

Winchester Cathedral: its Clergy and their Duties before and after the Interregnum

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Part one. The Characteristics of the Cathedral Clergy

I. Introduction

On 30 April 1649 'Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends and other Officers' were abolished by ordinance and their assets were transferred to trustees.¹ At Winchester the last recorded roll call of chapter members took place in June 1645 – up till then the act book records the half yearly meetings without a break² – and, if this applied elsewhere, the ordinance may have served merely as confirming legislation. From the mid- or late 1640s Winchester and the other cathedrals ceased to operate: their prayers and music fell silent, their servants scattered, their fabric was damaged and plundered and their lands sold off.

By May 1660 the king was back in England, and on the twelfth the Mayor and Aldermen of Winchester assembled at the Market Cross. They processed to the cathedral for a service and then returned where a proclamation acknowledging Charles II as king was read, and a salute fired; survivors of the cathedral choir sang an anthem. This typified events all over the country, if contemporary accounts are to be believed, from Ripon and Pontefract in the North, to Cambridge in the East, and Plymouth and Exeter in the West.³ Ceremonies were still continuing at Winchester in August when one of the canons, Edward Stanley, preached a sermon notable for its vivid language and biblical allusions to mark the return of the dean and chapter.⁴

The world had been turned upside down in the 1640s and 1650s, and back again in 1660. This is well illustrated by the fate of the cathedrals which were clearly explosive issues. The central question was whether their existence ought to continue or not. Before the Reformation cathedrals had been seen as expressions of 'good works'. To the reformers good

works were worthless for salvation and cathedrals therefore redundant. Puritans and the sects took up this opposition not only from principle but, by denouncing cathedral clergy as 'drones', 'superfluous belly cheer', pronounced them guilty of 'idleness' and of abusing privilege.⁵

In the 1640s the revolutionaries had their say but cathedrals were very much part of the Church of England before and after those times. Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell, by restructuring the monastic foundations and establishing six new dioceses, must have envisaged a continuing role for the cathedrals. In the reign of Elizabeth, Whitgift saw cathedrals as centres of excellence whose endowments could finance scholars and learning, conjoined with works of charity. In the Restoration, Sheldon saw them as setting 'the standard and rule of all parochial Churches' by their 'decent manner of reading the Liturgy and administering the Holy Sacrament'.⁶ To these we could add models of preaching and thinking of the Laudian 1630s, exemplars of daily worship, music and architecture.

All this shows that cathedrals were controversial for the revolutionaries and important to the Church of England. The key question, tackled here, is the impact of the troubles on the cathedrals. The focus is not so much on their fate in the 1640s and 1650s as on the effects of the revolutionary events on the cathedrals when they were revived in 1660. The investigation will address a number of subsidiary questions. What were the failings of the clergy on the eve of the Wars? How far did performance fall short of requirements at that time? Did abolition teach them a lesson? Did they mend their ways? Were clergy standards better during the Restoration period? Were cathedrals closer to fulfilling their *raison d'être*?

Important work on cathedrals has done much to answer these questions, though for Winchester Frederick Bussby's account is too superficial, and it was beyond the remit of Crook's artistic anthology.⁷ None of the studies, moreover, concentrates exclusively on the central subject matter of this article. This may be for want of evidence and while this is so for some aspects of Winchester Cathedral, the sources are in other respects, plentiful.

A comparison of performance – activities or business – should show whether the Winchester Cathedral of the 1660s and 1670s was the same as, or different from the Winchester Cathedral of the 1630s, and if so – how much better – or worse. Much would have been determined by the relative character of the two canonic bodies and this will be considered first, while performance will be subsequently addressed in part two of this article. Two groups of men will be examined: the dean and canons of 1631, fifteen years before the abolition of the Church of England, and their counterparts of 1675, fifteen years after the Restoration. The

examination will compare characteristics of the two groups – education, experience, age, length of time in office, income, pluralism, their philanthropy, and their religious outlook – critical for effective practical ministry. Information about social background proved unsatisfactory and goes unconsidered here. There are gaps also with experience and pluralism but enough to convey a strong impression. These same sources are excellent for University degrees; the wills of the canons have mostly been found, and there are useful cathedral documents on incomes, though the latter are not always complete or consistent.⁸

II. Education

The cathedral statutes prescribed a governing body of twelve canons presided over by the dean. They were required by statute to be 'learned and erudite' and this meant a university education to MA or 'at least' LLB levels. Deans had to be BD, DD, or LLD.⁹ According to S E Lehmberg's survey,¹⁰ 93 per cent of all cathedral clergy in the seventeenth century were graduates and at Winchester it was one hundred per cent. This was certainly true for our two cohorts and whereas 42 per cent nationally had doctorates, the two deans, Young¹¹ and Clarke, and all the canons at Winchester in 1631 and 1675, had doctorates.

Education of the Dean and Chapter

	Oxford	Cambridge	BA	MA	BD	DD	LLB	LLD
1631								
Young		I	I	I	I	I		
Alexander	I						I	I
Andrewes		I	I	I	I	I		
Burbie	I		I	I		I		
Dunckon		I	I	I	I	I		
Goade		I	I	I	I	I		
Halsey		I	I	I		I		
Harris	I		I	I	I	I		
Kercher		I	I	I	I	I		
Lany		I	I	I	I	I		
Lewis	I		I	I		I		
Moore	I		I	I	I	I		
Wren		I	I	I	I	I		
Totals	5	8	12	12	9	12	I	I
1675								
Clarke		I	I	I		I		

Beaumont		I	I	I	I	I		
Beeston	I						I	I
Bradshaw		I	I	I		I		
Burt	I		I	I	I	I		
Dayrell	I		I	I	I	I		
Gumble		I	I	I		I		
Hawkins	I		I	I	I	I		
Ken	I		I	I	I	I		
Payne			I	I		I		
Sharrock	I						I	I
Sutton	I	I	I	I		I		
Waferer	I		I	I		I		
Totals	8	5	II	II	5	II	2	2

Notes: it is not clear how much work was involved in acquiring some of these degrees.

Burt's BD was apparently on the strength of one publication dedicated to Richard Cromwell and 'this being all, I do put him under the creations'; Wood, *Athenae*, who implies the DD was likewise.

The DDs of Lewis and Waferer were apparently 'creations'; *ibid*.

Gumble's DD was by royal mandate; *DNB*.

Payne is problematical. Foster, *Alumni* has seven Paynes, Venn, *Alumni*, has twelve, but none appears to fit. Payne's MA is from HCRO. A1/33, p.5, and WCL. L10/R15, p.190; his DD is from L13/R20, f.83r.

Sutton was at both universities.

Lehmberg's survey proceeds to show that 39 per cent were DD and two per cent were LLD. At Winchester both deans were DD, as were eleven of the canons, and one LLD in 1631. In 1675 ten DDs and two LLDs were held. More typical would have been cathedrals like Hereford where in the seventeenth century as a whole 88 per cent had degrees and 35 per cent had doctorates.¹² While allowing for some deficiencies in the evidence, it would seem that the deans and canons of Winchester more than met statutory requirements and were in fact men of considerable academic ability. Acumen, commitment, and integrity do not follow automatically, but the potential was there.

III. Experience

The experience of all these men before coming to Winchester was almost entirely ecclesiastical. A few had also had experience in the academic world and if we broaden the definition to encompass 'events', as well as posts, the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s were probably crucially important for shaping attitudes.

Experience of the two Deans

	Young	Clarke
Parishes	Dorset 1605-? Somerset 1614-?	Buckinghamshire 1644-79 Middlesex 1661-?
Canonries	York 1613-54 Wells 1611 and 1613-54	Winchester 1660-6
Chancellorship	Wells 1611-54	
Chaplaincies	James I – dates?	Duke of York – dates?

Sources: Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni*; and DNB: plus for Young, Horn, *Fasti York*, p.53, Horn, *Fasti Wells*, pp.13, 61, 109; for Clarke (parishes), Visitation 1662-3, Stephens and Madge, *op.cit.*, p.107; Clarke (canonry), WCL. L9/R13 2nd, p.10.

The experiences of the two deans, Young and Clarke, were very similar. Both had had parochial and cathedral experiences: Young as a canon of York and Wells, and as Chancellor of Wells, and Clarke as a canon of Winchester. Both had been royal chaplains and it was probably through this route and its intimacy with the king that promotion came.

The pathways taken by the canons were much the same as by the deans. Only two or three in either group seem to have lacked parochial experience. The difference was that more of the earlier parishes, with the notable exception of Moore's, were outside the diocese, whereas in the case of the 1675 cohort, more lay inside. A case could be made that the later canons had more knowledge of the Winchester Diocese than their predecessors.

Parochial Experience

1631

	Date	Diocesan	Extra Diocesan
Alexander	1613	Crawley 1610 Overton 1612	Sussex – dates?
Andrewes	1625	Cheriton 1622	Ongar 1602-3? Chigwell 1605-6? Nuthurst+ Cocking 1606 Cuckfield 1609 Elm+Emneth 1615
Burbie	1630	East Woodhay 1629	Essex – dates?
Dunckon	1629	Hambledon 1629	
Goade	1621		Milton 1610? Merstham 1617 Hadleigh 1618
Halsey	1631		Wiltshire 1629
Kercher	1603		Dorset 1600
Lany	1631	Hambledon 1628 Bishops Waltham 1629	Madingley 1620
Moore	1613	Dibden 1597 Millbrook 1597 West Meon 1601 Chilcomb	

		1601 Hambledon 1603	
		East Meon 1612	
Wren	1623		Barton 1613
			Teversham 1615
1675			
Beaumont	1666	Alresford 1662	
Beeston	1664	Over Wallop 1662	
Burt	1664	Nursling 1660	Oxfordshire 1647
Hawkins	1662		3 in Norfolk 1662+?
Ken	1669	St John Soke 1665	
		Brighstone 1667	Essex 1663
Payne	1666	Martyr Worthy 1661	
Sharrock	1665		Buckinghamshire 1665
Sutton	1673	Wolverton 1661	
Waferer	1660	Compton 1636 Upham 1639	

Notes: the dates are those of appointment. Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni*; and DNB have been used for the extra diocesan parishes: some dates are missing and errors are likely. I have followed corrections to Venn on Roger Andrewes in K Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor* (Oxford, 1990), p.191.

Canons lacking parochial experience before arrival at Winchester appear to have been Harris and Lewis, 1631; Bradshaw, Dayrell, and Gumble, 1675.

None of the cohort of 1675 had had experience of other cathedrals¹³ but nearly half the body of 1631 had held other canonries before coming to Winchester. Goade had been Precentor of St Paul's, while Roger Andrewes was distinguished among them with canonries at Chichester, Ely and Southwell, and – on top of these – had been Chancellor of Chichester.¹⁴

Up to five of the earlier group may have held chaplaincies before elevation to their canonries, but only two of the later group. Chaplaincies with the influential were a common route to a canonry.¹⁵ When we see whom some of the Winchester canons had served – Andrewes, Neile, Abbot, Bacon, Buckingham, Charles I among the men of 1631 and Monck and Morley among the later canons¹⁶ – the ladder of promotion may be easily imagined. These chaplaincies brought them closer to the centres of power and some of them became involved in political activity. Wren was part of the clandestine expedition to Spain in 1623, and Lewis was Buckingham's agent in Paris in 1627. Gumble, of the later group, was Monck's chaplain and bringer of his master's proposals to Westminster in 1660. The Winchester canonries could well have served as rewards for this kind of work.

Two or three of the later canons had had experience with schools, Winchester College in particular, as Head, Fellow, or Warden.¹⁷ As well as any teaching or pastoral experience, this would have offered them

glimpses at least of property management or, less creditably, asset stripping! It was quite the other way round with university posts. Of the men of 1631, several may have taught; Goade had served as Dean of Divinity, and Harris had been Professor of Greek. At least three others – Roger Andrewes, Lany, and Lewis – had held College headships which ought to have meant considerable administrative experience.¹⁸

The first group had, *prima facie*, somewhat wider experience collectively than the men of 1675. Most of it should have been relevant, though as pluralism dictated absenteeism the practical value of much of this experience was reduced.

The promotion of Burbie to a Winchester canonry in 1630 poses some problems relating to both education and experience as means of promotion. Burbie had married Neile's niece and everything else – the parish he served for one year before becoming a canon, the canonries themselves at Winchester and Southwell, the Archdeaconry of Winchester, and even his doctorate – followed. He may or may not have had ability; he certainly had few academic qualifications and minimal experience when he became a canon of Winchester.¹⁹ Nepotism was also a common feature in promotions at York before and Canterbury after the Wars.²⁰

Politics has been touched upon already but events of a different kind – the Wars, Commonwealth, and Protectorate – would have had a considerable effect on both groups. Three of the canons of 1631 were still in post and so sufferers in 1649. The one survivor Lewis, who resumed his canonry in 1660, struck a note of bitterness when he recalled in his will that he had been 'impoverisht by exiles and twenty yeares sequestrations And the iniquities of the tyme', thereby also enhancing his allegedly cantankerous image.²¹ Others lived to make similar comments: they did not return to Winchester but took such attitudes to their new posts or the grave.²² By contrast, only two men of 1675 appear to have truly suffered. Dayrell had been ejected from Christ Church, and Sharrock from New College. Strong feelings, if not memories, were fading, no doubt, by 1675. Indeed, Beeston, Burt, and Gumble seem to have prospered equally during the Protectorate and the Restoration.²³

IV. The Winchester appointment

Young was 31 when he came to Winchester, while Clarke was 51. In this respect they represent extremes: Young was younger than all the other deans of Winchester in the seventeenth century; Clarke was the oldest bar Hyde.²⁴ Young's premature promotion probably occurred because his father, Sir Peter, had been tutor to the king, while Clarke's – and Hyde's – promotions had been delayed by the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s. Most of the men of 1631 arrived in their twenties or forties. Five of the

1675 cohort were in their thirties; but another four were in their fifties and one in his sixties. It follows that there was a difference of some six years in the average age of the two groups.

Deans and Canons of Winchester

1631							
	Birth	Installation	Age	Departure	Age	Length	Fate
Young	1585	9/1616	31	7/1654	69	37.10	Death
Alexander	1579	10/1613	34	6/1658	79	44.8	Death
Andrewes(R)	1573	7/1625	52	9/1635	62	10.2	Death
Burbie	1600	11/1630	30	6/1653	53	22.7	Death
Dunckon	1598	11/1629	31	4/1640	42	10.5	Promotion
Goade	1576	8/1621	45	8/1638	62	17.0	Death
Halsey	1589	12/1631	42	3/1641	52	9.3	Death
Harris	1588	5/1628	40	8/1658	70	30.3	Death
Kercher	1570	2/1603	33	9/1644	74	41.7	Death
Lany	1591	7/1631	40	6/1639	48	7.11	Promotion
Lewis	1592	3/1627	35	10/1664	72	37.7	Resignation
Moore	1568	6/1613	45	1/1632	64	18.7	Resignation
Wren	1585	11/1623	38	2/1635	50	11.3	Promotion
Averages			38.9		60.8	21.9	
1675							
Clarke	1615	2/1666	51	9/1679	64	13.7	Death
Beaumont	1605	9/1666	61	4/1684	82	17.7	Resignation
Beeston	1631	10/1664	33	1/1696	65	31.3	Resignation
Bradshaw	1616	9/1660	44	4/1690	74	29.7	Death
Burt	1608	9/1664	56	7/1679	71	14.10	Death
Dayrell	1610	11/1661	51	3/1684	74	22.4	Death
Gumble	1627	7/1661	34	9/1676	49	15.2	Death
Hawkins	1631	9/1662	31	7/1691	60	28.10	Death
Ken	1637	4/1669	32	2/1685	48	15.10	Promotion
Payne	1617	2/1666	49	9/1689	72	23.7	Death
Sharrock	1630	9/1665	35	7/1684	54	18.10	Death
Sutton	1620	1/1673	53	11/1696	76	23.10	Death
Waferer	1610	9/1660	50	11/1680	70	20.2	Death
Averages			44.1		66.3	21.9	

Horn, *Winchester* . . . , gives the main references for appointments and departures.

Young, Alexander, Burbie, and Harris were in post in the 1640s and must have been expelled at some stage. The dates of their departures or expulsion are not certain, and since it is likely that but for the abolition of all cathedrals in 1649, they would have continued till death, I have followed Joyce Horn's practice with their dates.

Averages apply to the twelve canons and exclude the deans.

But for expulsion, Young would have been dean of Winchester for nearly 38 years; Clarke, with thirteen years, managing a little over a third of that time. Survival rates varied considerably, as was inevitable, with the canons of both groups. Terms ranged in the later group from the fourteen or fifteen years of Burt, Gumble and Ken, to Beeston's 31 years. Extremes were much greater among the earlier group: Lany was there for under eight years, Alexander – assuming he served until death – nearly 45 years. Even this is completely overshadowed by the 'runaway' seventy years of one of the canons at St Paul's.²⁵ Average length of service remained the same in both periods at nearly 22 years which reveals how averages can mask extremes.²⁶

All terms should perhaps be viewed as artificial for both groups. The upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s cut short the 'active service' of Young and at least three of his colleagues and probably deferred promotion prospects of some of the later people. Young's departure through expulsion was unique in the history of the Winchester Deanery. Had times been normal it is very likely he would have stayed till death. Clarke was much more typical and died in office in his sixties.²⁷

Ages and reasons for the departures of the canons reveal much diversity. Among the earlier group the youngest to leave was 42, the oldest, ignoring expulsion again, was 79; among the later group the ages were 48 and 82 respectively. Only Beaumont could match the 190 canons of the seventeenth century aged over eighty and none the two who apparently reached a hundred.²⁸ Ages of departure from Winchester averaged sixty for the earlier group, ignoring expulsions, and 66 for the later group. Gauging the implications for the cathedral of holding on to deaneries and canonries into old age is not easy, but decline and neglect are all too likely. Nothing can be said of Young's last years at Winchester as the cathedral was no longer functioning normally, but it is possible to compare Clarke's record in his middle years with his later years. His attendance at chapter meetings fell from nine to three out of ten, and his signatures in the act book from twenty to eight.²⁹

Of the canons, Beaumont gained a dispensation releasing him from meetings 'by reason of his great age and many infirmities and decayes'.³⁰ This may be a graphic instance but it could well typify the problems of a cathedral with an ageing workforce. Lewis in the first group, Beeston and, interestingly, Beaumont in the second group, appear to have recognised the problem – or at least the toll on themselves – and resigned, though they all soldiered on in their other posts till death.³¹

Three of the 1631 cohort enjoyed promotion – Dunckon and Lany to canonries at York and Westminster respectively, and Wren to the bishopric of Hereford. Only Ken among the 1675 cohort, rising to the bishopric

of Wells, gained similar preferment.³² Other research on York, Chichester, and Canterbury canonries reveals a higher percentage of promotions.³³ The remainder – two thirds and three quarters respectively – died in office which may, as Andrew Foster observes, represent the ultimate in commitment or inability to gain promotion.³⁴

V. Pluralism

Young and Clarke were both pluralists but on very different scales. Young held two canonries concurrently with the chancellorship of Wells, together with another canonry at York. Conversely Clarke gave up his Winchester canonry when he became dean. Both continued certainly to have one parish, if not two, and Young and probably Clarke continued as chaplains.

Pluralism of the Deans

	Young	Clarke
Parishes	Somerset 1614-? Over Wallop 1620-54	Crawley 1664-79 Stepney 1661-?
Canonries	Wells 1611-54 Wells 1613-54 York 1613-54	
Chaplaincies	James I – dates? Charles I – dates?	Duke of York – dates?

Sources: *DNB*; Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni*; Wood, *Athenae*, and the appropriate volumes of Horn, *Fasti*, and LeNeve.

Young was clearly much the worse offender of the two but surprisingly pluralism does not seem to have made much difference over attention to chapter business. If Clarke's signature appears more often in the act book it was usually to authorise use of the cathedral seal by others in his absence! Though the attendance of both at chapter meetings was generally excellent, Young's attendance was marginally better. If there was neglect, it must have applied more to their extra-capitular responsibilities. All the Winchester canons were pluralists. Other canonries, deaneries, archdeaconries, chaplaincies, headships of schools and colleges, masterships of charities, and the seemingly obligatory rectory were all held in varying combinations by canons of both groups. The cathedral statutes assumed parochial pluralism: cathedral benefices were to be offered first to the canons and they were required to spend ninety days a year at the cathedral, otherwise to be in their benefices 'or one of them'. There were some limits; none was to be dean or canon elsewhere.³⁵

Cathedral Pluralism

	Tenure	Canon	Precentor	Chancellor	Dean
1631					
Andrewes	1625-35	Chichester 1609-35 Chichester 1610-35 Southwell 1609-31 Ely 1617-35		Chichester 1606-35	
Burbie	1630-53	Southwell 1638-53			
Dunckon	1629-40	Durham 1628-60?			
Harris	1628-58	Wells 1627-31 St Paul's 1628-58			
Goade	1621-38	Wolverhampton 1620-38	St Paul's 1618-38		
Kercher	1603-44	St Paul's 1614-44			
Moore	1613-32	Chichester 1612-25			
Wren	1623-35				Windsor 1628-35 Wolverhampton 1628-35
1675					
Hawkins	1662-91	Norwich 1667-83			

Sources: *DNB*; Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni*; Wood, *Athenae*, and the appropriate volumes of Horn, *Fasti*, and LeNeve.

The men of 1631 paid scant heed to the law as over half the company held one canonry elsewhere. Harris had two and Roger Andrewes excelled them all by retaining no less than four other canonries while at Winchester. Andrewes was also a chancellor, Goade a precentor, and Wren apparently a dean twice over. With the exception of a canonry belonging to Hawkins, the men of 1675 carried no such honours – or burdens. Only with archdeaconries was there any equality: Dayrell and Sharrock matched Andrewes and Burbie in combining an archdeaconry with their canonries. There was nothing unique about this. At York a hundred canons held at least one canonry in another cathedral between 1520 and 1670.³⁶ Lehmborg calculates that the proportion of cathedral clergy holding more than one cathedral post fell from 25 per cent in the sixteenth century to 2.6 per cent in the seventeenth. The proportion at Winchester in 1631 was substantially higher at 66 per cent, whereas in 1675 it was 25 per cent – still much greater than the national average but representing a considerable improvement.³⁷

At least five or six combined chaplaincies with their canonries before the Interregnum, but only two after it.³⁸ It was the same with university posts.

Andrewes, Lany, and Wren of the earlier group continued as college heads, but only Beeston of the later group.³⁹ Schools were the exception which perhaps proves the rule. All the posts were at Winchester College and, while Harris alone of the 1631 cohort was involved, no less than three of the cohort of 1675 were, while canons, Head, Warden, or Fellow.⁴⁰ Matters were equal over the stewardship of a charity as Lewis before and Dayrell after the Wars were in charge of hospitals in Winchester.⁴¹ Two other appointments – Wren as Clerk of the Closet and Goade to High Commission – ensure, however, that the men of 1631 retained their lead in the accumulation of posts.⁴²

There remains the commonest form of pluralism, the parochial appointment. All twelve in both years had at least one parish concurrent, for the most part, with their canonries. Again there were differences. Up to ten of the earlier canons may have held more than one parish at the same time, whereas there was but one among the later people. Many more parishes of the earlier canons were extra-diocesan, contrasting with the notably fewer from the later group. Both points carry implications for efficiency and neglect and suggest matters were improving somewhat after the Restoration. The men of 1675 had fewer parishes and they were mainly in Hampshire and within a twenty to 25 mile radius of Winchester. It is safe to conclude that pluralism was far more prolific among the canons of 1631 than those of 1675. The worst of the later cohort, Dayrell, combined with his canonry an archdeaconsry, a charity, and a parish; and no less than five – by choice or force – had to make do with the canonry and a parish.⁴³ Of their predecessors, only Alexander showed anything like that restraint and even he had two parishes. Lany proved acquisitive and Burbie and Lewis were not far behind; but the truly 'serial' pluralists were Goade, Andrewes, and Wren.⁴⁴

Parochial Pluralism

	Canonry	Diocesan	Extra Diocesan
1631			
Alexander	1613–58	Crawley 1610–58 Houghton 1613–58	Sussex 1611–?
Andrewes	1625–35	Cheriton 1622–35	Cambridgeshire 1615–?
Burbie	1630–53	East Woodhay 1629–30 Wonston 1631–49	
Dunckon	1629–40	Chilbolton 1631–3	Wyke (Dorset) 1631
Goade	1621–38		Hadleigh 1618–38 Merstham (Surrey) 1617–25 Black Fotley 1625–38?
Halsey	1631–41		Wiltshire 1629–?

			Hertfordshire 1636-41
			Essex 1637-8
			London 1638-?
Harris	1628-58	Meonstoke 1631-58	Buckinghamshire - dates?
Kercher	1603-44	Fawley 1613-44	Dorset 1600-?
Lany	1631-39	Buriton 1631-60	
Lewis	1627-64	Winchester St Faith	
		1628-67	
		East Woodhay 1631-67	
Moore	1613-32	West Meon 1601-41	
		East Meon 1612-41	
Wren	1623-35		Teversham Cambs 1615-?
			Bingham Notts 1624-?
1675			
Beaumont	1666-84	Alresford 1662-87	
Beeston	1664-94	Over Wallop 1662-1701	
Bradshaw	1660-90	Chawton 1662-90	Collingbourne 1661
Burt	1664-79	Nursling 1660-7	
		Compton 1667-90	
Dayrell	1661-84	Crawley 1662-84	
Gumble	1661-76		Sussex 1663-?
Hawkins	1662-91	Droxford 1664-91	Norfolk 1660s
Ken	1669-85	East Woodhay 1669-72	
		St John Soke 1672	
Payne	1666-89	Martyr Worthy 1661-89	
Sharrock	1665-84	East Woodhay 1668-9	
		Bishops Waltham	
		1669-84	
Sutton	1673-96	Wolverton 1661-96	
Waferer	1660-80	Upham 1639-80	

Notes: the sources for the diocesan parishes are mainly episcopal registers and visitation books, HCRO; bishops' certificates and Liber Institutionum, PRO; cathedral registers, WCL. And for the extra-diocesan parishes, DNB; Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni*.

Merstham, though in Surrey, was a peculiar. For Goade see A J Perman, 'The Rectors of Merstham', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 17 (1902), p.19, and PRO. E.334/15 and 17; C.58/29.

Ken's short time at St. John Soke was his second of two spells of 'gratuitous' stewardship, DNB.

Recording pluralism is relatively easy, but explaining it remains much more difficult. There are documents for most appointments but they provide little by way of explanation. It is just possible that the later canons felt less need than their predecessors to pursue other posts. The

cathedral was harvesting larger revenues, dividends were higher, and all this at a time when inflation was moderating.⁴⁵ More likely reasons are fewer ties with powerful people. Nearly half the earlier canons had been chaplains in influential households, but only two of the later group: and, as the letters of Morley make plain, this was a key route to promotion.⁴⁶ None of the later cohort stands out so well as Burbie, Young, or Roger Andrewes for connexions and consequential honours. One is forced to conclude that the upheavals of the 1640s-50s had hit home, lessons had been learnt, and the more grotesque expressions of pluralism were therefore restrained. All the men of 1675 had lived through the troubles: several of them had been victims and even Ken, the youngest, might have been able to remember Naseby and Preston, the onslaught on pluralism, and the closure of the cathedrals.

VI. Incomes of the Dean and Chapter

Information about stipends at the cathedral is, again, relatively plentiful. The statutes of 1544 and 1638 prescribe stipends, while surviving Treasurers' Books, in the seventeenth century at least, record the payments faithfully. Comparison of the Treasurer's Book of 1625 with the two statutes shows that all stipends were by then well above the figures of 1544 – and 1638! The dean's and canons' stipends were respectively 400 and 140 per cent higher. Subsequent documentation reveals that both stipends remained stable from the 1630s to the 1670s, at £200 for the dean and £31-11-8 for each of the canons. Suspicions of suffering or enhanced altruism would, however, be surreal. The dean and canons, like the bishop, were also entitled to dividends from entry fines and while these sources of income were much more volatile, in most years they undoubtedly constituted a substantial addition.⁴⁷

Cathedral Dividends in the 1630s⁴⁸

	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640
Total £	903	1386	1316	574	420	1134	385	588	1120	730
Canon £	64	99	94	41	30	81	27	42	80	52
Dean £	129	198	188	82	60	162	55	84	160	104

In the five years from 1631 to 1635, the largest dividend was £99/£198 in 1632, the smallest £30/£60 in 1635. For the decade as a whole, the extremes were even greater and graphically illustrate the volatility of this type of income. 1632, with £99, remained the best year but the dividend seems to have dropped to £27 in 1637. The annual average dividend for

1631–35 for the twelve canons would have been £66, and £131 for the dean; for the decade, respectively £61 and £122.

There was, almost needless to say, a huge 'global' dividend in 1660–1 of £4200 which meant £600 for the dean and £300 for each canon. There seem to have been no subsequent dividends on that scale in the years for which records exist, global figures from 1663 to 1668 moving up and down between £700 and £2100 and individual dividends with them.

1660–1	
Total Dividend	4200
Canon	300
Dean	600

Source: WCL. Receiver's Accounts, Box T.4/3/7/5, Folder W.52/16.

	1663–4	1666–7	1667–8
Total Dividend	700	840	2100
Canon	50	60	150
Dean	100	120	300

Sources: WCL 1663–4 Receiver's Accounts, Box T.4/3/7/5/unnumbered; 1666–7 Treasurer's Books, Box T.4/3/7/4; 1667–8 Receiver's Audit Books, T.4/3/15–6.

	1670–1	1671–2	1674–5	1675–6	1677–8	1678–9
Dividend	700	840	350	1400	3010	2800
Canon	50	60	25	100	215	200
Dean	100	120	50	200	430	400

Sources: WCL: 1670–1 and 1677–8, Receiver's Audit Books; 1671–2, 1674–5, 1675–6, 1678–9: Treasurer's Books; 1677–8 Receiver's Audit Book and Treasurer's Book.

The multiple sources for the second and third tables inevitably generate discrepancies. In no case except, possibly 1677–8, can it be certain that the figure given is the total for the year in question, because it is based on figures from both the Treasurer's Book and an Audit Book, with four – though irregularly spaced payments – making further payments during that year unlikely.

While this pattern of movements continued and the figures for 1670–1 were more modest, by the mid-1670s global dividends were much more substantial and ranged from £1400 to £3010. Attempting to establish, from interrupted records, a period comparable with the five years of the early 1630s, is difficult. The three figures for 1670–5 suggest an annual

average of £45 for the canons and £90 for the dean; figures for 1671 to 1679 (with gaps) raise their dividends to £108 and £216. If we can place trust in any of these figures, dividends of the dean and chapter of Winchester may have fallen in the early 1670s, but taking both decades as a whole, they improved considerably.

Comparing dividends over a range of cathedrals is to enter yet another minefield⁴⁹ but it would seem, from other studies that Winchester's canons enjoyed some of the best capitular dividends. While they were annually reaping £61/£66 before, and £45/£108 after the Wars, harvests at Chichester, Hereford, Lincoln, and York were much leaner in both

Total Annual Incomes

	1630s		1670s	
	Dean	Canons	Dean	Canons
Stipend	200	31	200	31
Dividend	122	61	216	108
Total/£	322	92	416	139

periods.⁵⁰

It is now possible, in light of figures for stipends and dividends, to give some indication, at least, of the total incomes of the dean and canons both before and after the Interregnum. We can be very certain about stipends and by adding average dividends, the annual income of the dean was likely to have been about £320 and the canons' something over £90 in the 1630s. By the 1670s the dean should have been receiving from stipend and dividends about £415 and the canons £140 a year. These latter were lower than those paid to their counterparts at Canterbury but much higher than were received at Wells.⁵¹ However, these calculations exclude other income, for example, for attendance at services, holding office in the cathedral, from 'choices', or indeed, from their near-universal pluralism. Payments from the first two sources would have been minute,⁵² that from choices erratic but probably substantial, while 'earnings' from pluralism are too complex to calculate. What has been established is what it meant, in terms of money, to be dean of Winchester or a canon of that cathedral in their own respective rights, before and after the Interregnum.

Prices rose three to six fold between 1500 and 1650.⁵³ If, in the 1540s and 1550s, the dean was paid the stipend in the cathedral statute of 1544, he would have enjoyed a five fold increase – from £40 to £200 – over the following eighty years or so. This would have been enough to keep apace of inflation and the problem of declining purchasing power. If his stipend

remained static between the 1630s and the 1670s, so by and large, did prices. The canons fared less well: their stipends rose between 1544 and 1625 less than two-and-a-half fold – from £13-6-8 to £31-6-8 – and any relief in prices between the 1630s and the 1670s would have made little difference. We know too little about dividends before the 1630s but we can be sure that dividends, rising by well over 75 per cent between the 1630s and the 1670s, must have seemed a splendid bonus to the dean and come as a welcome lifeline to the canons. The combined income of the dean – perhaps £320 in the 1630s and £415 in the 1670s – may have risen by fractionally under thirty per cent; the canons – perhaps £90 in the 1630s and £140 in the 1670s – by something over 55 per cent. Thus it is clear that the dean, with his stipend and dividends, more than stayed afloat during the time of great inflation, and it must at least be doubtful whether the canons really suffered. The Interregnum was, of course, a terrible blow to the dean and canons who had the misfortune to be in post at that time. What can be said with confidence is that the incomes of both dean and canons – and crucially purchasing power – vastly improved between the 1630s and the 1670s, the defining dates of this comparison.

It is now possible, by referring to the work of Gregory King, to give some impression of the social standing of the dean and canons of Winchester Cathedral in the 1670s at least. The dean, with some £415 a year, would have been somewhere between the averages for the Lords Spiritual (£1300) and the eminent clergy (£72); the canons, with £140 a year, much nearer the eminent clergy. In King's wider social spectrum, the dean's income would have placed him above merchants (£198-400) and gentry (£280), but below esquires (£450) and well below the level of a knight (£650). The canons would have fallen somewhere between greater freeholders (£90) and lawyers (£154).⁵⁴

VII. Wealth⁵⁵

Young left less than £100; Clarke left nearly £1500. Young was a 'serial' pluralist but he had the misfortune to live into the Interregnum and spent his last years 'suffering' in his parish, Over Wallop; this may help to explain the difference.

Wills of the Deans of Winchester

	Money £	Land	House
Young	86	4?	o
Clarke	1470	1	o

What Young may have lacked in ready money, he made up in property. His will certainly mentions four sets of lands and there may have been a fifth.⁵⁶ Clarke left a lease on land in Essex. It must have been of substantial value, bringing in some £500 annually, enough in his eyes at least, to finance several large legacies and a scheme of augmentation for ten poor vicarages. Young, however, had more properties; one embraced sixty acres, and two involved expensive leases.⁵⁷

Wills for most of the canons of both periods survive and an interesting – but slightly contrasting – pattern emerges. While it would seem that two canons of 1631, Halsey and Moore, had at their disposal – or chose to give – £10 or less, Harris, Lany, and possibly Wren had more than £2000 available in ready money. Of the men of 1675, there was a similar spread from Dayrell's £51 to Beaumont's £2982, the highest amount among either body of canons; but more of them – five as against three – in the middling £100 to £1000 range.⁵⁸

Moneys – Legacies and Charities – of the Canons

1631	£0-£99	£100-£499	£500-£999	£1000+	£2000+
Alexander			912		
Burbie		136			
Dunckon		196			
Halsey	10				
Harris					2144
Lany					2500
Lewis				1600	
Moore	7				
Wren					2166
			1675		
Beaumont					2982
Bradshaw				1028	
Burt			755		
Dayrell	51				
Hawkins				1051	
Ken		445			
Payne		111			
Sharrock			560		
Sutton				1820	
Waferer		300			

There is perhaps even greater contrast over the matter of property. Seven canons in both groups had at their disposal property of one kind or another. Among the canons of 1675, these were mostly single properties; one or two canons owned two, and Hawkins may have had three or more, including a house in Dean's Yard Westminster. The spread was much wider among the canons of 1631. Harris, Lany, and Moore at one end of the scale had single properties; but Lewis owned two farms and a mill. Kercher's eight included a row of seven tenements at King's Lynn⁵⁹ and Burbie's ten included several London houses. Wren surpassed them all with numerous lands, a farm, a house, a rectory, a castle, an inn, and two manors; a total of twelve dispersed properties located in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire. He gave the purchase price for many of them; one of the most expensive being at Soham, Cambridgeshire, bought in 1662 for £6700. In aggregate, the four purchase prices demarcated exceed nineteen thousand pounds.

Numbers of Properties of Canons

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1631												
Burbie										1		
Harris	1											
Kercher								1				
Lany	1											
Lewis				1								
Moore	1											
Wren												1
1675												
Beaumont		1										
Burt	1											
Dayrell	1											
Hawkins			1									
Payne	1											
Sharrock		1										
Sutton	1											

The English Civil Wars ought to have hit the men of 1631 hard yet they emerge, certainly in terms of property, as the wealthier group. There was suffering; some of it is specifically mentioned in the wills. Most interestingly, the wills of these men who died during the Interregnum reveal a fair amount of wealth in money or property, except for Dunckon.

Wills of Canons who died in the Interregnum

	Death	Money £	Land	Houses
Burbie	1653	136	8	2
Alexander	1658	912	0	0
Harris	1658	2144	1	0
Dunckon	1660	196	0	0

Two factors in addition to the vagaries of personality may explain this: more pluralism among those of 1631 than of 1675; and the fact that several of the former survived and gained promotion in the Restoration. Lewis finished his days in the 1660s with a canonry, two parishes, and mastership of a charity; Lany and Wren both left Winchester in the 1630s and crowned their careers with bishoprics. The one canon of 1675, moreover, who became a bishop – Ken – lost everything as a Non-juror and survived on a pension from 1704 to 1711.

VIII. Philanthropy

Both deans were benefactors. Young left an endowment producing £10 to keep the poor of Winchester, Over Wallop, and Exton 'in bread . . . every Lord's Day yearly for ever'. Clarke left sums totalling £110 for the poor of four places and, in addition, sketched a scheme to augment the annual stipends of ten vicarages by £30 each. Young made gifts of £20 for the north aisle and £13 for the tower of Winchester Cathedral, together with £20 to St Paul's, all in the 1630s.⁶⁰ Clarke gave £30 to Emmanuel College in his lifetime and left £50 to St Paul's. These are not great differences, bearing in mind that Young had had a family and had suffered much in the Interregnum.⁶¹

Canonic benefactions followed much the same pattern of giving. Rather more – seven as opposed to six – of the men of 1675 remembered the poor. Payne's £15 was the largest of the 1675 group but he was outstripped by Dunckon and Harris of its predecessor, with £22 and £20 respectively. Dayrell left leases to St Mary Magdalen Hospital but once again was outnumbered, if not out done, by Kercher and Lany who both left property for the poor and apprentices. Of the cathedrals, it was St Paul's and Winchester which benefited again. St Paul's was being refurbished in the 1630s and rebuilt from the 1660s. Lany (1631) left £500 and Ken (1675) gave £100 in his lifetime. Hawkins left £5 to Winchester Cathedral. Ken gave £100 to New College in the 1660s and three or four of the earlier group remembered their colleges in their wills.⁶² Ken also gave £4000 to the Huguenots from the sale of a lease in

1686 and left £140 to the Non-jurors. It would seem that the canons of 1631 were more generous towards the poor, the cathedrals, and their colleges; but, in view of their greater pluralism, they doubtlessly could afford to, and it was Ken who reached out to a wider group.

IX. Belief

The religious outlook of the dean and chapter must inevitably have been driven partly by context and partly by their own personal beliefs. Evidence about the latter is scarce in Winchester archives, and more weight has to rest on context – the educational climate during these times and political developments – in attempting to establish religious standpoints.

Calvinism was apparently dominant at the universities from the 1580s and 1590s until the 1620s and 1630s. Arminianism prevailed at Cambridge from 1626 and at Oxford from 1632. During the War, Oxford remained Arminian while Cambridge presumably reverted to Calvinism and Oxford would have come into line in the 1650s. Arminianism prevailed again at both universities from the Restoration.⁶³ Behind these developments lay political imperatives, namely the Arminian policies of Charles I and Laud in the 1630s, and the Clarendon Code of the 1660s. Nothing could illustrate this more strikingly than the transformation of Cambridge ‘within a fortnight’ and of Oxford ‘overnight’ by Charles I and his new Chancellors.⁶⁴ What was ‘orthodox’ became ‘heresy’; what was supported was rejected; what was opposed was embraced.

On these assumptions, the Cambridge of Young – the early 1600s – and the Cambridge of Clarke in the 1630s and 1660s, taught very different theologies and the one ought to have been Calvinist, the other a moderate Arminian. Young, originally from Presbyterian Scotland, was certainly inclined to plainer worship to judge by his evident reluctance to adopt or perform “Laudian” rituals such as bowing before the altar, when challenged by his fellow canons in the 1630s;⁶⁵ but he appears to have accepted the new Laudian statute of 1638 which required bowing.⁶⁶ The expression of faith in his will refers to God’s ‘speciall providence’ but lays stress on ‘the superabundant meritts and plentifull Redemption of God the Sonne’ which owes more to a moderate Protestant position and less to Calvinist notions of election.⁶⁷ Nothing of this surfaces in the more anodyne documents of Clarke’s time – there is no diary comparable with Young’s – and even Clarke’s will is silent on the matter; but he was appointed at the height of the Clarendon Code and certainly subscribed to the liturgy, the sacraments, and the surplice.⁶⁸ For want of evidence, the likelihood is that Young was at least sympathetic to Calvinism, but willing to conform to Arminian practice, while Clarke was probably a moderate Arminian.

The canons of 1631 had all gained bachelors' or masters' degrees before the watershed – 1626 at Cambridge and 1632 at Oxford – and two thirds of them had gained their doctorates likewise.⁶⁹ One of these men – Moore – was definitely inclined to Calvinism at least over the matter of ceremonies. He clashed with Neile in 1629 and went to the lengths of resignation in 1632.⁷⁰ His fellow canon, Wren, who was chaplain to the Prince of Wales and central to negotiations about future religious policy in 1623, was definitely in the opposite camp.⁷¹ So were Lany, Halsey, and Lewis when they took Young to task over ceremonies in front of the Vicar General in 1635. The first two were products, for their doctorates at least, of Arminian Cambridge and Lewis arrived at Winchester largely for services to Buckingham.

The wind changed direction more than once and not necessarily at the same time at the two universities. Going by BA and MA timings, the canons of 1675 can be divided into four groups,⁷² but assuming the doctorate – and its deeper study – was more decisive, they nearly all gained these in the 1660s, mainly from Oxford, where they would have come under prevailing Arminian influences. The exception, Burt, who took his DD in 1658, must have been a great survivor who certainly did not suffer in the Restoration.⁷³ The bishop, who made canonical appointments, was, by this time, it should be remembered, the more Calvinist Morley⁷⁴ and it is not likely that the canons of the 1660s and 1670s would have been rabid Arminians.

Some two thirds of both groups expressed hopes of salvation in their wills but these appear to reflect a moderate Protestant position. Not only that but the words and phrasing are so similar as to imply the mechanical application of standard formulae by the local notary public.⁷⁵ Wills tell us little. University education is also questionable. The assumption that because men were there at a particular time they must have adopted a particular outlook does not allow for independence or even, possibly, mental revolt. Moreover, if these men were so susceptible to external influence, then bishops like Laud and Neile, together with sovereigns like Charles I, would have been the decisive factors in the 1630s, followed by Charles II and the Act of Uniformity in the 1660s and 1670s.

X. Conclusion

The cohorts of 1631 and 1675 were, *prima facie*, from the same mould. They went to university where they read mainly 'liberal arts' and theology, and gained doctorates. They had similar, particularly parochial experience, and they all indulged in pluralism when they got to Winchester. They spent much the same length of time at the cathedral and usually died

there. Their wills usually showed a measure of generosity towards others. Experience of political upheaval must have been rather different for the two groups, ending careers of some in the first, but colouring the outlook of the second body. Reflecting this, no doubt, the pluralism of the 1670s was rather more restrained than that of the 1630s. Religious outlook may also have changed by the 1670s, with Arminianism taking less overt forms than in the 1630s.

What manner of men, tempered as they were by the fires of revolution, ran cathedral life by the 1670s? To judge from their benefactions, they were certainly not wicked people. They were relatively wealthy figures but whether this was good, attracting abler people for the cathedral ministry, or bad, emphasising privilege, is difficult to say. To their credit, their education was high, suggesting men with the capacity to contribute to the good of the cathedral, and they are likely to have been more cautious about religious issues and about pluralism. On the other hand, they clung to office with their energies distracted by too many posts or dissipated by too much privilege, until old age and death overtook them.

Notes

1. C H Firth and R S Rait (eds.), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–60*, 3 Vols. (1911), 2, p.81.
2. W[inchester] C[athedral] L[ibrary]: C[hapter] A[ct] B[ook], 1622–45.
3. B[ritish] L[ibrary], *Mercurius Publicus* 1660, 21E183/17, p.323. Contemporary editions of *Mercurius Publicus* and *Parliamentary Intelligencer* are full of such accounts, suggesting propaganda, and the events themselves may have been contrived.
4. WCL. Edward Stanley, *Three Sermons* (1662).
5. I Atherton, 'Dean and Chapter, Reformation to Restoration, 1541–1660', in P Meadows and N Ramsay (eds.), *History of Ely Cathedral* (2003), p.169; P Collinson, 'Protestant Cathedral, 1541–1660', in P Collinson, N Ramsay, and M Sparks (eds.), *History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), p.154; A Foster, 'Dean and Chapter, 1570–1660', in M Hobbs (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral* (1994), p.85.
6. For Whitgift, see Collinson, *op.cit.*, p.156; for Sheldon, Bod[leian] L[ibrary, Oxford], Tanner 282, f.67.
7. For Canterbury, Chichester, and Ely, see note 5. Details of other studies, including Hereford, Lincoln and York, appear in subsequent notes. For Winchester, F Bussby, *Winchester Cathedral, 1079–1979* (Southampton, 1979), and J Crook, *Winchester Cathedral . . . 1093–1993* (1993).
8. DNB. (1885–1900); J Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 Vols. (1968); J and J A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 4 Vols. (Cambridge, 1922–7); A Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, 1500–1695*, 2 Vols. (1721).
9. Cathedral Statutes, Section 1 (numbers), Sections 2 and 10 (education). G W Kitchin and T F Madge (eds.), *Documents of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 1889) for 1544; W R W Stephens and T F Madge (eds.),

Documents of Winchester Cathedral (Winchester, 1897); A W Goodman and W H Hutton (eds.), *Statutes Governing the Cathedral Church of Winchester* (Oxford, 1925): the last two for 1638.

10. S E Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege* (Exeter, 1996), p.98, who adds that during the entire seventeenth century, 84 per cent of Winchester canons had doctorates.
11. There is conflict among the sources about Young's doctorate: Foster, *Alumni* and DNB give BD; Venn, *Alumni* and Wood, *Athenae* give DD; WCL. CAB, 1622-45, gives DD throughout.
12. S E Lehmberg and G Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration', in Aylmer and J Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral* (2000), p.102. For the early seventeenth century, recent studies claim 58 per cent at Wells had degrees above MA. M Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (1982), p.70. Eighty per cent at Chichester and 87 per cent at Salisbury were graduates; Foster, 'Dean and chapter . . .', p.92; M Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage* (Cambridge, 1987), p.88.
13. Beaumont's attempts at canonries at Westminster and Durham in 1660 seem to have been abortive; J Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae - Westminster* (1992), p.83, and J LeNeve and T D Hardy, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 Vols. (Oxford, 1854), 3, p.360.
14. Canonries: Dunckon at Durham 1628, *ibid.*, p.312; Moore at Chichester 1612, Horn, *Fasti Chichester*, p.68; and possibly Goade at Wolverhampton had had one canonry, and Harris two at Wells, Venn, *Alumni* and Horn, *Fasti Wells*, pp.48, 96; Andrewes five - Chichester 1606-1609, 1609-1635, 1610-1635, Horn, *Chichester*, pp.24, 60, 74; Southwell 1609-35, LeNeve and Hardy, *loc.cit.*, p.430; Ely 1617-35, Horn, *Fasti Ely*, p.21. Precentor: Goade, St Paul's 1618-38, Horn, *Fasti St Paul's*, p.18. Archdeacon: Andrewes, Chichester 1608-35, Horn, *Chichester*, p.16.
15. C Cross, 'From the Reformation to the Restoration', in G Aylmer and R Cant (eds.), *History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), p.222; J Gregory, 'Canterbury and the Ancien Regime', in Collinson *inter alios*, p.217; J Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform* (Oxford, 2000), p.49.
16. Chaplaincies: Dunckon (to Neile and Charles 1), Goade (Abbot), Lany (Neile), Lewis (Bacon and Buckingham), Wren (Andrewes and Charles 1). Of the later group Gumble was associated with Monck, and Ken with Morley.
17. Burt was head 1653-8 and Warden 1658-79; Beeston was head 1658-79: S Himsworth, *Winchester College Muniments*, 2 Vols. (1976), 1, pp.xxxv, xxxvii. Ken was Fellow from 1661, A F Leach, *History of Winchester College* (1899), p.364, or 1666 DNB.
18. LeNeve and Hardy, *loc.cit.*, for Andrewes, Lany, and Lewis. Foster, *Alumni*, claims Wren was President of Pembroke before the Winchester canonry but in his will Wren claims he was in Oxford at his 'Academicall Studies' from 1601 to 1625. He became Master of Peterhouse after his appointment to Winchester.
19. A W Foster, 'Biography of Archbishop Richard Neile', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1978), p.69.
20. Cross, *op.cit.*, p. 223; Gregory, *Restoration . . .*, p.36; Gregory, 'Canterbury . . .', p.216.
21. See his will, P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], Prob[ate] 11/325, 1667. F Goodmand (ed.), *Diary of John Young* (1928), p.12, siding more with Young, attributes

- bad temper to Lewis, and he and Young certainly clashed on numerous occasions; see for example, pp.108, 121, 127.
22. Wren's will, *loc.cit.*
 23. Beeston became Head of Winchester College in 1658, Burt, Warden in 1658; both became canons in 1664; cf. note 17. Gumble was Monck's chaplain in 1660 and a Winchester canon by 1661.
 24. Abbot was 38, Morton 45, Meggot 46, and Wickart 33.
 25. Lehmborg, *Cathedrals* . . . , p.106.
 26. At Chichester a third of the corpus remained in office for twenty years; Foster, 'Dean and chapter . . .', p.97.
 27. Of nineteen deans, 1541-1748, five moved to bishoprics, and the remainder died in office; calculated from Horn, *Fasti Winchester*.
 28. Lehmborg, *Cathedrals* . . . , p.104.
 29. WCL. CAB, 1660-95, 1668-72, pp.147-235; 1675-79, pp.277-353.
 30. *Ibid.*, 1660-95, pp.151, 299. Gawen 1645-62, *Clalendar of S[tate] P[apers] D[omestic]*, 1661-2, p.301.
 31. Lewis at St Cross to 1667, Beeston at New College to 1701, and Beaumont at Alresford to 1687.
 32. Others gained promotion; for example, Burbie, Dayrell, and Sharrock became Archdeacons of Winchester, whereupon they continued to hold their canonries.
 33. At seventeenth century York before the Wars two canons became bishops; afterwards, one canon became an archbishop and six others became bishops; Cross, *op.cit.*, p.219. At Chichester between 1570 and 1660 eight canons became bishops; Foster, 'Dean and chapter . . .', p.95. At Canterbury between 1660 and 1690 one canon became a dean, five were made bishops, one was elevated to an archbishopric; Gregory, *Restoration* . . . , p.49.
 34. Foster, 'Dean and chapter . . .', p.95; Foster's proportion dying in harness was 65 per cent between 1570 and 1660.
 35. Statutes: 1544, section 10; 1638, sections 6 and 12.
 36. Cross, *op.cit.*, p.221; she adds that one canon in the 1540s held six others, and another held four during the Restoration period.
 37. Lehmborg, *Cathedrals* . . . , p.107. He includes archdeacons and I have included them in my percentages for comparability - Andrewes and Burbie before the Interregnum, and Dayrell and Sharrock afterwards.
 38. The earlier chaplains were Dunckon, Goade, Halsey, Lany, Lewis and Wren; the later two were Gumble and Ken; Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni* (not very precise); CSPD, 1629-31, pp.340 (Lewis), 453 (Dunckon). PRO. C.58/29 (Goade).
 39. Andrewes was Master of Jesus Cambridge 1618-32; Lany was Master of Pembroke Cambridge 1630-63. and Wren Master of Peterhouse 1625-35; LeNeve and Hardy, *loc.cit.* Foster, *Alumni* has Wren, post-1616 at Pembroke College, Cambridge. Beeston was Warden of New College 1679-1701; Himsworth, *op.cit.*, p.xxxvi.
 40. Harris was Warden of Winchester College 1630-58. The three later people were Beeston, Head 1658-79; Burt, Head 1653-8 and Warden 1658-79, and Ken, a Fellow from 1661; *ibid.*, pp.xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii; and Ken, Fellow from 1661; Leach, *op.cit.*, p.364, or 1666 - DNB.
 41. Lewis was Master of St Cross 1628-67, and Dayrell, Master of St.Mary Magdalen 1669-84; Hampshire C[ounty] RO. A1/30, f.2r; 33, pp.22, 107.

42. Wren was Clerk of the Closet 1633-unknown; DNB. Goade was a High Commission member, 1633-unknown, CSPD, 1633-4, p.327.
43. The five were Beaumont, Bradshaw, Payne, Sutton, and Waferer.
44. For example, while at Winchester, Andrewes had at least one parish, four other canonries, a chancellorship, an archdeaconry, and a college headship; Foster, *Alumni*; Venn, *Alumni*; DNB.
45. See the section on Incomes.
46. Longleat, Coventry MS 7, ff.70, 74, 122, 146.
47. The 'institutional' revenues of the cathedral, from which the canons' dividends were drawn, and 'choices' – certain entry fines reserved for office holders such as the treasurer and the dean himself – have been left out of this account for reasons of space.
48. There are three surviving original sources – BL. Add. Mss. 20058: WCL. W56 2/6; and John Young's diary. The first two agree except for the years 1635, 1637, 1640. Young's diary, original WCL. W41/1, pp.93, 100, 112; F Goodman, *op.cit.*, pp.113, 125, 144, provides figures for 1635 and since these agree with Add. Mss. 20058, I have put my trust in the latter. I have worked in round numbers for the charts at the expense of slight discrepancies in the arithmetic.
49. Fluctuating dividends, different timescales, varying numbers entitled to dividends, and graduated proportions of the claimants, all conspire to obstruct straightforward comparisons.
50. Annual dividends before the Wars: Canterbury may have been higher, Collinson, 'Protestant cathedral . . .', p.181; Chichester £15, Foster, 'Dean and chapter . . .', p.89; Hereford £20, Lehmborg and Aylmer, *op.cit.*, p.104; York £41, Cross, *op.cit.*, p.229. After the wars: Hereford £23, H Tomlinson, 'Restoration to Reform', in Aylmer and Tiller, *op.cit.*, p.119; Lincoln £84, M Bowker, 'Historical Survey 1450-1750', in D Owen (ed.), *History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), p.200; Wells, £2-38, D Sherwin Bailey (ed.), *Wells Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1663-83* (1973), p.xxiv; York £17-29, D M Owen, 'From the Restoration to 1822', in Aylmer and Cant, *op.cit.*, p.246.
51. At Canterbury in the Restoration the dean had £540 annually, and the canons £220; Bod.L. Tanner 123, f.32; Gregory, *Restoration . . .*, p.113; and Gregory, 'Canterbury . . .', p.244. At Wells, 1666-83 the annual average for the residentiaries was £100, for the officeholders (including the dean?) £110, and they had, in addition, possibly small, variable, individual sums from their prebends; Bailey, *op.cit.*, p.xxiv.
52. Other earnings: for office holding, WCL. Treasurer's Books, for example 1628-9 and 1674-5, show uniform extra annual payments to the vice-dean, treasurer, and receiver of £6-13-4. For attending services, the wording is not entirely clear, but probably one payment of 8/9 to the dean and a shilling to each canon per day, however many services they attended, stipulated by the cathedral statutes section 15/16, 1544, and 1638. I have not been able to trace these payments in the Treasurer's Books.
53. E H Phelps Brown and S V Hopkins, 'Seven centuries of prices of consumables', *Economica*, XXIII (1956), pp.305-6; P J Bowden 'Economic change 1500-1750', in J Thirsk (ed.), *Chapters in the Agrarian History of England* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.14, 20.
54. C Davenant, *Political and Commercial Works*, 2 Vols. (1771), 2, p.184.
55. Wills at PRO. and HCRO:

Young	Prob11	1654	234	Clarke	Prob11	1680	362
Alexander	Prob11	1658	281	Beaumont	Prob11	1688	390
Andrewes	Prob11	1635	169	Beeston	nil		
Burbie	Prob11	1654	234	Bradshaw	HCRO	1690	B7
Dunckon	Prob11	1660	301	Burt	Prob 11	1679	361
Goade	nil			Dayrell	HCRO	1684	B25
Halsey	Prob11	1641	185	Gumble	nil		
Harris	Prob11	1658	280	Hawkins	Prob11	1691	405
Kercher	Prob10	1645	642	Ken	Prob11	1711	520
Lany	Prob11	1675	347	Payne	Prob11	1689	397
Lewis	Prob11	1667	325	Sharrock	Prob11	1685	379
More	HCRO	1641	B36	Sutton	Prob11	1697	435
Wren	Prob11	1667	324	Waferer	HCRO	1680	B49

56. Cranbury, Exton, 'the little Remainder of my Landes . . . in . . . Scotland', and – evasively – 'some little thing . . . neare Wells'; it is not clear whether Exton was one or two properties.
57. Costs: Cranbury, £1670 and (reliably?) Exton, £3500. Goodman, *op.cit.*, pp.41, 146.
58. Wren's £2166 is the maximum ready money identifiable but it should be said that £500 of it was a 'bond', and £1200 a 'redemise' – probably some form of remortgaging. Dayrell's £51 is in his will – a bond and ready money in his inventory would bring it up to £209 – but he is one of only four canons with inventories, and it has been left out of the table for the sake of consistency.
59. If Kercher's seven tenements are considered as one property, he had eight properties, if considered separately, he had fourteen.
60. WCL. Ecclesiae Cathedralis Wintoniensis, 1633–61, f.25r. Goodman, *op.cit.*, p.98.
61. According to their wills, Young had children, but Clarke's relations were more distant.
62. Harris, Lewis, and Wren were the benefactors of 1631. Lany left money for his 'schole' or 'musaeum' or, failing that, 'Pembroke Hall'.
63. M H Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642* (Oxford, 1959), pp.191–226; S L Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology', in J McConica (ed.) *History of the University of Oxford*, 3 Vols. (Oxford, 1986), 3, pp.330–3; N Tyacke, *Anti Calvinists* (Oxford, 1990) pp.29, 58–61; N Tyacke, 'Religious Controversy', in *idem* (ed.), *History of Oxford University* (Oxford, 1997), Vol.4, pp.585, 591, 600, 606, 612, 618.
64. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* . . . , pp.49, 81.
65. Goodman, *op.cit.*, p.108. The matter will be discussed again in the second part of this article.
66. Section 32.
67. PRO. Prob.11/ 234, 1654.
68. WCL. L10/R15, p.189.
69. The four exceptions with 'Arminian' doctorates were Burbie, Oxford 1636, and Lany, Halsey, and Dunckon, Cambridge, respectively, 1630, 1631, and 1633.
70. Goodman, *op.cit.*, pp.84, 97.
71. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* . . . , p.114.
72. The four groups were: Early Calvinist – Beaumont (Cambridge before 1626), Burt, and Waferer (Oxford before 1632); 1630s to 1640s Arminian –

Bradshaw (Cambridge), Dayrell, and Sutton (Oxford); 1650s Calvinist – Beeston, Gumble, Hawkins, Sharrock (Oxford); 1660s – Ken (Oxford). Payne's university and dates of degrees are not known.

73. Head of Winchester College 1653–8, warden 1658–79, rector of Nursling 1660–7 and Compton 1667–77; canon 1664–79.
74. He 'was a great calvinist', Wood, *Athenae*; Tyacke, *Oxford University . . .*, p.606.
75. Both 'merits and mediation' or 'all sufficient merit' appear in various guises.