admonished all monks to be present on 26 March, but arduous matters of state requiring his attention had necessitated postponement of the business to the later date. Each election was followed quickly by the archbishop's appointments to inferior offices: Thomas Goldstone as subprior and Richard Kyngeston as cellarer, 18 and 21 April 1446; John Wodensbergh as subprior, John Newton as penitentiary and Richard Gravene as warden of Canterbury College, Oxford, between 18 and 26 April 1449. The Register records one other appointment as cellarer, one as penitentiary, two as sacrist and two as precentor.

1 R.S.C., f. 197v (record of obit).
1a See ch. 4, pp. 72 – 73, 86 – 88.
3 R.S. 192, 195.
4 R.S. 131 – 32.
5 R.S. 197 – 99.
6 R.S. 72, 88, 148, 169 – 70.
monks were also an object of archiepiscopal concern: on 16 October
1446 he ordered the prior to clothe two novices,¹ and was obliged
to pay considerable attention to the affairs of Canterbury College,
Oxford.²

Stafford was present in Christ Church on 15 and 16 April 1447
to celebrate solemn mass and requiem for Cardinal Beaufort.³ He
performed a similar service for the humbler sacrist of Christ
Church, John Colbroke, who died on 29 August 1447, in the course
of a visit during which on 27th he professed several monks.⁴ He
was present again in Holy Week 1448, when the bishop of Ross
celebrated the solemn mass of Maundy Thursday in his presence,
and on 9 September the same year when he laid the first stone of
his tomb in the Martyrdom.⁵ In 1451 the archbishop joined the
prior and convent in the St. George's day procession, and on
the following 3 August was present with the bishop of Winchester
to receive the King, after which a meeting of the Council was
held in the prior's house.⁶ Stafford was not present at Henry's
six other visits to Christ Church during his archiepiscopate,

1 R.S. 149.
2 See below.
3 Chron. Stone, p. 41. Beaufort had strong connections with Cant-
terbury, where his brother (the earl of Somerset) and half-
brother (Henry IV) were buried. He spent much time there near
the end of his life. In 1443 the prior and convent entered
this 'father of consolation' and 'tower of David' on their
Martyrology, with John of Gaunt, Bedford and other noble pro-
genitors, in recognition of his beneficence: in the first week
of Advent priests would say mass for his soul, and brethren in
minor orders 50 psalms. (R.S.C., f. 160.) Beaufort left Christ
Church a generous legacy of vestments, and £1000 in a codicil
to his will (R.S. 837).
4 Chron. Stone, p. 42.
5 Ibid., pp. 43 - 44.
6 Ibid., pp. 51 - 52.
nor to greet important visitors like the archbishop of Rheims and the French embassy of July 1445, when the bishop of Ross acted in his place. Stafford performed the Easter ordination in the cathedral every year except 1452, shortly before his death. 2

Archiepiscopal and priory administration were closely interconnected. Many of the archbishop's commissions of officers and other secular business are confirmed and enregistered by the prior and convent. Among appointments of bailiffs, parkers, custodians and seneschals is the commission of James Fenys, lord Saye and Sele as seneschal on 25 September 1443; on 16 November the King requested the prior and convent to confirm and ratify grant of the office under their common seal; the archbishop conveyed this request on 23 November, and they duly ratified the grant on 2 December. 3 Register S records also the archbishop's indentures, grants of land and manumissions. 4 On 6 July 1451 there is recorded the prior and convent's inspeximus of the archbishop's appointment on 26 January of Nicholas Parler as registrar of the court of Canterbury; on 13 September his appointment of William Turner, clerk, as registrar of the deanery of Shoreham; while on 12 August 1451 the convent notes that the

1 Chron. Stone, p. 36 ff. (Royal visits on 12 June 1445, 19 November 1446, 14 September 1447, 2 March 1448, 14 December 1448, 1 February 1451.)
2 See ch. 4, pp. 82 - 83.
3 R.S. 29; R.S.C., ff. 156 - 156v; R.N.C., ff. 214 - 14v.
4 R.S. records two manumissions by the archbishop, of William Skyn of Welling and Nicholas Burre of Slyndon, ff. 168v & 186. Three manumissions by the prior and convent are recorded - ff. 185, 190, 196v.
archbishop had received letters under the seal of the archdeacon's official granting Henry Grout the office of apparitor-general of the archdeaconry.¹

The prior and convent of Christ Church jealously protected the rights of the cathedral church of the primatial see, against the primatial claims of York, and in their insistence that Canterbury's suffragans should be consecrated in Canterbury. In the latter regard they proved less than successful. On 2 September 1443 a royal letter under signet requested that Thomas Bekynton, Keeper of the Privy Seal, might be consecrated "nigh about our person" rather than in the metropolitical church, where it belonged of right; consent was given on 7 September.² In subsequent years a similar concession was made over the consecration of Moleyns to Chichester, Stanbury to Bangor, and Beauchamp and Boulers to Hereford.³ This did not remove the claim of the church of Canterbury to "a decent cope" and profession of obedience from every suffragan bishop, including York, whether consecrated at Canterbury or elsewhere, even at Rome - precedents for this went back to Lanfranc in 1072.⁴ Consecration of suffragans at Canterbury was proper by virtue of the glory bestowed on that church by its

¹ R.S.C., ff. 188v, 190v, 195.
² Ibid., f. 154v.
³ Ibid., ff. 159v, 175v, 176v, 186v.
blessed martyrs. Miraculous healing might be found at the shrine of St. Thomas after it had been sought in vain at other holy places, as a 24 years old cripple from Aberdeen experienced in 1445.

When Kemp was translated to Canterbury from York, he proved even more protective of Canterbury's privileges over York than Stafford. Innocent VI's bull of 1355 governing the composition made between the two archbishops was attested and copied into Register N, and in accordance with it, the new archbishop of York, William Bothe, presented a jewel to the shrine of St. Thomas.

After Kemp's death, in late 1454, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, when travelling in Italy, procured from Nicholas V a concession that every year on the feast of St. Thomas, and every fiftieth year for the whole year, plenary indulgence should be granted to all confessed persons who visited the shrine: the prior reimbursed the earl 200 marks for his pains. Christ Church had also the shrine of St. Wilfrid, boasting possession of the saint's whole body - the bishop of Chichester successfully petitioned for a relic to grace his cathedral church.

1 R.S.C., f. 154v.
2 Ibid., f. 163.
4 Ibid., f. 186v.
5 Ibid., f. 215.
Devotion to St. Thomas was the qualification for entry into Christ Church's confraternity, which was open to mighty and humble alike. Letters of confraternity were granted to persons as diverse as Henry Beaufort, cardinal priest of St. Eusebius and bishop of Winchester, John Kemp, cardinal priest of St. Balbina and archbishop of York, John Fortescue, knight, Chief Justice of King's Bench, and his wife, the abbess (Katharine Pole) and nuns of Barking, Robert Chamberlayn, prior of Boxgrave, Joan Brenchesle, for whom the chantry was founded, Thomas lord Ecnygham, esquires and their families, and humble servants of the priory, such as Thomas Mochegode, bearer of the mortuary roll, and William Alde, master of its charity school.  

The chantry of Edward the Black Prince was one of Christ Church's greatest glories. The two chaplains who served it were inclined to fall out with each other. In an undated dispensation, Stafford released one of them, Nicholas Chilton, from the provisions regarding common eating contained in the composition between the two chaplains.  

Chilton became chaplain on 14 January 1445 by exchange for the rectory of Westgate. On 11 September 1450 he exchanged the chaplaincy for the rectory of All Saints Grastchirchstrete, London, in the deanery of Arches, with Sir William Dyolet. On both occasions the new chaplain was inducted by the other chaplain, master William Scardeburgh.  

1 R.S.C., ff. 160, 172v, 172, 171v, 192, 171v, 161v, 192, 190.  
2 R.S. 125.  
3 R.S. 451, 787.
The poor relationship seems to have continued, however, since sometime in the remaining part of 1450 regulations were made to adjust the conduct of Scardeburgh and Dyolet, who were at loggerheads.¹

An important new foundation was the Brenchesle (Brenchley) chantry. A perpetual chantry of one chaplain was established at the altar of St. John Baptist, for the King and Queen and Joan Brenchesle, and for the souls of Sir William Brenchesle, Richard and Anne Brenchesle, the parents of William and Joan, and all the faithful departed, by Richard Newton, knight, Chief Justice of King's Bench, Thomas Leukenore, knight, John Fray, baron of the Exchequer, and others. Letters patent were obtained on 24 November 1446, and licence to build the chantry, incorporating the already established altar in the south wall under the fourth window towards the east was granted by the archbishop and prior on 22 May 1447.² Alexander Altham was to be the first chaplain, at the will of the founders, after which the advowson was granted to the archbishop; the statutes however forbade appointment of a Welsh, Irish or Scottish priest.³

¹ R.W.C., f. 182v.
² R.S. 214, 217; R.S.C., f. 171.
³ R.S. 214, 218.
Canterbury College, Oxford

Canterbury College was the cause of some concern to Stafford. The college had had a stormy beginning: it was founded in 1361–62 by Simon Islep as a mixed college of four monks and eight poor clerks in a conscious attempt to heal the regular-secular rift at Oxford. In 1366 he drew up new statutes to convert it into a secular college, and John Wyclif was briefly its master, before the new archbishop, the Benedictine Simon Langham, converted it into a purely monastic foundation.¹ Thereafter the college settled down under a succession of able wardens, including the humanist and Greek scholar William Sellyng, professed 1448 and prior of Christ Church 1472–94.² Stafford appointed two wardens, John Wodenesbergh (subsequently subprior) on 26 March 1448, and Richard Gravene on 21 April 1449.³ The archbishop also nominated to places at the college: he appointed William Bysshop scholar in January 1444, and collated William Appylton in October 1445 to the scholarship vacated by John Smyth; grant of a scholarship to Thomas Bedynden is undated.⁴ The archbishop possessed a similar right of collation to scholarships at All Souls, founded by his predecessor Chichele: four collations are recorded,⁵ as is a mandate to the warden and fellows to reinstate William Gryffyth, who had been removed for unspecified demerits.⁶

² On Sellyng, see R. Weiss, Humanism in England.
³ R.S. 178, (197), 198.
⁵ R.S. 152, 639, (two to the faculty of arts, one to law, one to arts or civil law.)
⁶ R.S. 150.
was a problem at Canterbury College also. An archiepiscopal monition dated Holy Innocents' day 1443 complained that information had come to the archbishop that students were failing to observe the canonical hours and attend the obligatory lectures, and ordered the warden to cite those who persisted in their neglect after three warnings to appear before the archbishop or his auditor of causes. 1

Other Religious Houses

Stafford's dealings with the other religious houses in his diocese were largely in matters of routine: issue of licence to elect, as to the nuns of Sheppey on 22 December 1450, 2 or confirmation of election, as of John Combe to the Benedictine priory of Folkestone on 9 August 1446, and of John Wittesham to the Augustinian priory of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Leeds, on 6 May 1447. 3

John Combe had been prior of Dover since 1435. On 14 April 1444 Stafford granted him the priory for life. 4 This grant caused the convent of Christ Church some anxiety; the election of Combe

1 R.S. 55.
2 R.S. 803.
3 R.S. 142 - 43, 164, 601.
4 R.S. 73; R.S.C., f. 159v; Chron. Wm. Glastynbury, f. 117. The grant was in recognition of Combe's good government of the priory, perhaps apparent at the visitation of Dover on 3 April 1444.
to Folkestone on 8 August 1446, and his replacement at Dover by the transfer of John Asheford from Folkestone ¹ may have been brought about by the unseen influence of Christ Church, worried about infringement of their rights over dependent cells. Alternatively it may have been because a change of prior seemed advisable at Folkestone, where relations between priory and parish were uncommonly bad.² In 1433 the prior had been seized from the altar and dragged through the streets, threatened with precipitation into the sea; in the event he was cast instead into prison, until an accord was made by Chichele.³ In 1443 the townspeople again harassed the monks and refused payment of their dues; an undated letter of Stafford giving Asheford permission to farm the possessions of the priory for three years probably reflects the effect of this crisis.⁴ The trouble arose from the priory's impropriation of the parish church, and the laity was incited by the vicar, William Clerk. The priory hammered out a composition with a new vicar, William Larwode, granting him 10 marks per annum and chambers and a garden in the priory, with the right to distrain tithes in the event of non-payment, and a penalty of 10 marks in the event of his failure to observe the terms. Stafford approved this composition on 2 June 1448.⁵

1 R.S. 142 - 45.
3 P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, C1/12/126.
4 R.S. 124.
5 R.S. 181.
At Dover Assheford enjoyed a more peaceable rule, until the troubles of 1450, when it fell to the prior to say requiem mass for the murdered Suffolk. Assheford was appointed one of the collectors of the second half tenth granted to the King by the Convocation of 1449 - 50, due at the Annunciation 1453. Assheford deputed this task to Thomas Dovorr, who succeeded him as prior. On 13 November 1452, while carrying £80 to the Exchequer, Dovorr was robbed of the money, three horses and ten mules at Swanscombe by fourteen thieves, bound and left in a wood where he remained for two days and a night.

Canterbury's other great Benedictine house, St. Augustine's, yields not even so much as a confirmation of election in these years: George Penshurst was abbot from 1430 to 1457, almost simultaneously with the even longer reign of John Chartham as abbot of Faversham, 1426 - 58. The abbot of St. Radegund's was granted licence to depute one of his monks to serve the vicarage of Postling for two years. Three instances are recorded of appointments of nuns to convents by Stafford, to Wilton, Godestowe and Wherwell, and collation of Rowney to the prioress during the vacancy in the bishopric of Lincoln. Movement from one order to

1 C. R. Haines, Dover Priory.
2 Ibid., p. 287.
3 Victoria County History of Kent.
4 R.S. 108.
5 R.S. 22, 23, 46, 203 - 04.
another was possible - on 25 April 1443 the prior and convent of Christ Church gave licence to the abbot of the Cistercian house of Boxley to admit one of their monks, William Powud; the abbot certified that he had done so on 29 May. It could however be a hazardous undertaking - William Strete of Glastonbury, in Stafford's former diocese, was pardoned on 18 February 1449 for obtaining without the King's consent a papal bull permitting his transfer to "a harder order".2

The religious houses provided the lion's share of candidates for holy orders, and of titles for newly ordained secular clergy. Of the 319 men ordained in the diocese of Canterbury during Stafford's archiepiscopate, 194 were members of religious orders, of whom 37 were monks of Christ Church and 27 monks of St. Augustine's. St. Gregory's supplied 7 canons, and the mendicant orders in Canterbury 33 Minorite friars, 11 Augustinians and 10 Preachers. All but a handful of the secular clergy were ordained to titles of religious houses, St. Gregory's Canterbury providing 17, St. Sepulchre's 3, St. Radegund's and St. Augustine's one each; Christ Church provided none, but St. Martin's, Dover, gave 4.3

The Register records 129 collations of incumbents to benefices institutions after by the archbishop, and 341 presentation by other patrons. Of these, 158 were by religious houses, 11 by cathedrals and colleges, 47 by 1 R.N.C., ff. 179 - 79v.
2 P.O.P.C., vi, 66.
3 R.S., Ordination lists.
individual bishops or clerks. 37 presentations were made by the King; 11 of these were to benefices in France, the remainder largely by virtue of the temporalities of vacant sees in the King's hands. The Queen made 4, and other secular patrons 84. There were 42 exchanges of benefices. Of the 158 presentations by religious houses, St. Augustine's made by far the largest individual number, 45; by contrast Christ Church presented to only eight livings. 1

The Calais Jurisdiction

During the 15th century, under the terms of a papal indult of 1379, the archbishop of Canterbury exercised jurisdiction over "Calais and the adjoining parts and in Picardy in the diocese of Thérouanne" as territories within the protection of the English King. 2 All presentations to livings were made by the King, but the archbishop made other appointments such as schoolmaster; sir John Bredhill, rector of St. Nicholas, Calais, was commissioned to instruct scholars in grammar on 22 September 1443. 3 Bredhill also held a more significant commission as Stafford's commissary in Calais and its neighbourhood. This is undated, but is registered immediately prior to a similar commission to John Shuldham, rector

1 R.S. 371- 836.
2 Jacob, R.Ch., i, p. clixii; R.S. 25, 98; Churchill, Cant. Admin., i, pp. 508 - 19.
3 R.S. 25.
of St. Peter Guisnes dated 12 January 1445. Jacob took the wording of Shuldham's institution to Guisnes on 16 February 1438 as a clear statement that the Calais jurisdiction still existed. John Trevenaunt, rector of St. Mary, Calais, held an earlier commission, given on 13 September 1443.

The archbishop had no formal connection with Bordeaux, the southern centre of Languedocian France. As Chancellor, however, Stafford had received a petition from the archbishop of Bordeaux, Peter Bellandi, which sought discussions between King and Pope over presentations, the foundation of a university of Bordeaux, and the preservation of ecclesiastical liberties.

STAFFORD AS METROPOLITAN

Administration of Vacant Sees

With the exception of Exeter, where Edmund Lacy ruled from 1420 to 1455, and of Llandaff, every suffragan see in the province of Canterbury fell vacant at least once between 1443 and 1454:

1 R.S. 98 - 99.
2 R.Ch., i, pp. clxiii - iv, 298.
3 R.S. 20.
4 P.R.O. Ancient Correspondence, 44/17.
Lincoln, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bangor and St. Davids twice, Coventry and Lichfield and Hereford three times. There as only one full sede vacante register in Stafford's Register, that of Norwich (ff. 57 - 73v).\(^1\) Rather less full is that of Rochester, over which the church of Canterbury enjoyed particular prerogative rights, whereby the archbishop commissioned a keeper of temporalities, issued licence to elect, and received the new bishop's homage and oath of fidelity.\(^2\)

In most other cases, the Register records only the commission of keepers of spiritualities, the papal bull providing the new bishop, his profession of obedience to the archbishop, and direction to release the spiritualities. The commission of keepers is not always noted: none exists for Lincoln, Salisbury, Hereford nor St. Asaph in 1450, while in the case of Chichester the names of the keepers are not given;\(^3\) the year of the murdered bishops is however perhaps an unusual case. Kemp appointed no keepers of the spiritualities of Hereford nor Bangor: on translation to Coventry and Lichfield, Reginald Boulers was ordered to release the spiritualities of Hereford to his successor, John Stanbury, until then bishop of Bangor; Stanbury in turn was ordered to release Bangor to his successor, James Blakedon.\(^4\)

1 R.S. 274 - 370.
2 R.S. 226 - 36, especially 227, 230, 234 - 35. Lowe's oath of fidelity is the only document in the Register in French. Stafford's licence to elect is the only extant example between Kemp's election in 1418 and the time of Warham - Churchill, Cant. Admin., i, p. 287.
3 R.S. 211.
4 R.K. 13b, 15b (4 and 12 April 1453).
The keepers of the spirituality of vacant sees were often combinations of lawyers and archdeacons or canons of the cathedral church of the diocese concerned. Coventry and Lichfield was administered in two of the three vacancies in the period by master John Wandesley, archdeacon of Stafford, and master John Redenhale, LL.B. ¹

Three or four keepers might be commissioned: Winchester in 1447 was administered by the bishop of Ross and two bachelors in both laws, while Chichester in 1445 enjoyed the service of master William Byconnyll, official of the court of Canterbury, three bachelors in law, and the dean of Pagham — five in all. ² A single keeper might suffice, however, as at Lincoln in 1449 (master John Derby, LL.D., canon residentiary), and St. Asaph in 1444 (master Lewis Byford). ³

In some sees the archbishop's freedom of commission was restricted by composition. In London, under the terms of the composition made with archbishop Boniface (1245 – 73), the dean and chapter of St. Paul's submitted the names of two canons to the archbishop, of whom he chose one to act as official. Stafford chose sir Walter Shiryngton, who was commissioned and then died. In these circumstances the names of three canons were supplied, and the archbishop preferred master Thomas Lisieux. Clement Denston's name was given twice, but he was not chosen on either occasion. ⁴ Lincoln had made a similar composition

1 R.S. 42, 54.
2 R.S. 162, 120.
3 R.S. 209, 79.
with Boniface, by which the names of four canons were submitted to the archbishop; Stafford chose master John Derby as official.¹
Norwich's keepers were commissioned by the archbishop, but their visitor in time of vacancy was one of the three persons whom the prior and chapter nominated, under the terms of their composition with Simon Islep.²

**Stafford and his Suffragans**

There were 21 appointments to bishoprics in the province of Canterbury between 1443 and 1454. The two Registers record the papal bull of provision in all cases except that of Bekynton, Stafford's successor at Bath and Wells.³ In Stafford's archiepiscopate, the new bishop's profession of obedience and the archbishop's order for the release of the spiritualities were always given on the same day.⁴ In Kemp's time, there occurred a delay in the case of James Blakedon's translation from Achonry to Bangor. Blakedon made his profession on 4 April 1453, but the mandate for release of the spiritualities of the see was not given until the 12th, after he had humbly petitioned their release and agreed to pay the 'great and notable sum' due of right to Canterbury. On 14th the archbishop remitted the fees by a sum of £20 in consideration of the poverty of the see, on the understanding that this concession meant no derogation from his prerogative or

1 R.S. 200 - 01.
2 R.S. 275.
3 Only the mandate for the release of the spirituality is registered - R.S. 39 (15 October 1443).
4 Though in the case of Beauchamp's appointment to Salisbury, the Register contains only the bull - R.S. 213 (14 August 1450).
that of the church of Canterbury. Churchill notes this as an example of the coercive power of the archbishop, which if necessary could hold up release of spiritualities even after profession had been made. Stafford normally acted as chief consecrator of his suffragans, though he committed the consecration of John Langton to St. Davids to William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln, to take place outside Canterbury. The archdeacon of Canterbury might similarly delegate his responsibility of enthronement; Thomas Chichele commissioned the abbot of Gloucester to enthrone John Stanbury in Hereford on 17 April 1453.

Little evidence is afforded by the Register of the archbishop's intervention in his suffragans' rule of their dioceses. Adam Moleyns was ordered to correct William Wyram, rector of Merston, who had removed himself from his church, to the peril of his immortal soul. The bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury were commissioned by Stafford to dedicate a cemetery and altar and to bless bells at the royal college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (King's College), Cambridge. Stafford's concern for the views of Reginald Pecock of Chichester

1 R.K. 15; Churchill, Cant. Admin., i, 270 - 71 (where she gives Blakedon as bishop of Killala, not Achonry). She also discusses a shorter delay of two days between presentation of bull and receipt of spiritualities in the case of Reginald (not, as Churchill, Richard) Boulers (ibid.).

2 R.S. 163 (29 April 1447).


4 R.S. 157 (5 November 1446).

5 R.S. 56 (16 Jan. 1444).
has already been noted. Stafford's worst relationship was with Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, who complained to the Pope that Stafford was interfering in his testamentary jurisdiction, "putting his sickle into another man's harvest", as Kemp tellingly phrased it; Nicholas commissioned the bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells and the abbot of Fountains to inquire into the matter. An interesting document in Stafford's Register, undated, is the rehearsal of the ten chapters of the Council of Hertford of 672. This council was summoned by Theodore of Tarsus, and attended by kings, magnates, the archbishop of York and other bishops of the kingdoms. Theodore's chief proposal was the observance of a common date of Easter, followed by the proposal that no bishop should invade another's parish. Subsequent chapters abhor wandering monks and peregrinous bishops and clergy who perform office without the permission of the local bishop, and declare that precedence be established by time and order of consecration, not by personal ambition. In general terms these chapters provide useful precedent for the archbishop of Canterbury in many matters, but the particular reason for copying the document into the Register at this juncture is not immediately apparent.

2 C.P.L., x, 538 (2 September 1451).
3 R.S. 112.
Provincial Mandates

The bishop of London, as dean of the province, was responsible for the dissemination of the archbishop's provincial mandates. They are of two types: those which execute the business of Convocation of Canterbury, and those which deal with liturgical matters, generally urging prayer and processions at a time of crisis or new departure in the life of kingdom or Church. Only one mandate of the latter type is entered in Stafford's Register, that of 12 March 1444 directing penitential processions, litanies and masses for the peace, unity and tranquillity of the universal Church and the kingdoms of England and France. The preamble, a medley of commonly used Biblical clichés, is copied from Chichele's similar mandate of 23 June 1415, while the closing offer of forty days' indulgence, invoking Canterbury's patronal martyrs, is borrowed from Chichele's mandate on the occasion of Henry V's final expedition to France, 13 July 1421. The existence of several other mandates is known from other sources, especially from the register of Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter. Similar requests for prayers for peace were issued on 3 January 1447, 12 March 1448 and 16 June 1451. On 1 October 1452 Kemp ordered prayers, processions and litanies for the forthcoming expedition of the earl of Shrewsbury, giving examples from the Old Testament of instances when trust in God and prayer to him resulted in military victory, and offering 100 days' indulgence.

1 R.S. 69. Printed in R. Lacy, ii, 312.
2 R.Ch., iii, 435; R. Lacy, i, 40.
3 R. Lacy, ii, 375, iii, 1, 115.
A mandate of 1 October 1445 ordered the observance annually as a double feast of the translation of Edward the Confessor, 13 October, the anniversary of the coronation of Henry IV, as authorized by the 1444 Convocation at the King's request.  

A mandate of 9 June 1447 recited Nicholas V's bull *Immensa summi Dei*, in which the Pope announced his election on 6 March, declared his intention to reform the papal Camera and requested processions and masses of the Holy Spirit; the archbishop commended the request. 

Convocation

In his general study *The Fifteenth Century*, E. F. Jacob gives two studies of Convocation, as an institution of the Church, and as an organ of finance; the latter is the longer. "In the royal eyes and to the mind of the Council the Convocations of Canterbury and York were part of the fiscal machinery of the kingdom." This is especially true in the time of Stafford, the former Treasurer, when the only significant non-financial enactment of Convocation concerned the feast of Edward the Confessor. The matter of the papal tenth will be discussed below; here our concern is domestic taxation.

1 R. Lacy, ii, 345 - 46.
2 Ibid., 402. The bull is printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 554. (Cf. Chichele's mandate of September 1439, incorporating a copy of the bull *Laetentur coeli* of Eugenius IV, announcing the end of the schism with the Greeks at the Council of Florence — R. Lacy, ii, 160.)
4 Ibid., p. 419.
5 Ch. 6.
Five convocations were summoned in the years 1443 - 54, four by Stafford and one by Kemp. This last, 7 February - 3 March 1453, is especially significant in view of the unusually full records of it which survive, and is examined at length below. Stafford's four convocations met 19 - 26 October 1444, 22 June - 8 July 1446, 1 - 28 July 1449, and 14 November 1449 - 17 July 1450. The acta of only the first survive.

The Right Revd. E. W. Kemp has studied the development of Convocation, examining particularly the increasing liability to clerical taxation in the deepening financial crisis of 1450 and the following years. The summary below is informed by his work.

Each of the four convocations granted a tenth. There had

1 Ch. 9.
2 Archbishop's mandate - Lambeth, 10 August 1444; King's writ - Sheen, 12 July 1444. R. Lacy, ii, 316, 325.
4 Archbishop's mandate - 19 May 1449 (transmitted by the bishop of Winchester, subdean of the province, London being vacant: R. Waynflete, i, ff. 3 - 4v). King's writ - 18 May 1449: C.C.R. (1447 - 54), 141. R. Lacy, iii, 36, 55.
5 Archbishop's mandate - 2 October 1449 (transmitted by Winchester: R. Waynflete, i, ff. 5v - 6v). King's writ same date. R. Lacy, iii, 49, 77.
6 Wake MS 305, R. Arundel ii, f. 28 ff. (An unpublished transcription has been made by the Right Revd. E. W. Kemp.)
7 Counsel and Consent (Bampton Lectures, 1960), ch. 5; The Archbishop in Convocation (Lambeth Lectures, 1962).
long been difficulty over collection, in view of the fact that since the 1380's many of the religious houses normally entrusted with this burden had gained royal exemption from it. The 1442 convocation had made a proviso that such letters patent were of no avail;¹ a similar proviso was written into the grant of the 1444 convocation, notwithstanding the protest by the abbot of Gloucester, the prior of St. Batholomew's, Smithfield, and master William Albon, proctor of the abbot of St. Albans, and was repeated in the grants of the June – July 1446 and July 1449 convocations.²

In 1449 there was a shift of interest from the general principle of monastic exemption to concern over the loss of revenue which it occasioned. Many religious houses had gained letters patent of exemption, among them all the houses of the order of Sempringham. In 1444 exemption was extended to all poor religious houses laid waste by flood, fire and similar disaster,

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¹ C.F.R., xvii, 45.
² R. Arundel, ii, f. 30v; C.F.R., xviii, 63, 141.
and the Benedictine abbey of Faversham and the Premonstratensian
house of Langdon, in the diocese of Canterbury. The loss of
revenue to the Crown from these poor houses was negligible.
The real scandal lay in the exemptions gained by corporations
which enjoyed powerful protection: Henry VI's new colleges of
St. Mary at Eton and St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Cambridge, and
William of Wykeham's foundations at Oxford and Winchester,
exempted in 1446; St. Bridget, Syon, the priory of Jesus of
Bethlehem, Sheen, Henry V's foundations, and all Carthusian
houses in the province, in 1449; and Kemp's college, Merton,
in 1453. The poor houses however were caught up in the general
pressure for retrenchment which in Parliament resulted in the
Acts of Resumption.

In July 1449 Convocation therefore made an unprecedented
quadruple grant. In addition to the customary tenth of all
ecclesiastical goods, benefices and possessions of the province,
assessed and not assessed, it imposed a tax of 6s. 8d. on stipend-
iary chaplains; an additional quarter tenth over and above the
tenth on the goods and possessions of all persons exempted by
royal letters from collection of tenths (that is, those who
wished to avail themselves of their exemptions were penalized
for doing so, and had to pay again); and a grant of 2s. in the
pound of all goods and possessions of religious men and women
and others who had obtained by royal letters that they should
not be held to the contribution of a tenth. This last sum was

1 R. Lacy, ii, 386, iii, 55, 177 - 78.
granted to the archbishop, who passed it to the King for the
defence of the realm and the Church.¹

The effect of this provision was to defeat all forms of
exemption. A second tax of 2s. in the pound was wrung from
Stafford’s last convocation, that of November 1449 to July
1450, doubtless the reason for its inordinate length.² The
hope that this device meant the end of exemptions was short-
lived, for new ones were quickly sought: in 1452 the abbey of
St. German, Selby, had confirmed its letters patent of 1 Dec-
ember 1445, whereby its total contribution to any tenth was to
be limited to £15 in the province of Canterbury and £25 in the
province of York, with pardon of any demands the King might
have by virtue of the two grants of 2s. in the pound to the
archbishop in 1449 and 1450.³

In Kemp’s convocation of 1453, therefore, a new provision
was made. Two tenths were granted, to be paid in moieties of a
tenth at Martin-mas each year from 1453 to 1456. Those exempt
from collecting were charged an extra half tenth; those exempt
from tenths were to pay 4s. in the pound. If however holders of
letters patent of exemption surrendered them by the feast of the

¹ Letter of archbishop to King, 12 October 1449, in King’s
Remembrancer Roll, 28 Henry VI, Easter term, Communia,
m. 10d; C.C.R. (1447 – 54), 185; C.P.R. (1446 – 52), 417.
² C.C.R. (1447 – 54), 210; C.P.R. (1446 – 52), 564.
³ C.P.R. (1446 – 52), 564.
Assumption 1453, they would be liable only to the normal tenth. Many did, including the whole order of Sempringham. Others found their exemptions annulled under the terms of the general Act of Resumption passed by the Leicester parliament of 1450.

The subsidies were made for the defence of the realm. The treasurers of the half tenths granted in 1450 were the archbishops of York and Canterbury and the bishops of London and Winchester. The money was used to provide "stuff and ordnance of habiliments and artillery for the defence and safekeeping" of Calais, and to repay loans made for the equipping of the expedition of Richard Wydevile, knight, to Gascony - £100 to the archbishop of York and the bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, Norwich and Worcester.2

1 Roll of the King's Remembrancer, 32 Henry VI, Michaelmas term, Communia, m. 30.
2 C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 414, 456, 466.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND THE CARDINAL OF YORK

Relations between the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York, always difficult, reached a new delicacy in the years 1440 - 52, when the northern archbishop also held the rank of cardinal priest of the Holy Roman Church. In England in 1440 it was still a novel doctrine that a man could retain his preferments in England after he had received the red hat. Cardinal Beaufort, who set the precedent, found it a long and difficult task, which attracted much odium and required long absence from English shores, and it was possible for him at all only because of his wealth, power and nobility. Once he had achieved the breakthrough, however, it was possible for a second English cardinal holding a major see to be accepted without a great deal of obvious friction - except that it created an awkward state of affairs for Canterbury. If our thesis is right, this factor above any other denied Kemp succession to Canterbury in 1443, which he would surely have greatly desired, when the influence of Chichele secured as his successor Stafford, who was not a cardinal, in preference to Kemp, who was.¹ The Church was not yet ready for a cardinal in the primatial see of all England in 1443, still too new a prospect; this had to wait until 1452. The effect of this, however, was to prolong for a decade the anomaly, already seventeen years old, whereby a non-cardinal primate had to

¹ See above, pp. 73 - 76.
exercise superiority over a cardinal suffragan, and since 1440 over a cardinal inferior primate as well.

The two cases of Beaufort and Kemp are not identical. The most obvious difference was that Beaufort was a cardinal who was also bishop of Winchester, whereas Kemp was archbishop of York who was also a cardinal; for him there was no raising of papal subsidies, being abroad on pilgrimage, leading a crusade. Apart from causing him to stay at York longer than might otherwise have been necessary, Kemp's career is not noticeably different because he was a cardinal from what it would have been if he were not. But for Chichele (more than for Stafford, because by 1443 Beaufort's force was abating), the new factor in 1440 was not merely the aggravation that where before there had been one cardinal, now there were two. Beaufort was a suffragan, and the claims of Winchester vis-á-vis Canterbury were kept in place largely because of Beaufort's prolonged physical and spiritual detachment from his see and from the province. Chichele was prepared to yield some degree of precedence to Beaufort by virtue of his royal lineage; he could not allow the same to a commoner's son of his own diocese.1 But Kemp was a fellow primate, and his elevation to the cardinalate opened a new dimension of the long vexed matter of the relationship of Canterbury and York.

Kemp was created cardinal priest of St. Balbina by Eugenius IV in the consistory of 18 December 1439, when Lewis archbishop of Rouen

1 Nigota, Kempe, p. 314.
was also elevated. News of this was brought by Andrew Holes to the King at Reading abbey, where he was holding Parliament, on 24 January 1440. The Pope's reason for the creation was his concern for the distracted state of the Church, and his happiness at the reconciliation with the Greeks. On 4 February the King issued letters patent to Kemp, singing praise for his elevation, and urging him to accept the dignity the King knew he was inclined to refuse, confirming him in all his former dignities and exempting him from all legal pains and penalties (Praemunire). The pious King was probably genuinely delighted at this honour for the English Church, and repeated his thanks in a letter to Eugenius on 22 March. But he realized as well that Kemp's new eminence would afford him added respect in his diplomatic activity of treating for peace with the adversary of France, and this thought was uppermost in the King's thanks to Angelo Gattola when he arrived with the long awaited red hat on 22 January 1441.

Chichele however was inclined to view the matter somewhat differently. The conflict between Chichele and Kemp and its wider significance has been studied by Walter Ullmann, whose conclusions

2 Ibid., 41.
3 Ibid., 39.
4 Ibid., 38, 48.
are summarized here in view of the relevance of the matter to Stafford shortly afterwards. The wider importance is that this conflict obliged Eugenius IV to state authoritatively the papal understanding of the nature and status of the rank of cardinal.

Conflict between the two archbishops probably arose at the second, Reading, session of Parliament in the second half of January 1440, when Kemp quickly claimed a revision of accepted precedence.\(^1\) Chichele, incensed, "adamant" and "in a pugnacious frame of mind", nominated as his proctor at the Curia Antonius de Capharellis, one of the foremost advocates of the day.\(^2\)

Capharellis brought forth at least five arguments. First, a non-curial cardinal could not claim the privileges enjoyed by curial cardinals simply by virtue of his membership of the College of Cardinals. Second, an ecclesiastical dignitary took part in royally convoked assemblies as an incumbent of his own national church, not as a cardinal, which was an alien and unrecognizable dignity as far as the kingdom was concerned. Third, Chichele kept his precedence over Kemp by virtue of his priority in time as primas Anglie. Fourth, the Westminster-Reading parliament was geographically within Chichele's province, where his position could not be overridden by a cardinal, who had no rights in another's province. Fifth, even if Kemp could claim rights in the province

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\(^1\) Ullmann, op. cit., pp. 361 - 63.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 364.
of Canterbury by reason of his cardinalate, he was only a cardinal-priest, of an ordo therefore below the archbishop.1

Chichele had never questioned Beaufort's precedence, whose name always appears first in the rolls of Parliament. Therefore these arguments on his behalf, though wide-ranging, were weak. But the real importance of Chichele's case (and Ullmann's real interest init) is that it forced the papacy, which had never made an official statement on the matter, to declare why it regarded the cardinalate as a clerical dignity above all others.

In a careful letter Eugenius accorded the cardinals exalted but not absolute status. Cardinal is a specific office, not a mere dignity, and of a jurisdictional nature. This fact gives the cardinals their status; they sit with the Pope in judgment over all the ecclesiastical officers of Christendom, and their jurisdiction is therefore a universal one, in contrast to the merely local jurisdiction of archbishops. Since their potestas jurisdictionis derives from the Pope, however, (as opposed to their potestas ordinis, which derives from God), they do not share the papal plenitudo potestatis.2

Eugenius's "exquisite compositional craftsmanship" (Ullmann) was designed to uphold the power and prestige of the Pope who

1 Ibid., pp. 365 - 66.
2 Ibid., pp. 368 - 77.
granted the office and dignity of cardinal. It incidentally demolished Chichele's case against Kemp. Since cardinals, by virtue of their office, have precedence over all other ecclesiastical officers, it was a nonsense to assert that Kemp took part in Parliament as archbishop of York but not as cardinal,* since it was the cardinal's duty, not merely his right, to uphold the privileges of the Roman Church in every situation. This also disposed of the argument that in the province of Canterbury Kemp held no office. It was also nonsensical to regard only the priestly ordo of Kemp's cardinalate, since this led to the ridiculous conclusion that a man was demoted when elevated to the cardinalate.

This dispute was to all intents and purposes settled by the time of Stafford's accession, which was itself Chichele's last word in the matter. Nigota, commenting on the lack of any obvious English reference to the dispute, but also on the paucity of both Council and archiepiscopal records in 1440, supposes that a private agreement was reached of which we do not know. Piero, the papal collector, inveighed in a latter to the Pope against Chichele's false pride, and recommended a stinging rebuke; but Kemp did not use the title and privilege for several months, probably not until the hat arrived. Nigota regards it as "a small dispute, settled amicably and privately"¹—though this is surely to underestimate the importance of the matter.

¹ Nigota, Kempe, pp. 315 – 17.

* Thus Ullmann: but the archbishop of York was summoned to parliament in virtue of his tenure of the see.
There was no clear victor. In the official mind, the cardinal was the greater; every official document which concerned both archbishops was addressed to or referred to "John, cardinal and archbishop of York, John, archbishop of Canterbury ..." Never again however does the chastened Kemp appear to have en eavoured to assert the dignity of his cardinalate over the claims of Canterbury, and when in turn he acceded to the southern primatial see was to appear even more jealous of the rights of Canterbury over York than Stafford had proved.¹

STAFFORD AND THE PAPACY

Stafford's relations with the papacy were chiefly concerned with the lengthy matter of the crusading tenth and the golden rose. This involved episode has been authoritatively studied by E. F. Jacob, who devotes much of his short article "Archbishop John Stafford" to the question, and this remains the best available brief account of the matter.² Many of the relevant documents have been extracted from the Register and printed by Wilkins;³ though

¹ See above, p. 106.
³ Concilia, iii, 547 - 55.
"unfortunately it is characteristic of David Wilkins that, when he came to print the main letters and documents in these years, he omitted the registrar's (master Robert Groote) connecting and chronologically exact narrative". ¹

Our edition of the Register endeavours to go some way towards correcting this deficiency. ² The fulness of the registration at this point, exemplifying the care Stafford exercised in his relations with the papacy, reflects the good advice of master Vincent Clement, D.D., S.T.P., papal collector in 1450, "a friendly papal domestic prelate" who acted as "an unofficial liaison with Rome" (Jacob), for whose services Stafford expressed gratitude by collating him to the benefice of Adisham in November 1444; ³ it reflects too the archbishop's anxiety lest any delay or refusal to carry out papal mandates might attract the censure or even suspension which Chichele had suffered at the hands of Martin V in 1425 - 27.

¹ Jacob, Stafford, p. 18.
² R.S. 237 - 59.
³ For references, see Jacob, *cit.*., p. 17 n. 4. "This important man" (Jacob) had been Stafford's proctor in Rome in 1440, at which date he was rector of St. Martin-le-Ventrey, London (R.S.B.W., 251). He had also been Humphrey duke of Gloucester's proctor in the Curia, but in 1441 was papal proctor in the English court, at which time Henry VI secured the Oxford D.D. for him (Corr. Bek., i, 223). Clement, now described as papal subdeacon and archdeacon of Tortosa, conveyed to the Pope Stafford's request for the pallium (C.P.L., viii, 258). His collation to Adisham on 23 November 1444 (R.S. 445) required papal dispensation on 8 June 1448 for Clement to hold incompatible benefices (C.P.L., x, 186).
In 1445 the bishop elect of Concordia, Giovanni Battista Legname, was in England seeking contribution to the tenth imposed upon Christendom by Eugenius IV and the council of Basel, with the object of mounting a crusade to liberate the Holy Land from the Turks.¹ On 12 March 1446 the bishop of Bath and Wells, the abbot of Gloucester and Clement, delegated by a convocation of which no record survives, gave Concordia the answer that though there was the fullest intention to co-operate in the deliverance of the Holy Land, the pressing business of making peace between England and France, which if brought to a successful conclusion would cause rejoicing by the Holy See and the whole of Christendom, precluded such support at present, though the King had asked the prelates to bear in mind the cause of God, to promise a gift of 6000 ducats and to proclaim and carry out the indulgences of the crusade. Concordia should note in particular "the fervour and diligence of the very reverend father in God the lord archbishop" in the execution of these matters.² Stafford put the collection to the dioceses, but without canonical sanction; Brouns's register records both the archbishop's letter and his instructions to the clergy of Norwich.³ It may be suspected that English reluctance to contribute was due at least in part to the known inefficiency and dishonesty of curial handling of money donated by the English

1 C.P.L., viii, 305 (1 July 1443).
2 R.S. 237; Concilia, iii, 547.
3 Concilia, iii, 541 - 44.
faithful. On 31 October 1444 the Pope ordered the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Bath and Wells and master Adam Koleyns, apostolic notary, to inquire into the rumours that master Peter da Monte, papal collector in England, who had been appointed to receive the alms of the faithful for the maintenance of union with the Greeks and the defence of Constantinople, had collected a great deal of money by selling indulgences, but very little of which had reached the Curia.¹

Concordia replied to the three prelates expressing gratitude for the gift and the Pope's anxiety not to extract anything against English wishes. This was not quite the Pope's intention; a bull had been issued, but, as the registrar took pains to make clear,² Concordia did not show it - he merely requested a contribution, which Stafford properly put on a voluntary basis to the dioceses. After Concordia had left England, Stafford wrote to the Pope that the time was not ripe because of the French war, but he hoped that another way might be found to content the Pope's mind and give succour against the Turks.³ Eugenius however was determined to persist with the first way, and on 25 September 1446 Concordia's replacement, master Lewis Cardona, S.T.P., papal chamberlain and orator, presented to the archbishop at Croydon two letters from Eugenius IV dated 28 June 1446, one open, the other close.⁴ The former was the bull Concordia had never presented, announcing the

¹ C.P.L., viii, 272.
² R.S. 238. A translation of part of this is given by Jacob, Stafford, p. 19.
³ R.S. 239 (date of letter not given).
⁴ R.S. 240.
tenth on all benefices in Christendom imposed by the Council of Basel and confirmed by the Pope, and instructing the bishop elect of Concordia and the apostolic notary John bishop of Coutances to order Stafford, notwithstanding the English bishops' belief that their clergy were heavily burdened, to exact and collect the tenth within six months from the presentation of these letters. The close letter commended Henry VI's example in giving 6000 gold florins, and urged Stafford to be well disposed towards paying, and to exhort the prelates and clergy likewise.

On 1 October 1446 Henry VI ordered Stafford to detain "the holy father's ambassador" until the King returned to London. Stafford charged Clement with the delicate task of communicating this order to Cardona, who was not pleased by the affront to the Pope's honour caused by the delay in executing his command. He was further displeased that no clear decision was taken at an informal meeting at which Stafford, Moleyns, Clement and Cardona were present, which began over dinner at Lambeth on 21 October, and continued at the bishop of Chichester's house the following day. Cardona complained to Clement that they should find a means of collecting the subsidy according to the Pope's intention; he resented the fact that Chichester had not invited those inclined to the

1 R.S. 241; Concilia, iii, 547 - 48.
2 R.S. 242; Concilia, iii, 548 - 49; C.P.L., viii, 305.
3 R.S. 243; Concilia, iii, 549.
4 R.S. 244.
proposal; he wanted the matter discussed properly by Convocation; he denied that any clause in the bulls was repugnant or false; and he could not appreciate that Stafford could not act precipitately on a matter which so acutely touched the King and the kingdom.¹

Eventually the King returned to London. On 31 October 1446 Cardona addressed the King and Council on the matter of the tenth.² A further interview with the King took place on 11 November. At this Stafford gave an address, and Cardona presented the King with a papal letter of 24 June and a golden rose, a mystic and symbolic gift (whose significance is not readily apparent) to sovereigns whom Eugenius had approached for the crusading tenth.³ Despite Henry's own willingness to support the crusade, no royal licence to collect was forthcoming. On 30 November Council instructed Stafford as Chancellor to reply to Cardona, but as archbishop to have nothing to do with the tenth.⁴ On 5 December Henry wrote to Eugenius to thank him for the gift of the rose, and undertook to send messengers to explain why he had instructed the archbishop to do nothing in the matter of the collection of the tenth.⁵ The following day, as a last throw, Cardona told Stafford that it had been the Pope's "most firm hope" that he would collect the tenth in his diocese

1 R.S. 246 - 47.
2 R.S. 238.
3 R.S. 248; Concilia, iii, 549b - 50a, 551.
4 R.S. 249; Concilia, iii, 550a - b.
5 R.S. 250; Concilia, iii, 550b.
as an example to others. Stafford was stoutly defended by Clement, who interrupted Cardona to remind him of Stafford's most constant obedience and faultless fidelity to the Holy See in these evil times, and to warn of the discord which might arise between Pope and King if this matter were pressed.¹

On 8 December 1446 the King's letter to the Pope was dispatched via the papal messenger, and a second copy sent by the hand of Stafford's own messenger, master Thomas Hop, LL.B., a German.²

On 6 December three letters had been sent to William Grey, the King's proctor in the Curia. Two letters were from the King, under privy seal and signet, and instructed Grey to assist Hop in Rome. The third, from the archbishop, requested Grey to present to the Pope his letter setting out his excuse for the non-collection of the tenth.³ Hop had been sent off with elaborate instructions, to enter the Pope's presence with Grey and "all other venerable English" at the Curia, to commend to the Pope his "humble creature the lord Canterbury", and to present the letters he bore. After the Pope had read them, Grey was to express the King's assurance that the "humble creature" had taken what action he could, and that royal messengers would shortly appear to explain the whole matter from the beginning. If before the arrival of the royal messengers Grey learned that the Pope had heard adverse criticism of Stafford, he

¹ R.S. 251.
² R.S. 252. ('Theotonicus')
³ R.S. 253 - 57; Concilia, iii, 552.
was to remind the Pope that Stafford was the Pope's most faithful and obedient servant, and those who said otherwise were malicious scandalmongers seeking to rupture the Pope's regard for the kingdom of England.¹

The Register's account of the matter concludes by insisting that the archbishop, solicitous for his flock, has worked for the relief of the hapless English church and to avert calamity for the wretched clergy of England, and to conserve obedience and faith to the Pope, which the wretched conduct of the scandalmongers has much diminished; and to this end he has sent "certain remunerations" to those working in the Curia.² Jacob concludes that such subservience was necessary, in view of the mistrust of Canterbury, never a filius dilectus, at Rome. "Stafford was not a hero, but a diplomat seeking relief for his clergy heavily burdened by taxation for secular ends", and this contributed to Stafford's reputation for ability, justice and mercy, which may have saved him from the fate of some of his episcopal colleagues in 1450.³ What the whole episode really demonstrates in sharp detail is the delicate balance of England's relations with the papacy in the later Middle Ages, the faithful child of the papacy which never performed what the papacy required; and how such an incredible balance was carefully

¹ R.S. 258.
² Ibid. Much of the substance of this is translated by Jacob, Stafford, pp. 21 - 22.
³ Jacob, art. cit., p. 22.
maintained by the able and delicate administration of skilled archbishops like Stafford who had opposing yet reconcilable loyalties both to the realm of England and to the universal Church.
VII THE CAREER OF JOHN KEMP TO 1452

Birth, Education and Career to 1419

John Kemp was born at Olantigh, one mile north-west of Wye in Kent, probably in 1380.¹ Nigota corrects the assertion that the manor had been in Kemp hands since the time of Ranulphus de Campis (c. 1283);² it was possibly obtained from the Valentine family in 1379, but was not clearly in the hands of the Kemps until 1430, as a lordship of the archbishopric of York.³ John's father Thomas was a wealthy and influential escheator for Kent and Middlesex; he was never a knight, nor even styled esquire, but avoidance of knightly rank was a common practice in Kent.⁴ John may have been the only son; with the sole exception of his nephew Thomas, his immediate relatives are impossible to trace by will or inquisition post mortem.⁵

Nigota finds no difficulty in accepting that Kemp was educated at the Archbishop's school in Canterbury (the future King's School); apart from the nearness of Wye to Canterbury, the only evidence for

1 Wye College was founded in 1447. In the preface to the Statutes, Kemp states that he is in his 67th year.
3 Nigota, Kempe, p. 15; C.C.R. (1430), 52.
5 Nigota, op. cit., pp. 16 - 17.
this is given by Henry VI's recommendation of Kemp to the chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, on 4 June 1452, on the grounds of "in his tender age in great part being brought up amongst you".1 By the summer of 1396 he was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, which was normally open only to bachelors of arts who had gained the age of 19. Unless Kemp had secured a dispensation, he must have been older than 67 in 1447, or the preamble to the statutes of Wye must have been written before that date. He was bursar of Merton in 1402 - 03, and the last reference to the college occurs in 1407 when he was ordained priest. He was M.A. in April 1403, and D.C.L. by January 14172 - a distinction he shared with 30 of the 79 fifteenth century bishops.3

Kemp was ordained acolyte on 31 March 1403, subdeacon on 14 April in the same year, deacon on 18 September 1406, and priest, at All Saints, Maidstone, on 21 May 1407.4 For a rising clerk, he boasted an unusually small list of early benefices: the rectory of Slatton, Bucks., and that of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, in 1407, which he exchanged for Aldington in 1408 - both these benefices were in the archbishop's collation. He did not, pace Emden, hold Southwick in Sussex; this would have required papal dispensation, and was probably the possession of another John Kemp.5

1 Nigota, op. cit., p. 23; English Historical Documents, iv, 806; ed. J. B. Sheppard, Christ Church Letters, 17.
2 A. B. Emden, A Biographical Register of Members of the University of Oxford (N.B. references to Merton College records); Nigota, op. cit., pp. 24 - 27.
4 R. Arundel, i, ff. 330v, 339v, 340v.
5 Nigota, op. cit., pp. 33 - 34.
From 1407 to 1412 Kemp was active in the courts of Canterbury, and on 30 January was commissioned as examiner-general. In this capacity he served as an assessor at the trial of Sir John Oldcastle. By July 1414 he was dean of Arches, though it is 'curious' (Jacob) that no commission is recorded in Chichele's register; Nigota's explanation is that Kemp's commission was given in Arundel's last days, and not registered. He first appears as dean on 26 July 1414 in the first of a string of commissions, often in company with master John Eatcourt, examiner-general, to hear suits in matters of tithe, burial fees, marriage discipline (divorce, bigamy, adultery, restitution of conjugal rights), testamentary jurisdiction, presentation to benefices, contract, claims for damages, and so on. The relevant section of Chichele's register records seven such commissions to Kemp in the remaining months of 1414, nine in 1415, two in 1416 and four in 1417; several of these cases had been left unfinished by master Henry Ware, Chichele's examiner-general, or by Philip Morgan, his auditor of causes. The impression of case overload is particularly strong in the case of tithe suits: the rector of Street's claim for non-payment against the abbot of Glastonbury came before Kemp, since Ware and Eatcourt, to whom it had originally been sent, were too busy

1 R. Arundel, ii, f. 141; Churchill, Cant. Admin., ii, 193 - 94.
2 R.Ch., i, lxvi n.
3 Nigota, Kempe, p. 39.
4 R.Ch., iv, 10; 11, 12, 24, 25, 42, 48 (tithe); 22 (burial fees); 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27 (matrimonial discipline); 20, 28, 53 (testamentary jurisdiction); 37 (presentation); 52 (contract); 22 (damages).
5 I.e. iv 10, 11, 19, 20, 23, 37.
to deal with it, while master Walter Cook's claim against the
abbot of Ramsey came first to Kemp, who passed it to war and
Estcourt, who because of pressure of work sent it back to Kemp.¹
Kemp was also active at the court of Admiralty, where with
William Hankeford and Richard Whitynghon he heard a complaint
by a burgess of Bruges relating to 75 tuns of Bordeaux wine which
Henry V had siezed, brought to Southampton, and spent on his voyage
to France.² No record exists of Kemp's retirement from the deanery
of Arches; Bekynton is noted in that capacity in December 1427, and
had perhaps acted as such as early as 1422.³

Kemp was not a member of the council of the prior of Christ
Church, as Eden imagined on the strength of Molassh's register,
since no such body is known to have existed.⁴ He seems to have acted
however as proctor of the convent in an arbitration dispute over
the convent's attempt to visit during vacancy in see. Christ
Church's Librario Generalis of 1416 expressed gratitude to Kemp,
as it did also to Morgan, Brouns and Stafford, but Kemp was not

¹ R.Ch., iv, 42, 48. (On 6 February 1415, Kemp and Estcourt were
commissioned to hear the unfinished suit for damages between
Thomas Swynford and John Southam, rival claimants for the priory
of Totnes (ibid., 22). Nigota (p. 47) supposes that this dispute
"was not settled until Stafford's time", on the strength of a
curious footnote by Jacob (R.Ch., iv, 22), referring to "Reg.
Stafford, ii, f. 254v & ff. 349 - 49v" - but no such folios
exist in Stafford's register.)

² C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 85 (13 March 1417).

³ R.Ch., i, 249. Nigota gives July 1422 (op. cit., p. 50). Bekynton
appears in Convocation records at the trial of William Taylour
as 'dean of the court of Canterbury' on 11 February 1423 (R.Ch.
iii, 162), and as dean of Arches on 12 December 1427 (ibid., i,
249) Jacob regards Bekynton as dean from 1433 (ibid., i, p.
Ixxxviii). There is reference to Kemp as dean in 1428, though
Jacob supposes that by then most of his work was done by commiss-
ary (ibid.).

⁴ Nigota, op. cit., p. 40. (Per contra, it could be argued that Kemp's
membership is the only surviving evidence that such a council did
exist.)
welcomed into the Fraternity of Christ Church until November 1447.¹

On 27 March 1416 Kemp was presented to the rectory of Hawkhurst by Battle Abbey.² On 2 October Chichele invested him at Calais per biretti tradicionem to the canonry and prebend of the archbishop's college of Wingham which had been made vacant by the death of Robert London.³ On 13 October 1417 he was collated to the archdeaconry of Durham.⁴ At that time he was acting as commissary general of the archbishop's jurisdiction overseas, a post to which he had been appointed on 20 July 1417. His responsibilities, to prove wills, to hear confessions, to appoint confessors, to give absolution even in cases reserved to the archbishop, to institute to livings and to order inductions, appear to have applied only to the territories being newly acquired south and west of the Seine, rather than to the established possessions of Calais and Harfleur, in which the rector of St. Mary, Calais, was commissary; and to have lapsed at the time of the treaty of Troyes, when Chichele temporarily dispensed with chaplains in France.⁵ In these circumstances a papal licence of 10 January 1418 allowed him to visit his archdeaconry by deputy.⁶ In granting this licence

¹ R.S.C., ff. 172v - 73.
² R.Ch., i, 144.
³ Ibid., 149.
⁴ R. Langley (Durham), ii, 155.
⁵ R.Ch., i, p. clxiii, iv, 55 - 56. See also Kemp's licence to hear the confessions of men serving in France, ibid., iv, 184 (6 November 1417).
⁶ C.P.L., vii, 49.
however, the Curia was struck by the fact that for more than a
month Kemp had held two benefices with cure of souls, which was
forbidden by the bull *Execrabilis*, and ordered him to resign both,
to be recollated to the archdeaconry.¹ Langley compensated his loss
of Hawkhurst by collation to a prebend of the collegiate church of
horton, in the diocese of Durham, on 4 April 1418.²

**Kemp's Bishoprics and Secular Offices, 1419 – 25**

Kemp became bishop of Rochester in succession to Richard Young
in 1419. His election by the prior and convent of Rochester was
suppressed, like that of Ware to Chichester, by Martin V, who in
the aftermath of the Schism was seeking to reconstruct the authority
of the papacy in ways which included the re-establishment of papal
provision. The elections were accordingly quashed on the grounds
of ignorance on the part of the electing bodies that the Pope had
specially reserved to himself the sees concerned during the life-
times of their previous bishops. Martin therefore provided Kemp to
Rochester by the bull *Ad cumulum* on 21 June 1419.³ Kemp made his
profession of obedience by proxy in the person of John Bernyngham,
following which master John Martin was ordered to release the
spiritualities of the see to Kemp. The temporalities of Rochester,

1 C.P.C., vii, 80 (26 February 1418).
2 *R. Langley,* ii, 159.
3 *R.Ch.* i, p. xci, 57 – 58.
which pertained to the archbishop, had been committed into the
care of Kemp, Bernyngham, Scot and Duffeld on 27 July 1419.¹
On 9 September another keeper, Robert Watton, was ordered to
release the temporalities to Kemp, who, as a special favour
because he was on the King's business in parts of Normandy across
the sea, was allowed to defer his oath of fidelity. Kemp was
consecrated at Rouen, in company with Philip Morgan, on 3
December 1419.²

No register survives of any of Kemp's three episcopates.
The Rochester register would have had little to record: the
bishop was in remotis.³ His vicar-general in spirituals, master
John Marcham, Decr.D., certified exchanges of benefices, and
confirmed the election of Isabel Wade as prioress of Hegham
on 6 March 1420, following royal assent to her election, on
the authority of which the escheator in Kent was ordered to
release her temporalities.⁴ A month after Kemp's translation
to Chichester, Chichele commissioned John, bishop of Dromore,
as suffragan of Rochester.⁵

¹ R.Ch., i, 59.
² Ibid., i, p. xliii n. Chichele complained to the Pope about
the licence he gave to certain English bishops to be con-
secrated outside Canterbury, in ignorance or defiance of
the rights of Christ Church. Jacob believes that he had in
mind Polton and Fleming, whose profession of obedience had
not been made, and who were consecrated at Florence, rather
than Kemp, whose absence abroad was in the King's service.
³ Ibid., i, 177, 182, 199.
⁴ C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 261.
⁵ R.Ch., iv, 81.
Kemp was translated to Chichester by bull of provision dated 28 February 1421. Chichele received this on 19 September, and granted Kemp, who was now chancellor of Normandy, the spirituals of the see upon profession of obedience made by his proctor.¹ On 17 October 1420, following the death of the previous bishop, Henry Ware, the King had committed the temporalities to the keeping of William Scot and William Duffeld (who had acted in a similar capacity in the case of Rochester) and two others, who on 3 March 1421 were ordered to grant John, bishop of Rochester, 650 marks per annum from the revenues of the see with effect from the previous Christmas.² The temporalities were fully restored, Kemp having renounced all words in the bull prejudicial to the King and having made fealty to the King, on 21 August 1421.³

Kemp's third bull of provision, to London, was issued on 18 November 1421, and presented by his proctor, David Pryce, to the archbishop on 20 May 1422.⁴ Temporalities were restored on 20 June by royal mandate to Robert Chichele, mayor of London and escheator.⁵ In no case did episcopal promotion necessitate a

1 R.Ch., i, 76 - 77.
2 C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 317. A. H. Thompson (The English Clergy, p. 30) dramatically interprets this example of putting candidates in possession of their sees as quickly as possible as evidence of the insecurity of Henry V's throne. More likely, it was a personal favour granted to the chancellor of Normandy.
3 C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 396.
4 R.Ch., i, 78.
5 C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 439.
journey to Rome for Kemp. The archbishop of Canterbury and the
bishop of Winchester were instructed by the Pope on 13 March 1421
to receive Kemp's oath of fealty as bishop of Chichester, and on
27 March 1422 his oath as bishop of London, to save him the
labour and expense of travel to the Curia.  

By contrast with his previous two sees, in London Kemp can
actually be seen to be performing the functions of a diocesan
bishop. He was present in Convocation on 1 and 20 February 1423
at the hearing against William Taylour; on 2 March 1425 when
John Wathe, forger of apostolic letters, was condemned to walk
a specified route through London, Lincoln and Grimsby, wearing
a paper cap bearing the legend falsifarius; and on 23 April and
24 May 1425 when the heresy of William Russell was being considered.  

On 17 July 1423, as dean of the province, he had to transmit the
archbishop's mandate to the dioceses for collection by the arch-
deacons of 3d. in the pound on all assessed benefices which paid
the tenth, and 8d. in the pound on unassessed benefices of £10
and over, which Convocation had authorized for the support of the
debate to the council of Pavia-Siena.  He provided a number of
certificates authorizing exchange of benefices in the diocese of
London, but on 22 September and 4 October 1425 David Pryce, canon
of St. Paul's and vicar-general in spirituals, did this since the
bishop was once again in remotia.  He blocked a papal provisor's

1 C.P.L., vii, 172, 217.
2 R.O.H., iii, 100 - 01, 102, 123, 157 - 61.
3 Ibid., 86 - 88.
4 Ibid., 471 - 72.
possession of an incumbency in London, to the sorrow and anger of Martin V. He began the restoration of Fulham palace, which was completed by his nephew - Kemp spent much time during his early months as archbishop of Canterbury at Fulham.

Kemp was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, "the natural course" for one of Chichele's administrators (Jacob) in October 1418. He held office until 25 February 1421, when Stafford was appointed, though his last warrants are dated 25 and 26 January 1421. He became Chancellor of Normandy on 17 January 1421, and held that office until the death of Henry V, when the government of the duchy was officially disbanded on Bedford's succession as regent. He was employed on several diplomatic missions, including treating with Yolande, Queen of Sicily, for a truce with Anjou and Maine in 1418, and treating for peace with France in 1419. On 5 May 1423 he was sent to France to convey the Council's thanks to the regent, Bedford, and to attend the Council of France, at a salary of £400 for

1 Letter Book of William Swan, B.L. Cotton Cleopatra C IV, part ii, ff. 156 - 57v.
3 R.Ch., i, p. lxxxvii.
5 Nigota, Kempe, p. 93.
6 C.P.R. (1416 - 22), 396; R.Ch., i, 77.
7 Foedera, ix, 649, 796.
half a year. In February 1424 he was sent to Scotland to negotiate the release of James IV; the three commissioners, Kemp, Langley and Alnwick, delivered documents pertaining to James's release into the hands of the Treasurer, Stafford, on 15 May.

The impasse in episcopal appointments which was consequent upon the death of Henry Bowet, archbishop of York, on 20 October 1423, has frequently been described. Council's intention that Philip Morgan should have York and that Stafford should replace Morgan at Worcester - Lorgan was elected and Council's consent given on 25 January 1424 - was frustrated by Martin V's provision of Flemyng of Lincoln to York on 14 February 1424, in accord with his bid to recreate papal monarchy after the Schism, which in English terms meant to dismantle the Statute of Provisors; Flemyng had served the papal cause well at the council of Siena, and was more likely to be sympathetic to the Pope's campaign against Provisors than a Council nominee. This was unacceptable to the Council, who threatened proceedings.

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 70 - 72.
2 Ibid., 137 - 39; Nigota, Kempe, p. 115.
4 C.P.R. (1422 - 29), 169.
under Praemunire, under threat of which Flemyng was translated back to Lincoln. But the delay had altered the situation. On 2 November 1424 Council wrote to Martin to remind him of their request for Morgan and Stafford, but were now prepared, since Nicholas Bubwith had died, to accept Bath and Wells for Stafford. Stafford complained bitterly to Swan against Swan's alleged intrigue against him, probably unfairly. The more experienced Kemp's dealings with Swan proved much more profitable.

In February 1424, Kemp had informed Swan that he was interested in only five bishoprics - unspecified, but presumed to mean Canterbury, York, Durham, Winchester and Ely - and the agent was busy securing the support of important cardinals and distributing the largesse which Kemp was forwarding to him. Only powerful patronage could make this possible without incurring penalty under the Statute of Provisors; Kemp had this, first in Henry V, now in the regent Bedford, on whose council he had served and whose favour he had sought in the latter months of 1423. Bedford clearly was the one whose support enabled Kemp to triumph over Morgan, as he had over Polton in 1421. Kemp's letter to Swan of 26 September 1425 shows that he was with Bedford in France when Swan's news of his promotion arrived; in his next letter to

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 209.
2 B.L. Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 174 - 75v.
3 Ibid., ff. 152 - 53v.
4 Ibid., ff. 156 - 57v; R. G. Davies, art. cit.
5 Jacob, R.C.H., i, p. xciii.
Swan, on 20 October, he told Swan that he had heard of his translation through Bedford before he had received Swan's letter.¹

Martin had translated Kemp to York by 20 July 1425, the day on which he translated Flemyng back to Lincoln.² His favour for Bedford appears to have been a quid pro quo for certain concessions granted by the duke to the Pope in relation to the English possessions in France.³ At this critical juncture conciliar government in England had become paralysed by the conflict between Gloucester, recently returned from his expedition to Hainault, and Beaufort over control of the infant King, which came to a head on 29 October 1425 when armed retainers of the two magnates confronted each other from either side of London bridge.⁴ Chichele's mediation prevented fighting, but in desperation the Chancellor sent for Bedford. He landed in England on 20 December, whereupon, under the terms of the regency settlement of 1422, Gloucester's commission as protector and chief councillor lapsed.

Bedford therefore headed the Council when on 14 January 1426 it turned to the long delayed disposition of no less than eight

¹B.L., Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 164v - 65, 158 - 58v.
²R.Ch., i, p. xciii, 89 - 90. (No bull of translation has been found, but the Pope speaks of Kemp as archbishop of York as early as 12 July - R.Ch., iv, 275n., Cf. C.P.L., vii, 387, 389, 392.)
³Outlined in Valois, La Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges, pp. xxvii f. (Jacob).
bishoprics, of which the most significant was the translation of Kemp to York (Morgan, for whom York had been intended, eventually went to Ely). "Ironically, Stafford appeared in Council for the first time on this day as Bathon". That Bedford's was pre-eminently the authority behind these arrangements is evident from the nomination of his confessor, John Rickinghall, to Chichester, and is clearly stated by Kemp in his letter to Swan of 20 January 1426. Kemp was elected archbishop of York on 8 April 1426, and his temporalities were restored on 22 April. He paid 12,283 florins in services to the Pope.

Too much may have been made of the supposed political allegiances betrayed by episcopal appointments in these years. Kemp, later Beaufort's close collaborator, rose now as Beaufort fell. He was never Gloucester's man, and Bedford's reputation was that of one above politics. What qualified Kemp was his career as an ecclesiastical lawyer and civil servant, as were Stafford, Morgan and Polton, for the race to succeed Bowet, another of their kind. Kemp, aged at least 45, the holder of three bishoprics including London, former Keeper of the Privy Seal and Chancellor of Normandy, had as good a claim to York as any. All this class intrigued and

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 180.
2 B.L., Cotton Cleopatra C IV, ff. 167 - 67v.
3 R.Ch., i, 337n.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 192; C.P.R. (1422 - 29), 331.
sought patrons. Kemp has left more evidence of doing this than most, and by foresight or good fortune had Bedford's favour precisely when it most mattered. But what can be concluded from evidence of the intrigues of leading churchmen is "a matter of opinion".1

Kemp's First Chancellorship, 1426 – 32

The second major consequence for Kemp of Bedford's return to England was his promotion to the office of Chancellor. Bedford's settlement of conciliar quarrels included the resignation of Beaufort as Chancellor (and Stafford as Treasurer) on 13 March 1426, and Beaufort's diplomatic departure abroad on pilgrimage.2 On 18 March Stafford, on Beaufort's behalf, delivered the great seal to Bedford, who entrusted it to Kemp (still described as bishop of London).3 The first Council minute noting Kemp as Chancellor is dated 10 May 1426.4 Kemp's salary as Chancellor was fixed at £200 per annum, paltry compared with the 8,000 marks per annum awarded to the Protector and chief Councillor, or even the 3,000 marks voted to his displaced brother for his services.5

1 R. G. Davies, Art. cit.
2 Rot. Parl., iv, 299a; P.O.P.C., iii, 195 (Beaufort's petition for pilgrimage, 14 May 1426).
3 Rot. Parl., iv, 299a.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 192.
5 Ibid., 196, 209, 212.
On 24 November 1426 Council issued a list of members (2 archbishops, 6 bishops, 4 dukes, 5 earls and 5 barons) and its ordinances for the rule and good governance of the Council. In the wake of Gloucester's continued ambition, Council interviewed both royal dukes in January 1427. Kemp and Stafford were both among the lords delegated for this purpose. Bedford, interviewed in Star Chamber on 28 January, gave exemplary answers acknowledging the supremacy of Council, but Gloucester on the following day, interviewed at his inn because of his sickness, "would answer to no person alive (touching what he had done) save only the King when he come of age", and at his brother's return to France would govern as seemed good to him. On 3 March 1428 Kemp with other lords reminded Gloucester firmly, in reply to his request to be told what his powers as Protector were, that there was no advance on the settlement Council had made of this matter in 1422. He was Protector and Defender, not Tutor, Lieutenant, Governor or Regent, and chief Councillor in Bedford's absence, and summoned to Parliament as duke of Gloucester, like any other lord.

Nevertheless the sums paid to Gloucester suggested special favour. He quickly received the 3000 marks payable to him for his attendance in Council; on 9 July 1427 he received a further 9000

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 213.
2 Ibid., 241.
3 Rot. Parl., iv, 327b.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 227 (10 December 1426).
marks, from Duchy of Lancaster customs, to pay his men at arms in Holland, provided he undertook no further conquest of Holland without Parliament's consent; and he was granted custody of the lands of Richard duke of York during his minority. In consequence of the decision concerning the King's double coronation, Gloucester was to receive 2000 marks as chief Councillor from the date of the King's coronation in England to the date of his embarkation for France, and 4000 marks as long as he should be in France and Gloucester should be Lieutenant of England, which came into force on 21 April 1430. Gloucester also gained considerable prestige from his suppression of the Lollard rising of 1431, and his apprehension of its leader, Jack Sharp. As a reward Council granted him still more remuneration: 6000 marks while Lieutenant, and 5000 marks after the King's return.

At the same time Gloucester was launching his attack on Beaufort's holding of both his cardinalate and his English bishopric. Postponement of action against the cardinal until his return was urged by the lone voice ofarmeduke Lumley, bishop of Carlisle (whom Kemp had consecrated at Canterbury the year before), but Kemp, Hungerford the Treasurer and other

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 271.
2 Ibid., 313.
3 P.B.P.C., iv, 12 (23 December 1429); 40 - 44 (granting Gloucester authority to hold parliaments and councils, grant licence for and assent to episcopal elections, receive bishops' fealty and restore temporalities).
4 Ibid., 105. (29 November 1431).
lords joined Lumley in opposing the increase in Gloucester's salary. Kemp's replacement as Chancellor at the height of Gloucester's ascendancy is hence to be expected; Stafford is found in that office by Larch 1432, and Gloucester continued to identify Kemp with his enemy Beaufort.

Kemp failed to open Parliament in January 1431, when Lyndwood acted in his place, due to illness (which led the Dictionary of National Biography to believe that this was the reason for his replacement as Chancellor in 1432). When he opened Parliament in 1427, he spoke of peace deriving from the royal providence, based on II Maccabees 4:6, and moralised on the mutual duties of rulers and subjects — rulers were to protect their subjects, conserve peace and administer justice, subjects to submit to the ruler and to obey his laws. In 1429 he pointed to the troubles in Hussite Bohemia as a warning to England. Council agreed on 18 June 1429 that the cardinal legate Beaufort might engage 250 lances and 2000 archers (he had asked for 500 and 5000) to proceed against the 'hereticus of Beeme' for the defence of the Christian faith. By 4 July however, these forces, grown by 500 archers, were diverted to France to serve for six months under the duke of Bedford. Three months before this, a great

1 P.O.P.C., iv, 100 & 103 (6 & 28 November 1431).
2 Poedera, x, 353; Rot. Parl., iv, 299; C.C.R., 181.
3 Rot. Parl., iv, 316.
4 P.O.P.C., iii, 330, 339.
Council at Westminster had heard the Chancellor convey Bedford's request for more troops to maintain the siege of Orleans, and his wish that the King should be crowned in France. By the diversion of the Bohemia-bound troops, in which Kemp is likely to have played a considerable part, Bedford's wants continued to be supplied, and Beaufort, the low point of whose favour was reached when that same great Council questioned his right to remain both cardinal and bishop, and the King warned him to stay away from the St. George's day celebrations at Windsor, was able to begin his rehabilitation. It was a happy arrangement by which all needs were met - save perhaps those of the Catholic faith.

Archbishop of York, 1425 - 52

Among the complex of reasons for Kemp's departure from the Chancery, some credence might be given to the reason stated in the preamble to the licence he obtained to found Wye College on 27 February 1432, two days after his resignation, which reflects his determination to leave government, having become too much the politician, too little the prelate. Ten years wielding the privy and great seals had "left him no leisure for his cure of

1 P.O.P.C., iii, 322 (15 April 1429).
2 Ibid., 323 (17 - 18 April 1429), 344 (reward to Beaufort for proceeding to the aid of Bedford).
souls and the due performance of prayer", a defect to be redeemed by the aid of priests.¹

This is perhaps little more than the common form typically employed by political bishops when establishing collegiate foundations with the object of putting back some of that ecclesiastical wealth acquired through secular considerations by providing priests to offer to God the work of prayer and sacrament which the bishop's worldly responsibilities left him no time to perform himself. It would be a hard judge who would view this with total cynicism, a wise one who could separate the sincere promptings of a stricken conscience from the self-regarding anxiety for the destiny of the eternal soul natural in an age of such advanced eschatological preoccupation, and a blind one who would fail to note the very conscientious personal oversight of their dioceses exercised by bishops such as Langley or Lacy in their later years when secular duties were done, constant travelling was no longer possible, and the years of concern for worldly matters and delegation of their dioceses to subordinates was redeemed before judgment by a period of active pastoral care. In the case of Kemp, exoneration from the chancellorship seems to have made little difference in the proportion of his time which he allocated to the diocese of York, and he remained as active in the affairs of the realm as previously. On the other hand, the proportion of his time which he devoted to York was by no means as niggardly as has often been claimed — Kemp has been less than fairly treated in this matter.

¹ C.P.R. (1429 - 36), 189 - 90, 218.
A. R. Myers speaks of Kemp's career of "almost permanent absenteeism". The slander derives from Gascoigne, who accused Kemp of visiting his diocese for only two to three weeks at a time at intervals of ten to twelve years. A fairer picture has been given by R. L. Storey in his study of Langley, and by J. Nigota, who has drawn up Kemp's itinerary. Storey has no love for Langley's second metropolitan, "a less pleasant character" than his predecessor Bowet, whose ascent of the episcopal ladder was "indecently fast". But Gascoigne's allegation is "grossly untrue." Chancery rolls show that Kemp spent a month of each of his first five summers as archbishop in York, while he was still Chancellor. With the exceptions of 1431, 1435 and 1439, he maintained this practice until 1447. In years following a year in which he had made no visit, he stayed a longer time. In the 1440s the lengths of his visits became greater, and he was resident for much of the period August 1443 to January 1445. He made no visit however between 1447 and 1452.

Kemp was absent from his first Convocation, which began on 12 August 1426, only shortly after he had become archbishop, over which Langley, the bishop of Carlisle and the abbot of St. Mary's,  

1 A. R. Myers, England in the Late Middle Ages, p. 155.  
2 Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritatum, pp. 36 - 37.  
4 Nigota, Kempe, pp. 320 - 22.
York, presided. He was in York throughout the Convocation of 1428, present at that of 1429, and presided over those of 1432 and 1436. The 1426 Convocation made no grant, but that of 1428, ostensibly called to discuss the Bohemian heresy, voted a half tenth; that of February 1430 a whole tenth; that of 1432, called to arrange Convocation's representation at Basel, a quarter tenth; and that of 11 June 1434, at which the archbishop spent several days answering protests with exhortations, a half tenth for defence of the marches, and a second half tenth if no array were made within a year.\(^1\) Between 1436 and 1452 York Convocation yielded four tenths, as against Canterbury's seven;\(^2\) the Convocation of 1445 was in fact Kemp's last, since no meeting was held thereafter until the spring of 1452, and that was pro-rogued until the autumn in view of the archbishop's impending translation.\(^3\)

Kemp's record in the matter of visitation is less impressive. Much has been made of the desultory visitation of the archdeaconry of Richmond in 1428. This vast archdeaconry, which stretched as far as north Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland in seven huge deaneries, had received no archiepiscopal visit since that of

\(^1\) Storey, op. cit., pp. 209 - 14 (note references there given).
\(^2\) C.F.R. (1437 -45), 12 - 14, 135 - 37, 244 - 46, 310 - 12; (1445 - 52), 61 - 64, 139 - 42, 163 - 67; Magota, op. cit., p. 470.
\(^3\) Magota, op. cit., p. 474.
Kemp issued mandate of visitation on 22 June 1428, began the visitation on 24 August, and abandoned it two days later when he was met at Wensley by the archdeacon (Bowet's nephew), the abbots of Jervaulx and Coverham and some of the local incumbents, who pleaded the poverty of the archdeaconry and offered a composition fee. This episode has been the occasion of acid statements like "Kemp returned to York and began his career of practically permanent absenteeism".

Visitation of the vacant see of Durham was carried out by commissary in 1437-39. In 1440 Kemp visited the cathedral church and city of York in person, but on 9 November obtained papal licence to visit the rest of the diocese by deputy as long as he was engaged on arduous business of the realm, or (a far less likely possibility) was in the apostolic see by papal command. This visitation was duly completed in 1441-42.

Thompson comments that a primary visitation begun three years

3 A. H. Thompson, The English Clergy, p. 43.
5 Ibid., 238 - 44. 6 C.P.L., ix, 148.
7 Surtees Soc., Miscellanea II, 244 - 80.
after enthronement, deferred for twelve years and completed by commissaries "does not imply exemplary vigilance". ¹

Ordinations reveal a similar picture. 154 ordinations were held in the diocese of York between 1426 and 1452. 23 of these were administered on the archbishop's authority, and 132 in his absence on the authority of the vicar-general. Kemp performed only eight ordinations in person, in September 1428, at Easter 1432, 1438 and 1440, and in September 1440, in York Minster; in September 1441 at Bishopthorpe; and in September and December 1444 at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire. Nicholas, bishop of Dromore presided at 103 ordinations until 1445; John, bishop of Philippopolis, at 43 between 1445 and 1452. ²

Gascoigne attributes to Kemp's alleged absence from York for all but six weeks in twenty-six years ruin of the archbishop's palace and the fact that when he moved to Canterbury, "reliquit ecclesiam suam Eboracensem in magna perturbatione sine remedio." ³ Attacks on his lordship were a pressing problem. In 1441 conflict between the tenants and servants of the archbishop at Ripon and the king's tenants of the forest of Knaresborough over the rights of toll at fairs induced Kemp to bring down between 200 and 300

¹ Thompson, op. cit., p. 178.
² Ibid., pp. 202 - 03.
³ Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritatum, pp. 36 - 37.
mercenaries from the Scottish border and to keep "his town of Ripon like a town of war".\(^1\) In 1443 attacks on Kemp's servants and his palace at Southwell were instigated by the earl of Northumberland, whom Council ordered to pay damages.\(^2\) A royal order to the sheriffs of York and the three ridings forbade any further 'threatenings or mischief' to the cardinal archbishop, his servants or tenants, like those perpetrated by "children of iniquity, breakers of the peace and enemies of God and man" who had spread malicious tales about the archbishop, destroyed his mill and park at Ripon and his enclosures and houses there and at Bishopthorpe, and had maimed his men, many of whom were not likely to recover.\(^3\) Some were arrested and imprisoned for these offences. William Normanville, knight, was summoned before Council on 11 May 1443 to answer what should be laid against him on Kemp's behalf.\(^4\) William Wyghall, yeom an, of Nottingham, was detained in Newgate for offences against the cathedral church of St. Peter and John its archbishop, and pardoned in February 1452.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Plumpton Correspondence, Camden Society, liv - lxii.
\(^2\) P.O.P.C., v, 273 - 76, 309.
\(^3\) C.C.R. (1441 - 47), 143 (12 May 1443); Foedera, xi, 27.
\(^4\) C.C.R. (1441 - 47), 98, 145.
\(^5\) C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 524.
Cardinal of the Roman Church

On 3 December 1426 Kemp collated Thomas Swan, William Swan's nephew, to a prebend of Beverley, in gratitude for Swan's negotiations on his behalf in the Curia. In the same month Martin V solicited the aid of both archbishops to dispose of the Statute of Provisors. Kemp supported Chichele, whom Martin had deposed from his legation in bringing the matter before Parliament on 30 January 1428. He reported the inevitable outcome to the bishop of Dax: all the lords showed the utmost goodwill to the Holy See, but the 'credulity' of the lay lords presented an insuperable obstacle.

In June 1432 Eugenius IV wrote to Kemp to exhort his attendance at the Curia, something which was required of all Catholic bishops every two or three years. The Pope particularly wished to consult him on the matter of reform of the Church at the coming Council of Bologna. He regarded it as reasonable that one who had spent so much of his life about the affairs of kings and princes should devote to the service of the Church some part of the life God had reserved to him. He also pointed out the value to the King of England of having in Kemp a faithful advocate in the Curia. But Kemp never went to Rome.

1 Nicota, Kempe, p. 382; R. Kemp (York), f. 5v.
2 R.Ch., i, p. xlvi; B.L. Cotton Cleopatra C IV, f. 164v.
3 C.P.L., viii, 275.
In 1432 Kemp was nominated an ambassador to Eugenius IV and the Council of Basel, and in late November was licensed to receive 400 marks from monastic houses founded by the King or his ancestors towards the expenses of his embassy, since the moneys available were not to the amount customary for archbishops sent on royal embassies.\(^1\) In February 1433 he was given permission to take £2000 in gold and silver and 1000 marks in plate, and received 1000 marks, but did not go to Basel because the Council detained him in England to attend to the affairs of the realm.\(^2\)

Eugenius IV elevated Kemp to the cardinal priesthood on 19 December 1439, and conferred on him the church of St. Balbina on 8 January 1440, in celebration of the reconciliation with the Greeks and out of the Pope's concern over the distracted state of the Church.\(^3\) Apart from the conflict this created with Chichele,\(^4\) this new honour made little difference to Kemp, either as archbishop of York or in his involvement in the affairs of the realm. The royal licence to Kemp to accept the cardinalate and to retain his archbishopric was issued on 4 February 1440, and the king himself sought prompt delivery of Kemp's insignia,

\(^1\) P.R.O., Writ of Privy Seal C 81/695/2582 (20 - 26 Nov. 1432).
\(^2\) P.R.O.P.C.¹ Y152 (20 Feb. 1433), 168 (20 July 1433).
\(^3\) C.P.L., ix, 46; Corr. Bek., i, 41.
\(^4\) See ch. VI, pp. 128 - 34.
valuing the influence it would give Kemp in the business of making peace with France.¹ There was never any question in Kemp's case, as there had been in Beaufort's, of the incompatibility of cardinalate and English bishopric, nor had it ever been the Pope's intention in raising him that he should cease to administer the church of York.² Kemp was an English archbishop who was also a cardinal — an entirely new concept in the English church.

Kemp's elevation brought continuing papal favour, such as licence to visit his diocese by deputy in 1440, and extensive faculties of dispensation. He might dispense ten persons to have their vows commuted by their confessors, including vows of pilgrimage and chastity, though not a vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land; grant the office of notary public to ten persons over the age of 25, even if married or in priest's orders; permit ten nobles to have portable altars; dispense eight illegitimate men to receive holy orders and hold a benefice; dispense eight noble and grave couples to marry, though related in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity; dispense eight men to be ordained priest at the age of 22; and grant faculty to twelve persons to visit the Lord's sepulchre in the Holy Land.³ A similar faculty was granted him in 1453, though now, as cardinal bishop, he could dispense ten illegitimates to hold

² C.P.L., ix, 46.
³ Ibid., ix, 148; x, 180–81 (6 – 13 June 1447).
benefice with cure, and ten couples to marry within the prohibited degrees.¹

Kemp did not apparently employ his titles and privileges for several months after his elevation, probably not until his red hat arrived in January 1441.² It is possible that he intended to use his dignity to extend the influence of his metropolitical church by regaining the Scottish sees for York; to this end he had copied into his register four bulls of the 12th century ordering the bishop of Glasgow and other Scottish bishops to render obedience to archbishop Thurstan.³ He cast eyes also over Sodor and Man, recently broken away from the Norwegian see of Nidaros - it seems to have been a suffragan see of the province of York before 1458.⁴

Secular Affairs, 1432-50

Kemp's release from Chancery freed him to undertake wide ranging commissions, such as the embassy to Basel, upon which he did not in the event embark. In 1433 instead Kemp was named by Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, with the earls of Warwick,

¹ C.P.L., x, 249.
² See above, p. 133.
³ Nigota, Kempe, p. 344.
⁴ Bull of Calixtus III recommending Thomas, elect of Sodor, to Bothe as his suffragan: A. Ashley, The Church in the Isle of Man, St. Anthony's Hall Pubs., 13, 1958.
Salisbury and Northumberland, as an arbitrator in the bishop's dispute with Sir William Eure which had arisen from Eure's attack on his franchise. This is an important episode in the history of the palatinate of Durham. Inquisitions were held into Langley's exercise of his jurisdiction and exploitation of his feudal rights by royal commissioners at Newcastle and Hartlepool on 1 April 1433, and Eure alleged in Parliament that Langley was claiming liberties not enjoyed in living memory and encroaching upon Crown prerogatives. Some members of the parliament, led by Warwick, persuaded Eure to submit his claim to arbitration. Eure named the bishops of London and Carlisle, and adjudication on the basis of written articles was to be given by 11 April 1434. The dispute dragged on until shortly before Langley's death, but resulted in complete vindication of the liberty of the bishop of Durham. ¹

The same Sir William Eure was persuaded by Kemp to undertake the defence of Berwick in August 1436. Council had failed to make provision for this after the expiry on 25 July of the appointment of the earls of Northumberland and Huntingdon as wardens of both West and East Marches towards Scotland, and the unpaid garrison of Berwick was deserting at a time when Scottish invasion appeared likely. In place of a warden, a commission of Kemp, Langley, Lumley and Northumberland was appointed to supervise defence of the Marches. The bishop of Carlisle eventually undertook to protect

¹ R. L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406 - 27, pp. 116 - 34, especially p. 129.
the West March in December 1436, and the duke of Norfolk the
East March in March 1437. ¹

Kemp spent much of the summer of 1438 in Kent, leaving
westminster to travel there while Council was still in session;
Stafford sent to him there letters concerning the election of
the new German emperor. Nigota believes Kemp was in Kent to
control the Lollard unrest which broke out there in that year,
but there is no evidence for this; Kemp was not named in the
Commission of Oyer and Terminer for Kent appointed on 1 June
1438. ²

Kemp's negotiations for peace with France were much more
important. ³ In July 1433 Kemp refunded the sum he had received
to go to Basel, which was delivered to the bishop of Terouanne
for expenditure on the siege of St. Valery, ⁴ but in the same
month Kemp was involved in negotiations in London with the
French ambassador Lannoy. ⁵ Low level negotiations with France
were in train in 1432, in the hands of the bishop of Rochester
and master Thomas Bekynton. ⁶ Conduct of the war however caused

1 R. L. Storey, op. cit., pp. 161 - 62 (note references there
given.)
2 Nigota, Kempe, pp. 303 - 04.
3 On these negotiations, see J. Ferguson, English Diplomacy, 1422 -
61; J. G. Dickinson, The Congress of Arras; C. T. Allmand,
The Anglo-French Negotiations of 1439, B.I.H.R., xl, 1967,
and Documents relating to the Anglo-French Negotiations of
4 P.O.P.C., iv, 168.
6 P.O.P.C., iv, 119.
increasing conflict in Council in 1433 and 1434, and Gloucester made formal observations upon Bedford's conduct of the war.

In defence of his government of France, Bedford called attention to his record of service from the death of Henry V, lamented the losses in France which he blamed on "the fiend called la Pucelle," and asked for revenues from the Duchy of Lancaster for the defence of France, and transfer to him of command of garrisons in the March of Calais. This was agreed, and 5000 marks were made available to Louis de Luxemburg, bishop of Têrouanne, chancellor of France, for payment of men-at-arms and archers. 

Bedford returned to France at the end of June 1434, by which time Henry had already agreed to the promptings of the Council of Basel to send ambassadors to treat of peace, and named Bedford, Gloucester, Beaufort and others. 

A congress at Arras was arranged, at which the ambassadors were to be Cardinal Beaufort (who was authorised to take gold, silver, plate and jewels out of the country to the value of 10,000 marks), the archbishop of York and the earl of Suffolk (allowed only 3000 marks each), the bishop of Norwich and lord Hungerford (2000 marks) and the bishop of St. Davids (£1000).

1 P.O.P.C., iv, 210 - 13 (24 April - 8 May 1434), 222 - 32 (9 June 1434), 232 - 36 (15 June 1434). Bedford was given answer on Council's behalf by 'the Cardinal of Canterbury' (sic).

2 Ibid., 255 - 59 (30 June 1434), 278 - 80 (8 July 1434).

3 Foedera, x, 611, 613; P.O.P.C., iv, 302, 305 (20 June & 5 July 1435).
Kemp headed the English delegation to the Congress of Arras,\textsuperscript{1} which began on 25 July with an oration by Kemp in the presence of the cardinals of Santa Croce and Cyprus, the representatives respectively of Pope and Council. On 6 August he declared "very highly and magnificently" his King's desire for peace, but following instructions that sovereignty was not negotiable, insisted on the surrender of towns and territories held in defiance of the King's rights on terms so unyielding that the cardinals publicly rebuked him on 10 August. Kemp was sick on 12 August, when proposals were put forward that Henry VI should marry a daughter of Charles VII in return for a truce of 20 years, with payment of 600,000 crowns and concession of additional territories in Guienne, on condition that Henry renounce the claim to the French throne, restore English conquests, and hold his other dominions as a fief of the French crown. The proffered territorial concessions were gradually extended to include virtually the whole of Normandy. On 16 August, pressed by the cardinal legates, Kemp offered cession of all territories beyond the Loire, except Gascony and Guienne, for payment of 120,000 crowns and retention of the English title to the crown of France; the French counter-proposed payment of 150,000 crowns to preserve the status quo.

\textsuperscript{1} Accounts of Arras are based on B.L., Harleian MS 4763 (report of the English ambassadors at Arras).
By the end of August negotiations had clearly broken down. The final French demand on 30th was that England renounce all right to the French crown and accept Normandy as a fief, free the duke of Orléans, and accept as queen a French princess without a dowry. On 31 August Kemp flatly rejected these terms, earning another rebuke from the cardinals for his intransigence. By now Beaufort had arrived, and he led the delegation during the last fruitless days until the congress ended on 6 September, and was followed by the defection of the duke of Burgundy to the French side.

Modern historians share the impression that the negotiations at Arras were hindered by Kemp's intransigence: his 'asperity' and 'bluntness' were "a diplomatic liability to the English side".¹ As a result of this failure, preparations were quickly in train for a new expedition to France: a Council writ of 14 February 1436 requested loans from peers, churchmen, cities, towns and named individuals to equip a new royal army.² On 23 November 1438, Kemp was commissioned to negotiate a mercantile treaty with Flanders, which was signed at Calais on 29 September 1439.³ On 21 May 1439 Kemp was empowered to undertake further negotiations with France. These could not be successful, due again to the rigid instructions given by King and Council,

¹ J. C. Dickinson, The Congress of Arras, especially pp. 41, 126 - 28, 143 - 44.
² P.O.P.C., iv, 316 - 29. Contributions included: Canterbury, £100; York, 500 marks; Winchester, 100 marks; Dover and Sandwich, £40 and £50; archbishop of Canterbury, £200; bishop of Bath, 200 marks; prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 100 marks.
³ Foedera, x, 713, 730.
that he should demand titular sovereignty over the whole of France, or at the very least over Guienne, Poitou, Normandy, Maine and Calais in absolute sovereignty. After a delay caused by French objection to the style 'Charles of Valois' used in the English commissions, the conference opened at Gravelines on 10 July 1439, with a sermon by Kemp on a text from the Revelations of St. Bridget. Fruitless negotiations then ensued, the French offering only Normandy, until 29 August. On 5 September Kemp returned to England for fresh instructions. Council was prepared to accept only Normandy and Guienne in full sovereignty, but not to abandon the claim to the French crown. The conference broke down on 15 September, and after signing the treaty with Flanders, Kemp sailed to England in a small boat in high winds.

Council may have been genuinely disturbed by Kemp's apparent readiness to yield the claim to the crown. This concern was exploited to the full by Gloucester in his renewed attack on Beaufort and Kemp, whom he regarded as Beaufort's protégé in the Gravelines negotiations and in the release of the duke of Orléans on 5 November 1440. Henry's defence of his ministers was forthright - the present position of France after one hundred years of war showed that a complete English

1 Foedera, x, 724 - 30.
2 See ligota's discussion of Kemp's attitude on this question: Kempe, p. 308.
3 Stevenson, Letters and Papers, ii, 440 - 51.
conquest of the might of France was impossible. Edward III
and Henry V, who had been about to treat for peace with
France, had both shown themselves content with less; and
Charles had demanded Orléans's release as a precondition of
a treaty.¹ The King's desire for peace and his support of
his peacemaking ministers is the context in which his welcome
of Kemp's elevation to the cardinalate is to be understood;
from Gloucester's point of view, of course, it served only
to identify even more closely Kemp with Beaufort.

Kemp's last commission with regard to France was given
on 20 July 1445, when he was charged with Humphrey Stafford,
duke of Buckingham, William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk
and great steward of the Household, and Ralph Sudeley, knight,
Treasurer of England, to treat for peace with the ambassadors
of Charles the King's uncle of France.² The French embassy,
led by Louis prince of Bourbon, count of Vendome, Jacques
Jouvenal des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims and Bertrand de
Beauvais, lord of Precigny, the king's chamberlain, came in
the wake of Henry's marriage to Margaret of Anjou to seek
agreement to extend the twenty-one months' truce (1 July 1444
- 1 April 1446) agreed at Tours on 28 May 1444. The ambassadors
met Henry VI at Westminster on 15 and 16 July (when he reproved
the Chancellor, Stafford, for showing insufficient friendliness

¹ Stevenson, Letters and Papers, ii, 451 - 60.
² Foedera, xi, 94; C.P.R., (1441 - 46), 359.
in the course of his Latin oration). Suffolk and Kemp began on the 19th the work of serious negotiation by recounting the position reached at Tours. Kemp demanded that to Charles's offer of Guienne, Quercy, Périgord, and Calais, with full homage, should be added concession of Poitou and Normandy; this was refused. By the end of 21 July the ambassadors, having offered niggardly additions, claimed they had reached the limit of their instructions. The meetings ended in the presence of the King on 30 July, with a prolongation of the truce by six months to allow the two kings to meet in person. Adam Moleyns, Keeper of the Privy Seal, was sent to France in the autumn of 1445 to secure such a meeting; the French later claimed that his visit was made to implement the secret clause surrendering Maine.¹

Kemp continued to be exemplary in attendance at Council when not an officer. His signature appears on 19 of the 39 extant writs of Council between 15 April 1432 and 3 March 1444, and on 19 of the 33 warrants of Council issued between 11 February 1445 and his appointment as Chancellor on 31 January 1450.² Virgoe calculated that between 15 November 1437 and 20 December 1449 Kemp attended 119 sessions of Council out of a possible 362.³

¹ Stevenson, Letters and Papers, i, 87 - 159 (an account by a member of the French embassy).
² P.R.O., 6 81/1545, nos. 26 - 85 (Writs of Council, 6 - 22 Henry VI); C 81/1546, nos. 5 - 55 (Warrants of Council, 24 - 32 Henry VI).
Culminating as it did in his second chancellorship, Kemp's is "an extreme example" of the continuity of that small group of councillors assembled in the 20s, who were still regular members in the 40s, and in the cases of Kemp, Stafford and Cromwell, the 50s, despite the narrowing of the Council under Suffolk, with whom Kemp himself fell into discord over the nomination to the bishopric of London in 1448.¹

Kemp continued to be active in matters of finance. On 18 June 1434 he and other members of Council bound to Beaufort for repayment of 5000 marks lent by him at Calais for payment of garrisons in France and to mount the siege of St. Valery, were granted assignment on the tenth and fifteenth granted by the last parliament.² Kemp's own loans to the government amounted to £2040 between 1442 and 1452;³ £500 of this was repaid on 23 June 1447 in a grant of wardships, marriages, escheats, forfeitures and temporalities,⁴ while 1250 marks was repaid in two payments on 24 May 1451 and 6 February 1452.⁵ Kemp was an executor of Bedford⁶ and of Beaufort, from whose estate substantial loans were made to the King in the years following the cardinal's death.⁷

² P.O.P.C., iv, 242.
⁴ _C.P.R._ (1446 - 52), 60.
⁵ _Ibid._, 427, 542.
⁷ E.g. _C.P.R._ (1446 - 52), 561 (repayment of £2000 to the executors on 13 April 1452); (1452 - 61), 67 (the same on 14 April 1453).
Wye College

Wye offers a good example of the type of chantry collegiate foundation commonly established in the 15th century by leading churchmen, often in the place of their birth - Chichele's foundation of Higham Ferrers is the most obvious parallel - with the object of rendering reparation for the worldly churchman's neglect of his spiritual responsibilities though he enjoyed the fruits of ecclesiastical revenues, while busy about secular matters, by making endowment to found a college of priests who would on his behalf devote the attention to prayer and things of the Spirit for which the worldly churchman himself found no time - an exercise of priestly vocation by deputy. The college would very likely be an educational foundation, incorporating a school to nurture the clergy of the future, and a chantry foundation, whose primary petition in prayer would be for the well-being in life and for their souls after death of the King and the founder's parents and himself. ¹

Wye's purpose is clearly stated in the charter of Henry VI granting licence to found the college on 27 February 1432: the king wished to show favour to "the venerable father", whose

¹ See also pp. 161 - 62.
"...strict and constant attendance on state affairs...
had hindered him from minding, as he ought, his
devotions and the care of the cathedral churches
over which he has successively been put, (as a result
of which Kemp wished) to make recompense to God and to
others to whom he was beholden, and nothing seemed to
him more fitting than that he should augment and increase
out of the wealth showered upon him by the divine bounty,
the number of those who by spiritual self-sacrifice and
great daily self-denial have rendered God untiring
service."¹

Kemp's immediate inspiration for his project was undoubtedly
Higham Ferrers.² In an interesting monograph, M. D. Nightingale
goes further to point the close relationship, not only between
Wye and Higham Ferrers, but between these foundations and those
of William of Wykeham and of the King himself. Chichele was one
of Wykeham's first scholars at Winchester and New College. He
himself established four foundations, the most important of them
All Souls, whose dedication is the clearest possible indication
of the chantry nature of these foundations. Eton was modelled on
Winchester. Wye was most directly modelled on Higham Ferrers, a
college of warden and eight fellows, with a grammar master to teach

¹ Pat. 10 Henry VI pt. 2 m. 8, translated by Morris in C. S.
Orwin and S. Williams, A History of Wye Church and College,
p. 119; M. D. Nightingale, De Fundatoribus, Friends of
Canterbury Cathedral, 21st Annual Report, 1948, p. 29.

² Jacob, Henry Chichele.
local boys, rich and poor without discrimination. The stipends of similar officers of the different foundations were roughly comparable: in 1542 the schoolmasters of Winchester, Eton, Higham Ferrers and Wye were all paid £10 per annum. Nightingale contends with a measure of justice that had Higham Ferrers and Wye been as closely associated with All Souls and Merton as were Winchester with New College and Eton with King's, they too might have survived "the ravages of the Reformation" in a more complete form.1

What might seem the sensitive location, ten miles from Canterbury, of a foundation by an archbishop of York who was also a cardinal, seems to have been the cause of no friction—Chichele was bothered by cardinals, not colleges; though there may be just a hint of animosity in the eagerness of the prior and convent of Christ Church to visit Wye college during the vacancy in see caused by Kemp's death. The goodwill more immediately necessary was that of the abbot and convent of Battle, who owned the land on which the college was to be built, and the advowson of the church. Kemp offered Battle in return patronage of the mastership; he gave as reasons for the foundation his desire to enrich Battle's town and lordship, the fact that the church of Wye was "great and ample in circuit" and that ministration of the sacraments and "othir gostly fode" required an augmented body of clergy, and his wish for prayer for his ancestors and friends passed to God in the parish where he was born and brought forth.

1 Nightingale, *art. cit.*, p. 28.
He proposed therefore to establish "a fellowship of God's priests", comprising a master, six priests, two clerks, two choristers and a grammar master, and thoughtfully added Battle's dedication to St. Martin to Wye's to St. Gregory.¹

Stafford confirmed appropriation of the parish church from the abbot and convent of Battle on 9 November 1449, and the prior and convent of Christ Church confirmed this on 18 November, provided that proper rule and care was exercised on behalf of the parishioners of Wye.² The archdeacon of Canterbury, in his composition with Wye, received 7s. 6d. from the master and fellows in compensation for their immunity from visitation, due within thirty days of the time when an archidiaconal visitation was made which would have included Wye.³

Kemp settled on his college a considerable amount of property, including in 1440 lands in Newington near Rythe, and lands in Romney Marsh, which had formerly belonged to the alien abbey of Guisnes. Following inquisition made by the escheators Robert Est and Robert Knight, a royal licence issued on 1 July 1451 enabled the college to receive an extensive package of lands and rents in Wye and its environs.⁴ Appropriation of the vicarage of Wye was worth £33 p.a.

¹ Dugdale, Onasticon Anglicanum, iii, 254. (This is the only document which states precisely the size of the proposed college.)
³ R.S.C., f. 183.
⁴ C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 471. The full schedule is printed in Orwin & Williams, op. cit., 125 - 33.
annum, and the college further appropriated the neighbouring church of Boughton Aluph, whose advowson it held, in February 1450.¹

Wye college was of a conventional design—an exact square enclosing a cloistered quadrangle, with chapel, refectory and chapter house, and grammar school in a separate building. The statutes were similarly conventional. The original statutes have been lost, but a contemporary illuminated copy survived in the archives of Merton College.² In the preamble, Kemp stated his reasons for founding the college: he was in his 67th year, and near death; he thanked God for preferring him to places of eminence in Church and state, and preserving him from dangers on sea and land and from violent sickness. To honour the memory of his parents and friends, he had set aside a considerable portion of that substance with which he had been blessed, to facilitate more frequent divine worship and celebration of mass.

Kemp was to appoint masters or provosts of the college during his lifetime: Richard Ewan, named in the statutes dated 14 January 1448 but possibly only master-designate, and Thomas Gauge, master until 1462, were both fellows of Merton.³ Thereafter the abbot and

¹ R.S.C., ff. 182, 184 – 84v; Foedera, xi, 261; C.P.R. (1446 – 52), 311.
² This MS was given to Wye College in 1947 to mark the quincentenary of its foundation. The statutes are translated in Orwin & Williams, op. cit., pp. 134 – 56. Only a brief summary is essayed here.
convent of Battle were to select one of two persons named by the college, who were to be masters of arts and bachelors of divinity, and fellows of Merton or of another Oxford college. "The most discreet and able fellow" was to be given the cure of souls of Wye. Fellows and chaplains were to be men of Kent or of Merton College. An expelled chaplain had no right of appeal to Rome. Residence was laid down, and absence from divine office fined. Mass and hours followed Sarum use. On holy days a collect for the dead was said at the tomb of the cardinal's father and mother. Common life, converse and correction were enjoined, and abstention from wandering and the ways of the world. A master of grammar was to teach boys of the town gratis. Sick fellows (but not chaplains) were to receive care. The statutes were to be read twice a year.

A later emendation added the name of Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, who made many benefactions including the high altar, as co-founder of the college, to be named at all masses after his death. The college's property is listed in an inventory of 1552: most prominent was the blue velvet cope bearing golden angels and sheaves of gold (Kemp's arms).1

1 *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xiv, 1882, p. 305.
Shortly after Kemp's death on 22 March 1454, the prior and convent of Christ Church carried out an ordinary visitation of iye colle-e, in the person of master John Hodnesburgh, Decr., subprior. This took place on Wednesday 18 June, beginning with high mass of the Holy Spirit. The provisions of the statutes were recited, especially that of exemption from visitation by the archdeacon. The master and three fellows, Thomas Wyelmot, Thomas Tepenham and Robert Elys, declared that all was well as far as they knew. Correction of comperta and detecta was reserved to the prior of Christ Church, Thomas Goldstone. The proceedings took less than a day.1

1 R.N.C., ff. 219 - 20v.
Shortly before noon on Saturday 31 January 1450, in the presence of the lords of the Council, in the Council chamber at Westminster, John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, delivered to the King the two great seals of gold and silver, sealed in two white leather bags with his seal. On the King's authority the silver seal was taken out to seal letters patent of pardon to the archbishop and a writ in favour of John Talbot, knight, and resealed with his signet. The accustomed oath was taken of the cardinal archbishop of York by Thomas Kirkeby, clerk, keeper of the rolls of Chancery, and Richard Fryston, a clerk of the chancery. The two seals and another silver seal brought by John Pray, deputy treasurer, were delivered to the archbishop, who caused them to be brought to his inn by 'Charyncrosse' in the county of Middlesex. The same afternoon he used the silver seal to seal letters patent pardoning the outlawry of John Brokeman of Romford in Essex and Juliana his wife.¹ Thus John Kemp, now seventy years of age, became Chancellor for the second time, the office which he was to hold until his death on 22 March 1454.

In a very favourable estimate of Kemp, R. L. Storey points out both the good fortune of the Lancastrian régime to be able to enjoy his service, and the desperate lack of leaders of ability and integrity which necessitated the retention of such a veteran:

¹ C.C.R. (1447 - 54), p. 194.
With forty years experience of high office in Church, state, Council and diplomacy, John Kemp was the last great civil servant of the house of Lancaster. That the Crown had to turn to this septuagenarian was a legacy of the dearth of talent of Suffolk's régime. Kemp brought to Henry's Council a firmness of purpose and desire for sound administration and justice. He would bow before the parliamentary storm, but not yield an inch on principle. "Kemp's integrity and fearlessness in the cause of justice were unsurpassed in any other age or land." ¹

The significance of Kemp's return to the Chancery was that it held at bay for a time both the excesses of the Suffolk faction in the Lancastrian party and the usurpation of place and power by the Yorkist party. An increasingly insistent Commons was kept in place by the firmness and subtlety of Kemp's presentation of the King's answers to its demands.²

In so far as the need to find a new Chancellor to succeed Kemp in the middle of the King's prolonged period of incapacity meant that the Yorkist claim for a leading place in government could no longer be held back, it may be maintained that the death of Kemp directly caused the outbreak of civil war.


² Ibid.
though whether a younger and longer-lived Chancellor could have staved off the inevitability of armed conflict in these years, in view of the crises of 1450, the attempted coup of 1452 and the worsening climate of 1453, is perhaps doubtful.

The immediate problem in 1450 was that of Suffolk. Stafford had perhaps resigned as Chancellor rather than preside over the condemnation of his colleague. Kemp had no such compunction; he had broken away from the Suffolk party over Suffolk's attempt in 1448 to obtain the bishopric of London, promised to Kemp's nephew Thomas, for the Treasurer, Warmeduke Lumley, bishop of Carlisle. Suffolk's first defence of his actions before Parlia-

1 Or because the resignation of Lumley as Treasurer in 1449 (September), of Moleyns as Privy Seal in December and the subsequent murder of Moleyns drove home to Stafford the unpopularity of the Suffolk regime. Storey regards Stafford as "one of the small circle which held to the Suffolk party" in the disastrous narrowing of the government which took place under Suffolk (op. cit., p. 47), and associates Suffolk, Moleyns and Stafford (p. 76); but Stafford never appears to have suffered the odium borne by these ministers and by other associates of Suffolk. He was perhaps judicious in the moment of his resignation.

2 This was a bungled proceeding, which compromised royal credibility in the matter of nomination to bishoprics in the eyes of Rome. Henry had recommended to the Pope Thomas Kemp for London in the case of vacancy, and on the death of Robert Gilbert, Nicholas had duly appointed him. Letters had then arrived in Rome from the King and Suffolk, alleging that the former letters were surreptitious and asking instead for the promotion of Warmeduke Lumley. Nicholas replied tartly that he was not prepared to change the arrangements. He included copies of the King's original letters, assuming that Henry had forgotten what he had written, and pointed out acidly that gravity and constancy were the chief among kingly virtues. He would however promote Lumley when a vacancy occurred. (Corr. Bek., i, 155, 157–58; undated.) Lumley became bishop of Lincoln (1450–52).
ment on 22 January 1450, in which he detailed the services of himself and his family at home and in France, did not avail, for on 25th the Commons petitioned the Council that Suffolk be placed in custody. Council refused, on the grounds that no specific charges had been made. A week later Kemp replaced Stafford as Chancellor, and it was therefore to him that the Commons presented the eight articles of their indictment on 7 February, which chiefly alleged that Suffolk had conspired with the French for an invasion of England, and had married his son John to Margaret Beaufort with the intention that they should be king and queen when with French help he had deposed Henry VI. More realistically, it was claimed that Suffolk's promise of Maine and Anjou to France had so weakened the English conquest that the loss of Normandy was inevitable.1

On 9 March an additional set of charges was laid which detailed Suffolk's excesses on the domestic scene - embezzlement, misappropriation of taxes, oppression, etc.2 On the King's initiative, the first set of charges was held 'neither declared nor charged' (i.e. not accepted), and on the second set of charges, Suffolk was banished for five years from 1 May - on which day he lay dead in a rowing boat in the Straits of Dover.3

1 Rot. Par., v, 177.
2 Ibid., 181.
3 Paston Letters, i, 124 - 25.
The violent hatred unleashed against Suffolk reached out to embrace also his associate William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, who was murdered by enraged parishioners at Edington on St. Peter's day. Ayscough was Henry's confessor, and Gascoigne attributes his death to his failure to remedy the defects around the King, or to depart from the King when the defects were not remedied; and more generally because Ayscough was a representative of the prelates hated for their luxury, lack of preaching and failure to visit their people. But Ayscough was murdered because he was identified with Suffolk. Bishop of Salisbury in 1438, he was recommended by Henry VI for Bath and Wells when Stafford went to Canterbury in 1443. In 1445 Ayscough performed the marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou which Suffolk had arranged, and he was one of the bishops who condemned 'good duke Humphrey's' wife, Eleanor Cobham, for witchcraft. Like Suffolk, he was an oppressor; in 1454 the Chancellor, Salisbury, received a plea for restitution of 20 marks extorted from William Hidilton, squire, by Ayscough by threat of withdrawal of good lordship and expulsion from his household.

2 Jacob, The 15th Century, p. 495 (and see Jacob's discussion of the significance of Edington, p. 496).
3 Corr. Bek., ii, 75. (Ayscough would have been translated to Bath and Wells, and Bekynton consecrated to Salisbury, but Ayscough refused Bath and Wells, preferring to remain at Salisbury, so freeing Bath and Wells for Bekynton.)
5 Jacob, op. cit., p. 495.
6 Select Cases in Chancery, p. 140; P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 24, no. 220.
The wise restraining hand of John Kemp, "astute and resolute defender of constitutional propriety", cannot be seen but may be suspected behind the King's banishment of Suffolk, and behind other firm replies of this period.¹ If things were not not held in place, no courtier could be reckoned to be safe - Kemp could perhaps foresee the unrestrained attainders of 1459 - 60. Parliament therefore was kept in its place. But also kept in check were the licentious ambitions of those who would misuse position and affinity. While Kemp lived, the revived Court faction under Somerset did not enjoy the monopoly of influence Suffolk had had, nor did Suffolk's creatures Tuddenham and company in Norfolk return to the commission of the peace until after Kemp's death.²

Kemp and the Cade Revolt

The violent unrest which in Wiltshire caused the death of Ayscough issued in Kent and the South East in the more serious form of the Cade revolt. Jack Cade, possibly an Irish-man and a former soldier in France, went by a number of names - John Amende-all, 'Captain of Kent', and most sinister of all, John Mortimer,³ though no clear connection between Cade and

¹ R. L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster, p. 82.
² Ibid.
³ E.g. P.O.P.C., vi, 96, 98. (One of Cade's lieutenants, Thomas Cheney, was known as 'Blewberd' - ibid. 109. He had led a riot at Canterbury on 9 February, one of several in Kent and London, in protest at the leniency of Suffolk's punishment - E. Lyle, The Rebellion of Jack Cade, p. 8.)
the duke of York has ever been shown.

The rising began in Kent about Whitsunday, 24 May 1450, perhaps caused immediately by fear of the threat made by the Treasurer, lord Say and Sele, and his son-in-law Crowmer, sheriff of Kent, that they would turn Kent into a deer forest in reprisal for the washing up on Dover sands of the body of the murdered Suffolk. In the first week of June the rebels encamped on Blackheath, where they survived Council's attempt to dislodge them with a small army under Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William, whom the rebels ambushed and killed at Sevenoaks on 11 June. Saye and Crowmer, whose heads were demanded by the rebels, were placed in the Tower for their own safety. Council had already received the Complaint of the Rebels, and there is reason to believe that Kemp, a man of Kent and opponent of Suffolk, was disposed to view it not unsympathetically.

Council now commissioned the two archbishops to undertake the first of their two negotiations with the rebels. This took place at Blackheath on 13 June. Lyle, following Kingsford, excludes Kemp from this first meeting, but the presence of both archbishops and the duke of Buckingham is clearly maintained by Benet's, Bale's and other chronicles. The archbishops found

1 Lyle, op. cit., pp. 9 - 11; Gregory's Chronicle, p. 190 (which estimates 46,000 men).
2 Lyle, op. cit., p. 10.
themselves impressed by Cade, who struck them as "a sotill man", "right discrete in his answerys", "witty in his talkyng and request", "right wise and well avised in his comonyng". In response to Cade's insistence that his men were petitioners, seeking no harm, but to have the desires of the commons fulfilled, the lords promised redress.

It seems likely that one of the purposes of the archbishops' visit was to estimate the strength of the rebels' camp, and their report caused the King to make haste to repair to Kenilworth, notwithstanding the city council's plea to him to 'tarye in the city'. On 2 July Cade made his headquarters at the White Hart in Southwark, and on 3rd entered London. Saye and Crowmer were beheaded on 4th, but on the night of Sunday 5 July, lord Scales, captain of the Tower, and Matthew Gough, a famed captain of the French war, led a counter-attack on the rebels' position on London Bridge. The affray was indecisive, but disposed Cade to further negotiation.

1 Lyle describes Cade as "sober in talk, wise in reasoning, arrogant in heart and stiff in opinion" - but offers no references.
2 English Chronicle, p. 65.
3 Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 623.
4 The Brut, p. 518.
6 Flenley, op. cit. (Bale's Chronicle), p. 130.
7 Lyle, op. cit., p. 11.
8 Gregory's Chronicle, pp. 190 - 94.
Kemp and Stafford therefore undertook their second embassy to Cade on Monday 6 July. This time they were accompanied by William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, and met Cade at St. Margaret's, Southwark. The outcome of the negotiations was that the rebels agreed to disband on the promise of subsequent limited redress. Most of the pardons are dated 7 February; Cade's own was invalid because it was made out in the name of Mortimer. Cade seems to have been forced to accept an uncertain victory as his Sussex, Surrey and Essex forces, cheered by their pardons, began to melt away; he may in any case have intended to fall back on Kent, where his headquarters at Rochester was well armed. From Rochester he set out to besiege Queenborough castle on Sheppey, but the siege collapsed, and Cade was taken in flight and killed at Heathfield in Sussex by Alexander Iden, sheriff of Sussex and subsequently Crowmer's successor both as sheriff of Kent and husband of lord Saye's daughter. On 12 July Council authorised the Treasurer and chamberlains to seize the goods, chattels and jewels taken by Mortimer and his adherents in Kent, and to expend them for the advance of the realm, especially the taking of Mortimer and his adherents. On 14th, the same persons were to use their utmost exertions in seizing the goods which "that false traitor calling himself captain of Kent" had brought into Rochester, and commissioners were immediately sent to make those exertions. £40 of those goods went into constructing a gate in Rochester on the Canterbury road.

1 On no evidence, Lyle describes Stafford as 'less friendly' than the others on this occasion: op. cit., p. 13.  
3 P.O.P.C., vi, 96.  
The heads of Wintimer and his lieutenants Nicholas Jakes, Thomas Cheney (Blewberd) and John Rammese were affixed to London Bridge and their quarters despatched to various towns in southern England.¹ Unrest in Kent did not die down. A new 'captain of Kent' arose, John Smyth; he was taken by Edmund duke of Somerset, who on 3 October 1450 was awarded £40 and 20 marks daily while he was in Kent ensuring peace.² Some rebels pardoned on 7 July engaged in further rebellious activity and needed to be pardoned again: John Skerne of Cranbrook, tailor, who had submitted at Blackheath, received pardon on 20 July 1451 for all treasons, felonies and murders committed between 7 July 1450 and 24 February 1451, in particular for killing John Draghener, constable of Cranbrook, and releasing a suspected felon who was in his custody, and for congregating with sixty men in war array at Sevenoaks and Cranbrook on the Monday before Christmas.³

Against this background of continuing unrest the two archbishops, William bishop of Winchester, Humphrey duke of Buckingham and thirteen others were named on 1 August 1450 to be a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to inquire into all trespasses, oppressions, extortions, offences, etc., committed in the county of Kent.⁴ Historians have been inclined to view this commission

1 P.O.P.C., vi, 107 - 09.
2 Ibid., 101.
3 Writ of Privy Seal, P.R.O., C 81/763/9362.
4 C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 388. Kemp received £253 for expenses incurred in this commission on 19 July 1451: P.R.O. E 403/785 m. 8; R. A. Griffiths, The Reign of Henry VI, p. 663.
as a fulfilment of the promise made to the rebels to look sympathetically into their grievances rather than as a punitive visitation of the kind which followed the rising of 1381.¹

In particular, in an important local study based on the records of King's Bench 9, file 46, the presentments at Rochester on 20 - 22 August, Maidstone on 16 - 19 September, Canterbury on 22 - 24 September and Dartford on 22 October, R. Virgoe regards the commission as a response to the rebels' demands, an acceptance of and attempt to do something about the extortions practised in Kent in the 1440s by Saye and his followers, in keeping with the agreement of 6 July by which the rebels dispersed.² No member of the Suffolk connexion was named on the commission - surely the work of Cardinal Kemp. The detailed depositions exemplify cases of armed robbery, extortion and false imprisonment throughout the 40s. The last venire facias was issued on 17 December 1450, by which time York and the 'reforming party' were weakening, and nothing further needed to be done. Rather, York himself was named at the head of a new Commission of Oyer and Terminer on 14 December, to visit justice on new rebels, traitors and others in Kent and Sussex.³ There is no evidence that he acted;⁴ Henry himself was responsible

1 E.G. Lyle, op. cit., p. 15.
3 C.P.R. (1446 - 52), 435.
4 B. Wolffe, Henry VI, p. 244.
for the 'harvest of heads' reaped by his judicial progress in January and February, but association of York's name with the slaughter may explain the unexpected lack of support the men of Kent gave to York's Dartford rising of 1452. May we again see the practised hand of Cardinal Kemp behind York's nomination to this commission?

Parliament and Council

The same firmness is evident in Kemp's handling of Parliament. The first of the two parliaments of his second chancellorship met on St. Leonard's day, 6 November 1450. The opposition in the Commons was unabated, despite the removal of Suffolk, Moleyne and Stafford, but the Chancellor told them clearly in his opening speech that it was their business to provide funds to defend the realm, keep the seas, aid Gascony and pacify the riotous populace which in many parts of the country had made congregations, commotions and insurrections. Still pursuing evil councillors, Parliament petitioned for the banishment of thirty named members of Henry's entourage. The King absolutely refused to accept dictation of who should surround him. He would retain only those lords necessary to his convenience, and would

send the others away for a year and would listen to reasonable complaints - but this concession was not of right, but by the King's grace alone.¹ To the requests made in September and October 1450 by the duke of York, posing as the champion of the Commons, for reform of the government around the King, Henry promised to establish a 'sad and substantial' Council with increased powers, of which York would be a member, but only one amongst equals.² All these answers, and the government's acceptance of Parliament's Act of Resumption, but with 186 exemptions,³ reveal the influence of Kemp, the "astute but resolute defender of constitutional propriety".⁴

Illness prevented Kemp from opening the parliament which met at Reading on 6 March 1453. In his absence William Ainwick, bishop of Lincoln, declared that Parliament had been called to provide government sana et solida inside the realm, and defence outside it.⁵ On 13 March 1454, however, less than ten days before his death, in a strong speech to Parliament, Kemp spelled out the seriousness of the threat to Calais and the sea approaches

1 Storey, op. cit., p. 82.
4 Storey, op. cit., p. 82.
5 Rot. P.rl., v, 227.
and estimated that a suitable remedy would cost at least £40,000. On 19 March the Commons rejoined that the King had already been granted customs and subsidies for life.\(^1\)

Kemp's attendance at Council remained exemplary; he was present at 38 out of 50 sessions at which attendance was recorded between 22 March 1450 and 29 August 1453.\(^2\) Kemp's wisdom and experience led him to strive to prevent increasing polarisation among the lords of the Council, especially against Somerset in the autumn and winter of 1453-54\(^3\) - a hard task for one who Storey suspects was alone in taking up the call for cleansing of the administration which had been clearly sounded in 1450.\(^4\) Kemp doubtless took a leading part in the attempt by Council to establish itself as a loyal, responsible, united body in the crisis brought about by the collapse of the King's health in August 1453 - an attempt doomed when the death of Kemp made a continued Lancastrian ministry impossible and a Yorkist protectorate an arrangement reluctantly accepted as marginally preferable to a reginal regency.

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3 Griffiths, op. cit., p. 726.
In an important recent article, R. A. Griffiths examined the records of three meetings of the Council, on 30 November and 5 December 1453, and (after Kemp's death) 3 April 1454. The meeting of 30 November was a great Council, at which were present Kemp; York, whose inclusion in Council had been acknowledged by its members on 24 October, and who had returned on 21 November, but not Somerset, who had been placed in the Tower on 23 November as a result of a motion by Norfolk at the meeting on 21 November; most of the lords, and two thirds of the bishops. The absentees, for reasons other than age or infirmity, were the loyal Lancastrians such as Northumberland, or the bishops inclined to that cause such as Beauchamp of Salisbury, Carpenter of Worcester and Pecock of Chichester. Kemp, the doyen of Lancastrian servants, was realistically working with York and lords of open Yorkist sympathy to establish a common ground in a spirit reminiscent of the best years of the minority Council, the time of Kemp's own rise to power, to achieve a declaration of the collective responsibility of the lords to uphold the law and the King's authority.

This relative unanimity was short-lived. At the meeting of 5 December the lords were less happy when it was realised that the King's 'infirmity' required the placing of royal powers in the hands of the Council, as the only practicable

solution to the dilemma of how personal rule could be exercised by an incapable monarch. Only fourteen subscribed to this—six lay lords, all Yorkist, and eight bishops, again led by Kemp. In marked contrast even to this was the clear reluctance of the lords at the third meeting, after Kemp's death, to serve on the Yorkist council when invited to do so by the new Chancellor, Salisbury. Norfolk and others pleaded illness; Warwick and others inexperience or lack of wisdom. "On the episcopal side," Griffiths comments acidly, "the plea of pressing diocesan business sat uncomfortably with a bench of bishops who had not always been conspicuous for their concern for their flocks and their sees during the past century and more." Pressure and fear of the Queen eventually established the Protectorate Council.

The death of Kemp on 22 March 1454, which required that Council learned the royal will concerning appointment of successors to both leading offices in Church and state, meant that the fiction of viable Lancastrian royal government

1 Griffiths, art. cit., p. 75.
2 The Queen had made a bill of articles demanding that she be appointed regent, and have power to appoint the Chancellor and other great officers of state, sheriffs etc., power to appoint to bishoprics and benefices, and have sufficient livelihood: Paston Letters, i, 263–64.
could no longer be maintained, nor could even a semblance of
government be carried on because the great seal of England
was unusable. "It was now at last imperative that the King's
will be ascertained, or his total incapacity be publicly demon-
strated, since the Chancery was now as paralysed as he was." ¹
The commission of twelve lords which waited on Henry at Windsor
three times on 24 March clearly established the latter, since,
the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield² reported, they could get
no answer, sign, prayer, desire, lamentable cheer nor exhortation,³
and Richard of York was duly appointed Protector on 27 March.⁴
Kemp's death meant that the clear polarisation of Yorkist and
Lancastrian could no longer be held in check.

The inevitable breakdown of Lancastrian government was
however apparent long before this. It is beyond the scope of
this study to consider in detail episodes such as the 'field'
of Dartford, the Bovvile-Courtenay conflict in the west country,
the Neville-Percy private war in the north, the Warwick-Beaufort
quarrel over the lordship of Abergavenny, which all led to 'the

¹ B. Wolff e, Henry VI, p. 279.
² Or 'Chester', a common shorthand for Coventry and Lichfield.
The prelate referred to is not the bishop of Chichester
(Lander, Wars of the Roses, p. 72) nor Winchester (Wolffe,
op. cit., p. 279.
⁴ Ibid., 242.
Wars of the Roses', 1 except to point out the increasingly apparent inability of central government, led by Kemp, to contain these fissures. On 27 July 1453 the King urged the earl of Salisbury to put down "great assemblies and riotous gatherings of his people". 2 Disappointed that this had not been done (the battle of Heworth took place on 24 August), the King reminded the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland on 8 October that as lords of the Council and commissioners of the King's peace, they should keep the peace and obey the King's laws, but instead they had made "the greatest assembly of our leigemen, and thereto have appointed time and place, that ever was made in this our land at any time that man can think". 3 On the same day the earl of Westmorland, the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York were thanked for repressing unlawful gatherings in their 'countries', but were asked to continue their efforts. 4

By 1453 Kemp too was succumbing to the general atmosphere of fear and violence. John Strodeley's newsletter to the Pastons on 19 January 1454 reported that

"the Cardinalle hathe charged and commaunded alle his servauntz to be redy with bowe and arwes, sword and

1 On the significance of these local disputes, see especially R. L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster, and R. A. Griffiths, Local Rivalries and National Politics: the Percies, the Neville and the Duke of Exeter, 1452 - 55, Speculum, xliii, 1968, pp. 589 - 632.
2 P.O.P.C., v, 147.
3 Ibid., 159 - 61.
4 Ibid., 158 - 59.
bokeler, crossebowes and alle other habillementes of werre, sucheas thei kun medle with, to awaite upon the saufgarde of his person.\textsuperscript{1}

The same source suggests that Kemp's authority and command of the situation were slipping away. On 14 January 1454 the mayor and merchants of London and Calais complained to the Chancellor at Lambeth of lord Bonvile's taking of "shippes & godes of the Flemmynges and other of the Duke of Burgoyne's lordships", but when they received "none answere to their pleasing...the substaunce of theym with one voys cryed 'Justice, justice, justice!' whereof the Chaunceller was so dismayed that he coude ne myght no more say to theym for fere".\textsuperscript{2}

In what seems to have been a favourite turn of phrase, Kemp promised an adamant parliament on 19 March the setting up of "a sadde and wyse counsaill".\textsuperscript{3} This had not been done by the day of his death, 22 March, and the Council that followed was a Yorkist one.

Kemp was not 'popular' in the modern sense of that word. To Thomas Deynes, who blamed the Chancellor for the imprisonment of his pregnant wife in Newgate, he was the 'cursed cardenale'.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Paston Letters, ii, 296.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., 299.
\textsuperscript{3} Rot. Parl., v, 240 - 42.
\textsuperscript{4} Paston Letters, ii, 306.
But he was a faithful and wise servant of the house of Lancaster, and did all he could to ensure its future - he acted as godfather to Edward prince of Wales, the hope of Lancaster whom his father did not even recognise,¹ and confirmed him when he was one day old.² Kemp deserves the positive if grudging assessments of his work which have been made by earlier generations of historians,³ and the more fulsome praise of R. L. Storey,⁴ which echoes the opinion expressed by Henry VI when he recovered from his illness on 30 December 1454 and was told of Kemp's death nine months before, that one of the wisest lords in this land was dead.⁵

¹ Paston Letters, i, 263.
² Chron. Stone, p. 87. (The bishop of Winchester baptised Edward.)
³ See ch. 10.
⁴ See above, p. 189.
⁵ Paston Letters, i, 157, iii, 13.
IX KEMP AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1452 - 54

Election and Enthronement

John Stafford died on 25 May 1452, and was buried in Canterbury cathedral on 30th. On the same day master John Waltham, S.T.B., and Walter Hertford, custos maneriorum and bertonarius, were sent to petition the King for licence to elect. This was granted on 1 June. On 4 June Henry wrote to the prior and convent desiring them to elect John Kemp, cardinal and archbishop of York, who held their church at all times in great reverence, and was "the most worthy and able of any within this our realm to have the said church". Chapter duly complied on 28 June. The bull of translation and accompanying bulls were issued on 21 July, with the additional bull in Kemp's case elevating the cardinal priest of St. Balbina to the cardinal bishopric of St. Rufina.

The Pope first had to separate the see of St. Rufina from that of Porto, to which it had been united since 1138, and which was now held by Francis Condulmaro, vice chancellor of

1 Chron. Stone, p. 54.
2 Poedera, xi, 309.
3 Sheppard, Christ Church Letters, 17; ed. A. R. Myers, English Historical Documents, iv, 806 - 07.
4 Chron. Stone, p. 54. (with 28th in mind, Stone asserts that "the Pope postulated Kemp on the same day" - i.e. 28 June. He may be thinking of the bull to confer the pallium, issued on 28 July. The Pope postulated Kemp on 21 July, as Stone in fact realises: p. 55.)
5 R.K., 1 - 6.
6 R.K. 7.
the Roman church and a nephew of Eugenius IV. having separated
the sees, Nicholas dispensed Kemp to hold the cardinal bishopric
of St. Rufina with the archbishopric of Canterbury, notwithstanding
the constitution Episcopali et aliis Apostolicis of Boniface
VIII promulgated in England by the cardinal legates Otto and
Ottobon. Kemp thus became the first English cardinal bishop
and the first cardinal to be archbishop of Canterbury. Condulmaro
was compensated for the loss of the bishopric of St. Rufina by a
papal dispensation motu proprio to hold in commendam with his
bishoprics of Porto and Verona any benefices in any patronage,
especially that of John, bishop of St. Rufina and archbishop of
Canterbury, who held him in singular affection; and on 7 October
1453 he was granted papal licence to rent or let the fruits of
these benefices to any person, clerical or lay, without having
to obtain licence from the ordinaries of the places concerned. St. Rufina was quickly reunited with Porto after Kemp's death.

On 23 July the Pope directed Thomas Kemp, bishop of London,
and William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, to confer the pallium,
which he was sending by the hand of William Gray, notary apostolic.
The bull of translation was received by the prior on St. Matthew's
day and read in chapter on the following day, 22 September, after

2 R.K. 7; C.P.L., x, 602.
3 C.P.L., x, 139, 143.
4 D.A.B., reference cited.
5 R.K. 9b; C.P.L., x, 603.
which Thomas Asshe, a monk of Christ Church, preached on the

*Ecce servus meus, electus, suscipiam eum* (Isaiah 42: 1),

and the *Te Deum* was chanted. On 23rd the prior, Thomas Goldstone delivered the cross of Canterbury to the new archbishop at his nephew's London manor of Fulham (where he was to spend much of his brief archiepiscopate), in the presence of unusually low-ranking *preclari et egregii viri*, the bishops of Hereford and Bangor and John Stourton and Richard Haryngton, knights, treasurer and comptroller of the King's hospice. Thomas Kemp delivered the pallium on 24 September. Temporalities had been restored a fortnight earlier, on 6 September.

Kemp was enthroned in Canterbury by the prior on 11 December. The procession included the bishops of Winchester and Ross, the abbots of St. Augustine's, Battle and Faversham, and the prior of Rochester. With the archbishop were the bishop of London, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, lord de Lisle, the prior of St. John, lord Moleyns and Sir John Fortescue. When all the chapter had kissed the pallium, the archbishop washed his feet and began the enthronement mass; the bishop of Rochester carried the cross of Canterbury, and the Epistle and Gospel were sung by the abbot of Faversham and the bishop of Ross.

1 *Chron. Stone*, pp. 54 - 55.
4 *Feodera*, xi, 315; *C.P.R.* (1452 - 61), 16.
Cardinal Kemp enjoyed greater privilege in power to dispense than his predecessors at Canterbury had been accorded. By papal faculty of 23 July 1453, he was licensed to confer the office of notary public on ten clerks who were in priests' orders, dispense ten couples to marry who were related in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity, and ten illegitimate men to be promoted to orders, even holy orders, and to hold benefices, even benefices with cure — an extension of a similar faculty granted to him in 1445 while archbishop of York. Another papal favour which related even more closely to his period as archbishop of York concerned the failure of successive archbishops, Bowet, Kemp and Bothe, to recover implements lost from the archiepiscopal mensa in the upheaval caused by the death of Richard Scrope in 1405. The cardinal feared that he or his successors or his executors might be molested on account of this failure; a papal letter of 23 August 1453 warned that this was not to happen.

In 1452 - 53 there occur instances of papal intervention in the domestic political affairs of the realm of England which clearly stem from Kemp's continuing endeavours to prop up the tottering Lancastrian régime against the increasingly powerful incursions of the house of York. The first instance reflects the attempt to heal the divisions manifest at the 'field of Dartford' of 1 - 2 'arch 1452. On 26 July 1452 the Pope issued

1 C.P.L., x, 180 - 81, 249.
2 Ibid., 249.
a faculty to Kemp which concerned the faithful in England who, at the instigation of the evil One, had made unlawful "conspiracies, attacks, conventicles and congregations" against the King, the peace of the realm, archbishops and bishops and other persons. Penitent conspirators and slayers and their accomplices who sought mercy and pardon from the Apostolic See, with the exception of those who had done evil against archbishops and bishops, might be absolved by the cardinal with the consent of the King (an amazing provision in the ordering of a sacramental ministry!), even in cases reserved to the Apostolic See. He might also rehabilitate priests and clerks who had taken part in the conspiracy, provided that they had not laid violent hands on those who had been slain.1

By late 1453 the climate had changed; reconciliation had proved impossible, and York’s ambition was as strong as ever. The King had fallen sick in August, and York was pressing to be nominated Protector, a move which the Lancastrian Council endeavoured to delay in the hope that the King would recover. (It was finally Kemp’s own death which made it impossible to hold back a Yorkist protectorate any longer.) It appeared that York had quickly freed himself from the constraint of the oath which he had been obliged to take after Dartford, that he would never again make assembly of the King's people without his command, or attempt anything 'by way of faite' against the King.2

1 C.P.L., x, 116.
2 Giles Chronicle, 43; Short English Chronicle, 69; Rot. Parl., v, 346 - 47.

* The reason for this provision may be that absolution from excommunication was involved, which carried temporal consequences.
by seeking absolution from the oath from a papal penitentiary. At the King's petition, the Pope revoked on 29 September 1453 all letters of absolution obtained from himself or his penitentiary by Richard duke of York, Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon and Edvard Broke, lord Cobham, which released them from the solemn oath they had made to the King, at the mediation of Cardinal Kemp and other councillors, after gathering great forces against him. The Pope did not believe that such letters had emanated, but if they had, they were against his intention, and were hereby annulled.¹

The Calendar of Papal Letters attributes to 5 October 1453 the Pope's order for settlement of a dispute which had arisen in London between clergy and parishioners over oblations, which had been brought to his attention by the Queen and the duke of York, 'protector and defender of the realm'²— this almost certainly should be dated 1454. There may have been some difficulty encountered in the free passage of messages to and from Rome: the last entry in the commissions section of Kemp's register is a request by the archbishop, dated 17 April 1453, addressed to all ranks of ruler from kings to governors of towns, castles and villages, to allow his messenger John Lasty free passage to Rome through their territories.³

¹ C.P.L., x, 152 - 53.
² Ibid., 165.
³ R.K. 87.
These favours apart, being cardinal as well as archbishop made as little difference to Kemp at Canterbury as it had done at York. He offered no reciprocal concern or support to Rome. Nicholas appeared to be requesting this when in Convocation at Lambeth on 26 February 1453 the papal collector, master Vincent Clement, told the assembly of the plot, "hateful and horrible to pious ears", by Stephen de Porcaro, a Roman republican, against Nicholas V, which the Pope and cardinals had miraculously survived. Porcaro and his accomplices had been taken, and had received the due reward of their crimes (public execution).\(^1\) Clement asked that by the devout prayers of the faithful against such wicked and pestilential enemies, the Pope might be preserved and escape to a place of safety. The prelates were horrified to hear of this detestable plot, and gave joyful and happy praise to Almighty God for his bounty in preserving the Pope from these enormities. With this Convocation was adjourned. If a subsidy was hoped for, nothing was recorded concerning it; and the archbishop, who was absent sick from that session, had recovered sufficiently to attend the resumed Convocation on 3 March.\(^2\)

**Visitation**

Kemp's primary visitation of Canterbury was no more thorough than that of York had been. An elaborate timetable was drawn up for the proposed itinerary, covering the period 17 September to 11 October 1453, beginning with two days at Christ Church,


\(^2\) R.K. 29.
Canterbury, and ending with visitation of the Sittingbourne deanery. But it was not carried out. The itinerary is followed by a note, written when the archbishop's soul was in paradise, that "grave hindrances, weakness of body and the King's affairs" prevented the carrying out of the visitation.

The Register contains however a full and significant record of the collegiate church of Southmalling, diocese of Chichester, in the archbishop's immediate jurisdiction of Shoreham. This was performed by commissaries, master John Stokys, Leg.D., the archbishop's chancellor, and master John Pymonde, public notary, on 1 August 1453. The mandate of visitation, dated at Lambeth on 6 July and received by the dean of Southmalling, John Harry, on 9th, is precise in the causes it lists for the visitation: the archbishop has heard that some canons are absent from divine service, and that the fruits of their prebendal churches have been misappropriated, with the result that their chancels are in ruin and their houses in disrepair, and their worship is diminished.

The main interest of this visitation derives from the dean's presentation of the statutes and ordinances of the College on 3 August, which the commissaries refused to accept on the ground that they were inauthentic (pretensa), bearing no notarial mark or subscription. In these circumstances the archbishop authorised

1 R.K. 41.
2 R.K. 327. (N.B.: this long document has been subdivided into paragraphs both lettered and numbered. References in the rest of this section are to such subdivisions of this document.)
3 Ibid., (A).
4 Ibid., (D).
new statutes, which were presented by Stokys on 16 August
and published by master Thomas Knyght, commissary, in September,
notwithstanding the complaint by the vicars that they were too
severe. The statutes, dated 5 September, are then recited,
and provide a good example of statutes laid down for a collegiate
foundation of this kind.

The head of the college was to be the dean, who was to be
responsible for discipline, and to have rights of induction,
visitation and probate of wills. The dean was to be resident
except for the purpose of study, but might be absent for three
months during the gathering of the autumn fruits of his pre-
bendal church of Lindfield. Under the dean there were to be
three canons and prebendaries - precentor, chancellor and
treasurer, for whom residence (40 days) and attendance at
divine service (Mattins, Mass and Vespers) was laid down;
non-residentiaries were to make payment to those in residence,
and were to be fined for non-payment. Next were to come the
penitentiary, who was to be resident, the sacrist and the
vicars, for whom the archbishop was to build a house to prevent
wandering and scandal. Vesture was laid down (surplices and
black copes from Holy Cross to the Easter vigil, after Sarum
use). There were to be fines for non-attendance at divine

1 Ibid., (E - F).
2 Ibid., (19).
3 Ibid., (1 - 4).
4 Ibid., (5).
5 Ibid., (6 - 8).
service, and conduct in choir was regulated (there was to be no rushing of the psalms, breaking of silence, misbehaviour, wandering about, leaving before service was finished), as was conduct in college (contention, taverns and fornication were to be avoided, on pain of expulsion). Fruits of prebends and college property were not to be alienated, and the dean and canons were to contribute 6s 8d. annually to the fabric.

On 9 and 10 September the commissary received the college's oath of obedience to the archbishop to observe the new statutes. On 30 September the visitation was prorogued until 6 May 1454 (later amended to 7 May), and on 12 December the archbishop ended the visitation by committing to the dean his power to sequestrate prebends and inflict penalties.

**Ordination**

Kemp performed only one of the five ordinations recorded in the Register, when he ordained two candidates in the oratory of his manor of Lambeth on 25 May 1453: master Gregory Newylle, I.A., rector of Warton, diocese of Winchester, made acolyte and subdeacon, and master Luke Lancok, LL.D., made deacon to a title

at Oseney abbey, diocese of Lincoln.¹

The other four ordinations were performed by Richard bishop of Ross, three in the cathedral and one at Otford. 41 men were ordained to one or more orders. 6 of these were monks of Christ Church, 4 monks of St. Augustine's, 2 canons of St. Gregory's, 4 Augustinian canons of Canterbury and 5 friars of the Canterbury house of Preachers. 2 were monks of St. Lartin's, Dover and one a brother of Domus Dei, Dover; 2 monks of Boxley and one a monk of Robertsbridge, in the diocese of Chichester; and 2 religious of the order of captives of the Redemption in the diocese of Canterbury. St. Gregory's, Canterbury, provided titles for two of the secular clerks, Sele in Chichester diocese also for two, Ambresbury in Salisbury diocese and St. Mary, Dunkeswell, in Exeter diocese, one each. Two candidates are described merely as clerks of the diocese of Canterbury, and one of the diocese of Chichester. One canon of Calcote, diocese of Chichester, was ordained priest. The remaining two candidates were ordained priest on the title of their benefices: Roger Welyngton, rector of Wodechurch, and master James Goldewell, Leg.D., rector of Cheryton.²

Officers

Goldewell's ordination by the suffragan rather than by the archbishop himself is perhaps surprising. He was one of the three

1 R.K. 125.
prominent new officers to appear in Canterbury administration in Kemp's time. Goldewell's commission as commissary-general was dated 2 November 1452, but he can be found acting in that capacity on 27 September that year, when a commission was issued to him to inquire into and punish cases in which unlicensed absence by rectors and vicars had led to neglect and ruin of chancels and benefice houses, neglect of cure and of performance of divine office, alienation of the fruits of churches and misuse of funds intended for poor parishioners; cases of clerks holding two or more incompatible benefices without papal dispensation; of wandering and irregular clerks saying divine office and administering sacraments in the diocese; of men and women wandering from diocese to diocese under the veil of marriage, but not legitimately married; of those who possess scriptures in English and publish opinions contrary to the law of Christ. Unfortunately no record exists of any findings Goldewell may have made from his inquiry into these important and grave matters. He was still acting as commissary-general on 5 March 1454, when a mandate was issued to him to order solemn processions throughout the province because of the tribulations and discords besetting the realm, with 100 days' indulgence. On 11 October 1453, having resigned Cheryton, he was instituted into the All Souls' living of Harrietsham; the list of institutions contains a certificate of inquisition into the right of patronage of this benefice made on behalf of All Souls.

1 R.K. 46, 55.
2 R.K. 84.
3 R.K. 290 - 91, 303.
Master Robert Dobbes, Decr.D., was commissioned official of the Court of Arches on 29 October 1452.¹ Master John Stokys is named as Stafford's chancellor and auditor of causes and archdeacon of Ely when licensed to hold three incompatabilia on 22 January 1449.² He was commissioned to this office by Kemp on 1 October 1452,³ and was re-appointed by Bourgchier in 1454, under whom he is found as a commissary for the probate of wills in 1456 - 57 and official of the court of Canterbury in 1460.⁴ He was prolocutor of the house of clergy in the convocation of 1453.⁵ In addition to his archdeaconry of Ely, he held the rectory of East Lavant and the deanery of Pagham.⁶ Kemp used the seal of the official of the court of Canterbury in the early months of his tenure of the see while his archiepiscopal seal was being prepared. (Some archbishops continued to use the seal of the diocese from which they had come; this might be insensitive in the case of an archbishop translated from York.)⁷ The archbishop's registrar, master Thomas Knyght, emerged from customary anonymity on 6 February 1453 to receive the oath of the newly appointed apparitor in the diocese of Norwich, Thomas Elocte.⁸

¹ R.K. 45.
² R.S. 262 (Stafford was collating him to Tring, vacant by the death of master William Byconnyll, Leg.D.).
³ R.K. 82.
⁴ Churchill, Cant. Admin., ii, 243, i, 406n, ii, 238.
⁵ R.K. 20.
⁶ R.K. 47 (2 October 1452).
⁸ R.K. 69.
Convocation 1453

The Convocation which met on 7 February 1453 is of unique importance by virtue of the fulness of its records, and affords a model account of the procedure of a Canterbury Convocation. On 24 December 1452 the archbishop's mandate was sent from Croydon to Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, instructing him to summon Convocation to meet at St. Paul's on 7 February next, in obedience to royal letters under the privy seal dated at Sheen on 15 December.1 The bishop duly forwarded the summons; Amund Lacy, bishop of Exeter, recorded on 28 January that he had received his summons, dated at Wykeham on 8 January, which admitted no excuse for non-attendance. On 1 February he commissioned Walter Lybert, bishop of Norwich, and others to act as his proxies, excusing his absence on the grounds of age and infirmity. On 4 February he forwarded his certificate of citation to the archbishop, apologising to him for the late arrival of those who would attend, due to shortness of notice and the length of the journey.2 Also on 8 January the commissary-general of Canterbury, Goldewell, was ordered to summon the secular clergy of the city and diocese to attend in the persons of two proctors.3

Among the more valuable records of this Convocation is the list of those summoned to attend it4 (the only such list before 15295). The list is arranged by diocese, divided where necessary

1 R.K. 16.
2 R. Lacy, iii, 162 – 63.
3 R.K. 16.
4 R.K. 40
into archdeaconries, listing in order prior or dean and chapter of the cathedral church, archdeacons, abbots, priors, some masters of hospitals and deans of colleges, and \textit{clerus eiusdem diocesis}. The total number summoned was 410, comprising 296 religious, 11 deans of cathedrals, 51 archdeacons, 11 proctors of cathedral chapters, 9 masters of hospitals and 32 proctors of clergy. The document does not include names from the diocese of Llandaff nor the proctors of the diocese of Lincoln, who together with the bishops bring the probable total membership to 444. Membership from each diocese was extremely uneven. Lincoln, with its 6 archdeaconries, provided the largest contingent of 98 named persons (i.e. excluding the cathedral chapter and the proctors); London (4 archdeaconries) afforded 36, Coventry and Lichfield 27, Norwich 23, Winchester and Worcester 20 each, Salisbury 19, Exeter 18. Canterbury boasted only 12 named persons, the same number as Hereford, one less than Chichester and two less than Bath and Wells. At the other end of the scale were Ely with 4 and Rochester with 3. Among the Welsh dioceses 14 named persons are listed for St. Davids, 8 for Bangor and 4 for St. Asaph.

Convocation opened on Wednesday 7 February with mass of the Holy Spirit at the high altar of St. Paul's, celebrated by the archbishop assisted by the bishops of London, Winchester, Bangor, Hereford and Lincoln. This was followed by a sermon in the Lady Chapel preached by master Walter Hunte, O.Carm., on the text, "That our ministration be not blamed" (II Corinthians 6: 3). An

\footnote{E. W. Kemp, \textit{Counsel and Consent}, pp. 131 - 36. (He contrasts the membership of the York Convocation of 1424: 101.)}
indulgence of 100 days was granted by the archbishop, and of
40 days by the other bishops, to all who heard the sermon and
were contrite for their sins.¹

The legal formalities were then completed. Thomas bishop
of London presented his certificate, dated 1 February, that he
had transmitted the archbishop's mandate in correct form to
the other bishops, and submitted the list of those cited to
appear. The archbishop's auditor of causes, master John Stokys,
LL.D., appointed the following day, 8 February, for the receipt
and scrutiny of certificates and proxies of bishops, lesser
prelates and proctors of clergy by himself, master Robert Dobbes,
Decr.D., official of the Court of Arches, and master Thomas
Knyght, Decr.B., the archbishop's registrar. Convocation was
then adjourned to 9 February.²

At 8 a.m. on 9 February, the archbishop addressed the
assembly in an elegant speech on the necessities of Church and
kingdom which had occasioned the Convocation. He then instructed
deans, archdeacons and clerical proctors to repair to the chapter
house crypt, the accustomed place, to elect their prolocutor.
In their absence he discussed with the prelates the condition
of the Church and its reform. The clergy returned, and the dean
of St. Paul's announced their unanimous election as prolocutor,
though he had protested his unworthiness, of the auditor of

¹ R.K. 18e
causes (the prolocutor was always a senior member of the archbishop's legal staff), master John Stokys, archdeacon of lily and proctor for Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells.¹

On Saturday 10 February Convocation received a delegation of lords, among whom were Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, Robert Botiller, prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and others. The earl of Worcester, Treasurer of England, made a speech in English in which he drew to the attention of Convocation the great threat posed to the realm from its enemies, and requested a subsidy to aid the expedition to France being mounted by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. The archbishop promised a favourable response, and the lords withdrew. The remainder of the day's session was devoted to the matter raised by the bishop of London of the dispute between the parochial clergy of London and their parishioners over the question of oblations.² The archbishop then appointed the bishop of London and Winchester his commissaries during his absence from Convocation to attend as Chancellor to the pressing business of the realm.

On Monday 12 February, the day on which the archbishop had promised the reform of the Church would be set forth in public,

¹ R.K. 20. (Stokys was also prolocutor in 1460 and 1463: Kemp, Counsel and Consent.)
² R.K. 21. (This dispute was not settled by October 1454, when the Pope ordered its settlement: C.P.L., x, 165.)
Convocation in the archbishop's absence discussed the state of the Church and the strife in London. It then adjourned until 15th. ¹ By this date the archbishop had returned, and Convocation addressed itself to the matter of the subsidy requested by the earl of Worcester. After deliberation, the archbishop, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, Worcester, Bangor, Salisbury, Hereford and Lincoln, the abbots of St. Augustine's and Faversham and other abbots and priors proposed a subsidy of two whole tenths. The prolocutor, questioned by the archbishop as to whether the lower house had discussed and agreed to the proposed subsidy, replied that no such agreement had been reached. Questioned further as to whether he wished to propose reform of the Church, he spoke eruditely of many needful things, which earned him the rebuke of the archbishop that he should bring forward one simple matter which they might fully discuss.²

16 February was spent in discussion of the affairs of the Church and the kingdom, under the presidency of the bishop of London, since the archbishop was again absent.³ On 17th the prolocutor presented the cravamina for which the clergy sought redress, and intimated the will of the lower house to grant a subsidy of a single whole tenth.⁴ On 19th Convocation was

¹ R.K. 22.
² R.K. 23.
⁴ R.K. 25.
adjourned to the 22nd, to allow the dean of St. Severin, Bordeaux, to be present. He detailed the danger to Aquitaine from the French army, and begged a substantial subsidy, especially for the relief of Bordeaux.¹

On 23rd Convocation met at Lambeth, since the archbishop was worn out with his labours,² when again general matters affecting the Church and the realm were discussed. It was here on 26th that Convocation heard from master Vincent Clement of the plot against the Pope the previous month by the republican Stephen Porcaro, and gave thanks for the Pope's deliverance - which appeared to have a salutary effect on the archbishop's health.³

On Saturday 31 arch Convocation returned to the London dispute. Master John Stokys, the prolocutor, was commissioned with three archdeacons, master Andrew Holes of York, master Robert Stillington of Colchester and master John Selotte of Cornwall, and masters William Witham and Hugh Sugar, doctors of laws, to negotiate the matter with the aldermen and other leading citizens. The prelates were requested to raise the clergy's pleas for reformation at the parliament due to open at Reading on 6 March; the archbishop promised to bring these reforms before the King's highness and the magnates, but could obtain nothing difficult or uncompromising.⁴

¹ R.K. 27.  
² R.K. 28.  
³ R.K. 29 (see above, p. 214).  
⁴ R.K. 30.
Convocation then adjourned until 15 March. By this date Parliament (which Kemp did not open, due to illness) was meeting, and was to grant a fifteenth and tenth, tunnage and poundage, wool subsidies at a rate 25 percent higher than previously for denizens and 50 percent higher for aliens, for term of the King's life—a grant unprecedented except in the year of Agincourt, which provoked from Henry on 28 March an expression of gratitude for Parliament's "fidelity, concern and immense good will".¹ In this heady atmosphere Convocation could scarcely remain parsimonious, and the lower house duly granted the sought-for two tenths and the upper house ratified the concession.² On 10 July the archbishop certified the King of the grant for the defence of the realm, the two tenths to be paid to the Exchequer in moieties of a tenth on the feast of St. Martin in winter 1453, 1454, 1455 and 1456, subject to the customary exemptions of houses of poor nuns, pauper hospitals, benefices valued at less than 12 marks per annum,³ with the additional exemptions of the royal colleges of Eton and St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Cambridge, the foundations of William of Wykeham and Merton College (Kemp's college), the houses of Sheen and Syon and all Charterhouses, and the order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England.⁴ Financial penalty to nullify the effect of exemption was imposed by this Convocation as by those of Stafford. The Convocation of November 1449 – July 1450, which had

¹ B. Wolffe, Henry VI, p. 263; Rot. Parl., v, 228 – 30, 269.
³ Those in the diocese of Canterbury are listed in R.K. 34 – 35.
granted one tenth, had imposed an additional quarter tenth on those who claimed exemption from collecting, and 2s. in the pound was levied from those exempt from payment of tenths as a grant to the archbishop, who passed the amount thus raised to the King, an expedient it copied from the Convocation of July 1449. A similar concession was made now, the amounts doubled to reflect the grant of two whole tenths. What was new was the provision that if holders of letters patent of exemption surrendered them by the feast of the Assumption, they would be bound only to payment of normal tenths. Many religious houses did so, including the whole order of Sempringham.

As a quid pro quo the lower house nominated four clerks to assist the prelates in the matters for reform which were to be brought before Parliament: masters John Selotte, Decr.D., William Sitham, Leg.D., John Pakenham, LL.B., and Thomas Larsah, LL.B. The archbishop then dissolved Convocation after a session of five weeks.

The royal mandate for appointment of collectors of the subsidy was issued on 13 July, adding to the list of exemptions the prebend of Coringham in the cathedral church of Lincoln, on the ground of its insufficiency to support the tax. In response to the archbishop's

1 See above, pp. 125 — 26.
2 E. W. Kemp, Counsel and Consent; Roll of the King's Remembrancer, 32 Henry VII, Michaelmas term, Communia, m. 30.
3 R.K. 32.
4 R.K. 33.
commission given at Malling on 3 September, master James Goldewell, commissary-general of Canterbury, issued his certificate on 23 September concerning the benefices in the diocese which by virtue of the customary dramatic and unlikely eventualities (flood, arson, ruin, war, etc.) or because they were valued at less than 12 marks per annum were too poor to pay the subsidy; the names follow of four religious houses (St. Martin's, Dover, and the nunneries of St. Sepulchre, Canterbury, Davington and Sheppey), four hospitals, and 109 benefices worth less than 12 marks whose rector or curate resided.¹ On 30 September letters went out appointing the prior and convent of Leeds collectors of the first moiety of the first whole tenth and the second moiety of the tenth granted by the religious exempt from taxation, the abbot and convent of Faver-sham collectors of the second moiety of the first whole tenth, and the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's collectors of the second whole tenth; the archbishop had certified these names to the Exchequer on 18 September.²

Kemp and the House of Lancaster

Kemp was made archbishop of Canterbury by the King and Somerset, asserted Gascoigne dismissively.³ As chancellor and archbishop he continued to serve the Lancastrian dynasty faithfully until his death on the eve of the war which brought its fall.

¹ R.K. 34 – 35. (Cf. a list of 90 benefices compiled in 1425, largely identical with those listed in 1453: R.Ch., iii, 113 – 15.)
³ Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritatis p. 37.
He lent £133 6s. 8d. to equip an expedition to Aquitaine to relieve Talbot, who had reduced Bordeaux; a grant for repayment of £303 6s. 8d. was authorised on 20 January 1453.¹ As an executor of Cardinal Beaufort, he was one of a group of royal creditors who were to command the profits of wardships, marriages, reliefs, escheats, etc. to the tune of £2000 to repay a loan made from the cardinal's estate.² On 2 March he was pardoned (forfeitures) all fines, amercements, outgoings, forisfactions, scutages, tenths, subsidies and debts, and on 19 July received another pardon as an executor of Beaufort of all offences committed and penalties incurred by him or the cardinal.³

On 13 October 1453, two months after Henry's long illness had begun, the fortunes of the house of Lancaster appeared to have revived, and its future seemed assured, when Queen Margaret of Anjou bore a son, who was named Edward after the Confessor on whose feast day he first saw the light. He was baptised at Westminster the following day by the bishop of Winchester. The archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund duke of Somerset and Anne duchess of Buckingham were his godparents, and immediately after his baptism he was confirmed by the archbishop. A royal letter announcing the joyful news of the birth came to the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the subprior published it in the nave.⁴ Kemp had been in his grave for 17 years when this last hope of Lancaster perished at Tewkesbury.

¹ C.P.R. (1452 - 61), 104.
² Ibid., 67 (14 April 1453).
³ Ibid., 62, 109.
⁴ Chron. Stone, p. 87; Flenley, Six Town Chronicles (Bale's Chronicle), p. 141.
The Death of Stafford

John Stafford died at his manor of Maidstone at 3 p.m. ("the ninth hour before midnight") on 25 May 1452. He had been archbishop for 8 years, 10 months and 13 days. His body was taken to Canterbury on 29 May, where it was received by eight monks and laid in the church. The following day three masses were celebrated: the bishop of Ross said mass of the day (of the Holy Spirit, for it was Whit Tuesday), the prior mass of our Lady, and the bishop of Rochester mass of requiem. Copes were worn for the first mass, albs for the other two. After the third mass the bishop of Rochester buried Stafford under a flat marble stone inlaid with brass opposite the Martyrdom of St. Thomas before the new chapel of the Virgin Mary. The stone, now unmarked, may still be seen, but the brass is long gone. According to Somner (1703), these words were inscribed upon it:

Quis fuit enucleas, quem celas saxa moles?
Stafford Antistes fuerat dictus: Joannes.
Qua sedit sede, marmor quaeo simul ede?
Pridem Bathoniae, Remi totius & inde
Prima exreclus. Pro praesule funde precatus
Aureolam gratis huic de virgine natus.

1 R.S.C. f. 197v; Chron. Stone, p. 53.
2 Chron. Stone, p. 53.
Stafford is believed to have left some relics, vestments and his best new mitre to the convent, which were not to be alienated, but might be broken up if this would prove of benefit to the convent. It appears that an attempt was made by the Pope to interfere in the administration of the will. The official of the court of Canterbury informed all rectors and clerks in the province of Canterbury on 28 September 1452 that the prior and convent had intimated that the archbishop had made his last will and testament and had named his executors, who had assumed administration of his goods. Two papal delegates, James Blakedon, bishop of Achonry, and David, the Cistercian abbot of Thyra in the diocese of Bath and Wells, were making efforts to dispossess the prior and convent of their jurisdiction; Achonry was hereby inhibited, and Bekynton was ordered to appear before the official or his deputy in the Court of Arches on 19 October. (No similar attempt seems to have been made in the case of Kemp's will, in which it might have been more likely in view of his rank of cardinal; however the promotion of Blakedon from Achonry to Bangor in Kemp's archiepiscopate might seem to have been a favour bestowed on the Pope's delegate in this matter.)

On the day of Stafford's burial, two monks, master John Waltham, S.T.B., custos maneriorum, and Walter Hertford, bertone—

1 G. Smith, Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 174.
2 Who was this? Master Robert Dobbes was not appointed until 29 October 1452; master William Byconyll had died before 22 January 1449; R.S. 262, R.K. 45.
3 R.N.C., f. 184.
4 R.K. 15.
anus, were sent to petition for licence to elect. Kemp's election took place on 28 June.¹

The Death of Kemp

John Kemp died at Lambeth at 4 a.m. on 22 March 1454. His archiepiscopate had lasted a mere 1 year, 7 months and 6 days.² His body was brought to Canterbury on 1 April, where it was received at the Westgate by the prior and convent, the bishop of Ross and the abbot of St. Augustine's. The prior presided at Kemp's exequies, and his nephew the bishop of London sang requiem mass the following day. Each priest was paid 13s. 4d. and each clerk in inferior orders 6s 8d. to pray for the archbishop's soul.³ As befitted his rank, he was buried in a splendid tomb in the Quire, on the south side opposite that of Chichele.⁴ The inscription was placed on the tomb, Bis primas, ter presul erat, his cardine functus.⁵

On 31 March the prior and convent of Christ Church conveyed to Kemp's executors, Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice, Thomas Tirell and Gervase Clifton, knights, John Shingilton, esquire, and Robert Ballard, priest,

¹ Chron. Stone, p. 54.
⁴ See the description of the tomb (restored in 1946 – 47) in Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 21st Annual Report, 1948, pp. 22, 26 – 27.
⁵ E. Hasted, The History of the Ancient and Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, p. 65.
their prerogative authority in the matter of the archbishop's will. On 31 May they commissioned the bishop and the other executors to administer the goods of the deceased, and issued a similar commission on 23 June. Register N records an inventory of Kemp's goods, estimating their value at £4069 18s. 8d. This amount includes items such as £789 10s. 11d. in chamber and wardrobe, £827 1s. 6d. in the vestments of his chapel, £398 1s. 4d. in jewels of silver and gold pertaining to the chapel, £591 15s. 10d. in jewels pertaining to the chapel, treasure chamber and pantry. The books for his chapel were worth £98 16s. 8d., and his books of theology and canon and civil law and his other books worth £263 18s. 10d. This inventory was inspected by the prior and convent and sealed by the bishop of London on 28 May 1454.

On 4 April 1454 John Goldwell, sacrist, and Walter Hertford, now custos maneriorum, were sent to seek licence to elect. The Yorkist Council had already decided on 30 March that Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Ely, should succeed Kemp at Canterbury, that master William Grey should have Ely, and master George Neville the next vacant bishopric (Exeter). Licence to elect was granted on 8 April and issued by the Chancellor, Salisbury.

1 R.N.C., f. 218.
2 Ibid., f. 219.
3 Ibid., f. 221; w. Somner, Antiquities of Canterbury, appendix p. 34. (A similar inventory of Arundel lists that prelate's goods at £6008 12s. 7d.: R. Arundel, ff. 221v - 222.)
4 Chron. Stone, p. 59.
5 P.O.F.C., vi, 168.
on 9th. Bowshir' was elected on 23rd. The Pope issued the bull of translation on 21 June, and the temporalities were restored on 22 August. No sede vacante register survives from either interregnum.

Others' Assessment of Stafford and Kemp

Although Stafford and Kemp were but two members of a class common in the late Middle Ages, the lawyer-royal servant-bishop, they are frequently thought of together as outstanding representatives of the type, epitomising both its good qualities (competence, administrative skill, professional reliability) and its bad (ambition, neglect of high ecclesiastical responsibilities in the interest of service of the realm, lack of spiritual fervour, leadership and pastoral care, which was mitigated to some extent but not quite compensated by the provision of competent deputies). Their names are often coupled. Stigota asserts that "Stafford's name has been linked with Kemp's as representing the worst side of the Lancastrian episcopate." Jacob described them

1 R.N.C., f. 218v; P.O.F.C., vi, 170; Poedera, xi, 347; C.P.R. (1452-61), 147.
2 R.N.C., f. 185; Chron. Stone, p. 59.
3 R. Bourchier, 1; C.P.L., x, 699.
4 C.P.R. (1452-61), 151.
5 Churchill, Cant. Admin., i, p. 558n.
6 Stigota, Kempe, p. 182.
as "the two most ambitious prelates among the English higher clergy", though he later saw Stafford as "a vigilant diocesan - not a John Kemp".¹ Storey held them to be "the most notorious absentees of their day", but later pointed out Kemp's not infrequent trips to York,² and the calumny could not be held to be true of Stafford.

In older and more general works judgments of Stafford and Kemp have been made from less specialised knowledge of the workings of Church and government in the Lancastrian period than is now available, which with differences of emphasis express the judgments summarised above: their impact on their archbishopric was either negative or disastrous; however some grudging commendation may be made of their administrative capacity in public office.

In the judgment of the Victoria County History, therefore, "the primacy of Stafford was one which left no mark".³ Capes felt likewise that though he might be regarded as a peacemaker, Stafford "scarcely fulfilled Chichele's prophecy in the letter to the Pope which recommended him...as metropolitan he made no mark, and of his administration there is nothing to record".⁴ R. C. Jenkins claimed that in Stafford's archiepiscopate "the light thrown on the diocese becomes faint".⁵

¹ Jacob, R.Ch., i, p. xcii; Stafford, p. 10.
³ V.C.H. (Kent), ii, p. 58.
⁵ R. C. Jenkins, Diocesan Histories: Canterbury, p. 206.
Withers judged Stafford "undistinguished in either office", and Stubbs offered the careful but negative conclusion that "if he had done little good, he had done no harm". In general, however, estimates of Stafford's worth in secular office are cautiously more generous. Ramsey called him a "cautious experienced official, indispensable to government". Lord Campbell described him as "a sensible, moderate, plodding, safe man" who "diligently and quietly applied himself to the duties of office", while Foss declared that throughout his long tenure of the great seal he "exhibited that learning, caution and intelligence" which was to be expected from his character and experience. Both were wrong with respect to the nobility of his birth, as was A. H. Thompson, who nevertheless pointed out that nobility in the higher clergy would not carry them to the peak of achievement without a corresponding level of ability; we may therefore be entitled to conclude that if Stafford enjoyed less nobility than was previously believed, he possessed correspondingly more ability. More recent judgments tend to be less readily dismissive and more reflective: "Stafford was not a hero", allows Jacob, but "his conduct (in Church and government) was likely...to have indicated mercy rather

1 H. Withers, The Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 119.
2 Stubbs, Constitutional History, iii, p. 148.
than vindictiveness. He was regarded as an able, just and merciful judge, human, patient, and as open-handed in his hospitality; and that is not a bad reputation".1

Assessments of Kemp have perhaps been stronger in both directions. He "utterly neglected" his dioceses2 — or at least failed to exercise "exemplary vigilance".3 His tenure of Canterbury yielded "no works of any importance", and was a "primacy as sterile in its fruits as it was brief in its duration".4 Indeed, "there is scarcely a prelate on the whole list of her primates of whom the Church of England has less reason to be proud than she has of Cardinal Kemp".5 Even R. L. Storey considered him "a less pleasant character" (than Bowet), whose ascent was "indecently fast";6 but Foss believed his rapid preferment in Church and state, despite his birth, betrayed his intellectual powers and excellence of character.7

Kemp was "a politician first and hardly at all a bishop".8

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1 Jacob, Stafford, pp. 22 - 23.
4 G. Smith, Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 175; R. C. Jenkins, Diocesan Histories: Canterbury, p. 207. (Jenkins supposes that Bourchier's early commission to his official-principal to "reform the crimes and excesses of the clergy and laity of the diocese of Canterbury" is evidence of Stafford's and Kemp's utter neglect of the diocese, which required the new archbishop's immediate attention, instead of the common form it undoubtedly was.)
5 Cardinal Kemp, anonymous article in Church Quarterly Review, xiii, 1881 - 82, p. 349.
Opinions vary with regard to the quality and value of his political career. Griffiths maintains that his asperity at Arras was a liability to the English cause.\(^1\) Campbell thought him unfit for his second chancellorship because all his previous powers had "utterly evaporated".\(^2\) But Gairdner pointed to him as "as honest a specimen of the political churchman as an essentially bad system could produce";\(^3\) he was "businesslike" (Ramsey)\(^4\) and "a man of great experience, moderation and fidelity, whose death left an unfilled void in the Lancastrian government" (Stubbs),\(^5\) since he was "the ablest of the surviving ministers".\(^6\) Modern historians have echoed and expanded this view, despite some misgivings. To Griffiths, Kemp was "a man of wisdom, experience and moderation" who strove to prevent polarisation.\(^7\) R. L. Storey pays eloquent testimony to Kemp as an "astute and resolute defender of constitutional propriety...a canon lawyer of great distinction, subtle but rooted in principles, with 40 years' experience...the last great civil servant of the house of Lancaster...(who) brought to Henry's Council firmness of purpose, desire for sound administration and justice...(and) would not yield an

5 Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii, p. 166.
6 *Dictionary of National Biography*.
7 Griffiths, *op. cit.*, pp. 724, 726.
inch on principle. Kemp's integrity and fearlessness in the cause of justice were unsurpassed in any other age or land".¹ So he "descended to his grave with his character unblemished" (Foss).²

On balance these assessments might not seem very far removed from contemporary albeit formal references: Chichele's commendation of Stafford's knowledge, nobility, hospitality, faith, loyalty, zeal and service, and Henry VI's representation of him as wise, industrious, prudent, just and greatly loved;³ and the King's extolling of Kemp's "holiness, purity of life, abundance of knowledge, ripeness of counsel, experience in business, wisdom, eloquence, gravity and dignity of person" in his letter of thanks to the Pope for making Kemp a cardinal, and grief at learning that "one of the wisest lords in this land" was dead.⁴

Conclusion

After all that has been said above, our own conclusion might appear unadventurously negative. The 15th century was not an age of saints or great spiritual leaders; yet it was arguably a time when the English Church was in a good state, well administered and

¹ R. L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster, p. 82. (The last sentence is quoted from ed. J. A. Giles, Incerti Scriptores Chronicon Anglie, Pt. iv, p. 457.)
³ Corr. Reg., i, 147, ii, 75 - 76.
⁴ Ibid., i, 40; Paston Letters, iii, 13.
cared for if not inspired, its people pious if not holy, its religious observance impressive at least in quantity. This state of affairs was in no small way due to its bishops, mediocre though most may have been, and often exercising oversight remotely through deputy and commissary, and to its archbishops, careful and experienced men whose achievements lay in administering the Church well, developing its organs of government such as Convocation, extending testamentary jurisdiction, discovering and destroying heresy, steering a careful course in relations with the revitalised post-Schism papacy. Neither was the century a period of able statesmen and political leaders, since its second half witnessed the collapse of government, civil war and deposition of kings; but there were important constitutional developments, in Parliament, in Council, in royal administration and in offices of state, not least in Chancery with the development of its equitable jurisdiction. The leading figures in both Church and realm were the civil servant bishops; the higher offices of state, especially the Chancery, were in the hands of those who were already members of the episcopal bench, or would soon join it (lay chancellors, such as Salisbury in 1454, were rare). This was a common class in the later Middle Ages, and what credit can be given in consideration of government of Church and realm belongs largely to this class.

Among the more prominent members of this class were John Stafford and John Kemp. Between them they served as diocesan bishops for 62 years in 6 different sees, 38 of these years as archbishops and metropolitans, 11 of these years in occupation
of the primatial see of all England. In addition, as well as the lesser offices of Privy Seal and Treasurer, they occupied the chief office of state, the Chancery, for 28 years, Stafford for an unprecedented single stint of 18 years, Kemp for two shorter but widely separated periods of office, on the latter occasion turned to in old age as the only remaining reliable minister in a rapidly deteriorating political situation. Even more impressive is the long service both gave to Council, which began in Henry V's reign and continued unbroken until their deaths, through the high hopes for consolidating and extending the English claim to France, through the responsible administration of the minority Council, through the Beaufort-Gloucester contests, up to and beyond the nadir of the Lancastrian Council under the partisan, tyrannous and incompetent regime of Suffolk — an unbroken service of over 30 years each.

Much of Stafford's and Kemp's work as archbishops and chancellors must be accredited to the gradual developments in the period fostered by the class as a whole. Relatively little can be put down specifically to the individual initiative of either. Gradualism, painstaking care, even anonymity, are the marks of the class; it is debatable how much influence exercised by the Chancellor individually, or as spokesman of Council, or of the magnate class as a whole, is discernible in, for example, Council's reply to the claims of Gloucester in 1422 or of York in 1460, or to the clamour of Parliament for destruction of Suffolk, banishment of courtiers and Acts of Resumption, and accommodation of the demands of York in 1450. In the last case, the astute and
reolute hand of Kemp may perhaps be clearly seen, but 1450 was an exceptional year when bishops were being killed and archbishops were having to negotiate with rebels. Usually their influence would be unseen, their ideas and counsels expressed through and activated by the constitutionally proper channels of King-in-Council.

Nevertheless words like integrity, principle, sound administration and justice can be convincingly applied to what can be known of the work of these men. Their individual contributions rightly stand out less clearly, but they can be seen: the development of Chancery's equitable jurisdiction made possible by the stability brought to that office by Stafford's long tenure of it; some advance in constitutional theory, especially of the three estates of the realm, perceptible in Stafford's speeches to Parliament; the attempt (by both?) to hold back Suffolk's impeachment, a heavy weapon whose frequent use was to cause much bloodshed and misery within a few years; Kemp's restraint of the Suffolk party while he held the great seal at a very difficult time; the attempts (by both?) to get to grips with and to heal the deep unrest which surfaced in 1450, reflecting profound dissatisfaction particularly in Kent, with which both had very close associations.

When we turn from the constitutional to the ecclesiastical sphere, it is true that there is far less in the way of positive achievement to which to point, and the strictures of earlier

1 R. L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster, p. 82.
commentators insinuating 'neglect' and 'disaster' are harder to answer. The fact remains that Chichele regarded Stafford, whose record during his eighteen years as bishop of Bath and Wells was commendable, as the best available to succeed him. Stafford's tenure of Canterbury was unspectacular but competent, and in some small ways significant, for example in his careful handling of the papal demands for subsidy for crusade, and in galvanising the financial support of the clergy for the troubled realm by the careful removal of exemptions from taxation - that is, in precisely those areas of Church government where one would expect a civil servant, formerly Treasurer and now Chancellor, to excel. To Stafford's tact can probably be credited as well the fact that Canterbury's status in relation to the northern metropolitical see and the powerful suffragan sees of his own province retained its delicate pre-eminence, despite the existence now of cardinals at both Winchester and York.

Not so much can be claimed for Kemp's tenure of Canterbury. It was of course very brief; he was an old man, and the cares of government laid heavily upon him. The 1453 Convocation is of great significance, but only through the accident that its records have survived more completely than those of many other Convocations. This echoes the clarity and thoroughness which are characteristic of Kemp's Register (in contrast to the comparatively disorganised and undifferentiated keeping of Stafford's), though it is debateable how far this can be claimed to reflect any credit on the standards of the diocesan.¹ For neither Stafford nor Kemp can be claimed any

¹ Kemp's York Register is "a chaotic, shapeless bulk": Bigota, Kempe, p. 331.
evidence of more than formal contact with or concern for the religious houses or clergy and parish churches of their dioceses - neither can have been an outstanding 'father-in-God'.

The abiding impression of these two men, who rose from middling origins (Kemp's not so poor as has often been supposed, nor the illegitimate Stafford's so noble) to the highest offices in Church and realm must be of stability, long service, competent administration, unspectacular reliability. If not of the calibre called for by the troubles of the time, they were the best that the age produced. To echo Jacob's judgment of Stafford, "that is not a bad reputation". ¹

¹ Jacob, Stafford, p. 23.
(A) A NOTE ON THE WILLS IN STAFFORD'S AND KEMP'S REGISTERS

More than half of the two Registers (158 folios out of 347) is taken up by wills, mainly those of persons having notable goods in more than one diocese of the province of Canterbury, probate of whose wills belonged by prerogative right to the archbishop. In Stafford's Register, these are nos. 837 - 1133 (ff. 111 - 94, pp. 341 - 722, and Appendix, p. 766 ff.); in Kemp's Register, nos. 127 - 246 (ff. 257 - 319, pp. 121 - 374). In addition, Stafford's Register contains 13 folios of wills from the diocese of Norwich sede vacante, proved by the keepers of the spirituality (nos. 299 - 370, ff. 59v - 72v, pp. 200 - 275).

Because the subject of the present study has been the careers and responsibilities of the two archbishops, not much attention has been paid to the details of the wills themselves, and to what may be gleaned from their contents about the lives and concerns of a wide range of persons, and about church and secular life in the 15th century (and about the development of the English language from those wills which are written in English). The transcriptions doubtless provide the raw material for subsequent profitable research into these matters.

The policy of not transcribing wills (or other documents) already printed or summarised elsewhere would have removed from the present edition the following wills of great significance and interest:
(i) (R.S. 837, ff. 111 - 13 v) Henry Beaufort, cardinal and bishop of Winchester;

(ii) (838, ff. 114 - 18 v) Walter Hungerford kt., lord Hungerford;

(iii) (907, ff. 131 v - 33 v) Thomas Brouns, bishop of Norwich;

(iv) (1011, ff. 160 - 61) John Holand, duke of Exeter;

(v) (1117b, ff. 189 v - 90) William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk.

(iv and v are in English.)

With the exception of Brouns's will, a satisfactory edition of which is readily available elsewhere, and of which therefore only a summary is given, the above wills are printed in the Appendix to Stafford's Register (p. 766 ff).

Note that in the transcriptions the term testamentum is translated 'a will'. Where more than one will has been made by a testator, the second, usually termed ultima voluntas, is described as 'another will' (unless the term codicillum, 'a codicil', has been specifically employed in the manuscript). This terminology has been preferred to 'testament' and 'last will' because 15th century usage is not consistent, and the terms testamentum and ultima voluntas (and to some extent codicillum as well) appear to be largely interchangeable.

Points of interest among the detailed provisions of the wills include the following:

(i) The bequest of £20 made by Ralph Rademylde esq. of Sussex in his will dated 28 July 1442 to his stepdaughter, Antigone.¹

A younger son of Thomas Rademylde of Bevington, Sussex, who inherited his elder brother's estates in 1401, Ralph married Margaret, granddaughter of Thomas, second lord Camoys, which brought him a

¹ R.S. 839, p. 343.
substantial share of the Camoys estates in 1426. His second marriage, to Agnes, Antigone's mother, is not known to have taken place before October 1440. Agnes was not apparently of high-ranking family, and brought Rademylde no property. Rademylde was on good terms with his Sussex neighbours, Robert and James Fiennes, and married his son Robert to James's daughter Emmeline shortly before his death in August 1443. James Fiennes was to benefit greatly in terms of wealth and political advantage from the death of Humfrey duke of Gloucester, and was suspected by contemporaries of having had a hand in it. Gloucester named his natural daughter Antigone, the only other clear case of the use of the name. That the two Antigones were the same person is unlikely in view of Rademylde's association via Fiennes with Suffolk's faction, not Gloucester's. Gloucester's Antigone married Henry Grey, count of Tancarville in 1435.1 Rademylde is unlikely to have made a bequest of £20 to a married woman, since such legacies were usually made to unmarried girls, and he would have drawn attention, if this Antigone were his step-daughter, to her status as lady Grey.2

Where the name Antigone came from is a fascinating question, but unanswerable. Its classical association may suggest a deeper penetration of humanism into English society than is generally supposed, as may e.g. the name Senecha, possessed by the wife of John Curson esq. of Croxhall, Derbyshire.3

(ii) Occasional reflections of the breakdown of political stability and of law and order and the growth of oppression occur in the wills, among them the following:

1 Complete Peerage, vi, 138 - 9.
2 The above note is extracted with permission from a letter of Dr. C. Clark to Rev. Prof. G. R. Dunstan, 25 March 1985.
3 R.S. 1115, p. 701.
(a) William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury and confessor to Henry VI, was murdered at Edington, Wilts., on 29 June 1450. He is usually numbered with Suffolk and his henchmen as an extortioner and oppressor, and therefore unpopular, though evidence of his misdeeds is hard to come by. An example occurs in the will of Robert Marshall of London, grocer, dated 25 March 1446, among whose bequests are 10 marks "in recompenseyng of a massebok that the kyng hadde by the bisshop of Salysbury a geynst my will".

(b) Among the ships bequeathed by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, in his will made on 1 September 1452, is his part in the Nicholas of the Tower. This was the ship which intercepted the duke of Suffolk on his way into exile in 1450, and in which he was murdered. This raises the fascinating possibility that Talbot had a part in Suffolk's death. (One of the charges made against Suffolk was that of wasting the revenues lord Sudeley had built up as Treasurer. Talbot refers in his will, immediately after his bequest of his part in the Nicholas, to the £1000 he paid to Sudeley for his daughter Eleanor's marriage. Was there an anti-Suffolk connection between Talbot and Sudeley?)

1 R.S. 984, p. 509.
3 Paston Letters, i, 124 - 5.
4 Rot. Parl., v, 177 - 81.
(B) STAFFORD'S ITINERARY AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

AUGUST 1443 - MAY 1452

This itinerary is compiled principally from the dates of the entries in Stafford's Register (which are very few after March 1451). These are supplemented by:

(i) the dates of his speeches at the opening of Parliament, from the Rolls of Parliament (signified R.P.);

(ii) the dates of warrants of Council attested by his name, from P.R.O. C 81/1546/ 5 - 60 (P.C.);

(iii) the dates at which he was present at meetings of Council at which names were recorded (meetings at which names were not recorded are ignored), from Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council (P.C.); (these records are very scanty in the 1440's);

(iv) other miscellaneous sources which are footnoted.

This itinerary does not take account of the meetings of Convocation during Stafford's archiepiscopate, viz. 19 - 26 October 1444, 22 June - 8 July 1446, 1 - 28 July 1449, 14 November 1449 - 17 July 1450.

The following abbreviations of place names are employed:
Lam. = Lambeth; Westm. = Westminster; Cant. = Canterbury.

For Kemp's itinerary as archbishop of Canterbury, see J. Nigota, John Kempe: A Political Prelate of the 15th Century, Appendix.

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5-6, 13, 15, 18 Lam.

DECEMBER 1443
4, 12, 15-20 Lam.
12-14 Blackfriars (Bp. of Bangor's house) (P.C.)
28 Croydon

JANUARY 1443/4
1, 11, 13, 16, 26, 29-30 Lam.
26 Westm. (Star Chamber) (P.C.)

FEBRUARY 1443/4
1, 4-5 Lam.
6 Croydon
8, 11, 14-20 Lam.
26 Croydon
27 Sheen (P.C.)
28 Lam.

MARCH 1443/4
1 Croydon
1-2, 5 Lam.
3 Westm. (Star Chamber) (P.C.)
6-7, 12 Croydon
17 Lam.
19 Croydon
(1444) 25 Otford
31 Cant.

APRIL 1444
1-14 Cant.
21 Faversham
21-22, 25-27 Lam.

MAY 1444
5, 8, 12, 14, 16, 20, 28 Lam.
29 Croydon

JUNE 1444
2, 7, 10, 14 Croydon
25-26 Lam.

JULY 1444
3-4, 6, 10, 13, 15 Lam.

AUGUST 1444
1 Cant.
5 Charing
6 Maidstone
15 Windsor
20 Croydon

SEPTEMBER 1444
9 Croydon
10 Lam.
24, 28 Croydon
30 Lam.
30 Cant.

OCTOBER 1444
4 - 5 Chiswick
13, 17, 22-23, 26-31 Lam.

NOVEMBER 1444
4 - 9 Lam.
12 -13 Croydon
22 -23 Lam.

DECEMBER 1444
2-3 Croydon
4 Lam.
11 Windsor
12 Lam.
15, 18, 20 Croydon
20 Lam.

JANUARY 1444/5
12 Croydon
12, 14, 20, 26, 29 Lam.
14 Westm. (P.C.)

FEBRUARY 1444/5
1 Westm. (P.C.)
3, 12, 22 Lam.
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27 Lam.
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Note
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In the indexes of names, names of places have generally been listed, especially places within the diocese of Canterbury. These are given without qualification. So too are places whose location is well-known. In other instances, qualification is given by addition either of the county or of the diocese within which the place is situated. In cases where 15th century spelling is significantly different from that of the present day, one or more contemporary forms of the name are listed in apposition to the present form. Where appropriate, and where given in the Registers, the dedication of the parish church is noted in parenthesis.

Names of persons have been less exhaustively listed. In the case of wills, the names of the testators have been listed, and the names of significant legatees or executors, but not those of persons of secondary importance. (Items bequeathed in wills have not been indexed except books and bequests for the fabric of churches.) In the case of lists of ordinations and of presentations to benefices, only significant persons have been listed (though title-giving institutions and benefices will generally be found to have been indexed). Surnames are spelled as given in the Registers; variants are noted where appropriate.

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