

JOHN PHILPOT – ARCHDEACON OF WINCHESTER AND MARTYR (1515–1555)

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ABSTRACT

This is the most comprehensive account yet of the life of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester cathedral and martyr, burned at the stake in 1555. Included is an outline of his trial from which it is shown that he was promised the position of archdeacon by the ultra conservative bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner. Evidence is also provided from the trial and from his family, contrary to the opinion of Muriel St. Clare Byrne, that he was not related to Clement Philpot who was executed in 1540. A transcript translation of his father's will is provided giving a good indication of his family circumstances. This will was drawn up in 1540 at a pivotal point in English law when, in order to overcome the default position of inheritance through primogeniture, the rules of will writing were altered. This will was written to abide by the rules that

existed before the new Statute of Wills was passed by Parliament, and, also, to abide by the new rules set out in the Statute. From this will and other evidence a new genealogy of the Philpot family down to the 1650s is provided. The authenticity of the so-called portrait of John Philpot held at Winchester cathedral is also discussed.

INTRODUCTION

John Philpot, who was burned at the stake in 1555, was Winchester Cathedral's only martyr, yet very few of the cathedral community, clergy, professional laity, cathedral Guides and other volunteers know anything about him. However, his martyrdom is commemorated in the Philpot window in the South Aisle (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Detail from the Philpot Window. (By kind permission of Adrian Walmsley)

Readily accessible material about him in *the Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) is not as reliable, at this time, as it first appears. For example, the DNB provides several references for the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, for the Reign of Henry VIII* but these references either contain no reference to John Philpot or they provide information about him which is not then included in this account of his life. The excellent Local History Society of Compton and Shawford website (www.lhs.comptonshawford.uk) features John Philpot but uses the same DNB information.

This article is a result of new research into Philpot's activities between 1536 and 1553, in which year he was imprisoned, into his family tree from 1484 until the 1650s, and also his immediate family. This material and the established sources have allowed the recreation of as full an account of his life as possible. It is also argued that Clement Philpot, who was executed for treason in 1540, was not a close relation of this family. A close examination of all references to Philpot shows that what we know of him derives from the following sources:

- 1) School and College records
- 2) Cathedral registers
- 3) His own writings
- 4) Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*
- 5) Occasional letters written about him

The most important information about his life comes from his own writings. Three of his works provide the greater part of what we know. *Vera Exposition Disputationis*, commonly known as his '*Disputations*' was published during his lifetime in 1554 in Europe, in Latin and in English. His '*Examinations*', written in English, and later translated into Latin by John Foxe, was published in 1559 and some of his letters from prison which were published at different times.

In 1842 the Parker Society published *The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot* edited by Robert Eden (Eden 1842). This publication included his '*Disputations*', his '*Examinations*' and 21 of his letters. A *Biographical Notice* was provided at the beginning. This *Biographical Notice* seems to have been used as a basic reference for all accounts of him (DNB and others) but it is not a primary source and some of the material is incorrect. For example, it gives

the year of his birth as 1511 (see below), and some other material is merely conjecture. Much of the information supplied by Robert Eden is taken from Volume 1 of the 1813 edition of Anthony A. Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford*. This, of course, is not a primary source either but Wood's researches were extensive.

EARLY LIFE

Records for the ownership of the manor of Twyford in Middlesex appear in the Victoria County Histories for Middlesex (VCH Middlesex 7, 173–175). They show that Sir Peter Philpot, John Philpot's father, was a descendant of Sir John Philpot (pronounced Phil-ee-pot), a powerful man in his time. He was Lord Mayor of London for 1378–79, by which time one Richard Whittington, much later Lord Mayor of London, had become a man of some substance in the city.

Sir John Philpot is also commemorated in the Philpot window in Winchester cathedral. The manor of Compton, in Hampshire, came into the hands of his descendant, Sir John Philpot, before 1484 (VCH Hants 3, 406–408) and remained in the Philpot family until 1634 (see Appendix 2: Philpot Genealogy 1484 to 1650s). This is where the John Philpot that is the focus of this article was born in 1515.

John Philpot attended Winchester College, then New College, Oxford, where he was awarded an MA. He was a Fellow of New College from 1534 until 1541. Winchester College's Register of Scholars listing those boys who entered the College in 1526, shows that he was from Compton and that he had reached the age of 10 'at the last feast of the nativity of our Lord' which means he was born at Christmas 1515 (Winchester College Register). His entry is the 9th line below (Fig. 2).

From T.F. Kirby's *Winchester Scholars* (Kirby 1888, 114) we learn even more. His entry for 1526 reads: Phylpott, John (10), Compton, Sch. N.C. MA Fell. 1534–41. The dates of his Fellowship, commencing in January 1535 (1534 old calendar) are confirmed in *Alumni Oxonienses*, published by Oxford University

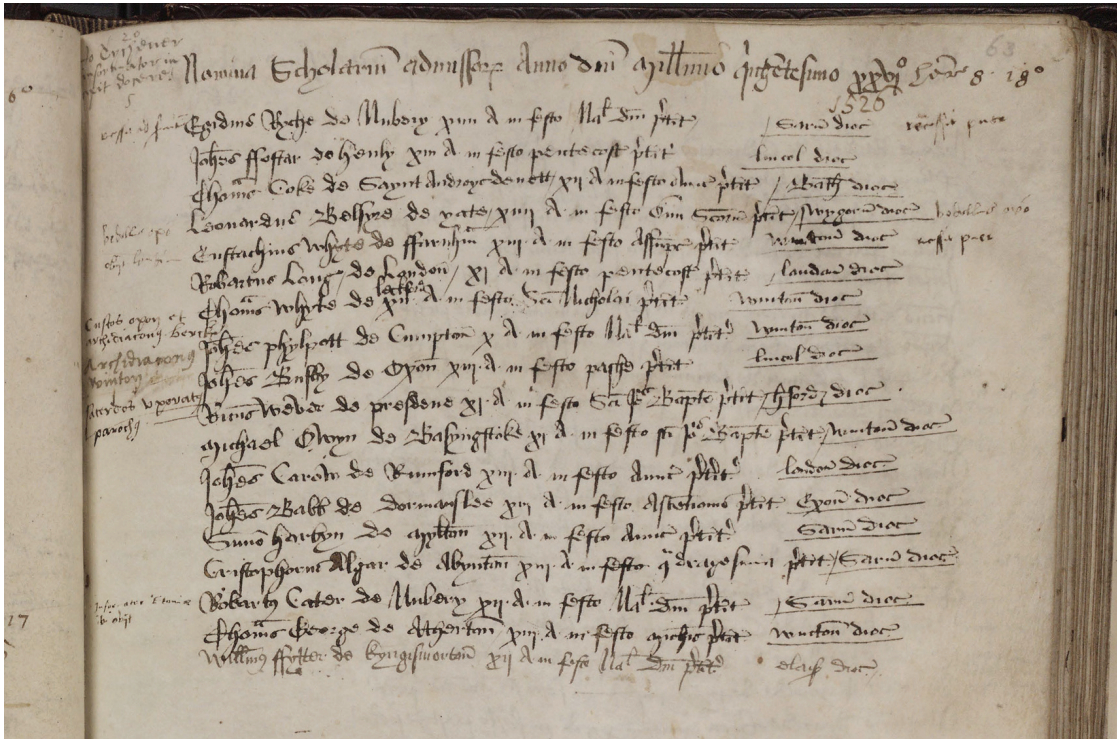


Fig. 2 Illustration from Winchester College Register (extracts translated by Suzanne Foster, Winchester College Curator and Archivist)

in 1891 (Foster 1891, 1160) but the degree awarded is shown as B.C.L. (Bachelor of Civil Law). Wood makes the claim that Philpot was awarded a B.C.L. degree as follows, 'he had a civilian's place there (New College) and took (as 'tis said) the degree of bachelor of laws' (Wood 1813, 229). A footnote refers to a Bodleian Library manuscript. Eden makes the same claim (Eden 1842, i-xxii).

Sir Peter Philpot, John's father, inherited a number of estates from his father Sir John Philpot (d. 1502). *Inquisitions Post Mortem* for the reign of Henry VII for 1504 and the *Close Rolls* for the period 1502–04 show that Sir John owned properties not only in Compton, south of Winchester, but also in Dorset, Hertfordshire and Middlesex as well as 'twelve messuages, twenty tenements and six gardens' in the City of London. (Maskelyne & Maxwell-Lyte 1915, items 777, 779, 780, 781; Fry 1908, Addenda, 318–48; Latham, 1963 103). In 1510,

on reaching his majority (aged 20), Peter Philpot was awarded 'livery' of these estates (Brewer 1920, Grants 5 July 1510, 318). Sir Peter became a man of importance. He appears in the Hampshire Sheriff Rolls for November 1514 (Brewer 1920, Grants November 1514, item 3499, 1450–67) and 1524 (Brewer 1875, 368). In 1523 (Brewer 1867, 1364) and 1524 (Brewer 1875, 235) he was commissioned to collect 'subsides' from persons in the King's Household. In 1535 he was instructed by Thomas Cromwell to resolve a problem with the weirs at Christchurch 'so that a boat may have free passage there' (Gairdner 1886, 286). Cromwell had been active for several years against landowners who erected weirs for their own benefit and denied others their rights to fresh water, free passage or drainage or fishing (MacCulloch 2018, 183–187). In October 1536 (Gairdner 1888, 232) Sir Peter had to provide 20 men to combat the Northern Rebellion (cf.

Priory of St Swithun: 200 men), sometimes known as the Pilgrimage of Grace and, in 1540, he was one of the knights appointed to receive Anne of Cleves at Calais (Gairdner & Brodie 1896, 6). He died later that same year.

SIR PETER PHILPOT'S FAMILY

On 11th June 1534 William Philpot M.A. was inducted as rector of Compton, following his appointment by Bishop Gardiner (Chitty 1930, 107). William had been awarded his M.A. by Oxford University in May 1533 (Foster 1891, 1160). With only an M.A. to his credit (his B.A. had been awarded just four years earlier), he was evidently a young man; almost certainly a son of Sir Peter. In fact, since Sir Peter had only reached his majority (aged 20) 24 years earlier, William has to be the eldest son of Sir Peter, born around 1512. By the time of the 1536 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* William was dead. He was in post at the time of the 1535 *Valor*. In 1536 William is recorded as the 'nuper rector' (the late rector). The incumbent, John Barker, is recorded as the 'rector modernus' (Chitty 1930, 157). In 1538 John Husee, Lord Lisle's agent, writing to Lady Lisle about the third son of Sir Peter, declared that this third son was 'the wisest of them all' and went on to say, 'The eldest is dead and the second sore sick and not likely to recover ...' (Byrne 1981, 83). John Philpot, born at Christmas 1515, has to have been the third son of Sir Peter. He had an elder sister Jane (see later) which means that Sir Peter and his wife Agnes had produced four children, William, Thomas (see later), Jane and John before Sir Peter had reached the age of 26 years. Agnes gave birth to at least another five sons and two daughters. Thomas was ill in 1538 and, as we shall see later, had been judged insane.

It should be noted here that Muriel St. Clare Byrne (Byrne 1981) believed that the third son of Sir Peter was one Clement Philpot who appeared in the Lisle household in 1540. Lord Lisle was the Lord Deputy of Calais. Her assumption was logical enough. The third son of Sir Peter had entered the Lisle household in 1538. Two years later Clement Philpot, a member of that household, became involved in a hare-brained scheme organised by Gregory

Botolf, one of Lord Lisle's chaplains, to seize Calais and hand it over to Cardinal Pole, in league with the Pope. This Clement, therefore, she assumed, had to have been the third son. However, she does concede there is no evidence that Sir Peter had a son named Clement (Byrne 1981, 103) and she was unaware that a second son, Thomas, was alive at that time. If Clement were the third son, that would make John the fourth, meaning that Sir Peter, who could not have married until he was at least 20 years of age, and his wife Agnes would have produced at least four sons and one daughter before Sir Peter was 26 years of age. Bearing in mind that babies frequently did not survive childbirth this would have been an astonishing achievement.

A further and powerful argument that Clement Philpot was not part of the Philpot family arises from the 'Examinations' of John Philpot. Philpot was interrogated during the months of October, November and December 1555, prior to his execution. In 1554 during Mary Tudor's reign, Cardinal Pole returned to England as Papal Legate. There was a considerable furore about his return because, amongst other things, he proposed that, for a complete return of England to Rome, all lands seized by the Crown during the dissolution of the monasteries nearly twenty years earlier be returned to the Church. Much of this land had changed hands several times as rewards for favours and in regular transactions. In October 1555 Cardinal Pole took up residence at the Royal Palace of Greenwich, the residence of Queen Mary. During Philpot's interrogations, therefore, Cardinal Pole was ensconced a mile or two down the river. One of Philpot's interrogators at his fifth 'Examination' was Thomas Goldwell (Eden 1842, xxvii, 31–49) bishop-elect of St. Asaph. He had spent years in exile with Cardinal Pole. Much of the fifth 'Examination' dealt with the legitimacy of the Papal succession and also with the meaning of the term 'the Catholic church'. If Clement Philpot had been a close relation of John Philpot it is almost inconceivable that, during these interrogations, no mention would have been made of his activities on behalf of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Pole and the Pope. Elsewhere, during the interrogations, references were made by other examiners to Philpot's time

in Italy. This is significant because popular histories such as Lacey Baldwin Smith's *Treason in Tudor England* (1986) have followed Ms St Clare Byrne in stating that Clement Philpot was the third son of Sir Peter, providing John Husee's letter as the only evidence. Smith goes further and claims that Sir Peter Philpot was a family friend of the Lisles without providing any evidence for this assertion (Smith 1986, 6).

Returning to John Philpot's family, we learn in 1543 something of the illness of John's elder brother when Sir Anthony Wingfield K.G. is granted custody of 'Thomas Filpote ... and of his lands ... son and heir of Sir Peter Fylpote (deceased)' because he 'is a wandering lunatic who, however, enjoys lucid intervals ...' The lands were valued at 200 marks a year (Gairdner & Brodie 1901, 193). Wingfield was an important man, comptroller of the King's household and Vice-Chamberlain. Thomas must have recovered his wits at a later date for he lived until 1583 leaving a son and heir George (see Appendix 2).

In a letter written to Thomas Cromwell in 1536, Sir Peter asserts that he, Thomas Cromwell, had 'written to (him) to suffer John Philpot and his sister Jane to ... administer (their grandmother's (Mrs Troys')) will ...' (Gairdner 1888, 508). I will return to this letter later. It tells us that Cromwell has advised Sir Peter to appoint John and his sister Jane to be executors of Mrs Troys' will, so they were both clearly of age and considered responsible individuals. Since John only came of age at Christmas 1535 Jane must have been an older sister. No-one else is recommended.

Sir Peter's will, drawn up in 1540, provides us with much more information about the family (see Appendix 3 for a full transcript of the will.) This is a traditional Catholic will in which he bequeaths his soul to 'Almightie god ...' He wills that on the day of his burial there shall be 'seyd a trentall (30) of masses' and that at his 'monthesmynde an other tryntall of masses.' By this time many people did not believe in purgatory or the need to shorten it by the praying or chanting of masses. The vast wealth accumulated by chantry chapels so incensed Henry VIII that he expropriated their wealth in 1545, and, two years later, on the accession of Edward VI, the practice of praying for souls

was abolished along with the chantry chapels themselves. Lest anyone should argue that such a traditional opening for a will, in itself, signifies little, it should be noted that towards the end of the will there is a further provision for part of the estate to be disposed of 'for my soule, my wyffes and my Children soules and all Christian soules.'

The will has one primary and unstated objective and that is to exclude the eldest son from inheriting the Philpot estates, and this eldest son is John, the 'third son'. John's elder brother Thomas would, automatically, have been excluded from the succession because, being a 'lunatic', he would have been held as not competent to inherit. The reason for John's exclusion would have been his radical Protestant views. If Clement had been an elder son, as a devout Catholic, he would certainly have been included. The deliberate exclusion of John was made necessary because at that time the rules of primogeniture applied. Without these special provisions, set out in two different ways within the will, the estate could not be divided and would be passed down to the eldest son. In this case John.

Sir Peter's will is, historically, of great interest because, when it was being drawn up, the law changed. Early in the 1540 Parliament, which opened on the 12th April, a new Statute of Wills was passed by which parts of an estate could be divided and bequeathed to others, and this will, in its last few lines acknowledges the Act and makes provisions according to the Act to exclude the eldest son. The will is dated 9th August 1540, after the Statute of Wills had come into force, but the early parts of the will make a different set of provisions, those which would have been made before the Act. At the beginning the will uses the device of appointing trustees (John Incent and George Hurlocke), known as feoffees, to control the estate who are then empowered to distribute the benefits of the estate in accordance with Sir Peter's wishes, once again excluding John whose name is not mentioned.

My hypothesis is that the will was probably drawn up over several months (April to August 1540), the date only being entered when writing the will had been completed. This is why the will includes the two sets of

provisions, in chronological order, to exclude John. Supporting evidence is provided by his wife's health. At the beginning of the will he bequeaths everything to 'Agnes my wife she to dispoaceyt for the wealth of my soule and for fynding (funding) and exhibition of my Children after her discrecion and wysdome, whom I make my sole Executrice ...' At the end of the will he adds, 'because my seyde wife ys now very sicke I will ordeyn and make Henry Philpott my sone Executour with my seyde wife yf she lyve or els I make and ordeyn the seyde Henry my Executor ... and that by the Counsell and consent of the sayde M. John Incent and George Hurlocke (the two trustees appointed earlier) 'and no otherwise'. Clearly, Henry was not yet of age. Further evidence that the will had been drawn up over a period of time is provided by the complexity of the various estates, some of which were inherited by Sir Peter, some acquired by him (and lost and acquired again) and so on. The will could not have been drawn up in a day or two.

In the will we discover the names of Sir Peter's offspring. Taking them in order through the will, he leaves the manor of Barton to 'Henry Philpott my sone and to his heyres for ever ...' This was a recently acquired property and, as such, could be bequeathed to a younger son. He instructs that £100 'be delivered to my Daughter Anne ... and for the marriage of my Daughter Elizabeth fourty poundes sterlinges so that they be rulyd in their mariages and marye at the discrecion ... of my sayde wife ...' These were his unmarried daughters. Their elder sister Jane, who was married, is remembered in a codicil dated 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th August thus: he leaves 'foure Mares and Collt(es) going in Dowgeoon wood(es)' to William Egerton, Janes's husband, and to them both 'Dowgeoon wood(es) with th'appurten(a)nc(es) therto belonging ...'

Back to the body of the will. Sir Peter names his other children who are 'Richard, Anthony, and Franncis, my sonnes'. They are each awarded £4 a year out of the estate but only if they are 'ruled and orderyd after the discrecion ... of their mother and ... M. Incent and George Hurlocke or ells to have nothing at all.'

Strangely, further down in the will we learn of another son, Edward. 'I will that Edward my

some shall have yerely during his lyfe after he cometh to the age of Twenty yeres and, before he come to th'age of 20 yeres to be at the rule and order of his Mother, M. Incent and George Hurlocke, for his fynding (funding) and exhibicion ...' £5 13s 4d. This is a very curious provision and a very curious sum. Why had he not been included amongst the other children and why a different provision from the other sons? It would appear that he was an elder son because later in 1540 he is recorded as having held lands in Wiltshire along with his mother, Agnes Philpot (see Appendix 2). He must have come of age shortly after his father's death but was, possibly, already making his way, successfully, in the world and needed no support. In the codicil to the will Sir Peter bequeaths the very large sum of 300 marks (£200) to his daughter Anne as he felt he had left her 'too little'. No mention of poor Elizabeth who received considerably less. Perhaps she was a small child at the time.

It should be pointed out that the will was drawn up in what must have seemed very uncertain times. When Parliament opened in April the driving force behind all legislation passed during the next few weeks was Thomas Cromwell, yet that same Parliament began hearing his Act of Attainder on 19th June and he was executed in July (MacCulloch 2018, 530). What faith might anyone have in the continuance of lawful government?

RADICAL INFLUENCES

As a Fellow of New College from 1534/35 Philpot would have come under the charge of Dr. John London, Warden since 1528. London, initially, was an ardent theological conservative and a persecutor of reformists but, after the fall of Thomas More in 1533, whilst still maintaining conservative views, London came under the influence and growing authority of Thomas Cromwell and became a zealous enforcer of monastery closures on Cromwell's behalf (MacCulloch 2018, 275). New College at this time seems to have been something of a crucible for both orthodox and vigorously Protestant views where, amongst other things, Frith's *A Disputacyon of Purgatory*

(a distinctly Protestant treatise) was widely circulated (McGrath 1982, 229–236). It is probably safe to say that John Philpot was awarded his degree by 1538, when he was in his early twenties. A provision of New College was that undergraduates could be Fellows; Senior Fellows teaching the junior ones. It is clear from *Alumni Oxonienses* that many students obtained their degrees several years after becoming Fellows.

I have previously referred to a letter written in December 1536 by Sir Peter Philpot to Thomas Cromwell which began, 'Whereas you have written to me to suffer John Philpot and his sister Jane to ... administer (their grandmother's (Mrs Troy's)) will ...' (Gairdner 1888, 508). At this time Cromwell was one of the most powerful men in England and someone who was steeped in the business of Government. His everyday correspondence was massive. It is curious that Cromwell should have any interest in John Philpot unless John was a protégé of Cromwell. Sir Peter complains that 'it is Philpot's intent to make as much money of the goods as he can and depart ...' and adds that if Cromwell does not stop this there will be nothing left 'for her soul' or to pay her debts of 100 marks. Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch is also of the opinion that John was by now a protégé of Cromwell (Diarmaid MacCulloch pers. comm.). Cromwell was, of course, committed to religious reform. In Thomas Cromwell's accounts for 1537 the name Philpot arises as a courier bringing money to Cromwell from various debtors. Could this be the same man? Philpot, unfortunately, was a fairly common name.

1538 TO 1553

Anthony A Wood, in *Athenae Oxonienses*, asserts that Philpot's Fellowship was made void in 1541 because of his prolonged absence from the College (Wood 1813, 229) and suggests that he had gone abroad. It is certainly clear from Philpot's own writings (see later) that he spent some time abroad, especially in Italy. I believe that in 1538 he travelled to Calais. Perhaps this was his first venture out of England.

Calais was ruled by the Lord Deputy, Lord Lisle, Arthur Plantaganet, an illegitimate son of Edward IV who was held in high esteem by Henry VIII. Commercially, strategically and politically, Calais was of huge importance to the English Crown. Almost without exception, every person of importance travelling to and from Europe passed through Calais. The Lord Deputy had to maintain an estate fit for a King and was expected to have knowledge and intelligence on the current and past politics of France, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain and the Germanic states. To serve in Lord Lisle's household was an honour indeed. I have already quoted a brief extract from John Husee's letter of 23rd February 1538 to Lady Lisle. Husee, who was Lord Lisle's agent, continued thus: '(Sir Anthony) Windsor hath moved me to write unto your ladyship to take Sir Peter's son in service ... ' He goes on, '... if he were once in service and heartily entertained I would hope that such means may be found that Mistress Phillippe (Lady Lisle's eldest daughter) and he may couple together; but this upon liking, and upon your ladyship's pleasure. And I would think it a right good bargain ... Let me with all speed know your pleasure ere I go into Hampshire, and then will I do my best ... and cause him to be sent over while his service is offered' (Byrne 1981, 83).

This was both a great opportunity for John Philpot and for Mistress Phillippe, who was about the same age as John. By 9th April Husee was writing, 'Tonight or tomorrow young Philpot will leave for Calais and your Ladyship will soon know his usage.' (Gairdner 1892, 262) Sir Anthony Windsor's intervention is interesting because his third wife was Anne Troyes, widow of Robert Thornborough (geni.com), and John Philpot's mother was Agnes Troyes. Perhaps they were sisters. How long Philpot stayed in the Lisle household can only be guessed. Lisle and his family held strong orthodox Catholic views which might not have been amenable to Philpot. Perhaps he was there for a very short time once he realised the kind of household he had entered. Clearly, he never 'coupled' with Phillippe! Within just two years Lord Lisle was accused of being involved in the so-called 'Botolf Conspiracy' against the Crown, previously referred to, and he and his whole

family were imprisoned. He was eventually cleared/pardoned by Henry VIII, but not until well after the executions of Clement Philpot and others.

After his time in Calais we know that Philpot travelled to Italy, definitely visiting Rome. One of his interrogators during his ‘*Examinations*’, John Christopherson, who is referred to in these proceedings as bishop of Chichester, confirmed that he had sought assistance from Philpot in Rome (Eden 1842, 112), and, according to Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*, and repeated in Wood’s *Athenae Oxonienses* (Wood 1813, 229) and Eden’s *Biographical Notice* (Eden 1842, v), he also travelled between Padua and Venice. In Italy he must have come under the influence of an Italian humanist called Coelius Secundus Curio. Curio held the chair of Humanist Letters at the University of Padua from 1536 until 1541 where his anti-Catholic views eventually meant he had to leave the city and from there he found his way, in due course, to Venice where we know Philpot spent some time. One of the writings attributed to Philpot is the *Defence of the Old and Ancient Authority of Christ’s Church* which is a translation of Curio’s *Pro Vera at Antiqua Ecclesiae Christi Autoritate* which was published in 1547. Surprisingly, there is no evidence that he spent time either in Switzerland (although it was in Basle that his ‘*Disputations*’ was first published in English) or the German states where radical Protestant views were embraced and preached. What is clear is that by the time of his return to England he had developed profound Protestant beliefs, enough to get him excluded from his father’s will in 1540.

The next clear reference to John Philpot comes from the pen of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in the year 1548. Following the accession of Edward VI in 1547 Protector Somerset (Edward Seymour) seized power. Gardiner’s outspoken Catholic views brought him into conflict with the Government and by March 1548 he was ‘in exile’ in Winchester. Most curiously, Gardiner writes to Somerset to complain about Philpot. One must wonder what Gardiner expected Somerset to do about Philpot. Gardiner writes that to argue with Philpot could ‘infect by the contagion of speaking with hym’ such that he could be ‘entered in madness’. Clearly he had had a

serious argument with Philpot (Muller 1933, letter 142, 433–435).

‘Among my gentle words I told in dede Philpot that I would excommunicate hym, not for any opinion of his wherein I should contend with hym, for that he wold wishe, but because without any occation given of me, ... he untrewlie reported my sermon made a fortnight before, in suche matter as I thinke no man wold thinke to be my trade of teaching.’

Gardiner, in writing to Somerset, clearly feared this misreporting of his sermon. He continued to say that when he, Gardiner, threatened to excommunicate Philpot it was only to excommunicate him from the ‘company’ who were to attend Gardiner’s next sermon. He notes, however, that Philpot was less concerned about this ‘excommunication’ than he was by being thrown out of ‘Master Cooke’s howse’ (where he was lodging) for his misbehaviour. Gardiner asserts it is a waste of time arguing with Philpot. ‘He will nedes call hym selfe heretique and therefore I blame hym gently ... For my selfe, I call hym onelie unlearned which angreth hym more than any other name’ (Muller 1933, letter 142, 433–435).

Evidently Philpot had returned to Winchester and had been causing something of a stir, enough to make Stephen Gardiner uneasy. The Winchester to which Philpot had returned was very different from the one that he had left. The Priory of Saint Swithun had surrendered to the Crown in November 1539 and, in March 1541, the cathedral had been reconstituted with a Dean and Chapter who now controlled its huge wealth, granted to them by the Crown later that same year. The Dean, William Kingsmill, was favoured by the very conservative bishop, Stephen Gardiner, and conservative thinking was in the ascendancy (Payne 2019, 7–9). We learn from *Athenae Oxonienses* (Wood 1813, 229) that, at some unknown date, Philpot delivered lectures on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans in Winchester which were not acceptable to the Catholic clergy there. This would almost certainly have been before Gardiner’s letter of 1548. Strype, who is frequently quoted as an authority, even in the National Archives, declares that Philpot had entered ‘holy orders on his return’ that he ‘preached elsewhere in the county and rendered himself obnoxious’ to

Gardiner. He writes that Gardiner 'now bare ill will against this godly gentleman and forbade him preaching oftentimes ... But (Philpot) could not in his conscience hide his talent under this prince (Henry VIII) and in so popish a diocese' (Eden 1842, viii)

At some point Philpot was appointed archdeacon of Winchester, an office regarded as representing 'the eye of the bishop'. *Fasts Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Hom 1974, 86–87) shows that he had been appointed by 27th May 1552 because, on that date, he 'compounded' an agreement to pay the heavy tax on a new appointment known as the First Fruits (Chitty 1930, 147). This tax amounted to one year's income and so was paid off over several years. Commonly, sureties would have been provided by prosperous friends or acquaintances. Was Philpot promised the appointment many years earlier? The previous archdeacon, William Boleyn, died in February 1552, but he died in Stiffkey in Norfolk, a very remote location where he had been rector of nearby Holt since 1534 (ACAD). In fact, apart from the notice of his appointment by Cardinal Wolsey in 1529 and the notice of his death in 1552, Boleyn only appears twice in the cathedral records, namely in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* for 1535 (*Valor Ecclesiastes* Vol. II 1814, 3) and in the *Valor* for 1536 (Chitty 1830, 157). Perhaps he had retired or withdrawn from Winchester after the fall of his niece in 1536? Boleyn may have been far more welcome in Norfolk, safe under the protection of his relation the Duke of Norfolk, than he would have been in Winchester, which would have left the way open for an enterprising and energetic John Philpot to make his mark in the 1540s.

Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric in 1550 so could not have appointed Philpot archdeacon after that year. The general assumption has been that Bishop Ponet, a Protestant, appointed Philpot as archdeacon. But, at his trial, Philpot was subjected to a number of 'examinations' prior to his condemnation as a heretic. At his first examination in October 1554 Dr Story, one of three examiners, declared, 'This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr Poinet's presentment.' Philpot, by his own account, replied, 'I was archdeacon indeed but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former

advowson by this lord Chancellor' (Gardiner)) (Eden 1842, 5) An advowson is the right to present a nominee to a particular post within a bishopric. So, had Gardiner promised Philpot the archdeaconry at a much earlier date? From Gardiner's letter to Somerset it is clear that Gardiner would not have made such a promise after 1548. The advowson must have been made before Gardiner was aware of Philpot's radical views, that is, before 1548. It is possible that William Boleyn 'farmed out' his archdeacon's duties to Philpot during the 1540s with Gardiner's blessing who then promised him the post upon Boleyn's death. This was not an uncommon practice at the time.

Philpot, incidentally, tells us that during his period in office as archdeacon he excommunicated Dr John White, Warden of Winchester College, (and later bishop of Winchester, successor to Gardiner) 'for preaching naughty doctrine' (Eden 1842, 82). Philpot told this story on 11th November 1555 at a private Conference with Bonner, the bishop of London, two days after the 7th examination of Philpot at his trial hearing. Philpot does seem to have become a difficult man. During Ponet's brief Protestant bishopric he even succeeded in antagonising the bishop when Ponet's registrar, John Cooke, induced them to quarrel. (John Cooke had been Registrar since 1524 and, almost certainly, had no love for either Ponet or Philpot (Chitty 1930, xxii)). Philpot was then waylaid and assaulted by Cooke's associates and Philpot maintained he had no remedy in the church courts because the bishop was against him (Eden 1842, ix). At about the same time Philpot took action against his old school, Winchester College, where the Warden was John White (McGrath 1982, 80). The accounts of the College for the period Michaelmas 1552 to 1553 show that his proceedings in the Court of Arches against the College resulted in considerable expense for the College, 'for a copy of the proceedings ... 6s 8d. Item to Alexander Dering (a notary public) 10d. Item to Master Dockery in the cause of the college, to Dr. Cook for his counsel and to the other master procurator 15s. Item for the ? prohibition for Philpot 3s 4d. Item to Master Leek and his clerks for a transcript of the particulars 50s' (Suzanne Foster, pers. comm.). That gives a total cost of £3 15s 10d,

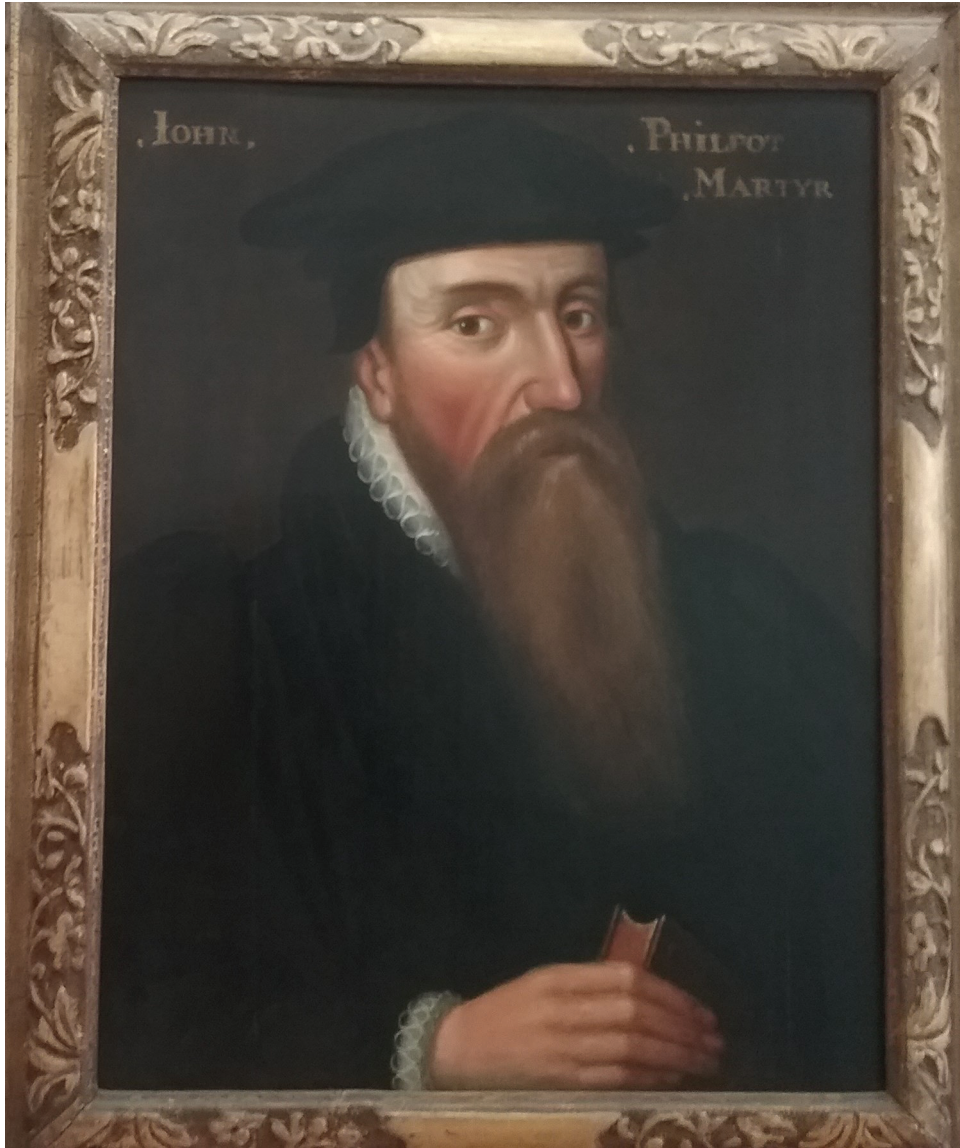


Fig. 3 The oil painting known as the “Portrait of John Philpot” (By Andrew Payne)

which could pay the salary of a vicar for one year. The Court of Arches was the Court of Appeal for the province of Canterbury.

Do we know what John Philpot looked like at this time? There exists an oil painting known as the John Philpot portrait (Fig. 3). It is in the possession of the cathedral. However, the

image, having been painted some 70 years after his death, probably owes more to the woodcut in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* (Fig. 5) than to any real semblance of the man. Philpot was in his thirties when he was executed, the painting depicts an older man. More importantly the figure in the portrait is wearing a ruff; these

did not come into use until the reign of Queen Elizabeth and were still in use in the 1620s when this 'portrait' was commissioned (see Appendix 1).

CONVOCATION 1553

After the accession of Mary Tudor as Queen a Parliament and a Convocation were called in October 1553. Most of the delegates to Convocation appear to have been 'new men' but half a dozen or so of those attending adhered to the Protestant beliefs that had prevailed during Edward VI's reign. Philpot was one of them. Philpot left an account of the '*Disputations*' that took place at this Convocation. After the Convocation he was arrested and spent most of the next two years in prison before being burned at the stake in December 1555. Remarkably Philpot also kept an account of his '*Examinations*' during his time in prison and he also wrote a number of letters from prison. His '*Disputations*', '*Examinations*' and 'Letters' form the principal content of *The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot* edited by Robert Eden and published in 1842.

The '*Disputations*' are written in the third person with occasional dialogue; the '*Examinations*' are written largely in the form of a dialogue between Philpot and his interrogators. He must either have had a prodigious memory or he put the substance of his interrogations in dialogue form. His '*Disputations*' were published in his lifetime and, indeed were known to his later interrogators, who did not dispute their legitimacy. However, the reader of his '*Examinations*' does need to be aware that Philpot is the major source for the '*Examinations*', though most were carried out in public. In addition, these '*Examinations*' have been edited by persons unknown. Evidence for this is provided, for example, by the reference to John Christopherson being bishop of Chichester, when he was not appointed bishop until 1557, two years after Philpot's death.

The purpose of the October 1553 Convocation was to restore the old ecclesiastical laws. The clergy met for business on 18th October to debate matters of religion and frame laws or canons which the Queen and Parliament might

ratify. It was decided that the '*Disputations*' should begin on Friday 20th October and that all would have 'licence from the Queen to speak their minds freely' (Dixon 1891, 74). Five or six men spoke 'freely' against the intended changes, and Philpot was one of the most outspoken. The '*Disputations*' which took place in St. Paul's cathedral lasted until 30th October. Discussions ranged from the wording of the current Catechism, now disavowed by the Prolocutor, to the much more difficult issues around the Sacrament and transubstantiation. Large crowds formed outside and many nobles and gentlemen of Court witnessed the debates. The Prolocutor, Dr Weston, the dean of Westminster, declared at one point that Philpot was mad and threatened him with prison (Eden 1842, 212). Philpot engaged in a fierce debate with Bishop Gardiner's chaplain, Watson, amongst others, and, at the end of the session Dr Watson said that Philpot was 'fitter for bedlam than for a learned assembly' (Eden 1842, 206). Philpot was then taken away to the King's Bench prison in Southwark. Philpot remained a prisoner until the end of his life.

IMPRISONMENT

Parliament met in November 1554 under the authority of the Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the three former Heresy Acts of 1382, 1401 and 1410, which had been revoked in recent years, were revived. On 2nd December Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cathedral to the text, 'It is time to wake out of sleep.' 'We have been sleeping under the illusions of an evil dream, full of murder, maiming, drowning, burning and other nameless horrors ... For twenty years has this sleep continued and we all the while without a head ...' (Dixon 1891, 277). Gardiner declared that the Church must act, and Philpot's fate was sealed.

During his imprisonment Philpot succeeded in smuggling out of prison his account of the '*Disputations*' (which, as I have already observed, was translated by others into Latin for an international readership), some letters and, much later on, accounts of his '*Examinations*', that is, interrogations prior to his execution. 21

of his letters have survived. Most are intended to provide spiritual comfort to persons unknown, such as ‘a Christian Congregation’ or ‘certain godly women gone beyond the seas’ or ‘certain godly brethren’. Three are to John Careless, also a prisoner in King’s Bench prison who died there. One is to John Philpot’s sister. We do not know which sister. This sister had visited him in prison so she was unlikely to have been Jane who would have been living in Staffordshire, therefore she is either Elizabeth or Anne. The letter is full of exhortations to live a virtuous and devout life. He goes on, ‘You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore’s cup unless you be vigilant ...’ (Eden 1842, Letter VI, 239) This could be taken as a warning to avoid the sins of the flesh but, to Protestants, ‘the whore of Babylon’ meant the Catholic Church, and one must remember that he and his siblings would all have been brought up in that faith. On a more practical note, he also asks her and their brother Thomas to ensure that the sureties that stood in for him in 1552, when he made an agreement with the Crown to pay the First Fruits tax, ‘might be satisfied’. Clearly, he was a conscientious man. Five letters are to Lady Elizabeth Vane, or Fane ‘who proved a liberal benefactor of God’s saints during the Marian persecution’ (for Lady Vane see Dictionary of National Biography, Ralph Fane), and one, written shortly before his execution, is a last farewell to some ‘faithful friends’. He wrote that ‘This last farewell I send unto you to be a token of my love until we shall meet in the kingdom of Christ,’ (Eden 1842, Letter XX 288).

EXAMINATIONS

After a long period in King’s Bench prison Philpot was eventually brought before a number of examiners at Newgate Sessions Hall commencing 2nd October 1555. These ‘examinations’ continued until 16th December in a number of different locations. That so many persons were involved in these ‘examinations’ over such a long period of time demonstrates how important it was for the Church to get Philpot to recant and, perhaps, also, the

Church’s desire to save him from himself by getting him to admit his opinions were wrong, so that he would not burn.

While his letters are generally some four or five pages long his account of his thirteen or so ‘*Examinations*’ is over 162 pages long and for anyone other than a theologian would be a difficult read. The manner and place of these examinations, though, is interesting and the number of persons involved in discussions with Philpot. The best account of this period is found in Dixon’s *History of the Church of England* Vol. IV (Dixon 1891).

I will first provide a flavour of these interrogations. The excerpt below is from his tenth examination before Bonner, the bishop of London (Eden 1842, 102/103). The interrogator, whom Philpot refers to as ‘Balaamite’, has claimed he is a kinsman of Philpot:

Balaamite: You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar and against the holy mass.

Philpot: If you can prove it a sacrament I will not hold against you.

B: What! Prove it a sacrament, quoth he. Doth not St. Paul say that such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?

P: That saying of St. Paul concerneth nothing of your sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that he prepared for all faithful believers.

B: Why, then I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God. You are deceived.

P: You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will that I so shall call you; and without disworship of our kindred I understand St. Paul as well as you and know what I say.

[And with that I shewed him a Greek Testament and Erasmus’s translation (*into Latin*) and with the old (*Vulgate*) also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

B: I knew Greek too once, as well as you read.

P: You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other.



Fig. 4 John Philpot in the “blind-house” adjoining the coal-house From Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* 1760 edition. (By kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral)

[With this my Balaamite kinsman departed in a fury]

Philpot was evidently very learned, a match for his interrogators, and had no qualms about irritating or enraging them.

The first six of Philpot’s examinations were held before a number of distinguished theologians, and bishops. After the second examination he was brought ‘through Paternoster row to my lord of London’s (Bonner’s) coal-house; unto which (was) joined a little blind house with a great pair of stocks. There (he) found a minister of Essex (one Thomas Whittle), a married priest and a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man’ (Fig. 4). Because Whittle had denounced

an earlier confession Bonner had fallen ‘upon him like a lion and ... buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard ...’ (Eden 1842, 13–14). Whittle was executed in 1556.

It appears that Bonner’s purpose in keeping Philpot in the coalhouse was to show Philpot that if he relented and admitted the error of his ways it was but one short step into the comfort of Bonner’s home.

By the end of the 6th examination the protracted arguments had so wearied many of Philpot’s auditors that Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, announced: ‘My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good. I will

trouble you no longer.’ (Eden 1842, 69) ‘And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying an evil word against me, half amazed at my judgment. God work it to good!’ From now on the number attending were solely ‘examiners’. The day after his 7th session he was summoned by Bonner to attend mass but refused claiming he had an upset stomach. He was then brought before Bonner but told him that he would not answer him because all judgments should be reached in a public place (Eden 1842, 79/80). Their argument ended with Bonner putting Philpot in his private stocks. ‘Better it is to sit in the stocks of the world than sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience’ was Philpot’s comment.

This Edmund Bonner, incidentally, had been appointed bishop of London in 1539 on the recommendation of Thomas Cromwell who was more than satisfied with Bonner’s reformist credentials. Bonner’s conversion to Catholic orthodoxy appears to have been sudden, just before Cromwell’s downfall in 1540 (MacCulloch 2018, 523/4), and the consequences dire, for he was one of the most prominent burners of Mary’s reign.

The following day Philpot was summoned before Bonner yet again but he refused to attend, saying he was not of Bonner’s diocese (London) and therefore should not be brought before him, except by force. So he was brought by force to answer Bonner who called him a ‘foolish knave’ and told him that the bishops blamed Bonner for not having ‘despatched’ this ‘frantic’ man by now (Eden 1842, 82) and for allowing Philpot a public stage where he ‘gloried so in himself’ Philpot rejoined that ‘If Christ my master were called a mad man, it is no marvel ye call me frantic’ (Eden 1842, 82). These heated exchanges continued as Philpot refused to answer to a number of articles presented by Bonner and eventually he was put in the stocks again before returning into the coalhouse, where Bonner visited him the following Sunday, apparently out of curiosity, as he declared he had never been in his coalhouse before but thought it was too good for Philpot. (Eden 1842, 85) Here Philpot reproached Bonner telling him, ‘You have not the truth, neither are you of the Church of God, but you persecute the truth and the true Church of God for which cause you cannot prosper.’ He then



Fig. 5 John Philpot, after an unknown artist, woodcut, published 1563 NPG D5521 (By kind permission of the Rights and Images Department of the National Portrait Gallery, St Martin’s Place, London WC2H OHE, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>)

cited as evidence that one of Bonner’s ‘greatest doers’ ... (Gardiner) had ‘died miserably’, as was to be expected. Gardiner had died that November of appalling ‘dropsy’, seven gallons of fluid having been removed from his body the day after he died (Muller 1933, 503).

Philpot was then taken past the west end of St. Paul’s cathedral to a tower ‘right on the other side of Lollard’s tower (a free-standing bell tower), as high almost as the battlements of St. Paul’s’ to a cell 8 feet by 13 feet with views over the great houses of London but overlooked by none.

Philpot’s ‘examinations’ continued. He counted them and named the bishops and other theologians who examined him and reported the dialogue. The 12th took place on Wednesday 4th December 1555 and the 13th ‘the Thursday after’ (Eden 1842, 134). Here he was confronted by no less than, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Chichester and of Bath and the bishop of London (Bonner). This was another mammoth session at the end of which Chichester, plainly frustrated, asked of Philpot, ‘have we this thank for our good will, in coming to instruct thee?’ (Eden 1842, 143) And you do wonder why they so persisted. Philpot’s account of a further brief discussion in the evening is his last.

The continuing account is found in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* first published in 1563 (Hobart Seymour 1838, 864–884). Philpot was brought before Bonner in the open Consistory Court of St. Paul's on 13th and 14th December 1555 (Eden 1842, 146) There he was charged by Bonner that: (1) he refused to be reconciled with the Church, (2) he had spoken out against the mass and called it idolatry and (3) he had spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same (Eden 1842, 146–147). In further argument Philpot observed that during Henry VIII's reign and during Edward VI's reign he had sworn against the 'usurped power of the bishop of Rome' as all these clergy had done, to which these clergy were now returning. Following further threats from Bonner, Philpot replied, 'You and all other of your sort are hypocrites and I would that all the world know your hypocrisy,

your tyranny, ignorance and idolatry' (Eden 1842, 147). The court was dismissed and on 16th December after many more arguments, exhortations, presentation of letters in support of Philpot and presentation of a copy of his account of the 'Disputations' of October 1553 he was formally sentenced as a heretic.

Two days later he was burned at the stake. Foxe's account is that he died with great courage (Hobart Seymour 1838, 884) (Fig. 5).

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APPENDIX 1 THE PORTRAIT OF JOHN PHILPOT (see Fig. 3)

The National Gallery have confirmed that the painting dates from later than 1620, some 70 years after the death of Philpot. In the period 1620 to 1640 a number of imaginary portraits of 16th century Protestant martyrs were produced. It is inconceivable that this is a portrait copied from a 16th century original. Any life portrait of Philpot would have had to have been painted before his imprisonment in 1553. At that time he was only 37 years of age. This is not an image of a man in his thirties. More importantly the figure in the portrait is wearing a ruff. These did not come into use until the reign of Elizabeth and remained in use into the 1620s when this portrait was commissioned.

The painting has been in the possession of the Mumford family since the early 19th century. Cristina Philpot, who married a lace maker called John Mumford, brought it into the family. Cristina was the daughter of one John Philpot who died in 1814. He was a brother or nephew of a Miss Ann Philpot who by family tradition had been given the portrait by the 2nd Duke of Portland when she was in the service of the Duchess. The portrait was given to her because her name was Philpot. This may well be true. The 2nd Duke's father, one Henry Bentinck of Titchfield, had been an MP for Southampton and later for Hampshire prior to his peerage and might have had an interest in local Hampshire history.

Unfortunately, there is no known connection between Ann Philpot's father, Richard Philpot,

who lived in Water Stratford, Buckinghamshire, and any descendants of Sir Peter Philpot. The male Philpot line having, apparently, died out in the 1650s. (see Appendix 2).

The painting was presented to Winchester Cathedral in 2007.

APPENDIX 2 PHILPOT GENEALOGY 1484 TO THE 1650S

I have traced the Philpot family from 1484 until the 1650s when the male line appears to have died out.

Sir Peter Philpot's grandfather, John Philpot, a descendant of the 14th century Lord Mayor of London, Sir John Philipot (pronounced Phil-ee-pot), acquired the manor of Compton in the latter half of the 15th century. He died in 1484. His son, Sir John Philpot, died in 1502 when Peter was about 12 years of age (VCH Middlesex 7, 173–175). Peter came of age in 1510, at the age of 20 years, and in his time acquired properties elsewhere. Peter had a younger brother William who was bequeathed a tenement in 'Lumbarde Street' in his father's will (Maskelyne & Maxwell-Lyte, 1915). Their father's will was drawn up in 1492 showing that William must have been born in 1491 or 1492 (Maskelyne & Maxwell-Lyte, 1915 Entry 692, 411–58].

Sir Peter, as he became, had at least 11 children by his wife Agnes Troyes (1488–1540) whom he married in 1512.

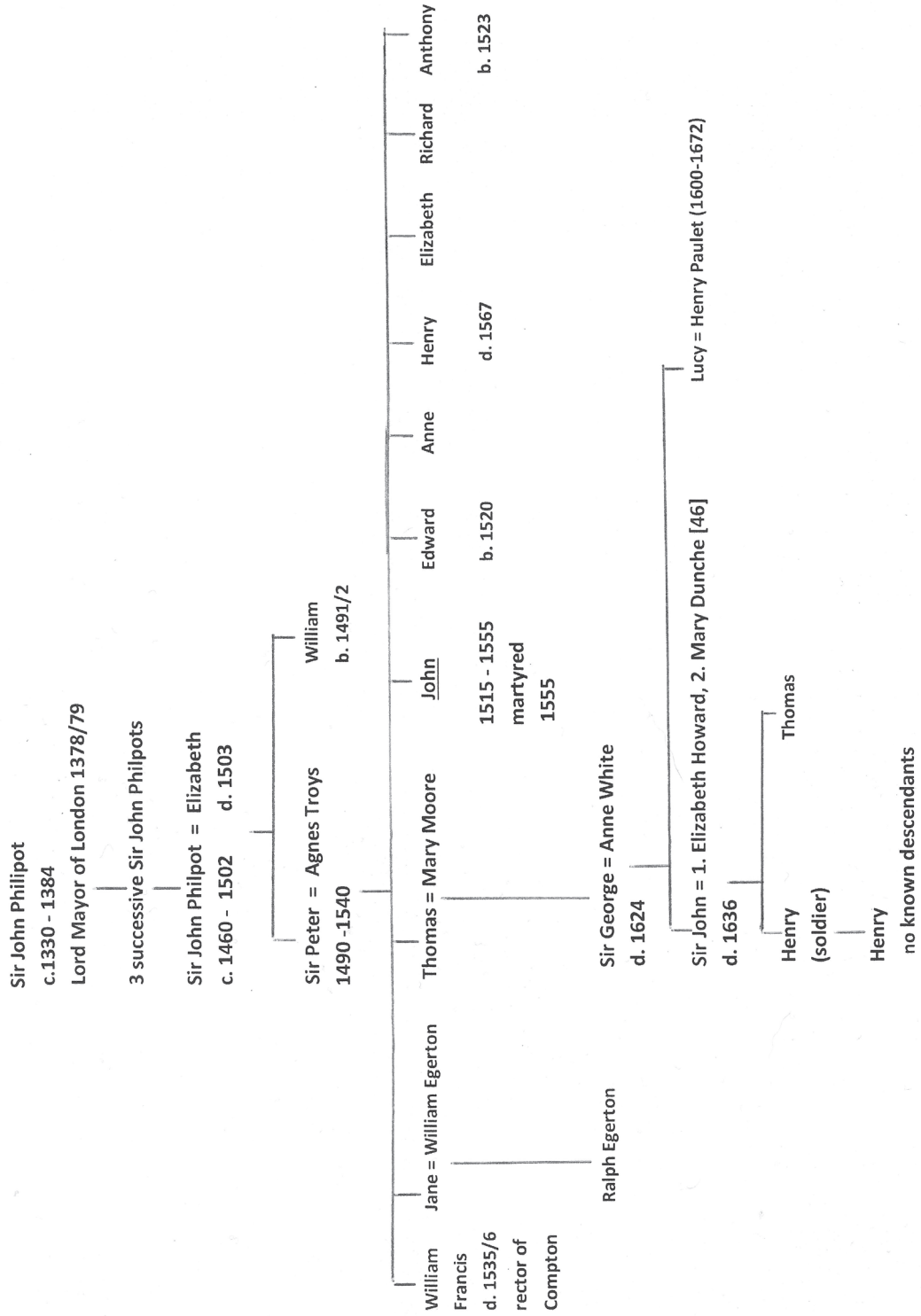


Fig. 6 Philpot family tree

- William (?) rector of Compton from 1534, who died in 1535/36
- Thomas who by 1538 was judged a 'wandering lunatic' but had recovered by 1556 and reclaimed his inheritance (as the eldest son). As noted earlier, Sir Anthony Wingfield was granted custody of these lands in 1543 on behalf of Thomas. Thomas died in 1586.
- Jane who was of age in 1536 and married William Egerton of Staffordshire. A deed of 1550 records William's father Ralph transferring some land to William and Jane and their son Ralph, a further deed of 1551 refers to William as a 'Gentleman' (Maxwell 1915, Deeds 7001 and 7648) and in 1545 John, earl of Bath, granted William a total of 330 acres and one third of a water-mill for £104 (Wrottesley 1890, 269–92); Jane had married well.
- John 1515–1555.
- Edward the last son to be mentioned in his father's will; he must have been born in 1520 because he came of age in 1540; as some lands in Cholderton, Wiltshire, were held by him, his mother and two others after his father's death (VCH Wilts 1995, 70–78).
- Anne who was about to be married when Sir Peter drew up his will in 1540
- Henry who inherited most of his father's estates, but lost custody of them in 1543; they were returned to his brother Thomas in 1556. Henry died in 1567 leaving some additional property to Thomas.
- Elizabeth
- Richard
- Anthony b. 1523 and attended Winchester College from 1533 (Winchester College Register).
- Francis

I have been unable to discover any male descendants of Edward, Henry, Richard, Anthony or Francis, and have no information on when or where they died.

Most of the following material comes from the records of the manor of Thruyton found in the invaluable series, Victoria County Histories (VCH Hants 4, 387–91; Philipot 2010).

Thomas the eldest surviving son of Sir Peter left his estates to his son George (later, Sir George) who died in 1624. Sir George's son, John, inherited the estates. Sir John, as he became, appears to have had much of his property confiscated for recusancy. He also borrowed heavily. In 1632 one Jane Halford lent Sir John £500 where two members of the Titchborne family provided security. Sir John died in 1636. In 1637 Jane Halford petitioned the Crown unsuccessfully to make the Titchbornes pay up. In 1634 Sir John had also borrowed £1000 from John, Lord Pawlett, issuing a bond for the sum in the name of himself and his son Henry and, again, the Titchbornes provided security. After Sir John's death Henry Philipot 'conveyed away the estate'

and 'absented himself'. John, Lord Pawlett, also petitioned the Crown unsuccessfully to make the Titchbornes pay up (Bruce 1869, petitions 25, 53, 55).

Sir John's son, Henry inherited the manor of Thruyton (VCH Hants 4, 387-91) and other properties. In 1645 he and his brother Thomas were fined £1200 for 'delinquency'. In 1651 Henry settled the manor of Thruyton and other properties on his eldest son, Henry, who, in 1654 made numerous conveyances of his Stepney estates (VCH Middlesex 11, 19–52) and disappears from those manorial records. It would appear that at this point the Philipot line failed (no male descendants) because the manor of Thruyton reverted to descendants of the Lisles of Wotton who had owned the property at the beginning of the 16th century. The Lisles of Wotton were not related to Arthur Plantaganet, Lord Lisle¹.

In the Hampshire Record Office there is a family tree ('pedigree') (Philipot 1620) drawn up in 1620 by 'Johane Philipot, armiger'. It is about 3m long and 1m wide and very handsome. It begins in the reign of William the

Conqueror although the first Philipot does not appear until the reign of Edward I. The name is always written Philipot (Phil-ee-pot). There are no dates. The last entry is for ‘Johes Philipot’ and two sons ‘Henricus Philipot Primogenitus filius Johannis Philipot militis’ and ‘Thomas secundus filius.’ Neither is shown as married. Henry is a soldier. Earlier entries do nothing to alter my history of the family. Sir Peter Philipot is shown here incorrectly (see earlier) as the only son. Daughters are seldom shown on this ‘pedigree’. Only three of Sir Peter’s sons are recorded; John (martyred in the reign of Mary), Thomas and Henry Philipot of Barton who died without issue.

However, this ‘pedigree’ is not what it seems. The author of this pedigree, Johane Philipot,

who describes himself as Rouge Dragon (an heraldic post; holders of this office at the College of Arms research and publish the genealogy of those who bear coats of arms) is not the son of Sir George Philipot but the second son of one Henry Philipot of Folkestone. According to the entry for John Philipot in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604–1629* (Thrush & Ferris 2010), ‘His aspirations to gentility ... (led him to establish], in the first of his notorious bogus pedigrees, a claim to descent from Sir John Philipot the celebrated fourteenth century mayor of London.’²

Figure 6 previously shows the Philipot genealogy from 1460 until the 1650s compiled from my researches, from the Compton and Shawford website and from Johane Philipot’s ‘pedigree’.

APPENDIX 3 TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION OF SIR PETER PHILPOT’S WILL

TSL 342.19	Payne
Document Description:	Will of Sir Peter Philpott or Philipot
Will dated:	09-August-1540
Codicil dated:	10/11/12/13- August-1540
Will proved:	06-May-1542
Archive:	The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Kew. Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) – Will Registers
Archive Catalogue Ref.	PROB 11/29/102
Image Ref:	67
PCC Register:	register name: Spert quire: 6 folio: 43 verso – 44 verso (3 pages)
Transcribed October 2019 by:	Transcription Services Ltd

[folio 43 verso]

Test[amentum] *Petri Philpot*
miles

1. In the name of god amen The ixth [9th] daye of August in the yere of o[u]^r Lorde god m^l v^c xl^{ti} [1540] And in the
2. xxxij [32] yere of the reigne of o[u]^r sov[er]aigne Lord King Henry the Eight / I **Peter Philpott** Knight being of hole
3. mynde and sycke of body Laude be to god ordeyn and make this my present testament and last will in forme
4. folowing / **First** I bequeth my soule to Almightye god my maker and redemer / and my body to be buried
5. wher as yt shall please god and myn Executors / **Also** I bequeth to my p[ar]ishe churche of Compton Warelyne
6. in the Countie of S[ou]th[ampton] xx^s [20s] / **Also** I will that there be at the daye of my burying seyde a trentall³ of masses

- - -

[folio 44]
7. and at my monthes mynde on other tryntall of masses / **Item** the Residue of all my goodes and Catall[es] not
8. afore by me nor after by this my last wyll and testament bequethed **I give** and bequeth to *Agnes* my wyfe
9. she to dispoace yt for the welthe of my soule / and for the fynding and exhibition of my Childr[e]n after her
10. discrecion and wysdome . **Whome I make** my sole Executrice of this my p[rese]nt testament and last wyll / **And**
11. as for my Man[nor]s of Bammis Hogeston Twyforde and my land[es] and ten[emen]t[es] w[i]^(th) th'appurten[a]nc[es] w[i]^(th) in the Countie
12. of Midd[lesex] **And also** my man[or] of Belshull otherwyse called Wodhal w[i]^(th) th'appurten[a]nc[es] lying and being w[i]^(th) in
13. the Countie of Hertforde / **Also** my land[es] and tenement[es] in Tarran[a]nt Gowndefelde with th'appurten[a]nc[es]
14. in the Countie of Dorsett / **Also** my Man[or] of Compton Warelyn in the Countie of South[ampton] / **Also** my landes &
15. tenement[es] w[i]^(th) in the Citie of London w[i]^(th) all and singuler ther Appurten[a]nc[es] whiche seyde land[es] and Ten[emen]t[es]
16. *William Unedale* and *John Danestere* Recov[er]ed ayenst me the seyde **Sir Peter** in the terme of seynte
17. Mychaell th'archangell ⁴in the xiiijth [14th] yere of the Reigne of o[u]^r sov[er]aigne lorde King Henry the Eight [1522] as by the
18. same more playnly dothe Appere / After whiche Recov[er]y I the seyde **Sir Peter** by my sev[er]all dead[es] beryng
19. date the xix [19th] daye of Novemb[er] the xxij^{ti} [23rd] yere of the Reigne of o[u]^r soveraigne lorde King Henry the vijth [1531] have
20. made an estate of all the sayde landes and ten[emen]t[es] and other the p[re]misses to *Edmund Mervyn* s[er]g[ea]nt at the lawe
21. *William Pawlett the yonger* esquier *Nicholas Tychborne* Esquire *John Whyte* of SouthWyke *George*
22. *Caylway* . *John Unedall* . *Nicholas Tychborne the yonger* and *Wylliam Beme* and to their heires for ev[er] to
23. the use of me the seyde **Sir Peter** and *Agnes* my wyfe and to the heires of me the seyde **Sir Peter** and to the
24. p[er]formannce of my Last Wyll in forme folowing / **First I will** that the seyde *Agnes* my wyfe have all the
25. seyde Man[or]s Landes and ten[emen]t[es] and all other the premisses w[i]^(th) their Appurten[a]nc[es] as I have gyven them unto
26. her for terme of her lyfe by my seyde dead[es] of feoffement / **And** yf any of my landes and Ten[emen]t[es] & other Hereditam[en]t[es]
27. w[i]^(th) in the seyde Sheires or ell[es] where w[i]^(th) in the Realme of Englonde be left out and not comprysed w[i]^(th) in the seyde
28. dead[es] of feoffement[es] made to the sayde *Edmund* and other his cofeffes and not given to my seyde wyfe by the
29. seyde dead[es] / **Then I will** that my seyde wyfe have and enyoie the same land[es] and Ten[emen]t[es] so left out and the
30. same dead[es] of feoffement for terme of her lyfe **And** after her deceasse . **I will** that That [*sic*] the Man[or] of Barton
31. w[i]^(th) th'appurten[a]nc[es] in the Countie of South[amp]t[on] whiche I

- late bought and purchased of my *lord De Laware*
32. with all the land[es] left out of the sayd deade of feoffement Remayn to *Henry Philpott* my sone and to his
33. heyres for ev[er] according to certeyn dead[es] of feoffement to his use ther upon made / my sayd wyfe to have all
34. the sayd lond[es] and tenement[es] as ys afore rehersyd to th'entent that she shall delyv[er] or cause to be delyv[er]ed
35. to my Doughter *Anne* one hundred poundes sterling[es] **And** to and for the mariage of my Doughter *Elizabeth*
36. Fourty pound[es] sterling[es] so that they be rulyd in their mariages and marye at the discrecion and wyll
37. of my sayd wyfe *M^r Incent^s M[aste]^r* of seynt Crosse and *George Hurlocke* / **And after** the deathe of my said wyfe
38. all my forseyd Mann[or]s Lond[es] and Ten[emen]t[es] w[i]^(th) th'appurten[anc]es or as moche of the foresayd Man[or]s lond[es] and
39. Ten[emen]t[es] as I may will and give by the lawe and statut[es] of this Realme to remayn and be in t'hand[es] of the
40. said *M^r John Incent* and *George Hurlocke* and their Assignes or th'assigne or assignes of the ov[er]lyver of
41. them . for terme of Fourescore yeres [80] and the Revenues and profytt[es] of the same land[es] and ten[emen]t[es] so be them or
42. any of them to be recevyd to stande and be in the hand[es] of the sayd *M^r John Incent* and *George Hurlocke* and
43. their assignes or the assignes or assigne of the over lyver of them to th'use and payment of my dett[es]
44. fulfilling and p[er]formyng of my will . Exhibition fynding and mayntenynge of my Childern . some to scole or
45. otherwise viz[it] [*that is to say*] *Henry Philpott* my sone and heire *Richard . Anthony . and Franncis* my sonnes **And** that
46. every of them have for their porcions equally devyded during their lyves / that ys to saye . to eche of them
47. ev[er]y yere . during their lyves . Foure pound[es] sterling out of the foreseyd landes and Ten[emen]t[es] . yf the seyde *Henry*.
48. *Richard . Anthony* and *Frannc[is]* be rulede and orderyd after the discrecion and will of their mother and
49. the seyde *M^r Incent* and *George Hurlocke* or ell[es] to have nothing at all . **Item** I will my sayd wyfe during
50. her lyfe shall paye and delyv[er] unto my seyde Childern out of the seyde Man[or]s lond[es] and Ten[emen]t[es] and the Revenues
51. of the same during her lyfe naturall their seyde porcions and som[m]es as ys abovesayd / **And after** the decease
52. of my seyde wyfe **I will** that the seyde *M^r John Incent* and *George Hurlocke* delyv[er] the sayd somes porcions
53. and Annuities to my seyde Childern as is aforeseyd . during the naturall lyves of *M^r John Incent* and
54. *George Hurlocke* **And after** their decease the Assignes of the longer lyver of them / **Also I will** that
55. *Edward* my sone shall have yerely : during his lyfe after he com[m]eth to the age of Twenty yeres and
56. before he come to th'age of xxⁱⁱ [20] yeres . to be at the rule and order of his Mother *M^r John Incent & George Hurlocke* for his fynding and exhibicion going out of the Man[or]s lond[es] and ten[emen]t[es] . Fyve pound[es] Thirteyn shilling[es] foure pence sterling during the termes of the yeres aforeseyd **And** to the seyde *Edward* and his
59. heires for ever yf the lawe and statut[es] will suffer yt . The sayd som[m]es porcions and Annuities to be payd
60. and delyv[er]ed as ys aforeseyd to every of my seyde Childern yerely at two termes of the yere that ys to saye
61. at the feast[es] of seynt Michaell th'archangell⁶ and th'an[n]unciac[i]on of o[u]^r blessid lady saynt Mary the virgyn⁷ by evyn porcions during their lyves naturall **Also I will** that after the fourescore [80] yeres or at any time
63. w[i]^(th) in the fourescore [80] yeres . yf the Lawes and statut[es] of this Realme of England will not bere and suffer this

64. my seyde will to stonde and take efecte / **Then I will** that ym[m]ediately after the said fourescore [80] yeres or after the
65. death of my foresayd wyfe . and me That my seyde Feoffees and all other being seased in all my seyde Man[or]s
66. Landes and tenement[es] . aforesayd and ev[er]y p[ar]cell therof And also my feoffes . and all other being seased in my
67. Man[or] of Barton aforesayd . stande seased and be infeoffed to the use of my sonne *Henry Philpott* and
68. his heires for ever / **Also I will** that the sayd *M^r John Incent* and *George Hurlocke* and their Assignes
69. for their paynes takinge in this behalfe and that the premisses may be the better p[er]formyd / I will ev[er]y of
70. them to have fourty shilling[es] sterlinge yerely out of the sayd Manors Lond[es] and ten[emen]t[es] and the said xl^s [40s]
71. to retayne in their handes of the sayd lond[es] that they shall have in their govern[a]nce when tyme shall
-
- [folio 44 verso]
72. come **moreov[er]** **I will** that *Agnes* my wyfe have and kepe in her owne custody all the Evidens co[n]cernyng
73. the sayd landes and tenement[es] of me the sayd **Sir Peter Philpott** during her lyfe / and afterward to
74. remayn and be in the Custody of *M^r John Incent* and *George Hurlock* and their Assignes for terme of
75. the yeres above expressed / **And after** the terme of the seyde yeres . the seyde Evidenc[es] to remayn to *Henry*
76. *Philpott* and his heires for ever **Also** where above I have willed that after the death of my sayde wyfe
77. and me or after the said fowrescore [80] yeres that my feoffes and all other being seased in all my sayde
78. Man[or]s lond[es] and Ten[emen]t[es] aforesayd . shuld stonde seased . and be infeoffed . to the use of sonne *Henry*
79. and his heires for ever / **Now I will** yf that clause cane not take effect as ys above seyde / **I will** that
80. according to a new statute made in the p[ar]lament holden at Westm[inster] the xxxij [32] yere of the Reigne of
81. our sov[er]aigne lord King Henry the Eight [1540] / that two partes of all my sayde Man[or]s lond[es] and Ten[emen]t[es]
82. above specified . suche as I have not delyv[er]ed p[ro]cesion of before this daye / and be not specified in
83. my sayde wyff[es] Joynter And two p[ar]tes of the same after her deceas . **I will** give and bequeath to *Henry*
84. *Philpott* my sonne he to devyde the sayde two p[ar]tes into three p[ar]tes . that ys to saye / th'one p[ar]te for
85. payment of my dett[es] yf it will extend or els the rest to paye my dett[es] / And the second p[ar]te for the
86. preferment of my Children as ys abovesayde / And the thirde p[ar]te to dispose for my soule my wyff[es]
87. and my Childern . soules and all Xpen^s soules / **And now fynally** . because my seyde wyfe ys now
88. very sicke I will ordeyn and make *Henry Philpott* my sone Executour w[i]^{t(h)} my sayde wyfe yf she lyve
89. or els I make and ordeyn the seyde *Henry* my Executo^r he to dispose for my soule / and to do all thing[es]
90. concernyng this my testament as my seyde wyfe shuld have done / and that by the Counsell and consent
91. of the sayde *M^r John Incent* and *George Hurlocke* and no otherwise / **In wytnes whereof** I the sayde
92. **Peter Philpott** have caused this present Testament to be red and declared in the presens of sir
93. *Richard Bartelatt* prest . *Sir Walter Coly* prest curat of Compton *Hubert Husey* and *John Egerton*
94. w[i]^{t(h)} other wytnes of the same I have sette my seale the daye and the yere above wrytten
95. **Memorandum** That the xth xjth xijth or xijth [10th, 11th, 12th or 13th] daye of August in the yere of o[u]^r lorde god A Thousand
96. fyve hundred and fourty / **Sir Peter Philpott**

- knight being of p[er]fecte mynde and memory . after the making
97. of his testament and last will willed dyspoased . and bequethed theis legacies folowing whiche he wulde
98. shulde take effecte as well as though they were contayned in his testament and last will /Viz[it] [that is to say] **he willed** &
99. bequethed unto *William Egerton* who had maryed *Jane* his Doughter foure Mares and Collt[es] going in
100. Dowgeoon wood[es] / **And** he gave unto the sayd *William* and *Jane* and to their heires of their two bodyes
101. Laufully begotten Dowgeoon wood[es] with th'appurten[an]c[es] therto belonging for ev[er]more / **And** where
102. the sayd *Sir Peter* sayde that *Anne* his Doughter had to litle bequethed unto her to her maryage in his
103. Testament therefore then **he willed** that the sayd *Anne* his Doughter shulde have to her sayd Maryage
104. the som[m]e of three hundreth mark[es]
105. **Probatum** fuit test[amentu]m coram d[omi]no apud London *Sexto die mens[is] Maij Anno D[omi]ni Mill[es]imo*
106. *quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo* / Juramento testuum in ea p[ar]te exaiat Ac *Henrici Philpot* executoris
107. in h[uius]mo[d]i testamento no[m]i[n]at[o] Ac approbatum et insumatu[m] . Comissaq[ue] fuit admi[n]istracio o[mn]iu[m] et sing[u]loru[m]
108. bonor[um] iuriu[m] et creditor[um] d[i]ct[i] defunct[i] p[re]fato executor[i] / De bene &c / Ac de pleno et fideli[ter] Inventario &c
109. conficiend[o] / Necnon de plano et vero compoto reddend[o] / Ad Sancta dei Evangelia Jurat[o] /
[The will was proved in London on the 6th day of May, 1542 by the oath of Henry Philpot, the executor named in the will, to whom administration was granted, he to produce a full and true inventory of the estate of the deceased and render a full and true account of his administration]

APPENDIX 4 THE WORKS OF JOHN PHILPOT

Besides his *Disputations*, *Letters* and *Examinations* a number of other works by him are known to have been published, one of these is his translation of Curio's work referred to earlier. Just two other works are in existence today. They are:

'*Apologie of John Philpot for Spitting upon an Arian*' and '*A Supplication to Philip and Mary*'

The former has nothing to do with the Aryan race. Arian belief is that Jesus is the son of God, that he was begotten by God, but was not one with God. Thus the Holy Trinity was denied. Philpot's '*Apologie*' was, essentially, a treatise against Arianism. The '*Supplication*' was a further letter during his time in prison. Both of these works were published in editions of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

Notes)

- 1 Lord Lisle's title came from his first wife Elizabeth Grey, baroness Lisle, who was a descendant of the barons Lisle of Rougemont, not Wotton.
- 2 I am grateful to John Petrie, Windsor Herald, for his email of 14 August 2020 providing me with this information.
- 3 trental = a service of thirty masses for a deceased person, usually held on thirty successive days but sometimes all on one day.
- 4 Feast of St Michael/Michaelmas - 29 September - Michaelmas is used in the extended sense of autumn, as the name of the first term of the academic year, which begins at this time, at various educational institutions in the United Kingdom, Ireland and the Commonwealth
- 5 John Incent (fl. 1506; d. 1545) Sometime rector of Compton (Hants), Chinnor (Oxon), St. Maurice's, Winchester, Chievely (Berks), All Saints', Southampto, Master of St. Cross, rector of Kimpton (Hants), prebendary of Urchfont in St. Mary's Abbey, rector of Sutton (Surrey), canon of Gnossall, prebendary of Pendford (Staffs), rector of Tadmorton (Oxon), master of free chapel of St. Laurence's, Nantwich (Cheshire), chaplain to king, vicar general and

- official principal of Cardinal Wolsey [Survey of Medieval Winchester, Part 1, by Keene & Rumble]
- 6 Feast of St Michael/Michaelmas - 29 September
- 7 Feast of the Annunciation/Lady Day - 25th March
- 8 Χρ = Greek characters Chi - Rho, the first two letters of the Greek word Χριστος = Christos = Christ. Χpian is often used in English documents of the 16th and 17th century as an abbreviation for 'Christian' and Χροfer for 'Christopher'