The Warham family in the early Tudor period seems to have had a special affection for the first name William. The most famous of them, William Warham senior, was the last pre-Reformation archbishop of Canterbury, holding the office from 1503 until his death in 1532, following a typical late-medieval climb through the *cursus honorum* of university, church and state. He was fellow of New College, Oxford, and later Chancellor of the University; he held many ecclesiastical appointments, including the bishopric of London, before his elevation to the see of Canterbury. In civil affairs, he had been Master of the Rolls, was a frequent envoy to foreign parts for both Henry VII and Henry VIII and was Chancellor of England until supplanted by Wolsey.

In his will, Archbishop Warham made bequests to two nephews named William.  

To William, son of his brother Hugh, he left the tapestries from his bedroom at the archiepiscopal palace at Knole.  To the other William, archdeacon of Canterbury (who was the son of his other brother Nicholas), he left his two best gowns and all of his books currently in William's possession. He also left books to his old colleges and specified in one clause that books left to All Souls and to St Mary's [i.e. New College] at Oxford should be chained. A substantial list of Archbishop Warham's surviving books (especially those given to All Souls and to New College) can be found in Emden and in Ker's *Records of All Souls College Library*. He had previously made a gift of books to New College in 1508 and a gift of plate, jewels and vestments in 1516.

Many of the Archbishop's books must have been located in his various palaces, particularly at Knole where other items mentioned in his will were kept. Those books which he left to his nephew, the Archdeacon, were presumably in the latter's house in St Stephen's, Canterbury, where the old man is recorded as having died in 1532 (a few hundred yards from the present writer's house).

The biography of archdeacon William is not well known. Emden's *Biographical register, 1501-1540* makes an entry for him in an appendix which lists figures who are presumed to have had an English university education but do not appear in the Cambridge lists and are assumed to have been at Oxford at a time for which the records are rather patchy. Since his uncle went to Winchester and then to New College, there is some likelihood that the nephew followed the same or a similar route. William is likely to have been appointed Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1504 or 1505, no doubt as an act of nepotism by his uncle who had become archbishop at the end of 1503 but was not enthroned until 1505. It has been suggested that the elder Warham had a strong partiality for fellow alumni of Winchester, especially if they were family. There seems to be no record of the precise date of the archdeacon's appointment; Le Neve has no record of him before 1511 but he must have been appointed within a year or two of the death of his predecessor Hugh Peynthwyn on 25 July 1504. It seems likely that he was not appointed by his uncle until after the enthronement in 1505, as the installation of the archbishop, which was normally one of the archdeacon's tasks, was performed by the prior of Christ Church, presumably because there was no archdeacon in office at the time. Appointment to the archdeaconry in about 1505 suggests that William junior was born no later than the early 1480s. He would have received an Oxford education at the time that his uncle was making his way in ecclesiastical administration after serving as fellow of New College (1475-1488).

Steinman records that William was not a priest when appointed to the archdeaconry.
He obtained a papal dispensation for not proceeding beyond the order of deacon for seven years, which was renewed in 1510 for a further six years and no doubt renewed again after that. The earliest date discovered for him acting in an official capacity is 20 March 1508/9 when he made a presentation of Nicholas Hillington to the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of St Clement, Sandwich, of which living he was patron as archdeacon. Some trace of his official activities in the archdeaconry can be found in the records of the Kentish visitations by the archbishop in 1511 and 1512 for which he acted as deputy.

In addition to his archdeaconry, William started to acquire a series of other benefices. Le Neve lists him as a prebendary of St Paul’s: he is recorded (possibly in error) as prebendary of Brownswood from 1515 to 1516; from 1516 to his death he is recorded as prebendary of Newingham, possibly in exchange for Brownswood. By September 1516 he was also a canon of Exeter, again until his death. In May 1520 he was collated to the Provostship of the College of Wingham, a few miles from Canterbury. This office was held by several other archdeacons of Canterbury, including Thomas Chichele and Edmund Cranmer. It seems to have been essentially a sinecure: Warham held a dispensation for non-residence.

William also had the livings of a series of parishes in the south-east. He was collated as rector of Orpington in December 1511. From 1516 he was also rector of Hayes near Croydon; Battley records that his uncle founded a perpetual vicarage there for him, 'and thereby converted the Rectory into a rich sine curâ, as we term it'. He was vicar of Shoreham in Kent from 1526 to 1527; rector of Wrotham, also in Kent, from 1527 to 1532; and rector of Harrow-on-the-Hill, in Middlesex, from 1532 to 1537. He is also on record as being the patron of the Poor Priests Hospital, Canterbury, with the church of St Mary (1528), and as patron of Westhithe (1531), and of St Clement’s, Sandwich, (1531).

Warham's position as archdeacon gave him access to the world of national domestic politics. His uncle recommended him to Wolsey on a number of occasions, for example in 1523. In the same year, the Archbishop wrote to Wolsey saying that his nephew was with him at Knole, having failed to see Wolsey at Eltham on the Archbishop's business; he was about to return to Canterbury 'where his promotions and livelode lieth'. This letter also states that the Archdeacon is still 'not yet in priest's orders and therefore can do small service as chaplain'. He travelled abroad on official business. Battley states that 'he attended upon Cardinal Wolsey in his Embassy to the French King, Anno 1527'. In 1529 he was a member of Wolsey's suite in Calais and had been present in the Parliament Chamber earlier that year when the bishop of Lincoln presented the Pope's commission on the royal divorce to Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio.

Following his uncle's death, William resigned his archdeaconry and the provostship at Wingham, in return for annual pensions totalling £80. These payments were maintained for most of the rest of his life by the succeeding archdeacons. The College at Wingham was still making payments in 1546. Warham had vacated the archdeaconry by 9 March 1534 when his successor Edmund Cranmer's collation is recorded. A document of this year recorded that Laurence of Canterbury, scribe of the archdeacon of Canterbury, did penance at Paul's Cross for making a copy of Dr Bocking's book attacking the royal marriage; it is not clear whether this man was an officer of the outgoing archdeacon or of his successor. As mentioned above, Warham seems to have moved to Middlesex following these resignations. After vacating the living of Harrow-on-the-Hill in 1537 (but retaining that of Hayes and his two canonries), he went abroad.

Emden refers to a grant of 18 July 1537 which states that 'Will. Warham, parson of Heyes, now in parts beyond sea by the King's licence. License to remain in foreign
countries for the attainment of learning, and, after his return to England to be non-resident’.\textsuperscript{31} In a further document of the same year, 'W. Frankeleyn, priest' (i.e. William Franklin, Dean of Windsor) petitions Cromwell that 'his house at Windsor is too close and small; [he] asks Cromwell to help him to get the house of the parson of Hayes who is absent'.\textsuperscript{32} This suggests that Warham had a residence at Windsor Castle which was grander than that of the Dean.

At the end of 1538 one of Cromwell’s agents, Thomas Theabold, writes from Venice that he was about to depart for England in some secrecy, using the pretext of a visit to Warham in Cologne concerning the permutation of a prebend.\textsuperscript{33} He was still in Cologne in 1545, again in contact with the King’s diplomatic agents: in a letter of 15 October 1545 to William Paget, Secretary of State and joint master of the posts, Stephen Vaughan, the King’s financial agent in Antwerp, writes that 'on the 13th inst [he] received Paget’s letters, by Francis, the King’s post, together with one to Mr Warham, which (knowing that Warham was departed from Loveyn [Louvain] to Cullen [Cologne]), he forthwith sent to Cullen, but as it is 28 great leagues hence, [he] does not expect answer these five days'. Four days later, Vaughan wrote again to Paget, enclosing Warham's answer.\textsuperscript{34} Paget was at this time involved in negotiations with the German protestants; it is possible that Warham was sending intelligence on this matter. The licence of 1537 and this involvement in diplomacy (or even espionage) suggest something of Warham’s skills and his connections with the royal administration, though tantalisingly nothing more detailed is known about these incidents.

Warham was still recorded as patron of Hayes and Orpington in 1554.\textsuperscript{35} In the same year Nicholas Harpsfield, Cranmer's successor as archdeacon and provost, refused to pay him his £40 pension.\textsuperscript{36} William Warham died in October 1557, according to the dates of appointment of his successors to the canonries of St Paul's and Exeter.\textsuperscript{37}

It seems that the archdeacon, though not in priestly orders, was a scholarly man. Some of the books which constituted his working library can be identified. Dennis Rhodes listed two among the incunables in his Oxford catalogue.\textsuperscript{38}


Bound with:
Andreas Barbatia, *Tractatus de praestantia cardinalium*. Bologna, Ugo de Rugeriis, 12 October 1487, 2â. Rhodes 258; GW 3351; Pell. 1827.

There are in fact several more incunables at New College with the same inscription (or close variants).

   Venice, Andreas de Torresanis de Asula, 18 August 1495, 2â.
   Rhodes 1764.
   On A1r:
   (1) `Liber Collegij S[anc]tae marie winton. in Oxon.'
   (2) `Liber he[n]rici Cole'

   Bound with:
   Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Super I et II Infortiati.*
   Venice, Bernardinus Stagninus de Tridino, pt 1: [1494], pt 2: 5 February 1494, 2â.
   Rhodes 1758(1); H *2283; Goff U14; IGI 9945.
   On blank a1r:
   (1) `Liber Collegij S[an]ctae Marie Winton[n] in Oxon.'
   (2) `Liber d[omi]ni guilielmi Warha[m] cant Archidiaconi relictus in manibus R[euerendissi]mi d[omi]ni Guilielmi Cant.'
   On final leaf: `Liber noui collegij Winton in Oxon.'

4. Ubaldis, Baldus de, *In primum, secundum et tertium librum Codicis.*
   Venice, Georgius Arrivabenus and Paganinus de Paganinis, 31 October 1485, 2â.
   Rhodes 1758(2); H *2283; Goff U14; IGI 9949.
   On blank a1r:
   (1) `Liber Collegij S[an]ctae Marie Winton[n] in Oxon[n].'
   (2) `Liber d[omi]ni guilielmi Warh[a]m cant Archidiaconi relictus in manibus R[euerendissi]mi d[omi]ni Guilielmi Cant.'
   On final leaf: `Liber noui collegij Winton in Oxon.'

   Bound with:
   Ubaldis, Baldus de, *In quartum et quintum librum Codicis.*
   Venice, Georgius Arrivabenus and Paganinus de Paganinis, 1485, 2â.
   Rhodes 1758(2); H *2283; Goff U14; IGI 9949.

5. Ubaldis, Baldus de, *De materia statutorum.*
   Venice, Andreas de Torresanis de Asula, 5 September 1486, 2â.
   Rhodes 1773; H 2332; Goff U34; BMC v, 308; IGI 9938.

   Bound with:
   (2) Ubaldis, Angelus de, *Opus ac lectura auctentico rum.*
   Pavia, Christophorus de Canibus and Stephanus de Georgiis, 16 July 1484, 2â.
   Rhodes 1753; H 15876; IGI 9917.
3) Pontanus, Ludovicus, *Singularia.*
Venice, Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1475, 2â.
Rhodes 1461; HC *13270; Goff P928; BMC v, 231; IGI 8011.
Imperfect: lacks the final three leaves.

Venice, Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 26 April 1480, 2â.
Rhodes 1019; HC *9144*; Goff J344; BMC v, 236; IGI 5280.
At head of a2r: `Liber d[omi]ni guilielmi cant. Archidiaconi relictus in custodia

These inscriptions state that these are books belonging to Archdeacon Warham which he had left in the care of his uncle the archbishop (`in manibus' or `in custodia'). They must have been written during the Archbishop’s lifetime and while William was still Archdeacon (i.e. not later than 1532), before the books found their way to New College. It is possible that they record the ownership of books left in the Archbishop's care on the occasion of one of the Archdeacon’s foreign trips. It is not clear whether the books passed to New College with the Archbishop's bequest. This is unlikely, as none of the books has the form of inscription which is found in New College books recording the Archbishop's bequest, for example:

'Hunc librum donauit R[euerendissi]mi p[ate]r Will[el]mus Warh[a]m Cant. Archie[piscopu]s nouo collegio Beate marie Winton. in Oxon ad vsu[m] socioru[m] & scolariu[m] in libraria ibidem q[uam?] primum cathonandum'.

It would seem more probable that archdeacon William himself gave books to New College, books which he had previously entrusted to his uncle's keeping and which he allowed to enter the college either at the same time as his uncle's bequest or, more likely, on his departure for Cologne. In either event, the younger William might have made such a gift because he too was a former student at New College.

Fourteen of the surviving books given to All Souls by the Archbishop seem to have a standard inscription which does not refer to the nephew:

Liber collegii animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum in Oxon' ex dono Reuerendissimi in cristo patris domini Willelmi Warham Cant' Archiepiscopi.

No books belonging to either of the Warhams can currently be traced at Winchester College: the liturgical books which the Archbishop left in his will presumably disappeared at the time of the Reformation.

Another book which definitely belonged at one time to William Warham the younger is an edition of a French politico-historical text:

British Library 492.i.1.
On the final verso are the following inscriptions:

1) `Ce liure est a moy sr Thomas Boleyn.'
2) `Ce liure ma donne monsr guyllaume Warham archediacre de cantorberie
nepueu a monsr larcheuecque de cantorberie.'

On the title-page, a monogram `HR'.

It seems likely that this book first belonged to Archdeacon Warham (if it did not belong to his uncle before that) and that he gave it (in the lifetime of the Archbishop) to Sir Thomas Boleyn who recorded the gift. The book subsequently found its way into the Old Royal Library before the death of Boleyn's son-in-law Henry VIII whose initials 'HR' (Henricus Rex) are found on the title-page. Henry had married Boleyn's daughter Ann in 1533; Sir Thomas himself died at Hever Castle in Kent in 1539. It is interesting to note that Boleyn wrote the inscriptions in this book in French. This would seem to be because of a desire to match the language of the book itself, a very common practice at this time. Boleyn's knowledge of French is not surprising. He had been abroad on diplomatic missions for Henry on several occasions; he was in Mechelen (Malines) in 1513 negotiating with Marguerite de Savoy and was in France in 1519-20.42

A further book belonging to Boleyn which found its way into the Old Royal Library is the Revelationes sancte Brigitte, Lübeck, 1492, 2â which has (also on the final verso) the inscription 'Liber Thome Boleyn'.43 In this case the book did not arrive in the Old Royal Library until the reign of James I, as it has on the first blank leaf the signature of Lord Lumley whose books came into the possession of the crown in the early seventeenth century.44

The connection between Sir Thomas Boleyn and Archdeacon Warham is not clear. It may be simply that they were both involved in political and diplomatic affairs in the same sphere at the same time, or else that they came into contact as members of the same south-eastern group of gentry, since Warham's ecclesiastical affairs no doubt took him to the parts of Kent and Surrey where Boleyn resided as well as to the court. It is interesting to note that the future Secretary of State William Paget had been supported by the Boleyn family while at Cambridge (DNB), reminding us of the complexity of these circles of patronage and affiliation at the time.

The books which are known to have been either owned by Archdeacon Warham or loaned to him by his uncle suggest that he might have had a significant working library as an ecclesiastical administrator. The surviving books at New College are very substantial folio volumes bound in heavy wooden boards and must have required special shelving wherever they were kept. His revenues and houses show him to have been a wealthy man. The donations to New College are of course of books suitable for an academic library of the time, though as they are mainly commentaries on canon and civil law and the decretals, though would have become out of date almost at the time they were given. The gift to Boleyn shows another side of Warham's interests: contemporary literature in French. It is more than likely that he would have had recreational reading in English and probably in Latin too. So far nothing of this sort has come to light, but what has survived throws an interesting light on the career of a little-known Tudor cleric.

Published in:
FOOTNOTES

1 Wills from Doctors' Commons, ed. John Gough Nichols and John Bruce, Camden Society, 1863, p.21-27. The will was made in November 1530.

2 A pedigree of the Warham family of Malsanger (near Southampton) can be found in G. Steinman Steinman, 'An account of the manor of Haling in the parish of Croydon, Surrey', Collectanea topographica & genealogica, vol. iii, 1836, p. 6.

3 'Item, lego magistro Willielmo Warham nepoti meo Cantuariensi Archidiacono duas optimas togas meas cum penulis, et omnes libros meos quos modo habet in possessione sua' (p. 23).

4 A. B. Emden, A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, vol. 3, Oxford, 1957, pp. 1990-91. N.R. Ker, Records of All Souls College Library, 1437 - 1600, Oxford, 1971. Ker (pp.24-26) transcribes the entries from the Vellum Inventory and the Benefactors' Register for the 91 books given to All Souls. Some are manuscripts; there are many incunables, and a number of sixteenth-century printed books, one (Pagnini's Bible) printed as late as 1528.


6 New College Liber albus, f. 16v; Emden, Biographical register to 1500, p.1990.


8 Seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century accounts all give the date of his appointment as 1504 but cite no sources for this; see, for example, G. Steinman Steinman, 'An account of the manor of Haling', p.5.

9 M. J. Kitch, 'The Chichester Cathedral chapter at the time of the Reformation', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 116, 1977-78, p.288. Of Richard Warham, canon of Chichester 1524-45, he states that 'consanguinity with the archbishop was enough to account for his Chichester prebend'. The MS Registrum custodum, sociorum, et scholarium Collegii Novi at New College shows three sixteenth-century fellows called Warham, all from Compton in Dorset, who may have been members of another branch of the family: Thomas, 1516-26; Elizeus, 1520-25; and Robert, 1551-58. I am grateful to the College Archivist, Mrs C.M. Dalton, for making available her index to the Register.

10 Miss Ann Oakley of the Cathedral Archives, Canterbury, has checked T.S. Frampton's Extracts from the registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury prior to 1888 relating to institutions, admissions, collations and directions relating to the clergy. There is no record for the appointment to the archdeaconry.


12 Canterbury Cathedral Archives U39/3/7, drawn to my attention by Miss Ann Oakley.

13 Emden, Biographical Register to 1500, p.1988.

14 Steinman, 'Account of the manor of Haling', p.5.

15 Letters and Papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII, vol. 1, part 1, 1509-1515, London, 1862. This reference was brought to my notice by Miss Ann Oakley.


19 BL Stowe Charter 590; Frampton's *Extracts*, p.111.

20 Frampton's *Extracts*, p.59.

21 N. Battley, *Cantuaria Sacra* (part II of the 1703 edition of William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*), p.158. See also Steinman, 'Account of the manor of Haling', cited above. Frampton's *Extracts from the Archbishops' Registers* give his collation as 4 October 1516 (p.93).


23 Frampton's *Extracts*, pp.157, 173, 175.


35 *Sede Vacante Institutions*, ed. C. E. Woodruff, 1923, pp. 57, 67, 95. I am grateful to Ann Oakley for this and the following reference.


37 Le Neve, cited above.

38 Dennis E. Rhodes, *A catalogue of incunabula in all the libraries of Oxford University outside the Bodleian*, Oxford, 1982. I am grateful to Sandra Cromey, the Librarian of New College, for making these books available to me.


41 Letter from the Fellows' Librarian, Mr Roger Custance.

42 *DNB*.

43 British Library IB.9861; BMC ii, pp. 554-5.