

William Waynflete and the Wars of the Roses

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William Waynflete was an apolitical figure, a man with considerable personal loyalty to the person of Henry VI but whose ties with the political interests of the court were loose. At critical moments during the wars of the roses two principles dictated his actions: personal survival and loyalty to the crown, whether worn by Lancaster or York. William Waynflete bent with the wind with all the skill which might be expected from a man whose activities in other fields show him to have been intelligent and shrewd. We are accustomed to hearing of the political involvements of medieval bishops,¹ of, for example, the political 'king-making' role such as that played by George Neville, archbishop of York and Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells. For some bishops their position as members of the aristocracy led to the neglect or at least the delegation of their duties as spiritual lords, particularly within their own dioceses. A bishop in the fifteenth century could not, however, go to the other extreme and divorce himself from public affairs. His role as a spiritual lord carried with it obligations as part of the 'body politic'. Duties as councillor and adviser to the king as well as the safeguarding of the peace of the realm were almost as much part of a bishop's role as were his diocesan and pastoral cares. As bishop of Winchester from 1447 to 1486 William Waynflete held an important see throughout the whole period of strife, from the reign of Henry VI until the early years of the reign of Henry VII. In these circumstances, therefore, Waynflete could hardly avoid being caught up in politics on occasion. He applied himself conscientiously to the public and political duties expected of him but at the same time it is clear that political activities were not his driving interest.

Waynflete's primary interests lay elsewhere.² He himself admitted this in 1454 in his response to a request to serve on the Duke of York's protectorate council. He proposed a rota of councillors stating that, while he was prepared to serve for a period,

his consyence [concerning his involvements elsewhere and particularly his diocesan interests] wold not suffer hym contynually to attend but as he

might reasonablye he wold and was thought hym that some of his bretherne the bushops shold attend for one tyme and some for another.³

While this reply may have been an excuse to escape an irksome political burden, combined with his active participation in diocesan affairs, it rings true.

In the bishopric of Winchester, Waynflete had succeeded Cardinal Beaufort, a man who had been a crucial figure in the small group of influential advisers who had usurped many of the functions of the council. Waynflete did not adopt this role. His political affinities in the period between his elevation to the episcopate and 1461 were tied in with his close relationship with the person of the king and he cannot be identified with any of the magnatial factions which appeared on the political scene in these years. There is no doubt that he was closely identified with the Lancastrian monarchy through his personal relationship with Henry VI which had arisen from his connections with the embryonic foundation of Eton College.⁴ However their relationship was apolitical throughout Henry VI's reign, asserting itself again during the king's brief re-adeption in 1471. Contemporaries seem to have recognised that their relationship was personal rather than political. Critics of Henry VI's court and councils did not see the bishop of Winchester as being unduly influential or at least his influence does not appear to have provoked popular resentment. He was not listed among those whom the parliament of 1450–51 desired to be removed from the king's presence⁵ and neither did he suffer from attacks such as those which caused the deaths of bishops Ayscough and Moleyns in 1450 in an extreme expression of popular disapproval of their role in government and their responsibility for England's reversal of fortune in French affairs.

If chroniclers' references to an individual's involvement in political events can be taken as an indication of popular awareness of the political role of that person, Waynflete appears to have been neither a controversial nor a well-known public figure. 'The lily is both faire and grene' was the description of Waynflete in a vernacular poem written in 1449.⁶ Throughout the 1450s, even after his appointment as chancellor in the autumn of 1456, William Waynflete played an important if low key role as a mediator in a period dominated by increasing political polarisation. During Cade's revolt in 1450 he was one of the emissaries sent to persuade the rebels to seek pardons and later negotiated with them in St Margaret's church in Southwark, within the bounds of his own diocese.⁷ Again at Dartford in March 1452, in an atmosphere of growing political tension, Waynflete was

dispatched together with Lord Sourton and Henry Bourghier to attempt to dissuade the Duke of York from hasty action.⁸ At the end of the decade, in 1459, his sermon, preached at the opening of the Coventry Parliament on the text, 'Let peace and unity be given unto you'; reflects what he saw as the aim of his endeavours whether as bishop or chancellor.⁹ In his eyes the 'Love-Day' of March 1458 with the accompanying great ceremonial possession of Yorkist and Lancastrian partisans to St Paul's must have appeared as a triumph and a hopeful sign for the future. While the prospect of restoring peace in his kingdom was close to the king's heart, by the late 1450s Henry was hardly in a fit state to contribute actively to its achievement while Margaret of Anjou was more often antagonistic than conciliatory. In these circumstances much of the delicate work of negotiation which lay behind the apparent reconciliation seen at the Love day procession was the work, as a contemporary poem suggests, of Waynflete, now Chancellor, and Thomas Bourghier, archbishop of Canterbury.

. . . our sovereigne lord Kinge God kepe alway,
the queen and the archbishop of Canterbury,
and the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of Englund,
and others that have laboured to this love day.¹⁰

But in the prevailing atmosphere of the late 1450s mediation could only be carried so far. Royal government had to be carried on and its rule could not be allowed to be defied openly. Waynflete's assumption of the chancellorship in October 1456 meant that henceforth he had to shoulder considerable responsibility spanning both political policy and the ordinary running of the government of the country. The period of the king's illness, from late 1453 onwards, had laid the ground for Waynflete's later appointment as chancellor. Despite his apparent reluctance to serve continuously during the protectorate of the Duke of York, no other bishop, excepting the chancellor, archbishop Bourghier, was at so many meetings of the council in this period.¹¹ The king's recovery did not change Waynflete's new found activity as a councillor and he remained a constant attender at meetings.

The reshuffle of Henry VI's advisers which took place at the Coventry council of September–October 1456 brought the bishop to the forefront of the royal administration. Waynflete was appointed chancellor¹² and thereby became the king's foremost adviser, a central figure in the Council and potentially a man of great influence in the political sphere. The new administration of 1456, made at a council held in the Lancastrian stronghold of the midlands, has been

described as replacing the 'spirit of accommodation' between the Yorkist lords and the royal court which the previous officers had represented.¹³ In fact it is difficult to view the members of the new administration as fervent Lancastrian partisans although they were undoubtedly loyal to the king.¹⁴ Contemporary opinion does not appear to have been critical of Waynflete's appointment¹⁵ and he was hardly a surprising choice. He was bishop of England's richest see, a senior and experienced member of the council, had been known to the king and many members of the court since his days as provost of Eton College and finally was not a factional Lancastrian partisan but a man whose loyalty lay unswervingly with the king. Waynflete's mediating activities continued during the early years of his chancellorship but the same time he did have to uphold the governance of the realm. As chancellor Waynflete was concerned with attempting to combat the problem of civil discord among the magnates which threatened to undermine the maintenance of law and order; the growing political tension of the later 1450s was not eased by the widespread lawlessness endemic in many localities in England. A council held at Coventry in July 1457 granted wide-ranging military powers to a group of influential courtier magnates.¹⁶ Extensive use was made of commissions of the peace over much of the country.¹⁷ While specific policies and actions emanating from the council or the court cannot be directly traced to Waynflete's own initiative, it is of interest to look at the men appointed as justices of the peace during his term as chancellor to see on whom he was relying.

Many loyal Lancastrians were already serving on commissions of the peace but a consideration of the group of men who had not served in the recent past and who were appointed between October 1456 and June 1460 gives an idea of the type of men Waynflete favoured. Initially the most striking thing is Waynflete's extensive use of his fellow prelates as justices of the peace.¹⁸ The prelates he chose were loyal Lancastrians; a point emphasised by the omission of George Neville, bishop of Exeter who was not to be appointed until the Yorkist earls had gained power in late 1460.¹⁹ Waynflete was clearly following a deliberate policy, not found during the chancellorship of his predecessor, consistently appointing members of the episcopate as justices of the peace. This was in keeping with his earlier behaviour as a mediator. The majority of the episcopate was loyal but non-aligned. A similar policy was continued by Edward IV who also regularly and extensively used bishops as justices of the peace from early in his reign.

The staunchly Lancastrian character of Waynflete's lay appointees is indicated by the fact that a substantial majority of them – over 70%

were not to serve Edward IV in this capacity during the first five years of his reign.²⁰ Many of them died in battle, went into exile or were attainted by Yorkists in 1461. Devon is a good example; there seven commissions of the peace were appointed during Waynflete's chancellorship. Ten of the men on these commissions were new appointees and of these only three subsequently served Edward IV on similar commissions. In the summer of 1457 Waynflete appointed as new justices of the peace Henry, Duke of Exeter; James, Earl of Wiltshire and William Duke, mayor of Exeter.²¹ The following year he added Richard Hals who had been sheriff in 1454 and who was reappointed sheriff in November 1458 – a further mark of trust – and John Orchard who was to be one of the minority reappointed to Edward IV's commissions.²² Also that summer he appointed William Boef, a member of the affinity of Thomas Courteney, Earl of Devon. The last of Waynflete's new appointees were John More and Roger Champernon; both of whom were appointed by Edward IV and Baldwin Fulford, sherrif of Devon and commander of the fleet amassed in 1459 to stand up to the fleet of the Earl of Warwick.²³ The example of Devon can be paralleled elsewhere.²⁴

As might be expected Waynflete also appointed men known to him personally. He did not flood the commissions with his own friends but a number of men with close connection with him can be traced. In Lincolnshire, where he had strong family connections, his appointees included Robert Tilney who had represented a number of his boroughs in the Commons.²⁵ Thomas Danvers, an agent for him in matters relating to Magdalen College and subsequently an important financial confidant, who represented Downton borough in 1458, served as a justice of the peace in Oxfordshire from 1458; Thomas Chandler who had been chaplain to Waynflete and was now master of New College Oxford was appointed for Oxford town. John Godmanston, who was the bishop's chief agent in gathering together the initial endowment for Magdalen Hall and whose son Simon was one of Waynflete's chaplains, served on a number of Essex commissions from 1457. Godmanston and Tilney were not to serve Edward IV on such commissions while Danvers was not re-appointed a commissioner of the peace until 1474 and Chandler not until 1471.²⁶

After the failure of the mediation attempts of 1458 Waynflete turned to tougher measures although his opening sermon, preached to the representatives of the parliament assembled in St Mary's abbey, Coventry, on 20 November 1459 does not initially suggest that this was the case. It was centred around the text, 'Let peace and unity be given unto you'.²⁷ In its context, only weeks after the battle of Blore Heath and the rout at Ludford Bridge at which over 2000 men

had died, the chancellor's speech was an appeal for peace and unity in the face of the recent dissensions. However this was to be the parliament which passed a vicious act of attainder on the Yorkists. While it is difficult to determine just how closely Waynflete was involved with the preparation of the bill of attainder there can be no doubt that he must have supported it.²⁸ Had he not done so he could have resigned the chancellorship as earlier in the 1450s the Earl of Salisbury had resigned rather than fulfil the king's request that he release Somerset from prison.²⁹ That Waynflete presided over the parliament of 1459 as chancellor and thus supervised the carrying through of the bill of attainder can be taken as at least tacit support for its action. This support and involvement with the attainder of men who had been his political colleagues must not be viewed as a sudden attack of Lancastrian partisanship. Waynflete's loyalties lay personally and politically with King Henry VI whose authority had been threatened and undermined by the recent actions of the Yorkist forces. The divisions among the aristocracy in the late 1450s forced men whose loyalty lay with the king into the role of court partisans.

Modern examination of the composition of the commons in this parliament of 1459 bears out contemporary accusations that it had been packed.³⁰ An examination of the boroughs where Waynflete could exercise powerful influence shows that he too did what he could to ensure a friendly or at least a compliant lower house.

No details are available for Taunton, one of the three boroughs where the bishop exercised influence as a magnate but both Downton and Hinton in Wiltshire were represented by members of the bishop's household. Downton's representatives were John Wolfe and Thomas Danvers while Richard Chaundre and Nicholas Hervey appeared for Hinton.³¹ The men representing these boroughs usually had some connection with the bishop, either as peripheral members of his household or members of county families from Hampshire, Surrey or Waynflete's native county of Lincolnshire with whom he had connections, but in 1459 the emphasis was stronger than usual – Wolfe, Danvers and Chaundre were prominent members of the episcopal household while Hervey was an avowed Lancastrian supporter. Danvers, Chaundre and Hervey were not regular representatives of the bishop's boroughs in parliament at this time and they had not represented them before. Waynflete must also have exercised his influence within the county of Surrey for Ralph Legh, one of the knights returned for the shire, was among the bishop's important household officials.³² Unfortunately no returns have survived for Hampshire, the other shire where Waynflete's influence as bishop could have made itself felt. But clearly Waynflete was able to open

this parliament in the knowledge that those members of the commons representing areas over which he exercised some control would be staunchly behind him.

Waynflete dissolved parliament on 20 December 1459.³³ While the court remained in the midlands, feeling more secure there than in the capital, Waynflete returned to his diocese to spend Christmas at Farnham.³⁴ There is no suggestion that he feared retribution from the Londoners for his actions at Coventry and he was not specifically named in contemporary criticism of the action of this parliament, although Yorkist propagandists were active in their criticism of Henry VI's councillors.³⁵

When he resigned the chancellorship on the eve of the battle of Northampton on 7 July 1460³⁶ Waynflete abruptly broke his formal political connection with the Lancastrians. His resignation may well have been as much an admission of his failure to prevent a final rift between the parties as a desire not to become physically embroiled in the battle. Waynflete did not lack physical courage³⁷ and although Benet's chronicle refers to his 'flight' from the scene of the battle it was not the same class as that of the Earl of Wiltshire who made directly for Holland³⁸ for Waynflete could be found openly at his manor in Southwark until the end of September when he moved to Winchester.³⁹

Henry VI was in the custody of the Yorkist earls in the early autumn. The Yorkist supremacy and the subsequent deposition of Henry VI in 1461 dramatically undermined Waynflete's position. Instead of being intimately connected with the king he was now outside the favoured circle, regarded with some suspicion by the Yorkists and he had to work to win favour, to gain 'insurance' through a judicious choice of friends and careful use of the patronage at his disposal.

A number of choices of action faced Waynflete in the autumn of 1460 – he could follow the example of some of his erstwhile political colleagues and flee into exile; he could lie low and hope that little notice would be taken of him or he could take positive action to establish good relations with the men now surrounding the king. That he rejected the idea of following Queen Margaret into exile reinforces the impression already gained that he was not an intimate member of the Queen's inner circle. To what extent he may have tried the second course of action and found it impossible is not known. He chose to come to an accord with the Yorkists and did so by taking a positive and emphatic step using the means he had at his disposal to safeguard his own personal and political survival. Waynflete's talents for political survival were displayed in his activities

during the next six months – a period in which he came to an accord with the Yorkist lords who dominated the scene after the battle of Northampton.

His efforts can be seen in his choice of men to fill the major positions in his secular and ecclesiastical administration – the constablerships of Taunton and Farnham castles and the archdeaconries of Surrey and Hampshire. These resources of patronage can be used to demonstrate his relationships with successive royal governments. They act as a sort of barometer to his political fortunes and his changing political stances and it is his use of such patronage for political survival that will be highlighted in the remainder of this paper.

Taunton castle lay in Somerset outside the boundaries of the bishopric of Winchester but the bailiwick in which it lay comprised one of the richest areas of the episcopal estates. In addition to the substantial income which the bishop derived from it, the castle itself was a valuable asset, being of considerable strategic value and in a good state of repair. It lay in an area surprisingly devoid of royal castles – the nearest were Exeter and Salisbury, both of which were in a neglected condition.⁴⁰ Taunton was in a defensible state having withstood a siege in the recent past – during the Courtenay-Bonville dispute in the early 1450s.⁴¹ Thus it was important for royal security that the constablership of the castle be in reliable and friendly hands while from the episcopal point of view it was of interest because the position included responsibility for the bailiwick as well as for the castle.⁴²

The constablership changed hands in the wake of Yorkist assertion of dominance in the autumn of 1460. The winter of 1460–61 saw the greatest political crisis of Waynflete's career and it was at this critical juncture that a new constable of Taunton Castle was appointed by Waynflete. This was the most overtly political expedient of Waynflete's appointments to any position. The events leading up to it are indicative of the delicate position in which Waynflete found himself in the months after his resignation of the chancellorship.

On 15 November 1460 Waynflete appointed Humphrey Stafford, a rising follower of Edward, Earl of March, to the constablership of Taunton.⁴³ This action gave the Yorkists an important foothold in an area where they were not at their strongest. It also removed the castle from Lancastrian hands – previously it had been in the charge of Alexander Hody, a Lancastrian lawyer who had been among the commissioners who drew up the act of attainder of 1459.⁴⁴ Hody had remained loyal to Queen Margaret and at the time when Waynflete relieved him of the deputy-constablership he was occupied in gathering together an army of tenantry to march towards Hull.⁴⁵

Waynflete's appointment of Stafford as constable of Taunton eased his position considerably. It was rewarded by a show of favour from the Yorkist earls. A letter in Waynflete's favour was sent to Pope Pius II from the chancery.⁴⁶ Although written in the king's name, Henry VI was beyond taking any independent action and it must have been authorised by George Neville, bishop of Exeter, chancellor and no friend to the bishop of Winchester. It took the form of a general defence of Waynflete stating that he had not behaved in any way which might damage his hitherto unblemished reputation and denying that there was any truth in evil rumours which were apparently being circulated against him.⁴⁷ These rumours are not mentioned in any other source but the letter may well have been intended to protect Waynflete against the activities of Francesco Coppini, papal legate in England. Coppini exceeded his authority and acted against papal wishes by attaching himself firmly to the Yorkists and excommunicating a number of principal Lancastrian supporters.⁴⁸ The issue of such a letter indicates that Waynflete was not out of favour with the Yorkists while the coincidence of dates suggests that it may have been part of a *quid pro quo* connected with the grant of the constablership.

A further indication of the vulnerability of Waynflete's position at this time is to be found in a petition directed to the chancellor in the early 1460s by Waynflete and his brother, the Dean of Chichester. This letter requested the issue of a writ *sub pena* against Richard Grayle, a ship owner. In this petition Waynflete and his brother stated that Grayle had been hounding them for payment due to him for the supplying of ships and mariners to Earl Rivers for an expedition against France in 1451. The bishop explained that he had tried to obtain Grayle's money for him, had aided him even to the extent of allowing Grayle to eat in his own household during Grayle's efforts to obtain the money due to him. The petition continues, '... And afterwarde and in tyme of trouble of the seid bisshopp for the matiere of hys churche the same Richard came to hym ...'⁴⁹ This passing reference to Waynflete's 'tyme of trouble' is tantalising, but it does reinforce the idea that Waynflete was in a vulnerable position in the early 1460s.

Despite his apparent accord with the Yorkists Waynflete's behaviour over the remainder of the winter and early spring 1460–61 suggests that his position was still difficult. At the beginning of 1461 with the king still in custody of the earls and Margaret of Anjou regrouping her forces, the political situation was still very unsettled. Waynflete began the new year in residence at Farnham manor in Surrey where he had been since late November of the previous

year.⁵⁰ In mid-January, his episcopal register, normally a reliable source for his whereabouts, suddenly ceases to record his place of residence although the volume of entries in the register does not appreciably diminish. Other sources show that from at least 24 January to late March Waynflete was in residence at his manor in Taunton.⁵¹ It is most uncharacteristic to find Waynflete spending such a long period beyond the boundaries of his own diocese. Waynflete's only other recorded visit to Taunton in his forty year episcopate was briefly in August 1449 when carrying out an initial perambulation of his estates.⁵² Since Taunton was now in staunch Yorkist hands, it is unlikely that Waynflete would have been eager to spend a lengthy period of time there voluntarily at this time. Yet in view of the speed with which he had come to an accord with the Yorkists the previous autumn it is likely that they were loath to place great trust in him at this critical period of the war.

The timing of his move from Farnham to Taunton in mid-January is significant. On 30 December 1460 the Duke of York had been killed in a skirmish near Wakefield. This made the political situation more volatile. Queen Margaret seized her opportunity to begin a determined march towards London. In London the Earl of Warwick and the Yorkists made frantic efforts to array men and assemble in south east and eastern England to resist the Lancastrians.⁵³ In these delicate circumstances it is hardly surprising that Waynflete would have been made to move further away from the capital into Somerset where, in Taunton with a Yorkist garrison he would be politically hobbled. There must have been doubts about the sincerity of his accord with the Yorkists and this led to his being placed in what amounted to 'house arrest' during these critical months.⁵⁴ He was able to continue with his pastoral duties as his episcopal register demonstrates⁵⁵ but was in no position either to attempt to join forces with the Lancastrian army or to act as a rallying point for Lancastrian sympathisers in his own diocese.

By April 1461 after the Yorkist victory at Towton, Edward of York's hold on the throne was reasonably secure. Henry and the remnants of his court were in exile. Although Waynflete's register does not revert to its normal practice of citing the bishop's place of residence until early July⁵⁶ it is likely that he was 'released' slightly earlier. On 10 June 1461 he was appointed a justice of the peace for Buckinghamshire.⁵⁷ By late June Waynflete was certainly back at his Southwark residence for he attended the young king's coronation in St Paul's cathedral on the 28 June.⁵⁸ According to the Burgundian chronicler Jean Waurin, after the ceremony the bishop of Winchester speaking for all the prelates, barons, nobles and commons of England, accepted the king.

... the bishop of Winchester spoke for all the estates of the realm of England, saying that ... all the prelates, barons, nobles and commons of England had agreed to accept Edward, Earl of March, as king, sovereign, lord and governor of all the dependencies of the kingdom of England ... then all present cried in one voice, 'Long live King Edward, our sovereign lord'.⁵⁹

The sentiments of reconciliation expressed in this speech were in keeping with Waynflete's attempts to mediate between rival factions in the 1450s.

There is no evidence that Waynflete was made to suffer by Edward IV for his earlier support of the Lancastrian cause although this is hardly surprising for the new king was wooing the support of the episcopate and was reluctant to alienate it unnecessarily. He summoned to Edward's first parliament on 23 May 1461 and when it finally met in November Waynflete was present and his continued presence was recorded for each of the days for which the Fane Fragment of the Lords' Journal provides evidence.⁶⁰

One further striking example of Waynflete's efforts to win powerful and influential friends at this critical juncture is recorded in the temporal affairs section of his episcopal register. This is the grant of an annuity of £10 to William Lord Hastings, described as having been made for '... aid and assistance in past matters and in future ones ...'.⁶¹ This grant was made early in the reign of Edward IV, on 20 December 1461, a period when Waynflete was in need of powerful friends. He had previous contact with Lord Hastings who had served on a number of commissions of the peace appointed for the midlands during Waynflete's chancellorship but this grant is unique. In addition Waynflete retained a connection with the influential figure of Hastings through the person of Waynflete's close confidant, the treasurer of Wolvesey, Thomas Danvers who was amongst Hastings's indentured retainers.⁶²

In the 1460s and 1470s, with his personal link with the crown through Henry VI broken, Waynflete's connections with the court and royal government were to diminish. His itinerary shows him spending an ever-increasing amount of time within his diocese. This withdrawal from Yorkist politics must have come from the bishop himself rather than occurring as a result of deliberate exclusion of ex-Lancastrians by Edward IV. Apart from regular attendance at parliament, as befitted his position as a senior member of the episcopate, Waynflete remained uninvolved in political life. The surviving rolls of parliament suggest that he did not play any more than a minimal part in its affairs.⁶³ Neither did he take part in the

extensive diplomatic activities of the Yorkists. Unfortunately the records for the membership of Edward IV's council are few in number but Waynflete's name does not occur as a member of the council prior to 1473.⁶⁴

Contemporary accounts of great Yorkist ceremonial occasions do not indicate that bishop Waynflete played any great part in them. Instead it was younger men such as Stillington who had risen with Yorkist patronage who feature prominently, as at the coronation of Edward's Queen Elizabeth Wodeville.⁶⁵ Waynflete's main involvement with the court circle was in relation to the Order of the Garter for as bishop of Winchester he was *ex officio* prelate to the Order. His primary function was to officiate at the annual St George's day celebrations. Henry VI had not been particularly interested in this chivalric order, preferring to lavish his attention on his collegiate foundations at Eton and Cambridge. Edward IV was more enthusiastic.⁶⁶ Waynflete conscientiously fulfilled his prescribed duties, being present at the first meeting of Edward's reign on 17 May 1462⁶⁷ and the Black Book of the Order continues to record his regular presence until 1477, by which time his advanced age alone would have been sufficient to excuse him.⁶⁸ Thenceforth his absences may also reflect the diminution of his role as prelate and foremost ecclesiastic within the order due to the creation of a new position of honour – the chancellor of the order. The first chancellor the Order of the Garter was Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury 1450–81, who first appeared in this role at a meeting on 10 May 1477; Waynflete was present on that occasion but it was the last that he attended.⁶⁹

Despite his conspicuous non-involvement in politics generally, it is likely that Waynflete was involved in, or at least had knowledge of, a potential plot in London in 1468. The Cook affair was a 'cause celebre' of the period.⁷⁰ The plot was discovered when in Whit week 1468 a servant of one Robert Whittingham, a man who was in exile with Queen Margaret of Anjou, was arrested and found to have been carrying letters on the queen's behalf. Sir Thomas Cook, a London alderman whose name has become firmly entangled with the affair was the most prominent of the men subsequently arrested and tried but he was by no means the only person implicated. A number of the men involved were associates of Waynflete and two had intimate connections with him.⁷¹

One of the letters seized when Whittingham's servant was arrested was addressed to Thomas Danvers, Waynflete's right-hand man in many financial dealings. Under torture the servant implicated a number of other men, including a previous treasurer of Wolvesey, Hugh Pakenham. Danvers was arrested and imprisoned in the tower

of London but was eventually released because there was not enough evidence to indite him.⁷²

The chief purpose of these letters appears to have been to collect money for the Lancastrian cause. Margaret of Anjou may have felt that Waynfflete was a potential and wealthy supporter of her cause with the resources of his diocese on which to draw. It is significant that Waynfflete felt it necessary to obtain a general pardon for himself in the immediate aftermath of the affair. It was issued on 11 October 1468 and specifically excluded contact with a number of the men involved in the Cook affair. A second pardon was granted to Waynfflete on 1 February 1469 but there is no other evidence of problems.⁷³

Edward IV faced another political crisis in 1470 with the re-adeption. By 1470 Waynfflete was an elderly man who for over a decade had little involvement with political affairs. Reinforcing his essentially non-political image, his part in the re-adeption can hardly be described as a reassertion of his Lancastrian involvements. He was not among the instigators of the revolt which arose primarily out of the Neville's family's dissatisfaction with their declining influence over Edward IV and his role was restricted to escorting the king from his place of imprisonment in the tower.

Here is to knowe tat in the begunnyng of the moneth of Octobre the yere of oure Lorde m cccc lxx the bisshope of Wynchestere, be the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke went to the toure of Londene where Kynge Herry was in preseone by Kynge Edwardes commawndement and there tike hyme from his kepers, whiche was not worschippfully arayed as a Prynce and not so clenly kepte as schuld seme suche a prynce; their hade hym oute and new arayed hym and dyde to hyme grete reverens, and brought hyme to the palys of Westmynster, and so he was restorede to the crowne ageyne.⁷⁴

Warkworth's use of words in this description is significant here, 'Waynfflete . . . be the assent of the Duke of Clarence . . .', suggesting that Waynfflete was merely their agent in this matter. It is not difficult to see why Waynfflete, an old friend and familiar face to the king, was chosen to rescue the bemused monarch from his long imprisonment. Waynfflete played little part in the remaining events of the re-adeption although he remained resident at this Southwark manor for much of the winter 1470–71.⁷⁵ He may have put some of his parliamentary patronage at the disposal of the Lancastrian government.⁷⁶

Edward IV re-entered the capital on 11 April 1471. It is unclear exactly what happened to Waynfflete when Edward reached London.

George Neville and a number of other bishops were imprisoned in the tower with the king but Waynfflete was not apparently among them.⁷⁷ On 30 May 1471 Waynfflete was granted a general pardon, the first member of the episcopate (excluding Neville) to obtain one. He seems to have paid heavily for it however; the receipt rolls of the Exchequer for Easter 1471 record a payment of £1333 to the exchequer from the bishop of Winchester at that time.⁷⁸ His response to this delicate situation was again to draw on his resources of patronage to win friends and favour at the court. Farnham Castle in Surrey was both defensible and strategic – it controlled the important route from London to the South-West. Extensive building works at this site in the 1460s and 1470s were primarily concerned with improving the domestic accommodation of this old motte and baily castle but a substantial brick gatehouse was constructed.⁷⁹ In the post-re-adeption period it must have seemed politically expedient for Waynfflete to choose a new constable for Farnham with care. The appointment of Thomas St Leger on 4 October 1471 reflects this.⁸⁰ St Leger, an esquire of the body from the 1460s had remained loyal to Edward IV throughout the re-adeption period. In addition he had personal ties with the king – he was the lover of the king's sister Ann Holland whom he was to marry in 1472.⁸¹ By choosing him as constable Waynfflete was gaining a valuable supporter in the court circle.

Ecclesiastical as well as lay positions could be similarly used to gain political favour. The most important and prestigious benefices in Waynfflete's gift as bishop of Winchester were the archdeaconries of Winchester and of Surrey. Waynfflete's appointments to these positions in the Yorkist period display efforts to select rising men, prominent in the royal circle or in government to fill these positions. The routine archidiaconal duties attached to the post could be carried out by a deputy.

Three of the seven appointments of archdeacons made by Waynfflete during his episcopate occurred before 1461.⁸² Of the four appointments made in the Yorkist era three of the men were to become bishops – a measure of their importance. All were closely involved with the royal court and government. In the 1470s the archdeaconry of Winchester must have seemed to have acquired an almost hereditary appearance since it was held in succession by John Morton who became bishop of Ely in 1478 and Robert Morton his nephew, who took over his uncle's position as master of the rolls as well as this archdeaconry.

The archdeaconry of Surrey had a more personal royal connection. On the death of John Waynfflete in 1479 it went to the king's brother

in law, Lionel Wodeville, already a well-beneficed figure and a man to whom Waynfflete had previously given the Oxfordshire benefice of Witney.⁸³ The grant by Waynfflete of Surrey to such a notorious pluralist and a man with close royal connections suggests a greater regard for the political advantages to be gleaned from the royal connection than concern for the ecclesiastical duties to be carried out. In making this choice Waynfflete was probably influenced by the fact that earlier that year Wodeville had been elected chancellor of the University of Oxford. In this position he would be a powerful friend for Waynfflete's foundation of Magdalen College, the welfare of which dominated a number of Waynfflete's actions in the last decade of his life. Wodeville relinquished the archdeaconry on being elevated to the bishopric of Salisbury in 1482. To replace him Waynfflete again looked directly to the circle round the king, choosing Oliver Dynham, a royal chaplain.⁸⁴

At Edward IV's untimely death in 1483, Bishop Waynfflete was one of the longest survivors on the episcopal bench. He played no part in the political events of Richard's reign or in his overthrow. By now he was over eighty and increasingly sedentary. He continued to be appointed to commissions of the peace under both Richard III and the first months of Henry VII's reign. It was his political experience as much as his age which enabled him to remain unscathed. Judicious selection of the constable with due regard to the current political situation again marks appointments to Taunton castle in the uncertain years of the 1480s. Giles Daubeney who replaced Assheton in 1476 was a rising star of the Yorkist circle.⁸⁵ Initially Daubeney appeared to accept Richard III's accession in 1483 and was in attendance at the coronation.⁸⁶ In the autumn of 1483, however, he joined Buckingham's rebellion, was attainted and fled overseas.⁸⁷ Waynfflete replaced him with a man closely identified with the new king, Richard Ratcliffe.⁸⁸ Like Stafford before him, many of the positions Ratcliffe obtained through royal patronage and influence lay in south-western-England – Devon, Dorset and Wiltshire.⁸⁹ Gaps in the series of pipe rolls at this point mean that there is no further evidence of when Ratcliffe ceased to hold the constableness but it is most probable that he retained it until his death at the battle of Bosworth in August 1485.⁹⁰

Similarly at Farnham where St Leger's close identification with the king was not to stand him in good stead with the accession of Richard III to the throne. He was dropped from the commission of the peace appointed on 26 June 1483, the first Surrey commission of Richard's reign. Neither was he appointed to the Southampton commission of Edward IV in May 1483 or any of Richard III's Southampton,

Devonshire and Somersetshire commissions although he had been a regular member of these under Edward IV.⁹¹ The rebellion of St Leger against Richard III in the autumn of 1483 left the constablership of Farnham vacant once more. However, the appointment of John Legh as constable was not overtly political. While Legh must have been acceptable to Richard III, he was a close associate of Waynflete and had already been appointed to several positions in Waynflete's gift.⁹²

Giles Daubeney who had returned to England in the company of Henry Tudor was found as constable again by 1487.⁹³ Waynflete is unlikely to have had any reason for not wishing to restore him to his former position, especially when Daubeney was so closely identified with the new king.

Further down the social scale Waynflete made use of positions within his temporal administration to reward men from his own household entourage or to members of the Hampshire and Surrey gentry. These men were little involved in central government but were of importance locally. None of the major gentry families in the area were neglected. Territorially Waynflete's base lay in Hampshire and Surrey and he was not so foolish as to neglect to ensure a staunch allegiance to him from local gentry families rather than bring in outsiders and alienate an important section of society.

Bishop Waynflete was clearly not a major figure in the politics of the fifteenth century. Yet it is important to look in detail at his relations with successive kings and their circles because it restores a sense of balance which it is easy to lose when looking at political events of this period. Not everyone was obsessed by political plotting and scheming. As incumbent of the see of Winchester, William Waynflete was potentially an important force in English political life. That for more than half of his episcopate, from 1460, he played little part in politics reflects his personal preference. He had what he considered more important things to do both in his diocese, and more particularly in the field of education with his support for Eton College and his foundation of Magdalen College Oxford. Other Lancastrian sympathisers had active political careers under Edward IV and his earlier loyalties would have been of little disadvantage had Waynflete wished to follow suit. Instead he largely withdrew from politics although he did attend parliament and fulfil public duties as a commissioner of the peace. When political circumstances forced him into a difficult or uncertain position Waynflete shrewdly used the most important plums of patronage at his disposal to win influential friends. Political upheavals were to be survived rather than to be embroiled in. Born in the reign of Richard II and dying in that of

Henry VII, William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester throughout the wars of the roses, proved himself a survivor.

Notes

¹ Described for this period in R.J. Knecht, 'The episcopate and the wars of the roses', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 6 (1957-8), pp. 108-31. See also J.A.F. Thompson, 'Bishop Lionel Woodville and Richard III', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 61 (1986), pp. 130-35.

² Waynflete's extensive educational involvements which included the foundation of Magdalen College Oxford and two associated grammar schools, are described in Virginia Davis, 'William Waynflete and the educational revolution of the fifteenth century' in C.F. Richmond & J. Rosenthal ed. *The church, patronage and politics* (Gloucester 1987), pp. 40-59.

³ R.A. Griffiths, 'The Kings council and the first protectorate of the Duke of York, 1453-54' *English Historical Review* 99 (1984), p. 80.

⁴ Waynflete had been provost of Eton College from December 1442 and was intimately involved with Henry VI's plans for the college in the 1440s and 1450s, even after he had become bishop of Winchester in 1447.

⁵ *Rolls of parliament* V, p. 216-7.

⁶ 'Prelude to the wars', 1.21, *Historical poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* ed. R.H. Robbins, (New York 1959); this is usually taken as referring to Thomas Daniell, one of the lords of the household but in fact the lily was recognised by contemporaries as Waynflete's device. Derived from the lilies of Eton College it was prominent on his episcopal arms, W.K.R. Bedford, *The blazon of episcopacy* (2nd ed. Oxford 1897), plate LX. Another poem was written in the early 1450s referring to Waynflete's lilies, see E. Wilson, 'A poem presented to William Waynflete as bishop of Winchester' in E.G. Stanley & D. Gray, *Middle English studies presented to Norman Davis* (Oxford 1983), pp. 127-51.

⁷ 'Wilhelmi Wyrcester annales rerum anglicarum' in *Letters and papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI* ed. J. Stevenson (2 vols, Rolls series 1861-4), 11, p. 768.

⁸ 'John Benet's chronicle for the years 1400-1462' ed. G.L. & M.A. Harriss, *Camden Miscellany* 24 (Camden Society 4th series, 9 1972), p. 206. His mission met with no success. Subsequently Waynflete was one of the arbitrators in the recognisance between Somerset and York on 13 March 1452, *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1447-54, p. 327.

⁹ *Rolls of Parliament* V, p. 345; 'Gratia vobis et pax multiplicetur', 1 Peter, 2.

¹⁰ B.L.Ms. Vesp. Cotton B.XVI, fo.4v.

¹¹ In 1454-5 he was present at forty-four meetings out of a total of sixty-four; this was in contrast to the period 22 March 1450-19 August 1453 when he attended only eighteen of fifty sessions, R. Virgoe, 'The composition of the king's council 1437-61', *B.I.H.R.* 43 (1970), pp. 157-60. His attendance can be traced in the *Proceedings of the privy council* VI and by his signature on warrants issued by the council, P.R.O. C81/1546 and P.R.O. E28.

¹² *C.C.R. 1447-54*, p. 211.

¹³ R.A. Griffiths, *The reign of Henry VI* (Manchester 1981), p. 773.

¹⁴ Booth, the Queen's chancellor who became keeper of the privy seal was the most extreme Lancastrian of the three but neither John Talbot, the new treasurer, nor

Waynfflete were fervent partisans or courtiers although they were staunchly loyal to the crown and to Henry VI personally.

¹⁵ Benet's chronicle is the only one to mention it and he merely refers to the new appointment in passing, 'John Benet's chronicle', p. 217; According to the Pastons, the Duke of Buckingham '... taketh it right straungely that both his brethern arn so sodently discharged ...', *Paston Letters* no. 567. However the Duke himself remained part of the council and showed no signs in his actions of pique.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Papal Rolls* 1452-61, pp. 370-1.

¹⁷ *C.P.R.* 1452-61, pp. 660-84.

¹⁸ The bishop of Salisbury was appointed to Dorset and Somerset; the bishop of Ely to Essex, Norfolk and Huntingdon; the bishop of Hereford to Gloucester and Hereford; the bishop of Lincoln to Middlesex, Northampton and Rutland and the bishop of Durham to Northumbria and Yorkshire, *C.P.R.* 1452-61, pp. 660-84. See also P. Heath, *Church and realm 1272-1461* (London 1988), pp. 320-21.

¹⁹ Neville was appointed to serve as a justice of the peace in Devon and Cornwall in August and November 1460 respectively, after Waynfflete had ceased to be chancellor, *C.P.R.* 1452-61, p. 663.

²⁰ Waynfflete appointed 169 men to serve as justices of the peace during his period as chancellor. Of these men, 117 of them were not to serve Edward IV in the early years of his reign.

²¹ *C.P.R.* 1452-71, p. 664.

²² *Ibid.*; *C.P.R.* 1461-67, pp. 562-3.

²³ Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, pp. 840, 857.

²⁴ In Northamptonshire Waynfflete appointed two men in addition to the bishop of Lincoln; one was Robert Danvers, brother to his confidant Thomasi Danvers, the other, John Lovell, a Lancastrian local magnate. Neither of these men were re-appointed in the early years of Edward IV's reign, *C.P.R.* 1452-61, p. 673. In Oxfordshire Waynfflete's appointees were Thomas Danvers, Robert Danvers, Edward Ellesmere (who was the Queen's treasurer), Williams Fenys, the earl of Salisbury and Richard Chok. Of these six men only Chok, a serjeant-at-arms was re-appointed in the early years of Yorkist rule, *ibid.*, p. 675.

²⁵ *C.P.R.* 1452-61, p. 669. Tilney represented Downton borough in the parliament of 1449-50 and Hinton in those of 1453-4 and 1455-6; both boroughs were controlled by bishop Waynfflete, *C.P.R.* 1452-61, pp. 674-5, 665.

²⁶ *C.P.R.* 1461-67, pp. 625-6.

²⁷ *Rolls of Parliament* V, p. 345.

²⁸ It was drawn up by a group of lawyers led by Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench, Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, p. 824. Fortescue may also have been responsible for the *Somnium vigilantis* which was composed to persuade Henry VI of the necessity for attainder, M. Kekewich, 'The attainder of the Yorkists in 1459: two contemporary accounts', *B.I.H.R.* 65 (1981), pp. 25-34. It may also have been intended to persuade Waynfflete of the need for such drastic measures as attainder.

²⁹ B. Wilkinson, *Constitutional history of England in the fifteenth century* (London 1964), p. 266.

³⁰ The parliament of October 1460 which repealed the proceedings of that of 1459 described the latter as being 'unduly summoned' and stated that many of the commons had been named, returned and accepted, '... by the procuring and labouring of the said seditious persons', *Rolls of Parliament* V, p. 374. For details of the elections and the extensions of the terms of office of loyal sheriffs in order to secure favourable shire representation see Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, pp. 823-4.

³¹ J.C. Wedgwood, *History of parliament 1439-1509* (2 vols, London 1936), vol II, *Register*, pp. 677, 708-10.

³² Wedgewood, *Register*, p. 262; J.E. Smith, *The parliamentary representation of Surrey 1290-1924* (London 1927), p. 46.

³³ *Handbook of British chronology* (2nd ed. 1961), p. 570.

³⁴ C.C.R. 1454-61, p. 408.

³⁵ See for example, 'The ballade set on the gates of Canterbury' and 'The battle of Northampton', in *Historical poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, pp. 207-15.

³⁶ C.C.R. 1454-61, p. 459.

³⁷ Waynflete's behaviour on the occasion of Cade's revolt and in other moments of personal danger suggests that he did not lack personal courage. His bravery was also demonstrated by his action as one of the lords who intervened to try to stop riots which broke out in Fleet Street in April 1459, Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, pp. 795-6, n. 146.

³⁸ 'Benet's chronicle', p. 226.

³⁹ Hampshire Record Office, Register of William Waynflete, [henceforth, Register Waynflete], I, fo.64*r.

⁴⁰ H.M. Colvin, *History of the king's works - the middle ages* (London 1963, 2 vols), I, p. 239.

⁴¹ R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster* (2nd ed. Gloucester 1986), pp. 82-92.

⁴² 'The post . . . includes responsibility for both the castle and the manor of Taunton.', *Register of the common seal of St Swithun's priory* ed. J.G. Greatrex, no. 214. A full description of the duties of the constable is given in *Wykeham's register* ed. T.F. Kirby, (2 vols, Hampshire Record Society, 1896-9), II, p. 299.

⁴³ The evidence for appointments of constables comes from the ministers' accounts of the diocese of Winchester which record the appointment of the constable and subsequently the payment of the annual fee of £20 to him, H.R.O. EC/2/155829. Waynflete continued to display his support for Stafford, in 1465 he confirmed his appointment for life, perhaps as an acknowledgement of his continued rise in royal favour, *Register of the common seal*, no. 356. Stafford was murdered by his tenants at Bridgewater in 1469, C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London 1974), p. 132. In his will he named Waynflete as one of his executors and described him as a man ' . . . in whom is all my trust.', *Somerset medieval wills*, ed. F.W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society 16, (1901), p. 202.

⁴⁴ Hody was Waynflete's deputy as constable of the castle, not constable himself. This was usual but it seems that Waynflete resumed the position of constable of Taunton into his own hands at some time in the mid 1450s (a period for which the pipe rolls are missing), perhaps after he had become chancellor. The constable between 1451 and c.1455 was Thomas Ormond, a younger brother of the Earl of Wiltshire. Ormond's appointment is of interest, not only because, as might have been expected, he was fairly closely connected with the court circle, but also in the context of local political rivalries in the south-west which were very heated throughout this period. In 1451 the rivalry between Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, whose family traditionally dominated this area and the newly elevated William Bonville, supported by the earl of Wiltshire, had exploded into large scale violence culminating in a three day siege of Taunton castle in September 1451. Against this background Waynflete's choice of the earl of Wiltshire's younger brother to be the new constable of Taunton castle displays his support of the court policy which was to continue to support the exercise of Bonville's authority in this area, see M. Cherry, 'The struggle for power in mid-fifteenth century Devon' in R.A. Griffiths, ed *Patronage, the crown and the provinces* (Gloucester 1981).

⁴⁵ J.C. Wedgewood, *History of parliament 1439-1509: Biographies* (London 1935), p. 460.

⁴⁶ Corpus Christi Cambridge Ms 170, no. 167; it is printed in R. Chandler, *The life of*

William Waynflete (London 1811), appendix 15, pp. 346–8.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 346–7.

⁴⁸ C. Head, 'Pius II and the wars of the roses', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 8 (1970), pp. 139–78.

⁴⁹ P.R.O. C81/31/367.

⁵⁰ Register Waynflete I fos 106v–107r, 64v.

⁵¹ Two clues point to his place of residence being Taunton in Somerset, outside his diocesan boundaries. These clues are a single place reference in the register which refers to the bishop being at Taunton on 18 March 1461, Register Waynflete I, fo. 108v and a chance reference in the register kept by the monks of St Swithun's priory which records letters patent of Waynflete dated Taunton 24 January 1461, *Register of the common seal*, p. 115.

⁵² On this occasion as a fairly recent appointee to the see he may have been surveying his assets, Register Waynflete I, fo. 16r.

⁵³ Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, p. 872.

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Professor R.L. Storey for this suggestion.

⁵⁵ Register Waynflete I fos 160v, 64v.

⁵⁶ Register Waynflete I, fo. 110r–v, 7 July 1461.

⁵⁷ C.P.R. 1461–67, p. 560.

⁵⁸ For a description of the ceremony see C.L. Scofield, *The life and reign of Edward IV* (2 vols, London 1923), 1, pp. 181–4.

⁵⁹ *Anchiennes croniques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Waurin*, ed. Mlle Dupont (3 vols Paris 1858–63), II, pp. 293–4. Waurin's description should be treated with some caution because he was evidently confused between Waynflete and his predecessor as bishop of Winchester, Cardinal Beaufort. He accurately describes Waynflete's part in the crisis at Dartford in 1452, but calls him 'the cardinal of Winchester'.

⁶⁰ *The Fane fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal*, ed. W.H. Dunham (New Haven 1935), pp. 1, 6, 10, 13, 16, 20, 23.

⁶¹ Register Waynflete II fo. 33(2)v.

⁶² W.H. Dunham, *Lord Hastings' indentured retainers 1461–83* (New Haven 1955), p. 118.

⁶³ He seems to have attended conscientiously and acted when required as one of the triers of English petitions, *Rolls of Parliament* V, pp. 461 (1461–2), 496 (1463–5), 571 (1467–8); VI, pp. 3 (1472–3), 167 (1477), 237 (1485).

⁶⁴ Waynflete was listed as present at a session of the council in 1473 when bishop Booth was appointed chancellor, C.C.R. 1468–76, pp. 319–20.

⁶⁵ At the coronation of Edward IV's queen Elizabeth Wodeville for example, the place of the bishop of Bath and Wells whose duty it was to flank the queen in the procession, was taken by the bishop of Salisbury since the see of Bath and Wells was vacant. It might have been expected that Waynflete would have fulfilled this role in view of his seniority on the episcopal bench, *The coronation of Elizabeth Wyderville* ed. G. Smith, (London 1935).

⁶⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 274–5 for details of Edward's patronage of the order.

⁶⁷ *Register of the most noble Order of the Garter*, ed. J. Anstis, (2 vols, London 1724), I, p. 173, 'The Bishop of Winchester and Abbot Towryshill here present but Prior Medemenan was censured for his absense.'

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 177, 184, 201.

⁶⁹ Waynflete's absence was recorded for the meetings of 1478, 1479, 1480, 1484, *ibid.*, pp. 203, 205, 209, 210.

⁷⁰ Details of the affair can be found in M.A. Hicks, 'The case of Sir Thomas Cook', *E.H.R.* 93 (1978), pp. 82–96; A.F. Sutton, 'Sir Thomas Cook and his "troubles"', *Guildhall studies in London History* 3 (1978), pp. 85–108; P. Holland, 'Cook's case in

history and myth', *Historical Research* 61 (1988) pp. 21–35.

⁷¹ Waynflete was associated throughout the 1450s with Hugh Mulle, Gervase Clyfton and Robert Whittingham, three of those involved, in a number of deeds relating to land destined for the endowment of Magdalen College Oxford, Magdalen deeds, Stainswyke 65 (1457), Multon 59 (1459), Misc. 124 (1457). In December 1459 Waynflete had been a co-recipient with Cook of the goods and chattles of a Southampton merchant, Thomas Ravan, *C.C.R.* 1454–61, p. 433.

⁷² 'Sir Thomas Cook and his "troubles"', p. 93.

⁷³ Magdalen deeds, *Chartae regie* 7, no. 80; contact was forbidden with Hugh Mulle, Gervase Clyfton, Sir Humphrey Neville and all persons attainted of high treason.

⁷⁴ *A chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of Edward IV* by John Warkworth, ed. J.O. Halliwell, (Camden Society 10, 1839), p. 11.

⁷⁵ Register Waynflete II, fos 4v–11r, 114r, Q*r.

⁷⁶ Two of the men representing boroughs over which Waynflete exercised control had not sat for these areas before, had no previous contact with Waynflete and were in fact closely connected with the re-adeption party. They were David John, described as a yeoman of Essex and Richard Hyde, a servant of the Duke of Clarence, Wedgewood, *Biographies*, p. 392. Wedgewood does not make clear the reasons for his assignment of these men as representatives of these boroughs but if this was indeed the case, it does suggest that Waynflete had put some of his parliamentary influence at the disposal of the Lancastrian rebels.

⁷⁷ Scofield, *Life and reign of Edward IV*, p. 576 lists Waynflete among the bishops imprisoned in the tower by Edward but the only source which supports this is an undated (late medieval?) French list which refers to 'l'evesque de Wircestre' as one of the prisoners; the editor of the list strangely identifies this person as the bishop of Winchester, Le Roux de Lincy, *Chants historiques et populaires due temps de Charles VII et Louis XI* (Paris 1857), p. 174. If Waynflete was imprisoned, his imprisonment must have been of short duration; by 19 April he was carrying out episcopal business at his Southwark manor. Neither is he listed among the imprisoned bishops in a letter written from London on 17 April 1471 by Gerhard von Wesel, *Hanseresse von 1431–1476* ed. G.F. von der Ropp (2nd series Leipzig 1890), VI, p. 416. Writing to his mother just four days after the battle of Barnet (14 April), John Paston apparently knew nothing of any imprisonment, he wrote that '... my lorde Arch-bysshop is in the Towre ...' but made no reference to Waynflete, *Paston Letters*, no. 261, 18 April 1471. Were Waynflete also a prisoner such an omission would be surprising for in these years the Paston family was intimately connected with the bishop in an attempt to sort out the problems which had arisen from Sir John Fastolf's nuncupative will.

⁷⁸ Tellers' and Pell rolls, Easter 11 Edward IV and Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas, 11 Edward IV cited in J.H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* (2 vols Oxford 1892), II, p. 390.

⁷⁹ M.W. Thompson, 'The date of "Fox's Tower," Farnham Castle, Surrey', *Surrey archaeological collections* 70 (1960), pp. 85–98. V.G. Davis, 'The life and career of William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin 1985, pp. 360–62.

⁸⁰ H.R.O. EC/3/155836; Register Waynflete II fo.38(2)r. St Leger replaced Nicholas Carewe who had held the position since 1464.

⁸¹ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 336.

⁸² John Pakenham, archdeacon of Winchester 1450–59; Vincent Clement, archdeacon of Winchester 1459–75 and John Waynflete, archdeacon of Surrey 1448–79, *Le Neve, Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*; IV *Monastic cathedrals* ed. B. Jones, (London 1963), p. 51.

⁸³ *B.R.U.O.* pp. 2083–4; Register Waynflete II, fo.88.

⁸⁴ *B.R.U.O.* pp. 2083–4; Register Waynflete fo.88r; he had already made Dynham a

prebendary of Romsey Abbey in 1478, Register Waynflete II, fo.63r.

⁸⁵ H.R.O. EC/2/155840. From 1474 he served regularly as a member of the Commons, a justice of the peace and a sheriff in south-west England. By June 1477 at the latest he was an esquire of the body, C. Ross, *Richard III* (London 1981), p. 108.

⁸⁶ *The coronation of Richard III*, ed. A.F. Sutton, (Gloucester 1983), p. 332.

⁸⁷ Ross, *Richard III*, p. 272.

⁸⁸ H.R.O. EC/2/144845. In the ministers' accounts for Taunton, Ratcliffe is recorded as having been appointed by letters patent of the bishop but a blank left for the insertion of the date of appointment was left unfilled.

⁸⁹ Ross, *Richard III*, p. 156; Ratcliffe's grants of land from the king in the south-west were worth 1000 marks per annum.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁹¹ C.P.R. 1476-85, pp. 557-8, 571-2, 574.

⁹² In April 1478 Legh was appointed baliff of Wargrave manor in Berkshire with overall responsibility for all the episcopal manors in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, *Register of the common seal*, p. 109. He was also involved with a number of the land transactions which contributed towards the endowment of Magdalen College Oxford, Magdalen deeds.

⁹³ H.R.O. EC/2/155846; Daubeney's appointment on this occasion is stated as having been made for life.