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# A UNIVERSITY MENTALITY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES : THE PRAGMATISM, HUMANISM, AND ORTHODOXIE OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD *

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The interrelated phenomena of schism, academic heresy, and conciliarism in the late 14th and early 15th centuries had a profound impact on the universities of Europe. Rival popes, competing princes, wealthy bishops, and disgruntled *magistri* founded new universities, colleges, and faculties or encouraged the expansion of already established institutions. New theological faculties were particularly numerous. The number of national and regional universities and the total size of the student population increased significantly, while the international character and importance of some older centers of learning decreased. Paris by and large maintened its premier place, but Oxford (suffering both the taint of Wyclif's heterodoxy and the ending of its brilliant line of Franciscan lecturers) plummetted in European influence and prestige.

Universities responded to these unsettled conditions in the church and in religious thought both with positive plans to solve local and broader problems and with equally determined attempts to defend and expand their privileges and authority and to secure more promotions for their graduates. This external situation was also reflected both in the activities of universities (advising rulers and prelates, sending delegations to councils, acting as religious authorities on matters of faith and heresy) and in the disputations, treatises, and sermons of many professors. In this period of conflicting claims about the nature and locus of ecclesiastical authority, it is hardly surprising that universities (e.g., Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, Louvain, and even Prague and Oxford) should assert their responsability to proscribe and prescribe certain theologians and their beliefs. This was just part of their role and duty to study, teach, and defend orthodox dogma and accepted practices and to train graduates to preach and to administer effectively.

When we look at universities in this way, it becomes clear that neither the criticisms leveled by certain contemporaries (usually humanists) nor the emphases of many modern intellectual historians have accurately or adequately portrayed the mentality, the self-conception, or the contributions of late medieval universities. Outstanding studies have been done on the academic precursors of Luther and isolated manifestations of humanism have been identified and analyzed, but few attempts have been made to understand the more mundane thoughts, aspirations, concerns, and writings of more typical university students and graduates.

The study of group mentalities has attracted considerable attention and produced some impressive interpretations in recent years, but it still poses a number of problems both for social and intellectual historians. As with any prosopographical technique, it requires a great deal of mere compiling and cataloguing of separate facts before clear patterns begin to emerge. For a full portrait of a university mentality, we would need answers to such questions as : 1) the composition of the group (social and geographical origins, etc.); 2) early socialization, pre-university schooling, etc.; 3) formal university training; 4) access to institutional and personal libraries; 4) group self-consciousness, status, etc.; and 5) the interrelationship of career patterns, writings, attitudes, etc. which reflect both the education and the life-experiences of the group.** In the present paper I shall largely limit myself to this last question.

In one sense, of course, university culture and scholasticism could be identified with each other. A series of issues and controversies, contained in lectures, disputations, commentaries, and textbooks preserved in university, college, and private libraries, gave continuity to a high, or internal, academic culture. But the importance of universities is not measured solely by the concerns and activities of the professors. As has been shown elsewhere, about half of the late medieval Oxford undergraduates left without taking a degree, and yet most of these students had received an extensive Latin education and then attended university lectures in philosophy or, sometimes, law for several years. What was their " mentality " after this training ? Since they remained silent for the most part, we must infer some tentative conclusions from an analysis if the careers they pursued (see Table 1 below). It is clear that university student bodies were not composed wholly of future scholastic philosophers and theologians, or even confined to aspiring ecclesiastics.

This brings us to the question of the purpose of late medieval universities. In a separate paper, I have traced the theme of the university as a collective "authority" on matters of doctrine and policy in the

## TABLE 1

### *Careers : New College, c.1380-1520*

| | *c. 1380-1450* | | | | | *1451-c. 1520* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *No degree* | *Arts* | *Law* | *Theo-logy* | *Medi-cine* | *No degree* | *Arts* | *Law* | *Theo-logy* | *Medi-cine* | *Totals* |
| *No Career :* | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Died Young | 57 | 17 | 14 | – | – | 44 | 18 | 9 | – | – | 159 |
| *Ecclesiastical Careers :* | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secular Clergy | 23 | 39(2) | 39(1) | 38(1) | 1(1) | 16 | 73(4) | 60 | 25 | 1 | 315 |
| Eccl. Administration | – | – | 20 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 18 | 3 | 1 | 50 |
| Royal & Eccl. Administration | – | 2 | 6 | 3 | – | – | – | 9 | 2(1) | – | 22 |
| Religious Orders | 1 | 3 | 1 | – | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | 6 |
| Academic/Educational | 6(1) | 21(1) | 8 | 12(1) | 1 | 4 | 15(6) | 6 | 8(3) | – | 81 |
| Ordained to Major orders | 11 | 10 | 11 | – | – | 2 | 9 | 5 | 1 | – | 49 |
| *Lay Careers :* | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Law/Gov't. Adm. | 9 | 1 | 5 | – | – | 3 | – | – | – | – | 18 |
| Landholding | 6 | – | 1 | – | – | 6 | – | – | – | – | 13 |
| Lay Schoolmaster | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – | 1 | – | – | 2 |
| Other Service | 9 | 4 | 3 | – | 1 | 5 | – | 2 | – | 2 | 26 |
| *Unknown* (but no record of ordination) : | 100 | 30 | 32 | – | – | 117 | 16 | 17 | – | – | 312 |

church and the state from the 12th through the 17th centuries ***. One of the major reasons for the existance of educational and cultural institutions has always been the conservation of intellectual and aesthetic traditions and the training of experts to advance and judge those traditions. But the medieval mind was in many ways particularly pragmatic, and the royal, papal, episcopal, and other patrons of education also had immediate needs for specially trained personnel which the universities had to provide. Few men remained in academia beyond their mid-20s : there were simply too many other, more lucrative, opportunities. But it must not be forgotten that the universities had a major role both in preparing these students for their careers and in influencing the ideas, opinions, and values that they carried with them. University men continued to read, learn, talk, correspond, and write throughout their lives, but all of these developments were based on the foundation of their education.

Medieval university culture was, in a more comprehensive sense, the result of a complex interaction between the collective and personal training and life experiences of students and *alumni*. It included not only the apparently outstanding works of the era, but the commonplace ideas and the "literary" productions which evolved out of personal concerns and the demands of careers. In order to begin to grasp the

nature of university culture, we have analyzed all the surviving writtings by members of one very important Oxford college from its foundation in 1379 until the Reformation.

## 1. Background and Studies.

Much of the culture of New College men, both collectively and individually, can be deduced from the life and values of the founder, William of Wykeham. Three characteristics stand out : 1) administrative service to the state (almost always coupled with service to and rewards from the church hierarchy) and involvement in the political events of the time; 2) a strong belief in the value of high-quality education; and 3)orthodox, even conservative, religious opinions, which embodied a simple piety devoid of speculative theology and stressed public conformity to current ecclesiastical mores (Wykeham's conflict with Wyclif was continued by members of the college in the 15th century). In his statues for New College, Wykeham urged that his

> scholae clerks, being engaged in different sciences and faculties may by mutual discussion and communication always find what they wish to learn and always become more proficient... and so in that large number aiming at one end there may be one heart and mind [1].

This paper analyzes his success in imposing those values and opinions on the students of his college.

The surviving lectures, commentaries, textbooks, treatises, letters, official documents, eulogies, biographies, histories, poetry, dialogues, orations, and sermons composed by New College men can be divided roughly into the same three categories : 1) public administration and political theory; 2) educational injunctions and innovative school texts; and 3) works enjoining morality, piety, orthodoxy, and conformity in religion. These divisions, with some obvious overlapping, also reflect the basic chronological shift in the paramount issues facing New College graduates : 1) bureaucratic and diplomatic reactions to the French wars; 2) the advent of humanism and changes in curricula and textbooks; and 2) responses to the beginnings of the Reformation. The last of these themes presented considerable difficulties for many Wykehamists who had to forge a compromise between their conservative religious leanings and their belief in loyalty and service to the state. All previous notices of the contribution of Wykehamists to 15th century English intellectual life have concentrated exclusively on their eager, if halting, attempts to initiate and incorporate renaissance humanist practices [2]. That relationship was a principal issue, and it affected most aspects of New College culture to some extent. But to assess their intellectual productions

wholly in these terms is to accept as valid the criterion of the humanists critics of late medieval universities, while the purpose of this chapter is to suggest an alternative way of viewing the "culture" of university graduates. Their writing was part of their careers and thus a question for the social historian, too.

Of course these three categories are not meant to be all-inclusive. Other writings by New College men, particularly the few works produced within the university milieu itself and the activities of Wykehamists as scribes, registrars, and administrators, must also be considered separately. But before we do so, we must refresh ourselves about the academic composition and studies at New College.

The intellectual foundations of Wykehamist culture were laid in the education students acquired first at Winchester College and then at New College. Little can be known about the Winchester curriculum before the late 15th century; and except for the consistently high quality of its headmasters, nothing distinguished the college academically from other grammar schools. At New College, teaching — the development of the college tutorial system — rather than a distinctive curriculum set the college apart from others, although it was soon imitated. But Wykeham's statues for his Oxford college were crucial because they dictated that 20 of the 70 scholars and fellows should study law. Although John de Winwick had intended in the mid-14th century to establish a college to maintain scholars in the civil and canon law faculties, nothing ever came of this plan, and no other college made provision for lawyers. The composition of New College was in fact more similar to the university population as a whole than to the graduate theological colleges which preceded it.

Wykeham gave first place to theology (*imprimis... sacra Scriptura seu pagina, scienciarum omnum aliarum mater et domina*), but the two laws "should peacefull fight along side her" so that

> the church is governed, the strength and fervor of the Christian religion grows hotter, and all knowledge and virtue is increased [3].

In order to accomplish this aim, Wykeham ordered that in addition to the 10 fellows in both canon and civil law

> fifty (students) shall diligently attend lectures in and learn arts or philosophy and theology. We allow, however, that two of them may employ themselves and attend to the science of medicine... and two others to the science of astronomy...; (three students) of medicine, unless they are actually regent doctors in that faculty, shall pass to the study of theology and become proficient in it [4].

The accompanying table repeats the details of the known degrees and

studies of New College men, with M.A.s and lawyers clearly predominant.

TABLE 2
*Distribution by Faculty and Degrees:*
*New College, c.1400-c.1500*

| *Faculty & Degree* | *c. 1400-1450* | *1451-c. 1500* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| No degree | 222 | 204 | 426 |
| *Arts:* | | | 275 |
| "artista" | 1 | 3 | |
| B.A. | 55 | 54 | |
| M.A. | 77 | 85 | |
| *Law:* | | | 222 |
| "civilista" | 39 | 30 | |
| B.C.L. | 23 | 38 | |
| D.C.L. | 9 | 5 | |
| B.Cn.L. | 7 | 1 | |
| D.Cn.L. | 6 | 11 | |
| B.U.J. | 26 | 27 | |
| D.U.J. | – | – | |
| *Theology:* | | | 31 |
| B.Th. | 9 | 8 | |
| D.Th. | 8 | 6 | |
| *Medicine:* | | | 7 |
| B.M. | 2 | 1 | |
| D.M. | 3 | 1 | |

Only a small handful ot these students went abroad in the 15th century (two or three continued their legal studies at Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara), and William Grocyn (New College, 1465-1481), B.Th., was alone among his peers in seeking out humanistic studies in Italy. William Latimer, a fellow of All Souls who studied with Grocyn, wrote to Erasmus:

> I remember how Grocyn, a man of varied learning and a large and cultivated intellect, gave his entire (solidam) attention for two continuous years to this same literature, even after he had acquired its primary rudiments, and how he studied under those greatest of teachers, Chalcondyles and Politian [5].

One or two went on to the Inns of Court; but for the great majority of students, whatever training New College provided for its members was all of the formal higher education they received.

That education is not my subject here [6]. In order to tell its full story, many lectures, disputations, and student notebooks would have to be examined. Unfortunately, they have not survived. The library holdings, both of New College and Winchester College, have been catalogued and analyzed, and they contain no surprises. The personal libraries of the scholars are potentially more rewarding about what volumes they had read or found useful enough to own, and reference will be made to some of these below. But I am here more concerned with what New College men produced themselves than with the various elements that influenced them.

## 2. Oxford writings.

Wykehamists undoubtedly produced a considerable quantity of university exercises, since they were bound both by the requirements of their faculties and by the additional activities within the college itself. But since most of these disputations, responses, tutorials, etc., were conducted orally, virtually no notice of them remains extant. We hear of Grocyn as one of a party of four theological disputants who exhibited their skill before Richard III and Bishop Waynflete. Each received a present of a buck, plus some money from the king, who especially admired Grocyn's ability and learning. But there is no record of what he said [7]. In the 1490s, Grocyn gave the first public lectures in Greek at Oxford, but again we lack any further details [8].

Robert Heete (1405-1421), B.C.L., left two series of lectures on the first and fifth books of the *Decretals,* which are quite conventional and aparently based on the teachings of Dr. William Barrow, a slightly earlier Oxford canonist, but not a Wykehamist [9]. On fo. 97v.-99v. of this manuscript, a different hand added a short piece on *satisfactio* (fulfilment of penance) which went unnoticed by Coxe [10]. The "Magister Frende" whose name appears on fo. 98 is probably John Frende (1462-1479), B.U.J., and it is possible that he was the author [11]. Without more examples than these, however, no New College canon law tradition can be postulated.

In its earliest days, New College had a close connection with Merton College. Two Merton fellows, John of Buckingham and John Campeden, assisted Wykeham in purchasing the land for New College; and Richard Tunworth, another Mertonian, acted as warden of the scholars before the college was incorporated. William Reed of Merton gave 58 books to start the New College library. And, of course, Wykeham had taken many of the ideas contained in his statues from the older model. It would thus be a bit surprising if New College escaped all intellectual influence from the Merton scientific tradition [12]. John Westcote (1380s-

1393), B.Th., gave a course of lectures on geometry, but no copy has been found [13]. John Walter (1380s-1393), M.A., calculated various astronomical tables, and canons for them, based on the Oxford meridian. Walter compiled his figures "to demonstrate the certainty of the doctrines of M. John Mawdith", an early 14th century Merton mathematician, astronomer, and theologian [14]. But while some students continued to study astronomy as part of their arts course, or owned a book on the subject, there are no other known practical or theoretical treatises in any branch of science before the 16th century. Grocyn admitted once that early in his career he had shown an interest in astrology, but he vowed that he had never derived any profit from practicing it, and he mentioned no writings [15].

None of the works listed in this section distinguish New College men from other groups within the Oxford intellectual milieu. They are competent, sometimes even interesting, examples of academic writings, and they give an insight into some of the normal activities of dons. But few New College graduates stayed in Oxford, and the writings considered below were very largely composed outside the university. This does not mean that Wykehamists lost interest in the affairs — academic and otherwise — of their *alma mater,* but those concerns practical experience could be gained within Oxford. At the pinnacle was the important university position of registrar and scribe. After the 1440s this job carried the duties of drafting and recording university correspondence, enrolling the degrees and graces granted by Congregation, and copying down other types of academic business. Sometimes the scribe was called upon to make fair copies of documents for permanent preservation [16]. From the mid-15th century, New College had a virtual monopoly on the post for about seventy-five years : John Farley, M.A., Grocyn, Warham. and Robert Sherburne served in the 15th century, and then five consecutive Wykehamists occupied the office between the late 1490s and 1529. Farley (1449-1464), M.A. and Sch. Th., could write a few Greek characters and a beautiful Italianate hand, and most of those who followed him had some role in the spread of humanistic practices [17]. Humanists throughout Europe counted many such scribes among their ranks. The college also needed notaries and registrars to keep its matriculation books and other business. Robert Heete produced a catalogue of the books belonging to New College in the early 15th century and a complete list of the scholars and fellows of Winchester College from the 1380s to his own day [18].

At a less official level, students copied books for themselves or at the order of some more senior scholar or patron. In the 1430s, William Bedmyster (1423-1444), M.A. and Sch. Th., copied at least three works : a medical treatise, J. Felton's *Sermones dominicales,* and Peter of Blois'

*Epistolae*. His reasons for doing so are not recorded. Bedmyster had a good book hand, but showed no humanist influence [19]. Late in the century, Robert Sherburne (1472-1486), M.A., B.M., transcribed parts of a manuscript written earlier for Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, which contained the *Corbaccio* and other extracts from Boccaccio and Petrarch, some works by Aeneas Silvius, a Latin elegiac poem, and a collection of spurious "Ciceronian" phrases. Sherburne's hand at this time was quite and interventions must be considered below as one of their roles as educational administrators. One of their major cultural and professional activities — book-collecting, the compilation of *florilegia* and other scribal work — bridged the gap between the two worlds.

## 3. Scribal Culture and Administration.

Modern scholars are likely to ignore several aspects both of cultural life and of professional routine that were crucial before the advent of printing. Students and advanced scholars alike laboriously copied out works for themselves or others which, by the beginning of the 16th century, would often be purchased. Material for personal anthologies, formularies, and commonplace books covering a variety of subjects were culled from obvious and obscure sources. All records — whether of the college, university, ecclesiastical courts, royal councils or whatever — were kept by hand and sometimes recopied into permanent registers. And the ability to write formal letters that were stylish both in their rhetoric and in their calligraphy was a talent which required years of study and practice; but it was one that also usually guaranteed a steady job.

An earlier dealt with the many Wykehamists who entered the ecclesiastical bureaucracy and who were thus responsible for the bishop's registers and much of their official correspondence. All of their works have been examined, and no evidence of any important changes in the genre during this period was found. In quantity, these administrative records surpass all other writing by New College men, and should thus loom large in any analysis of the role of university-trained men in society. But since they were fairly standardized and concerned mostly with events and issues of only passing significance, they need not be discussed here in detail.

In addition to the special courses on the periphery of the university curriculum which specifically prepared students for such jobs, various types of incompetent whenever he tried to imitate humanistic script [20]. For his own studies in 1481, he copied the *Medica secundum Scholam Salernitanam* [21]. In addition to serving as university scribe, he was also secretary both to Cardinal Morton and to the king [22]. Also in the 1480s,

53 amateur scribes combined, under the direction of William Horman (1475-1486), M.A., to make a copy of Albertus Magnus' commentary on Luke and Mark. The work was certainly done at New College, and 10 of the 13 named participants were young scholars of the college; most of the other 40 were probably Wykehamists, too. The hands show no traces of humanist technique, but the manuscript is one of the more legible copies of a great scholastic treatise that have survived [23].

If a scholar could afford and trust a professional scribe to do the work for him, so much the better. In the famous portrait of Andrew Holes (1412-1420), B.U.J., Vespasiano stated that

> he was a man of the highest repute, both on account of his great learning and of his holy life; indeed, I have known few foreigners who were like him... He spent the time in worthy fashion; in saying the office, after which he would remain in his chamber with locked doors, on his knees in prayer for two or three hours. The rest of his time he would spend in reading holy books, and he kept by him a vast number of scribes who copied for him many books which he intended to take back to his church in England. After Pope Eugenius quitted Florence, Master Andrea remained there entirely for the sake of the books on which his heart was set... Master Andrea lived in Florence more than a year and a half, during which time he bought, and caused to be written for him, a vast number of books in order to carry out his worthy aims. His books being too numerous to be sent by land, he waited the sailing of a ship, and by this means he dispatched them to England.

The examples that have been discovered thus far show that Holes was not much interested in classical texts, but rather in the letters of Petrarch and Salutati (which he perhaps wanted as models), in medieval canon law texts, and in some works of St. Jerome and St. Cyprian [24]. Holes underlined and annotated his books, but an examination of these markings does not offer any insight into his mind. (This is also true of John Yonge (1480-1502), D. Th., who began to underline the most extravagant passages on personal devotion and God's sanctity in his copy of one of Savonarola's sermons, but then apparently stopped reading it about half way through) [25]. Much more work needs to be done on the personal libraries of universities scholars and the annotations in the books, before the nature of the university mentality can be established.

Thomas Bekynton (1406-1420), D.C.L., was also interested in collecting books, especially from the Italian friends he met while serving Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester. But his real importance lay in his influence on the Latin style of English bureaucrats and diplomats and in

his collection of official documents, public and private letters, poems, and other exemplary material into at least six bulky manuscript volumes [26]. These formularies and *florilegia* were meant largely for his own use when he was writting the legal and historical works examined below, but Bekynton also hoped to use them to provide models for English civil servants and ambassadors, so that they would not appear barbarous and inferior to their Continental counterparts, especially the Italians. His interest in style was essentially pragmatic, but he felt strongly enough about the matter to become quite outraged at least once at an ungrammatical and infelicitous medieval usage of a verb [27]. His own principal changes were the elimination of a slavish reliance on the *cursus* in the phrasing if Latin sentences, and the adoption of certain humanistic mannerisms, such as the replacement of *vos* by *tu* in many instances [28]. The royal chancery was reformed in these matters much more quickly than ecclesiastical administrations were.

Medieval society was based on land-holding, and the effective management of their estates was crucial to the economic survival of colleges and other institutions. Several New college men, as we have seen, were retained by lay and ecclesiastical lords for this purpose. One of the statutory duties of the university registrar was to draw up and record leases and acquittances, and college registrars had an even bigger task in this regard [29]. Nicholas Upton (1413-1426), D.Cn.L., while he was precentor of Salisbury Cathedral, compiled a terrier of all the cathedral chapter's lands [30]. But the most interesting example of this sort of record-keeping is the estate book of Bartholomew Bolney (1422-1423), a lawyer, J.P., and royal commissioner [31]. Many 15th century cartularies survive, but they mostly describe great estates. Bolney's book meticulously noted the details of the acquisition of his title to each piece of property, the rights and obligations attached to each holding, rents that owed and that were owed to him by others, and all of the other matters of concern to a land-holder. Like Bekynton's collections of documents, this volume was intended both to aid Bolney in his own mundane affairs and lawsuits and to provide a guide for those — in this case, his descendants — who would later encounter similar problems. As more and more students pursued lay careers after going down from Oxford, such « literary » productions as Bolney's would become increasingly common and would reflect one of the chief concerns of students as well as others in the litigious society of Tudor England.

The physical activity of writing was much more important to cultural production in the 15th century than we can readily understand. Wykehamists, like all other students, were affected by the scarcity and costliness of manuscripts, and most scholars who wanted to

write original books of their own usually had to expend considerable effort or money or both to gather sufficient materials for their purposes. But if these problems were common to all late medieval intellectuals, did the works that Wykehamists ultimately produced share any indentifiable themes; and, if so, did these reflect, as I suggested, the founders's own values and concerns ?

## 4. Wykehamist Culture.

### (i) *Political and Legal Culture.*

Most, but not all, of the political writings by 15th century New College men was done by those who were promoted to episcopal sees. Wykehamist archbishops and bishops from Chichele to Warham, Sherburne, and Knight were constantly active, both personally and through their correspondence, in the political crises and major decisions of their times. Their roles are both well-known and outside our focus, and their letters are too voluminous to be analyzed closely, but reference will be made to these documents wherever possible, as well as to virtually all of their other written efforts. In any case, many of their letters dealt with the same routine matters of ecclesiastical administration that their registrars recorded. The correspondence does show that the bishops' involvement in the major controversies of their time (such as Chichele's with consiliarism), they participated more often as men of action than as theorists.

The Hundred Years War was a major theme in the early experience of New College members. Wykeham himself cited it as one of the " miseries of the world " and a cause for the decline in the " Clerical army " that his foundation was meant in part to remedy [32]. Chichele was even more explicit in his rationale for All Souls, which he intended as a chantry for those who had fallen in the French wars [33]. There is not contemporary evidence for the famous Shakespearian dialogue in which Chichele explained the legal issues behind the English claim to the French crown and urged Henry V to fight " with blood and sword and fire to win your right "; but in 1434, the archbishop invited another Wykehamist, William Holmegh (1403-1435), D.Th., to preach the opening sermon to the Canterbury Convocation on the text of Luke 21, 9 : " And when ye shall hear of wars and tumults, be not terrified, for these things must needs come to past first, but the end is not immediately " [34].

The most important contribution to discussions about the war were those made by Thomas Bekynton. Many of the documents he collected for his formularies pertained to the causes and the 14th century

developments of the Hundred Years War. Of greatest significance was his treatise entitled *De jure regnum Anglorum ad regnum Francie.* This work of legal scholarship and political propaganda was basically a historical examination of the by then rather well-worm argument from genealogy and from the provisions of Salic law in favor of the English claim. Bekynton cited contemporary support of his opinions by various churchmen and princes (which was probably included to influence the Burgundians), but he also justified the English claims on the basis of the role of women as rulers in the theories of natural law and throughout history [35]. In support of his general argument, Bekynton quoted at length from Petrarch's twelfth Eclogue, entitled "The Conflict," in which Edward III appeared as Articus and John the Good of France as Pan. Bekynton does not show much true understanding of the purpose of Petrarch's humanism, however much he may have appreciated his Latin style. Rather his insertion of this example was similar to his use of all the other material he collected from legal, diplomatic, and historical sources. Throughout the 15th century, most northern Europeans saw Petrarch through their own eyes as the opinions of a somewhat conventional medieval moralist [36].

Bekynton's own diplomatic correspondence showed another, more practical, side of his involvement with the war. In the 1440s, for example, he wrote to the king about the devastation in the Bordeaux region caused by war and expressed concern about the rebellious mood of the barons and gentry in Aquitaine. His fulsome praise of the king did not hide the message that things were going badly for the English and their supporters [37]. (Similar preoccupation with Anglo-French military and diplomatic problems filled the letters and official writings of two subsequent Wykehamist bishops, Sherburne and Knight, during the reign of Henry VIII) [38].

Nicholas Upton, who served under Henry V in France, also wrote about the war, but in a less direct way. His *De studio militari,* dedicated to Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, was probably the final version of a treatise he had begun in his youth. It treated a variety of subjects ranging from the duties of heralds in war and peace (they were not to act as be considered as ambassadors), the nature and justification of titles and nobility, the laws and regulations of armies, and details of heraldry and the assigning of arms [39]. Most of the early chapters were devoted to repetitions of commonplace legal points from 14th century glossators, followed by a dissertation on the properties of certain colors and animals, and their appropriateness in armorial devises. Then came chapters on pursuivants and heralds, military discipline, laws governing the fighting of duels, regulations about safe-conducts, Henry V's statutes of war, and Upton's own rulings on the assumption

of arms. This final issue involved Upton both in the realities of late medieval warfare and, to a much lesser extent, in the early Renaissance debate about the sources and nature of nobility. Aristocratic soldiers who were captured and held prisoner for ransom were at the same time both noble and non-noble, free men and non-free, depending on the circumstances and one's perspective. He argued that ideally nobility should be considered an international, not just a national, quality. Reference has already been made to his justifications for, and details of, the assumption of knighthood by doctors of law and others. For his treatise, Upton drew on a wide range of sources : as his 17th century translator wrote, " of poets, historiographers, and orators... of philosophers, lawyers, and divines; so that the translation thereof accordingly required a man profoundly learned and expert in all faculties "; but Upton was working primarily within a well-established tradition of medieval Roman law which applied theory to the solution of thorny social and diplomatic problems. Wykeham must have envisioned such works when he insisted that 10 fellows occupy themselves with civil law.

Domestic politics of the 15th century also figured in the writings of New College men. Thomas Chaundler (1435-1450; 1454-1475), D.Th., sent a letter to Bekynton in 1452 which deplored Cade's rebellion, expressed concern for the safety of the monarch, and showed a naturally conservative distress over the growing unrest and disorder. But Chaundler's view of the state, the political " theory " he articulated in this letter, was only a rather unsophisticated, if deeply-felt, version of the traditional organic analogy [40].

The political sermons written in the 1480s by John Russell (1447-1462), D.Cn.L., bishop of Lincoln and chancellor of England, were in the same vein, but they were of much greater public significance. In his draft of the sermon intended to open Edward V's first Parliament, he stressed the role of the aristocracy, the council, and the bureaucracy during the royal minority [41]. This advocacy of the special of the special role of the nobility is largely missing from his parliamentary sermons under Richard III. Although the conception of Parliament as composed of " the lord king and the three estates " had become commonplace by the late 15th century, in 1483 Russell stressed the distinction between the ruler, on the one hand, and all the subjects, on the other, who were to perform " their true labor and occupations whereby (the king's) royal and necessary charges may be supported " [42]. The latter sermons presented a much more urgent sense of crisis.

> What is the belly or where is the womb of this great public body of England, but that and there where the king is himself, his court, and his council ? For there must be digested all manner

of meats, not only serving to common food, but also... to medicines, such as proper to remedy the excesses and surfeits committed at large. Thither be brought all matters of weight, peace and war with outward lands, confederations, leagues, and alliances, receiving and sending of embassies and messages, breaking of truces... riots and unlawful assemblies, oppressions, extortions, contempts and abuses of the law, many more surfeits than can well be numbered. This womb of busy thought, cure, and pensiveness is waxed full great in the days that we be in, not only by the sudden departing of our old new-reconciled enemies from such treaties, oaths, and promises as they made unto this land, but also by marvelous abuses within, (by) such as ought to have remained the king's true and faithful subjects. It is too heavy to think and see what case and danger, by some... great member of this body, many other noble members of the same have been brought unto. The example of this fall and righteous punisment would not before forgotten. Who so taketh upon him, being a member under the head, that to his office and fidelity appertaineth not, setting the people in rebellion or commotion against the prince, be he never so great or noble in his estate, he is as it were a rotten member of the body, not able... to save it from falling [43].

In all of his writings, Russell employed this metaphor of the nation as an organic body and to the image that all rebellions and insurrections were caused by rotten and diseased members. He also condemned enclosure and " emparking " which had led to depopulation and riots; and this stand may have recommended him to Thomas More, who wrote that " he was a wise man and good, of much experience and one of the best learned men, undoubtedly, that England had in his time " [44]. Russell referred to the following authorities, among others : Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *De Asia Minore,* Aristotle's *Politics,* Pliny's *De Naturalibus historiis,* Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium,* Sallust's *De Bello Jugurthino,* Valerius Maximus' *Liber Dictorum ac Factorum Memorabilium,* Pomponius' *De Usucapionibus,* and the *De Oculo Morali* of Pierre de Limoges' which he attributed to Robert Grosseteste. But despite a rather fanciful analogy between the legislative structures of classical Rome and medieval England, in which the House of Lords corresponded to the Senate and the speaker of the House of Commons to a tribune, no humanistic trends echo in these sermons [45].

Archbishop Warham also preached at the opening of later Parliaments, but he relied on an extremely old-fashioned style of formal exegesis of scriptural texts, including the use of some rather elaborate

allegory. His writings lacked any sustained development of political theory [46].

Bishop Russell was also called upon often to act as orator on diplomatic missions. On different occasions, he addressed the Holy Roman Emperor, Pope Sixtus IV, and Charles the Bold. Only the last of these orations survives. It was printed by Caxton at Bruges or Rouen and is perhaps the first specimen of his press [47]. The speech itself was unremarkable in its praise of the English as the heirs of King Arthur and its stress on the value of their long friendship with the Burgundians. But it was a highly appropriate topic for a meeting to conclude the marriage treaty between Edward IV's sister and Charles the bold.

Some claims have been made that Russell compiled the material for the "Second Continuation" of the *Croyland Chronicle,* although he probably did not do the actual writing [48]. That narrative is particularly good for the last half of the reign of Edward IV, but somewhat more opinionated about Richard's protectorate and his assumption of the crown. The naive and distorted account of Richard's last year is not attributed to Russell. The writer's opinion of Edward IV was on the whole favorable, but he was not a flatterer. When he wrote that many men of experience wondered how one who was so addicted to luxury and licence should have shown himself so capable in political affairs, he was probably expressing his own opinion. His writings show an intimate knowledge of the everyday workings of Edward's government; but he is much less familiar with and more critical of, Richard's administration [49]. All the details known about the life and political activities of the anonymous author fit Russell, but the hostility with which he viewed many of Richard III's actions would seem a bit out of place coming from a man who served him until 1485. I have not been able to confirm Kendall's attribution, but it cannot be dismissed.

Throughout the 15th century, Wykehamist political writings came from members of the administrative cadre who were doing the bidding and supporting the policies of the established powers. New College men held high public office under every late medieval ruler, and they continued to do so under the Tudors; and most of their " literary " efforts were related to the duties of those jobs. They were better bureaucrats and advisers than they were politicians themselves or speculative theorists. Because loyalty to the service of the state was considered a virtue, and not mere opportunism, the English Reformation produced a genuine crisis in the lives and consciences of many of those Wykehamists who survived into the 1530s. Most of those men examined in this study chose to conform; Wykehamist recusancy was a phenomenon of the next generation [50].

(ii) *Education.*

New College graduates played a quite disproportionate role in the development of education in 15th century England. They staffed their own foundations, Eton, and numerous other grammar schools. They founded schools and colleges and made generous bequests to education. Their writings on the subject included general statements about the purposes of education, more specific injunctions and statutes, and new textbooks. Perhaps it is also appropriate to mention here their literary tributes to their own founder.

In the 1420s, Robert Heete, who spent virtually his whole career in the two colleges, wrote a short life of Wykeham which overstressed his claims to gentle birth, but it was essentially a factual retelling of his career, with special emphasis on his educational foundations. Heete's Latin style was unexceptional, but he did attempt to put a few sentences into poetic meter rather than relying on the *cursus* [51].

A much more elaborate tribute to Wykeham is associated with Thomas Chaundler, who also spent most of his career as a fellow and then warden of both colleges. A manuscript prepared by Chaundler, and dedicated to Bishop Bekynton, contained seven *Collocutiones* in praise of Wykeham, written by a New College student and edited by Chaundler; the latter also added two *Allocutiones* of his own [52]. In another manuscript, Chaundler either composed or copied a short poem on Wykeham's life in a nearly humanistic hand [53].

The *Collocutiones* are in the form of a dialogue between Pannescius and Ferrandus [54]. They take as their departure one of Wykeham's favorite mottos : *mores componunt hominem* (manners maketh man). In the second *collocutio,* they find Wykeham to have been wise according to the definitions of Aristotle and Cicero. Other virtues such as courage and prudence are then discussed. Finally, in the last *collocutio,* the two disputants, joined by Chaundler, prove that Wykeham was a just man, using Cicero's opinion, because he founded the two colleges. These rather dull and tedious academic exercises attempted to prove that Wykeham also possessed all the Aristotelian virtues : that he was magnanimous, courageous, and continent. The work was apparently modelled on Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* and also quotes his *De Officiis* many times and the *De Oratore* once. The student's other sources were Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Lactantius. Chaundler's *Allocutiones,* mainly a collection of long, undigested quotations from St. Augustine, Lactantius, St. Ambrose, and St.Gregory, aimed to prove that Wykeham was a good man by Christian standards as well.

Toward the end of the 15th century, John Curteys (1474-1480), B.A., a fellow of Winchester College from 1480 to 1508, wrote a brief sketch of the founder's life and some notes about the history of his Oxford college in his commonplace book [55]. At least one other Wykehamist wrote a history of New College down to the 1450s [56]. There has never been any agreement about who drew the famous views of the two colleges with all their members grouped in the foreground and the portrait of the founder surrounded by the eminent Wykehamist alumni, but certainly Chaundler and John Farley had some hand in their conception and execution [57]. A letter from Henry VI to the university of Oxford in 1442 contained praise for another Wykehamist who had discussed education :

> the upright, praiseworthy and notably learned Master William Say, master of arts and student of theology, (formerly) a pupil of your university and now its proctor, well beloved by us, who in our opinion has deserved no less well of you all, was given a kindly hearing by us at an official audience yesterday, as he delivered in pleasing manner a weighty and eloquent speech on the glory and fame and distinction both of your university and of that at Cambridge; and while we perceived in person the firm, eloquent and weighty address of this eminent man, we were filled with boundless pride, and we consider our reign will receive rich distinction from the fact that in our generation your *alma mater* can produce such noteworthy and brilliant sons.
>
> It is also our hope and earnest wish that in these times of ours your alumni should be an important source of pride to us by devoting themselves to study and virtue, so that following the above example they may adorn our reign and add honour to your university which is their mother, and may become firm supports and pillars of strength both to our realms and to the whole church militant and the true faith [58].

A more practical vision of the purpose of education opened Bishop Russell's draft of his Parliamentary sermon of 1483 :

> (Whatever study that) mortal men be set to in this world, be it the study of divinity, of any manner of law, or any of the philosophies, the end or practice of the same rests always in the cure of some... kind of a body, that God, nature, or craft hath ordained and ordered here beneath [59].

In a letter-patent adressed to St. John's College, Cambridge, Warham expressed the view that education was the invaluable handmaiden of true ecclesiastical reform [60].

Reference has already been made in earlier chapters to the importance of Wykehamists as college founders (Chichele), as administrators

(Bekynton and others), and as benefactors. Within Oxford itself, they were also active as college visitors, chancellors, and wardens, in attempting to reform educational institutions. In 1425, Archbishop Chichele issued an ordinance to end some trouble at Merton College; and his own statutes for All Souls offered the tribute of imitation to Wykeham [61]. During Bishop Russell's tenure as chancellor of the university, he published the aulerian statutes, which tried to impose collegiate-type discipline on members of the halls [62]. For half a century after 1456, numerous committees were apointed by Congregation to revise the university's statutes. After 1509, while he was chancellor, Warham took a vigorous interest in this matter; and he was joined in 1517 by John Yonge, who proposed that the statutes be thoroughly examined, revised, and newly committed to writing [63]. In 1518 the university officials wrote to inform Warham that they had offered the power to reform statutes to Cardinal Wolsey. In his reply, Warham rejected the latter's flattery and sharply rebuked the masters for yielding their traditional autonomy to a single powerful man [64].

But, like Wykeham, later New College educators realized the necessity of proper training prior to reaching the university. Bekynton was again the most notable figure. As a close adviser to Henry VI, he was in large part responsible for the king's adoption, almost verbatim, of the Winchester statutes for Eton [65]. Also, as bishop of Bath and Wells, he drew up ordinances to govern the lives and education of the cathedral choristers, at least some of whom he intended to go on "to any English university for reasons of study or scholastic attainment". He was very concerned with the pedagogical and psychological abilities of the boys' teacher; and he suggested humane treatment for all the choristers, especially the slow learners [66]. His prescriptions have more of the educational spirit of the *Rule* of St. Benedict than that of *quattrocento* Italian theorists.

Finally, a number of Wykehamists spent their careers either as private tutors or as grammar school instructors. Most of these teachers have left no record of their texts, methods, or success; but two of them are well-known because they were involved in the early Tudor "bellum grammaticale" about how to best convey the new humanistic manner of writing Latin to schoolboys [67]. John Stanbridge (1480-1486), M.A., was first usher and then headmaster of Magdalen College School, and later, with his brother, gave the grammar school at Banbury a good reputation. His textbooks were also prescribed at Manchester Grammar School, Merchant Taylors' School, and Reading Grammar School, and it was apparently still in use at Winchester and Eton until the late 1520s. Three of his pupils — Robert Whittington, William Lily, and William Horman — later became leading grammarians. Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* was

not an anthology of Latin sentences borrowed from famous authors, but rather is gathered words and phrases which would commonly occur in the speech of boys and adolescents and provided their Latin equivalents. Stanbridge set the model for later imitative or rival textbooks by making the sentences have topical interest and then organizing them according to subject-matter. He also wrote a *Vocabula* (1496) and other grammatical works, most notably another "vulgaria" for more senior boys which followed the same pedagogical method [68].

William Horman, whom we already introduced as the director of the amateur scribal activities at New College in the 1480s, was successively headmaster of Eton (1486-1495), headmaster of Winchester (1495-1501), and fellow of Eton (1501-1535), is well-known because he was involved in the Tudor "Bellum grammaticale" [69]. Bale credited him with works on grammar, poetry, theology, history, and husbandry; but if he wrote treatise on these subjects, none of them has survived. He may have been the author of the *Introductorium linguae latinae* (printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1495), but his major effort was his own *Vulgaria* (Pynson, 1519). This book was a record of his teaching practices at Eton, and it was meant for the use of the boys there, not for general circulation. The text consisted of 3 000 English sentences with Latin translations immediately beneath them. They were arranged into chapters under such headings as "De Pietate", "De Impietate", "De Animi Bonis et Malis", "De Philosophicis", etc. The whole formed a compendium of Tudor common knowledge, and it was filled both with topical and local references and with entertaining (if sometimes cheap) wit, especially at the expense of women and nuns. Horman's sentences were less colloquial than those to be found in Stanbridge and other previous textbooks of this sort, and they were intended to prepare boys to read classical authors on their own [70]. In the following year, Robert Whittington, published yet another *Vulgaria,* and the rivalry between these two former pupils of Stanbridge provoked the exchange of a series of invectives and rather scurrilous satire which ultimately involved most of the current grammarians, especially William Lily who sided with Horman in their book *Antibossicon.* John Skelton and Thomas More apparently supported Whittington [71]. The debate, when it rose above mere professional jealousy, concerned whether memorization and rote imitation was the best method of learning good Latin or whether a firm grounding in grammatical rules should come first. Whittington accused Horman of advocating the former practice; but in the mid-16th century, Roger Asham condemned the "beggarly gatherings" of both men together, as well as their desire to have pupils speak and write Latin too early, which often gave rise to faults that were impossible to correct [72].

In any case, it is significant that Stanbridge and Horman, in their

own way like the founder before them, recognized that no one could benefit from a university education until they had the skills and basic understanding to participate fully in the arts courses. To all the Wykehamists examined in this section, the expansion and the organization of education were at least as important as any reform of its content; and their writings about education were also largely inspired by the demands and situations of their careers.

(iii) *Religion.*

Religion was, of course, a major element in the culture of any late medieval group of intellectuals. As they approached the Reformation, it became an ever more urgent topic of conversation, writing, and general concern. The English Reformation (as opposed to the German " heresy ") presented a severe problem to the 16th century Wykehamists who had been educated to combine a conservative ecclesiastical orientation with loyalty and service to the state. But since many of those Wykehamists who were chiefly involved in the affairs of the Reformation, both those who served actively for Henry and those who exiled themselves to Louvain and elsewhere, came up to the college after 1500, they thus fall outside the scope of this study. I have reserved consideration of this question to separate studies [73]. Here the concern is with their religious culture in more normal times.

A number of New College graduates from Andrew Holes to Warham were singled out by contemporaries for their asceticism, their rigid observance of liturgical and other religious matters, and their piety. Vespasiano concluded his portrait of Holes by saying that

> on his return (to England) he... betook himself with his books to a benefice... putting aside all temporal cares as one who wishes to be dead to the world for the love of God. He was careful in his devotions, prayers, and fasting, and in remembrance of all who were in want, and in repairing such churches as needed (it) [74].

In a similar way, Erasmus described Grocyn as

> a man of the most severe and chaste life, exceedingly observant of ecclesiastical rules, almost to the point of superstition, and to the highest degree learned in scholastic theology; while he was, at the same time, a man gifted by nature with the most acute judgment and exactly versed in every description of educational knowledge [75].

Similar comments about the religious life of Warham survive [76]. Despite Erasmus' reference to Grocyn's scholasticism, it remains ironic that

the most well-known fact about religion at New College is the statement by Cromwell's visitors to the university that

> the second time we came to New College, after we had declared your (Cromwell's) injunctions, we found the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Duns, the wind blowing them into every corner.

and a student there gathering them up for use in hunting [77]. There is no other evidence that Scotus set the tone for Wykehamist religion, except for the citations in Thomas Hille's ethical treatise mentioned above. Since no example of academic theology from the pens of New College men has been found, their religious culture must be reconstructed from their writings about morality, piety, and the defense of orthodoxy. But our examination must begin and end with two quite different attempts to relate humanistic ideas to religion.

Perhaps the most substantial, if untypical, contribution to religious thought by a 15th century Wykehamist was the *Liber Apologeticus,* Thomas Chaundler's earliest work (c. 1460) [78]. Chaundler described the work as an *apologia* for the whole human race in all its states, especially the essential condition of human nature. It was an account of the fall and redemption of man; and, since it was in dramatic form, it has been seen as an aspiring humanist's attempt to transform the traditional medieval English morality play [79]. The principal idea of the work was that freedom is essential for there to be any goodness, through freedom is what distinguishes him from other creatures. The tragedy is that man's fall was also attributable to his pride in that freedom. Acts II and III considered the questions of man's responsability and guilt. In the debate between the Four Daughters of God, Mercy and Peace triumph over Truth and Justice, although Justice made a strong argument for the issue that would spur Luther a half-century later [80]. At the resolution of the debate, God proposed the Incarnation and committed earthly man to the custody and guidance of the Four Cardinal Virtues. In his presentation of redemption, Chaundler avoided the traditional theological view of St. Anselm and Peter Lombard that the hypostatic union was inevitable to appease the divine wrath, and in fact he made no mention of the crucifixion. Rather Christ was seen as the divine ethical exemplar who had come to demonstrate the way to salvation. In his work, Chaundler never introduced the theological virtues which were normally connected with the ethical ones, and he completely ignored the sacraments. His emphasis on secular ethics fits well both with Wykeham's desire to produce learned men who would serve in the development in the 16th century and later of the " gentlemanly ethic " of the public schools, but Chaundler was highly unu-

sual among New College writers in slighting the duties and benefits of ecclesiastical rituals.

Of the hundreds of wills of New College men and their relatives that survive from the late 14th century through the beginnings of the Reformation, not one reflected either a lessening of beliefs in the efficacy of the saints and the Virgin or a change in conventional modes of bequests for charity and prayers for the dead. Legacies to paupers, prisoners, church altars, and the lights of saints far outnumbered any gifts for education, even though the latter figured more largely among these men than in other circles.

Two New College men were involved in the attempt by the Salisbury Cathedral Chapter to add still another saint by the canonization of Bishop Osmund. Nicholas Upton spent many months in Rome on this task, discussed it at length with Pope Nicholas V, and corresponded frequently with his chapter about the problems involved. At one point, Upton wrote home to urge Andrew Holes, then chancellor at Salisbury, to write to the pope, since Nicholas liked him and respected his learning. Holes promptly complied [81]. None of the letters give any indication of the theological attitudes of the participants toward canonization; it was simply accepted as a valid activity within the church framework. Archbishop Warham was more explicit. He was very strict in his own ritual obeservance, and all the articles drawn up by him or under his super vision to test the orthodoxy of suspected heretics always included a proposition asserting that pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints and martyrs were highly meritorious. Both Erasmus and John Foxe attested to this side of Warham's religious personality [82].

Such beliefs, combined with Wykeham's own hostile relationship to Wyclif, would lead New College men to detest Lollardy. In order to combat these heretics, and to aid his officials in their inquisitions, Bishop Russell spent eight weeks in 1492 compiling his *Fatigatus cum multis hereticis,* based on extracts from Thomas Walden's *Opus Sacramentale* [83]. (Nothing is known about two other works supposedly written by Russell, a commentary on the Canticles and a treatise *De potestate summi pontificis et imperatoris*) [84]. As Bekyngton, Chaundler, and Horman had done in other spheres of learning, Russell borrowed extensive quotations from other sources, and yet molded his own book by imposing his personal interests and purposes on the material. Grocyn was said to have written a tract against Wyclif's *Hostiolus* (which has not survived), and the New College archives contain a fragment of a 15th century statute against the Lollards [85].

In two letters to Wolsey in 1521, Warham complained that " no

small number of young and incircumspect fools " (Some Wykehamists among them) had been infected by Lutheranism at Oxford, and that he proposed to study several Lutheran works himself in order to answer them. To prepare himself better for that task, he planned to read certain writings of Wyclif which he owned [86] The persecution of Lutherans by the warden of New College is a well-known facet of the Reformation [87].

Service by New College clerics to the state, at every level of the government and the bureaucracy, has been charted in a previous study. Such activity certainly did not cease in the early 16th century, as the careers of Thomas Bedyll and others under Cromwell amply show. Whatever their true religious feelings were, and we know that they were sometimes ambiguous or confused, Wykehamists could be found among those acting to suppress monasteries and in other similar roles [88]. New College men had always been responsive to royal pleasure or displeasure. When Henry VI complained to Chaundler, who was then chancellor of Oxford, two university bedels had

> outrageously uttered and spoken certain unfitting language against our royal estate and against the honor and worship of our most dear and beloved wife the Queen and our firstbegotten son Prince Edward

Chaundler replied that

> on the receipt of your letter, complaining of the conduct of our two bedels... we were filled with fear and grief. We have removed both from their office, cast them into prison, and proceeded to elect others in their room [89].

It is thus all more surprising that an unnamed Wykehamist who was invited to preach before the same king at Coventry, disregarded the regulations that governed such sermons and told his audience that

> the men that preached there had but simple sermons, for their purpose was all turned upside down.

He was sent away from court at once without any reward [90]. Only one further Wykemanist statement of hostility or reproach to the crown has been found, other than Warham's attempts to moderate the king's claims to supremacy over the church [91]. In the 1530s, Thomas Baschurch (1493-1498), M.A., and for some years Warham's secretary, admitted to Archbishop Cranmer that he had written " rex tanquam tyrannus opprimit populum suum" in a book in his church at Chevening. But Cranmer urged leniency, because Baschurch had been very seriously ill three years earlier and had since suffered from fits of melancholy and had attempted suicide on a number of occasions [91a]. These examples are

the only ones we have which show Wykehamists to have been anything other than models of the union of God and country.

Although it might have been objectionable after the Reformation, the sermon Andrew Holes preached at the English College in Rome on the feast of St. Thomas a Becket, 1433, probably contained nothing which would have offended royal ears. I have not seen the unique manuscript of this work, so the description by Weiss must suffice :

> This sermon, the subject of which was St. Thomas a Becket, began with a lament for the death of William Certayn, an English ecclesiastic residing at the Curia : fortunately it still survives to show what Holes really appreciated in classical scholarship. In this respect the omissions are of primary interest, for it contains no traces of neoclassical taste. Its conception, style, and similies, are those of a writer nurtured in the formal medieval education. Quotations or references are confined to Holy Scripture, the Fathers, Seneca, and the *De Planctu Naturae* of Alain of Lille, and the sermon reveals little beyond a capacity for writing Latin as it was understood during the Middle Ages, and a preference for scholastic rather than Ciceronian form [92].

The lament for Certayn was written in elegiacs, which was hardly common in medieval sermons. But the account Weiss gives us tells more about Holes' relationship to broader intellectual currents than it does about his religious beliefs, which, according to Vespasiano, were strong and conventional. No other Wykehamist sermons have come to light.

Finally, what was the religion of the most outstanding New College humanist, William Grocyn ? The answer to this question must be drawn from the context of his whole intellectual career, but this is difficult, since he wrote down or published almost nothing. Erasmus explained this strange phenomenon, and gave his evaluation of Grocyn's Latin style :

> now amongst the numerous Ciceronian writers in Britain I will only name those writings have distinguished them. If I bring forward Grocyn, you will reply that we have nothing of his but one epistle (to Aldus Manutius) elaborate and witty indeed, and in good Latin. This is true; for being naturally weak-sighted, he preferred rather to write nothing than lose his eye-sight. Judging by the wittiness of his letters, one would say that he loved the Laconic conciseness, but he was thoroughly Attic in the correctness of his style; nor would he affect any other. He could not bear the diffuseness of Cicero, as he showed whenever he lectured on those books. Nor was it only in writing that he was in the habit of using a concise style, but in speech also [93].

One youthful Latin tetrastic has usually been attributed to him, but while charming, it is not particularly distinctive. Perhaps it sheds some light on his ethical position toward celibacy :

> Me nive candenti petiit mea Julia : rebar
> Igne carere nivem, nix tamen ignis erat.
>
> Sola potes nostras extinguere Julia flammas,
> Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari.
>
> A snow-ball white at me did Julia throw;
> Who would suppose it ? fire was in that snow.
>
> Julia alone can quench my hot desire,
> But not with snow, or ice, but equal fire [94].

Erasmus said elsewhere that Grocyn was a learned scholastic, and if that implied a knowledge of and devotion to the works of Aristotle, then the letter to the printer Aldus confirms that opinion :

> unless you were possessed of a very keen judgment in selecting the authors whose works you desired to print, you would not have placed Aristotle before Plato, contrary to Cicero's opinion. And in this decision I am in entire agreement with you, being myself one who considers that there is as much difference between the great philosophers Aristotle and Plato as between a man of much learning and a man of much lore [95].

But Grocyn was a teacher of Greek and Reader of Divinity in Oxford (with Thomas More among his students), so he welcomed even more another of Aldus' projects :

> My friend Linacre has also told me that you are now engaged in a far more amazing task... namely, printing parallel the books of the Old Testament in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and those of the New, in Latin and Greek, a truly difficult undertaking, and one especially worthy of a Christian. If only you be enabled to complete this work, you will far surpass not only all those who ever attained fame in this kind of endeavor but you own former efforts as well [96].

During his own time, Grocyn was especially noted for his lectures in London on the pseudo-Dionysius. In the letter from Erasmus, quoted earlier, that spoke of Grocyn's orthodoxy and religious observance, he continued :

> He was at the same time a man gifted by nature with the most acute judgment, and exactly versed in every description of educational knowledge. Some thirty years ago he began to lecture on the "Ecclesiastical Hierarchy" in St. Paul's Cathedral with

great applause; and in his preface vehemently attacked those who denied that the author was the Areopagite, referring, I believe, to Laurentius Valla. But after he had lectured some weeks, and, as it happened, studied more closely and familiarly the mind of the author, he did not hesitate to retract his former opinion before that very same audience, refusing any longer to recognize the author as the Areopagite. Grocyn is by no means forgotten. It will be easy to refute me if I am wrong [97].

Far more than Chaundler, Grocyn seems to have absorbed the broad learning, technical skills, and religious concerns that characterized the generation of Erasmus, Colet, Lefevre d'Etaples, and their fellow northern Christian humanists. That orientation stressed piety over speculative theology, but theirs was a piety based on enlightened education, not on mysticism or an escape from worldly existence.

## 5. Conclusion and Prospectus.

Much still remains to be done before all the details of New College culture can be analyzed and juxtaposed to each in a wholly meaningful way. Further studies both of the institutional libraries of the two colleges, of the university, of various cathedral chapters where Wykehamists lived and worked, and of the personal book collections of New College men should tell us much both about their academic training and about the reading they continued to do after they left Oxford. The "humanism" (especially its stylistic qualities) must be considered more closely and related to the categories of renaissance thought suggested by Kristeller, Baron, McConica, Spitz, and others [98]. Chaundler's *Libellus de laudibus duarum civitatum* has already been shown to be directly imitative of Bruni's *Laudatio* of Florence [99], but it must still be compared to the above-mentioned historical, biographical, and geographical works written by other Wykehamists. Many letters survive, especially from the period of the Reformation and especially from Warham's pen, which help to confirm all of the above claims about the religious mentality of New College culture, and these letters must be integrated into our analysis [100]. More details can be supplied for all the above categories. But the major task is to extend the methodology of this chapter to other colleges, faculties, or any cohesive group within the university. Only after that work has been done can we see whether Wykehamists are indeed as unique as I suggest. Such analyses are also necessary before anyone can really understand the contribution of universities to the total culture and mentalities of the later middle ages, the renaissances, and the reformations which overlapped between 1350 and 1550.

* For the following interpretation of late medieval universities, I would like to draw attention to the excellent English theses and subsequent publications of M.M. Harvey, C.W. Crowder (Oxford) and R.W. Swanson (Cambridge). Detailed references to these works and other recent literature on the scholastic-humanist controversy and related problems are given in my forthcoming book (tentatively entitled *Universities, Theologians, and Heresy in the Age of the Reformation*).

** For two examples of good recent studies of group mentalities, see L. Martines, *Lawyers and Staecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1968) and B. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England 1603-1641 (Oxford, 1973). For the social and institutional background to my analysis of the New College mentality, see my "Oxford Students and English Society, 1300-1510" (Princeton Ph. D. dissertation, 1975) and subsequent articles, especially, "Patronage Patterns and Oxford Colleges, 1300-1530" in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society* (Princeton, 1974), and "The Social Origins of Oxford Students in the Late Middle Ages : New College, 1380-1510" in J. Paquet and J. Ijsewijn (eds.), *Les Universités à la fin du Moyen Age* (Louvain, 1978). Full annotation will appear in published version of my thesis.

*** See my introduction and article in G. Lytle (ed.), *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church* (Washington, Catholic U. Press, 1980).

1. *Statutes of the Colleges.* NCA : New College Archives. WCM : Winchester College muniments, i. (New College), 2-3.
2. The best account, incorporating others, is, of course, Weiss, *Humanism in England,* esp. chpts. 5, 8-9, 12.
3. *Stat. Coll.,* i. (N.C.), 2.
4. *Ibid.,* 3-4.
5. *Opus Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami* (ed. P.S. Allen), iii, 441.
6. I examined that subject in a paper to the III[e] Congrès d'études néo-latines, Tours, France, 1976.
7. M. Burrows, "Memoir of William Grocyn", in *Collectanea* (ed. M. Burrows), ii.
8. Emden, *Biographical Register of U. Oxford* (*BRUO*), ii. 827.
9. Bodl., New Coll. Ms. 192, fo. 9-82v, esp. 82v (see *BRUO,* i. 118-9); and 83-97v.
10. *Ibid.,* fo. 185-200v.
11. *BRUO,* ii. 727.
12. A.F. Leach, "Wykeham's Books at New College", in *Collectanea* (ed. M. Burrows), iii. 214-15, 223 ff.
13. F.M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College,* 34n.
14. Bodl., Digby Ms. 97, fo. 43-53v, esp. fo. 50v; Bodl. Ms. 432, fo. 35 ff., 45 ff., esp. 45; Bodl. Ms. Misc. 674, art. 16 (Maudith); also arts, 8-9, 15; *BRUO,* iii. 1972.
15. "Memoir of Grocyn".
16. *Stat. Antiq.,* 285-6; Pantin and Mitchell (eds.), *Reg. Congregation,* x. ff.; 425 ff.
17. See esp. Weiss, *Humanism in Eng.,* 136-8 and nn.; *Epist. Acad.,* i. 1n.; ii. 367 ff; H.E. Salter (ed.), *Medieval Archives of the Univ. of Oxford,* ii. 285; OUA, Registrum G, *passim;* Registrum H, *passim; BRUO,* ii. 1157; iii. 1685.
18. NCA, 9654, fo. 3 ff.; WCM, Liber Albus, and Registrum Primum.
19. Bodl., Bodl. Ms. 795; B.M., Royal Ms. 10 A. xviii.; Worcester Cath., Ms. Q. 45.
20. Bodl., Ms. Latin misc. d. 34; see, e.g., fo. 5, 6, 44v.
21. *BRUO,* iii. 1687.
22. *Ibid.,* 1686.
23. N.R. Ker, "Eton College Ms. 44 and its Exemplar", in *Varia Codicologia : essays presented to G.I. Lieftinck,* i. 48-60.
24. Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates* (ed. M.P. Gilmore), 206-8; on Holes' library, important discoveries have been made by A.C. de la

Mare, who intends to publish an account shortly (I am grateful to her for sharing her notes with me, and for other kindness at Bodley).

25. Bodl., Selden 8° S. 20 Th.

26. WEISS, *Hum. in Eng.*, 72 ff; see, esp. Lambeth Palace, Ms. 211; Bodl., Ashmole Ms. 789; *Bekynton Correspondance* (ed. Williams), i.-ii; Judd, life of T. Bekynton, 191; A. WILMART, « Le Florilège de Thomas Bekynton », *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 1, (1942); for analyses of specific writings, see below.

27. *Bekynton Corresp.* (ed. Williams), ii. 172.

28. The fullest discussions of his cultural impact are Judd, *Life of T. Bekynton*, 33 ff, 81 ff., and Weiss, *Hum. in Eng.*, 77 ff.

29. See refs. in n. 16 above.

30. *BRUO*, i. 509 (joint compiler with John Cranborne, B.C.L.).

31. *The Book of Bartholomew Bolney* (ed. M. Clough).

32. *Stat. Coll.*, i. (N.C.), 2.

33. *Ibid.*, i. (All Souls), 11.

34. *Chichele Reg.*, iii. 253.

35. B.M., Cotton Tiberius B. XII, see esp. the following passages: (old foliation, since more reliable) fo. 3-48.

36. *Ibid.*, 55-57v; I owe the last sentence to Dr. Nicholas Mann of Oxford.

37. *A Journal by one in the Suite of Thomas Bekington* (ed. N.H. Nicolas), 13-19.

38. See, esp. H. Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, (3rd. ser.), i. 316 f.; ii. 99-101.

39. *De Studio Militari* (ed. Sir E. Bysshe); B.M., Cotton. Nero C. III; London, Soc. of Antiquaries, Ms. 379; F.P. Bernard (ed.), *The Essential Portions of Nicholas Upton's 'De Studio Militari... transl. by John Blount'*, esp. quote on pp. xii-xiii.

40. *Bekynton Corresp.* (ed. Williams), i. 266-8.

41. Printed in S.B. CHRIMES, *English Constitutional Ideas in the 15th Century*, 167-91.

42. *Ibid.*, 168 ff.

43. *Ibid.*, 188-9.

44. *Ibid.*, 180-1; also, 167-8, and *BRUO*, iii. 1610.

45. CHRIMES, *English Const. Ideas in the 15th C.*, 174.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Propositio Johannis Russell* (facs. ed. H. Guppy).

48. P.M. KENDALL, *Richard the Third*, 485.

49. C.L. KINGSFORD, *English Historical Literature in the 15th Century*, 180 ff; I have not yet seen the new volume on this subject by A. Lanham; *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the continuations...* (ed. H.T. Riley).

50. See forthcoming history of Winchester College (ed. R. Custance).

51. WCM, Liber Albus, fol. 9-11.

52. Ed. by S. BRIDGES, *Thomas Chaundler* (B. Litt. thesis; U. of Oxford, 1949), vol. ii.

53. B.M., Cotton. Ms. Tit. A XXIV, fol. 11.

54. BRIDGES, *Thomas Chaundler*, ii. 106-202; 206 ff; also, i. 139-46.

55. Bodl., Bodl. Ms. 487, 121-121v.

56. Anon. now in New College archives.

57. New College, Ms. 288.

58. *Bekynton Corresp.* (ed. Williams), i. 207.

59. CHRIMES, *Eng. Const. Ideas in the 15th C.*, 179.

60. C.H. COOPER, *Memoir of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby* (ed. J.E.B. Mayor), appdx. 158.

61. *Stat. Coll.*, i (Merton), 45-48; i. (All Souls), 11-68.

62. *Stat. Antiq.*, 295-7; Emden, *An Oxford Hall*, chpt. 9.

63. *Stat. Antiq.*, xlvi. ff.

64. Oxford Univ. Archives, Registrum FF, fo. 30-31v.; for Warham on education, see further Pantin (ed.), *Canterbury Coll.*, iii. 144-5.

65. Judd, *Life of T. Bekynton*, 48-56.

66. *Ibid.*, 145-6; *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellany* (ed. A. Walkin), esp. 106.

67. *The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of Robert Whittington* (ed. B. White), introduction, is the best account of the issues and personalities involved.

68. *BRUO*, iii. 1754-5; *A Fifteenth-Century School Book* (ed. W. Nelson), esp. 23.

69. *BRUO*, ii. 963-4.

70. W. HORMAN, *Vulgaria* (ed. M.R. James).

71. *Ibid.*, xvi ff.; *Vulgaria of J. Stanbridge and... R. Whittington*, xxviii-xxxii; *BRUO*, iii. 2039-40.

72. L.V. RYAN, *Roger Ascham*, 254.

73. See my "Thomas More's Dilemma and English Public Schools" (Folger Shakespeare Library lecture, 1975), and cf. note 50.

74. Vespasiano, *Ren. Princes, Popes, and Prelates* (ed. Gilmore), 208.

75. Nugent (ed.), *Thought and Culture of the Eng. Ren.*, 12; "Memoir of Grocyn", 356.

76. See refs in *BRUO*, iii. 1988-1992.

77. Wright (ed.), *Three chapters of letters... suppression of monasteries*, 70-1.

78. Thomas CHAUNDLER, *Liber Apologeticus de Omni Statu Humanae Naturae* (ed. D.E.C. Shoukri).

79. *Ibid.*, 12 ff.

80. *Ibid.*, 111 ff., 116-7, 126-7.

81. A.R. Dalden (ed.), *The Canonization of S. Osmund*, xxviii ff., 94-7, 101-8, 114-19, 122-7, 130-1.

82. J. FOXE, *Actes and Monuments* (ed. J. Pratt), vii. 458; WHARTON, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 227 ff.; Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters*, 3rd ser., ii. 136-7; Thompson (ed.), *Erasmus and Cambridge*, 226-7.

83. Bold., University Coll., Ms. 156, fo. 83 ff.

84. *Propositio J. Russell* (ed. Guppy), 15.

85. "Memoir of Grocyn"; NCA, 9182.

86. Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters*, 3rd ser., i. 239-42; *L.P.F.D., Henry VIII*, iii (i.), 1193.

87. FOXE, *Actes and Monuments* (ed. S.R. Cattley and G. Townsend), v. 422-4.

88. Two figures stand out: Thomas Bedyll, B.C.L., and John London, D.C.L. (*BRUO*, i. 148-9; *BRUO, 1501-40*, 359-60); see G.H. Cook (ed.), *Letters to Cromwell* ,29, 32-5, 68, 75, 132, 148, 178, 193, 208, 211, 214, 217, 222-5, 228; also G.R. Elton's *Policy and Police* and his *Reform and Renewal*, 15-16, 31.

89. *Epist. Acad.*, ii. 349-50; *Liber Apologeticus* (ed. Shoukri), 7.

90. CAPES, *English Church in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, 212.

91. See, e.g., WILKINS, *Concilia*, iii. 746; *L.P.F.D., Henry VIII*, v. 541-3; but cf. P. HUGHES, *The Reformation in England*, i. 162; MALLET, *Hist. of the Univ. of Oxf.*, i. 443-4.

91 a. *L.P.F.D., Henry VIII*, x. 39.

92. WEISS, *Humanism in Eng.*, 77-8.

93. See refs in *BRUO*, ii. 827.

94. T. FULLER, *The History of the Worthies of England* (ed. P.A. Nuttall), iii. 118.

95. Nugent (ed.), *Thought and Culture of the Eng. Ren.*, 13.

96. *Ibid.*, 14.

97. "Memoir of Grocyn", 356.

98. P.O. KRISTELLER, *Renaissance* and *Renaissance Thought II;* H. BARON, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance;* J.K. MCCONICA, *English Humanism and Renaissance Politics;* L. SPITZ, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists.*

99. BARON, *Crisis*, 209-11.

100. See esp. those in Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters* (3rd ser.), i.-ii.