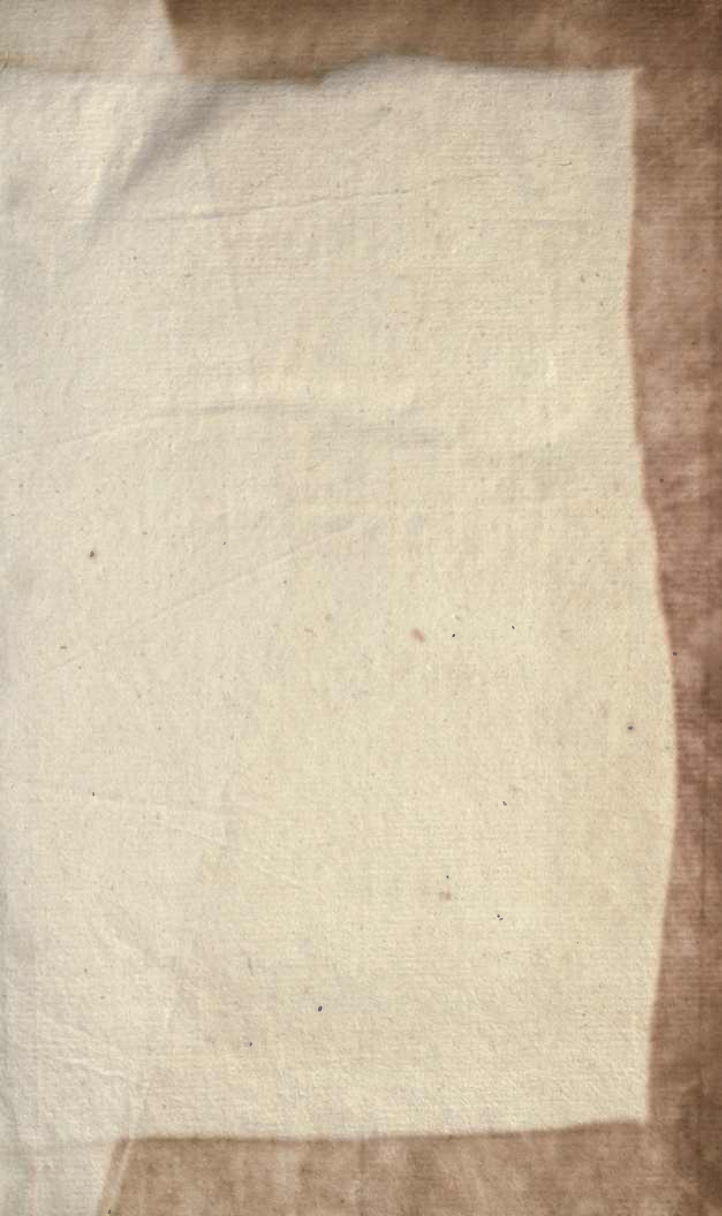




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HENRY CHITHELL

T H E

L I F E

O F

HENRY CHICHELÉ.

L I F E

THE

HENRY CHICHELY

L I F E

CANTERBURY

HENRY CHICHELY

OF OXFORD

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. WALKER, CHANCERY-LANE

1794

T H E
L I F E
O F
HENRY CHICHELÉ,

ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY,
FOUNDER OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE,
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR J. WALTER, CHARING-CROSS.

M.DCC.LXXXIII.

THE

L. I. F. B.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE

HENRY CHICHELY,
LIFE OF THE FOUNDER

ARCHBISHOP OF
DUNELM

CANTERBURY,

FOUNDER OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE,
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

THE

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. WALTER, CHANCERY CROSS.

M.DCCCXXXIII.

BR
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C4351
TO THE
WARDEN AND FELLOWS

OF
ALL SOULS COLLEGE,

THIS
LIFE OF THE FOUNDER,

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,

BY

THEIR OBLIGED,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

O. L. SPENCER,

FELLOW OF THAT SOCIETY,

852357

TO THE
WARDEN AND FELLOWS

OF

ALL SOULS COLLEGE

THIS

LIFE OF THE FOUNDER,

IS DESCRIBED

IN THE FOLLOWING

WITH GRATITUDE AND RESPECT

TO THE

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AND

P R E F A C E.

OF the Life which is the subject of the following pages, the earliest account extant is to be found in the Statute Book of All Souls College, in the possession of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; from which it has been copied into the Statute Book belonging to the warden of the college. Neither the date of this little treatise, nor the name of the author, is mentioned. A
passage

passage in it, implying that it was drawn up soon after the suppression of the monasteries, has given occasion to ascribe it to Dr. Warner, warden of the college in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Elizabeth : but the gross errors with which it abounds will hardly permit us to lay any great stress upon a conjecture, which attributes it to a person whose situation necessarily gave him opportunities of obtaining more accurate information. Another account of the same life was written not many years later than this, subject, though in a less degree, to all the objections which affect the former : it is short, incorrect, and unsatisfactory : the author was Robert Hoveden, warden of the college from 1571 to 1614.

THE defects of these superficial sketches have been amply compensated by a work of a very different cast, "The life of archbishop Chichelé, by Arthur Duck, fellow of the college and doctor of civil and canon laws," published in 1617. In compiling this work he has drawn his materials from the best authorities both in print and manuscript.

THE industry and discernment with which he has collected these materials, and the perspicuity with which he has arranged them, have rendered that task, which his very concise mention of Chichelé's earlier years, and his almost total silence respecting the spirited opposition of that prelate to the usurpations of Martin V. seemed to require, neither very intricate nor laborious.

THE authors of the Biographia Britannica have likewise given a life of Chichelé, borrowed, with little variation or addition, from that of Duck. From the elevated rank which he held, and the important scenes in which he was engaged, he has been incidentally mentioned in most of the histories and public records of the age in which he lived. The registers of the cathedral churches of Salisbury and St. David's, the Harleian manuscripts, those in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, and the archives of New College and All Souls, have furnished many supplemental memorials.

FROM these sources I have derived whatever information I have been able to communicate in the following sheets.

As

As I made Duck's life the ground-work of my narrative, I have not thought it necessary to specify my obligations to him by particular references; but wherever I have introduced any thing for which I had not the sanction of his name, I have regularly cited the authority from which I took it.

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Authorship of the Life of Buck

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF
BUCK
BY
THE AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF BUCK
IN TWO VOLUMES
LONDON
PRINTED BY R. BENTLEY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE
1790

T H E
L I F E
O F
Archbishop *CHICHELÉ.*

S E C T I O N I.

IN the history of a life extensively SECT. I.
beneficial the most minute incidents
obtain a degree of importance. From
contemplating with pleasure the great
outlines of it, we are naturally led to
take an interest in every subordinate cir-
cumstance ; and we feel a sensible disap-
pointment,

SECT. I. pointment, if events so indifferent as the genealogy of a family, or the date of a birth, cannot be ascertained with precision.

IN these two articles, however remotely connected with his personal character, it is to be regretted, that the memorials relating to HENRY CHICHELÉ are not so full and explicit, as we find them in the more advanced parts of his life.

WE are not, however, entirely destitute of information upon these articles. Higham-ferrers, the place of the Archbishop's nativity, had been the residence of the Chichelés for more than two generations (*a*). Thomas, his fa-

(*a*) Harleian MSS, N^o 1408, pag. 61, 62.

ther, was at least the second in descent after their settlement in that town. His mother, Agnes, was a gentleman's daughter of the name of Pyncheon (*b*). As no mention is made of any landed property so early in the family, an alliance thus creditable furnishes a presumption that the immediate ancestor of Henry had been enabled to make provision for his children by the emoluments of some reputable trade. Of three sons two raised themselves by their industry to offices of the highest trust and dignity in the metropolis of the kingdom (*c*). Robert, a grocer, lived to be chosen twice mayor,

SECT I.

(*b*) Ibid. The Pyncheons bore arms, or, a bend, three plates with a border counterchanged azure and sable. See pref. to *Stemmata Chichel.* p. viii.

(*c*) Fabian's *Chron.* p. 386, 388.

SECT. I. arrived at the honourable distinction of knighthood, and at his death bequeathed a large portion of a very plentiful fortune to charitable uses. William, in the same line of life, bore the office of sheriff and obtained the rank of alderman.

THESE destinations, and that of Henry, are hardly consistent with the prospect of hereditary wealth: though, at the same time, the success with which they were attended implies an assistance derived from no scanty source.

UPON the whole it may be fairly presumed, that his parents were fully in a capacity to afford his talents every necessary support, though unable to advance him to the elevated station he filled, by the influence

influence of their own rank or connexions. SECT. I.
 This defect the native independence of
 superior abilities could easily compen-
 sate; and we survey him with admira-
 tion opening his own way to the highest
 ecclesiastical dignities.

THE want of more ample materials
 leaves us at a loss as to the particular
 day of his birth: but there is suf-
 ficient evidence to warrant the placing
 of it about the sixty-second year of the
 fourteenth century; since in 1442 he 1362.
 describes himself as having either com-
 pleted or entered upon his eightieth
 year (*d*).

To the grammar school at Winchef-
 ter, erected by Wykeham as a nursery

(*d*) See Letter to Eugenius 4, in Appendix, N^o 1.

SECT. I. to New College in Oxford (*e*), Chichele was indebted for the first principles of that erudition which qualified him for the discharge of the most honourable and confidential employments in church and state. From this seminary he was by a regular progression removed to New College; and, together with the participation of every other emolument belonging to that society, enjoyed the advantage of prosecuting, in ease and retirement, the study of the civil and canon law, at that time the most direct road to advancement.

In the sequestered walks of collegiate life little can arise to attract the notice of the public. The recorded bounty of the founder has preserved the knowledge

(*e*) R. Hoveden's MS. Life in the Archives of All Souls College.

of one step in Chichelé's academical career, as well as of his residence at a subsequent period. In the year 1388 he received a dividend of thirteen shillings and four pence as bachelor of laws: in 1390 an augmented allowance of sixteen pence a week was granted to him, under a severe fit of illness, during the greater part of his confinement (*f*).

SECT. I.

1388.

1390.

It is probable he did not reside in Oxford long after this event. We find him in 1392 presented to a living in the diocese of St. Asaph (*g*). In 1396 he became rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook (*b*), on the presentation of the abbot and convent of St. John of Colchester. He was in the same year

1392.

1396.

(*f*) E Rotulis computi burfar. of New College.

(*g*) Godwyn de præfulib. vol. i. p. 126.

(*b*) Newcourt's repert. vol. i. p. 539.

SECT. I. admitted an advocate in the court of
 1397. Arches (*i*). In 1397 he resigned the
 rectory of St. Stephen's; and, as the arch-
 deaconry of Dorset (*k*) appears to have
 been conferred upon him about this
 time, we may conclude that he was al-
 ready engaged in the service of his great
 patron, RICHARD METFORD, bishop of
 Salisbury.

METFORD, in the tumultuous reign
 of Richard II. had been steadily at-
 tached to the royal party; and having
 suffered severely with them in their
 adversity, when they recovered their
 power, was removed from a canonry of
 Windsor, first to the bishopric of Chi-
 chester, and thence to the see of Salis-

(*i*) Godwyn, and his Annotator.

(*k*) Ibid.—This archdeaconry is now in the diocese
 of Bristol.

bury. A canonry of that cathedral stands next in the list of Chichelé's ecclesiastical promotions (*l*). He was now doctor of laws, and vicar general to the bishop in all spiritual matters (*m*).

SECT. I.
1398.

To the following pieces of preferment he succeeded in the order in which they are set down. Rectory of Brington, in the diocese of Lincoln, by presentation of W. de Ferrers, Lord Groby (*n*). Prebend of Nangwýty, in the collegiate church of Aberguilly (*o*), by collation of Guy de Mona, his predecessor in the episcopal chair of St. David's. Rectory of Sherston, by exchange with John Mayland for the

1400.

(*lm*) Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 199.

(*n*) Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 37. See article Brington, in the hundred of Newbottle.

(*o*) Tanner's Biblioth. See article Chichelé.

rectory

SECT. I. rectory of Melcombe (*p*) ; both in the
 diocese of Sarum ; to which last he was
 presented by the Earl of Worcester and
 Sir Hugh Le Despenser, joint patrons :
 the patronage of Melcombe appears to
 have been, for that presentation, in one
 1402. Elena Cerne (*q*), Archdeaconry of Sa-
 1403. lisbury : Canonry of Lincoln (*r*). The
 former of these dignities he exchanged
 with Walter Metford, the bishop's bro-
 1404. ther, within two years, for the chancel-
 lorship of the cathedral, together with
 the annexed living of Odyham in Hamp-
 shire.—Besides these benefices, the Pope
 had, by a bull of provision, nominated
 him in 1402 to a prebend of Sarum, a
 canonry of the conventual church of
 Shaftesbury, and a canonry of the col-

(*p*) E Regist. Medeford Sarum. f. 64.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Tanner's Biblioth. See article Chichley.

legate church of Wilton, whenever they should become vacant (s). SECT. I.

How early soever Chichelé might have been designed for the church, we have no authority to date his entrance upon the ecclesiastical office earlier than 1392: he was then ordained subdeacon by the bishop of Derry (t). He was admitted to the order of priest 1396, by William bishop of Basil (u). From whom he received ordination as deacon, is not mentioned. We are equally uncertain as to the time when he took upon him the inferior orders: and the institutions of the church of Rome, owing to great irregularity and relaxation of discipline in the observance of them, are

(s) Act. Pub. tom. iv. p. 23.

(t u) Tanner, as above.

SECT. I. not calculated to assist us in this uncertainty.

OF seven Orders established in that church, three alone, those of Subdeacon, Deacon, and Priest, were accounted holy. The four inferior, of Porter, Reader, Exorcist, and Acolyte, though scrupulously observed in primitive times, were gradually become of no other importance to the candidates for the ministry, than as previous steps to the three superior orders, and, as such, were all frequently conferred in one day: yet, by the indulgence of the same church, these accessory orders were considered as qualifications for ecclesiastical preferments (*w*).

(*w*) Durandi Rationale, lib. ii, cap. 1. Mořinus, de Grad. Eccles. par. iii, p. 186.

ODYHAM,

ODYHAM, the last benefice Chichelé SECT. I.
 enjoyed from the bounty of his pro-
 tector Metford, was in the diocese of
 Winchester. To have received institu-
 tion at the hands of the venerable pre-
 late, Wykeham, whose munificence had
 laid the foundation of his fortunes, must
 have rendered this promotion one of the
 most pleasing, though not one of the most
 important, occurrences in his life: the
 recent decease of that great and good man
 precluded him from this satisfaction. His 1407.
 feelings were put to a severer trial by
 the death of the bishop of Salisbury,
 with whom he lived in the most fami-
 liar habits of friendly intercourse. As
 a token of his latest regard, the bishop
 bequeathed him a golden goblet with a
 cover, and appointed him his principal
 executor.

SECT. I.

WHATEVER we may allow him to have sacrificed on this occasion to the calls of friendship, his abilities had acquired a strength too firm to sink under the shock ; and his reputation needed no adventitious support. He had been represented to his sovereign as a man of a comprehensive and versatile genius, corrected by a sound and discerning judgment : and Henry had employed him, first on an embassy to Pope Innocent VII. and, in the course of the same year, at the court of France. His commissions (x), in the former of which Sir John Cheyne, in the latter Cheyne and Mortimer are joined with him, bear date July 11, and October 8, 1406. In the April following he was again honoured with the public character of embassa-

1406.

(x) Act. Pub. tom. iv. p. 100, 102.

dor to Gregory XII. (y); a pontiff, of whom the Italian (z) writers have con-
 descended to record, that, in the expences
 of his household, the single article of
 sugar amounted to more than the food
 and raiment of several of his prede-
 cessors.

SECT. I.

IN this embassy Chichelé acquitted himself so much to the Pope's satisfaction, who then held his court at Sienna, that he received a very substantial proof of his esteem within few weeks after his arrival. Guy de Mona, bishop of St. David's, having deceased the latter end of August, the news no sooner reached the court of Gregory, than he presented Chichelé to the vacant see by

(y) Act. Pub. tom. iv. 113.

(z) Muratori and others; see Annali d'Italia, p. 37, tom. ix.

SECT. I. way of provision. There is some uncertainty about the time of his consecration (*a*); but it is very probable, as the Pope quitted Sienna (*b*) in the 1408. January ensuing, that Chichelé, who accompanied him to Lucca, and resided some months there in his retinue, was consecrated early in May the same year in that city. He arrived in England about the middle of August, and was invested by the archbishop of Canterbury

(*a*) The register of St. David's mentions his consecration as performed on May 17; but the *place* and the *year* are not legible: yet the dates of those parts of the register, which are in better preservation, correspond so uniformly with the date of his consecration there given, that one can hardly doubt its accuracy. *Duck*, who is in general remarkably correct, is probably misinformed when he says, that Chichelé was consecrated in October 1407.

(*b*) Chronicle of Sienna. Murat. coll. tom. xix. p. 421.

with

with the spiritualities of his bishopric on the 26th. Letters patent for the restitution of his temporalities had, at the pope's solicitation, been made out before his return, under the customary obligation of renouncing every claim prejudicial to the king's prerogative.

SECT. I.



To understand in what manner these papal presentations interfered with the sovereign rights of the crown of England, it may not be improper to take a view of the matter a little more at large. That the catholic church, of which the popes claimed the sole direction and superintendence, might not be injured by neglect of service, or the appointment of unfit ministers, these holy fathers assumed the privilege of disposing of the most valuable ecclesiastical benefices by way of *provision*: a term originally

C

confined

SECT. I. confined to the assignment of a benefice before it became vacant, but applied indiscriminately in process of time to any presentation of the pope. This privilege was collaterally secured, by the long-established custom of drawing to their own tribunals every cause that was in any wise connected with spiritual matters. Edward III. endeavoured to stem this torrent of papal encroachments by the statutes of provisors and præmunire, which prohibited the subject from accepting any benefice at the pontiff's hands without the royal licence, and from prosecuting any suit in a foreign court. These statutes were revived by Richard II. and continued through this and several succeeding reigns; though ineffectual for the purpose of restraining papal usurpation. The pope still asserted his pretensions, and his provisions took place:

place: only the claimant under them was obliged to renounce all title conferred by them to the temporalities, and every expression contained in the bull that could be construed in prejudice of the crown.

SECT. I.

SECTION II.

SECT.
II.

1409.

HIS acknowledged talents for negotiation did not allow the new-made bishop of St. David's to go through all the ceremonies that concur to the completion of the episcopal character. He was not yet introned when he was summoned to a synod, called by archbishop Arundel, to deliberate upon the choice of proper persons to represent the English nation at the council of Pifa.

THIS council was convened with a view to the settlement of a schism that had divided the Roman church, and disgraced the apostolic chair, by the double claim of rival pretenders, for more than thirty years. Gregory had been raised
to

to that chair, by one party of pious sticklers for the integrity of the succession of St. Peter, on condition of his resigning, if, by a general decree of the Christian church, his competitor Benedict should be judged to have the clearest title to it.

SECT.
II.

By the unanimous suffrages of the synod, Robert Hallum, bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Chillingdon, prior of Canterbury, and Chichelé, were deputed to attend the Pisan council: and, to defray their expences, every beneficed clergyman was taxed in the proportion of four pence in the pound for all his ecclesiastical possessions. The spiritual envoys took their journey through France, and in their progress were splendidly entertained by the university of Paris, and treated with every other mark of the most flattering attention. On

SECT.
II.

the 27th of April they arrived at Pisa, and were witnesses to the deposition of Gregory and the antipope Benedict, both of whom had acted a very subtle and disingenuous part through the whole business. On the 7th of July the cardinals made their election of the archbishop of Milan, who, on his accession to the papal throne, took upon him the name of Alexander V. His history is short and singular. He was by birth a Cretan. His parents have not been so clearly ascertained. Thrown young upon the world, he sustained for a time the hardships of a vagabond life and precarious subsistence: till a Minorite friar, touched with his distress, and observing in him symptoms of a genius that promised to repay the cultivation, removed him to the friendly shelter of a convent, and the comforts of a regular provision. Having procured him admission

admission into his own order, he instructed him in the elements of grammar and logic, the prevailing studies of the age. On this basis Alexander raised a superstructure of extensive erudition. Having applied himself closely to ethics and divinity at Oxford, and read lectures in those sciences with great reputation at Paris, he was in the course of few years promoted to the see of Milan. This post he filled when the sentence of the conclave pronounced him the legitimate successor of St. Peter; a station to which he brought the rare qualifications of profound learning and incorruptible simplicity of manners; but he brought them allayed by the indolence of monastic habits, and the love of literary ease. The vexations of a life repugnant to his natural bent of mind operating on the ordinary infir-

SECT.
II.

S E C T.
II.

mities of age (*a*) once more vacated the apostolic chair within the revolution of twelve months (*b*): if that chair could with propriety be termed vacant, to which Gregory and Benedict persisted in avowing their claim.

CHICHELE' did not remain long in Italy after Alexander's inauguration. He returned to England in the winter of the same year; and, resuming his pastoral cares, diligently applied himself to a conscientious discharge of them, during a residence of several months (*c*).

(*a*) John XXIII. was suspected of having contributed to his death by poison. L'Enfant. Hist. de concile de Constance, Liv. ii. chap. 77: but his death was more probably the natural effect of age.

(*b*) Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. vii. p. 123.

(*c*) Register of St. David's.

IT is to this period that we must refer a proposal from him of resigning certain preferments, which he held in commendam, if he might be permitted to present to them; a request that the pope and the king made no difficulty of granting (*d*). The latter end of May he was again sent to France with Sir John Cheyne, Cattrick, and Henry Lord Beaumont, to negotiate a renewal of the truce between the two kingdoms. By letters dated December 23d, the object of their negotiation appears to have been happily effected: but the jealousies of the borderers made it necessary to invest the commissioners with fresh powers the year following, for the settlement of some subsequent infractions (*e*). After the adjustment of this affair Chichelé

S E C T.

II.

1410.

1411.

(*d*) (*e*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. p. 171.

SECT.
II.
revisited his diocese, and was enthroned
May the 11th with the usual ceremonies (*f*).

IN this and the next year we find him frequently resident at his episcopal palace, and an adjoining manor (*g*). In one of these visits to his diocese he collated William Chichelé to a prebend in his cathedral (*h*), probably the elder son of his brother William; who, it appears, was bred a clergyman, attained considerable preferment in the church, and died at Rome on an embassy to the pope (*i*). From the dates of his injunctions within the last eighteen months (*k*) we may collect, that he resided at intervals

(*f*) Register of St. David's,

(*g*) (*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Pref. to Stemm. Chichel. p. 10.

(*k*) Register of St. David's.

in the metropolis, which the death of his royal master soon rendered a scene of more than ordinary business and importance.

SECT.
II.

HENRY IV. closed the weary course of a turbulent reign on the 20th of March 1413. He had wrested the sceptre by violence from the hand of the rightful possessor, and maintained it in a hard and doubtful struggle against the most formidable enemies; whose open revolt and hostile defiance subsided only in the suspicious stillness of suppressed resentments and covered treason.

1413.

IF the church lost a powerful protector in this prince, they felt no diminution of their authority in the succession of his heir, Henry of Monmouth, while he favoured the interests of the clergy at large, reposed a particular

SECT. II. } particular confidence in Chichelé. The space of very few weeks intervened between the demise of the late, and his employment under the reigning, sovereign. With the bishop of Exeter he was appointed to determine a suit between the city of Bayonne and one Peter de Conties (1). The circumstances of this cause are not upon record; but the express reservation of the final sentence to the king himself implies, that it was not of a trivial nature.

THERE cannot be produced a more convincing argument of Chichelé's superior skill in the management of great political objects, than his repeated public charges. After a very short intermission of national business, he was again called out in the service of his

(1) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part. 2. p. 31.

country,

country, in conjunction with the Earl of Warwick, Lord Zouch, and other commissioners, to lay before the court of France some conditions of treaty; the chief of which was a renewal of the truce that had subsisted, with frequent interruptions, from the 20th of Richard II. (*m*). They had it also in their instructions, to conclude an alliance of perpetual peace with the duke of Burgundy. The former only of these was effectuated: and the ratification of a truce for eight months was signified by letters from the ambassadors, dated September, at Lenlingham (*n*), a frontier town, and the usual place of conference. It is evident, from these various renewals of the original truce, that the faith of treaties was not very religiously observed by

S E C T.

II.

(*m*) (*n*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2. p. 40, 41, 48.

either

S E C T.
II.

either party. The possessions of the English on the ancient territories of France, submitted to with impatience, and maintained with captious exactness, administered perpetual matter for contention.

1414.

THIS was the last political character in which Chichelé appeared as bishop of St. David's: in the spring of 1414, he was translated to the see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of archbishop Arundel. The prior and monks of that church, having obtained the king's congé d'élire, proceeded to make their election: and the votes being unanimous in favour of Chichelé, two of the chapter were deputed to acquaint him with their choice, and to beg his approbation. He was then in London; and, on the arrival of the delegates, having taken a short time for deliberation, he the next morning,

in presence of the Duke of York and the Bishop of Norwich, delivered his sentiments to this effect: That, considering himself as united in the bonds of spiritual matrimony to the church of St. David's, he could not look forward to new engagements till these bonds were cancelled by the pope. The prior and brotherhood made immediate application for that purpose, and their petition was strongly seconded by the crown.

S E C T.
II.

AT once to preserve the honour of the apostolic see, and to consult its interests, required no small address. The old papal claim of providing to vacancies in the church could not consistently be waved: and to offend the English monarch, by an obstinate opposition to his wishes, was by no means safe. A court less fruitful in expedients than that of Rome might have been embarrassed how

to

S E C T.
II.

to act in so delicate a conjuncture: to obviate every difficulty, a middle plan was adopted: the pontiff insisted upon his right of provision; but at the same time took care to gratify the humour of the petitioners, by providing the person of their choice.

CHICHELE' received the pall from the hands of the bishop of Winchester, after having professed obedience to the Pope in the customary forms. Invested with the spiritualities he repaired to the king at Leicester; and, having prayed the restitution of his temporalities, and, formally renouncing every claim under the papal provision derogatory from the rights of the crown, was put in full (o) possession of them May 13th.

As

(o) Duck and Godwyn say, that Chichelé compounded for the temporalities during the vacancy of the
the

As he now begins to move in a more enlarged sphere, it will be requisite to carry our attention back to some preceding events, on which much of the perspicuity of the ensuing account must necessarily depend.

SECT.
II.



the fee by a present of six hundred marks. The instrument of restitution in the *Acta Publica* takes no notice of this composition. Chichelé's petition there recited extends to all the issues and profits of the fee during its vacancy, and the king's proclamation says only "restituimus prout moris est."

SECTION III.

SECT.
III.

THE spirit of bold speculation and free inquiry, introduced by Wickliffe, and propagated with zeal by his disciples, had, in the two last reigns, made great strides, if not towards weakening the authority of the church, at least in abating the respect paid to it.

THE natural consequence of viewing the sacerdotal order with diminished veneration was a desire to deprive its members of a part of the plentiful revenues they at that time enjoyed; and which seemed the more exorbitant, from being considered as useless defalcations from the general stock. Few years had elapsed since the commons, assembled in

in parliament, presented a bill for converting to the relief of the national necessities the temporal possessions of the church. These, they alledged (*p*), would maintain 15 earls, as many hundred knights, 6,000 esquires, 100 new almshouses, and leave a surplus of 20,000 marks for the contingent expences of the crown. According to their estimate, the clergy possessed a yearly income of 322,000 (*q*) marks; a sum that must have appeared enormous, when the sufficient provision of a priest was computed at the annual stipend of 7 (*r*) marks.

THE prudence of the king had checked the progress of this violent proceed-

(*p*) Fab. Chron. p. 386.

(*q*) Ibid. equal to about 214,000 *l*.

(*r*) Ibid. by the same computation, the number of priests adequate to the service of religion throughout England was calculated at 15,000.

SECT.
III.

ing ; but the disposition which dictated it still prevailed.

WE have already seen some overtures of peace between France and England. The former kingdom had been long harassed with the most cruel intestine divisions : Charles VI. the reigning monarch, was, from frequent and lasting paroxysms of insanity, rendered incapable of attending to the government of the realm ; and this rich and populous country was become a sacrifice to the factious pride and deep resentments of the two powerful houses of Orleans and Burgundy.

DELUSIVE hopes of a reconciliation were, for a considerable time, confidently entertained, and true patriots hailed the auspicious omen with unfeigned joy ;

joy ; when, in the year 1412, according to the simple manners of the age, the two dukes were seen riding through the streets of Auxerre, mounted on one horse (*f*): but these flattering appearances were of short duration (*t*). Henry IV. whose friendship they had alternately solicited, politically fomented their dissension, foreseeing that it must eventually tend to the advantage of his dominions.

SUCH was the relative situation of the kingdom, such the temper of the people,

(*f*) Villaret's History of France, tom. vii. p. 107.

(*t*) A French memorialist has ascribed the origin of this quarrel to a very unwarrantable vanity in the duke of Orleans ; who, that he might have the reputation of an intrigue with the duchess of Burgundy, placed her portrait in a cabinet of beauties supposed to have fallen victims to his gallantry. Gollut. Mem. of the House of Burgundy, p. 626.

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III.

when Chichelé entered upon the administration of the metropolitan see ; and in that capacity became peculiarly engaged in the support of the established religion, and the protection of a numerous body of regular and secular clergy. He could not have undertaken this charge at a more critical juncture ; the parliament, now convened at Leicester, revived the old attack upon the temporalities of the church, and warmly exhorted the king to take them into his own hands. The ambassadors of France were actually in England, and Henry had signified to them demands on their court, which amounted to little less than an open declaration of hostilities. In such a posture of affairs, every proposal that promised a supply could not fail of being attentively listened to : and the king began to consider the measure suggested

gested to him by his faithful commons as equally convenient and practicable.

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THIS was a dreadful alarm to the clergy ; and it required all their prudence to parry a blow aimed so directly at the vitals of their constitution. After frequent consultations, they resolved to divert the impending danger, by the voluntary cession of a part of their possessions. Chichelé undertook to lay this offer before the king in parliament. In a studied harangue upon the occasion, he earnestly urged the recovery of Henry's hereditary dominions in France, and spoke very largely and learnedly upon the salique law. The old chronicles attribute the king's fixed resolution of carrying his arms into France to the influence of this speech. It is certain, however, that this resolution was taken pre-

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III.

vionfly to Chichelé's oration (*u*); which seems rather to have been framed, in order to bring the parliament into the king's views. Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, is said to have opposed some articles of this speech, affirming that the war should commence with Scotland; and to have been fully answered on these points by the duke of Exeter; a nobleman who had acquired, in the academies of Italy, a taste for letters very uncommon amongst the laity in this century (*w*).

If the revenues of the English clergy escaped, the alien priories were given up without hesitation, and vested in the

(*u*) See Claims of Henry on the Crown of France, 1413, Acta Pub. and Rapin.

(*w*) These speeches are of suspicious authority, though given by all the old chroniclers.

king by parliament ; except such as SECT.
III.
were conventual, or where the power of electing their own head rendered them less necessarily dependent on foreign abbies.

CHICHELE', in concurrence with these measures, confirmed in convocation (*x*) an order of the council, prohibiting any future promotion of a foreigner to spiritual dignity or benefice, before he had given security that he would neither divulge the secrets of government, nor in any manner abet the designs of the enemy. The same regard to the constitutional interests of his own country prompted him to propose the abolition of all immunities and exemptions granted by authority of the pope (*y*).

(*x*) Hollingshed. tom. ii. p. 547.

(*y*) Walsingham, Hypod. Heust. p. 579.

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III.
1415.

THE spring of 1415 opened with the most unequivocal appearances of a French war. No preparation was neglected that could forward the favourite scheme of invasion. The next object of importance was the administration of the realm during the sovereign's absence. Chichelé, who held the highest rank in the council (z) appointed to execute this trust, was invested likewise with the authority to muster (a) all the clergy, as well regular as secular, throughout his diocese, for the defence of the coast; a manifest indication, that the kingdom was greatly depopulated by the levies for a continental war. Orders of the same import were sent to most of the other bishops: and the temporal peers

(z) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 112.

(a) Ibid. ut supra, p. 123.

were

were impowered to raise the militia of
 the different counties. SECT.
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WE shall obtain some slight idea of the quarters that were most open to incursion, if we add the disposition of the regular forces left for home service (*b*). Of these, 200 lances and 400 archers were assigned for the guard of the east and west marches towards Scotland; 100 lances and 200 archers for that of North and South Wales; and for the sea coast in general 150 lances, 300 archers, and double shipping.

THE internal defence of England being thus arranged, the king looked forward with the more security to the embarkation of his troops for France:

(*b*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 112.

but

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but he did not engage in this important enterprize unprepared for an event, which the hazardous nature of his expedition rendered neither very improbable, nor perhaps very distant. In the will, which he executed previously to his departure, Chichelé was affectionately remembered, in the bequest of a crimson embroidered velvet robe (*c*).

IN this state of affairs the French embassadors returned, to prevent, if possible, the projected attack, by more ample concessions on the part of their court. They were feasted at the royal table in the castle of Winchester; and Chichelé, by command of the king, having given them a peremptory answer, they departed, under safe conduct, the

(*c*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 138.

unwelcome harbingers of Henry's arrival, who with a formidable army quickly appeared at the gates of Harfleur. S E C T.
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WHEN the whole, almost, of the lands in England was held by military tenure, we shall not be surprized to find the pay of the army regulated, in a great measure, by the civil rank of the persons who composed it. But whilst a duke received a mark a day, an earl half a mark, a baron 4 shillings, and an esquire 2, we shall be led to conclude very unfavourably of the philosophy and science of the age, on finding the services of a physician rated no higher than at 1 shilling a day, the established wages of a man at arms (*d*).

THE progress of the royal army, and

(*d*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 112. 116.

the

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the glorious day of Azincourt, are too well known to need a particular description. To the trophies that crowned the victorious survivors of that hard-fought field I find a singular privilege added, and confirmed in the year 1417 by an act (*e*), which forbade any person to wear a coat of arms, without hereditary right, or gift of lands to which arms belonged, unless he had fought at the battle of Azincourt; a title deemed equivalent to every other.

To return to the archbishop; in conformity to his prince's commands, he enjoined all the ecclesiastics in the diocese of Canterbury to hold themselves in readiness to repel the enemy, if they made any incursions on that coast.

(*e*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 201.

THE king revisited England in November; and Chichelé, on the 28th of the same month, summoned a provincial synod at London. The first day was devoted to the duties of religion. The archbishop performed mass at the great altar of St. Paul's. On the succeeding days, the upper and lower houses of convocation went into a discussion of ecclesiastical matters; and having decreed two tenths to be paid, within two years, towards the support of the war, and commanded the religious observance of the anniversaries of St. David, St. Chad, St. Winifred, and St. George, the archbishop dissolved the assembly.

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III.

It was during this synod that Chichelé, together with the bishops of Winchester and Durham, and Sir John Rotherhale, was appointed to receive all
the

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the profits arising from wardships, and marriages of wards of the crown, and to apply them to the expences of the king's voyage (*f*).

1416.

ANOTHER convocation was assembled by Chiehelé on the first of April following, to deliberate about the nomination of fresh delegates for the council of Constance (*g*); which the death of some

(*f*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 150.

(*g*) The déposition of John XXIII, who was accused of every crime that shocks and disgraces human nature; the confirmation of the practice, which had prevailed in the Roman church about two centuries, of giving the *laity* the sacrament only in one kind, lest (amongst other reasons) they might defile the cup by dipping their long beards in; and the first admission of the English on an equal foot with France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, which hitherto had enjoyed the exclusive privilege of being styled *nations* by the court of Rome; were no inconsiderable part of the business that occupied the fathers of the council of Constance, from its commencement 1413, to its dissolution 1417.

who

who had been sent thither two years before, and the increased number of agents from other courts, made necessary. The bishop of London, twelve doctors, and the chancellors of the two universities, were named to answer this requisition; and their expences were defrayed, as usual, by an assessment on the church. In the same meeting the rapid advances of heretical doctrines became a subject of alarming consideration; as we may infer from a constitution for the repression of them, published by Chichelé in the summer of the current year.

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1416.

ABOUT this period the emperor Sigismund visited England, and, in conjunction with the French ambassadors, endeavoured to effect a peace between the two belligerent powers. But the news of the siege of Harfleur under the
E direction

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direction of the constable Armagnac, interrupted the negotiations; and the king, having despatched the duke of Bedford to succour the besieged, after a short interval accompanied the emperor on his road to Constance as far as Calais.

HITHER Chichelé, having brought the synod to a conclusion, followed his sovereign; and at the head of a delegacy appointed to treat with the archbishop of Rheims and others, on the old and unpromising business of peace, accomplished the secondary object of a four months truce (*b*), to be observed by land through the marches of Picardy and all western Flanders, and by sea from Morocco to Norway.

(*b*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 179.

DURING

DURING the abode of the English court at Calais, king Henry had an interview with the duke of Burgundy; on which occasion Gloucester, the king's brother, became an hostage to count Charolois, the duke of Burgundy's son; at whose first visit, as a contemporary (*i*) writer of credit has observed with some resentment, the English prince, instead of advancing to meet him, continued several moments in discourse with his domestics, and at length, making him only a slight bow, added coldly, "Fair
" cousin, welcome."

LATE in November Chichelé returned in the king's train to England, and, having summoned, by his order, an assembly of the clergy at London, obtained

(*i*) Monstrelet, chap. clxi. vol. 1.

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a grant of two tenths for the prosecution of the war (*k*); and settled the annual celebration of the feasts of St. Crispin and St. John of Beverley : the latter of these saints was believed to have taken an uncommon interest in the toils of the combatants at Azincourt, his tomb having been remarked by some devout pilgrims to have distilled large drops of oil during that bloody conflict. The injunction for the observing of these feasts, dated at the archbishop's manor of Otteford (*l*), closes this year.

(*k*) A^c. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 189.

(*l*) The manor of Otteford was exchanged by archbishop Warham with Henry VIII. continued in the crown till the time of the civil war ; was then granted to colonel Robert Gibbons, and is now in the Leicester family.—Philpot, and Harris's Survey of Kent.—Phil. pag. 263. Har. 238.

SECTION IV.

THE king, whose thoughts were wholly fixed upon the French war, embarked for Normandy the latter end of the summer; and, on his departure, Chichelé ordered prayers to be offered up in all the churches throughout his province, for the safety of his royal person, and a blessing on his arms. In December he held a convocation at London, in which the clergy, at his instance, granted the king a further sum of two tenths. At this synod the interests of the university of Oxford became a principal topic of debate. Robert Gilbert, warden of Merton College, in an elegant and masterly speech expatiated upon the deplorable condition that seat

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of learning was reduced to : where those candidates for preferment, who had qualified themselves by a long course of study, were too frequently suffered to languish in neglect and obscurity within the narrow verge of their college walls ; while adventurers of less experience in the fields of science obtained rewards due only to the persevering virtue of veterans. To remove a grievance that appeared to be equally the lot of the sister university, Chichelé published a constitution, decreeing, that in the future disposal of ecclesiastical benefices regard should be had to the academical rank of the candidate ; and the value of the living conferred be in proportion to the proficiency of the presentee. The salutary effects of this decree were defeated, for the present, by the jealous obstinacy of the lower order of graduates ;
who

who, when the question came to be formally agitated before the universities, were by their superior numbers enabled to reject it; willing to lose every beneficial effect of this constitution, rather than be instrumental to the advancement of any members of their own body in preference to themselves.

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IN the same assembly Chichelé announced the election of the cardinal Colonna to the government of the catholic church. The schism which had long impaired the authority of the papal see was now finally terminated; and Martin V. (for that was the title assumed by the new pontiff) was not of a temper to neglect any advantages which the plenary dominion revived in his person offered to his ambition. He in two years filled 13 bishoprics in the province of Canterbury by provision.

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BEFORE the archbishop dismissed the synod he gave a mandate to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's to denounce, in the most public manner, a solemn anathema against certain persons unknown, who had murdered three priests within the sanctuary of that cathedral. And that no formality might be wanting to give it weight, the bells were to be toll-ed, and the burning tapers used in the ceremony cast on the ground and trampled under foot, at the delivery of the awful sentence (*a*). A transaction of a less savage complexion, but attended with

(*a*) An eye-witness of the fact mentions a similar form of excommunication observed at the reconciliation of the emperor Frederick I. and pope Alexander III. in the church of St. Mark at Venice. The pope ordered lighted tapers to be given to the emperor, the clergy, and the laity present, and then pronounced this anathema, "In the name of God, the blessed Virgin, the holy apostles Peter and Paul,
and

with very aggravating circumstances, had called for Chichelé's animadversion in the preceding spring. Lord Strange having, at the instigation of his wife, entered into a dispute with Sir John Truffel, had wreaked his resentment by an open attack on him in St. Dunstan's church during the performance of divine service; and a citizen, named Petwardin, had in the affray fallen a sacrifice to his friendly interposition. The archbishop, upon a full investigation of the matter, sentenced Lord Strange to walk through the public streets, from St. Paul's cathe-

and all the saints, we cut off from the bosom of the church all who shall dare to infringe this peace, and, as these tapers are extinguished, so may their souls be deprived of the light of eternal vision." Then the tapers being cast on the floor and trampled under foot, the emperor cried out "Amen."

Romualdo of Salerno. See Muratori's Collect. of Italian Writers, tom. vii. p. 239, 240.

dral

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dral to St. Dunstan's church, bearing in his hand a wax taper of a pound weight; and, as a further mark of his contrition, to offer in the sacred edifice he had polluted a pyx of silver gilt. His lady, in addition to the humiliating task of accompanying her lord in the same penitential manner, was at the purification of the church compelled to fill with her own hands the water vessels employed on the occasion, and to present at the altar an ornament worth ten pounds. So mortifying an atonement made by persons of exalted rank is no trifling evidence of the force of ecclesiastical censures at this æra (*b*).

SINCE his arrival in France Henry had made rapid advances towards the

(*b*) Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 562; and Wilkin's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 385.

reduction of Normandy. In September his army was occupied in the siege of Rouen ; where, after a regular visitation of the diocese of Rochester, and the appointment of a vicar general during his absence, Chichelé joined the English camp.

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1418.

WHEN the calamities of war are mitigated by the generous spirit of chivalry, the detail of martial scenes becomes less grating to the humane ear. In their march to Pont de l'Arche, a small but advantageous post in Normandy, a detachment of English had orders to pass a part of the Seine. " To-morrow," says Cornwall, their gallant leader, to the captain of a petty fortress on the opposite bank, " to-morrow I pass the river, " and you shall pay my passage with the " best charger in your stables: if I hold " not

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“ not my word, my cap of steel shall
 “ answer the forfeit, but it shall cost
 “ you five hundred French nobles.”

The challenge was accepted, and Cornwall gained the pass the next morning.

A TREATY at this time in agitation made Chichelé's presence the more necessary in France. The proposals however of a young monarch flushed with conquest were not of a nature to succeed, even under the direction of the ablest negotiator. Cardinal Ursini, who acted as mediator between the two courts, endeavoured to soften Henry in his demands, by shewing him the portrait of the French princess, Catherine (*c*). His heart was not insensible to the attractions of beauty, but he had ambition

(*c*) Monstrelet, chap. 193.

above the control of any rival passion. At a subsequent conference near Meulan the queen, at her first visit, brought the princess with her. This interview confirmed the favourable impression Henry had received from the sight of her portrait, without inducing him to abate a single article of his pretensions on the crown of France. Finding the concessions on the part of that crown by no means answerable to his expectations, he said angrily to the duke of Burgundy, “ Fair cousin, be it known
 “ to you, that I am determined to have
 “ your sovereign’s daughter, and all that
 “ I have demanded with her, or to
 “ drive both him and you out of his do-
 “ minions (*d*).”

(*d*) Monstrelet, chap. 200. 207.

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THE siege of Rouen was still prosecuted with unremitting efforts, and the defence as vigorously maintained. Being reduced to extremity, the besieged sent to their king and the duke of Burgundy for succours; and remonstrated on the scandalous neglect they had experienced with a freedom and sharpness highly characteristic of their determined courage. “If,” said they, “we are driven to the
 “harsh necessity of surrendering to the
 “arms of England, the feeble govern-
 “ment that is unable to afford us pro-
 “tection shall find in us the fiercest and
 “most implacable enemies (*e*).” Their remonstrance was ineffectual: all the calamities of famine and war were sustained with the most invincible fortitude; nor did the garrison make any overtures of capitulation, till above fifty thousand

(*e*) Monstrelet, chap. 200.

of

of the inhabitants had perished by hunger and disease. A herald at length entered the English camp, and demanded a safe conduct for six persons, two of the church, two gentlemen, and two of inferior rank. Henry, irritated by their obstinate valour, would at first listen to nothing short of unconditional submission. In the eyes of men who had already made so noble a stand in defence of their liberties; any event appeared preferable to the abject terms of surrendering at discretion; and they formed the desperate resolution of setting fire to the town, and forcing their way in the confusion through the English lines (*f*). This wild enterprize was prevented by the more liberal proceedings of a second conference, wherein Chichelé, and the

(*f*) Monstrelet, chap. 202.

commissioners

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commissioners joined with him for that purpose, having opened a negotiation with the six deputies from Rouen, it was finally agreed (*g*) that the citizens should pay 365,000 crowns of gold, and swear allegiance to the English sovereign: and that the garrison should take an oath not to appear in arms against him for the space of one year. These preliminaries being adjusted, the royal army entered the city in triumph January 19 (*b*).

1419.

RELIEVED from the long miseries of a desolating siege, even the conquered must have partaken in the exultation of the victors. Their joy was repressed for a short interval by the intrusion of one sanguinary act: from the general pardon

(*g*) Montfretlet, chap. 202.(*b*) Ibid.

Henry's

Henry's indignation reserved a single victim. Alain Blanchard, whose patriotic virtue had protracted the glorious resistance of his fellow citizens, closed a life, deserving of a far different fate, under the hands of the executioner (*i*).

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1419.

CHICHELE' continued in France till the latter end of the summer (*k*): the care of his province then called him home. On his arrival he issued letters mandatory to his suffragans, to order public prayers throughout their several dioceses for the king's safety. He soon after summoned a convocation, in which, on his representation of the necessity of fresh supplies, the clergy granted half a tenth; with the addition of six shillings and eight pence to be assessed upon every

(*i*) Monstrelet, 202.

(*k*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 2d. p. 124.

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person possessed of a chapel or chauntry, or who enjoyed a regular stipend for the service of a church; under a formal protest, that this addition should not be drawn into a precedent. The other business of the meeting was the censure of a priest accused of witchcraft, and the reprehension of some disciples of Wickliffe (1), who on their recantation were dismissed with impunity. In the May following he devolved the government of his diocese on his vicar general, and repaired to Troyes, to congratulate his sovereign in person on the conclusion of a peace with France, and a marriage with

1420.

(1) The disciples of Wickliffe were generally distinguished by the appellation of Lollards, a name borrowed from a sect in the low countries, and derived to them from the custom of singing a requiem to the souls of the deceased; the German word *loller* signifying to *lull* or *sooth*.

Mosheim Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 744.

Catharine;

Catharine (*m*); two events that were happily accomplished at this time, and which gave Henry the title of Regent of France with the authority of king. From Troyes Chichelé attended Henry to the sieges of Montereau and Melun. The latter of these places was defended by the Dauphin's party for more than four months, and every post disputed with the most unrelaxing obstinacy. The presence of the king and queen of France gave the camp, amidst all the hurry and confusion incident to such a scene, more splendor and festivity than any other in Henry's wars. They held their court in a pavilion removed beyond the reach

(*m*) The marriage was performed by the archbishop of Sens, whom Henry, after the capture of that city, reinstated in his see with these words, "Vous m'avez epousé et baillé une femme, je vous rends la votre." Villaret, tom. vii. p. 272.

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of the enemy's cannon; the day was ushered in and concluded with the cheerful harmony of ten horns from the English band, and the charms of music were heightened by the lustre of some of the brightest beauties in the kingdom (*n*). Catharine, the new-married queen, attended by the duchess of Clarence and a train of English ladies, resided at Corbueil, not far distant from Melun. Hither the king often retired, to forget the horrors of war in the society of a young and beautiful bride (*o*). During the whole course of this campaign Chichelé was present, and contributed as usual to temper the ferocity of military manners, and the licentiousness of a camp, by the mild suggestions

(*n*) Monstrelet, chap. 228. tom. i.

(*o*) Ibid.

of humanity, and the influence of religious example.

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FROM Melun he attended the court to Paris, and revisited England in November. The king and queen arrived there early in the next year, and were received by their subjects with every attestation of joy and loyalty. Prayers were offered up by Chichelé's injunction four days successively, and the satisfaction of the people was consummated in the coronation of their royal mistress; a ceremony that was performed by the hands of the archbishop.

1421.

WHILE the populace expressed their exultation in shouts and public shews, the parliament gave a more substantial proof of their affection, in a liberal grant for the maintenance of the war against

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the dauphin's party. The clergy were at the same time convened by Chichelé, and granted the crown a tenth; on condition that the possessions of the church should continue to be exempted from the burthen of purveyance, and that ecclesiastics should be permitted to give bail in all crimes, except open theft and murder. Another provision (*p*) made in this synod seems to betray a consciousness in the sacred body of frailties which the restraints of the sacerdotal character were perhaps more calculated to aggravate than control; unless we suppose them to have guarded against an injury they were never likely to provoke,

THE fees of institution and induction were by a new regulation now mode-

(*p*) Ut ii qui sacerdotes castrarent felonix criminene tenerentur. A. Duck.

rated,

rated, and bishops and archdeacons forbidden to take more for their respective trouble than twelve shillings. It was decreed likewise, that ordination should in future be conferred without any gratuity or reward.

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1421.

THE Pope's collector met with little attention from this synod in an application he made for a grant to his holiness; it appearing to the whole assembly, that the yearly tenths, and other regular payments to the court of Rome, were as much as the necessities of the kingdom would allow.

CHICHELE' having dissolved the assembly turned his thoughts to the preservation of his jurisdiction in France; and, to the intent that he might reconcile the two churches, he recalled the judges

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whom he had set over the dioceses sub-
ject to England, and left the care of them
to their bishops, and the ordinary magis-
trates of the several districts in which
they were situated.

THE news of Clarence's death, who
had fallen in a skirmish with the dau-
phin's troops near Baugé in the pro-
vince of Anjou, threw an universal damp
upon the public joy. He was a great
and deserved favourite of the nation, and
to the most romantic valour added a re-
finement of manners, not common in
the politeſt courts of Europe (*q*). The
influence of ſo amiable a character was
not confined to the narrow circle of
friends, he is ſaid to have died lamented
even by the enemy (*r*). This unfortu-

(*q*) (*r*) Montſauçon. Monum. de la Monarch.
Franc. p. 177.

nate event hastened the king's journey into France (s); and during his absence the queen was delivered at Windsor of a prince, who succeeded his father by the title of Henry VI. He was baptized by Chichelé early in December, and, when he afterwards came to the throne, received the crown from the hands of the same prelate.

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(s) In this last visit of Henry to the French dominions he displayed a very engaging instance of generosity. Sir Oliver Manny, an old knight who had broken his parole, was taken prisoner and sent to the king then at Meaux. The law of arms punished this breach of honour with death; royal clemency was satisfied with a milder penalty. "Fair father," said Henry, "you have sworn unto us never to bear arms against us or our subjects, you are an ancient knight, and should have kept your faith, which ye have untruly and unhoneſtly violated; yet, though by the law of arms we might, we will not put you to death; we will ſend you to *England to learn the language of that country.*"

Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 581.

IN

IN the August of 1422 the archbishop convoked a general meeting of the clergy, to make choice of proper deputies to attend the council of Constance, which, in pursuance of a plan for renewing it every fifth year, was to be convened this autumn at Pavia. This scheme was however frustrated; the council being first removed to Sienna on account of the plague, and there dissolved by the pope. One White was in the same synod censured for having preached without a licence, and Henry Webb sentenced to be thrice publicly whipped for performing the sacred office before he was in holy orders. A delinquent of a more heinous sort was William Taylor: he had maintained that God alone was to be worshipped, and that all devotion to saints or images was idolatry. Chichelé

chelé referred the consideration of his offence to the four orders of mendicant fryars, who, having found that his opinions were not conformable either to the scriptures or the doctrines of the fathers, pronounced him guilty of heresy. Lyndewode, dean of the court of arches, the official of Canterbury, and other professors of the civil and canon laws, declared, that by those laws he was on conviction to be delivered over to the secular arm.

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THIS synod was scarcely brought to a conclusion, when intelligence of the king's death spread a general consternation throughout the kingdom. He died at Bois de Vincennes, Monday the last day of August. His remains were with great funeral pomp transported to England, and deposited with those of his ancestors.

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cestors. His queen attended the melancholy procession at a small distance (*t*), and in this affectionate and sorrowful act of conjugal duty took a last farewell of her native country and earliest connections.

FROM Henry Vth's death we may date the decline of England's short-lived power in France. The stately fabric erected by his active prowess gradually mouldered away under the feeble and unsettled administration of his unfortunate heir.

To every lover of his country the condition of the French dominions must have appeared truly deplorable. The incessant ravages of seven years of war had reduced a great part of that realm to the

(1) Stowe, p. 363.

most

most ruinous state: exclusive of some villages, which were rather military posts than the peaceful habitations of peasants, from the banks of the Loire to the sea coast all was desert. Agriculture, the most necessary of human inventions, suffered in the common wreck of every useful art: the few labourers who remained to till the soil retired from fields infested by nightly marauders at the sound of the evening bell, a warning that even the cattle instinctively obeyed (*u*). To add to the horror, the wolves were so multiplied that officers were appointed expressly for the destruction of them; and they were entitled to levy a contribution on every family within two leagues of the spot on which a wolf was

(*u*) Meyer, quoted by Gollut in his Memoirs of the House of Burgundy, pag. 717.

killed

SECT.
IV.

1422.

killed (*x*); an extent that implies a great want of population.

ANY attempt to draw the character of a prince so well known as Henry V. might in this place be considered as impertinent. One of the leading features in it seems to have been inflexible firmness; of which Hollingshed may be thought, perhaps, to have given a whimsical example, when he tells us, “ that he was never seen to turn his nose from an evil favour, nor close his eyes from smoke or dust.”

(*x*) Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 3d. p. 158.

SECTION

SECTION V.

BY the late king's appointment the government of England devolved upon Humphry duke of Gloucester (*a*), who summoned without delay a meeting of Parliament at Westminster. Chichele opened to the assembly the reasons of their being called together; and, after paying a grateful tribute of praise to the memory of his deceased sovereign, risked some sanguine presages of the prosperous reign of his infant heir: intimating, in the quaint and pedantic eloquence of

SECT.
V.

1422.

(*a*) His salary as protector was fixed by parliament, in 1423, at eight thousand marks a year.

Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 4th. p. 86.

S E C T. that æra, “ that whereby God had made
 V. “ all things in six days, so he would
 1422. “ accomplish all the good beginnings of
 “ the famous fifth Henry in the sixth
 “ Henry his son (*b*);” a declaration
 that certainly was not dictated by the
 spirit of prophecy. On the dissolution
 of this parliament Chichelé retired to
 his diocese, and, disengaged from political
 occupations, dedicated his whole time
 1423. to the duties of his province. In 1423
 he made a progress through the dioceses
 of Chichester and Salisbury. The see
 of Lincoln was reserved for the follow-
 1424. ing year. A diligent inquiry into the
 morals and religion of the inhabitants,
 and a careful reform of several abuses
 that through indolence or inattention
 had eluded the notice of his predecessors,

(*b*) Cotton’s Abridgment, pag. 560.

marked

marked the course of the archbishop's pastoral journies. The lively impression of early pleasures is hardly ever obliterated by the busiest scenes of a maturer age. The opportunity offered to Chichelé, in this last visitation, of again beholding a spot familiar to him in his youth, was not neglected, and the sight of Higham-ferrers revived within him all his former partialities. His munificence there will find a place more properly in the sequel of these sheets.

SECT.
V.

1424.

FROM this survey his attention was within a short time called to another synod, in which the bishops of Winchester and Bath exerted all their powers of elocution to obtain a grant for the service of the war. But, whether the resources of the clergy were exhausted by the liberal supplies already granted, or all confidence

SECT.
V.
1425.

1426.

fidence of victory was buried in the grave with Henry the Vth. this unpromising point was laboured in vain. William Lyndewode, who was deputed by the synod to deliver their sentiments, argued, that the possessions had been so much impoverished by repeated exactions, that the residue was inadequate to the decent support of the members in general, while the smaller benefices were so reduced by continual drains as to be scarce worth acceptance (*c*). The synod was prorogued to February in the ensuing year, when Chichelé and the bishop of Winchester urged the old topic of a subsidy

(*c*) In the current year Chichelé was relieved by order of council from the charge of Robert Girefme, a French prisoner committed to his custody by the late king. This practice of intrusting prisoners of note to private custody was not uncommon.

Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 4. pag. 105.

with

with great warmth : but, as the interests of the ecclesiastical body at large could be preserved only by a strict correspondence between the constituent parts, the upper house of convocation would engage in no measures which were not approved by the delegates of the lower order, and these remained inexorable.

SECT.
V.
1426.

CHICHELE', despairing from the temper of this assembly of any success, appointed a fresh synod to be convened in May; yet so inconsiderable was the change of sentiments wrought by this expedient, that neither entreaties nor menaces could prevail on the representatives of the clergy to contribute more to the assistance of government than half a tenth. The same co-operation could not fail of accompanying the proceedings of the synod, when they were

S E C T.
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1426.

directed solely to the maintenance of religion and the censure of heresy. Two secular priests, Hoke and Drayton, were convicted of holding heretical opinions; but, as in cases of this nature the readiest path to pardon was abjuration, the criminals were absolved on formally renouncing their errors at St. Paul's cross. William Ruffel, a friar minorite, to the crime of deviating from the established doctrines of the church added an attack upon its privileges; he had not only taught publicly, that a free intercourse of the sexes was not incompatible with the purity of a monastic life, but had asserted from the pulpit that tithes were not of divine institution. He escaped immediate punishment by absconding. Meantime this deviation from established tenets drew upon him the indignation of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and

and the former passed a decree, prohibiting the presentation of any person to an academical degree, who had not solemnly declared his abhorrence of Ruffel's opinions (*d*). To obviate any dangerous impresson upon the minds of the illiterate from these novel doctrines, Chichelé commanded the Franciscans, an order of friars who enjoyed the greatest popularity as preachers, to inculcate the divine right of the church to tithes in their constant discourses. The office of prolocutor or speaker of the lower house of convocation was, for the first time, regularly settled by this synod; and, at the archbishop's recommendation, that office was given to William Lyndewode, a man every way qualified for the discharge of it. In the same year Lynde-

S E C T.
V.
1426.

(*d*) A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 210.

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wode was deputed by Chichelé to visit the colleges in Oxford subject to his jurisdiction, an undertaking in which he was assisted by Thomas Bronns. They began their visitation with Merton college, and, having made several ordinances for the government of that society, extended their survey to the whole university except queen's and new college (*e*).

WHILST the clergy had been unwillingly granting their quota in convocation, the king, then under three years of age, took his seat in the great assembly of the nation. The royal child had been brought by easy journies from Windsor. The first night he rested at Stanes; on the second he reached Kingston; the third he passed at his manor of Kenning-

(*e*) A. Wood. L. I. p. 217.

ton ; and on the fourth entered Westminster sitting in the queen's lap ; who from an open carriage held out their infant sovereign to the eager gaze of his loyal subjects (*f*).

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IV.
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AN unhappy difference between the protector and the bishop of Winchester called aloud at this season for the friendly interposition of some powerful mediator. The diffension of these noble adversaries had attained to such a height, that the general peace and welfare of the metropolis was in the most imminent danger. The shops were shut, all traffick obstructed, and the citizens occupied in keeping watch and ward, to prevent the mischiefs which the hostile appearance of the partizans in this alarming quarrel hourly threat-

(*f*) Fabian's Chron. fol. 410.

S E C T.

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ned. Neither the benevolence of his heart, nor the dignity of his station, would suffer Chichelé to remain an indifferent spectator of an occurrence pregnant with such disastrous consequences. With the duke of Coimbra prince of Portugal, then on a visit to the English court, he rode eight times in one day between the two competitors, to bring their dispute to an accommodation. This timely interference restrained the violence of their animosity, but did not extinguish their secret resentments. In a letter to the duke of Bedford the bishop of Winchester expressed himself in terms that by no means implied a sincere reconciliation. "Haste you hither" (says the bishop) "for by my truth, if you tarry, we shall put this land in adventure with a field, such a brother have you

“ you here (*g*).” Bedford thought it too urgent a business to admit of any delay, and hastening over summoned a parliament at Leicester. Articles were here exhibited by Gloucester against the bishop, and referred to the arbitration of Chichelé and a committee of temporal and spiritual peers; who, upon a candid and deliberate discussion of them, judged that the duke and bishop should, after reciprocal concessions in a form of words prescribed to them for that purpose, take each other by the hand, and exchange forgiveness in presence of the king and parliament (*b*). We need not look for the origin of this disagreement in any particular insult; personal provocations, however trivial, soon inflame a misunderstanding occasioned by rivalry. The

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1426.

(*g*) Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 591.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 595.

haughty

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V.

haughty prelate of Winchester could ill brook the superior power of a youthful protector; and Gloucester was not inclined by any shew of deference to gratify the pride or conciliate the friendship of an overbearing churchman. The effects of an imprudent attachment had recently given too solid a plea for complaints against the protector, who had weakened the few forces left for the defence of the kingdom by a considerable levy of men for the prosecution of his wife's claims in the Netherlands; and estranged from the interest of the English government the duke of Burgundy, its most powerful ally. But while we condemn the *Protector* for a marriage highly unjustifiable in a political light, we should temper the severity of our censures by a recollection of the temptations that solicited *Glocester* to this connection.

Jaqueline of Hainault, the object of his passion, possessed attractions sufficient to have inflamed a bosom less susceptible of love and ambition than that of this prince. The only daughter and heiress of William duke of Bavaria, she was born to the rich reversion of the provinces of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand. With her person a joint interest in all these hereditary possessions was first conferred upon a son of France. His death soon left her at liberty to bestow them elsewhere. Contiguous dominions and the request of a dying parent, rather than any personal affection, induced her to make choice of the duke of Brabant for her second husband. Difference of age and sentiments, and a wide disproportion in their abilities, combined to produce a coolness which shortly terminated in separation. He was of tender years, of a
 sickly

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fickly constitution, and a slow and dull intellect; indolent and unimpassioned in private life, and blindly abandoned to the guidance of a worthless set of favourites in his public capacity. Jaqueline was in every respect the reverse: in the bloom of health and full vigour of age, she possessed an understanding superior to that of any contemporary of her sex. Her personal charms did not disparage the endowments of her mind; a beautiful and expressive countenance, an elegant shape and winning manners, gave a commanding influence to the dictates of a high spirit and strong passions (*i*). Having under pretext of their nearness in blood quitted the society of her husband, she fled into England, and was received in a manner suitable to her rank

(*i*) Henæus Annal. of Brabant, pag. 399, 400, 401, 402.

and

and the dignity of that crown. She was married in the course of a few months to the duke of Gloucester, and in 1423 accompanied him into Hainault. On his return she was left at Mons to the protection of the inhabitants, who had sworn to defend the person of their mistress at all hazards. Their allegiance was not proof against the menaces of the duke of Burgundy, to whom the garrison soon surrendered her, having received no reinforcement from England. She had sent repeated intelligence of her calamitous situation to Gloucester, and omitted in her letters no consideration that could urge him to come to her relief: she calls upon him, by the tender and endearing address of lord and father, to succour the distress of a sorrowful and beloved child, whose only consolation is that she suffers on his account; she as-

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V.

fures him that to do his pleasure has been, and ever shall be, her chief happiness, and that she is ready to meet death for his sake (*k*). Language like this must have been either the result of warm and sincere affection, or of womanish fears; her subsequent conduct will scarcely permit us to adopt the latter suspicion. After a short confinement at Ghent she made her escape in man's clothes, and mounting a horse in this disguise did not alight till she reached Antwerp. Here she resumed the habit of her sex, and pursued her journey to Holland. The duke of Burgundy followed her with a formidable power. Undaunted she appeared at the head of her troops, led them in person to the siege of Haerlem, and underwent all the fatigues of a severe

(*k*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. fol. 24.

campaign,

campaign, with a resolution that amply compensated for the absence of masculine strength and a more robust frame. Gloucester's desertion of her, and the death of the duke of Brabant, released her at once from all engagements; and she survived about ten years, in peace and security, a treaty, by which she instituted her cousin the duke of Burgundy heir to all her possessions (1).

To return to a subject from which I have been drawn into an unwarrantable digression *. Chichelé quitted the

(1) Haræus Ann. Brab. as above.

* In apology for this digression I have nothing to offer but the popularity of Jaqueline's character, whose imprisonment not only drew a bold remonstrance from "a large body of females of good account and well apparelled," says Stowe, but was taken up in a high strain by the commons, who petitioned

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the parliament at Leicester in May, and repairing to London assembled a synod there. The same parcimonious maxims that regulated the proceedings of the last meeting still prevailed, and the ecclesiastics paid with reluctance what they had granted sparingly (*m*).

tioned for her relief; and, to give the greater weight to their petition, tacked it to the grant of a subsidy:

Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 212, 213.

(*m*) It was in this year that Chichelé received by an act of council a salary of 300 marks a year for his attendance as one of that body. The bishop of Winchester had the same appointment, and inferior members, both spiritual and temporal, stipends proportionate to their rank. Act. Pub. tom. iv. part 4. p. 122.

SECTION.

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MA RTIN the fifth, one of the sturdiest pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair, had long regarded with a jealous eye those salutary barriers against the encroachments of the court of Rome, the statutes of provisors and præmunire. The restrictions which these acts laid him under grew every day more irksome to him, and he had particularly exerted himself in the course of the last year to obtain a repeal of them. His remonstrances, however pressing, were ineffectual; and, as he conceived his designs to have miscarried from Chichelé's disaffection to the cause, his resentments

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H

were

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were more immediately levelled at him. The correspondence which this variance introduced between the pope and the archbishop throws no inconsiderable light on the character of them both : and though it was productive of much severe treatment of Chichelé, the honourable testimony borne to his integrity and abilities by the nation in general was a recompence equivalent to any mortification he could suffer in the progress of this affair. From the imperfect records that have reached us relative to this transaction it appears, that Martin's intention of suspending the legatine power (*a*), hi-

(*a*) This suspension of the legatine power, for which Martin had actually issued a bull, I conjecture to have been the hardship which Chichelé complains of in the course of his controversy, as never having been attempted from the first foundation of the see.

Wilkins's Concil. tom. iii. pag. 474, 484.

therto

therto annexed to the metropolitan see, had been intimated to Chichelé so early as the commencement of the present year. Upon this information he on the twenty-second of March made a formal appeal to the first general council that should be assembled, from all decisions which Martin or his successors might make prejudicial to his rights as primate. On the twenty-seventh of the same month the archbishop, then in his palace at Canterbury, was presented, by the hands of John de Obizis, the pope's nuncio, with certain bulls, the contents of which he was yet a stranger to, when the lieutenant of Dover castle brought him orders to send any packets he had received from Rome immediately to the protector. This verbal injunction was soon followed by a writ, commanding him, on the reception of any future bulls

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or public letters from the pope, to transmit them unopened to the council.

THOUGH these measures are a proof that Chichelé wanted neither spirit to assert the privileges of the English church, nor the support of his sovereign in the maintenance of them, he nevertheless felt himself by no means easy in his situation. Papal censures were still formidable, and the belief of the fundamental doctrines of the catholic religion was so closely interwoven in vulgar minds with a firm persuasion of the supreme minister's infallibility, that no prudent friend to the former would have endeavoured to degrade or weaken the authority of the latter. The archbishop saw the full force of this consideration, and, unwilling to afford the slightest shadow of encouragement to the unorthodox notions

tions which had of late been promulgated by the lollard sectaries, instead of open resistance to the pontiff's will, tried the gentler method of soothing intreaties and humble representation. In a letter dated the tenth of March he had endeavoured to blunt the edge of Martin's resentment by the most submissive professions of duty. By the same opportunity he addressed an epistle to several cardinals, to beg their intercession. The pope in answer to these applications informs him, that an immediate compliance with his request, to have the execrable statutes in question repealed, would be the most convincing argument he could employ to prove the sincerity of his professions. He adds, that the archbishop had been reported to him to have spoken very irreverently of his zeal in this holy cause, as arising from motives of covetousness and "a desire of enrich-

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“ ing himself at the expence of the na-
 “ tion;” and cautions him not to bestow
 that reproach on others, which would
 appear upon reflection more suitable to
 his own conduct. Chichelé, in return,
 complains of the misrepresentations he
 labours under at his holiness’s court
 from the calumny of his enemies, and
 the impossibility, from age and infirmities,
 of his exculpating himself in person; he
 alludes likewise to some steps that were
 in contemplation against the rights of
 the see of Canterbury, never before at-
 tempted, at least as he collects from
 report: since, as he was under a prohi-
 bition from opening his holiness’s public
 dispatches, he could not gain more cer-
 tain knowledge of his intentions.

CHICHELE’ was not thus exposed to the
 persecution of the apostolic see without
 interesting the nation in his cause. The
 ecclesiastics

ecclesiastics were the first who stood forth in his defence: a very dutiful letter was addressed to Martin, subscribed by sixteen bishops, in which they assure him that the archbishop had been grossly slandered; that he was, contrary to the insinuations of his enemies, considered by the bulk of the nation as a faithful and prudent steward; while that part of it which was more immediately connected with him by profession, which had more opportunities, and more interested motives jealously to watch his conduct, had ever looked up to him as a father. The university of Oxford were not less warm in their vindication of him. They tell the pope, “that Chichelé stood in the sanctuary of God as a firm wall that heresy could not shake nor simony undermine; that he was the darling of the people, and the foster-parent of the

H 4 clergy.”

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clergy." To these flattering testimonies was added that of several temporal lords, who, after exculpating him on the general heads of accusation, to obviate the pope's imputation of covetousness, particularize his singular liberality in having constantly restored the whole of the spiritualities which he might, during the vacancy of the bishoprics within his province, justly have in part detained. They further mention, that in cases of poverty he frequently assisted from his own purse such as were appointed to benefices by papal provision. Before these addresses arrived at the court of Rome, Martin had received Chichelé's excuses by the hand of a faithful agent; whose representations seem, by the softer spirit of the pope's answer, to have allayed in great measure the asperity of his resentment. His resolution however was immutably

immutably fixed; and in pursuance of SECT.
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 it he in October wrote both to the king }
 and parliament, in a very dictatorial style,
 to procure the repeal of the statutes of
 provisions and præmunire in the next
 session. Chichelé received an admoni-
 tion to the same purport. But as no im-
 mediate effect was produced by these
 applications, Martin resumed his autho-
 ritative tone both to the king and the
 archbishop: “ Read (says he to the latter)
 “ read that royal statute, (if an act which
 “ subverts the laws of God and the
 “ church deserves such a title) and judge,
 “ venerable brother, you who are a
 “ christian and catholic bishop, if the
 “ disciples of christianity can conscien-
 “ tiously observe it: a statute by which
 “ the king disposes of ecclesiastical pre-
 “ ferments as absolutely as if Christ had
 “ ordained him his vicar, and assumes
 “ the

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“ the supremacy in spiritual matters
 “ with as high a hand as if the keys of
 “ St. Peter had been delivered into his
 “ custody.” He concludes this angry
 epistle with directions to Chichelé, un-
 der pain of excommunication, to use all
 his influence with the parliament for the
 abrogation of these detestable acts : and
 doubting the efficacy of arguments found-
 ed upon so shallow a basis, against the
 good sense of the representatives of the
 people, he further commands him to
 alarm the consciences of the lower ranks
 on this nice question, by an injunction
 to the inferior clergy to preach upon it.
 At the same time, to show the archbi-
 shop how little confidence was reposed
 in him, he is commanded to send to
 Rome a full account of his progress at-
 tested by at least two credible witnesses :
 a flight of a similar nature to that passed

on him in a letter addressed jointly to the two archbishops, wherein Martin with a puerile spleen gives the see of York the precedence. In consequence of the last thundering epistle Chichelé, accompanied by the archbishop of York, and several of their suffragans, attended the commons in the refectory of the abbey of Westminster, their usual place of assembling; and having declared previously, that he and his brethren did not mean to offer any thing either in prejudice of the king's prerogative or the common weal, he entered into a description of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, pointed out the barrier between the church and state, and drew a lively picture of the destructive consequences that would result from the kingdom being laid under an interdict. He at length withdrew, but not till he had pressed

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pressed the critical temper of affairs with an earnestness which brought tears into his eyes.

THE commons did not adopt the archbishop's sentiments with respect to the papal fee : uninfluenced by his arguments, they were not however insensible to the difficulties of his situation ; nor did they conclude the session before they had presented a petition to the king, praying his mediation with the pope in Chichelé's behalf (*b*) : and here this troublesome and vexatious dispute fell to the ground (*c*) *.

THAT

(*b*) Rolls of Parl. vol. iv. p. 322.

(*c*) Wilkins's Concil. vol. iii. from p. 471 to 487.

* The only authentic materials to be found relative to this transaction are I believe preserved in Wilkins's Concilia : but, as these materials are not always

THAT these proceedings were conducted by Martin with so little delicacy towards the archbishop, may be attributed to the steady and early opposition that prelate had shewn to papal claims, whenever he thought them incompatible with the privileges of the church of England (*d*).

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VI.

AMONGST many instances of this nature, one has obtained particular notice: while the late king was absent from his

ways either regularly arranged or accurately dated, I have, where I thought myself warranted by the context, by the inconsistency of the dates as there given, and by a comparison of them with the rolls of parliament and other undoubted records, ventured, not without diffidence, to vary from them. As Duck had not entered into this part of Chichelé's history, a full and clear detail of it became more necessary, and the probability of succeeding more remote.

(*d*) Walsingham's Hypodygma Neuftriæ, p. 579.

dominions

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VI.

dominions in the prosecution of the French war, the Roman pontiff was busily employed in the execution of a design he then entertained, of appointing Beaufort bishop of Winchester a cardinal, and legate *a latere* for England during life. This scheme was defeated by Chichele's vigilance, who represented (*e*) the impropriety of such an appointment so effectually to Henry, that he declared he would rather see his uncle Beaufort invested with his crown than with a cardinal's hat. This honour he had since obtained on his arrival at Calais with the duke of Bedford in the course of the last year. He was at this time returned into England with legatine authority. But as the king's proctor protested against the entrance of a legate

(*e*) See Letter in Appendix N° II.

into the realm of England without the sovereign's permission, the cardinal-bishop was obliged to declare before the lords of parliament, that he would attempt nothing prejudicial to the rights of the crown, and exercise no branch of his office till he had obtained the royal leave. The motive which principally induced the pope to make Beaufort a cardinal at this juncture was, that in the character of legate he might preach up a crusade against the Huffites, an obstinate sect of heretics in Bohemia which gave the court of Rome much trouble; and it was with this view he now visited England.

To forward the purposes of this holy mission Chichelé was ordered to injoin public prayers and processions for the conversion of these deluded heretics: and,
that

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that no encouragement might be wanting to good catholics in this religious undertaking, Martin offered indulgences (*f*) for a hundred days to all such as devoutly rehearsed the seven penitential psalms, or twenty-five pater-nosters and ave-marias, for the accomplishment of the pious work. In conformity to the pope's bull fit persons were appointed also by the archbishop, to publish this crusade, and to grant absolution to such as were willing to engage in the holy warfare. In the month of July Chichelé convok-

(*f*) In another bull Martin holds out still more alluring terms of invitation to the volunteers in this pious cause. Seven years remission of penance to all who contributed in the proportion of the thousandth penny of their property; and an unlimited forgiveness of past enormities of every species to such as served half a year in person, or found a soldier in this crusade.— Fasciculus, published from Register of Canterbury by E. Brown.

ed a fynod at St. Paul's cathedral. The business of these assemblies was limited to few points, and the relation admits of little variety. Amongst several persons accused of heresy before this tribunal, Catharine Dertford seems to have excited very unreasonable apprehensions. Being questioned relative to some abstruse doctrines of the church, she with great simplicity confessed, that her information in religious matters was confined to the knowledge of the creed and the ten commandments. Ralph Mungyn, a secular priest, who wanted those pleas for compassion which her inexperience and her sex gave this female, had nevertheless little room for complaint either of the persecuting spirit or the harsh proceeding of his judge. Chichelé repeatedly exhorted him with parental tenderness to renounce his errors, and repeatedly

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1428.

I

adjourned

SECT. VI. adjourned the sentence of condemnation.
 Finding all argument ineffectual, he at
 length pronounced on him the doom of
 perpetual imprisonment, still reserving a
 power of mitigating this punishment, if
 time and reflection should bring the
 unhappy object of it to a sense of his de-
 linquency (*g*). The synod was conti-
 nued with short intermissions to Decem-
 ber, and a subsidy of half a tenth granted
 to the crown: in the ensuing October
 the further grant of a tenth and a half
 was levied in convocation to the same
 use. By this well-timed liberality the
 clergy obtained a privilege, which hi-
 therto had been wanting, to give their
 meeting freedom and security: an act
 was on their petition passed, providing
 that their delegates, during the sitting of

(*g*) Wilkins's Concil. vol. iii. p. 502.

convocation,

convocation, should enjoy exemption from arrests, and every other immunity possessed by the members of the lower house of parliament. Under these promising appearances the convocation was dissolved; and Conzo, the pope's nuntio, who had long solicited a tenth, saw its dissolution without having been able to procure one favourable hearing. This neglect furnished fresh matter for Martin's indignation against Chichelé, whom he considered as one of the chief obstructors of his agent's success. The archbishop, to remove the wrong impressions the pope had received, wrote a very respectful apology for his conduct, in which he particularly alleges, that he had purposely protracted the synod to October, that no impediment to the execution of his holiness's desires might lie in him (*b*).

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1429.

(*b*) See letter in Appendix N° 2.

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1430.

IN fourteen hundred and thirty Chichelé summoned another assembly of his clergy. Ecclesiastical censures formed, as usual, the bulk of the business transacted in this meeting. The enforcement of spiritual decrees by temporal penalties was no uncommon occurrence: but in one instance spiritual terrors were made subsidiary to civil justice. The fraudulent practice of using a false weight, which had long prevailed amongst unfair traders notwithstanding the endeavours of the civil magistrate, drew the notice of this synod; and Chichelé published a formal sentence of excommunication against all who in future should dare to use it.

CARDINAL BEAUFORT, who had embarked with levies for the Bohemian crusade in July, did not reach Bohemia till
the

the next year, having stipulated to assist the duke of Bedford with his forces for the term of six months: nor does it appear that he conducted himself perfectly to the pope's satisfaction on his arrival; since he was soon superseded, and returned again to England. The appointment of cardinal Julian of Saint Angelo legate was one of the last acts of that restless pontiff Martin the fifth. He died in February fourteen hundred and thirty-one, and by his death restored to Chichelé a prospect of that repose and tranquillity which his advanced age and growing infirmities so much required,

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1431.

SECTION VII.

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VII.

1431.

AT the opening of this year Chichelé was appointed to act as commissioner, for raising money to defray the expences of the king's journey to France. This visit Henry undertook at the pressing solicitation of the duke of Bedford, who saw, in defiance of his most vigorous exertions, the English interest declining in that country with rapid paces. Among many incidents which had conspired to produce a change in the face of affairs, the late singular successes of the Maid of Orleans were certainly not the least important. Her extraordinary

traordinary mission, and the rest of those marvellous forgeries which formed the texture of her mysterious story, whether they are to be considered as the dreams of a visionary enthusiast, or the bold fictions of an enlightened politician, were well calculated to inspire her countrymen with confidence, and give new vigour to their arms: and however ill founded the terror of her name may have been, it struck so universal an awe into the English soldiers, that they deserted in large bodies (*a*). No less than three pro-

I 4 clamations

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(*a*) The effects of Joan's termagant spirit were not, if we may believe a contemporary writer, restrained to her enemies. She had been a very short time in possession of the sword which she boasted to have been discovered to her by divine revelation, when she broke it upon two or three loose followers of the camp; much to her sovereign's dissatisfaction, who chidingly told her, that she should rather have taken a good *stick* to them. "Il y avoit" (says this author)

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clamations were issued in one year to check this spirit of defection (*b*), which was communicated even to the troops not yet embarked for the French coast.

THE persevering courage and masterly conduct of the Bastard of Orleans con-

author) plusieurs femmes debauchées, qui empe-
choient les gens d'armes de faire diligence au service
du roi ; quoi voyant icelle Jeanne, elle tirà son épée
et en battit deux ou trois tant qu'elle rompit sa dite
épée : dont le roi fut bien deplaisant, lui disant qu'elle
devoit avoir pris un *bon baton* et frapper dessus, sans
abandonner ainsi celle épée, qui lui étoit venue de-
vinement comme elle disoit."

Hist. of Charles VII. by Jean
Chatrier, p. 29 in D. Gode-
froy's Collection,

(*b*) The punishment inflicted on deserters at this time was imprisonment during the king's pleasure, with loss of horses and accoutrements ; but this mild penalty being found ineffectual, a law was enacted in the eighteenth of this reign, by which desertion, after a soldier had once been mustered, was made felony.—Act. Pub. and Statutes at large.

summed

summed the great work which the fortunate but short-lived efforts of this enterprising heroine began. He has been celebrated by contemporary (*c*) writers as one of the bravest and most skilful captains of his age. After having signalized himself in all the brilliant actions of this period, and wound up the clue of his military fame by the recovery of the whole province of Guyenne to the French crown, he died full of years, and to the titles of Count of Dunois and Longue-ville added the glorious appellation of the Deliverer of his country (*d*).

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THE

(*c*) Chartier, De Coucy, Bouvier, and others collected and published by D. Godefroy.

(*d*) Hall in his Chronicle, fol. 104, reports, that this bastard was a natural son of the duke of Orleans, by the wife of the lord Cawny, constable of one of the duke's castles on the frontier towards Artois; and that, upon the death of his parents, the next of kin to the lord

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THE presence of an infant prince, to whom the inhabitants were almost universally perfect strangers, was not likely to work any very favourable effect upon their sentiments; and Henry, after a short residence in his French dominions, returned, with the natural prejudice for domestic scenes, to his native island,

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Cawny challenged the inheritance; that in conclusion the matter was brought before the presidents of the parliament of Paris, and there remained in litigation till the boy was eight years of age; when, on a day appointed for a final hearing, the infant hero being asked whose son he was, contrary to the lessons and expectations of his mother's friends, boldly replied, " My heart giveth me and my noble courage telleth me, that I am the son of the noble duke of Orleans; " more glad to be his bastard with a mean living, " than the lawful son of that cowardly cuckold " Cawny with his four thousand crowns." A passage which I have been induced to mention, rather from the resemblance it bears to some circumstances in Shakespear's interesting character of Faulconbridge, than from any conviction of its authenticity.

The

The citizens (*e*) of London testified their loyalty on the occasion, in a pageant decorated with emblematical devices, well suited to the immature taste and tender age of a monarch who was then only in his eleventh year. The archbishop of Canterbury, at the head of his suffragans and the canons of St. Paul's, received him at the door of the cathedral, and conducted him in solemn triumph to the great altar, where he made a devout offering.

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MARTIN, as has been observed, had summoned a council to sit at Basil, but did not live to see it meet. The new pope, Eugenius the fourth, confirmed the bull granted by his predecessor, and the council was accordingly convened. Its deliberations however, the professed design of which was to

(*e*) Fabian's Chron. p. 423 to 428.

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unite the Greek and Latin churches, and reform the church universal, did not obtain the pope's sanction or approbation: and, after repeated differences, the fathers of the council and the Roman pontiff came to an open rupture: a mutual proscription was the result. The council passed sentence of deposition against Eugenius, who in return declared that congregation illegal and excommunicated.

NOTWITHSTANDING these reciprocal disqualifications, both parties still held their separate assemblies, and continued to assert their respective superiority. It was not likely that any part of Christendom should remain uninterested spectators of the progress of this controversy: in 1431 Chichelé imparted to his suffragans a summons which he had received from the legate who presided at Basil, and

and recommended it to their immediate consideration. In the next year he met his clergy in convocation at London, where, having elected fit persons to attend the council, they assessed the ecclesiastical benefices at two pence in the pound to supply the expences of their appointment. Eugenius had by this time, from disgust at some measures of the council, removed it from Basil to Bologna. Chichelé assembled a synod to consult what steps were proper to be taken at this conjuncture; when it was determined by a majority of voices to send delegates to the pope, whom they accounted fully justified in what he had done, as well as to the fathers at Basil (*f*). The deputies to these last were directed to support the party which embraced the old mode

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(*f*) Wilkins's Concil. vol. iii. p. 521, 522.

of

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of voting by nations, if any thing that involved such a question should be agitated. This method would give England as great weight in the decisions of the council as any other of the four nations (*g*) singly possessed; an equality that must probably be destroyed by the superior number of agents from foreign courts, whenever the form of voting by deputies should be adopted.

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THE history of some subsequent synods furnishes little matter worth remark; the clergy appear to have suffered from an unfair construction of the statute of præmunire, and to have tried the usual and ineffectual means of redress, spiritual censures. But whatever grievances the ecclesiastics might labour under, and

(*g*) These were Germany, France, Italy, Spain; acknowledged as such by the council of Constance.

whatever

whatever resentment they might harbour, their grants to the crown were regular and competent. The inconsiderable business transacted in these provincial meetings left Chichelé more than ordinary leisure, and this he omitted no opportunity of improving to the advantage both of his diocese and province. His mind, not restrained to the contemplation of adjacent objects, took a wider range; as his advanced age forbade him to entertain a hope of continuing much longer in the service of his contemporaries, he extended his provident care to posterity, and to temporary benefits added one of a more permanent duration; in fourteen hundred and thirty-seven he laid the foundation of a college in Oxford: a lasting testimony of his regard for literature, and its beneficial influence on society (*b*).

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(*b*) See next section.

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EUGENIUS having convened a fresh council at Ferrara, Chichelé (*i*) signified to his clergy assembled in convocation this step, taken by the pope for the sake, as his holiness's letters intimated, of facilitating the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches; in which good work he requested the English clergy to second him, by nominating proper representatives to attend the council. These frequent removes of the council which adhered to the pontiff's interest, and the coexistence of another at Basil, whose regulations, though condemned by the court of Rome, were too reasonable and of too conciliating (*k*) a

(*i*) Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 525.

(*k*) Such as the suppression of the annates, one of the most productive branches of the papal revenues.

L'Enfant's Hist. of Council of Basil, p. 446.

nature

nature not to find numerous advocates, augmented the charges, and divided the sentiments, of the English church. It was with difficulty that a contribution was raised adequate to the expences of the delegates chosen to this office. The secular clergy were unalterably determined against any grant (1): the monastic orders, more devoted to the papal see, levied the whole on their own revenues. Chichelé, whose veneration for the head of the catholic church was ever corrected by a salutary regard for the constitutional privileges of that part of it over which he was more immediately placed as guardian, communicated to his suffragans and clergy, assembled in this synod, an infringement of these privileges attempted by the pope in the provision of

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(1) Wilkins's Concil. vol. iii. p. 532.

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a bishop to the vacant see of Ely: desiring their counsel and assistance in a case of so serious an importance to their community in general, and which in his own person required to be treated with a gentle yet steady and resolute hand. If a peculiarity of circumstances could have induced Chichelé to depart from the general tenour of his conduct, such an inducement was presented to him in the present instance: the inclination of his sovereign, and the distinguished merit of the candidate for this dignity, might have reconciled him to such a deviation, without fixing on him the reproach either of an unresisting ductility of temper, or of too courtly an obsequiousness of manners. The person provided by Eugenius was Lewis archbishop of Rowen, whose services (*m*) to the king in France

(*m*) Act. Pub. tom. v. pag. 53.

had given him a substantial claim to royal favour. Powerful as this recommendation was, the irregularity of the French prelate's appointment determined Chichelé against it; nor could he be prevailed upon, by any consideration, to invest him with the spiritualities of his bishopric (*n*).

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THE same opposition to papal usurpations was discovered by him in a dispute with Kempe archbishop of York, who contended, that as cardinal he ought to have precedence of him in the house of peers. In the course of this controversy the pope naturally threw his weight into the cardinal's scale; but Chichelé strenuously insisted, that in the

(*n*) This prelate did not however remain unrecompensed; the king granted him the full enjoyment of the temporalities of the bishopric under the title of perpetual administrator of the see of Ely. Ibid.

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character of cardinal, Kempe's rank and pre-eminence was derived solely from an attendance on the pontiff's person, and limited to the residence of his court.

WHILE the convocation was fitting, the universities, which were at this period in a very reduced state, presented a remonstrance, containing an ample account of the grievances they laboured under, and which they attributed to the wars, want of money, and the total neglect of their members in the disposal of church preferments (*o*). To alleviate these distresses, and remove one cause of their complaint, Chichelé decreed, with the concurrence of the synod, that all ecclesiastical patrons should, for ten years to come, confer the benefices in their gift on members of either university

(*o*) A. Wood. Hist. of Univ. L. i. p. 217.

exclusively;

exclusively; and that vicars general, commissaries, and officials, should be chosen out of the graduates in civil and common law,

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THE next convocation that Chichele assembled he opened by an enumeration of the hardships the clergy suffered, from an erroneous construction and undue application of the act of præmunire. After stating the several abuses which had obtained under colour of enforcing this law, in terms of great energy and sensibility, he begged the assembly to take the menacing posture of affairs into their most serious consideration. The result was a petition to the crown, that the statutes in question should be taken to extend only to those who commenced any suits, or procured any writs or public instruments, at Rome or elsewhere out

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of England (*p*), agreeable to the original purport and design of them. Chichelé and his suffragans presented this petition; and the king graciously answered, that he would have their request laid before the parliament, and in the interim would give orders that no writ of præmunire should be issued till he had in council been more fully advised. The augmentation of small vicarages was likewise suggested and adopted in this synod. The constitution which Chichelé published, for carrying so desirable a measure into execution, is framed with that attention to the interests of the inferior members of the clerical order, which bespeaks him the common father of the whole body. The general salary of vicars was therein settled by a rate proportioned

(*p*) Blackstone's Comment. book iv. p. 113.

both to the value of the rectory and the service attending it; and no stipend less than an annual income of twelve marks was admitted as an adequate endowment of a vicarage, unless the rents of the rectory did not amount to that sum (*q*).

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THIS was the last synod Chichelé's feeble state permitted him to attend in person. From this time to his death he seems, if we except the examination of Eleanor (*r*) duchess of Gloucester, to

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(*q*) Wilkins's Conc. p. 535.

(*r*) The duchess of Gloucester was examined before Chichelé, the cardinals Beaufort and Kempe, and others, in St. Stephen's chapel, on a charge of having attempted the king's life by witchcraft. The most material circumstance relative to this affair is, that in consequence of her condemnation a statute passed for trying peeresses by their equals; a privilege not extended to the wives of peers till that period.

Stowe— and Parl. History.

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have declined all interference in public business : sinking beneath the oppressive weight of fourscore years, and no longer equal to the fatigues which his station as primate imposed on him, he wished to resign his office into more able hands ; desirous of preparing himself for his approaching dissolution he languished for retirement. His application to Euge-

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nius in fourteen hundred and forty-two, to obtain this indulgence, is fraught with many strokes of piety and goodness of heart. “ Praise be to the living God,” (says the venerable prelate) “ by whose
 “ blessing I have attained to that fulness
 “ of years, which has enabled me to gather myself as it were into my own bosom, and, with a perfect indifference for
 “ the world and its vanities, employ my
 “ whole thoughts and care on my own
 “ preservation ; I am now, holy father,
 “ heavy

“ heavy laden, aged, infirm and weak
 “ beyond measure; infomuch thathence-
 “ forth I shall be totally unequal and
 “ incompetent to the charge I have
 “ so long borne and still continue to
 “ bear. For the welfare, therefore, and
 “ safety of that flock, which is equally
 “ the object of your attention as of
 “ mine; for my repose and the salva-
 “ tion of my soul, I intreat on my
 “ knees, that your holiness would re-
 “ lease me from a burden I am no longer
 “ able to support either with ease to
 “ myself or advantage to others: in
 “ pity then suffer me to surrender my
 “ charge into your sacred apostolic
 “ hands; grant me a short respite that
 “ I may bewail my infirmities; O spare
 “ me a little that I may recover my
 “ strength, before I go hence and be

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“ no more seen (*s*).” The archbishop concludes this epistle with an earnest recommendation of the bishop of Bath for his successor, whom great talents, noble birth, powerful connections, a conciliating hospitality, and devout zeal for the holy see, combined to render worthy of such an appointment.

To Chichelé's importunities Henry condescended to join his royal intercession (*t*), and particularly to urge the reserve of some suitable provision out of the rents of the see of Canterbury, lest that prelate might on his resignation want a support, which his liberal mind, ever a stranger to the low schemes of personal emolument, had, during the long

(*s*) See this letter in Appendix N° I.

(*t*) Ibid.

enjoyment

enjoyment of that lucrative station, neglected to secure. Whatever influence these applications might have had on the court of Rome, its decisions were so tardy that Chichelé did not live to see the effect of them: the month of April 1443 put a period to his life; the less perishable monuments of it will be the subject of the next section (*u*).

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(*u*) It may be proper to mention here, that in 1440 the king granted to the archbishop and others the alien priories to hold in fee.

Act. Pub. vol. v. p. 91.

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THE chief scenes of Chichelé's munificence were Higham-ferriers, the diocese of Canterbury, and the university of Oxford. The first of these was particularly endeared to him, as being the place of his nativity, and the residence of those who were most closely united to him by the ties of blood and affection. The second was forcibly recommended to his notice, as giving him eminence of rank and power. To the third he was indebted for the accomplishments which raised him to this rank, and

and qualified him for the right use of this power.



In May 1422 Chichelé obtained letters patent of Henry V. to found a collegiate church at Higham-ferrers, for the maintenance of eight chaplains, four clerks, and six choristers, to pray daily for the souls of the king and queen and the archbishop, for the souls of Henry IV. and Mary his consort, for the parents of the archbishop, for his benefactors, and all faithful persons deceased. A master was to be chosen out of the chaplains to preside over the college, and two of their body, either clerks or chaplains, to teach grammar and church-music. The possessions with which Chichelé endowed this foundation were, the alien priory of Mersey in Essex, the manor of Overdene in Bedfordshire, sixty acres

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acres of woodland at Swyneshede in Huntingdonshire, the manor of Chesterton, and Veife's manor in Bereford near Newenham, together with thirty acres of arable and ten of pasture land, a mesuage called *le swan on the hope*, sixty acres of arable and ten of meadow at Higham-ferrers (*a*). To these possessions Chichelé's brothers made valuable additions; and, at the dissolution of monasteries, the clear annual income amounted to one hundred and fifty-six pounds two shillings and eight pence (*b*).

THIS college was a quadrangular building, about fifteen yards square within, having two wings projecting westward, and a handsome gateway on the east side

(*a*) *Monasticon Anglic.* vol. iii. p. 175.

(*b*) *Tanner's Notitia*, p. 388.

with

with three niches over it (*c*), which probably held the images of the virgin Mary, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. Edward the confessor, to whose patronage it was recommended (*d*). The collegiate church is still standing, and serves for the parish church. Another act of Chichelé's benevolence to his native place, was the erection of an hospital for the poor of the town, who, besides the broken meat they received from the college, had a daily allowance of one penny each (*e*).

THE metropolitical diocese is, in various parts of it, indebted to Chichelé's bounty for extensive embellishments. At

(*c*) Anonymous authors of the History of Northamptonshire, vol. ii.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) A. Wood, MS. Hist. of Univ. of Oxford.

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Canterbury he expended large sums in adorning the cathedral, and in building a library which he furnished with a good collection of books in all kinds of learning (*f*). At Lambeth he was a considerable repairer and improver of the archiepiscopal palace. From the year 1424 to the year 1441, we find in his steward's accounts mention of a variety of rooms built at his expence: but the most important work undertaken there by this munificent prelate was the great tower, since called the Lollard's tower. It was built in the 13th of Henry VI.

(*f*) These benefactions were reckoned up in a public instrument made by the prior and monks of Canterbury, and recorded among the public acts of the church, in which they promise on their part, that Chichelé's body should be laid in the tomb that he had caused to be built on the north side of the chancel, and that no one beside should ever be buried in that quarter.—A. Duck.

at the west end of the chapel, on the site of an old stone edifice taken down to make room for the erection of it. All the expences of building it are particularly enumerated in the computus ballivorum, or steward's account, of that year; whereby it appears that the total charge of the tower amounted to two hundred and seventy-eight pounds two shillings and eleven pence (*g*). At Croydon the parish church was probably either erected, or received great repairs, by Chichelé's order, as the walls of the porch and steeple bear his arms. We may here add, though it does not properly belong to the diocese of Canter-

(*g*) This account of Lambeth palace is taken from a manuscript written by Dr. A. C. Ducarrel, and communicated by his permission.

L

bury,

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bury, that he is mentioned in the list of benefactors to Rochester bridge (*b*).

BUT the noblest exertions of Chichele's liberality were dedicated to the service of literature, and the improvement of the university of Oxford; which at this time, and for some years before, laboured under very oppressive discouragements. Learning was fallen into general contempt; the number of students was much decreased, and many halls totally deserted (*i*). The ancient languages were not critically understood; Latin, the only one of the dead tongues in common use, was appropriated to the unintelligible jargon of schoolmen and meta-

(*b*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 335.

(*i*) A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 216 — he tells us that the poorer scholars were so destitute, as to beg their bread from door to door.

physicians;

physicians ; theology and philosophy were involved in a maze of intricate and unprofitable enquiries ; and even the study of the civil and canon laws, overwhelmed with endless commentaries, was more calculated to exercise than improve the understanding. While genius, thus fettered by prejudice and prescription, was idly amused in subtle and unproductive researches, the free exercise of judgment and reason was necessarily discountenanced and suppressed. What contributed perhaps to thicken the cloud of ignorance which enveloped this period was an extreme scarcity of books : they were purchased at a great price, and lent with the utmost caution and reluctance (1).

L 2

THE

(1) Before the invention of printing had multiplied works of literature, instances of the jealous spirit

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THE manners of the students were as barbarous as their erudition. Each line, attached with bigotted partiality to their peculiar study, asserted its pre-eminence with intemperate zeal, and held every other branch of science in sovereign contempt. But the great factions which divided the university were those of the northern and southern members, whose inveterate (*m*) prejudices and unvarying animosity

spirit with which they were guarded were by no means unfrequent. In 1424 the countess of Westmoreland presented a formal petition to the protector and council, for the restitution of *the Chronicles of Jerusalem*, and *the Voyage of Godfrey of Bulloign*, which she had lent to the late king. *The Works of Pope St. Gregory*, equally precious in the estimation of the prior of Christchurch Canterbury, met, under similar circumstances, with the same respectful attention; and the council, convinced of the importance of these claims, gave immediate order to have them satisfied.

Act. Pub. tom iv. part iv. p. 105.

(*m*) Mr. Tyrwhit informs us, from William of Malmfbury, L. iii. Pontif. Anglic. that the language of

animosity were displayed on many occasions in the most violent and sanguinary contests (*n*). Such was the state of the university, when Chichelé determined to enlarge its establishments by an addition to the number of its colleges. He began the execution of this design by erecting a house for the accommodation of the scholars of the Cistercian order, who at that time had no settled habitation in Oxford. It was built in the north gate street, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary

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of the north of England was so harsh and unpolished, as to be scarce intelligible to a southern man; “quod propter viciniam barbararum gentium, et propter remotionem regum, quondam Anglorum, modo Normannorum contigit, qui magis ad austrum, quam ad aquilonem diversati noscuntur.”— See note on verse 17354, vol. iii. Canterbury Tales.

(*n*). A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 194.

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and St. Bernard (*o*). To complete the plan, which he had thus far but partially effected, the archbishop, incited to it by motives of earnest solicitude for the welfare of the church, and compassion for those who had unfortunately fallen in the French war (*p*), erected the college of All Soulen (or All Souls) as it was commonly expressed, for the maintenance of certain persons, to pray in general for the souls of all the faithful de-

(*o*) This mansion, and about five acres of ground, the site and precinct of it, were granted 26th Henry VIII. to the dean and chapter of Christchurch, who alienated them in the reign of Philip and Mary to Sir Thomas White; and by him they were made a part of the college which he erected, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. —

Stevens's Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 52.

(*p*) MS. Statutes in Archives of A. S. Coll.

ceased

ceased (*q*), and who might increase the number of the ministers of religion, and promote by their studies the knowledge of theology and of the civil and canon law.

THE first purchase (*r*) for the site of this college was made on the 14th of

(*q*) They were more especially to pray for the good estate of Henry VI. and the archbishop during their lives, and for their souls after their decease; also for the souls of Henry V. and the duke of Clarence, together with those of all the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other subjects of the crown of England who had fallen in the war with France.—See Chart of Incorp. Appendix N^o IV.

(*r*) The piece of ground conveyed to the college by this purchase was one hundred and seventy-two feet in length, and one hundred and sixty-two in breadth, measured from the corner nearest to the east end of St. Mary's church, and contained a messuage called Bereford Hall, and six shops—Ibid.

The site was enlarged by the purchase of some additional tenements and ground adjoining, during the progress of the building, which are particularly specified in the Appendix N^o IV.

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December 1437, by Thomas Chichelé archdeacon of Canterbury, Henry Penwortham, clerk, and Robert Danvers, feoffees to the use of the archbishop. The building was begun under the inspection of John Druell, clerk, on the 10th of February in the same year (*s*). In the May following the charter of foundation was published by letters patent, in which the king, at the solicitation (*t*) of the archbishop, takes upon himself the title of founder: the full exercise of legislative authority, and every

(*s*) Original deeds in Archiv. of A. S. C.

(*t*) Chichelé has given his reason for soliciting the king's patronage as founder in the following words; "Sic enim speravimus quod eo felicius pium hoc nostræ intentionis propositum ad optatum perveniret effectum, securiusque ac quietius in perpetuum consisteret, quo ipsum tantæ majestatis regię speciale patrocinium muniret."

Preface to Statutes in Archiv. of A. S. C.

other

other essential right belonging to that character, being still reserved to the archbishop, under the description of co-founder. By this charter a warden and twenty fellows, of Chichele's election, are first appointed, and a power lodged in the warden (*u*) of augmenting the society to the number of forty. The charter then grants them, by the name of *The Warden and College of the Souls of all the Faithful deceased*, a common seal, and the other usual privileges of corporate bodies. Of the whole society thus consti-

(*u*) By the statutes Chichelé transfers this power from the warden to the fellows of the college; a circumstance that gave rise to a dispute in the society soon after his death, some of the original members urging that the warden's appointment was contrary to the statutes: upon an appeal to archbishop Stafford the visitor, he confirmed the warden's nomination, as authorized by the charter of foundation before any statutes were made.—See chart. in Appendix; and Regist. 1st, fol. 103, in Archiv. of A. S. C.

tuted,

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tuted, sixteen were to study the civil and canon laws, and the rest were to apply themselves to philosophy (or the arts) and theology. The names of the first twenty fellows are given in the note below (*w*). The person to whom he committed the government of his new foundation is, from that consideration, intitled to more particular mention.

(<i>w</i>) Tho ^s Lavenham,	Rob ^t Karewe,
Tho ^s Vauge,	Simon Hoore,
Tho ^s Winterbourne,	John Julyan,
Rob ^t Hoo,	Walter Hopton,
James Laye,	Rob ^t Stephens,
Rich. Le Toft,	Rob ^t Seburgh,
W ^m Horneden,	W ^m Overton,
John Gygour,	Tho ^s Eston,
John Porter,	Rich. Warde,
Walter Hart,	Rich. Penwortham.

The chaplains, though not mentioned in the charter, appear by the statutes to have been a part of the original foundation.—See Statutes in A. S. C. library.

RICHARD

RICHARD ANDREWS had been some years fellow of New College, where he had studied the civil and canon law with the success due to good natural abilities and diligent application, when archbishop Chichelé removed him to the wardenship of his college of All Souls (*x*). This trust he discharged for the space of four years, with a zeal and fidelity in the highest degree satisfactory to his patron,

(*x*) If gratitude to a society of which he had formerly been a member may not be thought a sufficient motive to have directed Chichelé to this choice, the following note from the *Stemmata Chicheleana* suggests one by no means improbable; “ In the year 1558 a person of the name and family of Andrews (John Andrews) was elected fellow as kinsman of the founder; and from this circumstance perhaps we may be allowed to suppose that Richard Andrews, whom the archbishop appointed the first warden of his new foundation, and who was his great favourite, might be of the same family and his near relation.”—See *Stemmat. Chichelean.* p. 155.

who

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who, as a further mark of the confidence he reposed in him, appointed him one of his executors (*y*). In 1442 he resigned the wardenship, and was from that time employed in a more conspicuous station. Besides ecclesiastical preferments of considerable value, he enjoyed the honourable post of secretary to the king, in which capacity he bore a great part in most of the treaties of this reign, and was particularly distinguished by the charge of attending Margaret of Anjou in France, and when she came to share the English throne. Towards the close of his life he renewed his connection with the college, the members of which, in consideration of various gifts of copes,

(*y*) He appears to have been auditor to the archbishop in 1437, but whether prior to his being warden I am not able to ascertain.

Tanner's Biblioth. article Chichelé.

chalices,

chalices, and books, as well as money expended in their buildings, admitted him a brother of their society, engaged to celebrate his obit annually, and to give on the day preceding four pence to the bellman of the city, to invite by proclamation all good christians to offer up a prayer for his soul.

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THE king's authority was certainly sufficient in point of law to create a corporation; but Chichelé, to render the establishment unexceptionable, thought it necessary, according to the superstition of the age, to obtain the pope's confirmation. With this view he sent Richard Andrews to Eugenius IV. then at Florence, with a transcript of the charter of foundation duly attested under the seal of the court of arches; and that pontiff

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tiff readily granted a bull to confirm it (z).

THE buildings of the college were in the mean time carried on without interruption : the archbishop had frequent interviews with the surveyor, and, though now very old and infirm, came several times to Oxford to inspect in person the progress of his foundation (a). In 1442 the building was sufficiently advanced for the reception of the warden and fellows, who since their incorporation had been maintained and

(z) The transcript bears date July 1430, the bull of confirmation July 1439.—In Archiv. of A. S. C.

(a) It appears from the following entry in the *rationarium foundationis* that the archbishop resided, during these visits, at the monastery of South Osney ;
 “ Idem respondet de 12^s. receptis de seneschallo do-
 “ mini Cantuarenfis pro quatuor carectis fœni sibi
 “ venditis ad usum domini Cantuar. apud Oseney.

lodged, at the archbishop's expence, in a hall and divers chambers hired for that purpose (*b*). The exact time when they made their entrance is no where specified; but it was probably in the spring, for the chapel was consecrated early in the year. The archbishop himself performed this solemn ceremony, assisted by the bishops of Lincoln, Worcester, Norwich, and other suffragans (*c*). By the bull of pope Eugenius, in confirmation of the king's charter, authority had been given to the college to erect a chapel and place of burial within their own precincts. By virtue of the same autho-

(*b*) Pro locatu unius aulæ et diversarum camera-
rum cum coquinâ et stabulis, 15^o.—Ibid

(*c*) Hoc anno (1442) visitationi ecclesiæ omnium
animarum collegii interfuerunt Henricus Cantuar.
fundator, Wilhelm. Lincoln, T. S. Wigorne,
T. Norwicen. et alii suffraganei.—Senior proctor's
book.

SECT.
VIII.

rity the fellows were exempted from the obligation of attending divine service at the parochial church of St. Mary, and from the payment of all contributions to it (*d*). This exemption Chichelé ratified by a compromise with Oriel college (*e*) as proprietaries of the said church.

THE chapel was dedicated to the four fathers, Jerom, Ambrose, Austin, and Gregory; and the first mass was celebrated with the usual solemnities in May, four years after the incorporation of the

(*d*) See bull of pope Eugenius, Appendix, N^o V.

(*e*) This compromise, by which Oriel college was to receive 200 marks in the place of all ecclesiastical dues whatever, was afterwards executed by indenture between Walter Lyhert provost and the fellows of Oriel on one part, and Roger Keys warden and the fellows of A. S. C. on the other, dated November 1443.—In Archiv. of A. S. C.

society.

society. The whole of the building was not finished before the latter end of 1444. The expences of it, as accurately stated by John Druell (*f*), and Roger Keys his successor in the office of surveyor, amounted to £. 4,156. 5s. 3½*d*. If to this sum we add the amount of the purchases made by the feoffees to the archbishop's use within the same period, which, including books and other necessary articles for the service of the college, is stated at £. 4,302. 3s. 8*d*. we shall

(*f*) John Druell was elected fellow of the college 1440, was collated to the archdeaconry of Exeter 1443, and presented by the college to the living of Harriestham a short time after.—See 1st Regist. in Archiv. of the Coll. and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 93.

Roger Keys had the supervision of the building in the fifth and subsequent year: he was made fellow 1438, and succeeded R. Andrews as warden 1442. Under the immediate direction of these two persons the edifice of the college was erected.

M

obtain

SECT.
VIII.

obtain a competent notion of the liberal spirit with which the archbishop provided for his new foundation (*g*).

THE valuable, though comparatively small, donations of £. 123. 6s. 8d. (*b*) to New College, and of an equal sum to the university chest, as a fund for small loans to the members, are testimonies of his condescending attention to the accommodations of a studious life, in the most minute instances. To the public library, then just founded by the duke of Gloucester, he not only contributed largely

(*g*) Rationarium fundationis in Archives of A. S. C. which contains a very full and accurate account of all the sums of money expended on the buildings of the college, as delivered in annually by the surveyors.

(*b*) A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. vol. ii.

himself,

himself, but solicited a subscription towards it from all the bishops and peers who came to the parliament at Westminster (*i*).

SECT.
VIII.

HAVING built his college and endowed it with adequate revenues (*i*), his last care was to furnish the society with a code of statutes, which he did not transmit to them till within a few days of his death; having determined that it should be as perfect as deliberate consideration and frequent revision could render it. This code is evidently modelled after the statutes of New College, and is supposed to have been the composition of the famous civilian Lyndewode (*k*), under the archbishop's inspection. The

(*i*) A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. vol. ii.

(*k*) The same who has been mentioned as prolocutor of the lower house of convocation.

SECT.
VIII.

founder set his seal to it on the 2d of April 1443; on the 12th he died, in the thirtieth year of his administration of the metropolitan see, and about the eighty-first of his life.

His remains were deposited on the north side of the choir of the cathedral of Canterbury; where, upon a monument erected in his life, lies his effigy robed in the pontifical vestments, and beneath it a skeleton in a shroud (*l*). By his last will he bequeathed to the college £. 133. 6s. 8d. and 1000 marks. These legacies were duly paid (*m*) by his executors, Thomas Chichelé (*n*), archdeacon of Canterbury, Richard Andrews, William Byconyll, John Birkhede,

Robert

(*l*) See Dart's Antiquities of Canterbury.

(*m*) See Charters in Archives of the College.

(*n*) Thomas Chichelé was grandson of William
the

Robert Danvers, and John Wraby. He left likewise an annuity of seven pounds to be paid by the college to the prior and convent of Canterbury; who in return bind themselves to perform masses for his soul, and to light up wax candles before his sepulchre (o).

the archbishop's brother, and was collated to the archdeaconry 14th of December 1433.

Stemmat Chichel. pref.

Richard Andrews has been already mentioned.

John Birkhede appears to have been steward to the archbishop. He was admitted a brother of the college in 1465, and as such became intitled to the benefit of their prayers and other spiritual exercises.

1st Register, fol. 11 and 19.

John Wraby was entrusted with several sums for the payment of the workmen during the building of the college, and is mentioned in the list of its benefactors.—

Rationarium Fund. and Deeds in the Archives.

Robert Danvers was a feoffee to the archbishop. Of W^m Byconyll no mention is made but as executor.

(o) From Charters in the Archives.

WE have now seen Chichelé in the several situations in which a long and active life placed him. It is from his conduct in these that we are to collect his character. Of the early part of his life we know little more, than that his acquirements in it are indisputable proofs of his not having passed it unprofitably.

As he grew into public notice by slow and gradual advances, his talents had time to acquire their full strength and maturity before they were brought into use: and it is to this circumstance probably that he owes the uninterrupted course of his success in the management
of

of repeated negotiations. As he was able to acquit himself in these important commissions with the favour of his sovereign, and the approbation of his country, we may infer, that he possessed, besides extensive erudition, clear discernment, fertility of resources, solid judgment, and cool perseverance, recommended by general urbanity and politeness of manners. If we view him in the discharge of his ecclesiastical office, we shall find him to have been a man of undissembled piety, and who bore a sincere affection to the church. If his religion was tinctured with the superstition of the times in which he lived, we should recollect, that in passing judgment on the characters of men, we ought to try them by the maxims and principles of their own age.

SECT.
VIII.

FULLY persuaded of the truth of those doctrines which the catholic church professed, he maintained them with conscientious zeal. He knew the danger of innovation, and was vigilant to repress it; but he does not at any time appear to have been actuated by the spirit of persecution*.

THOUGH warmly attached to the authority of the see of Rome in spiritual matters, and even to its exercise of civil rights founded on ancient usage, he still strenuously supported the liberties of the English church, and never forgot the

* It should be remembered, that when in his provincial synods he condemned several persons for holding heretical tenets, he did it in his judicial capacity, not as an act of his own; the law of the realm had fixed the punishment, he only pronounced the sentence of that law.

respect

respect due to the laws and constitution of his country. Thus the doctrines and the privileges of the church were guarded by him with scrupulous fidelity; and, in whatever light we see his religion, there will scarcely be two opinions concerning his integrity.

SECT.
VIII.

OF his benefactions a particular account has already been given; and if in summing up his character, to excellent natural abilities, liberal accomplishments, and strict piety and integrity, we add a charitable and benevolent heart, we shall not be guilty of excessive or blind partiality to his memory.

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A PRINCE

A P P E N D I X.

A P P E N D I X, N° I,

MS. Lamb. N° 211.

Ex epistolarum Thomæ Beckington,
Libro fol. 53.

Epistola HENRICI CHICHELEY, Cant. Archiepiscopi, ad Papam.

POST humiliores quas ulla creaturarum Domino suo præstare poterit obedientias, ac terræ oscula ante pedes, dimittite me, beatissime pater, ut plangam paululum dolorem meum antequam vadam, ut recogitem annos meos in amaritudine animæ meæ. Non irascatur quæso sanctitas vestra, si, cùm pulvis et cinis

A P P
I.



A P P.
I.
}

cinis sim, domino meo loquar. Loquar quidem, quoniam ipsa fides, quam semper in dulcissimâ benignitate vestrâ reposui, nequaquam finit, ut quæ corde gero à facie patris abscondam. Pater benignissime, posteaquam plusculum quam sex annos in administratione Menevensis ecclesiæ consummavi, viginti jam et octo sunt anni, quod sanctam sedem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, licet minister indignus, prout ex alto mihi datum est, vexi; et nunc octogenarius aut circiter vigessimum nonum ministerii dictæ metropolitice sedis annum ingredior, multis quidem oneribus et curis, quæ sæculo meo humeris meis portavi, fractus atque fatigatus. Laus Deo viventi, qui in hanc usque annosam ætatem vivere mihi dedit, in quâ me possum in sinum meum colligere, in quâ, spretis omnibus mundi curis, meipsum intueri curareque possim.

Imperfectum

Imperfectum meum satis jam vident oculi mei. Onustus quidem, grandævus, infirmus atque supra modum debilis, ego nunc sum, pater beatissime, ita ut, ex nunc maximè atque confertissimè quam gessi et gero curæ, impar omnino et impos atque ineptus officiar. Pro salute igitur et salvâ deinceps custodiâ ovilis mei immo vestri, pro salute meâ et quiete animæ deinceps meæ, hanc mihi gratiam ex benignitate vestrâ provolutis genibus posco, hanc humillime deprecor et votis omnibus concupisco, ut beatitudo vestra senii quo premor, impotentiaëque ac invaliditudinis meæ, miserta, non amplius ad id quod utilitèr quod commodè subire nequeo onus alligatum me teneat. Det ipsa mihi miseratio vestra in sacras manus apostolicas liberam cedendi licentiam, det spatium respirandi, det tempus (ut primò exorsus sum) ut plangam pau-

A P P.
 I.

lulum dolorem meum, antequam vadam;
 et recogitem annos meos. Revolvam
 numerum dierum meorum, ut sciam quod
 desit mihi. Paucitas quidem dierum
 meorum finitur brevi. Remitte mihi
 igitur, pater sanctissime, ut refrigerer
 priusquam abeam et amplius non ero.
 Hæc cogor in conscientia, sanctissime
 pater, idcirco petere, idcirco desiderare,
 ne, ultimis diebus his meis, et in hoc
 ævo imbecillitatis atque extremæ debili-
 tatis meæ, pro defectu pastoris idonei,
 qui valeat et velit invigilare super gre-
 gem suum, ampla nimis provincia Can-
 tuariensis luporum, quod absit, exponatur
 moribus; neve sancta sedes illa, quæ se-
 des sanctorum esse consueverat, injuriam
 aliquam periculumve aut grave aliquod
 dispendium per incuriam patiatur. Pos-
 tremone videam oculis aliquando meis
 ingrata quavis oblivione, incuria seu ne-
 glectu

glectu sponfam hanc sanctam, quam tanto tempore sub gratiâ sedis apostolicæ gubernavi, jam viduam diu aut desertam relinqui; en facio quod est meum, et fidenter ac secure in testimonio conscientiæ meæ carissimum fratrem meum Johannem Bathon. episcopum, regni Angliæ cancellarium, ut patrem maximè meritum, et pro utilitatibus dictæ sanctæ sedis, si universa virtutum dona, quæ in eo concurrunt, quæque non dubito sanctitati vestræ nota esse debent, pensentur, summè necessarium, ad præsidentiam ejusdem sanctæ sedis beatitudini vestræ humiliter recomendo. Profecto si, præter eminentem scientiam suam et cæteras virtutum dotes, quibus facilliter reliquos superat, nobilitatem sanguinis, potentiam amicorum necessariorumque suorum, ac hospitalitatis gratiam, in dicto patre probè attendimus; si devotionem, fidem,

2

obedientiam,

A P P.
I.

obedientiam, zelum, et sollicita quæ sanctæ sedis Romanæ atque almæ personæ sanctitatis vestræ semper devotè ante hæc fecit et jugiter facit obsequia, pro conservatione honoris dignitatisque vestræ ac jurium et libertatum prædictæ sedis, bene consideramus; non puto facile inveniri posse, qui usquequaque in aptitudine, habilitate et merito, ad tantum regimen commodè subeundum meritis sibi possit æquari. Commisi demum, benignissime pater, secreta quædam industriæ atque fidei dilecti mihi in Christo magistri Thomæ Chapman vestræ beatitudinis

referenda. Et quæso eadem beatitudo audientiam donare et fidem. Oro quoque, et incessanter orabo dum vivam, ipsam beatitudinem vestram incolumem et salvam in multa conservet secula, qui omnem dat salutem et salvat sperantes in se. Script. sub annulo

S. Thomæ

8. Thomæ martyris in manerio meo de Lambeth mensis Aprilis die decima anno Dom. M CCCC XLII.

A P P.
I.

*Preces Regiæ Domino Papæ transmissæ
pro eâdem admittendâ resignatione, et
commendatio magna ipsius patris et sui
regiminis pro tempore suæ incumbentiæ.*

f. 54.

CUM omni devotione filiali humil-
limâ recommendatione præmissâ,
sanctissime pater, ipsum quod aggressuri
jam sumus negotium magnum certè at-
que mirabilem intra nos conflictum parit.
Adeò ut, propter pugnantes in mente
causas, idipsum quod devotè petituri su-
mus velle et non velle videri possumus.
Neque mirum: dum enim ad varias con-
siderationes

A P P. I. fiderationes animum flectimus, in contra-
 rias pene trahimur voluntates. Ecce
 enim affiduè et incessanter nos rogat, et
 maximis precum instanter defatigat, antif-
 tes et Deo et nobis carissimus, devotif-
 simus filius vester, Henricus Cant. Ar-
 chiepiscopus, ut pro impetranda apud
 sanctitatem vestram suæ dignitati curæ
 Archipontificali in sacras manus vestras
 cedendi licentiâ, precibus suis addamus
 et nostras. In istam facile sententiam
 pietas et compassio grandævitatis debili-
 tatisque suæ nos trahunt. In adversum
 verò utile ac summè laudabile et pacifi-
 cum semper regimen, quo à primo limine
 ingressûs sui, jam viginti et octo sunt an-
 ni, provinciam suam rexit, nos movet.
 Profectò nullis unquam temporibus se-
 dem Cant. ecclesiæ occupare visus est,
 qui sacro-sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et
 præsidentibus in ea, atque sanctissimæ
 personæ

personæ vestræ, dignitatique et honori ejusdem, fidelior aut devotior extiterit; neque quisquam qui benignior pater fuerit, aut benigniùs, suaviùs, dulciùs, tranquillius, provinciam illam moderaverit. Sed vincit nos pietas. Dum enim maximam senectutem, et, quæ semper senio cognata est, debilitatem hujus carissimi patris contemplamur ad oculum, miseratione quâdam interiora nostra liquefcunt; et cum jam onus tantæ curæ per tot annorum curricula, ita ut jam vigessimus nonus annus translationis suæ ad sedem præfatam in foribus astet, probissimè gesserit; neque alium quempiam pene meminerimus qui sedem S. Thomæ tot rexerit annis; justum plane et bene congruum atque Deo placabile judicamus, quòd jam parcatis ætati, ut vel aptum aliquod spatium respirandi, et sancto se otio conferendi, aliquando ha-

A P P. I. beat, qui in laboribus, in vigiliis, in
 ærumnis, tantæ curæ, tanti oneris, tot
 sæcula trivit. Propterea, benignissime
 atque clementissime pater, rem hanc
 quam postulat exaudire dignemini, ut
 vel in senectute bonâ ex nunc pace fruatur,
 qui omni sæculo suo omnibus pacem
 dedit. Precamur demum, quatenus, concessâ
 hujusmodi cedendi licentiâ, quamprimum
 cessio ipsa fuerit per sanctitatem
 vestram admissa, de portione congruâ ex
 præfatâ Cant. ecclesiâ dicto reverendissimo
 patri annuatim quoad vixerit reddenda,
 de quâ statum suum honorificè sustentare
 queat, cum nullum aliunde patrimonium
 noscatur habere, eadem sanctitas vestra
 providere velit: quodque de memorata
 Cantuariensi, necnon Bathon et Sarum
 ecclesiâ, juxta deliberationem mentis
 nostræ in certis aliis nostris desuper
 conscriptis literis, et secreto nostro
 aquilæ

aquilæ signeto signatis apertis declaratam, quas dilectus et fidelis procurator noster, M. Andreas Hole, eidem sanctitati vestræ præsentaturus est, et nullo aliter modo, ipsa beatitudo vestra, ad benignos et præcordiales rogatus hos nostros, ordinet atque disponat. Et almam personam ejusdem sanctitatis vestræ, omnipotens Pater, in multa oramus sæcula salvam et incolumem ecclesiæ suæ conservare dignetur. Scriptum apud castrum nostrum de Wyndesforâ, sub signeto nostro vicesimâ quartâ die Aprilis anno Domini MCCCCXLII.

A P P.
I.

A P P E N D I X, N° II.

Excusatio Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi super Dilatione et Criminatione ejusdem per Æmulos suos Papæ factis.

A P P.
II.

BEATISSIME pater, &c. miserabilis mundi in maligno positi infælix ista conditio ubique pene inolita est, ut obtrektorum malitia venenosos invidiæ suæ stimulos superbâ quadam præsumptione exerçeat in majores; et quanto innocentioris sunt vitæ, potiorisque authoritatis et fidei resplendeant dignitate, tanto crudeliùs celebrem eorum opinionem serpentinis a tergo quærunt et satagunt morsibus lacerare. Quocunque me verto, quantumlibet bene gesta componam,

componam, mordaces canum hujusmodi dentes excipio; et, quod durum est, quicquid studiose et curâ pervigili conor in bonum id totum perversâ interpretatione in contrarium transponunt, qui supra dorsum meum fabricant assidue piscatores. Nuper siquidem, benignissime pater, non absque cordis amaritudine pro maximâ, audivi et didici, quod quidem Jacobus, dudum cum litteris sanctitatis vestræ ad dominum nostrum regem et reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum D. Cardinalem Angliæ ab eâdem sanctitate transmissus, ea quæ ego et cæteri quidem in regno cum omni maturitate et circumspectione optimo more nostro agere nisi sumus, prave interpretans, et valde male reportans, non erubuit etiam in sacrâ beatitudinis vestræ audientiâ suggerendo pervertere et pervertendo suggerere, licet falsò, quod ubi

A P P.
II.

clerus Angliæ in extirpatione hæreticorum Bohemiæ quoddam notabile subsidium concussisset, confrater meus Eboracensis et ego cæterique episcopi de regis concilio existentes, votum ipsorum in hac parte conspiravimus et procuravimus impedire ; tam sanctam et toti Christianitati profuturam fidei expeditionem quantum in nobis extitit irrumpendo ; quodque idem confrater meus et ego, cum certis prælatis ad regis consilium assumptis, cæteros de concilio dominos temporales conducimus prout libet ; et breviter, quod nemo crederet nisi insaniret, quod nos totum regnum Angliæ, ut volumus, gubernamus. Apposuit peccare adhuc ille arrofor meus, et, quod nefandum est impudentèr asserere, quod sæpe dictus confrater meus et ego in Angliâ libertatum ecclesiæ præmaximi oppressores. Benignissime pater, nonnunquam

nunquàm, cùm tot tantisque æmulorum
 latratibus infestor, et oblocutionibus in-
 volvor, longe amplius mente consterna-
 rer; nisi Deus et conscientia, immo et
 ipse mundus, assisterent innocentiaẽ meæ
 testes; nisi insuper fatis adverterem,
 quod nil præter solam miseriam sit invi-
 dia cariturum. Nuper detraxere mihi
 majores. Nunc autem per inferiores de-
 trahor et distrahor in immensum; et ta-
 men in his omnibus non peccavi, sed
 constanter in cunctis quæ mendaces viri
 conati sunt mihi impingere, meam au-
 deo innocentiam jactitare, et eandem tam
 regis quam omnium fide dignorum regni
 testimonio edocere. Immo et ipsæ rei
 gestæ veritas se loquitur, se ostendit.
 Nihil equidem in negotio præfati sub-
 dii factum est omnino absque conscientia
 reverendissimi patris cardinalis prædicti,
 cujus consilio et assensu dirigebantur
 omnia

A P P.

II.

omnia quæ fiebant. Cum etenim, collatis in unum arduis, primo fidei, deinde et regni negotiis, devotus clerus hinc vestris contra perfidos Bohemos, hinc regiis contra insurgentes et malignantes in injuriam coronæ suæ urgeretur præceptis; responsumque fuisset per consilium domini nostri regis, quod in tantâ regni necessitate idem dominus cardinalis vel gentibus de Angliâ vel solis pecuniis eligeret contentari; cum deliberatione dixit se magis hac vice gentibus indigere, et de his velle sanctitati vestræ amplius complacere: et idcirco ne desideria sanctitatis vestræ effectum frustrarentur accommo, de advisamento dicti domini cardinalis convocationem in eo quo tunc statu erat continuavi usque in et ad crastinum, S. Lucæ proximè secuturum: ut interim præfato domino cardinali de gentibus expedito, posset tunc liberius de subsidio

subsidio absque dictæ expeditionis impedimento concludi, et vestræ sanctitatis bene placitis inferviri. Hæc, pater beatissime, dilationis causa extiterat; de qua idem dominus cardinalis toti tunc clero promiserat, se velle per scripta sua beatitudinem vestram fideliter informare.

A P P.
II.



APPENDIX, N° III.

*Letter of Archbishop Chichelé to King
Henry.*

From A. Duck's Life.

APP.
III.

SOVEREYN Lord, as your humble
Prest and devout Bedeman, I recom-
mand me to your Hygnesse, desyreing
evermore to heare and knowe of your
gracious speed, hele of body and of
soule, also my Lordys your brethren and
all your royal hoste. And as hertly as
I can, or may thanke Almighty God and
Lord of all strengths and hostes that so
graciously hath continued his mygty
hond upon you sythen the time of your
beginning hedirtoward into your most
worship,

worship, your Leige menys most hertly gladnesse, and abating of the hy pride of your enemies. And besech God both day and night with all your subgetts both spiritel and temporel so continue his hy Grace upon you and yowre that the mow come to the effect of your hy labor, pees of both your regmes after your hertly desires. Gracious Lord like it to remember you that be your most worthie letters written at your towne of Caen xxv. day of September you charged me, that be the avys of my Lord your brother of Bedford, and of your Chaunceler sholde be ordeygned that all maner of men of your subgets wat astaat or condicion that thei were should abстыne letter of wrytes or pursuit making to the Pope after his election, till the time that he have written to you, and ye againe
to

A P P.
III.

A P P.
III.

to him, as it hath be acustomed of honeste of your lond. for the which cause neither I, nor non odir man as ferforth as it may be knowe, hath yit written nor sent, ne no leve hath of passage to the Cowrte, wow it so be that many lych at London to pursue to my Lord your brother, your Chaunceler, and your Counseil for to have leve and letters of passage. Werfore Soverain Lord my Lord your brother charged me write to you, and in as miche as your letter forseid was direct to me, to wite, in wat wise we shol governe us hereafter, for if ye have resteyned our holy faders letters, or written to him it is unknowen to us unto this time. Like it therefore, gracious Lord, to write to my Lord your brother in wat maner wise this matter schal be governed hereafter.

Forthermore

Forthermore gracious Lord, of trowth that I am bound to you be my ligeaunse, and also to quite me to God, the chirch of your lond, of the wich God and, ye gracious Lord, have maked me governor, howeth to open to you this matier that suyeth, of the wich I have herd privily, but now it is more opend, and in such wise that credence shold bee give to by reson; that is to seyne, that my brother of Winchester shold be maked a Cardinal, if ye wold give your asent thereto, and that he shold have his Bishoprich in comende for terme of his life, and therto have a stat, and sent to your rengme of Yngland as a legat a latere, to the wich manier of legacie non hath be acustumed to be named but Cardinals, and that legacie also to ocupie thorgh all your obey-saunce, and all the time of his life. Sovereyn Lord and most Christien Prince,

what

A P P.
III.

what instanſe ſhall be maad to your Higneſſe for this matier, I wot not, but bleſſyd be Almightye God undir your worthie protection, your Chirche of Yngland is at this day, I dare boldly ſay, the moost Honorable Chirche Chriſtien as weel as devin ſerviſe, as honeſt living thereof, governed after ſtreit lawes, and holy conſtitutions, that be maad of hem withowten any gret exorbitaunſes, or any thing that migt torne to hy ſklaundre of your forſeid Chirch, or of your lond, and if any trespases of mannys frelte falleth we may be corectid and puniſhed by the Ordinaries there as the caas falleth. But wat that this offis of legacie to be ocupied in the forme aforſeid, and ſuich comendis of Biſhopriches not uſed in your holy Aunſetres time here afore, wold extend to, or gendre ageines the good governanſe of your ſubgets, in your
hy

hy wisdom I trust to God ye will consider. And forasmich as ye schal be enformid what the office of sutch manier of legacie extendith to; and appyly your Clerkys have not in minde, for it hath shelde be seyn, and have not alle here bookys with hem pleynty to enforme you in this time of your grete labor, I fend you a scrowe writen with inne this letter conteyning that is expressed in the Popis lawe, and fully concludyd be Doctors. And over that what he may have in special of the Popis grace no man wot, for it stond in his wille to dispose as hym good liketh. And be inspection of lawes and cronicles was there never no Legat a latere sent in to no lond, and specially into your rengme of Yngland withowte grete and notable cause. And thei whan thei came after thei had

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done

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done her legacie abiden but lytul wyle,
not over a yer, and summe a quarter, or
two monethes, as the nedes requeryd:
And yit over that he was tretim with, or
he cam into the lond whon he schold
have exercife of his power, and how
myche schold be put in execucion. An
aventure after he had be refeyved he
whold have used it to largely to greet
opreffion of your peple. Wherefore
moost Cristien Prince and Sovereyn
Lord, as your trewe Preeft, whom it hath
lyked you to sette in fo hy afaat, the
wych with owte your gracious Lordship,
and fupportation I know my felf infuf-
ficient to ocupie. befecche you in the
moost humble wyfe that I can devise or
thenke that ye wile this matier take ten-
dirly at herte, and fee the staat of the
Chirche be meyntheid and fufteynid, fo
that

that everich of the Ministers theroffe hold hem content with her owne part: for trewly he that hath leest hath inow to rekene fore: And that your poore pepul be not pyled, nor oppressyd with diverse exactions and unacustumed, thorgh wych thei schold be the more feble to refresche you owre liege Lord in time of nede and when it lyketh you to clepe up on hem, and alle plees and sklaundre cese in your Chirche.

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Towchinge oure holy fadir the Popis Ambaffiat that late cam in to your lond, I wot wel my Lord your brother wryteth to you pleynly, and also of odir governance of your lond, the wych blessed be God stond in good quiet pees and reste withowte any grete ryotis or debatys and al your trewe people have her herys opyn to here good tydinges of you

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and continuely pray for your prosperite
and al yowrys, the wych Almighty God
graunte for his mercy Amen. wryten
at Lambyth vi day of March.

Your Prest. H. C.

Indorsed, *Au Roy nostre Souverain, S.*

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, N° IV.

I. *Charta Foundationis.*

HENRICUS Dei gratiâ rex Angliæ et Franciæ et dominus Hiberniæ omnibus ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerint salutem. Supplicavit nobis venerabilis pater Henricus Chichele Cantuariæ archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et compater noster, per cuius manus sacri baptismatis lavacrum suscepimus, incrementum cleri regni nostri Angliæ desiderans, qui in præsentiarum noscitur plurimum defecisse; ut nos custubus sumptibus et expensis suis propriis quod-

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dam

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dam collegium perpetuum de uno custode et scholaribus in Oxoniâ ac in universitate ibidem ad studendum et orandum pro salubri statu nostro et ipsius compatriis nostri dum vixerimus, et animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, ac animabus clarissimi principis Henrici nuper regis Angliæ patris nostri, Thomæ nuper ducis Clarenciæ avunculi nostri, ducum, comitum, baronum, militum, armigerorum et aliorum nobilium et subditorum ipsius patris nostri et nostrorum, qui temporibus et obsequiis ipsius patris nostri et nostri in guerris regni Franciæ vitam finierunt, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum juxta ordinationem ipsius compatriis nostri et successorum suorum fundare facere et erigere dignaremur: nos supplicationibus ejusdem compatriis nostri annuentes, in honore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, gloriosissimæ

gloriosissimæ Virginis Beatæ Mariæ matris ejus, et omnium sanctorum Dei, quoddam collegium perpetuum, secundum harum seriem regendum, de uno custode et viginti scholaribus in dictâ villâ Oxoniæ et universitate ejusdem mansuris, ad studendum et orandum pro salubri statu nostro et ipsius compatris nostri dum vixerimus, et pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, ac animabus ipsius clarissimi principis patris nostri, Thomæ nuper ducis Clarendiæ avunculi nostri, ducum, comitum, baronum, militum, armigerorum et subditorum prædictorum, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, super quoddam messuagium vocatum Berford Hall nuper vocatum Charlestonefyn, sex shopas et unam plateam vacuum eisdem annexam in Oxoniâ, super quoddam cornerum ex appposito finis orientalis eccle-

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siæ parochialis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in vicis vocatis Catstrete et Seint Mary's street, continentibus longitudinem centum septuaginta duorum pedum et latitudinem centum sexaginta duorum pedum, quæ ordinatione ipsius compatri nostri nuper habuimus ex concessione Thomæ Chichele archidiaconi Cantuariæ, Henrici Penwortham clerici, et Roberti Danvers feoffatorum, inde ad usum præfati compatri nostri habendum et tenendum nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum, pro hujusmodi collegio super eis construendo, de assensu ipsius compatri nostri, quem ad successores suos Cantuariæ archi-episcopos ob piam intentionem suam ac nonnullos ejus custos sumptus et expensas, quos circa erectionem fundationem et dotationem ejusdem collegii fecit et facere proponit in futurum, tanquam alteros fundatores ejusdem collegii nominari

minari volentes, erigimus, ac tenore præ-
 sentium fundamus, facimus et stabilimus,
 perpetuis temporibus duraturum: Ac
 Ricardum Andrewe clericum custodem
 et pro custode ipsius collegii, et Thomam
 Lavenham, Thomam Vange, Thomam
 Wynterbourn, Robertum Hoo, Thomam
 Lay, Ricardum Letofte, Willielmum
 Horneden, Johannem Gygour, Johannem
 Porter, Walterum Hert, Robertum Kar-
 rewe, Simonem Hoore, Johannem Ju-
 lyan, Walterum Hopton, Robertum
 Stephens, Robertum Seborgh, Willi-
 elmum Overton, Thomam Eston, Ri-
 chardum Warde, et Richardum Pen-
 wortham, scholares residuos ejusdem
 collegii, per ipsum compatrem nostrum
 electos et ad hoc assumptos, secundum
 ordinationes et statuta ipsius compatris
 nostri et successorum suorum archiepif-
 coporum Cantuariæ regendos, corrigendos,

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dos, privandos et ammovendos præfici-
mus creavimus et ordinavimus, præfici-
mus creamus et ordinamus per præfentes.
Volentes et concedentes, quod ipse custos,
et successores sui custodes ejusdem colle-
gii, secundum ordinationes et statuta præ-
dicta eligere, congregare et admittere
poterit sibi plures scholares usque ad nu-
merum quadraginta personarum, secun-
dum ordinationes et statuta prædicta
regendos, corrigendos privandos et am-
movendos quos et successores suos sic
electos, congregatos et admissos tanquam
scholares et membra ejusdem collegii
secundum prædicta ordinationes et statuta
regendos, corrigendos, privandos et am-
movendos, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris
volumus et concedimus per præfentes ;
ita quod, decedente prædicto custode, ce-
dente, vel eo quâcunque de causâ inde
amoto seu privato, scholares residui
ejusdem

ejusdem collegii pro tempore ibidem
 existentes, secundum formam et effectum
 statutorum et ordinationum prædictorum,
 alterum idoneum in custodem et pro cus-
 tode ejusdem collegii eligant et eligere
 possint, quem in custodem et pro custode
 ejusdem collegii per dominum compa-
 trem nostrum et successores suos Can-
 tuariæ archi-episcopos, et non per nos,
 neque hæredes nostros, admitti et confir-
 mari, secundum ordinationes et statuta
 prædicta regendum, corrigendum, pri-
 vandum et amovendum tenore præsen-
 tium duximus concedendum: et sic
 decedentibus hujusmodi custodibus, ce-
 dentibus; aut eis quoquo modo exinde
 privatis aut amotis, in futurum dicti
 scholares collegii antedicti habeant et ha-
 bere possint, juxta ordinationes et statuta
 prædicta, liberam electionem de novis
 custodibus, quos, ut supra dictum est,
 admitti,

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admitti, confirmari, regendos corrigendos
privandos et amovendos, et eos sic in
custodes electos, admissos, confirmatos,
regendos ut præfertur, custodes esse per-
petuos ejusdem collegii, absque licentiâ
de nobis vel hæredibus nostris inde pe-
tendâ seu prosequendâ, et non alios neque
alio modo volumus et concedimus pro
nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum in
nobis est, in perpetuum. Volentes etiam
quod decedentibus vel cedentibus scho-
laribus collegii antedicti, seu eorum ali-
quo decedente vel cedente, aut eis vel
eorum aliquo exinde privatis vel amo-
tis, privato vel amoto in futurum sem-
per habeant dictus custos et successores
sui prædicti in perpetuum, juxta ordina-
tiones et statuta prædicta liberam electio-
nem, admissionem et confirmationem de
novis scholaribus in eorum loco ponen-
dis; quos sic electos, admissos et confir-
matos,

matos, absque licentiâ inde de nobis vel hæredibus nostris petendâ vel proseguendâ in futurum, et non alios tanquam scholares et membra esse ejusdem collegii secundum ordinationes et statuta prædicta regendos, corrigendos, privandos et amovendos volumus et concedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum. Volentes ulterius quod custos et scholares antedicti pro tempore ibidem degentes, et eorum successores in perpetuum, Custos et Collegium Animarum omnium Fidelium defunctorum de Oxoniâ nuncupentur. Et ulterius volumus et concedimus, quod custos et scholares collegii antedicti simul pro tempore existentes, et successores sui, per nomen vel sub nomine custodis et Collegii Animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum de Oxoniâ sint personæ habiles, capaces et perpetuæ ad impetrandum, recipiendum, et ad inquirendum

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rendum terras, tenementa, redditus, servitia, proficua, advocaciones ecclesiarum, emolumenta, jura et possessiones temporalia et spiritualia tam de nobis et hæredibus nostris quam de aliis personis quibuscunque, licet ea immediate de nobis et hæredibus nostris per servitium militare aut alio modo quocunque teneantur habendum, et tenendum eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis in perpetuum. Et quod idem custos et collegium et eorum successores in perpetuum habeant unum sigillum commune pro negotiis et agendis suis serviturum. Et quod ipsi et successores sui per nomen prædictum implacitare possint et implacitari, et prosequi omni modas causas querelas et actiones reales personales et mixtas cujuscunque generis sint vel naturæ, et ad respondendum vel defendendum in eisdem coram iudicibus secu-

laribus et ecclesiasticis quibuscunque. Et ulterius damus et concedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris dictis custodi et collegio et successoribus suis prædictis dicta messuagium shopas et plateam, tam pro capellâ dicti collegii ac aliis domibus et ædificiis eidem necessariis, quam pro eorum mansis et aliis necessariis in et super eis construendis, habendum et tenendum eidem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosynam in perpetuum. Et insuper, ad effectum quod scholares dicti collegii in eruditionibus suis ac piis eorum orationibus melius manu teneri valeant et sustentari, concessimus et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris quantum in nobis est præfato archiepiscopo et successoribus suis prædictis, quod ipsi, per assensum prioris et capituli ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ pro

tempore

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tempore existentes, advocationem et p̄atronatum ecclesiæ parochialis de Trengē Lincolniensis dioceseos de provinciâ Cantuariæ, quæ est de advocatione et patronatu ipsius compatri nostri, ut de jure archiepiscopatus sui Cantuariensis prædicti, et quæ de nobis tenetur in capite ut dicitur, eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis dare possint et assignare, habendum et tenendum præfatis custodi et collegio et successoribus suis in perpetuum, et eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis prædictis, quod ipsi patronatum et advocationem prædictam a præfato archiepiscopo et successoribus suis prædictis in formâ prædictâ recipere, et ecclesiam illam appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis prædictis in perpetuum: proviso semper quod vicaria ejusdem ecclesiæ, secundum ordinationem

ordinationem loci illius diocesani sufficienter dotetur, et quod quædam competens summa argenti inter pauperes parochianos ejusdem ecclesiæ singulis annis distribuatur, juxta formam statuti inde editi et provisi. Et ulterius, de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ concessimus et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis prædictis, quod ipsi et successores sui perquirere possint terras et tenementa ad valorem trecentarum librarum per annum, tam de terris et tenementis quæ tam de nobis in capite quam de aliis tenentur, habenda et tenenda eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis prædictis, pro sustentatione et eorum victu et vestitu ac aliis necessariis eorum agendis in perpetuum: dum tamen per

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inquisitiones

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inquisitiones inde in formâ debitâ capi-
endas, et in cancellariam nostram et hære-
dum nostrorum rite retornandas, comper-
tum existat, quod fieri possit absque
damno vel prejudicio nostro vel hære-
dum nostrorum, aut alicujus alterius cu-
juscunque: et quod expressâ mentio de
valore eorundem messuagii, shopparum et
plateæ minime facta est, seu statuti de
terris ac tenementis ad manum mortuam
non ponendis; seu quod prædicta advo-
catio et patronatus de nobis, ut præfertur,
tenentur in capite, seu aliquo alio statuto
sive ordinatione in contrarium factum
edito, non obstante. Et hoc absque aliquo
feodo magno seu parvo, aut alio fine quo-
cunque nobis aut hæredibus nostris red-
dendo vel faciendo pro præmissis, vel
aliquo præmissorum. Et ulterius de gra-
tiâ nostrâ speciali, pro nobis et hæredibus
nostris

nostris quantum in nobis est, relaxamus eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis in perpetuum omnimoda corrodia, pensiones, annuitates, et alia quæcunque, quæ nos vel hæredes nostri, aut aliquis alius ad nostrum rogatum aut mandatum, nomine foundationis nostræ antedictæ, ab eisdem custode et collegio et successoribus suis prædictis exigere possumus aut possint in futurum; et eos inde quietos esse volumus et concedimus, per præsentis perpetuis temporibus duraturas. Et ulterius, de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ concessimus eisdem custodi et collegio et successoribus suis in perpetuum, quod quotiescunque et quandoque collegium illud futuris temporibus de custode, per mortem, cessionem, privationem, seu resignationem, aut alio modo quocunque, vacare contigerit, resi-

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dui scholares ejusdem collegii pro tempore ibidem existentes habeant et percipiant omnimodos fructus, proficua et emolumenta, de terris, tenementis, redditibus, servitiis, et rectoriis et aliis possessionibus quibuscunque ejusdem collegii, seu eidem collegio spectantibus, durante hujusmodi vacatione provenientia, secundum ordinationes et statuta prædicta disponenda, quæ tempore et ratione hujusmodi vacationis ad nos vel hæredes nostros pertinent seu pertinere poterunt in futurum, absque computo seu aliquo alio nobis vel hæredibus nostris inde reddendo. Itaque nos et hæredes nostri ab omni custodiâ, seifina, seu possessione ejusdem collegii, aut terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, servitiorum, rectoriarum, et aliarum possessionum quarumcunque ejusdem collegii, seu eidem spectantium, durante

durante hujusmodi vacatione, simus ex-
 clusi in perpetuum per præsentis. In
 cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras
 fieri fecimus patentes, Teste meipso apud
 manerium nostrum de Kenyngton, vice-
 simo die Maii, anno regni nostri sexto-
 decimo.

A P P A
 IV.

Wymbysh.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

APPENDIX, N. V.

*Bulla Eugenii.*A P P.
V.

EUGENIUS episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, ex injuncto nobis desuper apostolicæ servitutis officio ad ea libenter intendimus, per quæ ecclesiæ et capellæ ac alia ecclesiastica loca quælibet, præsertim ad usum dedit scientiæ litterarum, per quam augmentatur et crescit religio fidei Christianæ, multiplicari valeant, ac in illis majestas Altissimi etiam ad fidelium animarum salutem in gratiarum benedictionibus collaudetur, sui que cultus gloriosi nominis
ampliatur ;

amplietur; nuper siquidem ad supplicationem venerabilis fratris nostri Henrici Chichele, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, totius Angliæ primatis, et apostolicæ sedis legati, erectionem et foundationem cujusdam collegii Animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum nuncupati, in villâ Oxoniensi, Lincolnensi diocesi, in quâ litterarum studium viget generale, de bonis dicti archiepiscopi tunc construi et ædificari laudabiliter inchoati et in parte dotati, pro uno custode et quadraginta pauperibus scholaribus dictis, per carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem tunc factas ex certâ scientiâ confirmavimus, aliaque fecimus prout in nostris desuper confectis literis plenius continetur. Nos igitur, ut in dicto collegio cultus divinus ad Altissimi laudem et gloriam, necnon fidelium animarum salutem, dictique col-

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V.

legii conservationem et statum salubrem, continuo vigeat, quantum cum Deo possumus providere, volentes archiepiscopi præfati, qui alter, cum dicto rege, fundator et patronus existit, in hac parte supplicationibus inclinari, sibi et custodi pro tempore existenti, ac præsentibus et futuris sociis et scholaribus dicti collegii, auctoritate apostolicâ tenore præsentium. Concedimus pariter et indulgemus, quod ipsi unam capellam seu oratorii domum pro missis et aliis divinis officiis inibi celebrandis et audiendis, necnon unum cimiterium pro eorum ac etiam præsentium et futurorum ipsius collegii presbyterorum, clericorum, familiarium, servientium, ministrorum, et personarum pro tempore decedentium, corporibus tumulandis, infra septa prædicti collegii, in locis tamen ad hoc congruis et honestis, construere, erigere et ordinare, seu construi, erigi et ordinari,

ordinari, ipsamque capellam per quem-
 cunque maluerint catholicum antistitem,
 gratiam et communionem apostolicæ se-
 dis habentem, dedicare seu facere conse-
 crari, ac in eâ tunc constructâ et conse-
 cratâ, quotiescunque de cætero villam
 prædictam ecclesiastico interdicto supponi
 forsan contigerit, clausis januis, excom-
 municatis et interdictis exclusis, non
 pulsatis campanis, submissâ voce per se ac
 prædictos aliosque idoneos presbyteros
 ac clericos, in suâ, ac etiam præsentium
 et futurorum familiarium, servientium,
 ministrorum et personarum eorundem,
 præsentia, dummodo ipsi vel illi causam
 interdicto non dederunt, nec id eis vel illis
 specialiter interdici contigerit, missas et
 officia hujusmodi celebrare et celebrari fa-
 cere; ipsique custos pro tempore, ac præ-
 sentes et futuri socii, scholares, presbyteri,
 clerici, familiares, ministri, servientes, et
 personæ

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V.
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personæ omnes et singuli, etiam absque ordinarii loci, necnon præpositi et sociorum aulæ regalis, ac vicarii parochialis ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ ejusdem villæ, infra cujus ecclesiæ parochialis metas collegium hujusmodi consistit, pro tempore existentium, et aliorum quorumlibet consensu seu licentiâ, tam interdictis hujusmodi, quam aliis quibuslibet temporibus ac diebus, easdem missas et officia in capellâ seu oratorii domo hujusmodi audire, et, quoties expediens fuerit, a singulis sacerdotibus idoneis, ad id per ipsum custodem de numero sociorum scholarium vel presbyterorum prædictorum præsentium et futurorum, seu alias pro tempore eligendis ac deputandis, eucaristicæ, olei sancti, ac alia sacramentalia et ecclesiastica quæcunque recipere; necnon idem pro tempore custos sacerdotes præfatos ad sacramenta et sacramentalia hujusmodi, ut præmittitur,

tur,

tur, ministranda quoties oportuerit eligere ac deputare; capellam insuper seu domum præfatam, quoties illam per sanguinis effusionem, aut seminis pollutionem, vel alias quomodolibet violari contigerit, per se vel alium sacerdotem idoneum, quem duxerit, eligendum, aquâ, prius per similem antistitem, eandem gratiam et communionem habentem, ut moris est, benedictâ reconciliare, ipsique sacerdotes sacramenta vel alia sacramentalia hujusmodi ut præfertur ministrare perpetuis futuris temporibus libere et licite valeant atque possint. Rursus eisdem auctoritate ac tenore statuimus decernimus et ordinamus, quod de cætero ullo unquam tempore custos, socii collegii, scholares, clerici, servientes, ministri, et personæ præsentis et futuri hujusmodi, seu aliquis ex eis, missas vel alia divina officia in dictâ ecclesiâ audire, seu illis inibi interesse,

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interesse, aut sacramenta et sacramentalia hujusmodi ab aliis quam a præfatis pro tempore electis sacerdotibus suscipere, seu oblationes vel contributiones quascunque præposito aut sociis aulæ, vel vicario, prædictis facere seu exhibere, aut alia onera quæcunque et qualiacunque supportare, quavis ratione, occasione, vel causâ, minime teneantur, nec ad id per præpositum, socios aulæ, et vicarium, prædictos, vel eorum aliquem aut alium quemcunque inviti compelli possint. Præterea quod omnia et singula oblationes, obventiones, legata, relicta et donata, ac alia emolumenta quæcunque, in quibusvis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus, ac pecuniis et rebus aliis illa consistant, tam ratione custodis, sociorum collegii, scholarium, familiarium, servientium, et ministrorum præsentium et futurorum prædictorum, quam alias quomodolibet

modolibet eisdem capellæ seu domui collegio proventura, absque eo quod illorum vel alicujus eorum media seu quarta aut alia quæcunque pars præposito, fociis aulæ, ecclesiæ et vicario, prædictis, vel aliis quibusvis locis seu personis, aut eorum alicui, etiam si illa eis de jure vel consuetudine forsan tunc debita fuerit, persolvatur seu assignetur, aut solvi vel assignari debeat, ad collegium et capellam seu domum, nec non custodem pro tempore, ac præsentem ac futuros socios collegii, et scholares hujusmodi, integre et cum effectu spectent et pertineant, ac spectare et pertinere debeant, de illisque custos pro tempore, socii collegii, et scholares hujusmodi, libere disponere, ac ea in suos et dicti collegii usus utilitatemque convertere possint, ex nunc eisdem custodem pro tempore, ac præsentem et futuros socios collegii,

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V.

collegii, scholares, clericos, ministros, fervientes, et personas a missarum divinarumque in dicta ecclesiâ auditione, seu illis inibi interessentia, ac sacramentorum et sacramentalium susceptione, nec non oblationum seu contributionum exhibitione onerumque supportatione, ac mediæ seu quartæ vel alterius partis solutione seu assignatione hujusmodi auctoritate præfata harum plenarie eximentes, et totaliter liberantes, nec non decernentes omnes et singulos processus quoscunque, excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti, aliasque sententias, censuras et pœnas in se continentes, quos et quas ac quicquid contra tenorem præsentium forsan haberi seu fulminari contigerit, irrita et inania existere, nulliusque roboris vel momenti; non obstantibus felicis recordationis Clementis et predecessoris nostri, et aliis apostolicis, nec non

non bonæ memoriæ Ottonis et Ottoboni, olim in regno Angliæ sedis apostolicæ legatorum, ac in generalibus, provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis, constitutionibus et ordinationibus, statutis quoque et consuetudinibus localibus cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrorum concessionis, statuti, constitutionis, ordinationis et liberationis, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra-ire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. Florentiæ, anno incarnationis Domini millesimo quadragesimo tricesimo-nono, undecimo kalendarum Julii, pontificatus nostri anno nono.

A P P.
V.

Poggius.

APPENDIX,

A P P E N D I X, N° VI.

*A List of the Purchases and Grants made
for the original Site of the College.*

A P P.
VI.

BERFORD HALL, purchased of John Brome senior and John Brome junior, of Warwick, by Thomas Chichelé, Henry Penwortham, and Robert Danvers, 14th of December, 16th of Henry VI; and granted by the king to the college 20th of May following.

Skibbowe's Tenement, in the High street, purchased of Roger Skibbowe by Thomas Chichelé, John Birkhede, John Bold,

Bold, and Robert Danvers, 4th of July, 16th of Henry VI; made over by them to Henry VI. 13th of January, 20th of his reign; and granted by the king to the college 24th of April in the same year. It formerly belonged to the monastery of St. John of Scyreburne; and the reserved rent then paid to that monastery has since, I believe, been paid to University college.

Between this tenement and Berford Hall two tenements intervened, *one* belonging to the convent of St. Frideswide, the *other* to a chantry of St. Mary's church. The former, which joined Berford Hall, was granted by that convent to the college, under a reserved annual rent, now payable to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, by a deed dated 11th of September, 21st of Henry VI. :

Q

the

A P P.
VI.

A P P.
VI.

the latter, which belonged to Oriel college, was granted by that society to the college of All Souls under a small reserved rent, 1st of November, 22d of Henry VI.

St. Thomas's Hall, in Cat-street, situated next to Berford Hall, granted to the college by the convent of Osney, 11th of September, 21st of Henry VI. reserving an annual rent, now payable to the dean and chapter of Christ Church: it was the site of the chapel, as the deed specifies, “super quod tenementum cappella collegii antedicti ædificatur.”

To the north of this, in the same street, was *Berford's Tenement*; it was purchased of Joan the widow, and John the son of John Berford, by Thomas Chichelé, John Birkhede, John Druell, and

Robert Danvers, 5th May, 17th of Henry VI. conveyed by them to the king 13th of January; and granted by the king to the college 24th of April, 20th of his reign.

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VI.

Tyngswick Inn, early alienated by Nicholas de Tyngswyck to the university, and granted by them to the college about the year 1440; as the *rationarium fundationis*, so often quoted before, mentions a reserved rent paid for it to the university in that year, “ Solut. universit. pro tenem. vocat. Tyngswick Inn.”

Next to this was a *tenement* belonging to the convent of St. Frideswyde, and purchased under one deed, together with another tenement in High-street, mentioned before, 11th September, 21st of

APP.
VI.

Henry VI. upon which two tenements, as the deed expresses, a part of the college was then built; “ Super quæ duo
“ tenementa parcella collegii *modo* con-
“ stituitur et fundatur.”

THESE several tenements contained the original site of the college, and were all either rented or purchased at the time of the foundation.

From MS. abstract of charters made by order of Gilbert Sheldon, warden in 1640.

APPENDIX, N° VII.

THE stone employed in the build-
ings of the college was brought
from the quarries of Hedington, Teyn-
ton, Sherborn, Henxey, and Sunning-
well. The woods of Shotover, Stow-
wood, Horsham, Eynsham, Cumner,
and Beckley supplied the timber: of
which

APP.
VII.

Without particularly marking the references, I shall give the following entries from the *Rationarium foundationis*, in the same order in which they are alluded to in the text.

“Lapides empti apud Edyngdon, Teynton,
“Sherborn, Sunningwell, Henxey.”

“Pro prostratione arborum in Schottore et Stou-
“wode, pro 3 acris meremii querc. empt. in ne-
“more de Horsham, pro 6 peciis merem. querc.
“empt.

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VII.

which the king presented the arch-
bishop with twelve trees from his park
of Beckley, and the abbot of Abingdon
twenty from Cumner.

THE workmen were the ablest that
could be procured. Masons were hired
in the fourth year of the building of the
college, from London, and the distant
counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: who
appear to have been well-skilled in their
art, since they were soon sent for by the
king's mandate, to assist in repairing his
castle

“empt. in quodam nemore juxtà Eynsham. Pro
“cariagio de 20 arbor. de dono de abbat. de Abyng-
“don in nemore de Cumpnore. Pro cariagio de
“12 arbor. dat. per regem in parco de Beckley.”

“Pro expensis lathomiorum venient. a London,
“pro expensis lathomiorum venient. a Northfolciâ
“et Southfolciâ: ad cariandum harnes. lathomior.
“usque ad Wyndfore per mandatum regis arresta-
“torum ad ejus reparationem.”

“Solut.

castle of Windsor. The wages of the different persons occupied in carrying on this work, were, to carpenters and sawyers, six pence a day—masons, eight pence—stone-diggers and common labourers, four pence halfpenny—joiners, from six pence to eight pence—dawber, five pence — master - carpenter, three shillings and four pence a-week—carvers and image makers, four shillings and eight pence a-week, bed and board found them. A woman-labourer, three pence a-day. The windows were glazed at one shilling a-foot.

[A P P.
VII.]

FROM

“ Solut. carpentariis singulis capient. per diem
 “ 6 d. Solut. farratorib. sing. capient. per diem 6 d.
 “ Solut. operariis sing. cap. per diem $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. Solut.
 “ latomiis per diem 8 d. Solut. lapifodiatori per
 “ diem $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. Solut. egidio joynor per diem 8 d.
 “ alio joynor per diem 6 d. Solut. Johanni Marche
 “ dawber per diem 5 d. Solut. J. Branch carpent.
 “ princip. per ebdomad. 3 s. 4 d. Solut. John.
 “ Massyngham

FROM this detail of the wages of the mechanic and the labourer, at the period under consideration, they will appear to have been, after allowing for the decrease of value in money, both from the diminution in the coin, and the great influx of specie since that period, nearly double of what they are at present.

“ Maffyngham factori imaginum, et kerver, cap.
 “ per ebdom. 4s. 8d. Solut. mulieri 3d. per
 “ diem. Solut. Johanni Glasier locato per domin.
 “ contuas. ad vitrandum 8 fenestras in corpore ca-
 “ pellæ: ad vitrand. unam fenestram in studio gar-
 “ diani, ad vitrandum 6 fenestras, minores in navi
 “ capellæ *per pedem quadratum 12 d.*”

F I N I S.

