

WINCHESTER COLLEGE AND THE ANGEL INN, ANDOVER: A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LANDLORD AND ITS INVESTMENTS

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ABSTRACT

In the aftermath of the devastating fire that had swept through Andover in 1434, Winchester College carried out a major programme of urban investment, building a new inn and three houses. The records of expenditure are preserved within the College archives. They are here used to explore the buildings, both within the context of the College's investments and growing income, and as part of the economy of the small towns of northern Hampshire.

INTRODUCTION

The Angel Inn at Andover is one of the few relics of a once important medieval town. It represents a major and well-documented investment by Winchester College, and has already been the subject of an important article in which Edward Roberts used documents and the surviving buildings, to examine its fifteenth-century construction. The combination of its physical remains and its extensive documentation led him to describe it as arguably 'one of the most significant timber-framed buildings in Hampshire'.¹ The main or front range and one of the side ranges of a quadrangular courtyard structure survive, together with the original contract for the carpentry, an inventory of 1462, and annual summaries of the building accounts. Such a building may be seen in a variety of different ways, and this article seeks to place it in the context of the fifteenth-century investment policies of Winchester College and of the prospering small-town societies of north Hampshire and of Andover.

THE BUILDING OF THE INN

Winchester College had acquired the rectory or priory of Andover in 1414, bringing with it a rich income in tithes, and some land and urban property. In 1434, the town was struck by a fire. This occurred in the upper part of town, where damaged property included the vicarage (presumably near the church), the High Street (*in alto vico*) and a property in Soper's lane.² The College gradually rebuilt destroyed properties, such as a tenement 'next to the church style',³ although in this case there was no specific link to the fire. The damage probably stretched beyond this upper town, and evidently had a serious impact on the town at large. In 1435 and 1437, Andover was completely freed from the taxation of the fifteenth and tenth, and in 1439 and 1444 paid only half.⁴ Reductions on such a scale suggest that there was a justifiable grievance and not just the common complaints of urban poverty.⁵ The fire damage is also indicated in the accounts of the College rectory, where various rents could not be collected. In 1435, the lessee was excused rent for two tenements for the whole year and six for the half year, suggesting that the latter had become operational again after a period in which no rent could be raised.⁶ By 1436/7 there were still seven properties in the lord's hand because of the fire.⁷ The College now sought to buy some of the devastated properties, payments being made to Robert Lyle (a former lessee of part of the rectory tithes) and John Melby.⁸ In 1443, it acquired three related tofts, two of which were described as still void.⁹ The College spent heavily on rebuilding and took the opportunity to make further acquisitions in the town. It was thus able to take a financial lead in the town's redevelopment.

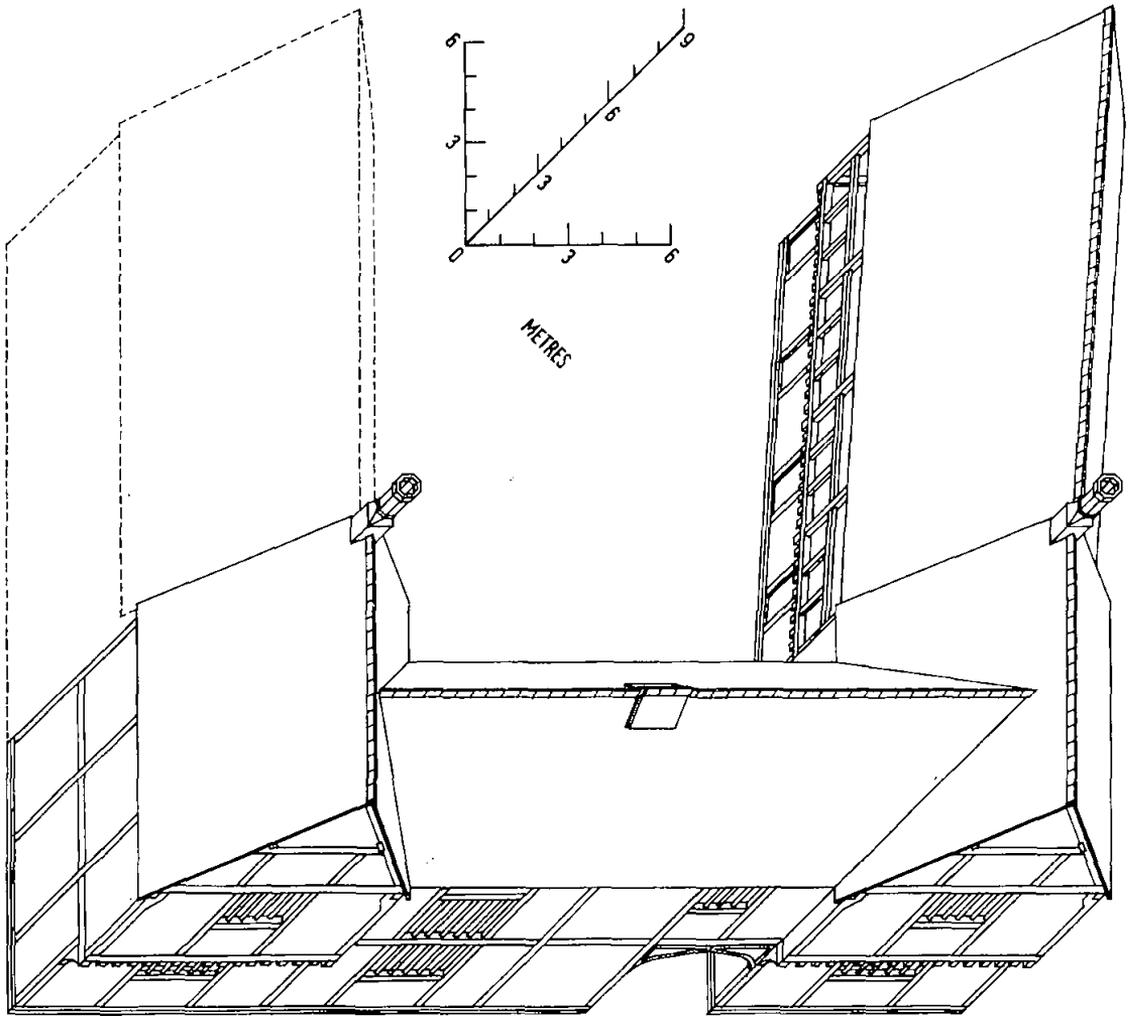


Fig. 1 The Angel Inn, Andover: a reconstruction (by Jonathan Snowdon, from Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, 180).

Between 1434 and 1443, the College spent about £250 on rebuilding at Andover. The bulk of this was probably the result of the fire, although this is not necessarily specified. But in 1444 it began a much larger development. From then until 1455, it built three new houses in the High Street and a new inn, on land parts of which it had only just acquired. The initial contract for the inn

describes it as 'a void ground'.¹⁰ The accounts make no general distinction between the two parts of the programme, the section being simply described as 'cost of new buildings' and this can lead to confusion. Thus the entries about the long house with its three kitchens belong to the three tenements, but they are intermixed with items referring to the inn.¹¹ While some of the items of

Table 1 Expenditure on the inn and three houses

<i>Year</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>
1445	£98 19s 5d
1446 (houses finished, paying rent, with full year's rent from following year)	£61 6s 4d
1447 (inn only)	£49 15s 7d
1448	£57 18s 5d
1449	£51 10s 10d
1450	£66 9s 11d
1451	£53 7s 8½d
1452	£45 3s 11d
1453	£25 18s 2d
1454	£24 9s 11d
1455 (inn finished)	£2 14s 10d
1456 (inn paying rent)	£7 9s 6d
Total	£544 17s 6½d.

Source: WCM 2679-90

expenditure could be separated between houses and inn, many could not. It seemed sensible therefore to establish the cost for the whole programme, of the inn and houses together, even though after the first two years all the College's expenditure was on the inn. Though the carpenters' contract for the inn was £90, the cost of the programme totalled £544 17s. 6½d, and the inn itself probably cost about £400. This was a very great investment, and seems to have been largely complete by 1455 when the final touches were completed included painting the new inn sign. The Angel Inn first started producing a rent of £8 in the following year. Additional changes helped to upgrade the facilities. In 1457 a new chimney was built and, in 1469, new stables were built in the west range next to the gate.¹²

The inn itself can be reconstructed from the surviving buildings and from the documentation, particularly an inventory of 1462 (Fig. 1).¹³ Edward Roberts has already provided an

account of its construction. The inn seems to have had a courtyard plan. On the front was a hall and gateway, flanked at either end by cross wings with cellar, parlour above, and a chamber over the parlour. To the north a range of chambers along the courtyard survive; to the south this has disappeared. According to the carpentry agreement, the north chambers were above stables and kitchen, while those on the south range were above stables. To the west there was a back gate or porch and other buildings, allowing access to the courtyard from both sides, easing the movement of traffic through the inn.¹⁴ The main kitchen seems to have been in the north range.¹⁵ It is unclear how much of the inn was completed in the first programme. Did the initial buildings include all of the proposed 80 feet of chamber ranges on each side of the courtyard? Certainly later in 1469, new stables were added 'next to the west door', at a cost of £7 8s.3d. But was this an addition to the back range or an extension of one of the side ranges? A west or back range was evidently intended by the original contract. Here was probably the west parlour next to the gate or door with a chamber over the parlour, and with a chimney for both rooms.¹⁶ The 1462 inventory also records an additional chamber (the Christopherchamber), although its location is unclear. Some relatively minor changes were made after the initial building, such as the construction of a new chimney in 1456. In the seventeenth century, the courtyard was paved, and this was probably the case from much earlier.

The expenditure of the College on the inn can be reconstructed from the accounts (Tab 1). Most of the expenditure came out of the Andover revenues, thus generating an apparent fall in revenue, and a false view of financial gloom.¹⁷

As we have seen, the scale of the investment was impressive. It seems futile to try to convert its £400 costs into modern money equivalents, but a few comparisons may be helpful. At Bishop's Waltham palace, the late medieval bishops were probably spending more than at any other residence. Bishop Wykeham rebuilt most of the palace at a cost of £1,500. Bishop Beaufort between 1438 and 1440 added many new build-

Table 2 The College's annual rental from the Angel

	<i>Rent per year</i>	<i>Pardon per year</i>	<i>Total net rent</i>
1456-61	£8		£8
1461-5	£7 10s		£7 10s
1465-7	£8		
1468-75	£10	13s 4d	£9 6s 8d
1476-95	£9 6s 8d	£1	£8 6s 8d
1496	£9 6s 8d	£2 6s 8d	£7
1497-1508	£9 6s 8d	£1 6s 8d	£8

Source: WCM 2691- 2742

[The years are those of the account rolls, dated by the end of the account]

ings and lavishly upgraded the interiors at a cost of about £1000.¹⁸ A large new barn such as that at Overton in 1496 could be built for £47.¹⁹ A carpenter in 1409-10 was paid about 5d (about 2p) a day.²⁰

Why did the College spend so much? At an obvious level it hoped to receive a long-term income. However, it undertook this investment just as the country was about to be swamped by recession in the middle of the fifteenth century.²¹ By 1455 the total yield of the three houses had fallen from the expected £5 to £4 per year.²² Although its expectations were never fully realised, the College could expect to receive an annual income of £12 or more, a yield comparable to one of its smaller rural manors, such as Coombe Bisset.²³ The return might not seem high, but it represented a substantial source of future revenue. There were difficulties in collecting this rent, however, whether because of economic trends or personalities. Even at the lower rental, debts grew up in the latter years of Robert Cusse's tenure in the late 1450s (Tab 2). The College reduced his debts by pardoning him for repairs, and after the end of his lease his payment of arrears reduced the debt to £7 10s by 1464, but this amount was still owed in 1480.²⁴ When Thomas Fewers leased the inn in 1462, his rent was initially lowered. Although the lease was for £7 10s., he would pay £6 13s 4d in the first

year (1462); £7 6s.8d for the second year, rising to £8 for the remaining three years.²⁵ His successor, John Waterman was due to pay a rent of £10, but this seems to have been unrealistic. He had evidently not been paying the full amount, and from 1475, the lease was reduced to £9 6s. 8d and he was pardoned for the 13s 4d per year that he had not been paying. Troubles continued and the rental saw a new drop in 1476, and again in the 1490s. But even at the end, the College was still receiving a steady £8 a year from the inn.

THE ANGEL, ANDOVER AND THE SMALL TOWNS OF NORTH HAMPSHIRE

The College expected to receive a substantial income from its investments. But why should a single inn produce such a high revenue? This was a prestigious development on the main High Street of the town. The College consulted the King's carpenter at Eton over the design. From the quality of the fireplace²⁶ to the inn sign painted by Roger Grene, the College sought to impress. It aimed at the upper end of the market. The George, on the High Street at Salisbury produced an even higher rental, of £20 in 1418.²⁷ Andover itself was an important town and stopping point on the main route from Salisbury and the south-west to London,²⁸ as well as being on one of

the routes from Southampton to the midlands. As a route centre, it required accommodation for wealthy and poor, for individuals and for aristocratic households alike.²⁹ The inn was large. Later, in 1633 it had 91 beds and 15 fireplaces.³⁰

Andover was also an important and long-standing economic centre, among the middling towns of Hampshire. In the early fourteenth century the taxation assessments show Winchester and Southampton in a class of their own in Hampshire, followed by Andover, Basingstoke and Portsmouth as the main regional centres within the county.³¹ Andover was clearly below Winchester, whose market hinterland was much larger and tended to distort that of the smaller town, but it was important nevertheless.³² It had long had the structures of urban government in its merchant guild. The town included both an earlier centre around the church in the upper town, and the main urban settlement in the High Street and around the market square.³³ Andover had earlier been an important centre for the wool trade. It was one of the major centres of licensed wool exporters in 1271-4. Two of its merchants were then selected to act for English merchants in negotiations with Flanders.³⁴ By the fifteenth century it was becoming increasingly important for cloth production. In the aulnage accounts of 1394/5 it was producing or marketing a mere 2% of Hampshire's cloth, but this had risen to 6.1% (with Whitchurch) by 1466-7, as part of the growing north Hampshire cloth industry, that focussed on towns like Andover, Basingstoke, Odiham and Alton.³⁵ We know little of the church, which was completely destroyed in 1840s, but illustrations suggest the presence of much late medieval rebuilding, as befitted a flourishing town.³⁶ On the eve of the fire the town had been prospering enough for the College to invest in two houses on vacant plots in 1424 and 1426.³⁷ Andover rapidly recovered from the devastating fire of 1434.

Inns in Hampshire, as elsewhere, were becoming important economic centres of informal trade, although our knowledge of this increases in succeeding centuries.³⁸ We do not get much idea of such economic activity from the very limited Andover documentation, but at Basingstoke innkeepers were found selling horsebread, and

buying up the fish stocks, before selling them on the retail market at a higher price. 'Then as we might have of the fisher five herrings for a penny, they will sell us but four herrings for a penny'.³⁹ At Salisbury, the city sought to control the sale of victuals 'in inns or secret places or before broad day'.⁴⁰ Many small towns had more than one inn, and Andover had at least two: the Angel, and the Belle. The latter which was owned by Magdalen College Oxford, was in existence in 1451-2 and completely rebuilt in 1534 at a cost of £194 4s 8½d.⁴¹ A third large inn, 'the Hart' existed by 1555.⁴²

The Angel had five innkeepers in the period 1456-1508: Robert Cusse 1456-61, Thomas Fewer 1462-7, John Waterman 1467-93; Thomas Love 1493-6 and Edward Chamber 1496-1508. The documentation for fifteenth-century Andover is very limited, so that it is difficult to build up a clear picture of these men, but they seem to have been men of substance. At least two came from families or individuals previously established within the town.⁴³ We know of three John Watermans in late fifteenth century Andover. A John Martyn otherwise known as Waterman had earlier leased Andover's other inn, the Belle.⁴⁴ John Waterman retired as inn-keeper in 1493 and drew up his will in the same year. With its emphasis on bequests of acres of barley to various people, it seems to suggest the interests of a brewer and an innkeeper.⁴⁵ It also records his brother, another John Waterman. The meetings of the merchant guild list some of the main men of the town, the ruling 'twenty-four' or 'forwardmen'. John's wife Isabella seems to have belonged to one such family, the Lokes. John's family were also prominent in these lists, which show both John Waterman sen. and a John Waterman jun. This seems to refer initially to the two brothers and it seems to have been the junior who died first in 1493/4. In 1489 there had been both senior and junior, but in 1494 only the senior was left.⁴⁶ By 1501 another John Waterman had joined the ruling twenty-four, so that there was again a senior and a junior.⁴⁷ This remained the case in 1503, although another hand subsequently added a note above the former's name that he was dead. After 1505 there was simply a single John Waterman.⁴⁸ In 1501, the younger of the two

present among the twenty-four was also elected bailiff (or in effect mayor).⁴⁹ The latter post had already been held by Edward Chamber, before he became tenant at the Angel suggesting the prior prominence and substance of a future inn keeper. He was then to remain a member of the 'twenty-four' until at least 1505.⁵⁰

The families of two of our innkeepers also appear in the fragmentary church warden's accounts from 1472-4. In the Easter period of 1472, there were four 'kingales', which were church ales held to benefit the coffers of the parish church. The church received payments from two people who would have produced and sold each ale. One pair included an Agnes Waterman and another, an Alice Fewer.⁵¹ It is not clear whether Agnes was directly involved in the other inn, the Belle. Later a 'Waterman's wife' provided accommodation for some of the craftsmen who built the Belle.⁵²

The substantial nature of our fifteenth-century innkeepers is reflected in better-documented Basingstoke. Richard Kingsmill was one such innkeeper, described as grazier, gentleman and yeoman. He was prosecuted for selling horsebread and oats at an excessive price in 1464, reflecting one of the occupations of the innkeeper. He dealt in cloth and was the bailiff or chief official of the town. In 1481, he had the highest assessment on goods of anyone in the town. His agricultural activities were reflected in his bequests of at least 200 wether sheep, and he leased the manor of Ashe in 1472. He became part of local government, as justice of the peace, assessor of the subsidy and MP for Ludgershall. His son went to Winchester College and New College, Oxford, from whence he moved into the law, and emerged as a royal justice of the Common Pleas and a key figure in local government under Bishop Fox.⁵³

'THE ANGEL' AND THE ESTATE POLICIES OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE

Winchester College was already a comfortable well-off establishment by the time of the death of its founder, William of Wykeham, in 1404. It had an income of about £450, which would have

placed it among the wealthiest institutions of Hampshire.⁵⁴ But by the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, in 1535, this had risen to about £650, making it the fourth wealthiest ecclesiastical institution in the county.⁵⁵ Only the bishopric of Winchester, the cathedral priory and Hyde Abbey had a higher income. This dramatic increase was all the more remarkable in that the fifteenth century was generally a difficult time for landlords. How had this growth occurred and how does its investment in the Angel relate to this?

It is no longer possible to dismiss the fifteenth century as a period of economic disaster for all landlords, but nor can we explain the College's rising income in terms of economic growth.⁵⁶ Even in prosperous Wiltshire, the College manors showed a decline in revenue in the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ Its growth of income depended on the acquisition of more land.

Some property came from the transfer of lands already given to religious uses, and Andover was, as we have seen a notable gain. Its acquisition in 1414 was part of a nationalisation and recycling of lands belonging to alien or foreign monasteries that occurred, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Wykeham had earlier made good use of this device, transferring such land to Winchester College and New College, and later kings were to use this as a means of endowing places like Sheen Abbey, Eton College and King's College Cambridge. Winchester had already received lands previously belonging to the monasteries of St Valery-sur-mer, Picardy; Holy Trinity, Rouen; and Tiron.⁵⁸ Now it acquired the rectory of Andover which had formerly belonged to St Florence in Anjou. It was a large rural parish with an urban core and a range of rural chapelries and its acquisition made a very significant addition. Before the fire it was regularly providing the College with an annual income of almost £60, making it one of its richest possessions.⁵⁹ The College later acquired the oratory of Barton in the Isle of Wight, which, it argued, helped it to offset its losses at Andover as a result of the fire. The loss would have been real if also exaggerated and short-term. The gain of over £20 was a long-term one.⁶⁰

The College also benefited from bequests from wardens, officials and the success of its old boys,

some of whom wished to offer gifts to finance prayers for themselves and their families. Fromond, the steward of the College built a new chantry chapel, but also bequeathed the College the manors of Fernhill and Allington and lands in Winchester.⁶¹ Warden Thurber left lands in and around Romsey in order to finance prayers.⁶² Chaundler, warden of Winchester College and then of New College, and finally dean of Hereford, left to the College the property that he had received from his mother in Wells (Somerset). By 1490, it was serving as an inn.⁶³ Archbishop Warham left the College a tenement in Kingsclere, which also became an inn.⁶⁴ Cardinal Beaufort had been a helpful patron and supporter, helping ensure that acquisitions went smoothly, and leaving £100 which the College used to purchase land.⁶⁵

The College thus had a growing income and a surplus. Throughout the period it used part of this surplus for investments. Part of these, it is true, might be perceived to be essential but generated no income. Its ecclesiastical rights and revenues also brought financial responsibilities. As rector of Downton (Wilts), the College had to pay for the upkeep of the chancel of the church and the subsidiary chapels and it did so. It was responsible elsewhere for the chancels of Andover, Isleworth and Heston, Harmondsworth (Middlesex), and Hamble.⁶⁶ But most of its investment helped to secure long-term economic benefits. It spent on buildings that helped maintain its rents, whether in the form of new barns, as at Durrington, Coombe Bisset (Wilts), Harmondsworth or Andwell (near Basingstoke);⁶⁷ mills, as at Durrington,⁶⁸ and tenant houses as at Downton, Coombe Bisset and Durrington.⁶⁹ It also bought lands whether to create new manors, as at Goleigh which it transformed and where it built a new manor house.⁷⁰ But the College was also ready to invest in urban properties. It bought houses and, in particular for our story, it bought inns, as at Stockbridge and Romsey,⁷¹ and rebuilt one at Alresford in 1418–24.⁷² By the beginning of the sixteenth century, it possessed inns at Alresford, Andover, Botley, Kingsclere, Stockbridge, Whitchurch, Wells and London.⁷³

Wykeham had left the College with an income that came almost exclusively from rural proper-

ties. By the sixteenth century it had greatly enhanced its income. While most of its rental still came from rural property, a significant part of its portfolio now came from urban property. By 1530 it produced over £15 from Winchester, it had its Andover lands and developments, a substantial rental in Romsey, and properties in many of the small towns of Hampshire and the neighbouring areas.⁷⁴ It is important to emphasise that much of this was being bought and not received as a gift. The College showed a conscious readiness to invest in urban land, and nowhere was this clearer than at Andover when the accident of a fire produced unexpected new opportunities for the College to enhance its urban portfolio, spending heavily on houses as well as the Angel.

CONCLUSION

The Angel Inn still has much to remind us about fifteenth century Hampshire. Winchester College spent a great deal of money on this redevelopment. It was part of a wide-scale investment in property that would provide an income for the future. Its readiness to spend in the towns was reflected in the activities of others, like bishop Fox, in his endowment of Corpus Christi College Oxford,⁷⁵ and in the active building work carried out in the fifteenth century by countless unnamed people whose buildings have now been dated by dendrochronology. The fifteenth and early sixteenth century seems to have been a particularly active building period in the towns of north Hampshire, reflecting this economic prosperity.⁷⁶ The building of such inns was symbolic of such investment: they provided the most expensive items and a significant part of our dated buildings. Winchester College seems to have been particularly active in inn-building, but other lords like Hyde Abbey or Magdalen College Oxford, also took part.⁷⁷ Such large-scale investments depended upon the realisation by Winchester College and its advisors that small towns like Andover were prospering and were worth investing in. Despite the destruction of so much of late medieval Andover in the 1960s, this remaining fragment can still remind us that in fif-

teenth-century Hampshire, as elsewhere, small towns mattered.⁷⁸

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teenth and early sixteenth century, and I am very grateful for discussions with her and for the material cited from her thesis. I have drawn upon Edward Roberts' account of the buildings and their construction and thank him for helpful discussions, both before and during the process of writing. I hope that this short article will be seen as complementary to his. Manorial accounts usually run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (29 September) and have been dated by the year of the closure of the account. I am grateful to Jonathan Snowdon for permission to use his reconstruction of the Inn.

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ E Roberts, A fifteenth century inn at Andover, *Proc Hampshire Fld Club Archaeol Soc*, 47 1991, 153–70, quote p.153. See also his *Hampshire Houses 1200–1700, their Dating and Development*, Winchester 2003, 179–81, and R Warmington *Timber-framed Building in Andover*, Andover 1970, 9.
- ² WCM 2669.
- ³ WCM 2678.
- ⁴ VCH *Hants*, IV, 348.
- ⁵ On the problem of complaints of poverty see A R Bridbury, English provincial towns in the later Middle Ages, *ECHR* 2nd ser 34 1981, 2–10 .
- ⁶ WCM 2669.
- ⁷ WCM 2671.
- ⁸ Himsworth, *Winchester College Muniments: a Descriptive List*, ii, Chichester 1984, 63–4.
- ⁹ Himsworth, *Winchester College Muniments*, 65–6.
- ¹⁰ Roberts, Fifteenth-century inn, 168.
- ¹¹ Cf *ibidem*.
- ¹² WCM 2691, 2704.
- ¹³ Based on Roberts, Fifteenth-century inn, and WCM 2696.
- ¹⁴ A Everitt, The English urban inn, 1560–1760, in A Everitt, *Perspectives in English Urban History*, London 1973, 98.
- ¹⁵ The reference to three kitchens in the long building refers to the kitchens built for the three main houses. The inventory of 1462, suggests a main kitchen and a subsidiary one in the south range. WCM 2679, 2696.
- ¹⁶ WCM 2690, 2696.
- ¹⁷ W A Harwood, *The Pattern of Consumption of Winchester College, c. 1390–1560*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Southampton 2003, 55.
- ¹⁸ J N Hare, Bishop’s Waltham Palace, Hampshire: William of Wykeham, Henry Beaufort and the transformation of a medieval episcopal palace, *Archaeological Journal*, 145 1988 230, 235.
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- ²² WCM 2681, 2689.
- ²³ Hare, Growth and recession, 19.
- ²⁴ WCM 2697, 2698, 2714.
- ²⁵ WCM 2696–8.
- ²⁶ Illustrated in Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, 89. Stone

- fireplaces are seldom found in Andover at this period (Warmington, *Timber-framed Building*, 5), and this one is particularly elaborate.
- ²⁷ C Haskins, *The Ancient Guilds and Companies of Salisbury*, Salisbury 1912, 293–4.
- ²⁸ D.K. Coldicott, *Elizabethan Andover*, Andover 2004, 11.
- ²⁹ On inns and the aristocratic households in the later Middle Ages, C C Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1989, 100–1.
- ³⁰ Roberts, Fifteenth-century inn, 165.
- ³¹ R E Glasscock, (ed.), *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, London 1975.
- ³² C Dyer, Small towns, 1270–1540, in D M Palliser, (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 600–1540*, i, Cambridge 2000, map p. 520; D Keene, *A Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Oxford 1985, 270.
- ³³ For a recent account of its topography see, K D Lilley, *Norman Towns in Southern England. Urban Morphogenesis in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Birmingham 1999, 22–31.
- ³⁴ T H Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1977, 51 & 53
- ³⁵ Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, i, 316, PRO E101/344/17 m 18; Hare, Regional prosperity in fifteenth-century England: some evidence from Wessex, in M A Hicks (ed.), *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2001, 114–5.
- ³⁶ E.g. Coldicott, *Elizabethan Andover*, 52, 64–5.
- ³⁷ WCM 2664, 2659.
- ³⁸ For some of the economic activities in rural inns, C Dyer, The hidden trade of the middle ages; evidence from the west midlands, in *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, London 1994, 297–8; see also A Everitt, English urban inn, 104.
- ³⁹ F J Baigent & J E Millard, *A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke*, Basingstoke 1889, 323.
- ⁴⁰ Historic Monuments Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections, in Muniments of the Corporation of the City of Salisbury*, 1907, 193.
- ⁴¹ R Warmington, The rebuilding of 'La Belle' Inn, Andover, 1534, *Post-medieval archaeology*, 10 1976, 131, 139.
- ⁴² Coldicott, *Elizabethan Andover*, 18.
- ⁴³ Everitt commented on the high mobility of innkeepers in seventeenth and eighteenth century Northampton, but also on the presence of wealthy families of inn-keepers. Everitt, English urban inn, 120–3, 129–34.
- ⁴⁴ Warmington, The rebuilding of 'La Belle' Inn, 133.
- ⁴⁵ PRO Prob/11/10/ 212.
- ⁴⁶ HRO 37M85 3/GI/ 18, 19.
- ⁴⁷ HRO 37M85 3/GI/ 20.
- ⁴⁸ HRO 37M85 3/GI/ 21.
- ⁴⁹ HRO 37M85 3/GI/18; 2/HC/16.
- ⁵⁰ HRO 37M85 3/GI/ 21.
- ⁵¹ J F Williams, *The Early Church Wardens' Accounts of Hampshire*, London 1913, 8
- ⁵² Warmington, The rebuilding of 'la Belle' inn, 133.
- ⁵³ Hare, Regional prosperity 119, Baigent & Millard, *A History of Basingstoke*, 395.
- ⁵⁴ Valors for 1405–7 provide figures of £411. 11s, £480.17.7d and £393. 7s ½d (WCM 86) and the income between 1409–14 averaged £451 (Harwood, *The Pattern of Consumption of Winchester College*, 54). Comparison is difficult, but of Hampshire's monasteries in 1536 only the cathedral priory, Hyde Abbey and Christchurch Priory had a greater income than the College possessed a century before.
- ⁵⁵ Gross income of £710 (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, J. Caley & J. Hunter (eds.), 1810). Its income between 1534 and 1540 averaged £674 (Harwood, *The Pattern of Consumption*, 54) And a valor of 14 Henry VIII was for £618 6s (WCM 87).
- ⁵⁶ For a recent discussion see Hare, Regional prosperity.
- ⁵⁷ J N Hare 1999 Growth and recession, *Ec.H.R.* 52 1999, 17, 19.
- ⁵⁸ T F Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College from its Foundation in the Year 1382 to the Present Time* London 1892, 23–7; S.Philipps, The recycling of wealth in medieval southern England, 1300–1530, *Southern History*, 22 2000, 60–2.
- ⁵⁹ In the previous ten years, the average cash livery from Andover to the College was £59. 9s. 8d, WCM 2658–68.
- ⁶⁰ Harwood, *The Pattern of Consumption*, 55.
- ⁶¹ H Chitty, Fromond's chantry and Winchester College, *Archaeologia*, 25 1926, 142.
- ⁶² H Chitty and J H Harvey, Thurbern's chantry at Winchester College, *Antiquaries Journal*, 42 1962, 210.
- ⁶³ A J Scrase, *Wells. The Anatomy of a Medieval and Early Modern Property Market*, Bristol 1993, 150–1.
- ⁶⁴ Himsforth, *Winchester College*, 533, 554.
- ⁶⁵ Chitty, Fromond's chantry, 147.
- ⁶⁶ WCM 5426, 5427, 5431, 5445; 2653, 2662, 2689; J H Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, Gloucester 1984, 344; J H Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style*, 277, W H Gunner. Extracts from the bursars accounts, preserved among the muniments of Winchester College, *Archaeol* 7, 8 1851, 86–87.
- ⁶⁷ WCM 5967–9 (1412–4 £43.17.9d); 4628–30 (Coombe Bisset); 5630 (Downton, 1410 £56.9.6½); Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, 357; WCM 3091 (1396)
- ⁶⁸ WCM 5993–4 (£48.18.11d 1438–9).

⁶⁹ For example, WCM 5974, 4359, 5989–91; 4400bb; 5431, 5435, 5444, 5446 (£34 for 2 cottages), 5449, 5450.

⁷⁰ Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, 244. The estate was put together in the 1460s, and was first leased in 1471.

⁷¹ Himsforth, *Winchester College Muniments*, 908–9, 803–4.

⁷² L F Salzman, *Building in England*, Oxford 1952, 493–5; Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, 344.

⁷³ Harwood, *The Pattern of Consumption*, 47–8.

⁷⁴ Harwood, *The Pattern of Consumption*, 58–9.

⁷⁵ S Waight, The Hampshire lands of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and their management, 1500–1650, *Proc Hampshire Fld Club Archaeol Soc* 51 1996, 174–8, although Fox's emphasis was on rural rather than urban land.

⁷⁶ Hare, Regional prosperity, 112–3, and now E Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, 193, 197.

⁷⁷ Hare, Regional prosperity, Roberts *Hampshire Houses*, 179 & 182.

⁷⁸ For a wider discussion of small towns, see C Dyer, *Small towns, 1270–1540*, 505–37.