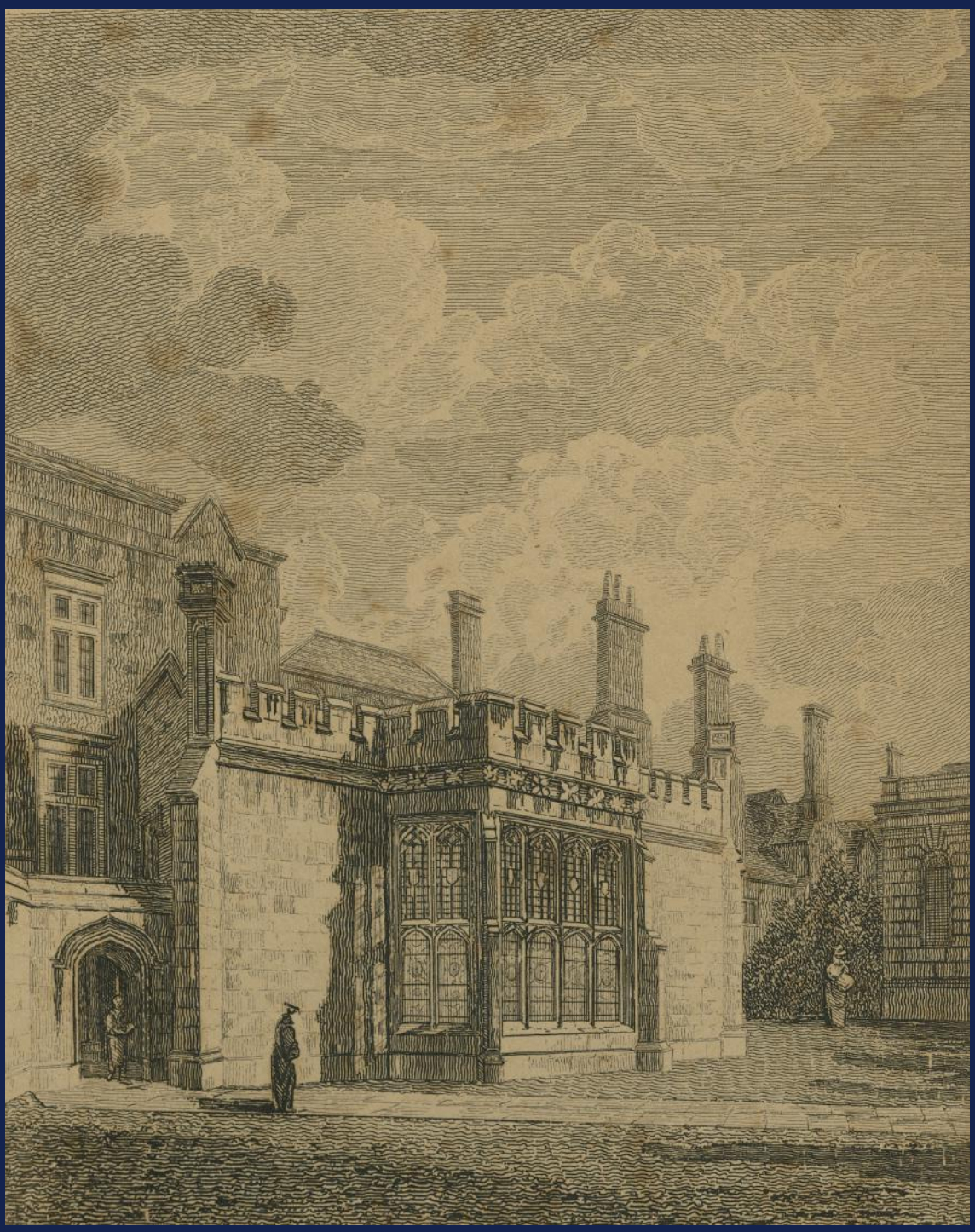
PEMBROKE
COLLEGE OXFORD



The Founding of Pembroke College Oxford

By The Revd Dr John Platt

William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke

The Revd Dr John Platt

John Platt was born on 9th November 1936 in Fleetwood, Lancashire, the eldest son of Walter John James Platt, a pharmacist. Educated at Giggleswick School, he matriculated at Pembroke in 1956. Although he came up to read History, John changed to Theology after his first two terms and, in 1961, was ordained after training at Cuddesdon Theological College. He later took his MTh from Hull, and his Oxford DPhil in 1977.

Following curacies in his native Lancashire and then in Hull, less than a decade after his first graduation, Rev John Platt returned to Pembroke as Assistant Chaplain, and in 1969 he took on the full Chaplaincy role. After taking his DPhil, he joined the University Faculty of Theology and began tutorial teaching in the History and Theology of the Reformation. In 1985, he was elected to a Senior Research Fellowship and membership of Governing Body, which he held for 17 years. In 2004, he was elected to an Emeritus Fellowship.

During his years at Pembroke, John was a central member of the community. He took on many and varied roles in addition to his Chaplaincy – including periods as Tutor for Admissions, Dean of Degrees, Secretary and Treasurer of The College Society, and Editor of the College Record. More than that, he cared deeply about other College members and devoted his time to getting to know them and to supporting them during their time at Pembroke.

It was clear to all who knew him that John saw his role as Chaplain as one which served and facilitated the College community. He quickly established a pattern of welcoming as many as possible of each year's new students personally, and, in his earlier years as Chaplain, he and his wife Mavis regularly entertained groups of first year undergraduates at their home. His support for the students extended beyond the Chapel and pastoral care and onto the touchlines and towpaths as he cheered on their sporting endeavours with gusto.

Large numbers of former students stayed in touch with John after leaving Oxford, and he was always delighted to greet alumni when they returned to College for Gaudies and other special events. Indeed, many came back to be married by him or to have him baptise their children in the College Chapel.

As Chaplain, John saw many changes over the years. Attendance at Chapel services declined as attitudes and society changed, but as John himself observed in the College Record in 1975: "if every part of the Church had weathered the past twenty years as well as it has in Pembroke there would be general rejoicing."

The Chapel itself was transformed during John's time, with a great restoration programme carried out in the 1970s both inside and out. This work was funded in large part by the generosity of alumnus Damon Wells and his family, and it was in recognition of their continuing support over many years for the life and fabric of the Chapel that it was renamed in 1997. Officiating at the dedication service for The Damon Wells Chapel, John Platt was joined by Lord Runcie, former Archbishop of Canterbury.

As an historian of the College, John devoted much time to research and writing. In 1996, he published the College's History in Pictures, and, in 2014, was co-author of the Gentle History of the Damon Wells Chapel. When he died, John had recently finished the first chapter of his new History of Pembroke College.

Foreword

A few weeks before he died, John Platt and I had what would be the last in a series of conversations about his memories of Pembroke College. As always, he was a rich fund of stories about the College he had entered as an undergraduate in 1956 and to which he would give so much of his life.

John served Pembroke in many ways. Less than a decade after graduating, he returned to the College as Assistant Chaplain, becoming Chaplain in 1969. After taking his DPhil he joined the Faculty of Theology and began tutorial teaching in the History and Theology of the Reformation. In 1985 he was elected to a Senior Research Fellowship and membership of Pembroke's Governing Body. In 2004 he was elected to an Emeritus Fellowship. Yet for many thousands of Pembrokians he will be remembered most fondly as a man who went out of his way to offer help and friendship to students finding their feet in Oxford, irrespective of faith or background. "I simply thought it was something that needed doing," he once told me.

Over the years, John grew to know many generations of Pembrokians, keeping in touch, welcoming them back to gaudies and other occasions, whether in College or by the towpath during Eights. A few returned to College to be married by John, or have their children christened by him.

John came to Oxford from his native Lancashire initially to read History, switching to Theology after two terms. But his wide historical interests remained, and inevitably he was drawn to that of Pembroke itself. On leaving the chaplaincy, he increasingly devoted time to work on a full-scale history of the College. Alas, at his death, it remained unfinished, but he was already giving me generous help and advice with the commemorative history that is to be published to mark the 400th anniversary in 2024 of Pembroke's foundation, including sending me the draft first chapter of his own work.

Dealing with the College's foundation, it was – it is – an impressive piece of scholarship, and I felt immediately that it deserved publishing in its own right. Some months before our final conversation, I was glad to be able to tell John that the working group assisting with the commemorative history agreed.

This monograph is therefore presented as a memorial to a good man and fine servant of Pembroke College.

Gregory Neale (2000)
Editor-in-Chief
Pembroke College 400th Anniversary History

Thanks are also due to Amanda Ingram, College Archivist, for her work on the manuscript referencing and picture research, together with Alice Gosling, Strategic Development Director; Catherine Beckett and colleagues in the College's communications department, as well as the working group on Pembroke's forthcoming anniversary history. Special thanks go to John Platt's friends and family.

Pembroke's Foundation

The entry for Pembroke College in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* observes that "the foundation of the college was due to two benefactions obtained in a strange manner".[1] By far the stranger and more substantial of these, which enabled the transformation of Broadgates Hall into Pembroke College in 1624, was a legacy of £5,000 contained in the will of Thomas Tesdale (1547-1610) to provide places at an Oxford college for boys from nearby Abingdon, in particular from its grammar school which he had himself attended.

The dissolution of Abingdon Abbey in 1538 had left the old monastic grammar school in a parlous state. However, in 1563, John Roysse (1500/01-1571), who had made a modest fortune as a London mercer and money lender, promised the means to reconstitute it as the Free School of the Holy Trinity with 63 day-boys and 10 fee paying boarders.[2]

In the previous decade, another institution had been founded which, for the next 300 years, was to be closely connected with the school. Prior to the Dissolution of the Chantries in 1547, the Fraternity of the Holy Cross had provided much of the focus of the town's life, apart from the monastery. Thanks to the efforts of one of Abingdon's most successful citizens, Sir John Mason (c.1503-66), a member of the Privy Council under four monarchs, it was not long without an effective successor. In May 1553, Christ's Hospital of Abingdon received its royal charter with Mason himself as its first Master.[3]

Thomas Tesdale was born in Stanford Dingley, Berkshire, in 1547, the son of Thomas Tesdale (1507-1556), a farmer and trader, and his second wife, Joan (d.1548).[4] Following the death of his mother, his father remarried almost immediately. The young Thomas spent his childhood at Fitzharris, Abingdon, and, following his father's death, was entrusted to the care of his uncle, Richard Tesdale, a saddler of that town. Significantly, in view of what was to transpire, Thomas was the first scholar admitted to Roysse's school in 1563.

By the age of twenty, Tesdale had taken over the malt-making side of the family business and, in June 1567, married an Abingdon widow, Maud Stone (1545-1616); none of their children survived infancy. In Abingdon, the husband and wife worshipped at St Helen's church where the Vicar, Edmund Wolf, and his successor, Robert Hollande, were both puritans of the conformist type whose influence evidently made its mark on the couple. [5]

Tesdale was active in the public life of Abingdon and, in 1580, became both a Principal Burgess and Master of Christ's Hospital. When, however, he was elected Mayor in the following year, he declined to serve as he had moved to Ludwell Manor, Kidlington, some miles the other side of Oxford. Soon after 1586, he moved to Glympton near Woodstock where he rented the manor house and successfully engaged in the production of woad for dyeing in addition to other agricultural enterprises.

Once settled there, Tesdale set up a weekly Sunday lectureship for which he paid £20 per annum. Little observes that he desired the preacher "to be of special note and of the best account in the University of Oxford".[6] This arrangement would surely account for his friendship with, and choice of, the first two of those whom he appointed as devisees in both the matter of the usher for the Bennet scholars and that of the £5,000 legacy in his will.

Despite these moves, Tesdale remained in close touch with his family and retained his concern for his old school. Thus, in 1608, his nephew, William Bennet, bequeathed a considerable estate to his uncle to be conveyed in trust to Christ's Hospital for the creation of six

Bennet scholarships at Roysse's School to be held by boys chosen from among the poorest in Abingdon. Following agreement between Thomas and William's brother, Ralph, and Christ's Hospital as to the form of teaching to be offered, the first six boys were selected in November 1609. Following on from this, Tesdale's will the next year left property to provide for an usher to be responsible for teaching these scholars. Although the first usher was appointed in 1610, the final conveyance of the properties was not completed until March 1624.[7]

Thomas Tesdale's will was dated the last day of February 1609/10, though not actually completed until 31 May 1610, and the responsibility for carrying out his scheme for Abingdon boys at Oxford was entrusted to "three devisees and trusty friends". As noted above, these were the same trio charged elsewhere in the will with the legacy to provide the usher for the Bennet scholars.[8]

Of these, the first named, George Abbot, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, was to be the one who was to play by far the leading part in what was to transpire.[9] During his years as Fellow of Balliol and, from 1597, Master of University College, Abbot had achieved a considerable reputation as a preacher of a resolutely Protestant standpoint. Whilst no puritan, his theology was distinctly Calvinist.

The degree of his influence on Tesdale in religious matters may be seen in the letter, sent to him on the occasion of the formal inauguration of Pembroke College in August 1624, by its first Master, Thomas Clayton. In this, the latter referred to the man whose legacy had made the foundation possible as your Tesdale because of his zealous devotion to Abbot who, over many years, had educated him in religion and piety and had encouraged him to make this gift.[10]

There is further evidence that, from the outset, George Abbot was the predominant influence. Thus, the first college named as the place to receive the Abingdon boys was his own alma mater, Balliol, where he had resided for eighteen years, serving as senior dean on four occasions between 1591 and 1597, and where his brother, Robert, was currently Master. Furthermore, the second choice of college was University where George had been Master since 1597, having only just resigned the post at the end of 1609.

Some fourteen years later, when the first statutes of the newly founded Pembroke were drawn up, this connection was explicitly acknowledged in the section on the election of the Master of the College. Thus, if no suitable past or present Fellow could be found to fill the post, then, with the consent of the Visitor, it was permissible to look elsewhere and that in such case the search should begin first in Balliol and secondly in University College out of honour to Tesdale and Abbot who had been closely connected with these colleges.

The will's second trustee, the Provost of Queen's College from 1599, Henry Airay, was an active and zealous preacher in and around Oxford with Calvinist views even more extreme than Abbot's. That Tesdale held him in high regard may be judged from the wish expressed in his will that he might be buried in Queen's chapel; a wish that was not to be fulfilled. However, Airay died in 1616 whilst the process of setting up the Oxford scholarships was still in its early stages.[11]

The third devisee, Sir John Bennet, was the son of Tesdale's half-sister, Elizabeth. That he also shared a similar theological position to that of his fellow trustees may be judged by published works dedicated to him by Calvinist authors and by his dedication of his own 1625 *The Psalme of Mercy* to the puritan divine, John Downame. At first sight, Sir John would seem to have been an outstanding choice for the role assigned. One of the very first Englishmen to be knighted by James 1, he pursued a distinguished career as an able

judge, parliamentarian and diplomat. In the same year that Tesdale's will was proved he was asked by Sir Thomas Bodley to act as fund raiser and overseer of building work for the Bodleian Library and, on Bodley's death, was appointed one of the executors of the latter's legacy to the University.

However, in 1621 Bennet was accused of exacting bribes and excessive fees and suffered a term of house arrest and an enormous fine. He was finally released in time to sign the first set of Pembroke's statutes in June 1624 but was hors de combat during the critical period prior to this. It is noteworthy that Sir John joined his remaining fellow trustee, George Abbot, as signatories in approving the transfer of Tesdale's legacy from Balliol to found Pembroke.[12]

Turning to the details of Tesdale's legacy, his intention was to provide for thirteen boys at Oxford; six to be Scholars, seven Fellows. Of this total, six, two of the Scholars and four of the Fellows, were to be of his kin, "and of the poorer sorte of them. And the other seven of the poorer sorte of such as are or shall be borne in Abingdon, and as poor Schollers of Mr. William Bennet my kinsman deceased, brought up in the school there, if amonge them fit choyce may be made." Of the six who were to be Scholars at Oxford, the two founder's kin were each to receive £15 a year and the other four each £12 a year. The seven to be Fellows were each to receive £25 a year. The four of these who were Tesdale's kinsmen were "to be taken out of the said Schoole of Abingdon, if there such may be found answerable to my intent, if not, then out of any other school in England."

It is interesting to compare these injunctions with those made for the Scholars and Fellows of Wadham College which received King James' Letters patent for its foundation in the same year that Tesdale's will was completed. The financial provisions at Wadham were less generous; the fifteen Scholars were each to receive £10 a year, the fifteen Fellows each £20. The proportion of Founder's kin was far smaller; just three Scholars and three Fellows. Moreover, in contrast to Tesdale's provisions, only six of the scholarships were restricted to those from a specified location; three from Essex, three from Somerset.[13]

The election of Tesdale's scholars was to be the responsibility of a panel comprising the Head and the two senior Fellows of the Oxford college and the Master and two senior Governors of Christ's Hospital together with the Master of the school, thus awarding a majority say to the Abingdonians. In the 1624 Pembroke statutes, this was emended by allotting two votes to the Master of the college thus balancing the two parties. In the event of the votes being equal, the successful candidate had to obtain the approval of the Vice-Chancellor, the President of Corpus Christi College, and the Provost of Queen's College.[14]

The election of the seven Fellows was to be delayed until the provision of their accommodation was completed; the six Scholars were to be chosen first once rooms were ready for them. Once at Oxford, all the Fellows and Scholars were to be ordained within three years of becoming MAs.

Although Tesdale's will did state that, if it were not possible for his scholars and fellows to be "conveniently placed and entertained" at either Balliol or University, then they might be so "in some other such Colledge within the University, as my said devisees and trusty friends shall finde fitt for that purpose", there is no doubt that his preference was very decidedly for Balliol. If any further proof of this were needed, then a glance at one entry on the list of his virtues recorded on the brass plate of his memorial on the floor of Glympton church reads that he was "liberally beneficial to Balliol Colledge in Oxford".

All in all, Tesdale's legacy may be seen as a classic instance of the phenomenon described

by Stephen Porter in the opening chapter of the Seventeenth Century History of the University - "The universities benefitted considerably from the spate of charitable giving which characterised the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, receiving roughly 7.5% of all donations during the period. Much of this was in the form of endowments designed to provide exhibitions and scholarships for the support of students from a particular county, place, or school, those attending a nominated college or studying a specified subject. In addition to the desire to support poor boys who were able enough to benefit from a spell at university, educational philanthropy after the reformation had the underlying motive of establishing protestantism and reducing Catholic influence".[15]

The implementation of Tesdale's plans for Abingdonians at Balliol proved to be a somewhat protracted process, since, as Adam Clark observes in his section on the projected Tesdale Foundation, "there would be moneys lent on bond to be collected, copyhold lands to be transferred by the slow processes of the manorial courts, and the like".[16] As evidenced by the Bursar's Battells Books, it was not till 1620 that the six Tesdale Scholars were in residence.[17] Thomas's stipulations as to their provenance were faithfully discharged - all six were from Abingdon School where four had been Bennett Scholars and at least one was of Founder's kin. The author of the college's most recent history observes that nonetheless "no detailed contract was made for the long term. The College hesitated, because it was reluctant to enter into an agreement which would result in a fundamental change in its composition, but terms were eventually agreed informally with the Abingdon corporation."[18]

Henry Savage, a Fellow of Balliol from 1628 and Master from 1651, gives an account of the proceedings in *Balliofergus*, Oxford, 1668.[19] "Seaven Fellowships and six Scholarships, given by William[sic] Tisdale, were upon the point of being settled here, upon such terms as should be agreed upon between the Abingdonians and the Colledge, and allowed by George Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace. Three hundred pound of the Money given by Tisdale to the foresaid intent and purpose, was delivered into the hands of the Colledge, wherewith (with the addition of 40 l. or thereabouts) were bought Caesar's lodgings, with all the Houses and Appurtenances adjoyning, for a present Receptacle for the said six Scholars, which were there received and settled accordingly, receiving their Exhibitions by the hands of our Bursars...".[20]

Savage then goes on to give the "Articles of Agreement between the Major, Bayliffs, and Burgesses of the Town of Abingdon, and the Master and Scholars of Balliol Colledge, concerning the Incorporating into the said Colledge seaven Fellows and six Scholars of Mr. Tisdale's Foundation, mutually assented unto, if so be it shall seem good to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace".[21]

The articles, twelve in number, are not dated. However, since Robert Parry, the most junior of the nine Balliol Fellows who, together with the Master, subscribed to them, was elected in 1620, it is reasonable to conclude that they were drawn up in, or soon after, that year. Adam Clark comments, "by the signatures, almost certainly 1622/3".[22]

There still remained the matter of the seven Fellows the choice of whom had to await the completion of their accommodation. This issue was dealt with in the fifth article as follows, "That the Scholars already chosen, shall so continue, until such time that Money be raised out of their Revenues for to provide convenient Building to receive the full number of the Foundation, and then the said Scholars to be Fellows, and more Scholars chosen. Provided, That the Money levied out of the Yearly Rents, [NB As had been indicated in the second article this currently

was "amounting unto about Eight hundred pounds"] shall remain in the Chamber of the Town of Abingdon until such time that there be raised a competent sum to erect Buildings, uniform to the said Colledge, the Colledge allowing Ground for the said Building; and that the Election of the said Fellows and Scholars respectively, shall be immediately after the finishing of the said Building."[23]

In marked contrast to these lengthy details, Savage immediately proceeds to give the briefest of accounts of the events which rendered them all redundant. "Whil'st these things were pending, the Abingdonians, instead of pursuing the intent of Tisdale, which was to make his Fellows and Scholars an additional part of a Foundation, entertained thoughts [by the help of the Charity of Whitwick] of Founding a new Colledge of itself; which they did effect, without regard at all to the said Condescensions of our Colledge....The place the Abingdonians pitc'd on, was Broadgates-hall, where that they might take such footing, as that nothing might be able to remove them; they made the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University, the God-father of this new Christned Hall, calling it by the name of Pembroke Colledge: King James the Founder of it, who then rained; but (ad onera & costagia) at the cost and charges of Tisdale and Whitwick, allowing these only the priviledge of Foster Fathers,..."[24]

Apart from the reference to "the help of the Charity of Whitwick", Savage's account gives the impression that the overthrow of the intention to house Tedale's fellows and scholars at Balliol and their move instead to the new college, created by the transformation of Broadgates Hall into Pembroke, was all down to the ambitious Abingdonians. However, a moment's consideration makes this a nonsense, since such a profound change would have been quite impossible without sustained planning and action on the part of key figures on both the national and university scenes.

The articles twice make fulsome reference to the necessity of securing Archbishop Abbot's approval which raises the question as to his role in the turn of events that was to transpire and especially his relationship with the man who was to play the major part in bringing the new college into being and himself becoming its first Master, the Regius Professor of Medicine since 1612, Thomas Clayton.

In the letter he wrote to Abbot, on the occasion of the formal inauguration of Pembroke in August 1624, Clayton, having addressed the archbishop as the college's patron, referred to their relationship which went back some thirty years or more and expressed his deep reverence for the latter's piety, learning, and wisdom.[25]

It was, in fact, thirty-three years prior to this letter that, in the summer of 1591, Clayton had arrived as an undergraduate at Balliol where he was to remain until a few months after Abbot's departure. Prior to his matriculation on 15 October 1591, Clayton had already spent a full term in residence at Balliol.[26] Clayton's name does not appear after Terminus Baptistae, 1598.

During the period from 1591, when Clayton was a student at Balliol, Abbot, who had been elected a Fellow in 1583, was Senior Dean on four occasions and there is every likelihood that he was the younger man's personal tutor. In 1587, the college had decided that "each commoner was to have a tutor, and was to perform the same exercises and disputations as the scholars".[27]

It is scarcely surprising that, at various points in the course of Clayton's illustrious career, it is possible to detect the signs of Abbot's influence. Writing of the University under James 1, Kenneth Fincham observes, "In the middle years of the reign, Archbishop George Abbot was a key patron..." and he gives a number of examples of those who thus benefited.[28] That Abbot was not the only

senior figure who was to have an early and continuing influence upon Clayton is apparent from his reaction to the former's departure from Balliol, when, within a few months, he migrated to Gloucester Hall.

Writing of a future Regius Professor of Civil Law, John Budden,[29] John Barton notes that he "migrated from Trinity to Gloucester Hall after his BA," quoting Wood's *Athenae*, "for the sake and at the request of Mr. Thomas Allen", and adding, "Mr. Thomas Allen was well known in his day as a discriminating patron of promising young scholars, and could be trusted to ensure that a protégé of his would not be neglected."[30]

Thomas Allen resided at the university for some seventy years, over forty of them at Gloucester Hall to which he had migrated from Trinity in 1570. A mathematician of note, during his long and active life he was tutor and friend of the talented men of the period in that subject. Moreover, being the most congenial of companions, he spent the vacations visiting a range of learned men among the gentry and aristocracy. Another of Allen's consuming interests was the collection of medieval manuscripts, especially mathematical and scientific. It is an indication of the influence upon Clayton that the latter developed a similar interest resulting in an impressive collection of medical texts some of which he bequeathed to the college and to the Bodleian.[31]

Clayton's relationship with Allen was to be of continuing importance not least in the access it gave to the latter's extensive network of influential contacts. Just how close the two men were may be judged from the following eighteenth century report of the disposal Allen made of his portraits. "His picture, painted to the life, he gave to the President of Trinity College [NB. His undergraduate college and burial place] and his successors to remain in the said President's dining room for ever. Another he gave to the Cotton Library, and a third to his old friend, Dr. Thomas Clayton, head of Pembroke College."[32]

Returning to the matter of Abbot's patronage, an early example and one which concerns Clayton is to be seen on the occasion of James 1's visit to the University in August 1605 when Abbot was Vice-Chancellor with oversight of the arrangements. The future Regius Professor was one of the six Masters of Arts who took part as "opponentes" in the formal disputations in natural philosophy held before the king.[33]

That Clayton was here one of a group whose members were destined for distinguished futures may be observed from the fact that no fewer than four of his fellow disputants, Simon Baskerville, Edward Lapworth, Richard Mocket, and Robert Pincke, have entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.[34]

Just how important such an occasion as this could prove for a participant may be judged from the example of Simon Baskerville whose performance won praise from the king and who went on to become personal physician to the latter and then to Charles 1.[35] In Clayton's case, his appearance here before the king may well have been a factor in his securing the Regius chair seven years later.

An observation of RG Frank's is of particular relevance in view of the first post which Clayton took up. "medical study, with its attendant emphasis on Latin and Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and botany, provided a broad education suitable for a professorship generally."[36] On 20 December 1607, Clayton was elected Professor of Music at Gresham College, London.

In drawing attention to the importance of the speculative music theory in Oxford at this period, PM Gouk emphasises the link with "the mathematical sciences, medicine, and the study of Greek and Latin authors",

specifically mentioning "Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall" in this context and instancing the Oxford academic musician, Matthew Gwinne, who, ten years earlier, had anticipated Clayton's move in reverse on becoming the first Professor of Medicine at Gresham College.[37]

Founded in 1596 by a bequest from the eminent City Mercer, Sir Thomas Gresham (ca. 1519-1579), with chairs in Divinity, Civil Law, Rhetoric, Music, Astronomy, Geometry, and Medicine, the election to that of Music was in the hands of representatives of the City. However, as IR Adamson points out in his comprehensive study of the first century of the college's existence, "The period 1596-1613 in the history of Gresham College are the years of Royal interference. Never once when a Royal candidate was nominated for a Gresham post did he fail to be elected".[38] Even if Abbot was not as yet close enough to the king to secure his protégé's election, his own patron, Thomas Sackville, whom James had confirmed as Lord High Treasurer for life and made Earl of Dorset, most certainly was.[39]

Clayton held the post for just three years and, on resigning, was immediately succeeded by John Taverner (1584-1638), who, as it appears, may well have had an Abbot to thank for the appointment. Taverner was a Cambridge graduate who had incorporated his MA at Oxford in 1606, though it is unclear if he had a particular college attachment there. However, for the Gresham post he was formally sponsored by Balliol, whose Master at the time was George's brother, Robert. Furthermore, Taverner was to spend nine years as secretary to George's close theological ally, John King, who succeeded the former as Bishop of London on Abbot's elevation to Canterbury in 1611. In July 1620, just a month after his appointment as Principal of Broadgates Hall, Clayton opened a subscription book recording the names of those responding to his appeal for donations towards improvements in the fabric of the Hall. Both Taverner and King's eldest son, Henry, the future Bishop of Chichester, were among the subscribers.[40]

Clayton resigned the Gresham chair on 22 November 1610, less than three weeks after the death of Archbishop Bancroft opened the door for George Abbot's elevation to Canterbury. The latter was already high in the royal favour, having just been translated to the see of London. Although it took nearly four months for the appointment to be made, the knowledge that Abbot was Bancroft's choice as his successor may have been enough for Clayton to make his move, confident that his patron would be even closer to the king in whose gift lay the regius chair.

On his return to Oxford, Clayton took his BM and DM degrees from Balliol on 20 June 1611 before succeeding his father-in-law, Bartholomew Warner, as Regius Professor of Medicine in March 1612.[41]

Clayton was to hold this post until his death, thirty-five years later, at the age of seventy-two. In his article on Medicine in the Seventeenth Century History of the University, Robert G Frank Jr. describes Clayton as "the century's most energetic and active "king's professor of physic"- as the position was commonly called. Over 120 BMs, almost ninety DMs, and numerous licentiates in medicine or surgery were admitted during his tenure, many with his testamur".[42]

AHT Robb-Smith goes even further in his estimation of Clayton, hailing him "as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Regius Professor Oxford has as yet had", and states that "it was his achievement to provide much of the flower of Commonwealth and early Restoration medicine".[43]

A marked feature of Clayton's life was his ability to make things happen, making the fullest use of the wide range of contacts he enjoyed. Thus, having secured his chair, he

went on to improve its remuneration. Soon after the setting up of the five regius chairs, the foundation of the diocese of Oxford, with Christ Church as its cathedral, in 1546, led to the professors of Greek, Hebrew and Divinity becoming canons of that institution which was henceforth responsible for their stipends. As laymen, this was not an option for the professors of Law and Medicine whose salaries were laid to the charge of the court of augmentations.[44] The annual stipend of each of these chairs was £40; a sum the value of which, by the end of the sixteenth century, had been seriously eroded by inflation.[45]

It would seem obvious that the two lay regius professors would make common cause in the attempts to improve their lot and that such cooperation would be aided by their close relationship founded on the period from 1598 to 1607 when they were fellow members of Gloucester Hall. It is not clear whether an approach was made directly to the king and/or to Oxford's new chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, or whether, once again, George Abbot, the latter's political ally, had a hand in the matter. Clayton and Budden were among those members of Congregation deputed to attend Pembroke's admission to the Oxford post in London in February, 1617[46] and, according to Fincham, the latter agreed "at the request of the university, to augment the stipends of the professors of civil law and medicine by appointing them as principals of halls which lay in his gift".[47]

At the end of 1618, the principalship of Broadgates Hall fell vacant on the death of the aged George Summaster and, on 27 January 1619, the Chancellor duly wrote to the commoners there reiterating his promise and therefore ordering Budden's election.[48] The following year the latter's death occasioned Pembroke to write once more to the same body on 12 June, intimating that he was fulfilling the second part of his promise by nominating Clayton to the vacant principalship.[49]

A further move to improve the lot of the two professors had been initiated in October 1617 when the king communicated to the vice-chancellor his wish that "the Prebend of Shipton and the mastership of Ewelme be annexed to the Professorship of Law and Physic for their better maintenance."[50] However, since both these posts were occupied, there was a considerable delay before any benefit was forthcoming. Indeed, Budden had been dead for thirteen years before his successor to the chair, Richard Zouche, succeeded to the prebendary of Shipton-under-Wychford in Salisbury Cathedral.[51] Clayton did not have to wait quite so long before succeeding to the mastership of God's House at Ewelme, a medieval foundation comprising twelve almsmen, a chaplain and teacher of grammar, situated some ten miles from Oxford.[52]

Once his own position had been thus improved, it was not long before the Regius Professor moved to secure important benefits for his Faculty of Medicine. In the third edition of his celebrated *An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*, Oxford, 1635, George Hakewill argued against the hitherto prevailing view that the created order degenerates over time by citing a series of examples to prove the supremacy of the moderns over the ancients. In Section 3 of Book 4 he treats the case of medicine under a heading which has considerable significance in the light of developments relating to that subject in Oxford earlier in the decade, "Ancient and Moderne Physitians compared especially in the Knowledge of Anatomy and Herbary, the two legges of that Science".[53] Having noted that "the practise of anatomizing the dead bodies of men, so profitable to bring us to the knowledge of ourselves, was never brought into the bodie of a perfect art till this latter age," Hakewill continues, "and truly I have often not a little wondered with myself that an Universitie so famous in forraine parts as this of Oxford was never to my knowledge provided of a publique lecture in this kind till now, as neither was it for

a garden of simples, now in good forwardness by the noble munificence of the Heroicall Earle of Danbie...".[54]

As the latest history of the Garden observes, "Physic gardens .... were established, for example, at Pisa, Padua and Bologna in the 1540s, and at Leiden in the 1570s, but a petition to create one in Cambridge in the 1590s led to nothing".[55] As will become evident, there is little doubt that it was Clayton who was responsible for securing both this and a lectureship in Anatomy for Oxford.

Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby, had been a distinguished soldier and later an efficient administrator, standing high in the king's favour.[56] In 1617, he had been granted the rangership of Cornbury Park some fifteen miles north of Oxford. McGurk notes that, in retirement there, the earl "appears to have suffered much ill health" and HM Sinclair states that he was "a patient of the Regius Professor (Thomas Clayton) ".[57]

Sinclair gives no reference for this claim but it would seem feasible enough, granted what is known of Clayton's character and abilities. Thus, Henry Savage praises him, "He was a good linguist, to whom great Avicenne might speak and be understood without an Interpreter. A good Divine too: and this his skill he did so seasonally exercise towards his Patients, that it rendered him worthy of double honour".[58]

There is at least one piece of direct evidence for his skill as a physician in the form of a letter of thanks, written to him sometime between 1613 and 1619, from one who had benefitted from his treatment. The grateful patient, Degory Wheare, was to be a lifelong friend of his doctor and the letter in question gives a brief but specific account of the unpleasant symptoms of the illness and of the success of the prescribed treatment in curing it, appending a fourteen-line poem expressing appropriately grateful sentiments.[59]

Towards the end of their lives - they died within three weeks of each other in the summer of 1647 - in a dedicatory letter written in April 1644, Wheare witnesses yet another striking example of Clayton's ability to make things happen at the highest level of Oxford life in helping to secure his friend's appointment as the first Camden Professor of History in 1622.[60]

The subsequent development of the garden, which led to its renaming as the Botanic Garden in 1834, should not obscure the fact that its original purpose was primarily to serve the needs of the Faculty of Medicine. Thus a contemporary account describes Danby as "being minded to become a benefactor to the University, determined to begin and finish a place whereby learning, especially the faculty of medicine, might be improved". The pre-eminence of that faculty is further made clear in the description of the garden's formal opening, "The opening ceremony took place at 2 p.m. on the 25th of July, St. James's Day, in the year of our Lord, 1621, when the Vice-Chancellor and other dignitaries went solemnly from St. Mary's Church to the Garden, where, being settled, Mr. Edward Dawson, a Physician of Broadgates Hall, and Dr. Clayton, the Regius Professor of Medicine, each spoke an oration. Afterward the V.C. laid the first stone, with the offering of money thereon, according to the ancient custom; then several Doctors, and both the Proctors; which being done, the Vice-Chancellor concluded with a brief Oration".[61]

It is worth noting that Edward Dawson, whose time at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, had culminated with his MA in 1620, had incorporated the degree at Oxford, becoming a member of Broadgates Hall that same year soon after Clayton had become its Principal in June. Licensed to practise medicine in 1621, he was clearly a young man of great promise. The chapter on Medicine in the Seventeenth History of the University gives one example

of his prowess. Writing of the Act of June 1633, RG Frank records, "one of Clayton's students, the inceptor, Edward Dawson, gave an affirmative answer to the question, "Is the circulation of the blood possible?", just five years after Harvey had published his discovery and when the circulation of the blood was accepted by almost no one".[62] Sadly, Dawson died in December 1635.

Whereas, in the case of the Physic Garden, there is no absolute certainty, albeit a very high degree of probability, that it was Clayton who secured the donor; in the matter of the other major addition to Oxford's medical facilities, the Tomlins Lecturership in Anatomy, the issue is not in doubt.

Until this time, in contrast to such leading continental universities as Padua, Montpelier, Basel, or Leiden, no British university possessed such a lectureship. This deficit was remedied in 1624 when "Richard Tomlins of the City of Westminster, Esquier, ...did founde constitute and ordayne an Anatomye Lector."[63]

The lecture's provisions, set out in sixteen statutes, begin, "1. First, the said Richard Tomlins doth nominate and make speciall choice of his worthy friend Thomas Clayton Doctor of Physicke and his Majesties Professor thereof in the said Universitie to bee the first Reader of the said Lecture."[64] Following the Lenten Assizes each year there were to be four two-hour lectures on successive mornings and afternoons given on the body of an executed criminal dissected by a surgeon according to the Reader's direction. Clayton appointed a local man, Bernard Wright, for the task for which he was to receive three pounds from the Reader's annual allotment of twenty-five.

Clayton duly delivered the inaugural Tomlins Lecture on 12 March 1625 and the subsequent success of the foundation may be judged from Tomlins' fulfilment in 1639 of his promise to increase his original grant. The £500 which he then gave was used to purchase land for the readership' s support and the donor was declared a public benefactor of the university.[65]

Although the Bodleian has a fine portrait of the benefactor, painted around 1628 by the fashionable artist, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, very little is known of Tomlins other than his being a merchant resident in Westminster. However, Clayton himself did have a close connection with the London merchant community through his brother-in-law, Arthur Lee, a citizen and girdler. Reference has already been made to the appeal launched by Clayton in July 1620 to provide for "the enlarging and beautifying of the Hall"; the list of subscribers included not only Lee and his wife, Elisabeth, but a further seven London merchants from a variety of city companies.[66]

From the above accounts there is more than enough evidence to show how formidable a person was the man who became the last Principal of Broadgates Hall and the first Master of Pembroke College. That Clayton had high ambitions for the former institution is made abundantly clear by the fact that - as already noted [67] - within a month of his election he launched a major appeal for funds to improve the buildings of the Hall.

The duodecimo booklet containing a manuscript record of the appeal opens with Clayton's own statement as to its nature and purpose, "We whose names here follow in this booke. In our love to learning, the University, and particularly to Broadgates Hall in Oxford, wch needeth enlargement of the Hall, for meeting at Commons, Disputations, &c., as also some lodgings for Students, do contribute as followeth - July 15, 1620. Thos. Clayton, Principall, xx li to be paid presently towards the providing of Materials. Who promiseth his best care for the disposing of all to the best use of the house, and account to the Contributors of the employtment of all the money which shall come by their love and bounty. Thomas Clayton, Principall."[68]

In the following two years the appeal succeeded in attracting no fewer than 48 donors who, more often than not, in their own handwriting, pledged monetary gifts totalling over £60, in addition to one promise " to glaze over one of the windows in the Hall" and another " to build a whole window in the Hall, stone-work, iron, glasse, etc."[69] On October 5th 1623, some two months after receiving the final donation, Clayton wrote, " Upon […] account of all received of all Benefactors in theyr good love to our Hall, and of all layd out for the enlarging and beautifying of the Hall &c. As appeareth by particular bills kept; there hath beene layd out by the Principall of the House 50l or thereabout more than he hath received."[70] There can be no doubting Clayton's personal commitment to the institution of which he was the head!

The first donation was pledged just two days later and by the end of 1620 a further 27 had been received. The list of donors does not follow a chronological order and begins with a group of five aristocrats headed by the Viscountess of Doncaster whose gift of "five pieces-5l.. 10s." was the largest of all the monetary donations.[71]

Just how important this connection was may be judged from the fact that her husband, James Hay, could hardly have been closer to the king, who, within four years, was to grant the royal charter which transformed Broadgates Hall into Pembroke College. Whilst still James VI of Scotland, he knighted the young Hay and, soon after, on succeeding to the English throne, brought him thence. The king treated him as a prime favourite, making him a gentleman of the bed chamber in 1604, a Baron for life in 1606, Viscount of Doncaster in 1618 and Earl of Carlisle in 1622.[72] In November 1617, Hay, then a widower, married Lucy Percy, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the celebrated "wizard Earl", with both the king and Prince Charles present at the ceremony. The author of her entry in the *ODNB*, refers to her "status as one of the most admired women of her time" and states that "she achieved a status in politics normally reserved for the queen".[73] Henry Percy had been a patron of Clayton's mentor, Thomas Allen, in the 1580s and this would seem to be the likely connection.[74]

The second noble donor was another with a very close link to the crown, namely, "The Right Honorable Gentleman Sr. William Spencer Knight of the Bathe to Prince Charles Sonne and Heire of the Right Honorble Lord Spencer."[75] His father had been created Baron Spencer very early in James I's reign in July 1603, he himself was to succeed to the title in 1625. His wife, "The Right Honorable Lady Penelope Spencer, Daughter of the most Honorable Earle of Southampton…", also gave 44 shillings, whilst his sister, "The noble Lady Anderson,…wife of Sr. Richard Anderson of Pendley", 22 shillings and her husband, Sir Richard, 44 shillings.[76] Lady Spencer's father, Henry Wriothesley, was a very significant political and colourful figure in James 1's reign as also a resolute soldier who was to die of a fever while commanding a group of volunteers against Spain in the Low Countries in 1624.[77]

The remaining 44 donors include many of Clayton's own family, friends and colleagues. Among others of interest, "Margaret Washington, of Northampton, widow", was the direct ancestor of the first US President, George.[78] Six subscribers had been students at Broadgates Hall, of whom by far the most distinguished and the last to make a gift, a sum of £2-4s, was "the great commoner", John Pym.[79]

More than enough has now been established to confirm that Clayton, with all his drive and network of essential contacts, especially that of Abbot, was the chief mover in the process which led to Pembroke's foundation. However, notwithstanding the judgement made above[80] on Savage's giving of the credit to the ambitious Abingdonians, the latter did play a significant part.

In a wide ranging, as yet unpublished, paper on the relations between the school and the college,[81] Michael St. John Parker makes a powerful case for the influence of Thomas Godwin (1586/7-1642), a graduate of Magdalen College, who became Master of Abingdon School in September 1608. He had, therefore, just arrived at the time of the creation of the Bennet scholarships, the appointment of the usher responsible for their teaching, and also to witness the provisions of Tesdale's legacy.[82]

Godwin proved to be a highly successful and respected pedagogue. Anthony Wood praises his "sedulous endeavours" by which "many were educated, that were afterwards eminent in the church and state."[83] In 1613 he published *Romanae Historiae Anthologia. An English Exposition of the Roman Antiquities* and shortly afterwards *Florilegium Phrasicon; or, a Survey of the Latin Tongue*. Both of these were for the use of the school but were soon to gain a far greater readership. As St. John Parker observes these "were recommended reading for the first three months of every Oxford undergraduate course in the seventeenth century, and remained staple fare throughout the eighteenth also, as is amply attested by the regularity with which they were reprinted, and the inscriptions to be found in surviving copies."[84] For instance, the Bodleian Library catalogue lists multiple copies of *Romanae Historiae Anthologiae,* the latest of which is the 15th edition published in 1689.

Having produced these relatively elementary works, the next of Godwin's publications shows where his true scholarly interest lay. *Synopsis Antiquitatum Hebraicarum ad Explicatinem utriusque Testamenti valde necessaria* appeared in 1616, dedicated to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The author had originally matriculated from Magdalen Hall in 1602 where, in 1605, John Wilkinson, a leading Hebraist of the day arrived as Principal - an office he was to fill for forty years. In his chapter, "Oriental Studies", in *Seventeenth Century Oxford*, Mordechai Finegold notes that "it was during his long tenure that the hall produced a series of talented Hebraists... Thomas Godwin, author of *Moses and Aaron*, for example."[85] In addition to his principalship of the hall, Wilkinson by then was also lecturer in Hebrew at Magdalen College for over two decades, and it was doubtless due to this connection that Godwin moved there as a demy in 1606.

It is scarcely surprising that Godwin would have yearned for the freedom to pursue his studies in this field which had no connection with his everyday duties. Wood refers to his "being as 'twere, broken, or wearied out, with the drudgery of a school".[86] AE Preston notes the Master's "taking a leading part in the negotiations undertaken by the Abingdon Corporation".[87] However, alongside his role on their behalf, Godwin clearly had a strong personal incentive once it became apparent that the foundation of the new college could offer him the means of escape.

The device which enabled this to happen was that of the creation of the new category of Charter Fellows on the foundation of Pembroke. As detailed above,[88] Tesdale's legacy was initially intended to provide seven fellows who were to be in residence for the four years required for the BA and a further four for the MA for which they had to study theology. Within three years thereafter they were to be ordained. The stipend was fixed at £25 per annum. In the event all these provisions, save the last, were set aside to allow for the appointment of seven fellows on the Tesdale foundation with no requirements for residence or course of study. Godwin's name headed a list of men, another three of whom were from Abingdon, and all of whom were MAs. Within a year the Master had left the school, with the added prospect of obtaining the living of Brightwell where he became Rector in 1626. In 1625, he published perhaps his most

celebrated work, *Moses and Aaron,* which ran to no fewer than twelve editions throughout the century. Although there is no direct evidence to identify the originator of this scheme, everything that has been noted about Clayton would suggest the likelihood that it was his invention.

To return to the diversion of Tesdale's legacy from Balliol, a contemporary account from the Abingdonian side, states that the principal trustee, George Abbot, attempted to carry out the donor's wish to confer it upon that college, "but the Master and fellows thereof refused to accept the same upon those conditions which were prescribed by the said Thomas Teasdale's will; wherefore, the said Archbishop, very desirous to perform the trust reposed in him, & willing to help forward so good a work as was intended, hath settled the said lands upon Pembroke College in Oxford".[89]

Although Balliol's historian concedes that his college "was proving less than enthusiastic",[90] Savage's account of the negotiations between the two sides[91] shows that Little's treatment of the matter is far too biased and that, in the event, the college did have reason to feel itself very hard done by. Where the two accounts do agree is upon the central importance of Abbot's role; clearly nothing could be done without his consent. In the event, the latter was to play a very active and personal role in dealing with the issues arising; in particular in mitigating the financial distress which Balliol faced on its loss of Tesdale's legacy.

As noted above,[92] the college had received £300 to purchase lodgings to house the first six scholars of the new foundation, which sum it was now obliged to repay. Balliol considered making a legal challenge against Pembroke's claim, but, in the end, both parties agreed to submit to Abbot's arbitration. He ruled that the total should be repaid in instalments over the next three years but, every time one fell due, the archbishop paid it out of his own pocket. The Balliol Bursary Papers duly record these payments made at six monthly intervals from December 1628 to December 1631. As Balliol's historian concludes, "The net result of the whole affair so far as Balliol was concerned was thus that it acquired the lease of a substantial contiguous property, which it did not really want at the time, but at no expense".[93]

Jones[94] gives a full account of the incident which he hazards might have been "the last straw .... the violent death of a Tisdale man at the hands of a Balliol scholar in April 1624". The victim, John Crabtree, a recent BA, had taunted a younger undergraduate and had received a fatal stab wound for his pains. However, as this took place just three months before Pembroke's foundation the following June, it would seem to have been too late in the day to influence matters.

Setting aside Little's dubious account, there was general agreement that, in the process leading to Pembroke's foundation, the balance was tipped by the offer made, some time in 1623, by the Rector of East Ilsley, Berkshire, Richard Whitwick BD, to augment Teasdale's legacy. Thus the college's historian is clear "that but for his bounty, which was no mere deathbed bequest, but an actual bestowal during his lifetime of £100 of income, Pembroke College would not have been founded".[95] The question arises as to what was the link that prompted this benefaction from an elderly country clergyman and the probability is that this came in the person of his distant kinsman, Henry Wightwick, who was later to become the second Master of the new college.

Like Richard, Henry was a Balliol man - indeed, Pembroke's historian conjectures that he was sent there by the former but offers no evidence for this.[96] Matriculating in February 1604/5, Clark's tables record him as a Scholar, aged 15, son of a plebeian from the county of Warwick.[97] He spent five years at the college,

but, following his BA in October 1609, migrated to Gloucester Hall where he took his MA in July 1613.

This migration followed the pattern, observed above,[98] set by a number of promising young scholars encouraged by the presence of Thomas Allen at the hall - most significantly among such that of Pembroke's first Master, Thomas Clayton, who had moved from Balliol at precisely the same point in his career. Moreover, during the period of his residence at the hall, Wightwick would have had personal contact with Clayton, who, despite his tenure of the Gresham chair from December 1607 to November 1610, clearly spent time in Oxford. Thus, his name appears among the members of Gloucester Hall taking the Oath of allegiance there in June 1610.[99]

Interestingly, one of the subscribers to Wightwick's petition was Sir John Bennet, who, as noted above,[100] was the son of Tesdale's half-sister, Elizabeth, and a trustee of the former's legacy, although there is nothing to suggest that this was a factor in the matter. It is perhaps possible that it was Clayton who canvassed Bennet's support since the two men were evidently well acquainted. Thus, it is on record that, in April 1613, the newly appointed Regius Professor of Medicine had been delegated together with Bennet to go to the Court to handle the incorporation of the Chief Physician to the Elector Palatine, Frederick, and the king's daughter, Elizabeth, who had been married in Whitehall the previous month.[101]

At this point, Henry disappears from sight only to emerge a decade later as the first of the three Charter Fellows of his kinsman's foundation. In the interim he presumably continued to be a member of Gloucester Hall and possibly began work for the BD degree which he was to take from Pembroke in July 1626.

The Letters Patent and Charter of Mortmain which brought Pembroke into being were issued on 29 June 1624.[102] At this time, Richard Wightwick's proposals to provide for three fellows and four scholars were still at an early stage and this is reflected in the modifications made in the relevant provisions between the statutes of 1624 and 1628.

In the original statutes only one of the fellows was to be of his kindred, and all three were to have been educated at Abingdon, whereas, in the later, two were to be of his kin or name, with no restriction as to place of birth or education. In 1624, one of the kin fellows was to study theology, proceed to MA, and be ordained; one of the others was obliged to study medicine and to graduate in that faculty; the third had to study civil law and take the BCL degree. However, in 1628, all three were to study theology and be ordained, proceeding to BD within twenty years. Instead of being elected by the fellows of the college, there was to be promotion from among the scholars, founder's kin or Abingdonian, the only qualification mentioned being celibacy and poverty, for an income of more than £10 vacated the place. In 1624 the rule had been the same as for Tesdale's fellows. A cure of souls, whether inside or outside Oxford, vacated a Wightwick fellowship. Of the four Wightwick scholars, it had been stipulated that two should be of his kindred, out of Abingdon School, or, if none found there, from some other; two from the poorer boys at the school, "or some other School, being apt and meet". The later statutes say that two should be of Wightwick's name or kindred, wherever born or educated, and two from the free grammar-school at Abingdon. Vacancies were now to be filled not by the Master and two senior fellows electing, but, in the case of the scholars, in the same way as those of Tesdale, while in the other case whoever should be first presented by one of the two

founder's kin fellows to the Master and two of the senior fellows was to be elected. The limit of age was raised from eighteen to nineteen. Scholars as well as fellows were now to make divinity their profession. The stipend of fellows was fixed in both editions at £20, and of scholars at £10. The Master was to receive £10 a year.[103] Richard Wightwick was among the signatories of the 1628 statutes but not of those of the 1624.

The provision of the income to fund these arrangements was set in place in the summer of 1625 in a series of indentures on his various Berkshire manors and estates leased to his nephews. On 13 August, Wightwick ordained that the rent holders should pay "£500 for the building of rooms and for the Master's stipend; £300 for the years 1625, 1626, 1627, on the 29th day of September next following, for the building of rooms and the Master's stipend, from my foundation. I add further that the holders of the rents shall pay in the year 1628 £100, that is £50 on the 29th day of September and £50 on the 24th day of March....and in the year 1629 £100, that is £50 on the 29th September and £50 on the24th day of March, for the construction of rooms and the Master's stipend, from my foundation.

The rooms to be built for my Fellows and Scholars shall be five in number, of which three shall be for my three fellows, and the remaining two rooms shall be for my four scholars. The Master's stipend from my foundation and which he is to receive each year shall be £10.

Which all, God willing, shall be completed within the afore stated time, that is within the 24th day of March 1630, and for ever thereafter".[104] The consequence of these arrangements was that the members of Wightwick's foundation had to wait till 1630 to receive their first stipends.

Wightwick himself very nearly lived to see the latter date, dying as he did in January 1629/30.

Just how much control Richard had over his foundation may be judged by the provision in the 1628 statutes, "He shall be permitted during his natural life to choose or to remove any of these his fellows and scholars, whomsoever, when, and how, at his own decision; nor shall any of them be removed after his death, on the pretext of defect of age, degree, or learning;"[105]

On its foundation, Pembroke had received as its Visitor the Chancellor of the University *ex officio*; the response by the incumbent, Archbishop Laud, in December 1632, to some concerns on the issue of the payment of stipends during absence from the college of Wightwick fellows and scholars, yields some interesting information.

What is surprising to modern eyes is the fact that some of those in question were "of plus or minus twelve years of age, being educated at a grammar school". Bearing in mind that the Charter Fellows and scholars had been named in 1624, some at least must then have been of very tender years.

In response, Laud decreed that "full stipends must be allocated, even though they may be absent from the College, until they have each severally completed the seventeenth year of their lives". As regards other fellows and scholars, The Visitor set various deductions to stipends for absence with the notable exception, "that Henry Wightwick and George Wightwick, Fellows of your College, are exempt....because it appears that Master Wightwick their founder granted them dispensation to receive full stipends even if they were absent from your College".[106]

Clearly Henry and George Wightwick were singled out for special treatment by the co-founder but this raises the question as to why George does not figure among the three Charter Fellows of whom Henry was the first named. One explanation may be that at an early stage he took the place of one of the

other two such; either John Price or William Griffith. However, the whole issue of any such a change is clouded by the lack of available evidence.

LE Salt, to whose meticulous research we owe a list of the succession of fellows and scholars on all of the college's foundations up to 1934, states, "After the election of the original foundationers and until about 1663 the records are very defective, so that it is not possible to compile a really accurate list of Fellows and Scholars".[107]

As already observed, there was no way that Wightwick's Charter Scholars could originally have fulfilled their residential requirements. Also, again as noted above,[108] it is clear that the directions in the 1624 and 1628 Statutes were not applicable to the seven Tesdale Charter Fellows since they were too senior to have any need to reside and several of them would have had to resign almost immediately as they quickly received ecclesiastical preferment. Thus, in 1625, Nicholas Coexeter, whose certified transcript of the instrument of admission on 20th August 1624 is held in the college archives,[109] became Vicar of Dunstow and Thomas Westley, Vicar of Marsham; the following year, Christopher was made a Canon of Chichester.[110]

The issue of the five remaining of the six Tesdale Charter Scholars whose names also appear on the Instrument of Admission of 20th August 1624, is of some interest. As mentioned above[111] they had come up to Balliol in 1620 and had all received their BAs by 1624. However, the evidence from the Bursar's Batells Book reveals that they continued to reside at Balliol for quite some time thereafter. Adam Clark provides a very plausible explanation for this, at first sight surprising, state of affairs. "On the one hand, in 1624 the rooms at ci-devant Broadgates Hall were occupied by members of the Hall, who would be likely to take deep and just offence if ordered to turn out to accommodate the newcomers..... On the other hand, in 1624, as is seen in the Table of Undergraduates, Balliol College was going down in numbers of inmates, and would certainly have had difficulty in filling the additional rooms added by the annexation of "Caesars". It seems possible that the Pembroke men, for mutual convenience, may have remained in occupation of their Balliol rooms till rooms fell vacant, in ordinary course, at their new College".[112]

Mention has already been made[113] of the violent death at Balliol of one of the original Tesdale Scholars, John Crabtree. The place he would have taken among the Tesdale Charter Scholars at Pembroke went to one John Grace, of whom nothing more is known. His entry in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis* simply reads "Grace, John. Scholar, Pembroke College 1624". Doubtless he was from Abingdon, but he does not appear among those listed as coming to the college from the school there.[114]

Of all the Charter Fellows and Scholars, only one has an entry in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: George Griffith, who was born in Wales and was Bishop of St. Asaph there from 1660 till his death in 1666. A great champion of the Welsh language, he translated the 1661 *Book of Common Prayer* into that tongue.[115] Griffith highlights an intriguing feature of Wightwick's choice of Charter Fellows and Scholars; their Welsh character. In addition to George, there are John Price, William Griffith, and Humphrey Gwynne.

As a final observation, it may reasonably be concluded that, with the exception of Henry Wightwick, it is highly unlikely that any of the Charter Fellows ever resided in the college.

The formal opening of the new college took place in the Hall on 5 August 1624 when the Royal Letters Patent and the Charter of Mortmain, which had been issued on 29 June, were read out and the new Master, Fellows and

Scholars admitted. The college historian gives some details of the "large and distinguished company" present at the occasion. The Vice-Chancellor, John Prideaux, who was to be one of the signatories to the Statutes of 1624, heads the list, which also includes a handful of aristocrats. Mention is also made of "the Proctors, a great number of other Masters, and the Mayor, Recorder, and principal Burgesses of Abingdon".[116]

Some report of the of the proceedings, including the texts of the speeches given, is provided by Henry Savage, who was himself a witness to them, in the section of his *Balliolfergus* entitled, "Natalitia Collegii Pembrochiani Oxonii".[117]. George Abbot was not himself present but was represented by his domestic chaplain, Daniel Featley. However, Savage's "Natalitia" begins by giving the text of Clayton's letter to the Archbishop; the significance of which has already been noted above.[118]

In all, four speeches were given, the first of which by an undergraduate who was to follow the Master into the medical profession and also to go on to achieve lasting celebrity as a literary figure. Thomas Browne (1605-82), whose most famous work, *Religio Medici,* was to be published in 1643, had matriculated as a Commoner from Broadgates Hall in December 1623.[119]

Throughout his oration, Browne makes great play with the relationship between Broadgates Hall and the college into which it is about to be transformed. He salutes the Earl of Pembroke as "the most noble Mecaenas" who has taken the hall under his protection and "from a hall will make it a college, from Broadgates, Pembroke, bestowing thereon his own name". He goes on to stress the positive nature of the change. "He of Broadgates is one of Pembroke, and contrariwise, he of Pembroke is one of Broadgates". Finally, still addressing the Earl, Browne concludes. "This Broadgates of ours in our hands, most excellent Sir, we deposit as a trust. We cannot bring ourselves to say we leave it in thy hands. I say we deposit it with happy omen, to take back anon in the stead of a hall a college, in the stead of a principal a master".[120]

The second oration was delivered by one of the Charter Scholars, John Lee, who had received his BA at Balliol in 1622. He was evidently a very bright young man who took his MA in 1625 but died that same year. Lee's speech is extremely flowery, packed with showy mythological allusions, not all of them apposite. He gives credit to Clayton for ensuring that Tesdale has, as he puts it, "come to life again...here in our halls" and goes on to hail Abbot as the latter's fiduciary heir.[121]

As himself one of the Abingdonians who spent five years at Balliol, Lee is well content to deliver, at some length, a positive account of their move from one college to the other.[122]

Towards the end of his speech, Lee, who, as noted above,[123] was still housed there, says that he has another engagement at Balliol, "to initiate the laboratory of Gowrie's invention".[124] This is a reference to the day's anniversary of the notorious Gowrie conspiracy of 5 August 1600 when James escaped possible assassination by the Scottish earl of that name. Bearing in mind what had followed in England in 1605, the 5th of the month appears to have been a perilous day for the king!

The final oration was delivered by Matthias Turner MA (ca. 1601-?), an account of whom is given by his Balliol near contemporary Henry Savage, "he went to be a Tutor in Broadgates Hall where he became Reader in Physick; [sic] upon which account he made one of the Orations in the Natalitia of Pembroke Colledge. He had skill in the Oriental Languages. He wrote (as he professed to me) all his Sermons in Greek".[125] Clearly Savage has here mistaken the subject of

Turner's office. In the "Natalitia" the heading of the latter's speech describes him as "Art: Mag: Praelector Philosophiae".[126]

College Statutes

A royal commission was issued to Abbot, the Earl of Pembroke, the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, Sir John Bennet, Sir Eubule Thelwall, the Master for the time being, Walter Dayrell, Esq., Recorder of Abingdon, and Richard Wightwick, clerk, or any four of them, to make statutes for the good government of the House.

Sir Eubule Thelwall had, three years before, procured from the king a new charter, empowering commissioners to frame statutes for Jesus College, of which he had just become Principal, and which he was, in 1624, building and embellishing. There is, however, no noticeable resemblance between these statutes, which are puritan in tone, and those made for Pembroke.[127] Walter Dayrell had been Recorder of Abingdon since 1609 and was to die in June 1628.

The future Bishop of Worcester, John Prideaux, was Vice-Chancellor in 1624, and, while he was still in office, a body of statutes was drawn up and signed by him and five other Royal Commissioners - Abbot, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir John Bennet, Sir Eubule Thelwall, and the Master, Thomas Clayton.[128]

In 1628 a further body of statutes was drawn up signed by the then Vice-Chancellor, the future Archbishop of York, Accepted Frewen, Abbot, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Eubule Thelwall, Thomas Clayton, and Richard Wightwick.[129]

The modifications between the earlier and later statutes are not extensive. By far the most important - those relating to Wightwick's provisions - have already been noted.[130]

A striking feature of the statutes is the evident concern, not merely for the ordering of the college's religious life, which would have equally been the case in earlier days, but with the correct ordering of that life in strict accordance with the tenets of the established church. This is highlighted by comparison with the statutes of Wadham dating from 1612 which were moulded on the old familiar lines.

Having in both cases invoked the holy and undivided Trinity and declared the intention to set up an institution of learning to the glory of God and the good of state and church, the Wadham statutes proceed to the matter of the Head of House and his election. Pembroke's, on the other hand, immediately continue, under the general heading "On Divine Worship", not only to make provision for services in the college chapel and attendance at them - a matter not dealt with by Wadham's until the eighth chapter - but follow these with two paragraphs for which the latter have no equivalent. The first of these requires the attendance of all members of the college at all university sermons, at the service at the beginning of term and other public solemnities. The second forbids the maintaining of any error or heresy or any opinion not approved by the Church of England under the ultimate threat of expulsion.

It is reasonable to attribute this new emphasis to the appearance, in the period between the founding of the two colleges, of the Royal Edicts of January 1617 which laid such stress on conformity to the established church. The first of these edicts required candidates for any degree to subscribe not merely to the Thirty-nine Articles of 1562 and the Royal Supremacy, which they had been obliged to do since the previous reign, but to do so now in the form of the Three Articles of Canon 36 of the 1604 Canons of the Church of England which were substantially Archbishop Whitgift's Three Articles of 1583, modified to prevent any prevarication by Puritans.[131]

Three of the remaining seven edicts are explicitly concerned to ensure Anglican

orthodoxy, whilst one of the provisions noted in the Pembroke Statutes is clearly presaged in edict three "that all studentes doe resort to the Sermons at St. Maries". It is not surprising then to encounter the stipulation in the second chapter of the college's Statutes that its Master should be a man sound in religion, embracing the faith of the Church of England. No such reference to the established church had been deemed necessary for the Warden of Wadham.[132]

Public prayers were to be said twice a day. In full term these were to be take place between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning and in the evening before or after dinner which at this period was served between 5 and 6 p.m. Attendance at both services was obligatory and for all members, junior and senior alike, and the Statutes devote a lengthy paragraph to detailing the punishments for late arrival - a penny fine - or one or two pence for non-attendance. In the case of those under 18, this might mean being beaten with the rod.

The services referred to in the Statutes had been in use in England since the Act of Uniformity at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign in 1559 had restored the 1552 Book of Common Prayer with a few modifications. The services of Morning and Evening Prayer comprised a fixed setting of prayers and other liturgical elements that provided a framework for the systematic recitation of all 150 Psalms each month. In addition, at every service, two lessons were read, one from the Old Testament and one from the New, so that in the course of a year all of the latter and much of the former were heard. On average, Morning Prayer would last for nearly half an hour; Evening Prayer for slightly less. The Book of Common Prayer also required that the Litany be said after Morning Prayer each Sunday, Wednesday and Friday, adding a further ten minutes to the time spent in chapel on those days. There is no direction as to whether the services are to be in Latin or English. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 was later to expect that colleges used the former.

Lacking a chapel of its own, for the first century of its existence, Pembroke followed the practice of Broadgates Hall in holding its daily services in the south 'Docklington's' aisle of nearby St. Aldate's Church which it rented from the churchwardens for the annual sum of 6s 8d. The one evident change was the addition there of a stall for the Master, a large oak panel of which, featuring the college coat of arms, is now to be found in the parish church of the nearby Oxfordshire village of Stanton St. John.

The final paragraph of the first chapter of the Statutes decrees that, in all public meals in hall, Grace shall be said in Latin before and after and, about the middle of lunch and dinner, a chapter or convenient portion of Scripture be read aloud in the said language. There is no record of the Grace before Meat; the present one dates from 1887. The Grace after Meat, however, antedates the college's foundation, having been composed in the days of Broadgates Hall by the celebrated antiquarian, William Camden (1551-1623), whilst a student there. This reads: "Gratias Tibi, Deus misericors, pro acceptis a Tua bonitate alimentis; enixe comprecantes ut serenissimum nostrum Regem Jacobum, totam regiam familiam, populumque Tuum universum tuta in pace semper custodias. Amen".

The next fifteen chapters of the Statutes are introduced under the heading "On the Family of the College", assigning their place as members to all from the Master, who is described as the father, downwards. Chapter 2 sets out at some length the details of the latter's election, whilst the much shorter 3rd says more of his role as a good father of the family showing himself as an example of piety, honourable dealings, prudence, industry, and study, so that the family as a whole may hold a mirror by which to put itself in order.

The final section deals with the Master's salary which is to be £20 from the Tesdale rents and £10 out of those of Wightwick, besides

all emoluments arising from room-rents, admissions, presentations to degrees, and other accustomed dues which the Principal of Broadgates Hall had hitherto received. Whilst, as noted above,[133] the stipends of the Pembroke Fellows compared favourably with those of Wadham's, this was far from being so in the case of the respective Heads of House since the Warden received £100. At this stage this was not a problem as Clayton had his salary as Regius Professor of Medicine, but later in the century the situation was to require attention.

Moving on to Chapter 4, the seven Tesdale Fellows are the sons of the family who, so that they may be of support to their father in the administration of the household, are to be upright, pious and prudent. They are to be at least seventeen years old, graduates, from those who had been Scholars within the three years immediately preceding. They are to be unmarried, of good reputation, with a sufficiency of learning but a need for financial support. All seven are to study theology, to take their MA as soon as permitted or within a year of that time. Within three years of this they are to be ordained to the priesthood. A fellowship must be vacated in the event of the holder securing a benefice, or having an income of £40 outside the University, or on marriage.

Turning next to the six Tesdale Scholars, the picture of the family relationships becomes somewhat confused since the latter, having been termed grandsons, are then immediately said to be the sons of the Master and Fellows, and from among whom the Fellows are to be chosen, as is the Master from among the Fellows. The Scholars are to be of good birth, modest, of good promise, endowed in Latin and Greek letters sufficiently for their age, thirteen years old, but under nineteen at the time of the falling vacant of another Scholar. The provisions as to their previous schooling, their relationship to the Founder, and their remuneration, replicate the provisions set out in the latter's will as noted above.[134]

The election of Scholars was to be held in Abingdon School. As detailed above, the Abingdonians and the College had equal votes in their selection.[135]

Chapters five to nine of the Statutes cover the provisions for Richard Wightwick's three Fellows and four Scholars and have already been set out and commented upon at some length.[136]

The next Statute concerns the College servants, stating that their place in the family is necessary to serve the whole household. It goes on to set out the various offices and duties of manciple, butler, cook, smith, carpenter, mason, gardener, barber, and porter.

Having thus dealt with the members of the family, the Statutes move on to the regulations concerning the Commoners whose presence is encouraged. Living at their own expense in College they are to be regarded as guests and strangers, who, as in every well-ordered household, should be courteously welcomed and kindly treated. They are to be assigned rooms and enjoy all the commodities of College life.

Chapters thirteen and fourteen, headed "On Keeping the Peace", begin by asserting that no-one who is quarrelsome or violent should live in a peaceable household of the kind we desire. Carrying arms, except when starting from, or having lately returned to, Oxford, is to be punished by expulsion. For contumelious language, a senior is to be fined, a junior to be flogged. Violence leading to bloodshed carries a fine of 6s. 8d.; without bloodshed of half that sum. Anyone, whether Fellow or other, sleeping out without leave is to be fined at least 12d. Revealing the secrets of the College is to incur a fine of 2. 6d. Dissolute habits and associates and also forbidden games, are the subject of other rules, and there is one against appeals to outside courts of law.

The next Statute affirms that, in a well-ordered household, there should be no-one who is

idle; therefore in this house devoted to piety and learning it is our will that all who live in College shall receive instruction and practice in study, lectures, disputations and all appropriate academic exercises.

First among these is to be a lecture on the Catechism - presumably that contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This is to be given by any suitable College member or, failing such, someone from outside. This is to be given at 10am on every Saturday or Sunday in full term and attendance is to be compulsory for all BAs and undergraduates and optional for all others. The lecturer to have as his salary 6d from each Fellow, Scholar, or Commoner, for each term or fourth part of the year [NB. At this period there were four terms in the University's academic year; the reduction to the present number of three did not take place till 1918].

Second, there is to be a lecture in Natural Philosophy to be given at 9am on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays by an MA or BA, Fellow, Scholar, or Commoner and attended by all undergraduates in the higher class. The praelector is to moderate at their disputations on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The lecturer to receive 13s 8d per term.

There is to be a lecture on Logic, given by an MA or BA, Fellow, Scholar or Commoner, at 6am, that is immediately after morning prayers, on Mondays and Fridays to be attended by all undergraduates of the lower class. The lecturer is to moderate at their disputations at a suitable hour on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. He is to receive 13s 4d per term.

There is to be a Rhetoric lecture, given by an MA or BA, Fellow, Scholar or Commoner at 9am on Tuesdays and Fridays to be attended by all undergraduates including servitors. The lecturer to receive 10s per term.

There is to be a lecture on the Greek language given by an MA or BA, Fellow, Scholar or Commoner at 2pm on Tuesdays and Fridays. Attendance shall be required of all undergraduates who have a grounding in Greek, or who are, in the opinion of the Master and their tutors, likely to benefit from the said lecture. The lecturer shall have for his salary 10s for each term.

All these lecturers shall be nominated and appointed by the Master at the beginning of the Michaelmas term for the year following, and he is to pay the said lecturers in philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and Greek their salaries as mentioned from the rents of rooms which he has received.

There shall be disputations in theology every other week in term time on Thursdays at 4pm; expositions and responses shall be given in turn by all MAs, Fellows, Scholars, and Commoners who have completed the first year of their regency. These shall be moderated by the Master of the College, or the catechetical lecturer, or any other suitable person at the discretion of the Master; and he shall have in return for this work for each term of the year 14s from the disputants.

There shall be disputations in philosophy each week in term time on Sundays or Saturdays at 4pm; all BAs, Fellows, Scholars, and Commoners shall dispute and respond in turn. These shall be moderated by the junior Dean of the College who shall receive for his work for each term of the year 14s, to be paid equally by the said BAs.

All undergraduate Scholars and Commoners, except the Fellow Commoners, are to declaim publicly in hall on Sundays or Saturdays in term time immediately after common prayers, and all graduates, except the Fellow Commoners, shall show their themes or exercises and submit themselves to correction for their offences against the statutes of the College, for absence from prayers and other misdemeanours, for punishment by the Master, Vicegerent, or Deans.

Servitors, whether Scholars or Batellers, are ordered to declaim every Thursday just before or after dinner.

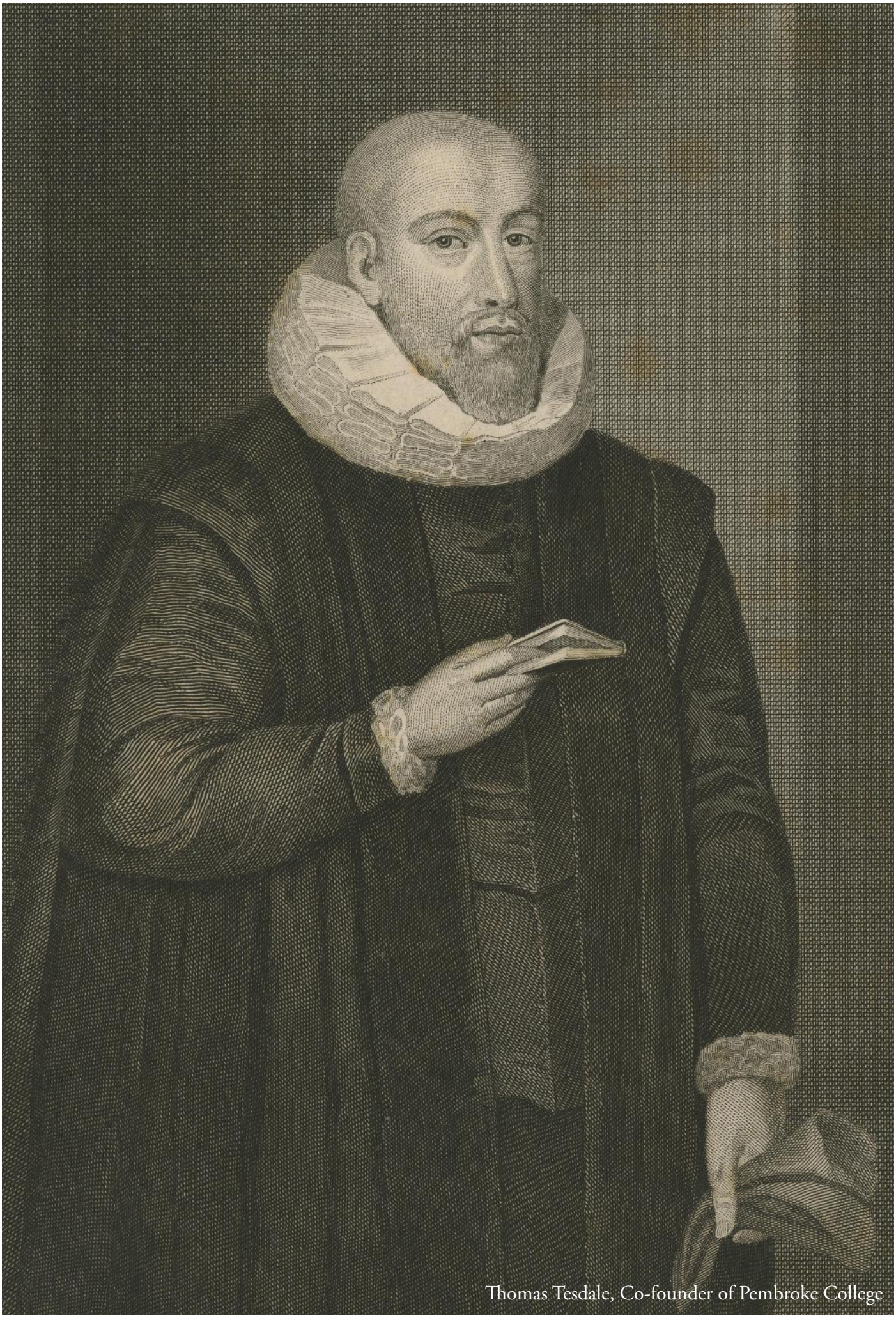
All undergraduates shall live under a tutor who is a graduate, at the discretion of the Master, except the Fellow Commoners, who shall enjoy their freedom in their studies and scholastic exercises of the College.

Everyone, before supplicating for a degree in any faculty in the University, shall either propose or respond publicly in hall on a proposition to be approved by the Master; when he has performed this creditably in the latter's judgement, his leave to supplicate shall be granted in the view of the College and he shall forward his request to the University.

On the day of his presentation, he shall either hold a public banquet in the College hall or pay 20s to be employed for the use of the College at the discretion of the Master.

BAs seeking the grace for MA are either to respond publicly in hall on a proposition prescribed by the Master or to make a commentary on some part of Aristotle and hand it over to the Master. If this exercise is approved by the latter the candidate's right to supplicate shall be granted.

On the day of his election by the University he shall arrange a banquet in hall, the expense of which shall not exceed 40s.



Thomas Tesdale, Co-founder of Pembroke College

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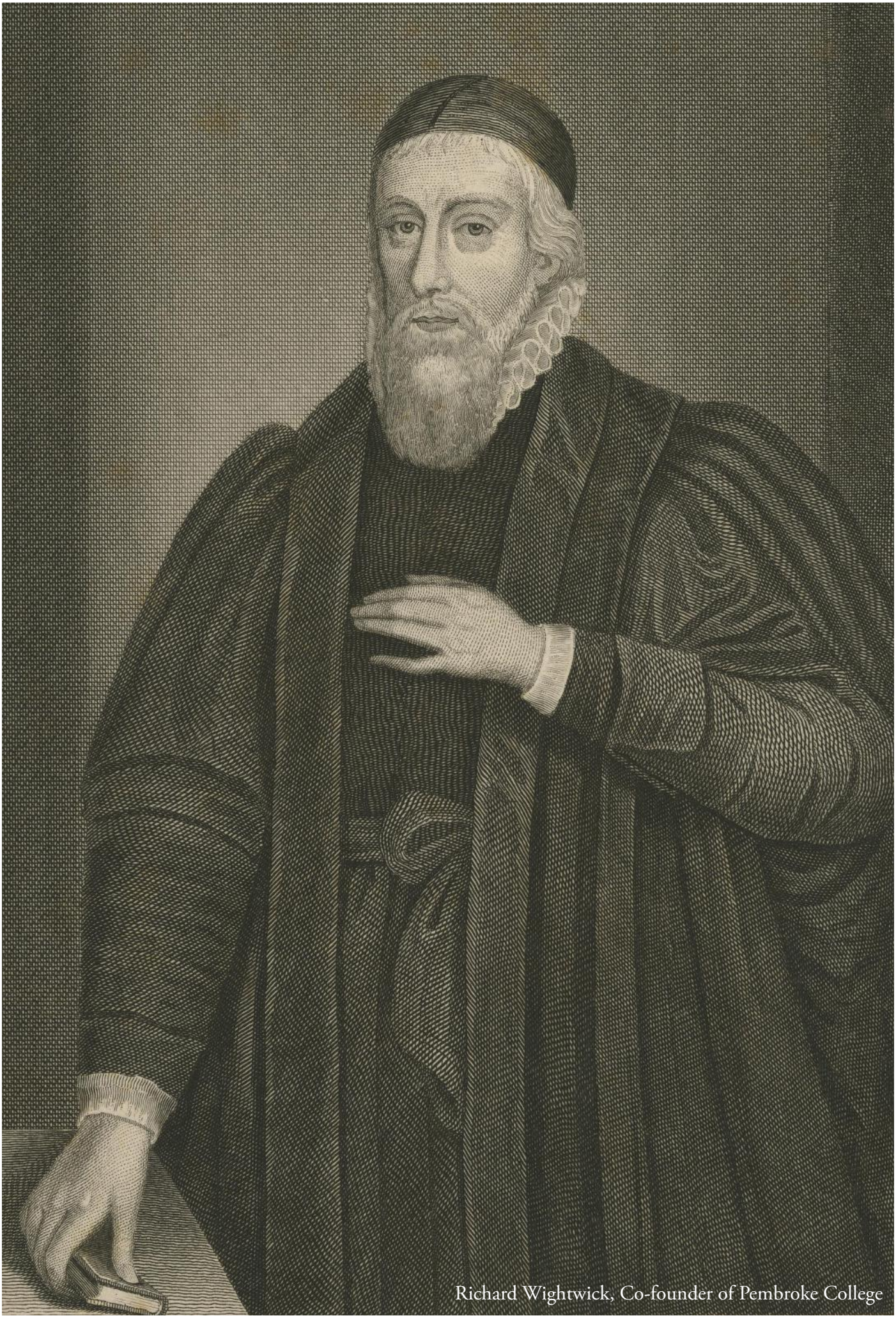
135. Supra p. 4.

136. Supra pp. 18-20.



Richard Wightwick, Co-founder of Pembroke College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