

The Story of One Year in the Early Life of New College

Introduction

This article is based upon a New College Account Roll, which is in New College Archives¹, covering the fifty-two weeks from 27 September 1392 to 26 September 1393. It comprises 422 items of income and expenditure and these have been numbered to allow reference in this article to those items in the associated transcript and translation documents which accompany this article. This is the first of the surviving annual New College Account Rolls to have been fully transcribed and translated and enables this ‘story’ of one year in the early life of the College to be told. The transcribed and translated text for selected items has been used as the basis of this ‘story’ (shown in blue).

This New College Account Roll has been augmented by reference to other contemporary documents so that a fuller picture can be painted. The most important of these is the Hall Steward’s Book² which contains the names of Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains and Visitors who attended the two daily meals in the Great Hall and it identifies the days when they left and rejoined the college during periods of absence. Another is the only surviving Household Account Roll for bishop William of Wykeham; it is held in Winchester College Muniments and has recently been transcribed and translated by this author³. The dates of all three manuscripts overlap and contain interrelated items concerning New College.

The New College Account Rolls⁴ had been produced by the Warden, but, since a Statute revision in 1389⁵, this was changed to be produced by three college Bursars who were elected each year. The Bursars for 1392/93 were Richard Malforde, Robert Pyperwhyte and John Hulyn, they were all Fellows, the first two were Masters, i.e. had MA degrees, and the third was a Bachelor, i.e. had a BA degree⁶.

The Account Roll

This is made of parchment from either sheep or goat skin which has been treated to form a smooth surface to write on. The advantages of parchment were that it was very durable, and readily available. It was, however, time-consuming to prepare and expensive to use. Even a large animal might not provide enough hide for more than one membrane because of faults in the skin. Parchment clearly has two sides, the hair side often bears marks of the follicles, and can be yellowish, the flesh side tends to be smoother and whiter.

There are two basic ink colours used in medieval writing: black (which often fades to brown over time) and red which was used for highlighting sections, known as rubrication, such as chapter divisions, etc. Black ink was either made from charcoal or lamp-black, or a compound of iron and gall. Gall comes from ‘oak apples’ which are growths on the bark of oak trees caused by gall wasps laying their eggs there. Both of these methods also needed gum Arabic to thicken them to make them suitable for the pens. Red ink was usually made from vermilion (powdered mercuric sulphide) mixed with egg white and gum Arabic. Other ink colours could be made from organic or inorganic pigments. Scribes would write using quill pens which they would make from goose wing feathers, usually the left wing for a right-handed scribe. These would be hardened, trimmed of their feathers, cut to a more manageable length, and then trimmed to a flat point with a slit up the middle. To keep them sharp, a scribe would have to trim them regularly.

¹ New College Archives, Oxford, NCA 7340 – 27 September 1392 to 26 September 1393, hereafter called New College Account Roll.

² NCA 9303 – 12 October 1392 to 26 September 1393, hereafter called the Hall Steward’s Book. Note that the pages covering 27 September 1392 to 11 October 1392 are missing.

³ Winchester College Muniments, WCM 1 – 1 April 1393 to 30 September 1393, hereafter called the Household Account Roll; recently transcribed and translated by the author.

⁴ Francis Steer, *The Archives of New College, Oxford: A Catalogue* (London: Phillimore, 1974), pp. 13-30.

⁵ NCA 9429.

⁶ NCA 9303.

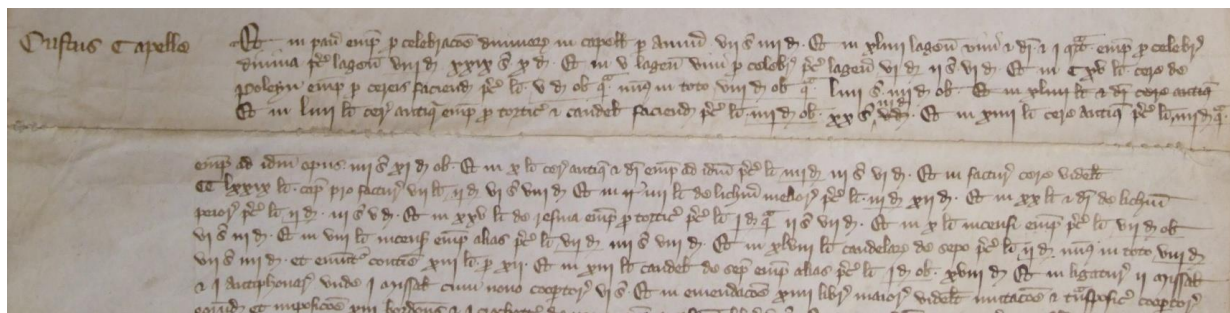
The New College Account Roll comprises six membranes of parchment neatly stitched together and apart from a heading on the verso, or the hair side and the outside of the roll when rolled up, the rest of this Account is written on the recto, or the flesh side and the inside of the roll when rolled up. Only black ink is used in this New College Account Roll, for examples of rubrication and the use of other colours see Richard Heete’s *Life of William of Wykeham*⁷ or the *Chaundler Manuscript*⁸ where black, red and blue ink are used.

The New College Account Roll clearly demonstrates the durability of both the parchment and of the ink, it being 626 years old at the time of writing. Let us hope that modern electronic archival storage media will achieve such longevity!

Transcription and translation

The text of the New College Account Roll is written in medieval Latin, the words are closely spaced, and to save the time of the scribe and to maximise the use of space on the valuable parchment, there is much use of the abbreviation of words by the omission of letters.

Abbreviations usually omit two or more letters, often corresponding to one syllable, and they are sometimes referred to by the Latin word *sigla*, which means ‘abbreviations’. The abbreviations can be contractions, which are found within words, with standard marks placed on, over or under the letters that remain, to indicate that letters have been omitted; the other type of abbreviations are suspensions which are found at the end of words when again standard marks are used.⁹



The New College Account Roll, New College Archives, NCA 7340 showing the join of membranes 2 and 3 recto and the start of the **Custus Capelle** section

The following, taken from the transcript, uses square brackets to enclose those letters that have been inferred by the contraction and suspension marks, square brackets are the standard as recommended by The National Archives tutorial on Latin palaeography:¹⁰

Item 109 - Custus Capelle - Et in pan[ibus] emp[ti]s p[ro] celebrac[i]o[n]e diuinor[um] in capell[a] p[er] annu[m] vij s iiii d

The translation of this item follows, for which the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*¹¹, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*¹², the *Library of Latin Texts*¹³ and the *Oxford English Dictionary* are invaluable:

⁷ WCM 22992, ff. 9r-11r; recently transcribed by the author.

⁸ The *Chaundler Manuscript* (1462-1464): New College Library, MS 288; recently partially transcribed by the author.

⁹ See Charles Trice Martin, *The Record Interpreter: A Collection of Abbreviations, Latin Words and Names Used in English Historical Manuscripts and Records*, 2nd edn. (London: Stevens and Sons, 1910) for help in ‘decoding’ such abbreviations.

¹⁰ The National Archives website tutorial on Latin palaeography, <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/reading-old-documents/>> is also useful.

¹¹ R. E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975-2013).

¹² P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

¹³ *Library of Latin Texts*, online resource from Brepols.

Item 109 - The Costs of the Chapel - And in bread having been bought for divine celebration in the chapel for the year 7s. 4d.

Dates

At the time of this New College Account Roll the Julian Calendar was in use and the English year began on Lady Day, or the Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March; thus a date which we would write now as 20 February 1393 would have been written then as 20 February 1392. The year number is not used in this New College Account Roll but it is inferred from the Regnal Years of King Richard II, as follows:

Item 1 - Comp[otus] ... a xxvij^o die Septembr[is] Anno r[egni] r[egis] Ric[ard]i s[e]c[un]di post conq[uestum] xvj^o vsq[ue] xxvj^{tu[m]} die[m] Septembr[is] p[ro]xim[um] sequent[em] A[nn]o eiusd[em] Regis xvij^o ...

Item 1 - The account ... from the 27th day of September in the 16th year of the reign of King Richard the second after the conquest to the 26th day of September next following in the 17th year of the same King ...

Thus the 16th year of the reign of King Richard the second, shortened to 16 Ric II, ran from 22 June 1392, the anniversary of the start of his reign, to 21 June 1393.

Another common way to refer to dates was to name a particular Feast day or sometimes the *vigilia*, for the day before, or *crastino*, for the day after that feast day, for example:

Item 77 - ... & ij pietanc[ijs] pro socijs videl[icet] in vigil[ia] Pasche & in fest[o] eiusd[em] ...

Item 77 - ... and for 2 pittances for the Fellows namely in the vigil of Easter and in the feast of the same ...

These two dates are therefore Saturday, 5 April 1393 and Sunday, 6 April 1393.¹⁴

Money

Monetary values are expressed in Roman numerals but with the use of ‘j’ for a final ‘i’. Before the 17th century the letter ‘j’ was merely this final form of ‘i’, used in Latin in such forms as ‘filiij’, and in numerals, as ‘j, ij, iij, vj, viij, xij’. In addition the number 4 was written as ‘iiij’ instead of ‘iv’, for example:

Item 2 - Arr[eragia] ... iiij^{xxij} li[bras] ij s[olidos] viij d[enarios]

The pre-decimal £sd was derived from this, with *libras* for pounds, *solidos* for shillings, and *denarios* for pence, thus:

Item 2 - The Arrears ... £82 2s. 8d.

The Bank of England web site¹⁵ has an inflation calculator which for 1393 shows that £1 then would be worth £1,300 today. According to The National Archives, in 1393 a horse cost £1 8s. 7d. and 1 day’s work by a skilled craftsman cost 5d. Items in the New College Account Roll show similar costs, thus:

Item 223 - And in 1 horse having been bought from William Lyllynge the baker on the 3rd day of August £1 13s. 4d.

Item 134 - And in 1 carpenter having been hired with his Servant for 2 days for hanging the small bell above the chapel 1s. 0d.

Item 176 - And in the stipends of 2 stonemasons labouring concerning the locating of 2 pots to be fixed in the north part of the kitchen for 3 days in the month of March each receiving 6d. for their food 3s. 0d.

Item 177 - And in the stipend of 1 plumber for the soldering of lead and the manufacture and attachment of the same pots above aforesaid 1s. 0d.

¹⁴ For details of Regnal Years and Feast Dates, see Christopher Robert Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁵ Bank of England, Inflation Calculator <<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>>.

Historical background

William of Wykeham the bishop of Winchester obtained a royal licence to found a College of a Warden and seventy Scholars in Oxford in 1379¹⁶ and five months later, on 26 November,¹⁷ he granted his own charter, giving his community the legal symbols of a corporate body and the name of 'Saint Mary College commonly Saint Mary College of Winchester in Oxford'.¹⁸ The foundation stone was laid on 5 March 1380 and the society finally was able to leave its temporary accommodation on 14 April 1386. On that day the Warden and Fellows walked in procession and entered and began residence in the college.¹⁹ In fact the name New College was soon being used to distinguish it from the older college of St Mary (Oriel), and this modern name is used in this article. The book celebrating the 600th anniversary of the foundation of New College, by John Buxton and Penry Williams, has a more detailed history of the foundation of New College.²⁰

¹⁶ H. C. Maxwell Lyte and G. J. Morris (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II, 1377-1381* (London: HMSO, 1895), p. 378.

¹⁷ Foundation charter of New College with notarial attestation, seal (26 November 1379), NCA 12415.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ WCM 22992.

²⁰ John Buxton and Penry Williams (eds.), *New College, Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford: New College, 1979).

When the New College Account Roll was written King Richard II was aged twenty-five and in the 16th year of his reign; and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was aged fifty-two and considered to be the power behind the throne. As can be seen his descendants were of the Royal Houses of **Lancaster** and **Tudor**. His son, Henry Beaufort succeeded William of Wykeham as the bishop of Winchester in 1404. As an aside, Geoffrey Chaucer was married to Phillipa Roet, a lady in waiting to Phillipa of Hainault, and the sister of Katherine Swinford.

Income versus expenditure

New College in 1392/93 ran on a turnover of nearly £500 per annum or £650,000 today. This covered over one hundred Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains, Servants, Choristers plus Visitors. The names of all but the Servants and the Choristers are listed in the Hall Steward's Book for each week of this year.

The majority of the income came from the rents of the fifteen or so manors owned by the college with the rest coming from a surplus carried over from the previous year, from loans, and from the Warden, who chose not to take all of the expenses he was due, for example:

Item 4 - *Herdnyke* - And from Roger Alrede the collector of rents of the lord John Ketone the farmer there by means of an indenture £50 0s. 0d.

Item 20 - *Wryteles* - And from Stephen Tettebury the serjeant of the rectory there by means of an indenture £8 1s. 11½d.

The expenses were split between the commons, (a food allowance which averaged £7 12s. per person per day in today's money), the running costs of the various departments, (chapel, hall, pantry, buttery, kitchen, treasury, library and garden), the costs of livery and stipends, (for the Warden, Fellows, Chaplains, Servants and Choristers), and the costs of travel on the business of the college, (incurred by the Warden and Fellows to visit both the college manors and the founder, William of Wykeham). The buildings, having been completed only seven years previously, required minimal maintenance at this time, less than £1,000 in today's money, nearly all of which was for work on the stables.

Who was who

Warden

Curiously the name of the Warden is never stated in the New College Account Roll and he does not appear, either as Warden or by name, in the Hall Steward's Book. Thomas Cranley (also Cranle, Cranleghe) had been Warden of Winchester College from 1382 until his resignation on 12 May 1389²¹ and was then appointed by William of Wykeham as the second Warden of New College, after Nicholas Wykeham, from 13 May 1389²² until his resignation on 25 February 1396.²³

Vice-Warden

In the Hall Steward's Book the Vice-Warden, when in college, is listed first of the Masters, but not always with a name beside. Thus not until week 10 do we find **Vice-Warden Monkes** then not until Week 43 when we find **Vice-Warden Haseley**.

Masters, Bachelors, Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains (Priests), Servants, and Choristers

The Hall Steward's Book shows who was in college for meals each week and breaks the individuals into five groups, as follows:

²¹ Hampshire Record Office 21M65/A1/11), f. 239v, Thomas Frederick Kirby, *Wykeham's Register, Volume 1* (Winchester: Warren & Son, 1899), p. 415.

²² HRO 21M65/A1/11, ff. 239v-240r, Kirby, *Wykeham's Register*, p. 415.

²³ HRO 21M65/A1/11, f. 285v and Kirby, *Wykeham's Register*, p. 463.

The Hall Steward's Book groups	Maximum number in any one week	Total number of different names across 52 weeks
Vice-Warden	1	2
[Fellows] Masters (MA Degree)	18	20
[Fellows] Bachelors (BA Degree)	22	27
[Undergraduate] Fellows	23	23
Sub-Total All Fellows	64	70
Scholars	13	13
Chaplains (Priests)	10	13
The New College Account Roll groups		
Servants	12	-
Choristers	16	-
Grand Total	113	-

Summary of the Numbers at New College by Group

The Masters, Bachelors and Fellows in the Hall Steward's Book are referred to in the New College Account Roll as Fellows, the Scholars as Scholars, and the Chaplains as Priests. The total number of Fellows is below the 70 specified in the New College Statutes. Neither the Servants nor the Choristers are listed in the Hall Steward's Book but their total numbers each week are in the New College Account Roll, shown above.

Six of the Fellows became Bachelors at different times during the year and this is reflected both in the Hall Steward's Book and the New College Account Roll, the latter contains the following:

Item 197 - And in the money having been paid to 3 Fellows graduating becoming Bachelors in the faculty of arts of whom each is receiving 13s. 4d. £2 0s. 0d.

Item 198 - And in the money having been paid to the 3 Bachelors aforesaid qualifying in the faculty of arts of whom each [is receiving] as above £2 0s. 0d.

Scholars

In the Hall Steward's Book four Scholars were present throughout most of the year with nine new Scholars being admitted in week 32 with seven of those coming to lunch on the previous day, Friday, 2 May 1393, namely:

John Godynge, John Curteys, [Richard] Holte, Richard Knolle, John Suttone, Andrew Newporte, Richard Ardene (Hardene), John Bonere, and [Laurence] Beleknep

Of the above nine new Scholars admitted to New College, the register for the Scholars at Winchester College, which starts with the seventy who formally entered the buildings in procession at 9 am on 26 March 1393,²⁴ only contains the name of Laurence Beleknep, who left New College in 1399:

Laurence Belknappe of the County of Kent having been admitted before the first entry of this College left the College in Oxford in the 22nd Year of the reign of King Richard the Second

The Warden was in Winchester on 13 April 1393 after an election there, and John Haseley (Haseleghe) was also in Winchester for an election to be held on 15 and 16 April 1393, as follows:

Item 235 - And in the expenses of the same [the Warden] from Winchester after the election having been held on the 13th day of April to *Esshere* ...

Item 308 - And in the expenses of Master John Haseleghe for riding to Winchester with his Servant and for his 2 horses for the election to be held there and after to London and hence to Oxford the 15th and 16th days of April 3s. 9d.

²⁴ WCM 22992 and WCM 21490A.

This election was probably of the nine Scholars who came to lunch at New College on 2 May 1393. An analysis of the data for other years in the Hall Steward's Book would show if early May was the usual time for the admittance of new Scholars and if any of those listed subsequently went on to become Fellows of New College.

John Haseley, by now Vice-Warden, was again in Winchester to celebrate an election from 29 September 1393 for six days, as follows:

Item 362 - And in the expenses of Master John Haseley the Vice-Warden and of Master William Ware for riding with 2 horses and 1 Servant ~~to riding~~ to the city of *Winchester* for celebrating the election there from the penultimate day of September and for the 6 days continuously following together with 2 horses having been hired during the same period 10s. 6d.

This is confirmed in the Household Account Roll where he is a guest of William of Wykeham's household on 30 September 1393.

Two surnames among the Scholars are of interest, though the Christian names are not given, namely Cassy and Bealeknap. These are firstly probably Thomas, the son of John Cassy, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer of the King, and secondly probably Laurence, the son of Sir Robert Bealknap, who was in exile in Ireland at this time, but had been Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Entries in the Household Account Roll for 24 June 1393 has *Cassy* (probably John) and for 29 June 1393 has *Wife of Bealknape* (probably Juliana Bealknape nee Darset), as guests of William of Wykeham's household. John Cassy also visited New College, as follows:

Item 301 - And in the expenses having been incurred for John Cassy principal baron of the exchequer of the lord the King for coming to the college with the mayor of the city of *Oxford* aldermen and bailiffs of the same city on the 18th day of March in spices and wine 2s. 0d.

College meals or commons

Weekly commons in the Great Hall and Kitchen

Details of the numbers receiving commons²⁵ in each of the fifty-two weeks of the period of the New College Account Roll are given together with the monetary allowances. The numbers changed each week because of Visitors and because of individuals who had left or joined the college or went away on official business. The item for the first week, from Saturday, 28 September 1392 until Friday, 26 September 1393, is as follows:

Item 50 - And in the commons for the first week
for 55 Fellows and Scholars
and for 8 priests at full-commons each of them receiving for a week 14d.
and for 10 at half-commons
and for 20 day-Visitors
of whom 11 at lunch with the Fellows
and for 7 at dinner with the Fellows
and for 1 at lunch with the Servants
and for 1 at dinner with the Servants
for the day-Visitors each of them remaining with the Fellows at lunch at 3d.
and at dinner with the Fellows at 2½d.
And at lunch with the Servants at 2d.
and at dinner with the Servants at 1½d.
And for 12 Servants at full-commons each of them receiving for a week 8d.
and for 14 Choristers to be allowed for all of them as a whole for a week 4s.
[Total] £4 15s. 10d.

²⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, under 'commons': the provisions provided for a community or company in common; the common expense of such provisions; also the share to which each member of the company is entitled. Probably originally in monastic use, afterwards especially in colleges.

Pittances

In addition the Warden and Fellows received an extra allowance for a pittance²⁶ on numerous Feast Days, such as the item for week 5, from Saturday, 26 October 1392 to Friday, 1 November 1392:

Item 54 - Also for the 5th week
for 62 Fellows and Scholars and for brother Anthony
and for 9 priests at full-commons
and for 3 at half-commons
and for 20 day-Visitors
of whom 15 at lunch with the Fellows
and for 2 at dinner with the Fellows
and for 2 at lunch with the Servants
and for 1 at dinner with the Servants
and for 12 Servants
and for 14 Choristers
to be allowed for all as above
and for 1 pittance for the Warden at 2s.
and for 1 pittance for the Fellows at 6s. 8d.
namely in the feast of All Saints
[Total] £5 11s. ½d.

With All Saints day being on Friday, 1 November 1392. The Fellows received twenty-one pittances in the year and the Warden only thirteen because he was frequently away from college on business.

A diet roll for the Benedictine monastery of St Swithun's at Winchester Cathedral,²⁷ has examples of the type of food which constituted pittances. They were called either *interferculum* or extra dishes, given for saying masses, or *pitancia* or pittances, and included, *rogettus*, red mullet, *mortrellis*, mortrels, ground fish or white meat with crumbs, and flour and braised in a mortar, *nombles*, a prime cut of venison from the inner side of the deer's thigh.²⁸

The Warden's has his own hall and kitchen

The Warden had his own hall and kitchen and the fact that important Visitors are not found in the Hall Steward's Book probably meant that they dined with the Warden, separate from the Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains, Servants, and Chaplains, as follows:

Item 37 - And for the commons of the Servants of the Warden having been consumed in the great hall of the college in the absence of the Warden on various occasions 20s.

Item 38 - And for the commons of the Servant of Master John Westcote having been consumed in the great hall on occasions 16s. 8d.

Item 107 - And in the commons of the Servants of the Warden and of [John] Westcote having been consumed in the great hall of the college on various occasions 36s. 8d.²⁹

Item 203 - The Expenses in the Hall of the Warden - And in the expenses having been incurred for various strangers coming to the college and dining among the household of the Warden ... £5 18s. 5d.

Item 228 - The Costs of the Necessities in the Household of the Warden - And in sharpening 1 axe in the kitchen of the Warden 2s. 6d.

²⁶ OED, under 'pittance': a bequest made to a religious house or order for the provision of an additional allowance of food, wine, etc., at particular festivals, or on the anniversary of the benefactor's death, in return for the saying of masses.

²⁷ HRO DC/A5/5/2.

²⁸ For details of the food in monastic and collegiate environments, see Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

²⁹ Item 107 appears to be a double accounting of Items 37 and 38.

Item 372 - The Expenses having been incurred for the Visitors of the College - And in the expenses having been incurred for Master Nicholas of *Wykeham* and for John Ware Visitors to the college for coming and for dining in the hall of the Warden ... £2 6s. 6d.

John Westcote had been appointed the second Warden at Winchester College, following the resignation of Nicholas of Wykeham, on 23 May 1389³⁰ but had left by 28 March 1393 at the latest, when his successor John Morys was elected. He appears in the Hall Steward's Book as a Master among the Fellows from 28 September 1392 until Friday, 4 April 1393.

The infirm get extra commons

Three Fellows received extra commons during periods of infirmity, as follows:

Item 103 - And in the commons of Stephen Overtone Fellow of the college suffering from infirmity for extra for the first week of the month of October.

Item 104 - And in the commons of Master Roger Botulstone suffering from infirmity for extra on one occasion from the 21st day of the month of May up to the 28th day of the month of June and on another occasion from the first day of the month of July up to the 19th day of the same month and on a third occasion from the 7th day of the month of August up to the 16th day of the month of September namely for 13 weeks in total receiving for a week 12d.

Item 105 - And for the commons of Master William Bekkebury suffering from infirmity for extra from the 27th day of the month of May up to the 19th day of the month of August namely for 13 and a half weeks receiving for a week 12d. less in total 2d.

Medicine for William of Wykeham

William of Wykeham was by this time nearly seventy years of age, and the Household Account Roll has entries concerning medicines for his ailments on four occasions in 1393, as follows:

20 Apr - In the expenses for P[eter] Knyght for going to *London* for obtaining various things for medicines for the lord 9d.

4 May - In *licoris* bought for a medicinal drink of the lord 2d.

29 Jun - In *licoris* bought for a medicinal draught of the lord 3d.

- In 1 glass bought for putting in medicines of the lord 1d.

9 Aug - In *anise comyn* and powder of fennel bought for medicines of the lord 9d.

- In meat of wethers bought for medicines of the lord 3d.

Medicine for William of Wykeham was also provided by the Warden on 2 February 1393, he had only returned the day before from meeting with William of Wykeham during the Winchester Parliament, see Item 233 below:

Item 287 - And in medicines having been prepared at *Oxford* for the lord founder by a letter of the same lord having been sent to the Warden in the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary [Sunday 2 February 1393] 12s. 11½d.

The Warden's travels

The Warden made twenty separate trips, see Items 231 to 251, during the period covered by the New College Account Roll. On five occasions these were trips to see William of Wykeham and on most other occasions to visit the manors which belonged to New College, for example:

Item 231 - And in the expenses having been incurred by the warden on the 25th day of October and for the 6 days following in the 16th year of the reign of King Richard the second from *Oxford* to *Hekfelde* for hearing the account of the farmer there and after to *Farnham* and also to *Hekfelde* 8s. 10d.

³⁰ HRO 21M65/A1/11, ff. 240r-240v and Kirby, *Wykeham's Register*, pp. 415-416.

Item 232 - And in the expenses of the same with 3 horses from *Oxford* to *Clere* to the lord founder from his mandate on the 16th day of the month of ~~Sep~~ December and for the 2 days following 4s. 2d.

Item 244 - And in the expenses of the same together with Robert Ketone and Richard Prewes for riding in the visitation of the manors and churches of the college from the 2nd day of September up to the 23 day of the same month ~~namely from Oxford~~ 17s. 2d.

Other items involving the Warden's travels are discussed in subsequent sections.

John of Gaunt, the King's uncle, visits immediately after the close of the parliament held in Winchester

On 13 February 1393 the college received a flying visit from John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III and his wife, Philippa of Hainault, and uncle to and a major power behind the throne of King Richard II; his titles included **Duke of Lancaster** (see above for his place in the royal family tree). The costs of the visit incurred by the college, about £450 in today's money, were defrayed by a corresponding payment from John of Gaunt's household. The relevant items in the New College Account Roll are:

Item 39 - And for 6s. 10d. having been received from the office of the household of the lord Duke of *Lancastre* for the expenses of the same lord as below 6s. 10d.

Item 290 - And in the expenses having been incurred for the lord Duke of *Lancastre* with 4 knights and other knights of his household coming to the college on the 13th day of February namely for 2lb. of confections and half lb. of dredge and 6 flagons of wine 6s. 10d.

The Parliament in Winchester was held from 20 January to 10 February 1393, representing a major gathering of the nobility and their retinues in that city. The expenses for the two knights Robert de Ursewyk and Ralph de Ipre attending Parliament in Winchester, representing the Duchy of Lancaster, were £15 4s. 0d. for 38 days,³¹ of which twenty-two days were whilst attending the Parliament and sixteen days for the return journey between Lancaster and Winchester, a one-way distance of 258 miles or thirty-two miles per day. The equivalent expenses for the representatives for Oxfordshire allowed eight days for the return journey between Oxford and Winchester, a one-way distance of sixty miles or only sixteen miles per day.

Thus, the visit of John of Gaunt and a small retinue to New College on 13 February 1393 could easily have been made with just one or two overnight stays en route from Winchester, allowing the party to leave Winchester the day after Parliament ended, i.e. on 11 February, arriving in Oxford on 13 February 1393. The Warden had left Parliament earlier, around 2 February 1393, perhaps to prepare for John of Gaunt's visit. At the time of his death in 1399 it has been calculated that there were approximately two hundred knights and squires in his retinue, and he was the richest man in England.³²

Other nobles visiting

Thomas Holland was the 2nd Earl of Kent and half-brother to King Richard II. His elder son, Thomas, succeeded him as the 3rd Earl, his younger son, Edmund, later became the 4th Earl. These sons visited the college, perhaps with a view to attending in the future:

Item 333 - And in wine for the 2 older sons of the lord Earl of *Kent* for coming to the college on the 17th day of July in the early morning 6½d.

Item 353 - And in the expenses having been incurred for the lord Prior of the church of Christ in *Canterbury* and 1 son of the Earl of *Kent* for coming to the college with other knights on the 24th day of September 1s. 6d.

³¹ The National Archives, C54/234, mb.019v and *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II, 1392-1396* (London: HMSO, 1925), p. 116.

³² J. M. W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

Senior justices visited, see below, and bishops and burgesses were also among the nobles visiting:

Item 327 - And in wine for the commissioners of the lord bishop of *Lincoln* for looking at the bull for the appropriation of the churches of *Eadburbury* and *Swalchlyfe* on the 4th day of July 5d.

Item 343 - And in the expenses having been incurred for the lord bishop of *Hereford* for coming to the college on the 21st day of July 2s. 6d.

Item 358 - And in wine for various burgesses for coming to the college on the last day of September for weighing lead 3d.

An Episcopal visitation of New College by William of Wykeham's commissioners

Before the Reformation New College was considered to be a religious establishment, just like a monastery, and as such it was subject to being visited by the bishop of the diocese in which it was situated. However, although New College was in the diocese of Lincoln, it was under the jurisdiction of the founder, William of Wykeham, the bishop of Winchester diocese.

A visitation was very similar to an Ofsted inspection of a school today. A set of Articles of Inquiry were drawn up, and in the case of New College these were based upon the Statutes. Each member of the College was then interviewed as to whether they and the whole College were abiding by all of the Statutes. The results of the interviews would be summarised in a set of Injunctions which often led to reforms.

In general the bishop himself did not undertake a visitation but appointed commissioners to carry out the task. Thus, Nicholas of Wykeham and John Ware performed a visitation of New College between 8 and 14 January 1393, with expenses related to the visitation as follows:³³

The Expenses having been incurred for the Visitors of the College

Item 372 - And in the expenses having been incurred for Master Nicholas of *Wykeham* and for John Ware Visitors to the college for coming and for dining in the hall of the Warden with 7 horses of the said Master Nicholas and with 3 horses of the said Master John and their Servants from the 8th day of the month of January and continuously taking up residence there until the 14th day of the same month namely in loaves ale and other victuals £2 6s. 6d.

Item 373 - And in horse-bread 4s. 0d.

Item 374 - And for 3 quarters and 5 bushels of oats price of a quarter 6s. 3½d. price of a quarter 20d. more in total 6s. 3½d.

Item 375 - And in the litter having been bought for the horses of the same 1s. 9d.

Item 376 - And in hay from the store having been purchased for the said horses of the said Visitors 2s. 5½d.

Item 377 - And in 6 beds having been hired for the Servants of the said Visitors for 7 nights 3s. 6d.

Item 378 - And in the payment to the said Visitors for their expenses for coming from *Clere* to *Oxford* and from *Oxford* to *Clere* 2s. 2d.

Nicholas of Wykeham had been appointed by William of Wykeham to be the first Warden of New College from its foundation in 1379 until his resignation ten years later; he was most probably related to the founder. John Ware was heavily involved in providing notarial attestation before, during and after visitations of St Swithun's Benedictine Monastery and others in Winchester diocese starting in 1386³⁴ and culminating in 1393,³⁵ as follows:

And I John Ware a clerk of the diocese of London a notary public by apostolic authority

...

³³ WCM 1077, which is a copy of these expenses made by Edward Sewell, Warden of New College from 1860-1903.

³⁴ HRO 21M65/A1/11, ff. 226v-227r, calendared in Kirby, *Wykeham's Register*, p. 392.

³⁵ The British Library, BL Harley MS 328; recently transcribed by the author.

Not included above, are building works in the stables to accommodate the ten horses of the Visitors, and the resultant expenses, as follows:

Item 402 - And in 1 labourer having been hired subsequently for repairing the rack and the manger and enlarging the walls of the stable in preparation for the arrival of the Visitors for 3 days receiving for a day 2d. 6d.

Item 31 - And from hay having been sold from the store of the college for the horses of the Visitors 2s. 5½d.

Item 222 - And in the expenses of the horses of the Warden being in the household of Roger Chyddusley for 2 nights at the time of the visitation this year 1s. 2d.

From the above extracts it can be seen that the Visitors left Highclere on 8 January 1393 and returned there from Oxford on 14 January 1393. This ties in with another Item dated ‘in the month of January’ when Richard Malforde accompanied the visitors from Oxford on their return to Highclere to meet with William of Wykeham:

Item 283 - And in the expenses of the same Richard [Malforde] for riding to *High Clere* to the lord founder with the Visitors and hence to *Hekfeldre* to the Warden and after to *Oxford* for 4 days in the month of January and in 2 horses having been hired during the same period for the same and for 1 Servant 3s. 11d.

Richard Malforde was a Master and a Fellow at this time, but was elected Warden to succeed Thomas Cranley, who resigned 25 February 1396, Malforde died in 1403. The Hall Steward’s Book confirms Richard Malforde’s absence from College at this time:

[14 January 1393] On the day of Tuesday Malforde went before lunch

[17 January 1393] On the day of Friday Richard Malforde came to lunch

William of Wykeham was at Highclere during this visitation, arriving there on or before 7 December 1392³⁶, and remaining until on or after 15 January 1393³⁷. The bishop next travelled to his palace at Farnham to meet with Richard II and his entourage on 17 January 1393 moving on to stay with the King at the bishop’s residence at Bishop’s Sutton on 18 and 19 January 1393. Finally, he travelled to Winchester on the next day to attend the Parliament there from 20 January³⁸ to 11 February 1393.³⁹

The Warden, Thomas Cranley, visited William of Wykeham at Highclere from 16 to 18 December 1392, as follows:

Item 232 - And in the expenses of the same with 3 horses from *Oxford* to *Clere* to the lord founder from his mandate on the 16th day of the month of December and for the 2 days following 4s. 2d.

The Warden was also in Winchester, by the order of the bishop, from 28 January to 2 February during the Parliament there, perhaps to discuss the results of the visitation:

Item 233 - And in the expenses of the same from *Hafbonte* to *Winchester* at the time of the parliament from the mandate of the lord founder and thus to *Oxford* from the 28th day of January and for the 5 days following 9s. 10½d.

The Great Register is started and the Statutes are revised

Following the visitation there were two major reforms; firstly, a Great Register was drawn up to record the oaths of the Fellows:

Item 314 - And in a reward to Master Edmund Warham for the original documents to be made from the swearing of the Fellows of the college and for the undertaking and composition of the great register and other tasks on occasions £1 0s. 0d.

Secondly, the Statutes were revised but this new set of rubrics has not been definitively identified among the College Archives. Several copies of the Statutes have survived from the late

³⁶ HRO 21M65/A1/10, f. 224r and Kirby, *Wykeham’s Register*, p. 185.

³⁷ HRO 21M65/A1/10, ff. 224v-225v and Kirby, *Wykeham’s Register*, pp.185-186.

³⁸ TNA E101/402/10, p. 27.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 30.

fourteenth century, some with extensive annotations, and some with copies of injunctions issued by later visitors.⁴⁰ Some of the annotations may relate to the 1392/93 visitation, although the order in which the copies of the Statutes were issued has yet to be ascertained. However, it is known that William of Wykeham had had the Statutes revised in 1389,⁴¹ when responsibility for the college's finances were transferred from the Warden to the three Bursars.

By using William of Wykeham's Household Account Roll his itinerary can be determined, thus:

28 Apr - In alms distributed between Esshire and London on the 28th day of April 2s. 5d.

28 Apr - The lord in London for lunch.

17 May - The lord in Esshire for lunch.

The use of London is most likely meant to be the bishop's palace at Southwark and William of Wykeham would have moved there from Esher to be closer to central London. This meant that the Justices, who would be involved in the revision, had only to cross the river Thames to attend meetings.

Fortunately, the involvement of those Justices, and members of New College, of Winchester College, and of William of Wykeham's Household, can be followed from the lists of guests in William of Wykeham's Household Account Roll. These are summarised below:

⁴⁰ NCA 3584, NCA 3689, NCA 3690, NCA 9429, NCA 9430, NCA 9431 and Sheila Himsworth, *Winchester College Muniments: A Descriptive List: Volume 1: College* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1976), p. 131.

⁴¹ NCA 9429.

Date	WW	TC	JK	WR	NP	NS	TC	RK	JH	SO	JM	JM	RF	WB	RC	WH	HH	JM	WR	WT	JW	Count	
28 Apr	London																						-
29 Apr	London	G											G		G	G			G		G		4
30 Apr	London	G											G										1
1 May	London	G			G										G	G			G		G		5
2 May	London	G						R	R				G										2
3 May	London	G			G	G		R	R				G			G			G				6
4 May	London	G		G	G	G	R	G	G	G		G			G	G	G		G		G		13
5 May	London	G	G	G		G	R	G	G	G	G												7
6 May	London	G	G	G		G	R	G	G			G											7
7 May	London	G	G	G		G	R	G	G			G	G										8
8 May	London	G	G	G			R	G	R				G	G		G							6
9 May	London	G	G	G				R	R														3
10 May	London	G						R	R				G		G		G	G		G			6
11 May	London	G						R	R			G	G						G				4
12 May	London	G				G		R	R														2
13 May	London	G								G		G			G	G							5
14 May	London	G														G					G		3
15 May	London					G				G					G						G		4
16 May	London	G			G								G										3
17 May	Esher																						-
18 May	Esher						R																-
19 May	Esher						R								G						G		2
20 May	Esher						G																1
21 May	Esher						R																
22 May	Esher						R																

Household Account Roll G = Guests at William of Wykeham's Manor Table R = Resident at Manor

Bishop's Household - **WW** = William of Wykeham, **TC** = Thomas Cooke, **JK** = John Ketone (Treasurer of Wolvesey⁴²), **WR** = William Ringbourne (Steward of the Manors⁴³).
Bishop's Friends - **NP** = Nicholas Potyn (MP for Kent⁴⁴), **NS** = Nicholas Stoket (Rector of St Magnus, London; Visitation Commissioner and Proctor for the Bishop).
New College - **TC** = Thomas Cranle (Warden), **RK** = Robert Ketone (Bachelor Fellow), **JH** = John Hasele (Master Fellow), **SO** = Stephen Overtone (Master Fellow), **JM** = John Middlestone (Master Fellow).
Winchester College - **JM** = John Meltone (Headmaster).
Justices - **RF** = Robert Faryngtone (Chancery Clerk, Proctor for the Bishop); **WB** = William Brinchele (Western Circuit), **RC** = Robert de Cherlton (Oxford Circuit, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas), **WH** = William Henghforde (Home Circuit), **HH** = Hugh Huls (Northern Circuit), **JM** = John Markham (Northern Circuit), **WR** = William Rickhill (Western Circuit), **WT** = William Thernynge (Midland Circuit), **JW** = John Wadham (Home Circuit).

⁴² HRO 11M59/B1/143.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ The History of Parliament website <<http://www.histparl.ac.uk/>>.

In the fourteenth century there were two central courts, the Court of King's Bench, which tried cases requiring the king's presence, and the Court of Common Pleas (or Bench), which tried cases between subject and subject and did not concern the king. At this time they both sat in Westminster Hall, though the former did occasionally travel around the country. Justices from the two courts, together with barons of the Exchequer of Pleas also travelled around the country on five commissions: of assize (civil), of *nisi prius* (civil), of the peace (criminal), of oyer and terminer (criminal), and of gaol delivery (criminal). The Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas was Sir Robert Charleton, and the Justices were William Thirning, William Rickhill, John Wadham, and Richard Sydenham and John Cassy was Chief Baron of the Exchequer of the King.

There were six circuits with the court moving between each of the major county towns. The two names at the end of each circuit were those appointed on 3 July 1392 in Nottingham:⁴⁵

- Home Circuit - Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey;
John Wadham and William Hankeforde.
- Midland Circuit - Northamptonshire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire;
William Thyrnyng and Richard Sydenham.
- Norfolk Circuit - Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk;
John Cassy and William Gascoigne.
- Northern Circuit - Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland;
John Markham and Hugh Huls.
- Oxford Circuit - Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Monmouth, Gloucestershire;
Robert de Cherleton and John Hulle.
- Western Circuit - Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Somerset;
William Rikhille and William Brynchesley.

Of the above twelve appointees, only three were not guests of Wykeham in the Household Account Roll in 1393; Richard Sydenham, William Gascoigne and John Hulle, although the last might be the Hulle who was a guest on 21 April 1393.

The Chief Baron of the Exchequer of the King, John Cassy, and the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Robert Cherlton, visited New College, as follows:

Item 297 - And in the expenses having been incurred for John Cassy principal baron of the exchequer of the lord the King for coming to the college with the mayor of the city of *Oxford* aldermen and bailiffs of the same city on the 18th day of March in spices and wine 3s. 3d.

Item 305 - And in the expenses having been incurred for the lord Robert of *Cherlton* the justice of the lord the King for coming to the college on the 16th day of April 18d.

Item 331 - And in the expenses having been incurred for the lords Robert of *Cherlton* justice Gerard and for Gerard Braybroke and Roger Belchaump knights and for John Woderone sergeant at law with other knights for coming to the college on the 15th day of July 3s. 10½d.

The fact that Robert Cherlton was part of the 'Oxford Circuit' may have provided him with an easy opportunity to visit New College while on legal business in the city.

Ten of the Justices and a clerk had been summoned to the Parliament held in Winchester from 20 January to 10 February 1393:

Robert de Cherlton, William Thirnyng, John Cassy, John Hulle, John Wadham, William Rykhille, Richard Sydenham, Master John Barnet, clerk, John Markham, William Brenchesle, William Hankforde

⁴⁵ TNA C54/234, mb.035r and *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, p. 7.

Parliament had started less than one week after the completion of the visitation, therefore it is possible that initial discussions which suggested a need to revise the Statutes occurred between William of Wykeham, Thomas Cranley, the Warden of New College, and some of the Justices during this period. This may explain why the Warden was summoned to Winchester from 28 January to 1 February while the Parliament was in session:

Item 233 - And in the expenses of the same [the Warden, Thomas Cranley] from *Hafbonte* to *Winchester* at the time of the parliament from the mandate of the lord founder and thus to *Oxford* from the 28th day of January and for the 5 days following 9s. 10½d.

Then there was a visit by members of New College to the bishop at his Palace in Esher, as follows:

Item 306 - And in the expenses of Stephen Overtone William Eadburbury and Robert Ketone fellows of the college for riding to *Esshere* to the lord founder with 1 servant and 4 horses for 5 days in the month of April 7s. 7d.

Although they are not named as guests in the Household Account Roll, the Hall Steward's Book shows the probable dates of their absence:

[13 April 1393] - On the same day went Overtone Ketone Abburbury after lunch.

[17 April 1393] - and returned on the day of Thursday in the same week to dinner.

The main members of New College who were involved in the Statute revision were John Haseley and Robert Ketone, they went to London on 2 May 1393 to meet the Justices:

Item 311 - And in the expenses of Masters John Haseley and Robert Ketone for riding to *London* to the lord founder for the **reforming of the statutes** from the 2nd day of May for 10 days continuously following 18s. 6d.

However, the Hall Steward's Book intimates that John Haseley and Robert Ketone were only absent for the seven days of the week from 3 May to 9 May 1393, at variance with the expenses for ten days above.

The Warden, Thomas Cranley, was only a guest in the Household Account Roll on one day, the 20 May 1393, but was resident with the bishop for two longer periods, as the following shows:

Item 248 - And in the expenses of the same [the Warden, Thomas Cranley] on the 3rd day of the month of May and for the 6 days following from *Cranleghe* to *London* and there for 5 days with the lord from his mandate and then returning towards *Oxford* on the 6th and 7th days

Item 236 - And in the expenses of the same [the Warden, Thomas Cranley] from *Oxford* to *Wedone* on the 18th day of the month of May and thus to *Esshere* for certain business of the college and thus to *Oxford* for 5 days

In summary, it appears from the above that William of Wykeham sought legal advice from the Justices about changes to the New College Statutes in several meetings, starting during the Parliament, and continuing up to 1 May 1393. Then meetings involving all of the parties occurred on 3 and 4 May 1393 after the New College members had arrived in London from Oxford. The New College members might then have worked on changes to the Statutes followed by a second tranche of legal advice from 8 to 14 May with the writing of the revised Statutes on 15 and 16 May. The presence of Thomas Cranley, the New College Warden, on 20 May was possibly to formally accept the changed Statutes.

The Winchester College schoolmaster, John Melton, was present perhaps with a view to his own college's Statutes which were yet to be finalised. Members of William of Wykeham's household were present throughout, probably to keep an eye on the proceedings, with Thomas Cooke providing continuity by attendance during most of these Statute discussions.

A glazier of stained-glass windows visits

A number of craftsmen dined with the Fellows and/or the Servants according to the Hall Steward's Book. These included Thomas of Oxford, a glazier, William Brown, a stonemason, and unnamed plumbers, carpenters, a smith, a tiler, a charcoal burner, and a cooper, as follows:

Christian	Surname	Occupation	Day	Date	Meal	With
William	Broun	stonemason	Fri	1 Nov 1392	lunch	Fellows
		2 carpenters	Sun	17 Nov 1392	lunch	Fellows
		1 carpenter	Sun	29 Dec 1392	lunch	Fellows
		1 tiler	Sun	2 Feb 1393	lunch	Fellows
		charcoal burner	Fri	7 Feb 1393	lunch	Servants
William	Browne	[stonemason]	Wed	12 Feb 1393	lunch	Servants
William	Brown	[stonemason]	Thu	6 Mar 1393	lunch	Fellows
		1 labourer	Thu	6 Mar 1393	lunch	Servants
[William]	[Brown]	stonemason	Sun	9 Mar 1393	dinner	Servants
Thomas	Glasiere	glazier	Sun	23 Mar 1393	dinner	Fellows
Thomas	Glasiere	glazier	Tue	25 Mar 1393	lunch	Fellows
William	Broun	[stonemason]	Tue	25 Mar 1393	lunch	Fellows
John	Plomere	plumber	Tue	25 Mar 1393	lunch	Fellows
Thomas	Vitriarius	glazier	Sun	6 Apr 1393	dinner	Fellows
	Wadyn	smith	Mon	7 Apr 1393	dinner	Fellows
[William]	Brown	stonemason	Sat	12 Apr 1393	lunch	Fellows
		a cooper	Mon	28 Apr 1393	lunch	Fellows
Thomas	Glasiare	glazier	Thu	5 Jun 1393	lunch	Fellows
		2 carpenters	Tue	24 Jun 1393	lunch	Fellows
		a plumber	Fri	27 Jun 1393	lunch	Fellows
William	Hykenham	[carpenter]	Sun	29 Jun 1393	lunch	Fellows
		1 carpenter	Sun	29 Jun 1393	lunch	Fellows
William	Broune	[stonemason]	Sun	29 Jun 1393	lunch	Fellows
		a plumber	Sun	29 Jun 1393	dinner	Fellows
		1 carpenter	Tue	5 Aug 1393	dinner	Fellows
[William]	Browne	[stonemason]	Fri	15 Aug 1393	???	Fellows
		a tiler	Fri	15 Aug 1393	lunch	Fellows
		1 carpenter	Fri	15 Aug 1393	lunch	Servants
		a plumber	Sun	17 Aug 1393	lunch	Fellows
		a plumber	Sat	23 Aug 1393	lunch	Fellows
		same plumber	Sun	24 Aug 1393	lunch	Fellows
		same plumber	Sun	24 Aug 1393	dinner	Fellows
		1 other plumber	Sun	24 Aug 1393	dinner	???
Thomas	Glasyare	glazier	Tue	2 Sept 1393	dinner	Fellows
William	Brone	stonemason	Mon	8 Sept 1393	???	Fellows

Craftsmen who were visitors to New College in 1392/93 according to the Hall Steward's Book

Thomas of Oxford, shown in the Hall Steward's Book as Thomas Glasier, was the foremost stained-glass window maker at the time and worked extensively for William of Wykeham.⁴⁶ Gervase Jackson-Stops states:⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 42, 46, 51, 176 and ODNB, under *Thomas Glasier*.

⁴⁷ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College' in John Buxton and Penry Williams (eds.), *New College, Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford: New College, 1979), p. 175.

There is no doubt at all as to the author of the New College glass, Thomas of Oxford ... [he] appears constantly in the New College hall books from 1386 until his death in 1427. ... But the design may on the other hand have been made by the mysterious Herebright of Cologne, who worked for William of Wykeham at Farnham Castle and Esher Place in 1393, and who is thought to have designed the Winchester College glass in the same year. Continental influences are certainly apparent in the New College windows ... and it would be fitting if these rare examples of the International Gothic style in England were due to Wykeham's employment of skilled foreign designer-craftsmen.

However, there are no items in the New College Account Roll which identify the specific window glazing works which would require at least a glazier, a stonemason, and a plumber. Perhaps it was paid for directly by William of Wykeham, as it constituted a continuation of the New College building works.

The Household Account Roll has one entry which relates to the transportation of glass from Esher via Oxford and Highclere to Winchester over nine days, but there are two possible translations because of uncertainty in expanding the Latin abbreviations, thus:

First Translation: In the expenses for 2 wagons from *Essbere* to *Oxford* and from there to *Clere* and *Winchester* for carrying the glass for the windows of the college of the lord in *Winchester* for 9 days with 12 horses and 6 men for the wagons 19s. 3d. - assuming *colleg[ij] d[omi]ni Wynton[ia]*

Alternative Translation: In the expenses for 2 wagons from *Essbere* to *Oxford* and from there to *Clere* and *Winchester* for carrying the glass for the windows of the colleges of the lord of *Winchester* for 9 days with 12 horses and 6 men for the wagons 19s. 3d. - assuming *colleg[iorum] d[omi]ni Wynton[iensis]*

There are other entries in the Household Account Roll which show that William of Wykeham owned two wagons and twelve horses suitable for the transportation of heavy goods, also that Herebright of Cologne was involved, as follows

Wagon Horses – And for 12 wagon horses price £26

And for 2 wagons with 8 wheels ... 12 horse-collars ... 4 saddles for wagons ...

In a cart of Roger *atte* Grove hired from *Essbere* to *Farnham* with the equipment of Herebright the painter from *London* for carriage in the month of April 3s. 4d.

Thus, the transportation could be glass for either just Winchester College or for New College as well, depending on which of the above translations is chosen. If the glass were only for Winchester then why travel about 110 miles from Esher via Oxford when the direct Esher to Winchester route would be only fifty-one miles. If the glass was destined for both Colleges and Highclere then the journey makes more sense. However, there are other explanations, for example that empty wagons went from Esher to Oxford to collect the glass for transportation to Highclere and Winchester College. Further evidence will be required to resolve this.

Some illustrative expenses

The following items illustrate the types of expenditure incurred by the different departments of the college:

Chapel

Item 132 - And in 1 large rope having been bought for the bell of length 28 yards 9d.

Hall

Item 153 - And in rushes having been bought on various occasions 7s. 11d.

Pantry

Item 157 - And in the fringing of the napkins for the table and of towels and the repair of them on occasions 2s. 0d.

Kitchen

Item 179 - And in 1 spit of iron having been bought of length 6 feet for eels and roasting a spit-load 1s. 0d.

Treasury

Item 187 - And in the writing of the account roll for the college and for various others touching the college 6s. 8d.

Stipends

Item 201 - And in the money having been paid to the lord Warden for the whole year £40 0s. 0d.

Item 194 - And in the stipend of the Vice-Warden for a half of the year receiving £1 6s. 8d.

The Warden's stable

Item 206 - And in 17 quarters and 1 bushel of oats price of a quarter 2s. and price of a bushel 3d. £1 14s. 3d.

Item 217 - And in shoes for the horses of the Warden for the year 13s. 5d.

Item 220 - And in the repair of the saddles the bridles and of other equipment for the saddles of the Warden for the year 5s. 8d.

The Warden's hall and kitchen

Item 226 - And in 2 dozen goblets having been bought price for 12 7d. 1s. 2d.

Item 228 - And in sharpening 1 axe in the kitchen of the Warden 2s. 6d.

Item 229 - And in dishes bowls wooden spoons 2 mortars and 1 *pestle* and 1 cask of wood having been bought as a whole 1s. 3d.

Item 369 - And in the writing of a certain book and binding with all the other equipment of the same having been given by the college to the lord archbishop of *York* and Chancellor of England £1 5s. 6d.

Livery

Item 193 - And in 24 whole cloths having been bought by Nicholas Portere from *Winchester* for the livery of the Scholars and the Chaplains of the college price of each cloth 40s. less in total 13s. 4d. for one 1 cloth defectively made as it were for the total £47 6s. 8d.

Item 199 - And in the money having been paid to 62 Fellows for the manufacture of the livery and the fur lining of whom each is receiving 3s. 4d. £10 6s. 8d.

Item 259 - And in the expenses of Master John Haseleghe for riding to *Winchester* with 2 horses for the livery of the Fellows of the college for 4 days in the month of October together with the reward having been given to his Servant for the allowance of the senior Fellows 7s. 9d.

Item 260 - And in the stipend for carrying 24 cloths of livery from *Winchester* to *Oxford* in the month of October receiving for each cloth 4d. 8s. 0d.

Item 261 - And in the expenses for carrying the said cloths and for nights in the household of ~~R~~ Roger Cheddusle at *Oxford* with his horses 1s. 0d.

Item 262 - And in the stipend of 1 barber for cutting the said 24 cloths receiving for the cutting of each cloth 11d. £1 2s. 0d.

Item 293 - And in the expenses of Master John Haseley for riding to *Winchester* with 1 Servant on the 7th day of February and taking up residence there for the 8 days following for making payment for livery and expediting other business by the precept of the lord founder together with a reward to his Servant during the same period 9s. 2d.

The total cost of livery, at almost £60, was a significant cost to New College; it would have been a 'uniform' which could be identified with the College and with William of Wykeham and was probably similar to that of Winchester College, especially given that the cloth came from Winchester. There are two relevant brass memorials, still in the ante-chapel of New College

Chapel, of Wardens Thomas Cranley and Richard Malford, which show the style of their formal ecclesiastical clothing (see the illustrations, below).

A Chaplain steals a deer

It appears that the following items in the New College Account Roll, which concern the theft of deer by a Chaplain, merited significant expenditure; at the time theft was an offence which could be punished by death. Initially there was a civil arrest and the involvement of civil authorities in Oxford, but ultimately it involved a visit to bishop William of Wykeham:

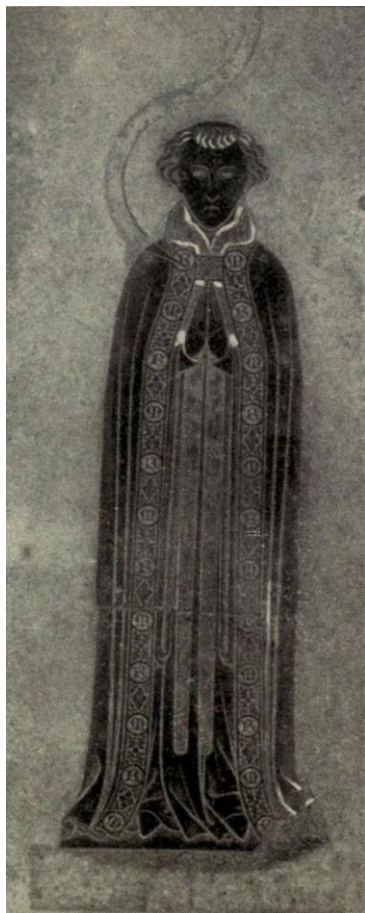
Item 296 - And in the expenses of 1 knight of the hospital of Saint John of *Jerusalem* of 1 Servant of the clerk of the city of *London* with other knights for 2 days for the arrest of a certain Chaplain for the theft of certain deer in the month of February 1s. 10d.

Item 297 - And in the expenses having been incurred for the lord chancellor of *Oxford* and the mayor of the same city and of the bailiffs and of John Drax sergeant at arms with other knights for coming to the college for the matter concerning the said Chaplain on the 22nd day of February 3s. 3d.

Item 298 - And in the expenses of Robert Ketone for riding with 1 Servant and 2 horses to *Merwel* to the lord founder about the Chaplain aforesaid for 5 days in the month of February 4s. 7d.

The Chaplain is not named in the items above, but according to the Hall Steward's Book a [Thomas Bytturwothe](#)⁴⁸ had joined New College as a Chaplain on 23 November 1392. But [Thomas Butturworthe went on the day of Monday after lunch](#) on 3 February 1393 and was absent from New College until 14 February 1393. Having returned, he then left one week later on 21 February 1393 without returning. These dates fit very well with the dates in the above items; therefore it seems probable that the Chaplain who stole the deer was [Thomas Bytturworthe](#); but as to his fate only further research might uncover the facts.

⁴⁸ Also spelt [Baterworthe](#), [Bitterworthe](#), [Wytturworthe](#), [Boturworthe](#), [Bytterworthe](#) in NCA 9303.



Brass in the ante-chapel of New College Chapel of Richard Malford, Warden, died 1403, in a cope with his initials, R & M, on the orphreys; the inscription and the scroll are lost.⁴⁹



Brass in the ante-chapel of New College Chapel of Thomas Cranley, Warden and subsequently Archbishop of Dublin, died 1417, in archiepiscopal vestments with mitre and cross; the inscription is eight Latin verses, there are two shields; the marginal inscription, also in eight Latin verses, is nearly all lost.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ For the text, see Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London: Headley Brothers, 1926), p. 414; for the images see Herbert Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London: Alexander Moring, 1906), p. 89.

⁵⁰ For the text, see Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses*, p. 414; for the images, see Druitt, *Manual of Costume*, p. 79.

A Lombard merchant lends money for Brother Anthony

A 'brother Anthony' is listed in the New College Account Roll as being present for meals during the 5th, 12th, 17th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th weeks and on several other single days. This agrees with the Hall Steward's Book, for example:

Item 54 - Also for the 5th week

for 62 Fellows and Scholars and for brother Anthony

Item 204 - And in the commons of brother Anthony recently the Master of *Wrytele* dining there for 9 and a half weeks receiving for a week 20d. 15s. 10d.

Brother Anthony was formerly the Master of Writtle.⁵¹ The church of Writtle was given by King John in 1204 to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in the church of St Mary in Saxia in Rome. A cell of the hospital was established at Writtle and endowed with a church, one hundred acres of glebe and a parsonage house, but as an alien foundation it was eventually seized by the Crown and sold, with all its possessions, including the church of Writtle and the chapel of Roxwell, to New College by a licence from Richard II dated 22 February 1391.

The following items concern a Nicholas of *Luca* who lent money for or directly to brother Anthony:

Item 238 - And in the expenses of the same [the Warden, Thomas Cranley] for riding from *Oxford* to *London* on the 10 day of July and from *London* to *Esshere* and hence to *London* and then to *Wedone* and after to *Oxford* for compensating Nicholas of *Luca* for brother Anthony and for obtaining money for the works of the college for 8 days in total £2 8s. 5d.

Item 245 - And in the expenses of the same [the Warden] from *Oxford* to *Hekfelde* and *Farnbam* from the mandate of the lord and thus to *London* after meeting there with the lord John Caumpedene and brother Anthony and Nicholas of *Luca* together with their Fellows for paying money to the afore mentioned Anthony hence to *Hornchurche Wrytele Takeleghe* and also to *Wrytele* and thus to *London* and then to *Oxford* namely from the 10[th] day of November right up to the 14[th] day of December for 5 weeks and 1 day £2 14s. 5d.

Item 282 - And in the expenses of Master Richard Malforde for riding from *London* to *Essex* with brother Anthony for meeting with the Warden there in the month of November 1s. 2d.

Nicholas of *Luca* was a merchant of the fellowship of the Guinigij, a family of merchants and bankers from the city of Lucca in Lombardy, in what is now Italy. He dwelt in the city of London⁵², where between 1382 and 1394 he is frequently involved in money lending to, among many other people, members of William of Wykeham's household, and in this case for brother Anthony.

A Nicholas *Luke* is a guest in the Household Account Roll for 4 May 1393 and one of his fellow Lombards from Lucca, Angelus Cristophre, is a guest on 6 May 1393, the period when the meetings concerning the revision of the Statutes were happening in London.

Conclusions

The foregoing is but a glimpse of the 'story' of New College in 1392/93 and there is much more detailed analysis which could be undertaken using the items in my transcripts and translations of this New College Account Roll, the Hall Steward's Book, and the Household Account Roll, which have earlier this year been deposited in New College Archives.⁵³

In addition, it would be ideal to compare this New College Account Roll with those for the immediately previous and subsequent years. Unfortunately, the previous Roll for 1391/92 is

⁵¹ Steer, *Archives*, p. 280.

⁵² (TNA C55/15), fl.009r and (CCR Richard II 5), pg.001..

⁵³ NCA TR/COL/4 01, NCA TR/COL/4 02, NCA TR/COL/4 03, NCA TR/COL/4 04, NCA TR/COL/4 05, NCA TR/COL/4 06, NCA TR/COL/4 07, NCA TR/COL/4 08, NCA TR/COL/4 09.

missing, although the receipts do exist.⁵⁴ But the Roll for 1390/91 does exist⁵⁵ as does the one for the subsequent year, 1393/94.⁵⁶ In spite of the missing New College Account Roll a transcript and translation of those that do exist would add significantly to this ‘story’, as would a transcript and translation of the Hall Steward’s Book for the years 1391/92 and 1393/94 which do exist. However, this awaits a significant amount of work, but would provide important resources for future research into life in New College.

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Winchester Cathedral

⁵⁴ NCA 7337, NCA 7338, and NCA 7339, in Steer, *Archives*, p. 16.

⁵⁵ NCA 7336, in Steer, *Archives*, p. 16.

⁵⁶ NCA 7342, in Steer, *Archives*, p. 16.

⁵⁷ Dr Brian M. Collins is retired but has been a volunteer guide at Winchester Cathedral for fourteen years. He also transcribes and translates original manuscripts, which relate to Winchester Cathedral, for the years around 1393 and 1535. He is an alumnus of St Catherine’s College, Oxford, and can be contacted at briancollins99@hotmail.com. The author would like to thank the following, and their institutions, for their assistance in this research: Christopher Skelton-Foord, Librarian, New College, Oxford, Jennifer Thorp, Archivist, New College, Oxford and Suzanne Foster, Archivist, Winchester College, Winchester.