

vehement belief in absolute reprobation, which formed the basis of his theological writing, can certainly be traced to more traditional sources. Harmar is one of them. The second thing important about the Winchester headmaster was that he was a translator of the Church Father John Chrysostom, an exercise which links him with a number of the foremost figures in Jacobean Oxford.

That link raises the second figure who bridges the divide between Twisse and Pink: Henry Savile (1549–1622). Savile illustrates a central part of this article's argument: that the institutions and increasing ambitions of learning in late Elizabethan and Jacobean Oxford were both the glue that tied Twisse and Pink together and in some ways the oil that caused their divergence in religio-political life. What is particularly noticeable about Savile, and what linked him again to the pursuits of Harmar, was the cosmopolitan and continental extent of his interests. A great exponent of Euclid and Ptolemy, Savile established his professorships in geometry and astronomy in 1619.¹⁶ Savile's years in Oxford were an 'age of benefactors',¹⁷ and the legacies of Savile and Sir Thomas Bodley contributed as much to the proper administration of the University as it did to its learning. Savile's major project after 1604 was the compilation and editing of the works of Chrysostom, a work which drew him into the Second Oxford Company of translators for the King James Version, along with the master of University College, George Abbot. Abbot and, perhaps even more so, Thomas James at the Bodleian,¹⁸ were strongly anti-Catholic, and their scholarly work often came with a polemical tinge, justifying the historical and patristic legitimacy of the English Church.¹⁹ Savile's work involved foreign ambassadors, Greek scholars, and printers, with contacts in Venice and the Hague promoting the text around such centres of European humanist learning.²⁰ As the first English editor of Chrysostom's works in 1586, Harmar was an important contact.²¹

of Scott Mandelbrote, Savile's Bradwardine 'testified to royal faith in the power of the printed word to determine political and religious debate'.²³ Such faith in the use of the Church Fathers to help establish a coherent confessional identity in England, and to offer an intellectual case against continental Catholicism, is typical of Jacobean policy. George Abbot typified this policy, for his 'anxious[ness] to avoid damaging disputes over nonconformity in favour of intensive preaching and a joint front against the menace of Rome'.²⁴ That was a standpoint supported by the large majority of the institutions of learning in Oxford, and one to which both Pink and Twisse could give their support. It was endeavours such as those at Oxford that allowed Joseph Hall to coin the popular phrase: '*Stupor mundi Clerus Britannicus*': the British clergy is the wonder of the world.²⁵

Savile, Thomas James, both Robert and George Abbot, and Twisse himself all enjoyed the support of the King, and had previously been backed by Archbishop Bancroft.²⁶ Robert Pink would be elected at the 'insistence' of the same king in 1617.²⁷ The editing and publication of theological texts such as Bradwardine by Twisse and others was fully in line with the intellectual leanings of the monarch. Twisse had in fact already earned royal favour. In the summer of 1613, the king appointed him chaplain to Elizabeth, Princess Palatinate. Elizabeth's marriage to the Palatine Elector, Frederick V, was one of the grandest occasions in Jacobean England; a royally ordained sermon given by Lancelot Andrewes of Ely lavished praise on the unity of the reformed churches in England and the Palatinate.²⁸ Twisse's German heritage cannot have been irrelevant to the appointment. Travelling to Heidelberg,²⁹ he made the acquaintance of German theologians, but returned only two months later, in the September of 1613, as New College had appointed him to the rectorship of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire.³⁰ But his royal service would continue to be important to Twisse, and his well-renowned preaching at Oxford would gain him the reputation of a master of learning—as a fierce disputant, but one keen to stay within the confines of his college and his parish. That attachment to institutional privacy would not last the outbreak of the English Civil War, but it lasted long enough for him to operate in the same Oxford as Robert Pink in the increasingly divided 1620s. Pink has been largely absent from this narrative thus far, mainly because his academic career tended towards the simple trajectory set out by Anthony Wood. Yet he did not remain anonymous. The figure of John White is a bridge that spans the divide between the two, but his example also suggests the increasingly testing waters beneath.

White (1575–1646) was born at Stanton St John, just outside Oxford. The village had been in the hands of New College since the mid-sixteenth century. His family was high-flying, including a former warden of New College, headmaster of Winchester, and lord mayor of London.³¹ His

²³ Mandelbrote, 'Calculators', 119.

²⁴ Kenneth Fincham, 'Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity', in in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*

great-uncle had been given the rectorship of Stanton St John when he became warden in Oxford. It was by these connections that White's father got a lease on the manor house of Stanton St John, and White went as a scholar to Winchester in 1587, the year before Pink.³² Elected a fellow in 1595, White became MA in 1601, and was appointed rector of Holy Trinity, Dorchester, in late 1605.³³ Essentially a conforming Calvinist, he was seen to have encouraged his parishioners to live more pious and generous lives after a disastrous fire hit Dorchester in 1613. He eventually became deeply involved in the Massachusetts Bay Company which had started establishing transatlantic Puritan communities—a cause with which Twisse was familiar.³⁴ Stanton St John had Puritan inhabitants: the grandfather of the poet John Milton had disowned his son of the same name (a composer) for converting from Protestantism to Catholicism—and it was from the daughter of a Stanton landowner that the more famous of the two took his first wife.³⁵ By the middle of the 1630s, White began to endure the antipathy of Archbishop Laud, since Dorchester had become a base of rebellion against the Ship Money levy, and since White himself refused to use the notorious *Book of Sports*. In this he was very much like Twisse, who had taken on the parish of his hometown of Newbury, and began publishing the flaming predestinarian texts for which he was known.³⁶ Just like Twisse, White escaped some of the more sinister attention of the ecclesiastical authorities due to his support in the provinces.

Yet an earlier incident highlights how the cultural politics of Puritanism and the *Book of Sports* divided Twisse from Pink most starkly. In the list of Winchester Scholars for Pink's entry year of 1588

Company, Lake was nevertheless perfectly able to navigate the religious politics of the University while not avoiding contentious religious matters.⁴¹ Thomas James could be seen as a similar figure.

Pink's approach to religious controversy was different. By and large, he shied away from confrontation and supported the growing powers of his day—broadly described as the High Church men of the Durham House group.⁴² Importantly, he was joined by a new Bishop of Winchester; Thomas Bilson, Twisse's uncle and a fervent supporter of Archbishop Bancroft's accommodating politics in the 1610s, was replaced two years later by Lancelot Andrewes. Bilson had been very influential: an 'intellectual role model for many of the aspiring scholars of the Jacobean college'.⁴³ Little survives of Pink's personal thoughts on the controversial matters of theology in his own time: what is clear is that he was deeply influenced in his rule of New College by those at the head of larger institutions, the University and the bishopric of Winchester. Andrewes took up the latter in 1618, and in 1619 John Prideaux became vice chancellor of the University. With Pink, they helped to shape the shifting religio-

Yet the first years of Pink's wardenship had already highlighted the move away from the easy collegiality of high churchmen and Puritans at New College and similar institutions. One of his first actions as warden was to write a letter of congratulation to Bishop Andrewes.⁵¹ In 1620, Andrewes and Pink had both attempted, only somewhat successfully, to eradicate the practice of corrupt elections to the fellowship.⁵² Pink was fully accommodated to the new generation of high churchmen who took the most important bishoprics at the same time as Laud became archbishop, among them Richard Neile and Walter Curle. By the start of Archbishop Laud's tenure as chancellor of the University in 1629, Pink had become one of the most important figures in Oxford, although Laud himself 'possessed unprecedented authority over the university'.⁵³ In 1634, the churchwardens of Newbury, Twisse's parish, had been ordered by Laud's vicar-general to move their communion tables, which they had still refused to do three years later.⁵⁴ The same year, Pink was given a great mark of support by the archbishop, and made vice-chancellor of the University for two years. When his term came up in 1636, he was one of the four chosen to draw up the Laudian Code of Statutes for the University.⁵⁵ Laud was still displeased with the extent of Calvinist opposition lurking at Winchester College, but his letters to Pink express his fellow feeling: in 1630 Laud wrote that 'ye ill barridbge of some men towards me in thiss busyness shall never alter me from your selfe'.⁵⁶ Pink's reply highlights a crucial element in his character and his career, rather than the more aggressive insistence of Laud:

There wilderness will I hope one date tyre out and bee wearie of it selfe; for as yet they give it no somuch as a breathing tyme, nor doe I, for anie interest of my owne, at all oppose it, but rather turne my other cheeke to them, meane to do so till their owne outrages instifie mee against them for my sufferance.⁵⁷

The issue of contention was the continued abuse of the fellowship, largely at Winchester. Richard Neile, bishop of Winchester and a keen ally of Laud's, had not resolved the issue, which 'bitterly divided' the fellowship.⁵⁸ The election to the headmastership at Winchester most provoked the fellows, some of whom elected an alternative candidate to the one anointed by Laud. The archbishop was incendiary in a letter during his Visitation of Winchester in 1635, where he tells the vice-chancellor that, 'I have not been so well used as I might', and asks him that 'you do expressly mention therein this leave which I have given you . . . that they may not hereafter object this power of yours against mine and my successors'.⁵⁹

Laud's relationship with Pink had a more than intellectual impact on the college. Following the archbishop's predilection for the 'beauty of holiness', the mediaeval stained glass was restored in

⁵¹ Francis W. Steer, *The Archives of New College, Oxford: A Catalogue* (London: Phillimore, 1974), p. 70.

⁵² Robert F. W. Smith, '[Warden Robert Pink and the Disputed Election of 1620](#)', *New College Notes* 6 (2015), no. 9.

⁵³ John Maddicott, 'Rector Prideaux and Chancellor Laud, 1630–6', *Between Scholarship and Church Politics: The Lives of John Prideaux, 1578–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 253–93, at p. 253.

⁵⁴ Nicholas T yacke, 'Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War', *Journal of British Studies* 35 (2) (1996), 139–67, at p. 160.

⁵⁵ Although, as Poole notes in his introduction to *The Sophister/Fallacy*, p. 16, the burden of work fell largely on Brian Twyne and Richard Zouche.

⁵⁶ Letter from William Laud to Robert Pincke (15 October 1630), New College Archives, Oxford, NCA 3098.

⁵⁷ Letter from Pincke to Laud (1 November 1630), New College Archives, Oxford, NCA 3098.

⁵⁸ A. J. Hegarty, 'Pinck, Robert (bap. 1573, d. 1647)', *ODNB* (3 January 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22289>> (Accessed: 28 December 2024).

⁵⁹ *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D. Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: Vol. VI Part II*

Early modern Wykehamists were fond of composing poetry, of variable quality, in honour of their masters. That institutional loyalty was at the centre of the melancholy tone pervading the verses composed *In Honour of the Right Worshipfull Doctour Robert Pincke*, published in 1648:

Were I a Wit I'de weepe in Verse,
And drench the Dropsi'd sun in Teares.
I'de make each Muses eye to run,
Like a new sprung Helicon.
You Schollers might methinks devise,
Meanes to distill old Tragoedies,
In greifes Alymbeck till there flowes,
From thence a Quintissence of woes.⁷⁶



Robert Pinke (oil on panel) by Paul van Somer (c. 1572–1621) (circle of), New College, Oxford, NCI 631
© Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford

Patrick Maxwell
History Student
New College, Oxford

⁷⁶ James Howell et al., *In Honour of the Right Worshipfull Doctour Robert Pinke, Doctour of Divinitie, and Warden of New Colledge in Oxford* ([Oxford: H. Hall], 1648), p. 5.