Gloucester College

By W. A. PANTIN

THE foundation of Gloucester College¹ at the end of the 13th century was the outcome of a deliberate movement on the part of the General Chapter of the English Black Monks of the Canterbury Province, for the revival of monastic studies by two means; first, the establishment of claustral lecturers was ordered in 1247;2 and secondly, as a corollary, the General Chapter of 1277 ordered the provision of a house of studies (locum vel edificia idonea) at Oxford for Black Monk students, for which purpose an annual contribution of 2d. (subsequently 1d.) in the mark was levied on all the monasteries.3 The example of the Mendicants, and the fact that the General Chapter had already met eleven times at Oxford, must have brought home the need for such contact with the university. The co-operative effort necessary for establishing a common monastic college would have been impossible without the General Chapters, and even so there were great difficulties. First, there was external opposition, headed by Archbishop Peckham, who objected to the Oxford project and to the shortening of the Divine Office which accompanied the revival of studies.4 Secondly, there was the usual difficulty about collecting the contributions, especially from alien priories;5 the urgent appeals sent out by the Presidents of the General Chapter in 1288, 1290-1, and 1297, show how the project was being held up and the order exposed to ridicule;6 though on the other hand, the account rolls of Norwich show contributions paid in 1278-9, 1284-5, 1291-4, 1301-2, and 1319-20.7 Thirdly, there was the underlying constitutional problem; how was a common

¹ No registers or muniments of the college have survived; owing to its federal character, it probably had no official muniments of its own, with the exception of ephemeral records like the probably had no official muniments of its own, with the exception of ephemeral records like the Manciple's Book (mentioned below). Its history has therefore to be sought (1) in the records of the General and Provincial Chapters, for which see the account of the foundation and early history by V. H. Galbraith, 'New Documents about Gloucester College', in Snappe's Formulary, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., LXXX, 1924), pp. 338-86 (cited below as "Snappe's Form."), and Documents illustrating the activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1540, ed. W. A. Pantin (Camden Third Series, vols. XLV, XLVII, LIV, 1931-7), cited below as "Chapters"; and (2) in the records of the various individual monasteries which sent monk students, for examples of which see A. F. Leach, English Education in Wagester (Worcester Historical Society, 1910), and F. H. Pearce. The Monks of Westof the various individual monasteries which sent monk students, for examples of which see A. F. Leach, Early Education in Worcester (Worcester Historical Society, 1913), and E. H. Pearce, The Monks of Westminster (1916); similar work might be done on the records of other houses.

2 Chapters, 1, 27-8, cf. 75, 181-5.
3 Ibid., 1, 75, cf. 100-1, 139; Snappe's Form., 342 ff.
4 Chapters, 1, 61 n., 93-4, 120-1, cf. 133; Snappe's Form., 344.
5 Chapters, 1, 125; m, 265, 267 ff.
6 Ibid., 1, 126-7, 132-3, 135-6.
7 Ibid., 1, 278-80.

college to be set up, owned and governed, jointly, by a large number of autonomous and self-contained monasteries? Hence a series of experiments were made; in 1283, Sir John Giffard of Brimpsfield had founded a small priory of thirteen monks, as a cell of Gloucester, on the west side of Stockwell Street, in the suburbs of Oxford, on land acquired from the Hospitallers;8 then in the General Chapters of July, 1290, and September, 1291, it was decided to transform this cell of Gloucester into a common priory belonging to the whole of the Canterbury Province, the abbot of Gloucester renouncing his rights over it; the priory was to be immediately subject to the Presidents, monks of all monasteries were to be received, and were to elect their own prior; but it is not clear how far this transformation was actually carried out, for in 1295 a royal mandate treated the priory as still a cell of Gloucester, 10 and in 1297 Sir John Giffard was apparently threatening to bring the priory to an end.11

Finally in the General Chapter of September, 1298, the college was refounded, for good, on a different plan, this time a compromise between the cell of a single monastery (as in 1283) and the common property of the whole province (as in 1291).12 On the one hand, the college was made in some respects a dependency of Malmesbury Abbey; the original nucleus of monks was drawn from Malmesbury, the abbot of Malmesbury came to be regarded as the ground landlord, and for a time at least the prior of the college seems to have been a Malmesbury monk.13 On the other hand, monks of the other monasteries were received; in course of time each monastery built a set of rooms (camerae) for its own monk students, on a site acquired from the abbot of Malmesbury; and the public buildings of the college, the hall, kitchen, and (later) chapel were built and repaired at the common charges.14

There is evidence of monk students at Oxford from Norwich from c. 1292, 15 and from Worcester from c. 1291; 16 to the Worcester monk students we owe some valuable reports of university sermons (1290-3) and quaestiones (c. 1300-2),17 together with numerous other collections of lectures and

^{*} Snappe's Form., 344; Cartul. of S. Peter's, Glouc. (Rolls Ser.), 1, 32; Annales Monastici (Rolls Ser.), 1v, 488; Reyner, Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, App. 54.
* Chapters, 1, 129 ff., 132; Reyner, op. cit., App. 53-7; Snappe's Form., 361, 362.
10 Cal. of Fine Rolls 1272-1307, 366.

¹¹ Chapters, 1, 136.

Snappe's Form., 345 ff., 361 ff.; Chapters, 1, 137 ff.
 E.g. William de Camme, prior in 1302, was probably of Malmesbury, Sede Vacante Register (Worc. Hist. Soc. 1893-7), 31-2; other references to the 'prior of Oxford', not named, Chapters, 1, 155; Snappe's Form., 367.

14 Snappe's Form., 348, 381.

15 Norwich Cathedral muniments, Camera prioris rolls, 1292 f.; Chapters, 1, 278-80.

A. F. Leach, Early Education in Worcester (Worc. Hist. Soc., 1913), 27.
 Edited by A. G. Little and F. Pelster, Oxford Theology and Theologians (O.H.S., xcv1, 1932) 149 ff.; see especially pp. 237 ff.

quaestiones (14th-15th century). 18 The first monk to incept as doctor in theology was William de Broc, of Gloucester (12 June, 1298), followed by Laurence of Gloucester in 1301, 19 steps implying some years previous residence. From the early 14th century there is evidence of a succession of 'regents' of the Black Monks at Oxford, i.e. resident monk doctors engaged in lecturing to the monk students (rather like the Franciscan 'lectors') so that the monks should have no need to go outside for lectures; 20 the regent may have shared some disciplinary authority with the prior, for one of them, John de Lungeneye, was appealed to in a dispute about the boundaries of a camera (c. 1317-32).21

The constitutions of Benedict XII (1336)22 had important effects for the college; they turned the hitherto more or less voluntary experiment into a legal obligation for every monastery to maintain one in every twenty of its monks at the university; and they put the monk students under the charge of a prior studentium, who became henceforth the head of the college. The prior studentium was appointed by a neighbouring prelate nominated by the Presidents of the Provincial Chapter; 23 in c. 1439-41 there was a serious dispute about the appointment, and an appeal by several monk students against the 'pretended' prior, Thomas Knight, of Glastonbury; and in 1444 it was found necessary strictly to forbid any canvassing for the office.²⁴ Besides having the government of the monk students in Gloucester College, the prior studentium seems to have claimed some jurisdiction over those in Canterbury College and Durham College.25 One of his chief duties was to make reports at the Provincial Chapters, especially as to monasteries which failed to maintain their quota of students.26

It seems that, side by side with the new office of prior studentium, Malmesbury abbey still claimed to regard one of its monk students as 'prior' of the college; Abbot Whethamstede of St. Albans, writing to Malmesbury in c. 1429-35, refers to a dispute (c. 1360-96) between the senior monk of

¹⁸ Worcester Cathedral Library, MSS. F. 65, 73, 116, 118, 139, Q. 64, 71, 90; MS. Bodley 692 (S.C. 2508), the note-book of John Lawerne (c. 1445-9); altogether, these form perhaps the most considerable series of mediaeval Oxford scholastic records in existence, and they well deserve study.

¹⁹ Little and Pelster, op. cit., 256, 269. ²⁰ Chapters, 1, 174-5; II, 23; III, 19-21; it was specially desired that the monks students should not need to 'beg crumbs from the tables (i.e. lectures) of the mendicants, and wander hither and thither seeking their ordinary lectures in various schools' (III, 20). Already, as early as 1283, when the college was a cell of Gloucester, bp. Giffard of Worcester had asked the university for a D.D. to teach the monks (V.C.H. Gloucester, π , 338). The earliest known regents were P. of S. Edmunds (d. c. 1311-9); Hervey of Swafham (c. 1314-6); John de Lungeneye (c. 1317-32); John de Mari (c. 1340-3); Thomas

de Catton (1343). Chronicon Abb. Ramesiensis (Rolls Ser.), 412.
 Wilkins, Concilia, 11, 588 ff.

²³ Chapters, III, 23; Snappe's Form., 312.
²⁴ Chapters, III, 105-8; II, 213.
²⁵ Chapters, II, 173; Collectanea, III (O.H.S., XXXII, 1896), 19.
²⁶ Chapters, II, 21-2, 77, 90, 148-51, 171-3.

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Malmesbury, 'quem vos vocatis priorem loci', and other students: and in 1356, it was complained that Walter de Cham, of Malmesbury, prior loci, was excluding certain monks from their camera.27

The statutes published from time to time by the Provincial Chapters contained regulations for the monk students. Thus in 1343,28 it is decreed that there must always be a monk Doctor of Divinity (the 'regent' already referred to), resident, and lecturing to the monks, in 'our place in Stockwell street' (i.e. Gloucester College); he is to receive a salary from the common funds; 29 monks taking degrees are to receive subsidies from the common funds, so that there may be no excuse for shirking graduation on financial grounds, but that monk graduates in theology and canon law may be multiplied; 30 on feast days the students are to sing the Divine Service together in the common chapel (on other days the monks of each house probably recited the Office among themselves); 31 the priores loci et studentium (i.e. the senior Malmesbury monk, referred to above, and the prior studentium) 32 are to supervise the occupation of chambers and studies, so that none are left vacant for more than six months; but where any chamber has been built or notably repaired by any particular monastery, the monk students of the latter are to have a prior right to occupy it.

In 1360, Walter de Monyton, abbot of Glastonbury, suggested (apparently to the President) a number of further regulations; the prior studentium should hold a monthly chapter for the correction of faults, and, together with an elected committee of six others, should regulate the expenses of the monk students' commons; Latin should be spoken, and the young monks should not frequent the lodgings of secular scholars and still less of laymen. 88

About 1363 the Provincial Chapter issued some further detailed statutes, which may owe something to Monyton's suggestions, though they do not reproduce them precisely; 34 the prior studentium is to be stricter in maintaining discipline; where there are several monk students from the same monastery, the senior monk is to be in charge of the rest, and is to act as their confessor and administer Holy Communion to them; in addition to the resident monk

²⁷ Ibid., III, 25, 104; cf. the references to the 'prior of Malmesbury', Snappe's Form., 347 n. Whethamstede may have been referring to the 1356 incident. Cham is (probably) incorrectly described as 'prior studentium' in the headings in Chapters, III, 25-6. Cf. the reference to the 'priores loci et studentium' in 1343, cited below.

²⁸ Chapters, 11, 55-8. 29 Cf. ibid., 11, 19-21, 190, 192. 30 Cf. ibid., 11, 123; 111, 141, 146, 185, 189, 190.

³¹ Ibid., III, 54.

³² The reference to the prior loci was omitted when this statute was republished in 1444, by which time the prior studentium was probably in sole control, Malmesbury being reduced merely to ground landlord's rights.

³³ Chapters, III, 30. 34 Chapters, 11, 74-82.

Doctor of Divinity, one of the monk students who has not yet taken a theological degree is to give lectures in philosophy (i.e. Arts) to the junior monk students, though the latter are not thereby to be withdrawn from the ordinary lectures and disputations 'in vico scolarum'. There are to be weekly disputations, at least in term time, in philosophy and theology; and since some of the monks were sent to the university, not to take degrees, but merely to learn how to preach, they were to be given frequent practice in preaching in Latin and English.85 The sending of the full quota of monk students is insisted upon, under penalties; elderly monks are not to be sent to study philosophy; monks are strictly forbidden to bring pressure to bear on their abbots, by means of letters from magnates, to have themselves sent to the university and allowed to take degrees. Evidently the more ambitious monk was as keen to be sent to the university, as the more economical abbot was anxious to avoid sending him. Disputes between monk students are not to be taken before the Chancellor or any other secular judge, but are to be settled by the prior studentium and four or five senior monks, or by the Presidents. In various ways Gloucester College affords an early example of the tendency to make the college, rather than the university, responsible as far as possible both for instruction and discipline. Finally, in 1444 most of these earlier statutes were republished, with a few alterations and additions; among other things, the considerable privileges of monk graduates are defined; and there is a reference to a body of statutes concerning the monk students, issued while John Whethamstede was prior studentium (c. 1414-17), which are now unfortunately lost.

The Benedictine monk students, like the other regulars, desired always to proceed to the study of theology or canon law, without previously graduating in Arts, as the university statutes demanded. This had led to serious struggles on the part of the Mendicants, but probably the Benedictines had never any difficulty in obtaining the necessary graces, and in the 15th century a permanent working compromise was made; the monk students were dispensed from actually graduating in Arts, but were required to have passed some years in the study of Arts, in their monasteries and at the university.36

In 1380 Archbishop Courtenay, who was attempting to make a visitation of the College, questioned a St. Alban's monk concerning its constitution: 'Have you not a prior, who can hold a chapter? And do you live in common?' To which the monk replied that it was not strictly a college, since those who lived there had no common seal, nor was the place endowed with temporal or spiritual property, and many other things were lacking which

³⁵ Monastic accounts often mention monk students returning to preach at their monasteries in Holy Week (cf. Pearce, Monks of Westminster, p. 27); and Adam Easton had to be withdrawn from Oxford (c. 1357-63) to direct the monk preachers at Norwich cathedral (Chapters, III, 28).

36 Statuta Antiqua Univ. Oxon., ed. S. Gibson, cxv-xviii, 258-273.

were required to constitute a college. It was also argued that the monk student should not be liable to visitation at Gloucester College, since they were liable (if not exempt) to visitation at their home monasteries. In the end the archbishop waived his claim to visit.³⁷ There may have been some special pleading in these answers, but they at least illustrate the loose, federal nature of the college. Indeed, for the same reason, the college seems to have less corporate history than other colleges; its history is simply the complex, fluctuating record of the various groups of monk students maintained by their respective monasteries.

It is difficult to attempt an estimate of the number of monk students at the college. By the constitutions of Benedict XII, one monk in every twenty was to be sent; there were 65 abbeys and priories summoned to the Provincial Chapters;38 they of course varied in size: a large number would only be bound to send one, some to send two, and a few to send three or four (though the number of houses with more than forty monks, in the later middle ages, must have been small);39 in strict theory, the numbers should perhaps have been somewhere between 100 and 150. In actual fact, of course, the numbers can never have reached anything approaching those figures. For one thing, the existing camerae would not have contained them. For another thing monk students of several houses were taken in as lodgers at Canterbury College and Durham College, and some monasteries patronized Cambridge. Further, the records of the Provincial Chapters show that there was always a number of abbots who neglected to send their quota; thus sixteen abbots were complained of in 1343, ten in 1423, and seven in 1426; some of them had been defaulting for years.40

On the other hand it would be a mistake to regard the college as a failure; surviving account rolls show that at any rate houses like Worcester, Norwich and Westminster kept up a fairly regular supply of monk students. For Westminster in particular a great deal of evidence is available, from the early 14th century to the Dissolution; out of an average community of about 47 monks, two were kept at Oxford, receiving £,10 (after 1435, £6 13s. 4d.) each; during that period about 519 monks joined the community, of whom 65 (rather more than 10 per cent.) are known to have been at Oxford, staying up for periods varying from one to eighteen years (on an average about eight years).41 Glastonbury at one time (in 1366) had four monk students up.42

Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, 11, 189-192.

³⁸ Cf. Chapters, III, 157-9; but probably a dozen of the smaller houses can be ruled out, in practice.
³⁹ Cf. Snape, English Monastic Finances, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Chapters, II, 21-2, 150, 172.
41 E. H. Pearce, Monks of Westminster, pp. x, 26, 36, and passim; in 1522 there were five monk students from Westminster, ibid., 177.

⁴² Chapters, 111, 55.

In the 15th century two monasteries showed particular zeal for the College; Bury St. Edmunds under Abbot Curteys (1429-46) built a magnificent block of six camerae and a private hall, 43 and in 1441 had five students up (well in excess of the statutory requirements); 44 and St. Albans under Abbot Whethamstede (1420-65) erected a private chapel for its own monks, and a common library for the college. 45 A document of 17 December, 1537, gives the names of 30 monk students, of whom six are Bachelors of Divinity, and another five are described as seniores; in most cases it seems possible to identify their monasteries (by comparison with lists at the Dissolution or recognition of Royal Supremacy); thus St. Albans, Bury St. Edmunds, and Hyde supplied four each, Westminster, Evesham, Battle, Abingdon, Peterborough two each, and Glastonbury, Tewkesbury, Ramsey and Malmesbury one each. 46

The most distinguished alumni of the College were probably Cardinal Adam Easton of Norwich (d. 1398), Thomas de Brinton, of Norwich, bishop of Rochester (d. 1389), Thomas Merk, of Westminster, bishop of Carlisle (d. 1410), John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans (d. 1465), and John Feckenham, of Evesham, last abbot of Westminster (d. 1585), there were many others who attained a more local celebrity in their own monasteries and in the Provincial Chapters, such as Richard de Bromwyk, John Dudley, John Fordam, and Thomas Ledbury, of Worcester, John de Mari, of Norwich, Nicholas Radclef, Simon Suthereye, and Hugh Legett, of St. Albans, John Welles, of Ramsey, Richard Ringstead of Bury St. Edmunds. 47 With the exception of Adam Easton, the college cannot be said to have produced any very outstanding theologians, certainly none comparable with the great Mendicant Schoolmen of the 13th and early 14th centuries; on the other hand, it was of great importance in its effects on monastic life, by providing a common training ground for the elite of the Order, and by producing a new and influential type, the university-trained monk.

During the 15th and early 16th centuries, Gloucester College, like other colleges, evidently took in secular lodgers. 48 In 1511 a monk student, John Glanceford of Bury, had a 'poor scholar' living with him, and in about 1530, a monk student had a pupillus, named Thomas Awte, whom another monk was said to have incited to theft and flight; 49 these were evidently

⁴³ Snappe's Form., 352-3.

⁴⁴ Chapters, III, 222.
45 Annales Joh. Amundesham, II, 200, 264.
46 Oxford University Archives, Reg. B (reversed), fo. 194*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Chapters, 111, 317 ff. ⁴⁸ Registrum Cancellarii, II, 40 (1461); ef. ibid., II, 79 (1462), where a contrast seems to be made between a monk and a 'scholar' of the college; Oxford Univ. Archives, Reg. B (reversed), fo. 375° (Morgan Grefyth, 'scolaris dum vixit Glocestrie collegii', who died intestate, 1539).

⁴⁹ Oxford Univ. Archives, Reg. F. (reversed), fo. 172; Reg. B (reversed), fo. 157.

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servitors of some kind. There are other references to monk students having servants.⁵⁰ The monks evidently kept separate accounts with the college manciple, who from time to time has to sue them for debts;⁵¹ in one case he produces as evidence 'librum anglice dictum the Mancypulls booke'.⁵² At various times also members of the college had to appear before the Chancellor's court for breaches of the peace.⁵⁸

Gloucester College figures in the early history of the Reformation in Oxford. In 1528 Thomas Garret, who was active in introducing protestant books, was helped to escape by one Antony Dalaber, who seems to have been a secular lodger at Gloucester College; according to the narrative which Foxe puts into his mouth, Dalaber migrated from Alban Hall (a hall of artists) to take a chamber in Gloucester College, partly in order to study civil law, partly to act as a kind of tutor to one of the monk students, from Sherborne, who occupied an adjoining chamber; 'for whose sake partly I came indeed into that college, to instruct him in the Latin tongue, and in other things wherein I had better knowledge than he.'54 Foxe also says that there were two Black Monks, one of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, named Langport, another of Bury St. Edmunds, named John Salisbury, among those suspected of heresy; 55 Dr. London writes (24 February, 1528) of two monks, one of Bury and the other of Glastonbury, who had heretical books, and both bishop Longland and the prior studentium report a heretical and seditious sermon preached by Dr. Edmund Rogham or Rowham, of Bury.⁵⁶ On the other hand there must have been plenty of hostility in the college towards the religious changes; Croke writes in 1534 to Cromwell about a 'device to have been played in Gloucester College, a place of monks, if Mr. Carter had not stopped it. The Commissary has the said play.'57

In January, 1539, the abbot of Evesham wrote to the students of the college, saying that he had been commanded in the previous summer to 'make a governor' of the college (perhaps to appoint a new *prior studentium*), and to make an inventory of plate and chapel furniture, and he was now sending

⁵⁰ Reg. Cancellarii, 11, 12, 263; Reg. F. (reversed), fo. 31v.

⁵¹ Reg. D (reversed), fo. 220 (1505); Reg. B (reversed), fo. 101, 109 (c. 1529).

⁵² Reg. B (rev.), fo. 171, 174 (1539).

ss Reg. Cancellarii, 1, 127 (1446), 273, 277 (1452); 11, 72 (1461); Reg. B (rev.), fo. 82° (1535?), 153 (disturbances in the 'Friars' Grove', 1538). In the earlier cases it is not clear whether they were monks or seculars. There is also reference to quarrels between the college and its neighbours, the Carmelites, in 1535 (?), Reg. B (rev.), fo. 323°.

⁵⁴ John Foxe, Acts and Monuments (ed. J. Pratt), v, 421 ff.; cf. the documents given ibid., v, appendix v1; Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, IV (ii), pp. 1761-2, 1825.

⁵⁵ Foxe, op. cit., v, 428; for Langport, see also Reg. B (rev.), fo. 101 (1529); for Salisbury, see D.N.B.

b6 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, IV (ii), 1761-2, 1825; Reg. B (rev.), fo. 364*.

⁵⁷ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, vn, 38.

the manciple to collect the plate and movables.⁵⁸ It is not clear exactly when and how the college was dissolved; it presumably came to an end automatically as the constituent monasteries were dissolved. On 22 December, 1541, the 'mansion called "Gloucester College", late appertaining to divers religious houses now dissolved', was granted to John Glyn and John James, and in September, 1542, it was granted to the bishop of Oxford.⁵⁹

APPENDIX

PRIORS OF GLOUCESTER COLLEGE

Henry de Heliun (of Gloucester), occurs 1284, 1291-2

William de Camme (of Malmesbury?), occurs 1302 Walter de Cham' (of Malmesbury), occurs 1356 'H. prior de Oxonia', Control of S. Peter's, Gloucester (Rolls Ser.), III, 26.

Reyner, Apostolatus, Appendix, 54, 56; Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96, 249. Evidently he was prior of the cell of Gloucester (1283-91), and was re-appointed as prior of the refounded common priory in 1291-2, perhaps continuing until the final change in 1298.

Sede Vacante Register (Worc. Hist. Soc. 1893-7, 31-2. Chapters, III, 26.

PRIORES STUDENTIUM

Adam Easton (of Norwich), occurs 1366 Everard (of Gloucester), occurs 1376-7

John Welles (of Ramsey), occurs 1381 Simon Suthereye (of St. Albans), occurs 1389

William Barwe (of Bury St. Edmunds), occurs

1393

John Fordham (of Worcester), appointed ε.

1401-7,

resigned c. 1410 (?)

John Whethamstede (of St. Albans), occurs ε.
1414-17

Thomas Ledbury (of Worcester), occurs c.

1417-23 Edmund Kirton (of Westminster), occurs ε. 1425-6

John Bevere (of St. Albans), appointed 1429, occurs 1431 Thomas Knyght (of Glastonbury), alleged

prior, c. 1439-42
William Wroughton (of Winchester), occurs

1446
Mag. Tully (of Gloucester), occurs May, 1451
Richard Ryngstede (of Bury St. Edmunds),
occurs 1452

Ibid., XIV (i), 48.
 Ibid., XVI, 698; XVII, 485.

Chapters, III, 60.
Leach, Early Education in Worcester (Worc. Hist. Soc., 1913), 53; called 'Prior Oxonie'.
Chapters, III, 142.
Walsingham, Historia Anglicana (Rolls Ser.), II, 189-192.

Chapters, 111, 205.

Snappe's Form., 312.

Elected prior of Worcester in 1410; he and his books fetched from Oxford; Leach, op. cit., 63.

Chapters, 11, 214; 111, 177, 185.

Ibid., 11, 145 ff.; 111, 186, 189.

Ibid., II, 169; E. H. Pearce, Monks of Westminster, pp. 129-30.
Annales Jo. Amundesham (Rolls Ser.), 1, 39, 57.

Chapters, 111, 105-8.

Registrum Cancellarii, 1, 130; cf. 11, 44-5.

Digby MS. 170, 34.
Oseney Gartulary, 11 (O.H.S., xc, 1928), 246.

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John Kyllyngworth (of St. Albans), occurs 1492 Dr. Stanywell, occurs 1502

John Wynnyscombe or Wynchecombe (of Gloucester), occurs c. 1512 Thomas Barton (of Westminster), occurs 1522 [John] Newbolde (of Eynsham), occurs c. 1522-28?

Antony Dunston or Kitchin (of Westminster), occurs 1528 Humphrey Webley, occurs c. 1530 Andrew Alton, occurs 1534-5 Robert Joseph (of Evesham), occurs 1537 Thomas Wellys (of Hyde), occurs 1538 MS. Twyne 24, p. 137 (from 'Registri Morton Archiepiscopi pars altera in papito'). Oxford Univ. Archives, Reg. D (reversed), fo. 141; Reg. Ann. Coll. Mert. (O.H.S.) LXXVI, 1921), 274. Reg. F (reversed), fo. 183.

Pearce, op. cit., 177.

Early history of St. John's College (O.H.S. new ser. 1, 1939), p. 435, gives the succession: Wynchecombe, Barton, Newbolde, Dunston; cf. Reg. of Univ. of Oxford, 1 (O.H.S. 1, 1884), 102, for Newbold.

Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J. Pratt, v, 425; Reg. B (reversed), fo. 364v.

Reg. B (reversed), fo. 363.

Ibid., fo. 315v, 323v.

Ibid., fo. 194v.