Appendix Alpha: The Rhinebeck Intellectual Line

Connecting brothers of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University,
who trace their fraternal Big Brother/Little Brother line
to Founder John Andrew Rea (1869)

John Andrew Rea, tri-founder of Phi Kappa Psi at Cornell . . . ▽

. . . was advised by Andrew Dickson White, President of Cornell . . .

. . . . who was a doctoral student under Henry Tappan, President of University of Michigan . . .

. . . who studied under Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College . . .

. . . Nott, in turn, was mentored by John Blair Smith, first President of Union College . . . ▽

. . . after he, Smith, had studied at Princeton College under the immortal John Witherspoon . . .

. . . who was convinced to immigrate to North American by Richard Stockton, a Princeton graduate and trustee . . .

. . . Stockton, in turn, read the law under David Ogden . . .

. . . who studied under Elisha Williams at Yale . . . ▷

. . . who studied under John Leverett the Younger, at Harvard . . . ▽

. . . who studied, again at Harvard, under Urian Oakes . . .

. . . Urian Oakes, in turn, studied again at Harvard under Henry Dunster . . .

. . . who matriculated at Magdalen College, Cambridge under Henry Smyth . . .

. . . Magdalen College, in turn, had just been set up under the guidance of Sir Thomas Audley . . .

. . . Audley both read the law at the Middle Temple and was mentored in the household of Thomas Wolsey, the alter rex . . . ▽

. . . Cardinal Wolsey was mentored by Bishop Foxe, alter rex, as well . . .

. . . Bishop Foxe, in turn, studied at Universiy College, Oxford, recently established William Wainflyete . . .

. . . William Waynflete, in turn, studied under Richard Fleming , the beginning of the Rhinebeck intellectual line.□

Below we present short biographies of the Rhinebeck intellectual line of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University.

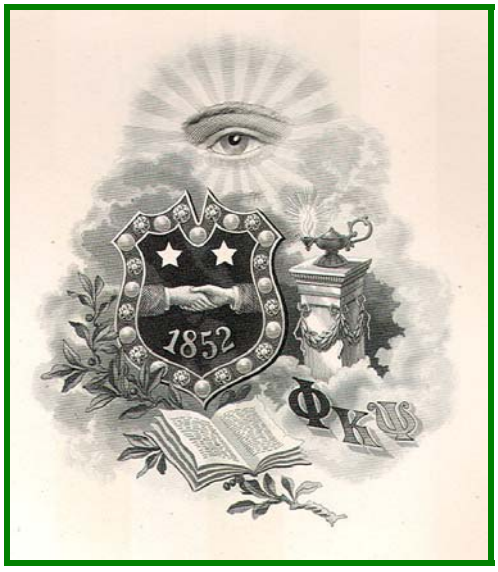
"Who defends the House."

We begin with John "Jack" Andrew Rea, Cornell Class of 1869 and one of the three founders of the New York Alpha Chapter of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University.

❖ Jack only spent a year at Cornell, transferring in the summer before his Senior course of studies. Much of that year he spent founding the fraternity, and it predecessor, the Irving Literary Society. Jack was one of nine transfer students who were in the first Class of Cornellians. Three of those nine were the founders of Phi Kappa Psi. All three had Faculty advisors. Jack was assigned Andrew Dickson White, the first President of Cornell;

Mo Buchwalter was assigned visiting professor Goldwin Smith, the former Regis Professor of Modern History at Oxford University; and Joe Foraker was assigned visiting professor Theodore Dwight. These three (3) relationships, scholar-to-scholar in the Cornell tradition, form the tap root of the intellectual legacy within New York Alpha.

The founding of the Irving Literary Society was the common project of President White and his protégé Jack Rea; Jack then used the Irving as the vehicle to rush that first immortal Pledge Class of 1869, Phi Kappa Psi, *the* New York Alpha.



So John Andrew Rea (1869), founder of New York Alpha, had Andrew Dickson White as his Faculty Advisor; one of Andrew Dickson White's lead mentors was:

❖ Henry Philip Tappan (Apr. 18, 1805, Rhinebeck, New York–Nov. 15, 1881, Vevey, Switzerland), an American philosopher, educator and academic administrator. Tappan is officially considered the first president of the University of Michigan. A pioneer in the transformation of American university curricula, he was instrumental in fashioning the University of Michigan as a prototype for American research universities, and has been called the "John the Baptist of the age of the American university."

His academic career was ultimately cut short by personality clashes with the university's Board of Regents, and he finished his life in self-imposed exile in Europe.

It was through Henry Tappan that Andrew Dickson White, while studying and teaching at Michigan with roommate Daniel Coit Gilman (future President of Johns Hopkins), decided the future of American education lay along the lines of the Prussian university system. That was the program President White was implementing at Cornell when he Faculty advisor to New York Alpha's founder, John Andrew Rea (1869).

Henry Philip Tappan was born on April 18, 1805 in the village of Rhinebeck, New York. His father was of Huguenot descent and his mother of Dutch descent. Accordingly, his presence in the intellectual lines of New York Alpha was broadly compatible with the mission of the Irving Literary Society, founded to foster attachment between Cornell scholars and the native traditions of New York State.

Like Phi Kappa Psi's founder, Judge Charles Page Thomas Moore (Pa. Alpha 1852), Henry Tappan attended Union College and studied under its president, Eliphalet Nott (q.v.), graduating in 1825. He graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary, north of Ithaca, two (2) years later and planned a career in ministry. He became associate pastor at the Dutch Reformed church in Schenectady, New York for one year, and was then pastor at the Congregational church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He married Julia Livingston on April 7, 1828. A throat affliction prompted him to leave for a trip to the West Indies, and upon his return he joined the faculty of the University of the City of New York (now New York University) as a professor of philosophy.

Tappan embarked on writing a series of philosophical treatises that began to influence thinking in Europe. He received a Doctor of Divinity degree from Union College in 1845. He toured Europe between 1849 and 1851 and became increasingly convinced of the superiority of the "German model" (or Prussian model, as it was known at the time) of public education, in which a complete system of primary schools, secondary schools, and a university are all administered by the state and supported with tax dollars. This was in contrast to the English “collegiate” model then employed by American institutions such as Harvard College, Yale College and Washington & Jefferson College.

The German model had first gained widespread attention through the 1835 translated publication of Victor Cousin's *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*, originally prepared for the French Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1831. This model stood in direct contrast to the prevailing state of higher education in the United States, where virtually all institutions of higher learning were privately run with no official connection to any public school system, which were themselves rare. Principally due to the Cousin report's influence on two men—John Davis Pierce and Isaac Edwin Crary—the basic tenets of the German education model had made their way into the State of Michigan’s Constitution of 1836, which officially chartered the University of Michigan and was the first state constitution in the United States to truly embrace the German model.

The specific implementation outlined therein, however, proved unwieldy in practice, and for some time the Board of Regents made little progress in implementing the vision for the university, even postponing indefinitely the appointment of a Chancellor in favor of a rotating roster of professors who performed the day-to-day administrative duties.

In 1850, the state of Michigan adopted a new state constitution that created the office of President of the University of Michigan and directed the newly-elected Board of Regents to select someone for the office. They sent a representative to the East to solicit recommendations, and former Secretary of the Navy and New York Alpha’s first cousin, George Bancroft (q.v.), recommended Henry Tappan. Despite this recommendation, the regents first elected Henry Barnard of Connecticut, who declined the offer. Although John Hiram Lathrop (then Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin-Madison) was also considered for the job following Barnard's refusal, Tappan was unanimously elected on August 12, 1852. His starting salary was $1,500 per year.

Tappan was also a strong proponent of the German model of university curriculum, which emphasized research, laboratory study, elective courses, and the increased importance of science and engineering, rather than the "British model" of recitation in a core classical arts curriculum that typified most major American universities of the time. Shortly after his arrival, Michigan became the

second university in the country (after Harvard) to issue Bachelor of Science degrees. Tappan received a Doctor of Laws degree from Columbia College in 1854. But these efforts were essentially the grafting of the Prussian model on to an English collegiate root. The two institutions first built from the ground up using the Prussian model were led by Tappan's doctoral candidates

Despite the success of the flourishing university, Tappan's aristocratic bearing and perceived tendency to magnify his own importance did not sit well with the new regents elected in 1858, many of whom came from rural areas and were without advanced education—only two of the ten members were college graduates themselves. One regent, Donald McIntyre, a strict prohibitionist, disapproved of Tappan's serving wine at dinner. Another, Ebenezer Lakin Brown, had a particular dislike for Tappan's lofty airs, and at the board's June 25, 1863 meeting, he introduced a resolution removing Tappan as president. It passed unanimously, after which the regents also fired Tappan's son John as university librarian and appointed Erastus Otis Haven as the new president.

Upon his removal, Tappan remarked, "This matter belongs to history; the pen of history is held by Almighty Justice, and I fear not the record it will make of my conduct, whether public or private, in relation to the affairs of the University." He immediately left Michigan and moved his family to Europe, residing in Berlin, Paris, Bonn, Frankfort, Basel, and Geneva. He never returned to the United States. Andrew Dickson White and Daniel Coit Gilman were charged with advancing the Prussian model in later years.

Tappan's firing was unpopular with students and the broader community, as it came with no warning, at a time when the University was more successful than ever, for no wrongdoing other than personal friction with the regents. Henry Barnard, by then the editor of *The American Journal of Education*, called the dismissal an "act of savage, unmitigated barbarism" in light of Tappan's work being "without a precedent in the educational history of the country." At the suggestion of his supporters, Tappan himself wrote a lengthy response to his dismissal, generally praising the first Board of Regents and excoriating the second as incompetent, and also singling out certain faculty members for criticism. When the new Board of Regents took office in 1864, the flood of support for Tappan led them to consider re-hiring him, but in the end they felt it would be disruptive to the University, in light of Tappan's subsequent response.

Tappan, who had moved to Europe after his firing, expressed a desire to return, but twice deferred accepting the invitation, citing first his age and then the health of his daughter. He never returned to Michigan and died in his villa in Vevey, Switzerland on November 15, 1881, where he is buried overlooking Lake Geneva;

New York Alpha's intellectual Henry Tappan was educated at Union College in Schenectady, New York, under its President, Eliphalet Nott:

❖ Eliphalet Nott (June 25, 1773 – Jan. 25, 1866), American divine, was born at Ashford, Connecticut. He was left an orphan without resources, but graduated in 1795 at Brown University. In 1804 he became president of Union College, Schenectady, New York, a position which he held until his death. During this period he was also president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (1829-1845), though he was much more loyal to Union. It was at Union that his educational style greatly impacted the development of the young Henry Tappan (q.v.). His presence in the Rhinebeck intellectual line was broadly compatible with the goals of the Irving Literary Society, in that Nott taught at a college situated within the old Dutch pale centered on Albany, New York.

Union College

The athletes of Union are called "the Dutchmen". Nott found Union College financially embarrassed, but succeeded in placing it on a sound footing. He is memorialized by the Nott Memorial found at Union College. He was known also as the inventor of the first stove for anthracite coal. His publications include sermons, *Counsels to Young Men* (1810), and *Lectures on Temperance* (1847). Nott was the fourth president of Union College, serving from August 1804 to January 29, 1866. Union followed the traditional, English "collegiate" model of higher education, which Nott's protégé Henry Tappan (q.v.) would overturn.

Born on June 25, 1773 on a farm in Ashford, Connecticut, Nott's early education was at the feet of his mother and older brother, Samuel. At the age of twenty-one (21), he persuaded the Baptist Rhode Island College (later named Brown University) to allow him to take the exit examinations required of seniors for a baccalaureate degree. He passed without difficulty; however, there existed a rule stipulating that he could not be awarded a Bachelors in Arts degree without ever having taken any formal course work at the college. The faculty circumvented this rule by awarding him a Master of Arts degree.

After additional study, Nott was licensed to preach in 1796. After traveling parts of Connecticut and New York, Nott settled on the frontier, at Cherry Valley, New York, where he became pastor of its only Presbyterian church and principal

of its only academy. During his travels, Nott met and befriended New York Alphan intellectual John Blair Smith (q.v.), the president of Union College. Smith was impressed by the young man and encouraged him to consider pastorship at the First Presbyterian Church of Albany. In 1798 at the age of twenty-five (25), Nott accepted the invitation. By 1800, Nott had become a trustee of the College and in 1804 was asked to become the fourth president of the nascent college.

Much of Nott's early success can be attributed to his creative investment strategies. Nott proposed a lottery to help the struggling college become financially solvent. After persuading the trustees to agree, Nott successfully lobbied the New York State Legislature to institute a lottery that would directly benefit Union College. Similar tactics would be employed by his fraternal protégé, Andrew Dickson White, three quarters of a century later.

With the money earned from the lottery, Nott purchased 250 acres of land on the outskirts of the city, designating it as the future college campus. Nott employed a peripatetic French architect named Joseph Ramee to design a campus that would rival those of other well established colleges at the time, such as Harvard, Yale, Rhode Island (Brown), Queens (Rutgers) and Princeton. Ramee conceived a campus where dormitories, classrooms and open space would surround a round, domed building at its center. To this day, the overall design of the campus remains true to Ramee's plans.

During his presidency, Nott transformed the curriculum of Union College to include a new, parallel course of study founded in science. This was a radical departure from the traditional "classic course" of study still offered at Union and exclusively at other colleges during this time. The new "scientific course" of study - which emphasized mathematics, natural history and sciences - caused much consternation among Nott's peers at other institutions. The popularity and merits of this practical curriculum eventually won acceptance. Again, one can see the origins of Henry Tappan and Andrew Dickson White's future work here, in their mentor's work at Union College. White's protégé and New York Alpha's founder, John Andrew Rea (1869), would continue similar efforts as a Trustee for the University of Washington, on the west coast.

Active beyond the walls of Union College during his presidency, Nott also served as president of the Rensselaer Institute of Troy (later Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute) from 1829-1845, a position that carried a salary of one dollar a year. Without any formal scientific study, Nott began designing more efficient heating stoves. As an inventor, Nott acquired thirty patents for his contributions to the heating industry, most notably for the Nott stove. Nott establish the H. Nott and Co. (also known as "The Union Furnace") to manufacture his stoves. A portion of the money generated from the sale of his stoves found its way back to the College in the Nott Trust Fund. Accordingly, we find in cousin Nott the beginnings of the engineering tradition that would serve

well Phi Kappa Psi at Cornell for over a century after its founding in 1869. After sixty-two years as president of the College, Nott died on January 29, 1866;

And so New York Alpha's intellectual Eliphalet Nott, above, studied under John Blair Smith, below, the first President of Union College:

❖ John Blair Smith was the first president of Union College (Dec. 9, 1795–May 1799), and was born June 12, 1756 in Pequea, Pennsylvania. Smith was educated at the College of New Jersey, later Princeton University. Upon graduating from Princeton in 1773, Smith embarked on a dual career as an educator and clergyman, first in Virginia then in Pennsylvania. Princeton made him a Doctor of Divinity in 1795, and later that year Union College invited him to become its first president. His presence in the Rhinebeck intellectual line brings the Middle Atlantic legacy of Princeton to this portion of New York Alpha's tradition.

Little is known of Smith's brief service as president of Union College. He made little effort to alter the curriculum established by the trustees, and his tenure as president passed unremarkably. He remained active as a Presbyterian minister while serving as College President, helping to found the Northern Missionary Society in Albany and serving as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1798. Smith left Union College in May of 1799, returning to the congregation he left in Pennsylvania four years earlier, only to die during the yellow fever epidemic three months later on August 22. Following Smith's departure, Dirck Romeyn, Stephen Bayard and Joseph Yates served as Commissioners in charge of the College until Jonathan Edwards was appointed president;

And so, New York Alpha's intellectual John Blair Smith, in turn, studied under the immortal Whitherspoon at the College of New Jersey, later renamed "Princeton College":

❖ John Witherspoon (Feb. 5, 1723 – Nov. 15, 1794), signed the United States' *Declaration of Independence* for the people of the State of New Jersey. He was the only active clergyman and college president to sign the *Declaration*. John Witherspoon was born in Gifford, East Lothian, Scotland, to the Reverend James Alexander Witherspoon, a descendant of John Welsh of Ayr and religious reformer John Knox. He attended the Haddington Grammar School, and obtained a Master of Arts from the University of Edinburgh in 1739.

He remained at the University to study divinity, afterwards becoming a Church of Scotland (presbyterian) minister at Beith, Ayrshire (1745-1758), where he married Elizabeth Montgomery. They had ten children, only five surviving to adulthood. From 1758-1768, he was minister of the Laigh Kirk (Low Church) in Paisley. During his two pastorates he wrote three well-known works on theology. He was awarded a Doctorate of Divinity from the University of St Andrews, Fife. During the Jacobite rising of 1745, he was briefly imprisoned at Doune Castle, Doune, Stirling, which had a long-term impact on his health.

At the urging of Benjamin Rush and New York Alpha's intellectual Richard Stockton (q.v.), whom he met in Paisley, Scotland, he finally accepted another invitation (he had turned it down in 1766) to become President and head professor of the small Presbyterian College of New Jersey in Princeton. He and his family emigrated to New Jersey in 1768, at the age of 45, where he took up the position of sixth President of the college which was later to become Princeton University. Of the several courses he taught, including Eloquence or Belles Lettres, Chronology (history), and Divinity, none was more important than Moral Philosophy, a required course, and one he considered vital for ministers, lawyers, and those holding positions in government (magistrates). He was firm but good-humored in his leadership and instituted a number of reforms, including modeling the syllabus and university structure on that used at the University of St Andrews and other Scottish universities. Witherspoon was very popular among both faculty and students, among them James Madison and Aaron Burr. As the

College's primary occupation at the time was training ministers, Witherspoon was a major leader of the early Presbyterian church in America.

From Witherspoon's legacy at Princeton, out of his students came: thirty-seven (37) Judges, three (3) of whom made Supreme Court, ten (10) of his former students became cabinet officers, twelve (12) were members of the Continental Congress, twenty-eight (28) sat in the Senate, forty-nine (49) were United States congressmen, one (1) became Vice-president, and finally one (1), President (James Madison). These people and many more became great influences to America. When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America met in 1789, 52 of the 188 delegates had studied under Witherspoon. The limited-government philosophy of most of these men was due in large measure to Witherspoon's influence. Witherspoon also helped to organize Nassau Presbyterian Church in Princeton, New Jersey.

Professor Witherspoon was wary of the Crown, and soon came to support the Revolution, joining the Committee of Correspondence and Safety in early 1776. He was elected to the Continental Congress and, in July 1776, voted for the Resolution for Independence. In answer to an objection that the country was not yet ready for independence, according to tradition he replied that it "was not only ripe for the measure, but in danger of rotting for the want of it."

In John Trumbull's famous painting depicting the signing of the *Declaration of Independence*, Witherspoon is the second seated figure from the right among those shown in the background. He served in Congress from June 1776 until November 1782 and became one of its most influential members and a workhorse of prodigious energy. He served on over 100 committees, most notably the powerful standing committees, the board of war and the committee on secret correspondence or foreign affairs. He spoke often in debate; helped draft the Articles of Confederation; helped organize the executive departments; played a major role in shaping foreign policy; and drew up the instructions for the peace commissioners. He fought against the flood of paper money, and opposed the issuance of bonds without provision for their amortization. "No business can be done, some say, because money is scarce," he wrote.

In November, 1778, as British forces neared, he closed and evacuated the College of New Jersey. The main building, Nassau Hall, was badly damaged by the Crown forces and his papers and personal notes were lost. Witherspoon was responsible for its rebuilding after the war, which caused him great personal and financial difficulty. He also served twice in the New Jersey Legislature, and strongly supported the adoption of the *United States Constitution* during the New Jersey ratification debates. He suffered a series of eye injuries and was blind by 1792. He died in 1794 on his farm Tusculum, just outside of Princeton, and is buried in the Princeton Cemetery. He was 71 when he died.

Like House intellectual Blair, Witherspoon's presence in the Rhinebeck intellectual line brings to New York Alpha a Middle Atlantic intellectual tradition, centered on Princeton and not the University of Pennsylvania.

New York Alphan's intellectual John Witherspoon, above, in turned, was mentored (and convinced to immigrate) by the American barrister, Richard Stockton (1730-1781), below:

❖ Richard Stockton (Oct. 1, 1730 – Feb. 28, 1781) was an American lawyer, jurist, legislator, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. A son of John Stockton, he was born near Princeton, New Jersey attended Samuel Finley's academy at Nottingham, which later became West Nottingham Academy. He also attended the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), graduating in 1748. He studied law with David Ogden, of Newark, who was at that time the head of the legal profession in the province. Stockton was admitted to the bar in 1754 and soon rose to great distinction.

He was a longtime friend of George Washington. His wife was poet Annis Boudinot Stockton, sister of New Jersey Statesman Elias Boudinot. The Stocktons had six (6) children, their son Richard Stockton became an eminent lawyer and prominent Federalist leader. Coincidentally, Elias Boudinot was married to Stockton's sister Hannah Stockton (1736-1808). Stockton initially showed little interest in politics. He once wrote, "The public is generally unthankful, and I never will become a Servant of it, till I am convinced that by neglecting my own affairs I am doing more acceptable Service to God and Man." Stockton did, however, later take an active role as a trustee of the College of New Jersey.

In 1768, Stockton had his first taste of government service when he was appointed to the governing Council of New Jersey; he was later (1774) appointed to the New Jersey Supreme Court. He first took a moderate stance in the troubles between the colonies and Great Britain. He did not favor separation; rather, he suggested in 1764 that some colonial members be appointed to the Parliament. However, he changed his position a year later when the controversy over the Stamp Act arose. In 1774 he drafted and sent to Lord Dartmouth "with a plan of self-government for America, independent of Parliament, without renouncing allegiance to the Crown." This Commonwealth approach was not acceptable to the King.

He served the College, afterwards known as Princeton University, as a trustee. In 1766 and 1767, he gave up his practice for the purpose of visiting England, Scotland, and Ireland. While he was in Scotland, his personal efforts resulted in the acceptance of the presidency of the College by fellow cousin to New York Alpha, the Reverend John Witherspoon (q.v.). Witherspoon's wife had

opposed her husbands taking the position but her objections were overcome with the aid of his son-in-law Benjamin Rush, who was a medical student in Edinburgh. This was an exceedingly important event in the history of higher education in America. Stockton returned to America and the following year, 1768, he was made a member of the executive council of the province and in 1774 was promoted to the supreme bench of New Jersey.

In 1776, Stockton was elected to the Continental Congress, where he took a very active role. That August, when elections were held for the state governments of the new nation, Stockton and William Livingston each received the same number of votes to be the Governor of New Jersey on the first ballot. Although Livingston later won the election by one vote, Stockton was unanimously elected to serve as the Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, but he turned down that position to remain in the United States Congress.

Stockton was appointed by Congress, along with fellow signer George Clymer, to an exhausting two-month journey to Fort Ticonderoga, Saratoga and Albany, New York to assist the Continental Army in the American Revolutionary War. On his return to Princeton, he traveled 30 miles east to the home of a friend to move his family to safety, and away from the path of the British army. While there, on November 30, 1776, he was captured in the middle of the night by his own loyalist countrymen. Just before Stockton was captured, General William Howe had offered amnesty to those willing to renounce the American “rebellion” and renew their loyalty to the King George III. Although many took the offer of amnesty, Stockton did not and was marched to Perth Amboy where he was put in irons, and brutally treated as a common criminal.

He was then moved to Provost Prison in New York where he suffered from lack of food and freezing cold weather along with the other prisoners. After nearly six (6) weeks of brutal treatment, Stockton was released, his health ruined. Over 12,000 prisoners died in the prison ships and prisons in New York compared to 4,435 soldiers that died in combat over the six years of war. His estate, Morven, in Princeton was occupied by General Cornwallis during Stockton's imprisonment; his furniture, all household belongings, crops and livestock were taken or destroyed by the British. His library, one of the finest in the colonies, was burned.

Stockton's treatment in the New York prison prompted Continental Congress to pass a resolution directing George Washington to inquire into the circumstances and not long afterward, Stockton was exchanged on January 3, 1777. The U.S. National Archives contains other messages showing that Washington duly contacted Howe in New York regarding the exchange or release of Stockton and others. The circumstances of Stockton's release from custody remain unclear, but there is evidence to indicate that he may have sworn allegiance to the King. John Witherspoon wrote to his son David in March 1777, stating that Stockton "signed Howe’s Declaration and also gave his Word of

Honour that he would not meddle in the least in American affairs during the War". Congressman Abraham Clark, writing to John Hart about filling vacancies in New Jersey's delegation to the Continental Congress, wrote "Mr. Sergeant talks of resigning and Mr. Stockton by his late procedure cannot Act." Fellow signer Dr. Benjamin Rush in his autobiography wrote "At Princeton I met my wife's father who had been plundered of all his household furniture and stock by the British army, and carried a prisoner to New York, from whence he was permitted to return to his family upon parole." In December of 1777 Stockton again swore an oath of allegiance to the United States.

Stockton and his wife had six (6) children, four (4) daughters and two (2) sons: Julia Stockton (married to Benjamin Rush, also a signer of the *Declaration*), Mary, Susan, Richard, Lucius and Abigail. Stockton died at his family's estate in Princeton on February 28, 1781, and was buried at the Stony Brook Quaker Meeting House Cemetery, Princeton. Stockton's oldest son Richard was an eminent lawyer and later a Senator from New Jersey. His son, Commodore Robert Field Stockton, was a hero of the War of 1812, and in 1846 became the first military governor of California and later a Senator from New Jersey;

New York Alpha's intellectual Richard Stockton, above, in turn, was mentored by David Ogden, his supervising attorney when he read the law, below:

❖ David Ogden, jurist, born in Newark, New Jersey, about 1707, died in Whitestone, New York, in June, 1800. He was graduated at Yale in 1728, and then studied law in Newark, becoming perhaps the first thoroughly educated lawyer in the province. His ability and social position soon gained for him a lucrative practice, and he stood confessedly at the head of the bar in New Jersey, also frequently conducting important cases in New York.

In April, 1751, he was made a member of the Royal Council for the province, and, after serving as a judge of the Superior Court, he was appointed in 1772 a judge of the Supreme Court, and held that office until the beginning of the War of the Revolution.

His sympathy with the mother country obliged him in January, 1777, to go to England, where he became in 1779 an efficient member of the board of refugees, composed of delegates from the several colonies, and drew up an outline of a plan for their government in the event of their submission to Great Britain. He went, again to England in 1783 as agent for the New Jersey loyalists in prosecuting their claims for compensation, and secured an allowance for his own estates, which were valued at $100,000.

In 1789 he returned to the United States and settled in Whitestone, New York, where he spent the remainder of his days. At his death he had been for three years the oldest living graduate of Yale. Judge Ogden had the reputation of being "one of the giants of the law in New Jersey."

His brother, *Jacob Ogden*, physician, born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1721; died in Jamaica, N.Y., 3 September, 1780, was educated at Yale, but not graduated. He studied medicine, and followed his profession with success in Jamaica, for nearly forty years. Dr. Ogden was an able supporter of the practice of inoculation for small-pox. The first introduction of the mercurial treatment for inflammatory disorders in the United States is credited to him by Dr. John W. Francis. He published letters to Hugh Gaine on the "Malignant Sore-Throat Distemper," 28 October, 1769, and 14 September, 1774.

David's son, *Abraham Ogden*, lawyer, born in Morristown, New Jersey, 30 December, 1743; died in Newark, New Jersey, in 1798, studied law, became a member of the New Jersey bar, and as a jury lawyer is said to have been unrivalled. In his office at Morristown, New Jersey, some of the most celebrated lawyers, of that state acquired their early legal training, among whom were Richard Stockton, Gabriel Ford, and Josiah Ogden Hoffman.

He was deemed of doubtful politics, and as such was denounced to General Washington, who, in order to avert from him any suspicion, made his home the headquarters of the army while in Morristown. In a fencing-bout with Thomas Ludlow Ogden, one of the sons of his host, the button of the latter's foil dropped off, and Washington was scratched in the wrist, thus receiving what is believed to have been his only wound.

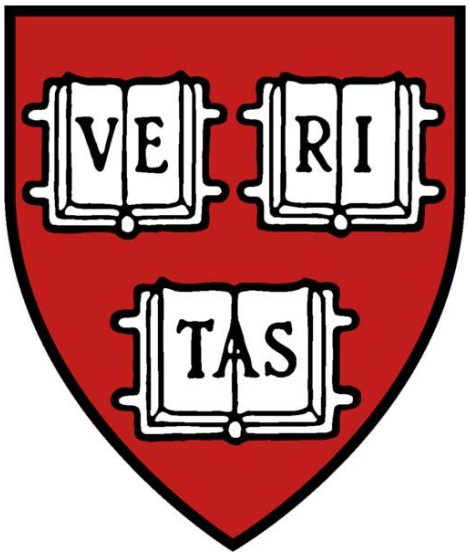
Mr. Ogden was a member of the legislature in 1790, and from the adoption of the present state constitution until his death was district attorney for New Jersey. Washington appointed him a commissioner to obtain the extinguishment of a title that the Iroquois nation of Indians had to a portion of the northern part of New York. This brought to him a local knowledge of St. Lawrence County, and resulted in the purchase of a large tract by himself and others, and in the founding of the present City of Ogdensburg.

Abraham's son. *Thomas Ludlow Ogden*, lawyer, born in Morristown, New Jersey, 12 December, 1773; died in New York city, 17 December, 1844, was graduated at Columbia in 1791, and then studied under his father, completing his legal education in the office of Richard Harison. In 1796 he was admitted to the New York bar, and later he was associated with Alexander Hamilton, having charge of the latter's law business during his occupations elsewhere. Subsequently Mr. Ogden was legal adviser of many important corporations, notably the Holland land company when it held 3,000,000 acres of land in the western part of New York; also one of the trustees of the Indian reservation lands and sole trustee of Sackett's Harbor.

He was law officer of the corporation of Trinity Church, for thirty-five years clerk and member of its vestry, and at the time of his death senior warden. Mr. Ogden was an early patron of the General Theological Seminary and one of the original trustees under the act of incorporation, also one of the founders of the Protestant Episcopal Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York, of which at the time of his death he was vice-president. From 1817 till his death he was trustee of Columbia College.

New York Alpha's intellectual David Ogden, above, in turn, studied under Elisha Williams while at Yale College, below:

❖ The Reverend Elisha Williams (26 August 1694-22 October 1755) was a Congregational minister, legislator, jurist, and rector of Yale College from 1726 to 1739.The son of Reverend William Williams and his wife Elizabeth, née Cotton (daughter of Seaborn Cotton), he was educated at Harvard, graduating, at the age of seventeen, in 1711. His first wife, and mother of his seven children (only two of whom survived him), was Eunice Chester, They were married in 1714; she died in 1750. After marriage he studied law and was in the Connecticut legislature from Wethersfield for five sessions, the first in 1717.



Harvard College

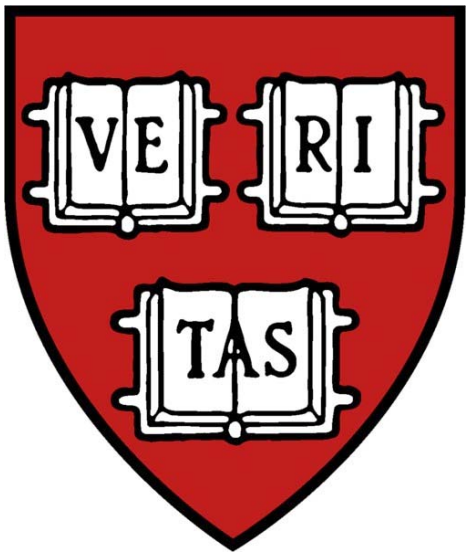
He studied divinity with his father and was ordained a clergyman in 1722, and served the church at Wethersfield until 1726, when he became fourth Rector of Yale College, serving in that capacity for thirteen (13) years. He entered the position during a troubled period of Yale's history; by the time of his resignation, for reasons of health in 1739, he left the college firmly established. He was again a member of the Connecticut legislature from 1740 to 1749, and was appointed Judge of the Superior Court. He was a Colonel of Militia, and served as Chaplain in the expedition sent against Cape Breton in 1745.

He was appointed to the command of a regiment of one thousand men raised for the reduction of Canada; when they were not paid, he was sent to go to England to entreat for their pay. While he was there, his wife died, and he married Elizabeth, daughter of Reverend Thomas Scott, of Norwich, England. Returning home, he narrowly escaped shipwreck, and spent some months in Antigua before reaching Connecticut. He was a delegate to the Albany Congress in 1754. He died at Wethersfield, Connecticut and is buried there. His writings include *Divine grace illustrious, in the salvation of sinner* (1727); *Death the advantage of the godly* (1728); *A Seasonable Plea for the Liberty of Conscience and the Right of Private Judgment in Matters of Religion Without any Controul from Human Authority* (also known as *Essential rights and liberties of Protestants*) (1744). Cousin Williams wrote:

As reason tells us, all are born thus naturally equal, with an equal right to their persons, so also with an equal right to their preservation . . . and every man having a property in his own person, the labour of his body and the work of his hands are properly his own, to which no one has right but himself; it will therefore follow that when he removes anything out of the state that nature has provided and left it in, he has mixed his labour with it, and joined something to it that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. . . . Thus every man having a natural right to (or being proprietor of) his own person and his own actions and labour, which we call property, it certainly follows, that no man can have a right to the person or property of another: And if every man has a right to his person and property; he has also a right to defend them . . . and so has a right of punishing all insults upon his person and property."

New York Alpha's Intellectual Elisha Williams, above, in turn, studied under John Leverett the Younger at Harvard College, above:

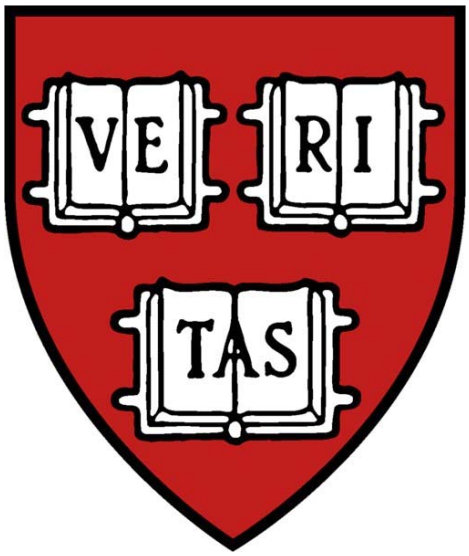
❖ John Leverett the Younger (Aug. 25, 1662 – May 3, 1724) was an early American lawyer, politician, and educator. He was educated at Harvard College (B.A., 1680; M.A., 1683), and went on to serve in New England as judge, legislator, and provincial councilor for eastern Maine. On January 14, 1708 he was appointed President of Harvard, a post he held until his death. John Leverett was the grandson of the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony of the same name. He also was mentor to Thomas Clap (q.v.) of the Manhattan line to brother Theodore Tilton (1869);



Harvard College

New York Alpha's intellectual, John Leverett the Younger, above, studied at Harvard College under Urian Oakes, below:

❖ Urian Oakes (1631 – July 25, 1681) was an American (English-born) educator. He served as acting president of Harvard University between 1675 and 1680. He then served as president of Harvard University from 1680 to 1681. Oakes was one of the "Cambridge Poets". Born in England, he came to America as a child. After graduating from Harvard College in 1649, he returned to England, where he was a chaplain and minister until the nonconformists were silenced in 1662. After then becoming the minister of the First Parish in Cambridge, he served simultaneously for six years as President of Harvard College.



Harvard College

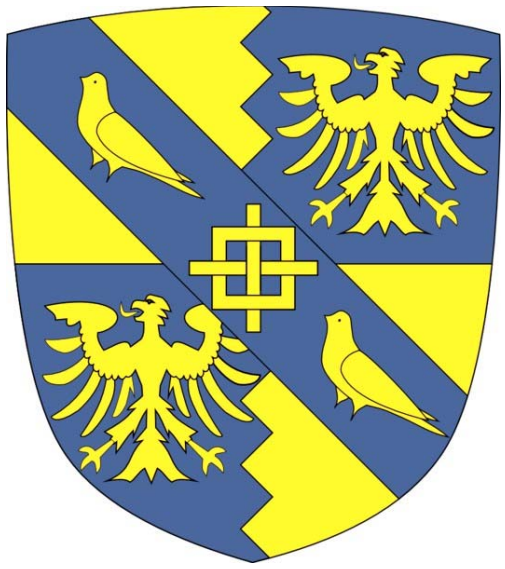
His colleague, Cotton Mather, spoke of him as one of the greatest lights that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to arise in this horizon. In *A History of American Literature*, dated 1878, future Cornell English professor Moses Coit Tyler of the University of Michigan declared that Oakes's English is perhaps the richest prose style, as well as the most brilliant example of originality, breadth, and force of thought to be met with in our sermon literature from the settlement of the country down to the American Revolution. Here are a few lines expressing his contribution to American poetry, from his elegy on the death of Thomas Shepard, minister of the church in Charlestown:

... Great and good Shepard[1]s dead! Ah! this alone
Will set our eyes abroach, dissolve a stone
. . .
If to have solid judgment, pregnant parts,
A piercing wit, and comprehensive brain;
If to have gone the round of all the arts,
Immunity from death could gain;
Shepard would have been death-proof, and secure
From that all-conquering hand, I'm very sure.
. . .
My dearest, inmost, bosom-friend is gone!
Gone is my sweet companion, soul[1]s delight!

Now in an huddling crowd I¹m all alone,
And almost could bid all the world --good-night.

New York Alpha's Intellectual Urian Oakes, above, studied under Henry Dunster, at Harvard, below:

❖ Henry Dunster (Nov. 26, 1609 – Feb. 27, 1659) was an English-American Puritan clergyman and educator. Born at Bolholt, Bury, Lancashire, England to Henry Dunster Sr (1582–1626) and Isabelle Kaye (1583–1643), Dunster studied and graduated from Magdalene College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England specializing in oriental languages and temporarily became a teacher there until he emigrated to Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts in 1640. Master Nathaniel Eaton was dismissed in 1639, as the first leader of the new Harvard College at Cambridge, Massachusetts.



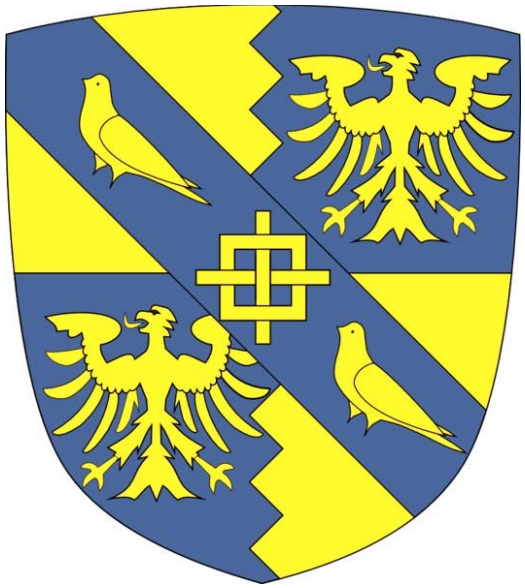
Magdalene College, Cambridge

Dunster was appointed as his successor. Thus on August 27, 1640 Dunster became the first president of Harvard. He modeled Harvard's educational system on that of the English universities, which included that of Eton College as well as Cambridge University. In 1653, Dunster refused to have his child — Jonathan (1653–1725) — baptized, confessing himself an antipaedobaptist. For this heterodoxy, he was forced to resign from Harvard in 1654, although it was with much regret that he was sent away, since he was universally well-respected there. He spent the last few years of his life as a pastor in Scituate, Massachusetts, before passing away in 1659.

Dunster House, one of the twelve residential houses of Harvard University, is named after Henry Dunster. Dunster had at least two wives: Elizabeth (Harris) Glover, the widow of Josse Glover, whom he married on June 21, 1641, but who died without issue in 1643; and Elizabeth Atkinson (1627–1690) whom he married in 1644 and bore to him five children. Samuel Dunster, who wrote the exhaustive biography of the descendants of Henry Dunster in 1876, infra, is his direct descendant.

New York Alpha's Intellectual Henry Dunster, above, studied under Henry Smyth, at Magdalene College, Cambridge University, below:

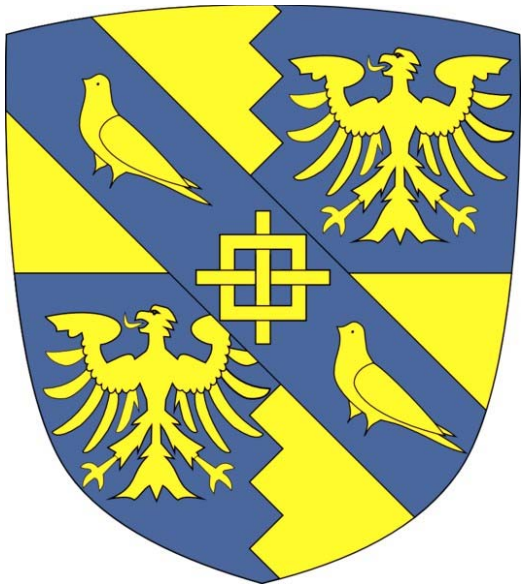
❖ Henry Smyth, 1626-1642, Master of Magdalene College. Magdalene College was founded in 1428 as a Benedictine hostel, in time coming to be known as Buckingham College, before being refounded in 1542 as the College of St Mary Magdalene, a constituent college of the University of Cambridge. The refoundation was largely the work of Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII. Audley also gave the College its motto—'garde ta foy'—keep your faith. Audley's successors in the Mastership and as benefactors of the College were however prone to dire ends; several benefactors were arraigned at various stages on charges of high treason and executed;



Magdalene College, Cambridge

New York Alpha's intellectual Henry Smyth, above, was patroned by Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII, king of England:

❖ Thomas Audley, 1st Baron Audley of Walden, KG, PC, KS (c. 1488 – 30 April 1544), Lord Chancellor of England, born in Earls Colne, Essex, the son of Geoffrey Audley, is believed to have studied at Buckingham College, Cambridge. He was educated for the law, entered the Middle Temple, was town clerk of Colchester, and was in the commission of the peace for Essex in 1521. In 1523 he was returned to Parliament for Essex, and represented this constituency in subsequent Parliaments. In 1527 he was Groom of the Chamber, and became a member of Wolsey's household. On the fall of the latter in 1529, he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.



Magdalene College, Cambridge (formerly Buckingham College)

The same year, he was also made Speaker of the House of Commons, presiding over the famous assembly styled the Reformation Parliament, which abolished the papal jurisdiction. The same year he headed a deputation of the Commons to the king to complain of Bishop Fisher's speech against their proceedings. He interpreted the King's "moral" scruples to parliament concerning his marriage with Catherine, and made himself the instrument of the King in the attack upon the clergy and the preparation of the Act of Supremacy.

In 1531 he had been made a serjeant-at-law and king's serjeant; and on 20 May 1532 he was knighted, and succeeded Sir Thomas More as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being appointed Lord Chancellor on the 26 January 1533.

He supported the king's divorce from Catherine and the marriage with Anne Boleyn; and presided at the trial of Fisher and More in 1535, at which his conduct and evident intention to secure a conviction has been criticised by some. Next year he was part of trial of Anne Boleyn and her "lovers" for treason and adultery. The execution of the king's wife left him free to declare the king's daughter Princess Elizabeth a bastard, and to marry Anne's maid, Jane Seymour. Audley was a witness to the queen's execution, and recommended to Parliament the new Act of Succession, which made Jane Seymour's issue legitimate.

In 1537 he condemned to death as traitors the rebels of the Pilgrimage of Grace. On 29 November 1538 he was created Baron Audley of Walden; and soon afterwards presided as Lord Steward at the trials of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, and of the Marquess of Exeter. In 1539, though inclining himself to the Reformation, he made himself the King’s instrument in enforcing religious conformity, and in the passing of the Six Articles Act.

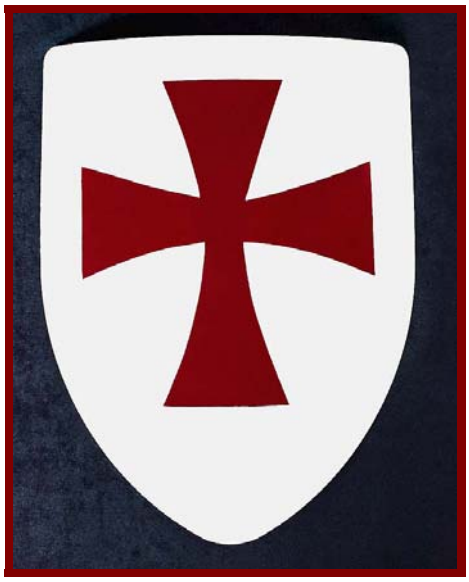
On April 24, 1540 he was made a Knight of the Garter, and subsequently managed the attainder of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and the dissolution of Henry’s marriage with Anne of Cleves. In 1542 he warmly supported the privileges of the Commons, but his conduct was inspired as usual by subservience to the court, which desired to secure a subsidy, and his opinion that the arrest was a flagrant contempt has been questioned by good authority.

He resigned the great seal on 21 April 1544, and died on April 30, being buried at Saffron Walden, where he had prepared for himself a splendid tomb. He received several grants of monastic estates, including the priory of Christ Church in Aldgate, London and the abbey of Walden, Essex, where his grandson, Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk, built Audley End, doubtless named after him.

In 1542 he endowed and re-established Buckingham College, Cambridge, under the new name of St Mary Magdalene, and ordained in the statutes that his heirs, "the possessors of the late monastery of Walden" should be visitors of the college in perpetuum. *A Book Orders for the Warre both by Sea and Land* (Harleian MS. 297, 144) is attributed to his authorship. He married Christina, daughter of Sir Thomas Barnardiston, and later Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, 2nd Marquess of Dorset, by whom he had two daughters. His barony became extinct at his death.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Lord Audley, above, was mentored, in part, at the Middle Temple of the Knights Templar in the City of London:

❖ The Honourable Society of the Middle Temple is one of the four Inns of Court exclusively entitled to call their members to the English bar as barristers; the others being the Inner Temple, Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn. It is near the Royal Courts of Justice, within the City of London. In the 13th century, the Inns of Court originated as hostels and schools for student lawyers. The Middle Temple is the western part of "The Temple", the headquarters of the Knights Templar until they were dissolved in 1312; the awe-inspiring Temple Church still stands as a Royal Peculiar church of the Inner and Middle Temples. There has never been an "Outer Temple", apart from a modern office block of that name. An order of 1337 refers to repairing the lane "through the middle of the Court of the Temple", which became known as Middle Temple Lane and probably gave its name to the Inn.



Templar Cross, taken up by some brothers of New York Alpha

Middle Temple Hall is at the heart of the Inn, and the Inn's student barristers are required to dine there for a minimum number of nights for several terms. The dinners are sometimes followed by lectures or debates. It is said that Shakespeare's Twelfth Night was first presented in Middle Temple Hall.

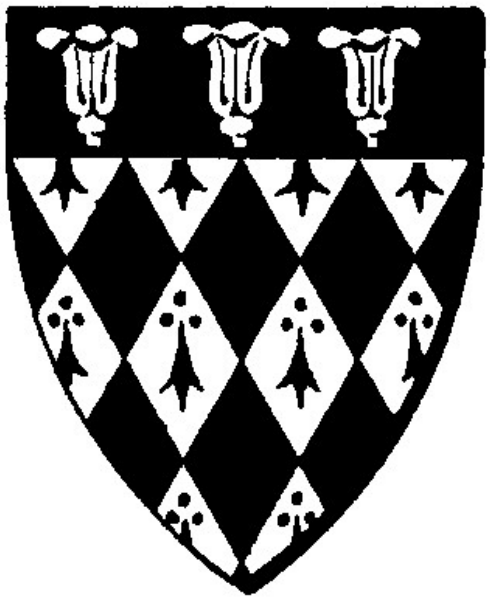
The Inns stopped being responsible for legal education in 1852, although they continue to provide supplementary training in areas such as advocacy and ethics for students, pupil barristers and newly-qualified barristers. Most of the Inn is occupied by barristers' offices, known as "chambers". One of the Middle Temple's main functions now is to provide support for new members to the profession. This is done through the provisions of scholarships (£1 million in 2005), subsidised accommodation both in the Temple and in Clapham [1], and by providing events where junior members may meet their more senior colleagues for help and advice.

Middle Temple Hall is also a popular venue for banqueting, weddings, receptions and parties. In recent years it has become a much-used film location -

the cobbled streets, historic buildings and gas lighting give it a unique atmosphere;

New York Alpha's intellectual, Lord Audley, above, was also mentored in the household of Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, below:

❖ Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, (March 1471–1475 – Nov. 29, 1530), born in Ipswich, Suffolk, England, was an English statesman and a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. When Henry VIII became king in 1509, Wolsey's affairs prospered. His political star was in the ascendant, and he soon became the controlling figure in all matters of state. The highest position he attained was Lord Chancellor and Cardinal in 1515, becoming Henry VIII's first minister, enjoying great freedom and often depicted as *alter rex* (another king). He built himself a palace (Hampton Court), which would later be occupied by kings. He was the son of Robert Wolsey of Ipswich (1438–96) and his wife Joan.



Magdalen College, Oxford

His father is reported by various later sources as a butcher but this is not certain. Sources indicate that Robert Wolsey died at Bosworth and was a significant casualty. Robert may have been a respected and wealthy cloth merchant, and the butcher story invented either to exaggerate or demean Wolsey. He attended Ipswich School and Magdalen College School before studying theology at Magdalen College, Oxford. On March 10, 1498, he was ordained a priest in Marlborough and became a personal chaplain, first to John Cardinal Morton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then to the governor of Calais where he met Henry VII.

Wolsey's talents were recognized by important men such as Sir Richard Nanfan, who then recommended Wolsey to King Henry VII. It was to Wolsey's advantage that Henry VII distrusted the nobility and deliberately sought to favour those from more humble backgrounds for positions of prominence. Henry VII appointed Wolsey Royal Chaplain. In this position, Wolsey was secretary to Bishop Fox, who recognized Wolsey's innate ability and dedication and appreciated his industry and willingness to take on tedious tasks. This brought him to the new king's attention after the death of Henry VII in 1509.

Wolsey loved display and wealth, although it is generally accepted that, as the King's principal servant, such things were necessary to present a good image to foreign diplomats and kings. He lived in royal splendour in his palace at Hampton Court. There is a theory that his long-term ambition was to become Pope, although much evidence discredits this. The idea that he aligned English foreign policy to that of the Papacy does not explain why he was often involved in wars in continental Europe, even if they were not on behalf of the Papacy.

Thomas Wolsey's remarkable rise to power from humble origins can be attributed to his high level of intelligence and organisation, his extremely industrious nature, his driving ambition for power, and the rapport he was able to achieve with the King. His rise coincided with the ascension of the new monarch Henry VIII, whose character, policies and diplomatic mindset were completely different from those of his father, Henry VII.

Henry VII had been a calculating and administrative financier with a very passive outlook in foreign policy, feeling that a war would only wreck national finances. He held the nobility in low esteem, taxing much of their wealth and property and very infrequently bestowing titles; as a result, he bequeathed his son a stable economy. By contrast with his father, Henry VIII was actively interested in foreign policy, and had few inhibitions about involving the country in expensive wars. He sought to unite the nobility behind him in an invasion of France in the hope of gaining the French crown.

Another factor in Wolsey's rise was that Henry, much as he admired his father's efficient government, was not particularly interested in the details of governing. Under the tight personal monarchy of Henry VII, Wolsey could not have hoped to obtain so much trust and responsibility. Henry VII oversaw nearly all aspects of government, particularly financial ones in which the King took personal supervision under a method known as "household government". Henry VIII, as a boy, had not expected to become king, had little political and governmental tutoring prior to ascending to the throne, and, acknowledging his own inexperience in the field of economy and domestic affairs, was much contented to have someone like Wolsey handle the fundamentals for him.

In 1509, Henry VIII appointed Wolsey to the post of Almoner, a position that gave him a seat on the council, providing an opportunity to raise his profile and to establish a rapport with Henry. Wolsey earned Henry's trust through his integrity and talent at getting the job done. He opted to carry out the tasks shunned by others and was always willing to overstep the boundaries of his job as almoner, dabbling in both domestic and foreign policy and making a good impression on the King's counsellors and the King himself.

Wolsey also pleased Henry because of his similar personality. Both men were extroverted and ostentatious, inclined to lavish displays of wealth and power.

The primary counsellors that Henry inherited from his father, including New York Alpha's intellectual, Bishop Fox (q.v.) and William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, were cautious and conservative, advising the King to be a careful administrator like his father. Henry soon began re-stocking his Privy Council with individuals more sympathetic to his views and inclinations. Until 1511 Wolsey was adamantly anti-war; however, when the King expressed his enthusiasm for an invasion of France, Wolsey, despite his moral and economic reservations, was able to adapt to the King's mindset and exploit the opportunity. He pragmatically changed his own views, even giving persuasive speeches to the Privy Council in favour of war. Warham and Fox, who failed to share the King's enthusiasm for the French war, fell from power and Wolsey was able to step into their shoes. In 1515, under mounting pressure directed by Wolsey, Warham resigned as Lord Chancellor, and Henry appointed Wolsey to replace him.

Despite having won the favour of the King, Wolsey's ascendancy would certainly have been compromised had he not taken care of those within the Privy Council who held grudges against him. Wolsey asserted himself, letting all know of his intentions and overruling all objections.

Those nobles who did pose a threat to the stability of Wolsey's position, such as the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, he ignored, eventually neutralizing their resistance. In the case of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Wolsey attempted to win his favour instead, by his actions after the duke secretly married Henry's sister Mary (the now-widowed queen of France), much to the King's displeasure. Wolsey advised the King not to execute the newly-weds, but to embrace them. With Suffolk indebted to Wolsey, the cardinal had another powerful ally.

Wolsey's rise to a position of great secular power was accompanied by increased responsibilities in the Church. He became Canon of Windsor, Berkshire in 1511, the same year in which he became a member of the Privy Council. In 1514 he was made Bishop of Lincoln, and then Archbishop of York. Pope Leo X made him a cardinal in 1515, with the *Titulus S. Caeciliae*. As tribute to the success of his campaign in France and subsequent peace negotiations, Wolsey was further rewarded by the church: in 1523 Wolsey was made Prince-Bishop of Durham.

A complex network of constantly changing alliances dominated Europe in the 16th century. It was a period of intense hostility and ruthless power struggle between nations. Where Henry VII had steered clear of foreign conflicts, Henry VIII sought to boost the minimal influence of England on the European scene. Despite the inexperience of the King and his Lord Chancellor, and their lack of clear objectives, they succeeded in making England a desirable ally to be sought after by the two greatest powers in Europe, Spain and France, and making

England a significant power in her own right. Even the annual French pension was significantly increased.

The war against France in 1512–14 was the most significant opportunity for Wolsey to demonstrate his talents in the foreign policy arena. A convenient justification for going to war came in 1511 in the form of a plea for help from Pope Julius II, who was beginning to feel threatened by France. England formed an alliance with Ferdinand V of Spain, and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor—theoretically a very strong coalition.

The first campaign against France was not a success, partly due to the unreliability of the alliance with Ferdinand. Wolsey learned from the mistakes of the campaign, however and, in 1513, still with papal support, launched a joint attack on France, successfully capturing two French cities and causing the French to retreat. Wolsey's ability to keep a large number of troops supplied and equipped for the duration of the war was a major factor in its success. Wolsey also had a key role in negotiating the Anglo-French treaty of 1514, which secured a temporary peace between the two nations. Under this treaty, the French king, Louis XII would marry Henry’s young sister, Mary. In addition, England was able to keep the captured city of Tournai and to secure an increase in the annual pension paid by France.

Meanwhile, a turnover of rulers on the continent of Europe threatened to diminish England’s influence. Peace with France in 1514 had been a true achievement for Wolsey and the King. With Henry’s sister Mary married to the French King, Louis XII, a lasting alliance seemed assured. Only a year later, however, Louis died. He was replaced by the young, ambitious Francis I, who had no intention of continuing an alliance with England and who became a significant rival to Henry VIII, stirring up tensions.

Mary had secured a promise from Henry that if Louis died, she could marry whomever she pleased. On Louis' death, she married the Duke of Suffolk, preventing another marriage alliance. With great anxiety, Wolsey proposed an alliance with Spain and the Holy Roman Empire against France.

The death of King Ferdinand of Spain, Henry's father-in-law, and England's closest ally, was a further blow. He was replaced by Charles V, who immediately proposed peace with France. On the death of Emperor Maximilian in 1519, Charles was elected in his stead; thus, English power was substantially limited on the continent.

Wolsey, however, managed to assert English influence through another means. In 1517, Pope Leo X sought peace in Europe to form a crusade against the Ottoman Empire. In 1518, Wolsey was made Papal Legate in England, enabling him to work for the pope’s desire for peace by organising the Treaty of London. The Treaty of London (1518) showed Wolsey as the arbiter of Europe,

organising a massive peace summit involving twenty nations. This put England at the forefront of European diplomacy and drew her out of isolation, making her a desirable ally. This is well illustrated by the Anglo-French treaty signed two days afterwards.

Ironically, it was partly this peace treaty which caused conflict between France and Spain. In 1519, when Charles ascended to the throne of the Holy Roman Emperor, Francis, King of France, was infuriated. He had invested enormous sums in bribing the electorate to select him as emperor, and thus, he used the Treaty of London as a justification for the Habsburg-Valois conflict. Wolsey appeared to act as mediator between the two powers, both of whom were vying for England's support.

Another of his diplomatic triumphs was the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520). He assiduously organised every detail of this grandiose meeting between the French king, Francis, and Henry VIII, accompanied by some 5000 followers. Though it seemed to open the door for peaceful negotiations with France, if that was the direction the King wished to go, it was also a chance for a lavish display of English wealth and power before the rest of Europe. With both France and Spain vying for England's allegiance, Wolsey could choose the ally which better suited his policies. Wolsey chose Charles mainly because England's economy would suffer from the loss of the lucrative cloth trade industry between England and the Netherlands had France been chosen instead.

Henry VIII had closer links with Charles than with Francis, being married to Charles' aunt. Since the King had yet to produce a male heir, a marriage between Henry's daughter, Mary, and Charles would ensure the security and influence of England after Henry's death. This was also in keeping with his duty to Pope Leo X, who was anti-French; the alliance had complete papal support.

The Treaty of London (1518) is often regarded as Wolsey's finest moment, but its half-hearted aspirations for peace were abandoned within a year. Wolsey ensured the failure of the treaty by allying with Charles in 1520 in the conflict against France, ignoring the Anglo-French treaty of 1520. Wolsey's relationship with Rome was also ambivalent. Despite his loyalties to the papacy, Wolsey was strictly Henry's servant. Though the Treaty of London was an elaboration on Pope Leo's ambitions for European peace, it was seen in Rome as a vain attempt by England to assert her influence over Europe and steal some papal thunder. Furthermore, Wolsey's peace initiatives prevented a crusade to the Holy Land, which was the catalyst for the pope's desire for European peace.

Lorenzo Cardinal Campeggio, who represented the pope at the Treaty of London, was kept waiting for many months in Calais before being allowed to cross the Channel and join the festivities in London; thereby, Wolsey was asserting his independence of Rome. However, Campeggio was a powerful

Church figure in 1529, and his resentment of Wolsey was instrumental in the refusal of Henry's request for the annulment of his marriage to Queen Catherine.

During the 1522–23 wars, Henry's overambition resulted in an invasion that was not as well organised as the 1513–14 invasion had been. All England's hopes rested on possibility of a disgraced French noble, Charles III, Duke of Bourbon, leading a revolt that would distract the French from the English invasion in August 1523.

The revolt failed. Charles V, who had promised to come to England's aid, stayed out due to a lack of funds. The situation was further exacerbated by bad weather, which proved crucial to the English defeat. This costly disaster resulted in Parliament having to raise additional taxes to cover the expenses. Parliament continued to interfere with Wolsey's overseas ambitions. After the disastrous campaigns of 1522–23, there was little enthusiasm for war. England's losses in Europe were outweighing her gains, and distrust and criticism of Wolsey increased.

Though the English gain of the wars of 1522–23 was minimal, their contribution certainly aided Charles in his defeat of the French, particularly in 1525 at the Battle of Pavia. However, in 1525, when Charles won a decisive battle at Pavia and captured the French king,Francis I a realistic opportunity arose for Henry to the seize power of the French crown. Parliament, however, refused to raise taxes. This led to Wolsey devising the Amicable Grant, which was met with even more hostility, and ultimately led to his downfall.

Charles became tired of his fruitless alliance with England and the "Great Enterprise" crumbled. After his success at Pavia, Charles had no further need for England as an ally and quickly discarded her. By 1525, England was just as isolated as she had been in 1515 and had achieved very little.

In 1525, after Charles had abandoned England as an ally, Wolsey felt forced to negotiate with France. His feeble attempt to make the best of a bad situation failed to attract the French, who by-passed Wolsey to make peace with Charles. Wolsey's lack of a clear objective in his foreign policy is evident in his pointless and fruitless switching of allegiances between Spain and France.

He also underestimated the devastating effects of making an enemy of the Holy Roman Empire. Although there was no actual war between England and Charles V, the wool trade suffered heavily. England's principal customers were either from the provinces of Charles' empire or those surrounded by his territory. When Charles ceased trade with England, there was a huge reduction in income from the wool trade, and tax revenue declined, affecting the entire nation.

The closeness with Rome can be seen in the formulation of the League of Cognac in 1526. Though England was not a part of it, the League was organized

in part by Wolsey with papal support. Wolsey's plan was that the League of Cognac, composed of an alliance between France and some Italian states, would challenge Charles' League of Cambrai and rescue Pope Clement VII, who had been held captive by Charles since the sack of Rome. This initiative was not merely a gesture of allegiance to Rome, but fostered Henry's desire for an annulment from Catherine of Aragon, a desire that was beginning to dominate foreign policy.

The final blow came in 1529, when the French made peace with Charles, shattering Wolsey's ambitions for the League of Cognac. Meanwhile, the French continued to honour the "Auld Alliance" with Scotland, continuing to stir up hostility much closer to England. With peace between France and Charles, there was no one to free the pope from Charles' supremacy, and he would be unable to grant Henry an annulment from Charles' aunt, Catherine. Since 1527, Wolsey's foreign policy had been dominated by his attempts to secure an annulment for his master, and, by 1529, he had failed.

Wolsey was not a diplomat at heart; in his attempts to please some, he offended many others.

Despite his many enemies, Cardinal Wolsey held Henry VIII's confidence until Henry decided to seek an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon so that he could marry Anne Boleyn.

Henry's marriage to Catherine had produced no sons who survived childhood, leading to the possibility of a power struggle after his death. (The Wars of the Roses were still within living memory.) His daughter, Mary, was considered unable to hold the country together and continue the Tudor dynasty, since England had not until then had a reigning queen, except arguably for Empress Matilda who fought and lost a civil war to try to keep the throne. Henry VIII became convinced that Catherine's inability to have a male heir was due to his marrying the widow of Arthur, Prince of Wales. Arthur was his elder brother, causing Henry to think the marriage was incestuous. Henry further believed that the dispensation for his marriage to Catherine from the Pope was invalid because it was based on the presumption that Catherine was still a virgin on her first husband's death. Henry claimed this was not true, and thus, the papal permission and the ensuing marriage were invalid. The fact that he had fallen in love with the beautiful Anne Boleyn was more likely the reason for his desire to get an annulment.

Catherine insisted that she had been a virgin when she married King Henry. Because Queen Catherine was opposed to the annulment and a return to her previous status as Dowager Princess of Wales, the annulment request became a matter for international diplomacy, with Catherine's nephew, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, threatening the Pope if his aunt's marriage to Henry was annulled. Pope Clement VII was presented with a problem: he could either

anger Charles or else anger Henry. He delayed announcing a decision for as long as possible; this angered Henry and Anne Boleyn, who took out their anger on Wolsey.

Wolsey's fall from grace was sudden and complete. He was stripped of his government office and property, including his magnificently expanded residence of York Place, which Henry chose to replace the Palace of Westminster as his own main London residence. However, Wolsey was permitted to remain Archbishop of York. He travelled to Yorkshire for the first time in his career, and at Cawood in North Yorkshire, he was accused of treason and ordered to London by the Earl of Northumberland. In great distress, he set out for the capital with his personal chaplain Edmund Bonner. Wolsey fell ill and died on the way, at Leicester on November 29 around the age of 55. "If I had served my God", the cardinal said remorsefully, "as diligently as I did my king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

In keeping with his practice of erecting magnificent buildings, Wolsey had designed a grand tomb for himself, but he was buried in Leicester Abbey (now Abbey Park) without a monument. Henry VIII considered using the impressive black sarcophagus for himself, but Lord Nelson now lies in it, within the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.

For his fourteen years of chancellorship, Cardinal Wolsey had more power than any other man in English history, excepting monarchs. As long as he was in the King’s favour, Wolsey had the freedom to reform England as he saw fit, and had his hand in nearly every aspect of its ruling. For much of the time, Henry VIII had complete confidence in him, and as Henry's interests inclined more towards foreign policy, he was willing to give Wolsey a free hand in reforming the management of domestic affairs, for which Wolsey had grand plans. Superficially his reforms involved carrying out the King’s wishes and enforcing his principle of fair justice for all, no doubt influenced by the Christian ethos he embraced as a man of the Church. Nevertheless, there were always impediments to the complete realisation of his reforms, whether it was through his own shortcomings or by the action of those who resented Wolsey’s influence over Henry.

An example of Wolsey combining obligation to the King and his own sense of moral duty is Wolsey’s devising, with the treasurer of the Chamber, John Heron, of the "Subsidy". This revolutionary form of tax was based upon accurate valuations of the taxpayer’s wealth, where one shilling was taken per pound from the income. This tax, the foundation of today’s income tax, while still employing the fixed tax of 15ths and 10ths which had meant that those who earned very little money had to pay almost as much in tax as the wealthy. With the new income tax the poorer members of society paid much less.

This more efficient form of taxation enabled Wolsey to raise enough money for the King’s foreign expeditions, bringing in over £300,000. Wolsey was

also able to raise considerable amounts of capital through other means, such as through "benevolences" and enforced donations from the nobility, which raised £200,000 in 1522.

As a legal administrator Wolsey had a sense of natural justice and was concerned with providing justice for all and thwarting attempts to pervert justice. He reinvented the equity court, where the verdict was decided by the judge on the principle of "fairness". As an alternative to the Common Law courts, Wolsey re-established the position of the prerogative courts of the Star Chamber and the Court of Chancery. The system in both courts concentrated on simple, inexpensive cases, and promised impartial justice. He also established the Court of Requests for the poor, where no fees were required. Wolsey's legal reforms were popular, and overflow courts were required to attend to all the cases. Many powerful individuals who had felt themselves invincible under the law found themselves convicted; for example, in 1515, the Earl of Northumberland was sent to Fleet Prison and in 1516 Lord Abergavenny was accused of illegal retaining.

Wolsey also used his courts to tackle national controversies, such as the pressing issue of enclosures. The countryside had been thrown into discord over the entrepreneurial actions of landlords in enclosing areas of land and converting from arable farming to pastoral farming, requiring fewer workers. Enclosures were seen as directly linked to rural unemployment and depopulation, vagrancy, food shortages and, accordingly, inflation.

The Tudors valued stability, and this mass urban migration represented a serious crisis. Wolsey conducted national enquires in 1517, 1518 and 1527 into the presence of enclosures. In the course of his administration he used the court of Chancery to prosecute 264 landowners, including peers, bishops, knights, religious heads, and Oxford colleges.

Wolsey used the Star Chamber to enforce his 1518 policy of “Just Price”, which attempted to regulate the price of meat in London and other major cities. Those who were found to be charging excessive amounts were prosecuted by the Chamber. After the bad harvest of 1527, Wolsey took the initiative of buying up surplus grain and selling it off cheaply to the needy. This act of generosity greatly eased disorder and became common practice after a disappointing harvest.

This Christian philosophy of communal righteousness was a product of Wolsey's position as papal legate for the church in England. He took his job seriously and made marginal efforts to improve the reputation of the Church. For example, throughout the anti-clerical mood of the Parliament of 1515, he defended the Church, and refused to permit the re-signing of the law which diminished the “Benefit of the Clergy”, in the wake of the murder of Richard Hunne by his clergymen jailers. Wolsey was forced to kneel before Henry and assure him that the “Benefit” would be no threat to the King's authority.

Moreover, Wolsey was aware of the ongoing corruption in the Catholic Church and he made certain steps towards reform. In 1524 and 1527 he used his powers as papal legate to dissolve 30 decayed monasteries where corruption had run rife, including abbeys in Oxford and Ipswich. He used the income to found a grammar school in Ipswich and Cardinal College in Oxford, thus giving something back to the communities which had nurtured him. The college in Oxford was renamed King's College after Wolsey's fall. Today it is known as Christ Church. In 1528, he began to limit the benefit of clergy, and, in the same year, stood up to Henry by disapproving of his choice of a woman of dubious virtue for the position of Abbess of Wilton.

A common trend throughout Wolsey's ventures was the inability to realize his reforms and make a lasting impact, perhaps because of the enormous personal responsibility he carried. Wolsey's principal preoccupation throughout his fourteen years as Lord Chancellor was maintaining power. This meant both reducing the influence of others over the King and refusing to impart lesser responsibilities to others. This philosophy led him to become overwhelmed by the day-to-day problems of running the country.

Wolsey's position in power relied solely on maintaining good relations with Henry. He grew increasingly suspicious of the minions, particularly after infiltrating one of his own men into the group, and attempted many times to disperse them from court, giving them jobs which took them to the Continent and far from the King. After the failure of the Amicable Grant, the minions began to undermine him once again. Consequently Wolsey devised a grand plan of administrative reforms, incorporating the infamous Eltham Ordinances of 1526. This reduced the members of the Privy Council from 12 to 6, removing troublemakers such as William Compton. As soon as Wolsey's influence had been secured he dropped the plan of reforms.

This pattern was repeated with many of Wolsey's other initiatives, particularly his quest to abolish enclosure. Despite spending a significant time and effort in investigating the state of the countryside and prosecuting numerous offenders, Wolsey freely surrendered his policy during the parliament of 1523, in order to ensure that Parliament would pass his proposed taxes for Henry's war in France. Enclosures continued to be a problem for many years to follow.

One of Wolsey's greatest impediments was his lack of popularity amongst the nobles at court and in Parliament. Their hatred partly stemmed from Wolsey's excessive demands for money in the form of the Subsidy or through Benevolences. They also resented the Act of Resumption (1515), by which many nobles were forced to return lands which the King had given to them as a gift. Many nobles resented his rise to power, whilst others simply disliked his monopolization of the court and his concealing of information from the Privy Council. By 1525, there was unanimous hostility and rejection to the forced benevolence of the Amicable Grant.

Wolsey had never attempted to achieve a rapport with the nobility. When mass riots broke out in East Anglia, under the supervision of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk (sworn enemies of Wolsey) Henry was quick to denounce the Amicable Grant, and began to lose faith in his chief minister. Wolsey ultimately failed to achieve the primary objective of his domestic policy, which was to deliver what the King wanted. Despite his talent for administration and organization, there were many instances where Wolsey basically overreached himself. Most people in Tudor England knew no better than Wolsey, failing to see that enclosure was not the cause of inflation. During the relatively peaceful period which England had been enjoying since the War of the Roses, the population of the nation had increased. With increased demand for food and no additional supply, the price increased. Landowners were forced to enclose land and convert to pastoral farming, which brought in more profit. Wolsey's quest against enclosure was fruitless in terms of restoring the stability of the economy.

The same can be said for Wolsey's legal reforms. By making justice accessible to all and encouraging more people bring their cases to court, the system was ultimately abused. The courts became overloaded with incoherent, tenuous cases, which would have been far too expensive to have rambled on in the Common Law courts. Wolsey ultimately became disillusioned, and ordered all minor cases out of the Star Chamber in 1528. The result of this venture was further resentment from the nobles and gentry, who had suffered at the impartial hand of Wolsey, not to mention the lawyers, who regarded Wolsey as ruining their profit.

Wolsey simultaneously attempted to exert his influence over the Church in England. As Cardinal and, from 1524, lifetime papal legate, Wolsey was continually vying for control over others in the Church. His principal rival was Wareham, the Archbishop of Canterbury who made it more difficult for Wolsey to follow through with his plans for reform. Despite making promises to reform the bishoprics of England and Ireland, and (in 1519) encouraging monasteries to embark on a program of reform, he did nothing to bring about these changes. Moreover, he refused to promote others to instigate the reforms for fear of losing his personal influence.

Many historians see Wolsey's handling of the Church as his greatest failure. Wolsey epitomized all that was corrupt and inefficient about the Church in that era. Wolsey is often seen as a hypocrite, condemning the debauchery of corrupt clergymen, yet himself partaking in the crimes of pluralism, absenteeism (he was archbishop of York, yet only visited the city in 1529), simony (even when appointed, bishops and abbots could not take up their posts unless they had been "confirmed" by Wolsey, at a price), ostentatious display of wealth, sexual relations, nepotism, and the ordination of minors (the latter three illustrated through the premature rise to power of his own illegitimate son).

Wolsey effectively used his position in the church for his own ends, awarding bishoprics to those he sought to keep loyal to the crown, as illustrated by the appointment of Cardinal Campeggio to the see of Salisbury in 1524, as a means of securing Campeggio's role as papal curia for England. This is an example of Wolsey extorting the money from these bishoprics, which were bequeathed to foreigners, without their knowing it. Wolsey's depravity made it easier for reformists to condemn the Church and win the public over to the Lutheran ideology. Being Papal Legate for England, Wolsey had a duty to uphold the moral values which the pope promoted, but he was seen as a poor figurehead for their faith.

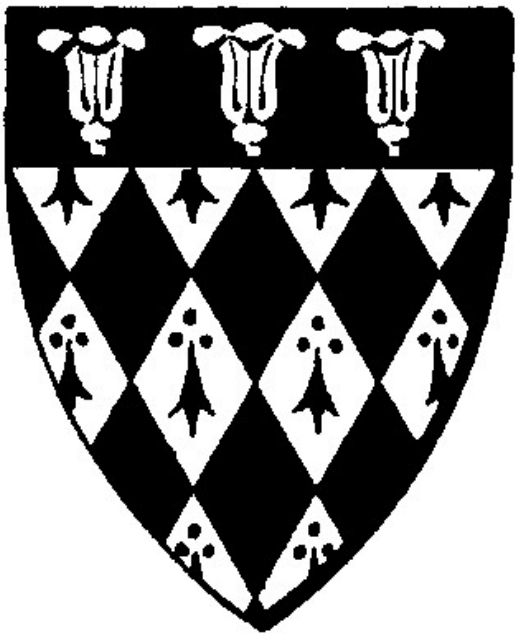
Wolsey's greatest fault in supervising the Church was his belief in absolute supremacy. As papal legate he considered himself to be the uncontested head of the Church in England, and he sought to consolidate this power by reducing the number of bishops and populating the remaining bishoprics with bishops loyal to him. His dictatorial attitude caused cataclysmic problems once he was removed from power, leaving the Church in England without the flawed leader upon which it had become so dependent.

Wolsey was criticized, particularly by his successor Thomas More, for failing to stamp out Lutheran heresy during the 1520s. Despite threatening heretics with reproof and forcing them to recant, Wolsey did not resort to prison sentences and execution. Consequently, Lutheran ideology spread around the country, paving the way for Reformation. Although, Wolsey certainly did not wish the Catholic Church in England to be destroyed, his misplaced belief in his own power and supremacy made this more likely.

Wolsey had two children by his mistress, Joan Larke (born circa 1490) of Yarmouth, Norfolk. These were a son, Thomas Wynter Wolsey (born circa 1528) and a daughter, Dorothy (born circa 1530), both of whom lived to adulthood. Thomas married and had children. It is not known what happened to Dorothy.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Cardinal Wolsey, above, was also mentored by Bishop Archbishop Foxe, below:

❖ Richard Foxe (sometimes *Richard Fox*) (c. 1448 - October 5, 1528) was an English churchman, successively Bishop of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester, Lord Privy Seal, and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was born at Ropesley near Grantham, Lincolnshire. His parents belonged to the yeoman class, and little is known about Foxe's early career. He is thought to have gone to Magdalen College, Oxford, from which he drew many members of his subsequent foundation, Corpus Christi. He also appears to have studied at Cambridge University, but nothing definite is known of his first thirty-five (35) years. In 1484, he was in Paris studying theology, or because he had made himself unpopular with Richard III.



Magdalen College, Oxford

There he came into contact with the Henry Tudor, who was beginning his quest for the English throne, and was taken into his service. In January of 1485 Richard intervened to prevent Foxe's appointment to the vicarage of Stepney on the ground that he was keeping company with the "great rebel, Henry ap Tuddor." The important offices conferred on Foxe immediately after the Battle of Bosworth imply that he had already seen more extensive political service than can be traced in records. Doubtless Henry had every reason to reward his companions in exile, and to rule like Ferdinand of Aragon by means of lawyers and churchmen rather than trust nobles like those who had made the Wars of the Roses. But without an intimate knowledge of Foxe's political experience and capacity he would hardly have made him his principal secretary, and soon afterwards Lord Privy Seal and elected Bishop of Exeter on January 29, 1487, being consecrated on April 8.

The ecclesiastical role provided a salary that was not at Henry's expense; for Foxe never saw either Exeter or the diocese of Bath and Wells to which he was moved in February of 1492. His activity was confined to political and especially diplomatic channels; during John Morton's lifetime, Foxe was his subordinate, but after the archbishop's death he was first in Henry's confidence, and had an important share in all the diplomatic work of the reign. In 1487 he negotiated a treaty with King James III of Scotland, and in 1491 he baptized the

future King Henry VIII of England. In 1492, he concluded the Peace of Etaples, and in 1493 he was chief commissioner in the negotiations for the commercial agreement with the Netherlands which Bacon called the *Magnus Intercursus*.

Meanwhile in July of 1494 Foxe had been translated to the see of Durham, because of its political importance as a palatine earldom and its position with regard to the Borders and relations with Scotland. For these reasons rather than from any ecclesiastical scruples Foxe visited and resided in his new diocese; and he occupied Norham Castle, which he fortified and defended against a Scottish raid in Perkin Warbeck's interests in 1497. But his energies were principally devoted to pacific purposes. In that same year he negotiated Perkin's retirement from the court of James IV, and in 1498–1499 he completed the negotiations for that treaty of marriage between the Scottish king and Henry's daughter Margaret which led ultimately to the union of the two crowns in 1603 and of the two kingdoms in 1707. The marriage itself did not take place until 1503, just a century before the accession of James I.

This consummated Foxe's work in the north. In August of 1501 he was translated to the Winchester see, then reputedly England’s richest bishopric. In that year he brought to a conclusion marriage negotiations not less momentous in their ultimate results, when Prince Arthur was betrothed to Catherine of Aragon. His last diplomatic achievement in the reign of Henry VII was the betrothal of the king's younger daughter Mary to the future emperor Charles V.

In 1500, Foxe was elected chancellor of Cambridge University, an office not confined to noble lords until a much more democratic age, and in 1507 master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The Lady Margaret Beaufort made him one of her executors, and in this capacity as well as in that of chancellor, he had the chief share with Fisher in regulating the foundation of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Lady Margaret professorships and readerships. His financial work brought him a less enviable notoriety, though history has deprived him of the credit which is his due for "Morton's Fork." The invention of that ingenious dilemma for extorting contributions from poor and rich alike is ascribed as a tradition to Morton by Francis Bacon; but the story is told in greater detail of Foxe by Erasmus, who says he had it from Sir Thomas More. It is in keeping with the somewhat malicious saying about Foxe, reported by William Tyndale, that he would sacrifice his father to save his king, which is not so damning as Wolsey's dying words.

The accession of Henry VIII only increased Foxe's power, the personnel of his ministry remaining unaltered. The Venetian ambassador called Foxe "alter rex" and the Spanish ambassador Carroz said that Henry trusted him more than any other adviser, although he also reports Henry's warning that the Bishop of Winchester was, as his name implied, "a Foxe indeed." He was the chief of the ecclesiastical statesmen of Morton's school, believed in frequent parliaments, and opposed spirited foreign policy. His colleagues were William Warham and

Ruthal, but Warham and Foxe differed on the question of Henry's marriage, Foxe advising the completion of the match with Catherine of Aragon while Warham expressed doubts as to its canonical validity. They also differed over the prerogatives of Canterbury with regard to probate and other questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

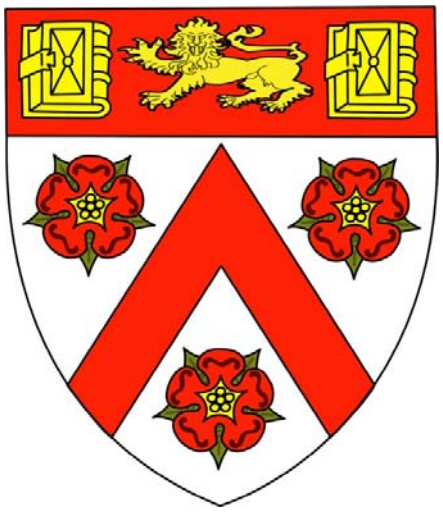
Thomas Wolsey's rapid rise in 1511 put an end to Foxe's influence. The pacific policy of the first two years of Henry VIII's reign was succeeded by an adventurous foreign policy directed mainly against France; and Foxe complained that no one dared do anything in opposition to Wolsey's wishes. Foxe resigned the privy seal because of Wolsey's ill-advised attempt to drive King Francis I of France out of Milan by financing an expedition led by Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, in 1516. Cuthbert Tunstall protested, Wolsey took Warham's place as chancellor, and Foxe was succeeded by Ruthal, who, said the Venetian ambassador, "sang treble to Wolsey's bass." Yet he warmly congratulated Wolsey two years later when warlike adventures were abandoned at the peace of London. But in 1522, when war was again declared, he emphatically refused to bear any part of the responsibility, and in 1523 he opposed in convocation the financial demands which met with a more strenuous resistance in the House of Commons.

He now devoted himself to his long-neglected episcopal duties. He expressed himself as being as anxious for the reformation of the clergy as Simeon for the coming of the Messiah; but was too old to accomplish much himself in the way of remedying the clerical and especially the monastic depravity, licence and corruption he deplored. His sight failed during the last ten years of his life, and Matthew Parker claimed that Wolsey suggested his retirement from his bishopric on a pension. Foxe refused, and Wolsey had to wait until Foxe's death before he could add Winchester to his archbishopric of York and his abbey of St Albans, and thus leave Durham vacant as he hoped for his own illegitimate son. Foxe died on October 5, 1528.

The crown of Foxe's career was his foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which he established in 1515–1516. Originally he intended it as an Oxford house for the monks of St Swithin's, Winchester; but he is said to have been dissuaded by Bishop Oldham, who foretold the fall of the monks. The scheme breathed the spirit of the Renaissance; provision was made for the teaching of Greek, Erasmus praised the institution and Pole was one of its earliest fellows. The humanist Juan Luís Vives was brought from Italy to teach Latin, and the reader in theology was instructed to follow the Greek and Latin Fathers rather than the scholastic commentaries. Foxe also built and endowed schools at Taunton and Grantham - The King's School, Grantham remains one of England's leading educational institutions - and was a benefactor to numerous other institutions. He died at Wolvesey; Corpus possesses several portraits and other relics of its founder.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Bishop Foxe, above, studied theology at Magdalen College, Oxford University, soon after its founding by William Waynflete, below:

❖ William Waynflete (born William Patten) (c. 1398 – 11 August 1486), was Bishop of Winchester from 1447 to 1486, and Lord Chancellor of England from 1456 to 1460. He is best remembered as the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. William was born in Wainfleet, Lincolnshire (whence his surname) in about 1398. He was the eldest son of Richard Patten (alias Barbour), a merchant. His mother was Margery, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Brereton in Cheshire. He had a younger brother named John, who later became the dean of Chichester. It has been alleged that he attended Winchester College and New College, Oxford, but this is improbable.



King's Hall, Cambridge

Neither college claimed in his lifetime that he was one of its alumni. That he was at Oxford, and probably a scholar at one of the grammar schools there, before passing on to the higher faculties, is shown by a letter of the chancellor addressed to him when provost of Eton which speaks of the university as his mother who brought him forth into the light of knowledge and nourished him with the alimony of all the sciences.

He is probably the William Barbour who was ordained acolyte by Bishop Fleming of Lincoln on April 21, 1420 and subdeacon on January 21, 1421; and as William Barbour, otherwise Waynflete of Spalding, was ordained deacon on March 18, 1421, and priest on January 21, 1426, with title from Spalding Priory. He may have been the William Waynflete who was admitted a scholar of the King's Hall, Cambridge, on March 6, 1428 (Exch. Q. R. Bdle. 346, no. 31), and was described as LL.B. when receiving letters of protection on July 13 1429 (Proc. P.C. iii. 347) to enable him to accompany Robert FitzHugh, D.D., warden of the hail, on an embassy to Rome.

For the scholars of the King's Hall were what we should call fellows, as may be seen by the appointment to the hall on April 3, 1360 of Nicholas of Drayton, B.C.L., and John Kent, B.A., instead of two scholars who had gone off to the French wars without the warden's leave (Cal. Close Rolls). William Waynflete, presented to the vicarage of Skendleby, Lincs, by the Priory of Bardney (Lincoln, Ep. Reg. f. ~4, Chandler, 16), on June 14, 1430, may also

have been our Waynflete. There was, however, another William Waynflete, who was instituted rector of Wroxhall, Somerset, on May 17, 1433 (Wells, Ep. Reg. Stafford), and was dead when his successor was appointed on November 18, 1436 (Wells, Ep. Reg. Stillington). A successor to the William Waynflete at the King's Hall was admitted on April 3, 1434.

In 1429, Waynflete became headmaster of Winchester College, a position which he held until 1441. During this time, he was appointed by Bishop Beaufort to the mastership of St Mary Magdalen's Hospital, a leper hospital on St Giles Hill, just outside the city of Winchester. The first recorded headmaster after the foundation of the college, John Melton, had been presented by Wykeham to the mastership of this hospital in 1393 shortly before his retirement.

On July 3, 1441 Henry VI went for a weekend visit to Winchester College to see the school for himself. Here he seems to have been so much impressed with Waynflete, that by the autumn, Waynflete had ceased to be headmaster of Winchester. In October he appears dining in the hall there as a guest, and at Christmas 1442 he received a royal livery, five yards of violet cloth, as provost of Eton.

Under the influence of Archbishop Chicheley, who had himself founded two colleges in imitation of Wykeham, and Thomas Bekynton, king's secretary and privy seal, and other Wykehamists, Henry VI, on October 11, 1440, founded, in imitation of Winchester College, a college in the parish church of Eton by Windsor not far from our birthplace, called the King's College of the Blessed Mary of Eton by Windsor, as a sort of first-fruits of his taking the government on himself. The college was to consist of a provost, 10 priests, 6 choristers, 25 poor and needy scholars, 25 almsmen and a magister informator to teach gratis the scholars and all others coming from any part of England to learn grammar. On March 5 1440–1441, the king endowed the college out of alien priories with some £500 a year, almost exactly the amount of the original endowment of Winchester.

Though reckoned first headmaster of Eton, there is no definite evidence that he was. The school building was not begun till May 1442 (V.C.H., Bucks, ii. 154). William Westbury, who left New College, transferring himself to the kings service, in May 1442, and appears in the first extant Eton Audit Roll 1444–1445 as headmaster, was probably such from May 1442. If Waynflete was headmaster from October 1441 to May 1442, his duties must have been little more than nominal. As provost, Waynflete procured the exemption of the college from archidiaconal authority on May 2, and made the contract for completion of the carpenter's work of the eastern side of the quadrangle on November 30, 1443.

On December 21, 1443 he was sworn to the statutes by Bishop Bekynton and the earl of Suffolk, the king's commissioners, and himself administered the oath to the other members of the foundation, then only five fellows and eleven scholars over fifteen years of age. He is credited with having taken half the

scholars and fellows of Winchester to Eton to start the school there. In fact, five scholars and perhaps one commoner left Winchester for Eton in 1443, probably in July, just before the election. For three of them were admitted scholars of King's College, Cambridge, on July 19, that college, by its second charter of July 10 1443 having been placed in the same relation to Eton that New College bore to Winchester; i.e. it was to be recruited entirely from Eton.

The chief part of Waynflete's duties as provost was the financing and completion of the buildings and establishment. The number of scholars was largely increased by an election of 25 new ones on September 26, 1444, the income being, then £946, of which the king contributed £120 and Waynflete £18, or more than half his stipend of 30 a year. The full number of 70 scholars was not filled up till Waynflete's last year as provost, 1446–1447 (Eton Audit Roll).

So greatly did Waynflete ingratiate himself with Henry that when Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, Henry's uncle, died on April 11, 1447, the king wrote to the chapter of Winchester, instructing them to elect Waynflete as bishop.[8] On April 12 he was given the custody of the temporalities, on April 15 he was elected,[9] and on May 10 provided to the see by a papal bull. On July 13, 1447 he was consecrated[9] in Eton church, when the warden and fellows and others of his old college gave him a horse at a cost of £6, 13s. 4d., and 13s. 4d. to the boys. Subsequent visits to Winchester inspired Henry with the idea of rebuilding Eton church on cathedral dimensions. Waynflete was assigned as the principal executor of his will for that purpose, and if there was any variance between the executors, he was to determine it. From 1448 to 1450 £3336 was spent on the church, of which Waynflete with the marquis of Suffolk and the bishop of Salisbury contributed £100 or £1,000. The troubles which began in 1450 put a stop to the work.

Waynflete, as bishop, lost no time in following the example of Wykeham and his royal patron in becoming a college founder. On May 6, 1448 he obtained licence in mortmain and on August 20, founded at Oxford for the extirpation of heresies and errors, the increase of the clerical order and the adornment of holy mother church, a perpetual hall, called Seint Marie Maudeleyn Halle, for study in the sciences of sacred theology and philosophy, to consist of a president and 50 scholars. Its site was not that of the present college, but of two earlier halls called Boston and Hare, where the new schools now are. Thirteen M.A.s and seven bachelors, besides the president, John Hornley, B.D., were named in the charter. The dedication to Mary Magdalen was no doubt derived from the hospital at Winchester of which the founder had been master. On St Wolstan's Day, January 19 1448–1449, Waynflete was enthroned in Winchester Cathedral in the presence of the king; and, probably partly for his sake, parliament was held there in June and July 1449, when the king frequently attended the college chapel, Waynflete officiating (Win. Coll. Reg. Vet.).

When Jack Cade's rebellion occurred in 1450 Waynflete was employed with Archbishop Stafford, the chancellor, to negotiate with the rebels at St Margaret's church, Southwark, close to Winchester House. A full pardon was promised, but on August 1 Waynflete was one of the special commissioners to try the rebels. On May 7, 1451 Waynflete, from le peynted chambre in his manor house at Southwark, asserting that his bishopric was canonically obtained and that he labored under no disqualification, but feared some grievous attempt against himself and his see, appealed to the protection of the pope. It is suggested (Dict. Nat. Biog.) that this was due to some disturbances at Winchester (Proc. P.C. VI. 108), where one of Cade's quarters was sent after his execution. But it is more likely, as suggested by Richard Chandler (Life of Waynflete, 1811), that it was some Yorkist attack on him in progress in the papal court, to meet which he appointed next day 19 proctors to act for him.

In the result nothing disturbed his peaceable possession of the see. With the archbishop of Canterbury he received Henry VI on a pilgrimage to St Thomas a Becket on August 2, 1451. When in November the duke of York encamped near Dartford, Waynfiete with three others was sent from the king's camp at Blackheath to propose terms, which were accepted. Edward, Prince of Wales, was born on October 13, 1453 and baptized by Waynflete the next day. This year Waynflete acquired the reversion of the manor of Stanswick, Berks, from Lady Danvers (Chandler, p. 87) for Magdalen Hall. The king became insane in 1454. On the death of the chancellor, John Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury, during the sitting of parliament, presided over by the duke of York, commissioners, headed by Waynflete, were sent to Henry, to ask him to name a new chancellor, apparently intending that Waynflete should be named. But no answer could be extracted from the king, and after some delay Lord Salisbury took the seals.

During York's regency, both before and after the First Battle of St Albans, Waynflete took an active part in the proceedings of the privy council. With a view to an ampler site for his college, Waynflete obtained on July 5, 1456 a grant of the Hospital of St John the Baptist outside the east gate at Oxford and on July 15 licence to found a college there. Having obtained a papal bull, he founded it by deed of June 12, 1458, converting the hospital into a college with a president and six fellows, to which college two days later Magdalen Hall surrendered itself and its possessions, its members being incorporated into the New College of St Mary Magdalen.

Meanwhile Waynflete himself had been advanced to the highest office in the state, the chancellorship, the seals being delivered to him on October 11, 1456[10] by the king in the priory of Coventry in the presence of the duke of York, apparently as a person acceptable to both parties. On October 27, 1457 he took part in the trial and condemnation for heresy of Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, who had been ordained subdeacon and deacon on the same day and by the same bishop as Waynflete himself. Only Pecock's books and not the heretic were burnt. As the heresy consisted chiefly in defending the clergy on grounds of reason instead of authority, the proceeding does not show any great

enlightenment on Waynflete's part. It must have been at this time that an addition was made by Waynflete to the Eton college statutes, compelling the fellows to forswear the heresies of John Wycliffe and Pecock.

Waynflete presided as chancellor at the parliament at Coventry in November 1459, which, after the Yorkist catastrophe at Ludlow, attainted the Yorkist leaders. It was no doubt because of this that, three days before the Yorkist attack at Northampton, he delivered the great seal to the king in his tent near Diapre abbey, a nunnery by Northampton, on July 7, 1460.[10][11] It was taken with Henry and handed to the Yorkist, George Neville, bishop of Exeter, brother of the kingmaker, earl of Warwick, in London on July 25 following.

Whether, as alleged by some, Waynflete fled and hid himself during the period covered by the battle of Wakefield and Edward's first parliament in 1461, is very doubtful. A testimonial to his fidelity written by Henry to the pope on November 8, 1460 (Chandler, 346) was written while Henry was in Yorkist hands. The fact too that complaints laid before Edward IV himself in August 1461 of wrongful exaction of manorial rights from the tenants of the episcopal manor of East Meon., Hants, were decided in the bishop's favour in parliament in the December following (Rot. Parl. v. 475) also suggests that he was not regarded as an enemy to the Yorkists, though a personal favourite of Henry's. A general charter of confirmation to him and his successors of the property and rights of the bishopric of Winchester on July 1 1462 (Pat. 2 Ed. IV) points in the same direction.

It is certain that he took an active part in the restoration of Eton College; which Edward annexed to St Georges, Windsor, in 1463, depriving it of a large part of its possessions. In the earliest Audit Rolls after the restoration of the college in 1467 there are many entries of visits of Provost Westbury to the lord of Winchester, which in January 1468–1469 were for beginning the work of the church and providing money for them. Why a pardon was granted to Waynflete on February 1, 1469 (Pat. 8 Ed. IV. pt. ill. m. 16) does not appear. On the restoration of Henry VI on September 28, 1470 Waynflete welcomed him on his release from the Tower, which necessitated a new pardon, granted a month after Edward's reinstatement on May 30, 1471 (Pat. II. Ed. IV. pat. i. m. 24), and a loan to the king of 2000 marks (£1333, 6s. 8d.). In the years 1471–1472 to 1474 Waynflete was largely engaged in completing the church, now called chapel, at Eton, his glazier, supplying the windows, and he contracted on August 15, 1475 for the rood-loft to be made on one side like to the rode bite in Bishop Wykeham's college at Winchester, and on the other like that of the college of St Thomas of Acres in London. In 1479 he built, the ante-chapel at the west-end, as it now stands, of stone from Headington, Oxford.

He died on 11 August 1486[9] at Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire. He was buried in the Magdalen Chapel at Winchester Cathedral.

New York Alpha's intellectual, William Wainflete, above, studied theology under Richard Fleming, below:

❖ Richard Fleming (born around 1360; died January 25 or January 26, 1431, in Sleaford Castle), Bishop of Lincoln, and founder of Lincoln College, Oxford, was born at Crofton in Yorkshire. He was descended from a good family, and was educated at University College, Oxford. Having taken his degrees, he was made prebendary of York in 1406, and the next year was junior proctor of the university. About this time he became an ardent Wycliffite, winning over many persons, some of high rank, to the side of the reformer, and incurring the censure of Archbishop Arundel.

University College, Oxford

He afterwards became one of Wycliffe's most determined opponents. Before 1415 he was instituted to the rectory of Boston in Lincolnshire, and he was nominated to Lincoln on November 20, 1419. On April 28, 1420 he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln.[1] In 1428–1429 he attended the councils of Pavia and Siena, and in the presence of the pope, Martin V, made an eloquent speech in vindication of his native country, and in eulogy of the papacy. It was probably on this occasion that he was named chamberlain to the pope.

To Bishop Fleming was entrusted the execution of the decree of the council for the exhumation and, burning of Wycliffe's remains. In February of 1424, the see of York being vacant, the pope conferred it on Fleming; but the king (Henry V) refused to confirm the appointment, and Fleming resigned the appointment in July of 1425.[2] In 1427, Fleming obtained the royal licence empowering him to found a college at Oxford for the special purpose of training up disputants against Wycliffe's heresy. He died at Sleaford, on 26 January 1431. Lincoln College was, however, completed by his trustees, and its endowments were afterwards augmented by various benefactors.

University College, Oxford, was founded by William of Durham in 1249 (not King Alfred as has been claimed in the past), and until the sixteenth century was only open to Fellows studying theology. As Univ grew in size and wealth, its medieval buildings were replaced with a new Front Quad in 1640, followed by the additional Radcliffe Quad by 1719, and the Library was built in 1861. Univ only began to accept female undergraduate students in 1979. It is on the south side of

the High Street, between the university's examination schools and Magpie Lane. Queens College, Oxford is directly opposite on the north side of the High Street.

The Master, Lord Butler of Brockwell, was appointed head of an inquiry into the 2003 Iraq War in February 2004. Previous Masters include John Albery, Kingman Brewster, Lord Goodman, Lord Redcliffe-Maud, Arthur Lehman Goodhart, and William Beveridge. It was announced in June 2007 that Lord Butler will be succeeded by Sir Ivor Crewe.

A specially constructed building in the College, the Shelley Memorial, houses a statue by Edward Onslow Ford of the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley — a former member of the college, who was expelled for writing *The Necessity of Atheism* — depicted lying dead on the Italian sea-shore. Rumour has it that the sunken area around the statue was once filled with water and live goldfish as a student prank. Another apparently common student prank involving the statue has been to paint his genitalia bright colours; for this reason, the statue's appendage is somewhat smaller than it used to be.

Conclusion of the Rhinebeck intellectual line

So ***what is the lesson*** of the Rhinebeck line's intellectual legacy within New York Alpha?

Rhinebeck reminds the New York Alphan that he is heir to a long tradition of educational enterprise rooted in the ecclesiastical orders of Renaissance Europe, a tradition in which men of common means could rise quite high – irrespective of class or condition – through application to one's education, and the education of others.

Within the American context, the sequence of Nott (Union College), Tappan (Michigan) and White (Cornell) is the beginning of the American University, distinct from the English collegiate establishments such as Magdalen College at Cambridge University. Harvard College, under New York Alpha's intellectual—Henry Dunster—serves merely to transmit the English collegiate model to America, where Ezra Cornell eventually completed the work of transforming the American college model into the University research model, based on the Prussian institutions emulated by Tappan at Michigan.

And the connections to Henry Tappan, a native of Rhinebeck and a descendant of the Knickerbocker Dutch are echoed in Union College's own mascot, the Dutchmen, as Schenectady, New York is located in the Dutch Pale that stretched westward along the Mohawk river into the territory of the Six Nations. This portion of the Rhinebeck line makes good our mission to remember Washington Irving in our work on the Hill.

The Rhinebeck intellectual line is part of New York Alpha's local Chapter lore, first recorded by brother Cadwalader E. Linthicum (1885)(1889) and preserved by Walter Sheppard ('29)('32) and Fred E. Hartzch ('28)('31).