

THE HOUSEHOLD OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES 1400–1560

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ABSTRACT

Winchester College, the greatest medieval school in England, was founded in 1382 by William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England. At the time of its foundation, it was almost certainly the largest school in England. Before the establishment of Winchester College and its twin foundation New College, Oxford, most schools were small, the adjunct of a church or monastery. The two Colleges founded by William Wykeham were independent, self-governing institutions of unprecedented scale.

Wykeham's Winchester foundation was an educational establishment, a school bound by statutes, where 70 scholars, all boarders, and a varying number of commoners were taught grammar and educationally prepared for further studies at New College, Oxford. Unlike almost all other medieval schools, Winchester College was a very large residential household and an important landowner. The day-to-day running of the household depended on a significant number of paid personnel, household servants of varying rank. The College also used the services of a group of feed officials, attorneys, auditors, notaries and stewards. These people and visitors, of varying degree and status, came to the College, and temporarily extended the size of the College community.

This paper establishes the size and composition of the College as a household.

INTRODUCTION

When Wykeham founded his College in Winchester in 1382 it joined other large households in the city. There were three important Benedictine monasteries, Hyde Abbey, St. Mary's Abbey and

St. Swithun's cathedral priory. There were the hospitals of St. Cross, St. John, St. Mary Magdalen and the Susterne Spital. There was St. Elizabeth's College for secular priests, and Wolvesey, one of the residences of the Bishop of Winchester, who resided in the city on occasion. These sizeable institutions made a major impact on the city in terms of spending power, consumption and employment (Harwood, 2001). Winchester College was on a similar scale.

Winchester College was a school, an exceptionally large school, a residential institution requiring facilities for common eating, heating and sleeping. It therefore differed from most other schools at this time which were day schools requiring only a room and a master. Designed to produce better-educated candidates for church, king and country, the scholars at Winchester wore clerical tonsures. Moreover, Winchester College was much more than a school: it was also a college in the medieval sense of a chantry of priests who were committed to a cycle of services, and, as such, it dwarfed the college of St. Elizabeth next door. What we have here is a household of more than a hundred scholars, fellows and domestic staff, a household which, therefore, compares with those of St. Swithun's priory and Hyde Abbey. Who comprised Winchester College has never been seriously studied. This is the purpose of this article.

The article begins by analysing the resident household, starting with the warden and finishing with the domestic servants. It then examines the extended household, before concluding with a summary of the visitors who came to the College and temporarily extended the size of the College community.

The sources

Winchester College has an enviable medieval archive. For this article, the bursars' accounts and hall books were of particular value. Six centuries after the foundation of the College, these documents, like the rest of the College archive, are still housed in the original, and specifically designated, secure rooms, situated in the muniment tower of the College. However, the bursars' accounts and hall books are also available for consultation on microfilm at the Hampshire Record Office.

The bursars' accounts are arranged in two parts, income and expenditure, with each being subdivided into paragraphs under marginal headings, such as the expenses of commons, chapel, hall, fees and stipends. Entries in the hall books are organised in weeks and terms. For the bursars' accounts, citations specify the WCM number, the accounting year and the relevant section of the account; for the hall books, citations give the WCM number, the accounting year, week and term.

The dates covered by this article, 1400–1560, represent an era in the records after which there are substantial changes.

REGULAR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

The College can be defined as the warden and fellows, the schoolmaster and usher, the scholars and commoners; chaplains, lay clerks and choristers; and the menial servants who were employed in the household. They will now be discussed in turn. The regular members of the College are listed on table 1, which shows the hierarchy and complexity of the College community, based on allowances for food in the mid-fifteenth century. All, presumably, lived in College, receiving not only their food, but also accommodation and fuel, in the form of heating.

Warden and fellows

At the head of the College household was the warden, who was elected by the fellows of New College, Oxford. There were ten fellows, whose

role, essentially, was to act as chantry priests, celebrating mass for the founder's soul and observing the canonical hours. From the ten fellows, the warden and fellows elected a vice-warden, a sacristan for the chapel and two College bursars (Sabben-Clare 1983, 24–25, rubrics 10–11).

Schoolmaster and usher

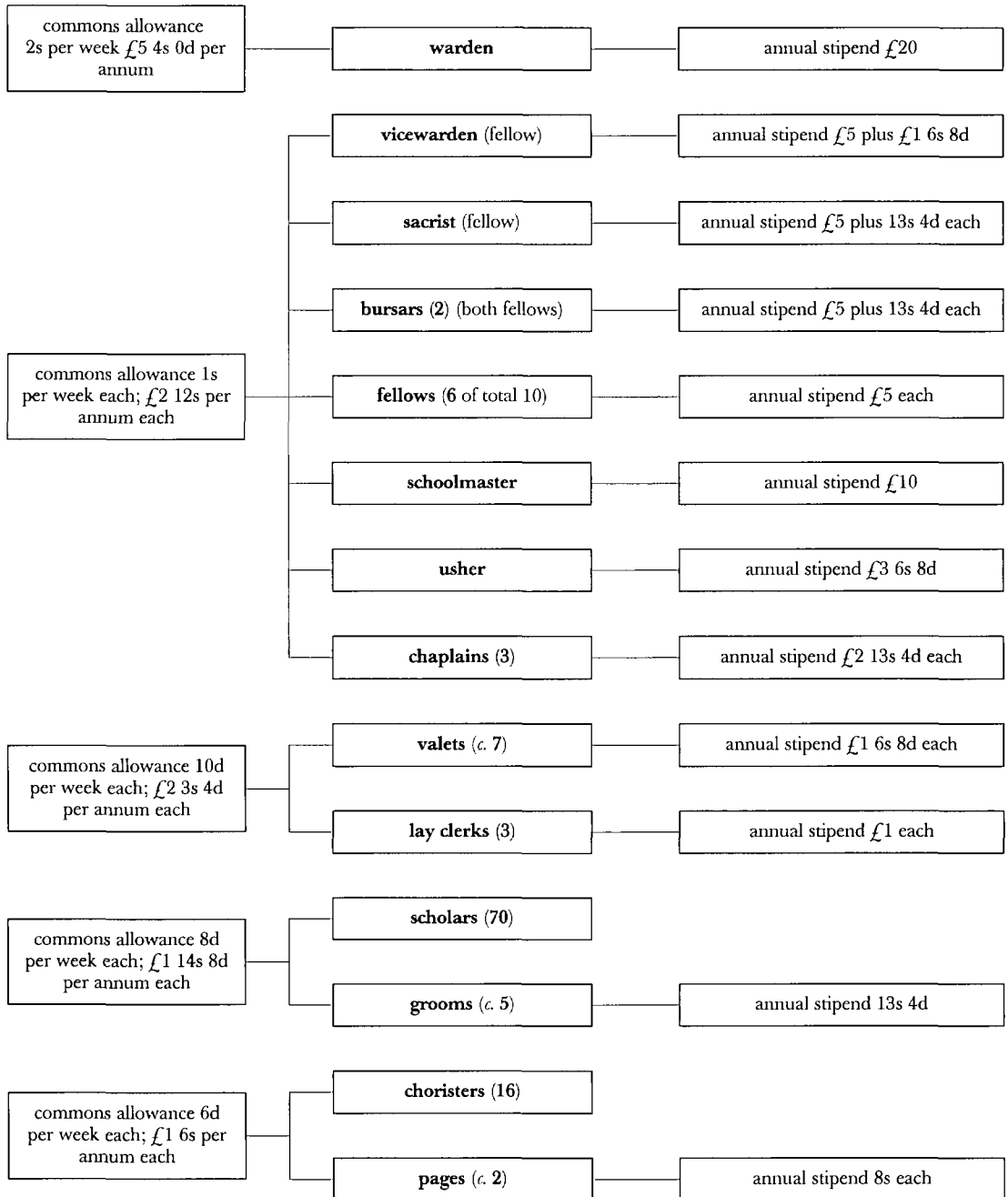
Additional to the fellows, there was a schoolmaster, and an usher who assisted him. It was the schoolmaster's responsibility to teach the scholars grammar, and to prepare them educationally for further studies at New College. The only statutory requirement was that the schoolmaster should have 'teaching experience', but, despite this, schoolmasters at Winchester appear always to have been well qualified, as can be seen in the careers of William Waynfilete, John Rede and William Horman (Sabben-Clare 1983, 26, rubric 12).

William Waynfilete, who had graduated as a Bachelor of Theology, became the headmaster of Winchester College in 1430. He remained there for approximately 11 years before taking up an appointment at Henry VI's new college at Eton. In 1447, Waynfilete became Bishop of Winchester. As the only schoolmaster to become a bishop in late medieval England, he is now recognised as a great educationalist and patron of learning (Hicks 1991, 274–277, and Davis 1993).

John Rede was the son of a College tenant from West Worldham in Hampshire. He became a scholar at Winchester College in 1467, and then progressed to New College. As a Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Theology, he was well qualified to assume the role of headmaster of Winchester College in 1484 (BRUO III, 1555–56). Rede left Winchester, *c.* 1490, to become chaplain and tutor to Prince Arthur, instructing him in the principles of the new learning (Orme 1973, 28). He returned to Winchester in 1501 to become warden, a position which he held until 1520 when he was appointed warden of New College, Oxford.

William Horman, was admitted as a Winchester scholar in 1468 (Kirby 1888, 79) and of New College in 1475. He became a Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts and was appointed

Table 1 Mid fifteenth-century hierarchy of Winchester College Note: The table is based on allowances for food and includes annual stipends.



headmaster of Eton College in 1486, being promoted to headmaster of Winchester College in 1495. His career in teaching inspired Horman to write textbooks on classical composition and other school subjects (BRUO II, 963–964).

Scholars

Winchester College had places for 70 scholars. Boys were admitted when they were between eight and 12 years of age and could stay until they were 18 years old, or longer if they were on a waiting list for New College. The selection of scholars gave preference, first of all, to relatives of the founder and, then, to boys who came from places where the College had land. To qualify for a place, annual income, presumably parental, had to be less than five marks sterling (£3 6s 8d) per year (Sabben-Clare 1983, 2, rubric 2). In the early fifteenth century £5 per annum was considered to be a reasonable living for a yeoman (Dyer 1989, 31–32). An examination of attendance figures in hall show that at the end of the fifteenth century, it was in the days around Pentecost that the greatest exodus of scholars from the College took place; this compares with Eton, where the boys also went home between Ascension Day and the Feast of Corpus Christi.

Commoners

In addition to the 70 scholars, the statutes made provision for ten commoners to be educated at Wykeham's school. However, unlike the scholars whose expenses were met by the College, the ten commoners were required to pay for their own keep. Evidence from an injunction of Cardinal Beaufort, dated 10 April 1411, shows that, at that time, the master was teaching 80 or even 100 commoners more than originally intended by the founder (Himsworth 1976, I, 11 [69]).

A few accounts relating to the neighbouring College of St. Elizabeth suggest that some commoners lodged there, while attending the school next door (WCM 984–986, St. Elizabeth's College). An account of 1461–62 refers to commons receipts of 39s 6d, of which 31s 8d was paid by a certain William Norton, who was at the new College and dining in the inn for 38 weeks, at a

rate of 10d per week. In 1463–64, proceeds from commons totalled £7 9s 9d. The sum of 24s 8d was paid for Thomas Hampton's son, whose allowance was 8d per week for 37 weeks. Later in the same year, a further 10s was paid for 15 weeks at the same rate for a John Hampton (WCM 985, St. Elizabeth's College). If Thomas Hampton's son was the same person as John Hampton, then he was there for a whole year. Thomas Hampton, a member of the Hampshire gentry family from Stoke Charity, is identified in the same account as the steward of lands belonging to St. Elizabeth's College, for which he received a stipend of 13s 4d per annum (WCM 986, St. Elizabeth's College).

Chaplains, lay clerks and choristers

Winchester College chapel had a staff of three chaplains, who were nominated by the warden, and three lay clerks. There were 16 choristers who assisted the priests by reading, serving and singing in chapel. For the choristers, service in chapel might well have been a period of waiting to become a scholar. In 1490, for instance, of 15 choristers, nine became scholars, among them William Fleshmonger, later Dean of Chichester (VCH Hants II, 271 and Kirby 1888, 92).

Table 1 shows that the total number of household members was 119 people, or 129 if the ten permitted commoners, not shown on the table, are included. The table also shows the status of the individual members of the College household in relation to one another, based on their allowances for food. The warden heads the list, followed by the ten fellows, schoolmaster, usher and chaplains. Although commons allowances were the same for the whole of this group, the annual stipends paid to them differ. For instance, the schoolmaster was fed at the same rate as his assistant, but was paid £10 per annum, rather than £3 6s 8d. All the fellows received £5 per annum, but some received an extra amount for carrying out specific duties. The vice-warden, for instance, received an extra £1 6s 8d for deputising for the warden. The sacrist and the bursars each received an additional mark or 13s 4d.

The menial household servants appear on table 1 as the valets, grooms and pages. In terms of ranking, the page was the lowest rank of servant,

while the valet was a household servant of medium rank, and a groom came between the two (Woolgar 1999, 235–236). Table 1 shows that the valets received the same allowance for food as the lay clerks, 10d per week or £2 3s 4d per annum, but, whereas the lay clerks received in addition a 20s stipend each year, the valets received £1 6s 8d. The grooms ranked with the scholars, with a food allowance of 8d per week, the grooms receiving an annual stipend of 13s 4d each per annum. The pages, usually two in number, ranked with the choristers and were allowed 6d per week each for food, and received a stipend of 8s per annum. The valets, grooms and pages, the household servants, are the subject of the next section.

HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS

Numerous servants feature in the College accounts; some, employed on a casual and temporary basis, were paid by the day and received commons as part of their remuneration; others visited the College with goods or skills; a third group were permanent members of the household, who lived in College and who received an annual stipend.

Stipendiary servants

The College had a well-organised team of people responsible for carrying out various household chores, a regular staff of servants who were on the College payroll. These were the valets, grooms and pages shown on table 1. It has been seen already that their stipends varied with responsibilities undertaken, revealing a functional, as well as a social, hierarchy.

The team comprised servants, such as those who served the warden, and the valets, grooms and pages of the kitchen, bakery and brewery. There were also those who worked in the stable or the garden. In the early years of the foundation, the total servants accounted for was about 13. This figure rose to approximately 16 by the mid-fifteenth century, and to about 17 by the 1490s. By the 1540s, the butler and miller had joined the team which had risen to approximately 18 and, by 1560, with the arrival of servants such

as the bailiff of Stoke Park, the overall figure was about 20, although the gardener and pig keeper were no longer accounted for.

For some officials, remuneration, in terms of cash payments, did not change at all between 1400–1560; the dispenser, for instance, received £1 6s 8d throughout.

For others, stipends increased during the span of years. The cook received £1 6s 8d, c. 1410, a sum which had increased to £2 by 1560. Nevertheless, the amount paid to the domestic servants strongly suggests that, with the exception of the washerwoman, they were living in College, and accommodation, food and fuel represented an important part of their remuneration. The stipend of the College launderer remained constant throughout, at £2 per annum. In the early years of the foundation, this work was certainly undertaken by a man. For instance, in 1412–13, it was John Spryngold who was paid for doing the College washing (WCM 22094, 1412–13, stipends). However, by the mid-fifteenth century, and judging by the limited occasions when the official is named in the accounts, the role was undertaken by a woman, who would not have lived in College. For example, in 1447–48, the washerwoman was Matilda Folde; in the 1530s, it was the wife of John Andrews, second cook.

Women only seldom feature in the College accounts. While some received payments for making towels or tablecloths, only the washerwoman received a stipend. Barbara Harvey found that at Westminster Abbey the only work which earned a stipend for a woman was laundering or work on vestments, and, in this respect, a parallel can be drawn with the College (Harvey 1993, 167). The £2 stipend earned by the washerwoman is also worth considering. Barbara Harvey drew attention to the fact that the doctor, in his *Discourse of the Common Weal*, considered 40s to be a good wage in the mid-sixteenth century (*ibid.* 163). This figure was deemed to be a suitable stipend for a yeoman, and was the amount that the clerk of the College land received throughout the period 1410–1560. In the period 1529–40, the washerwoman was actually receiving twice as much as her husband earned as second cook. Of course, it is likely that she was paid a sum sufficiently large to enable her to sub-contract work to other women.

But it was a worthwhile arrangement and, in addition to her stipend in 1539–40, John's wife was rewarded with the gift of one shilling to wash towels and cloths ready for the elections (WCM 22197, 1539–40, necessary expenses). John Andrews and his wife may not have been the only two members of that family who benefited from the College. Thomas Andrews, perhaps related, was working in the College stable between 1533 and 1537 (WCM 22192, 1533–34, stable; WCM 22195, 1536–37, stable).

The cooks

The cooks were a group of servants who gave lengthy service to the College. Judging by the years served, employment in the College kitchen possibly brought its own rewards. William Kenne was named as cook in the account of 1413–14, and was still working in the College kitchen in 1437–38 when he was paid for one term (WCM 22095, 1413–14, stipends). He had been employed by the College for nearly 24 years. Kenne was succeeded by John Cook, in 1437–38, who stayed for ten years (WCM 22113, 1437–38, stipends; WCM 22122, 1447–48, stipends). Edward Waylond was appointed in 1448–49 and stayed until 1453–54 (WCM 22123, 1448–49, stipends; WCM 22128, 1453–54, stipends). In 1450–51, Simon Waylond, his son, was the kitchen page; he was paid for his role as kitchen groom in 1454–55. Simon continued working as kitchen groom between 1461–62 and 1479–80, and, like the washerwoman, provides an example of the value of family connections in securing employment at the College (WCM 22834, hall book; WCM 22129, 1454–55, stipends; WCM 22133, 1461–62, stipends; WCM 22148, 1479–80, stipends).

Thomas Sampson, who succeeded Edward Waylond as cook in 1454–55, also served the College for many years. Sampson was a kitchen page in 1447–48, by 1450–51 he had become sub cook before being promoted to chief cook in 1454–55. Sampson was still being paid as cook in 1492–93, 38 years later (WCM 22122, 1447–48, stipends; WCM 22125, 1450–51, stipends; WCM 22129, 1454–55, stipends; WCM 22156, 1492–93, stipends). In 1492–93, Sampson relinquished the post he had held for so long. The accounts show

that instead of his usual 6s 8d per term (£1 6s 8d per annum), he was then paid the lesser sum of 1s 8d per term for two terms, and 6s 8d per year thereafter until 1497–98. This would suggest that the arduous work of the College cook had perhaps become too much for the now ageing Sampson. Lighter duties possibly ensured a home for the man who had served in the College kitchen for fifty years.

For much of the period that Sampson had been cook, John Bedell was the College dispenser, an important role which will be discussed next. Bedell died in 1498, approximately two years after John Brown had become cook. Following Bedell's death, Brown assumed the joint role of dispenser and cook (WCM 22162, 1498–99, stipends). However, in 1500–01, a separate cook was appointed, Stephen Turvyld (WCM 22164, 1500–01, stipends). Brown continued as dispenser, a position he held until at least 1523–24 (WCM 22182, 1523–24, stipend). By that period, the accountants only infrequently named servants in the accounts.

Most cooks stayed at the College for many years; in the case of Thomas Sampson, for virtually his whole working life. This suggests satisfaction with their employment. The College appears to have had a nucleus of local people who gave loyal service and who benefited by obtaining employment for other members of their family. Father and son are seen working together on several occasions. Thomas Dene, one of the College carters, is an example. His two sons were paid to enclose the College garden, and, in 1451–52, they were paid to mow the big meadow. Similarly, Edward and Simon Waylond worked together in the College kitchen; John Andrews was the second cook, while his wife was in charge of College laundry. The cases of Simon Waylond, who rose from kitchen page to kitchen groom, and Thomas Sampson, who rose from kitchen page to become chief cook, suggest that good service was rewarded with promotion. For John Brown, the cook, advancement meant relinquishing his role as chief cook and becoming College dispenser.

The dispensers

The dispenser, or manciple, was the official responsible for purchasing the victuals for the

College kitchen. The dispenser linked the College with Winchester and with the surrounding area of supply, and, therefore, it was sensible and beneficial for the College to use local traders to fill this role. However, judging by those undertaking this onerous responsibility, association with the College also brought standing, and financial reward.

It seems that there was no fixed time limit for the office of dispenser and, between *c.* 1400 and 1560, this office was held for varying lengths of time. Nicholas Claydon of Kingsgate Street, and Richard Boole, mercer, mayor of Winchester, and freeman of the ironmonger's company, acted as dispenser for only two years each (see WCM 22105-06, 1428-30, stipends, and WCM 22130-31, 1456-58, stipends). William Husey and John Long were dispensers for nine years each (WCM 22112-22120, 1436-1445, stipends; WCM 22121-22129, 1446-55, stipends). John Browne of Kingsgate Street, and described by Keene as *catour* (Keene 1985, II, 1176), was College dispenser for at least 26 years, possibly longer. The person who probably served as dispenser for the longest period was John Bedell, who gave 39 years service.

The status of the dispenser, and the benefit which the role could bring, can be better understood by looking at two examples. Consider first, John Bedell, who was manciple from 1459-1498. John Bedell had been a scholar of Winchester College, having been admitted there in 1440 from Meonstoke (Kirby 1888, 60). His father John, however, who imported fish, paving tiles, nails and bitumen from Southampton, is described by Keene as being 'of the soke' (Keene 1985, II, 1158). The young Bedell became a citizen and mayor of Winchester and, following his death in 1498, was buried in the College chapel. He is depicted on a brass in the chapel wearing citizen's dress. His obit was celebrated jointly with Thomas Assheborne, fellow of the College, on 9 January each year, until the year of suppression under Edward VI. To fund it, John Bedell gave a tenement in Chesil Street to the College in 1489-90 (Himsworth 1976, I, 7 [42-51]).

John Westerton, named as dispenser in 1529, provides the second example. Unfortunately, the later accounts fail to name the officials, but Westerton was still holding office 11 years later in

1540, and might have served for even longer. In 1545, an Edward Westerton, aged 12, was admitted as scholar to the College and, possibly, was a son of John Westerton. The same Edward was active in Winchester in 1572 and associated by Keene with property 853 in Kingsgate Street, not far from the College (Keene 1985, II, 1382). By 1574, Edward was described in the College records as Sir Edward Westerton (Himsworth 1984, III, 1073 [29902]).

Assuming responsibility for College catering seems to have brought its own rewards to dispensers such as Bedell and Westerton. Men of such standing could not afford to spend time on arduous responsibilities, such as securing wholesale contracts, which the role demanded, if it was not worth their while, financially, to do so. The impression provided by the two examples is that both men appear to have held office for a considerable number of years, and were of sufficient wealth and status for one to become mayor, to leave property to the College and to be buried in the College chapel, and, in the case of the other, for his son to acquire knightly status. Even if these two dispensers delegated work to deputies, salaried by themselves and not by the College, catering for the College seems to have been a likely source of their wealth and an important part of their business. But this hypothesis cannot be proved.

The College dispensers were stipendiary servants and, therefore, part of the large College household. In addition to these servants, there were others to whom the College paid fees, they were members, therefore, of the extended household.

THE EXTENDED HOUSEHOLD

Throughout the period, the College paid fees to advisers who acted on behalf of the College in a variety of ways. They include the attorneys, the auditors, the notaries and the stewards of the College lands. They were paid fees, which for many varied only very slightly throughout the period. The attorneys and notaries, for example, received 6s 8d per annum throughout. The auditors generally received 13s 4d per annum,

and this sum was still being paid to John Pottynger, College auditor, in 1559–60 (WCM 22214, 1559–60, fees). In addition to his fee, Pottynger also received 14s 4d for his livery, which included 1s for his fur. From 1420 to 1560, the amount paid to the stewards, £5 per annum, remained the same. Thomas White, steward, was still receiving £5 in 1559–60, in addition to 14s 4d for his livery. Unlike the servants, who received a regular stipend, the advisers were entered in the hall books as visitors whenever they dined in hall. This section identifies a sample of them, showing their status within Winchester and the region, and their relationship with the College.

Attorneys

From the middle of the twelfth century, growth in new legislation had led to an increasing trend whereby important landowners and institutions retained legal advisers for their counsel and favours (Ramsay 1985, 95–112). By the mid-fifteenth century, with the rise of solicitors and the growth in the number of trained lawyers, the need to retain large numbers of legal advisers diminished. For counsel, institutions increasingly depended on solicitors, whose specialist skills enabled them to negotiate with lawyers (*ibid.* 111). As early as 1410–11, Winchester College paid a retaining fee to Henry Kesewyk. In the account roll of 1410–11, he is unusually described as '*Henrici Kesewyk sollicitatoris Collegii in curia domini Regis*' (WCM 22092, 1410–11, fees). As a significant landowner, the College used the services of legal advisers to whom it paid retaining fees. A profile of Henry Kesewyk shows the relationship which could exist between the College and its legal advisers.

The College was paying a fee of 13s 4d to Henry Kesewyk of Sparsholt, in the early years of the fifteenth century (WCM 22092, 1410–11, fees). A tenancy agreement of 1412 describes Kesewyk as attorney general for the College (Himsworth 1984, II, 593 [12813]). Kesewyk frequently dined in hall, sometimes accompanied by his wife (WCM 22817, hall book, 1411–12, week 4 term 4). In 1415, he and John Fromond, steward of College manors, purchased shops in Southampton for the College (Himsworth 1984, III,

866). Kesewyk died *c.* 1420. Probate for his will was dated 30 March 1420, and in it he requested that his body should be buried in Winchester College (*ibid.* III, 867). On the death of his wife Margery, all his lands and tenements in Southampton, outside Bargate, passed to the College. To supervise his will, Kesewyk appointed Robert Thurber, described as 'clerk', but also warden of the College since 1413, and John Fromond, steward of the College manors (*ibid.* 1984, III, 867). His choice of supervisors confirms his strong associations with the College.

Auditors

The College auditors, many of whom were former scholars, and all clerics, were generally in College at the end of October each year. Sometimes, as in 1448–49, they stayed for a whole week and dined in hall while there. At other times they stayed longer (WCM 22123, 1448–49, commons). In 1450–51, they were there for two weeks (WCM 22125, 1450–51, commons). Many had previous associations with the College. As former scholars, they were committed to the College, and may have seen the position as potentially profitable. Two examples will help to establish these connections. John Langport was the auditor in the mid-fifteenth century. A John Langport of Kingsclere had been admitted to Winchester College in 1407, he became a scholar of New College and a fellow in 1416–27 and was rector of Wappenham in 1441 (Kirby 1888, 35). This was almost certainly the same person who served as College auditor. John Langport was in an unusual position. As clerk of accounts he is listed among the servants of the College and in receipt of an annual stipend of 40s; as auditor of the accounts, farmer and bailiff of the College, he was in receipt of an annual fee of 13s 4d (WCM 22123, 1448–49, fees).

In the 1490s, John Fesaunt was College auditor. In 1475–76, a man of this name was living in a College property in Hollow Lane, Winchester, now known as Magdalen Hill (Keene 1985, II, 1073). It is possible that John Fesaunt, the auditor, was related to John Fesaunt, also of Winchester, who was admitted to Winchester College, aged 12, in 1493 (Kirby 1888, 93). Subsequently,

he became a scholar of New College, a fellow of Winchester College from 1500 to 1505, and, later, vicar of Ellingham, Hampshire.

Notaries

The bursars also paid fees annually to the College notary. One of the duties of the notary was responsibility for the safe custody of certain College muniments, the registers of the scholars, fellows and oaths, and important sealed College documents (Himsworth 1976, I, xii). The first College notary was Robert Heete who came from Woodstock, in Oxfordshire. Heete was a Winchester scholar in 1401, and a fellow in 1421–22. He was still a fellow at Winchester when he died in 1432–33 (*ibid.* 1976, I, xii). Heete is remembered as the author of the ‘best contemporary life of Wykeham’ and as the person responsible for preparing the register of scholars (*ibid.* 1976, I, xiii).

This position was filled in the mid-fifteenth century, by William Calverhull. He had been admitted to Winchester College as a scholar in 1412, having come from Wotton Bassett in Wiltshire. He proceeded to New College, where he became a doctor of laws, and a fellow from 1420–28. Calverhull returned to Winchester as a fellow, and held office as bursar from 1429 to 1432, from 1436 to 1438 and from 1441 to 1443. He received a fee from Winchester College to act as a legal adviser and notary public, and, in 1447–48, was rewarded with a livery to the value of 8s 6d in recognition of the negotiations which he had carried out on behalf of the College. He was listed with the visitors, when he dined in hall with the fellows in 1448–49 (WCM 22832, hall book, 1448–49, week 1 term 1). In 1451, Calverhull was connected with a property in Kingsgate Street, which was owned later by Winchester College (Keene 1985, II, 999). In 1462, he is described as clerk of Hereford diocese, papal and public notary (Greatrex 1978, 118 [349(b)]).

Stewards of College lands

The steward was the official responsible for the College manors. Carefully chosen, and always a lay person, his duties included the safe-keeping of

the associated court rolls and other manorial records (Himsworth 1976, I, xii).

The steward was paid an annual fee by the College of £5 from 1421 onwards. In the early years of the foundation, William Pope, the first to take responsibility for the College manors, was paid a fee of only £4 in 1395–96. In 1410–11, responsibility for the College estates was a shared one. Fromond was responsible for the Hampshire and Wiltshire estates, William Stokes for those in Berkshire and Middlesex. While John Fromond appears to have waived his fee, as was to be his custom, William Stokes received 26s 8d that year. From 1414, Fromond is named as sole steward of the College manors, a position he held until his death in 1420. In 1421–22, Richard Wallop took over from Fromond and received a fee of £5 per annum. This fee continued to be paid to successive stewards until 1560 (WCM 22214, 1559–60, fees). Generally speaking, the stewards each held office for many years; Fromond for 15 years; Haydock, 20 years; Wellys, 37 years; Frost, 24 years; Wyntersall, 17 years; and White, 22 years.

To understand the sort of men chosen to assume responsibility for the College manors, it is useful to discuss a few examples. Consider first, John Fromond. Fromond was steward of the College manors from 1405–1420. From 1405–14, he supervised the Hampshire and Wiltshire estates, leaving the Berkshire and Middlesex manors in the hands of William Stokes. From 1414, until his death in 1420, Fromond assumed responsibility for all the College estates. Before his association with Winchester College, he had served the bishopric, administering several episcopal manors. He had acted as bailiff of Burghclere and Bishop’s Waltham in 1391, and this connection with the bishopric estates could well have led to his later affiliation with Winchester College (Greatrex 1978, 214 [153 n.3]).

John Fromond was a member of the long-established Fromond family and a likely ancestor, Stephen, a merchant, had served Winchester as mayor from 1264 to 1266. Fromond was a local landowner and a lawyer. He lived in Sparsholt and was involved in city life, serving as a justice of the peace from 1406 to 1407 (Keene 1985, II, 1236). He married Maud, the widow of Sir Robert

Markaunt, a Hampshire knight (Chitty 1926, 139–40).

Fromond dined frequently in hall, sometimes accompanied by his wife. Both dined there on more than one occasion in week 4 term 4, 1411–12, a time of festivities (WCM 22817, hall book, 1411–12). John Fromond and his wife died childless (Chitty 1926, 140), and both are buried at the College. Having no children to provide for, Fromond set up his own chantry chapel at the College (Harvey in Custance 1982, 94). The provision for his chantry, a chaplain to serve it, and robes for the 16 College choristers, made John Fromond one of the important benefactors of the College (Chitty 1926, 141). He gave it the manor of Fernhill, part of the manor of Allington near Eastleigh, and tenements in Winchester and the soke (Himsworth 1984, II, 354). Fromond's close connection with the College is further exemplified by the choice of two of the executors for his will, Robert Thurbern, College warden, and Richard Wallop, his successor as College steward (Himsworth 1976, I, liii).

Richard Wallop was steward of College lands from 1421 to 1430. He was suitably qualified to assume such responsibility for the College; he came from an old armigerous Hampshire family, and, in 1399 and later years, was in the commission of the peace for Hampshire. Wallop was the bailiff of Twyford and Merton in 1401 (Watney 1928, I, xxi). His service to the Winchester bishopric was rewarded when he was remembered by William Wykeham in his will. Indeed, Wykeham bequeathed to him the sum of 100 shillings or a silver cup of the same value (Purser 2001, 265). His son, Richard Wallop junior, was a scholar of Winchester College in 1405, and of New College in 1414 (Watney 1928, I, xxi). Wallop, senior, was possibly a London lawyer, who also undertook legal work on behalf of Winchester city (Keene 1985, I, 26).

Thomas Haydock, lord of the manor of Greywell (VCH Hants IV, 77), and a member of Hampshire's lesser gentry, served the College as steward for 20 years, from 1431 to 1451; he died in 1452. Haydock was a lawyer; he served as steward of Odiham from 1437 to 1452, and was an MP for Hampshire in 1442 (Wedgwood 1936, 438). He also had important links with other local

institutions. He had been called upon to act as arbiter in a quarrel between the prior and convent, and the mayor and burgesses of Southampton, in 1437 (Greatrex 1978, 73 [235] and 75 [239]). He served as a justice of the bishop's pavilion court at St. Giles' Fair in 1441–42, and, from 1442 to 1446 he was a justice of the peace in Hampshire (*ibid.* 220 [235, n.1]). Haydock, like Fromond, dined in hall with the fellows when visiting College (WCM 22832, hall book 1448–49, week 1 term 1).

Thomas Wellys, a lawyer from Eastleigh in Hampshire, was steward of the College manors from 1451 to 1488. He was a typical member of the lower gentry who had gained status as a result of his professional training and a successful marriage. Wellys combined his service with the College with duties elsewhere; he was a JP from 1452 to 1493, and was an MP in 1455 (Purser 2001, 267).

John Kingsmill, who was steward from 1493 to 1504, was a justice of the court of common pleas and a prominent figure in Hampshire during the episcopacy of Bishop Fox. His son John rose to prominence in the 1530s. The first dean of Winchester Cathedral and the last abess of Wherwell Abbey, also members of the Kingsmill family, were his relatives (Hare 1999, 14).

William Froste assumed responsibility for the College lands from 1504 to 1528/29. Neither Froste, nor Kingsmill, his predecessor, were members of the county elite. Froste had attended Lincoln's Inn in 1471 and was a professionally trained lawyer (Purser 2001, 256). Before his College appointment, he had been involved in city life as auditor (1491–92, 1499–1500 and 1500–01), as recorder (1496), and as commissioner of gaol delivery in Winchester in 1512. He served as sheriff of Hampshire in 1520 (Keene 1985, II, 1237). Froste was also closely linked with the bishopric. In 1492, he was bailiff of Twyford for Bishop Courtenay, and his heraldic arms in the choir screens at the Cathedral confirm his practical involvement in the episcopacy of Bishop Fox, whom he served as steward. His generosity benefited Corpus Christi College, Oxford, while Hampshire monasteries gained from his bequests (Hare 1999, 8). William Froste provides the example of someone who was a key figure in local

government, well connected with the bishopric, and who served as steward of College lands for over 20 years. However, at the time when Froste was responsible for the College estates, the hall steward had ceased recording the names of visitors. It is not possible, therefore, to identify how frequently he dined in the College hall.

Thomas White was steward from 1545 to 1567. It is probable that he was a member of the same Hampshire family to which John White belonged. John White became a scholar at Winchester in 1521 (Kirby 1888, 111) and, after attending New College, became a schoolmaster at Winchester (1535–42) and then warden from 1542 to 1554 (Himsworth 1976, I, xxxv). He was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1554, and Bishop of Winchester in 1556 (Bussby 1979, 336). John White was the younger brother of Sir Thomas White of Farnham, and cousin of another Sir Thomas White, who was known for setting up a loan charity to benefit poor tradesmen (VCH Hants II, 300).

Judging by the sample of stewards examined in detail, most served the College for many years and were, generally, members of the lower gentry, gentlemen, JPs and lawyers. Haydock, Wellys, Kingsmill and Froste, for example, were from the families of lesser gentry, rather than from leading Hampshire families. Men such as Fromond, Wallop, Haydock, Wellys and Froste, had legal training. Some, such as Fromond, Wallop, Kingsmill and Froste were also closely connected with the bishopric; Fromond, Haydock, Kingsmill, Froste and Wellys were active in local government. As a result of their legal training and their skills in running estates, many of the stewards served the College and also helped to run the county. The impression is that most of them probably held office and carried out the responsibilities of stewardship themselves, rather than delegating to deputies, as on so many ecclesiastical estates. Their importance in the community, and their position as professional gentry, was not because of their family status, but as a result of their own expertise and training.

Generally speaking, the evidence suggests that the College turned to former scholars for its auditors; to city traders, such as John Bedell, to fill the role of dispenser; and to members of the

local professional gentry when seeking a College steward.

VISITORS

Hospitality was an expectation of medieval society, and the presence of visitors in hall was not unusual, nor was it unusual to record their names. When studying the accounts of Munden's chantry in Bridport, K. L. Wood-Legh observed that the chaplain listed persons outside the normal household who shared the meals, workmen whose food and drink formed part of their wages, and guests (Wood-Legh 1956, xxix–xxx). At Winchester College it was customary for the steward of the hall to record, in the hall books, both the names of the regular household members as well as the names of the daily visitors *jurnelli*. After 1482, however, the names of visitors are no longer listed.

A study of the accounts revealed that there were particular times of the year when large numbers of visitors were in College, 'at the time of the accounts', 'at the time of the sessions', 'the elections', 'the fair', 'Christmas', 'Easter', 'Pentecost', and at the 'Feast of St. Swithun'. Who were the visitors dining in hall at these special times of the College year? Although farmers of the College estates visited throughout the year, many came to the College before the annual audit, which generally took place in late October. For instance, in week 3 term 1 of 1414–15, the farmer of Farnham dined with the fellows on the Saturday; the collector of Meonstoke Perrers and the collector of Meonstoke Ferrant ate with other servants on the Tuesday; the farmers of Colthrop, Shaw and Titchfield ate with the servants on the Thursday; the bailiff of Harmondsworth was there for supper on Thursday and stayed for lunch on Friday when he was joined by the farmer of Combe and the farmer of Downton (WCM 22819, hall book 1414–15, week 3 term 1). They all took refreshment with the servants.

At St. Swithun's tide, in 1450–51, among the guests dining with the fellows on the Sunday were the suffragan bishop of Winchester, Thomas Gyan and Richard Waller, knight (WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 3 term 4). Thomas

Gyan was a notary public of the Winchester diocese and treasurer of Wolvesey (Greatrex 1978, 293), and Waller was the master of Beaufort's household and steward of all episcopal lands and temporalities (1447) (WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 3 term 4).

Similarly, the link with the quarter sessions is interesting. Winchester was the county town of Hampshire and home to the quarter sessions and assizes. Keene notes that the entertainment of county justices was a regular feature of city expenditure (Keene 1985, I, 398), and it seems that the College was also drawn into providing hospitality at the time of the sessions; the numbers dining in hall increased accordingly at this time. In 1480–81, for example, at the time of the sessions, Master Uvedale was dining with others in hall. It is not possible to identify positively which member of the Uvedale family this was. However, in the fifteenth century, the Uvedales of Wickham in Hampshire, birthplace of William of Wykeham, were a well-known Hampshire gentry family who appear in the Winchester records. For example, Richard Uvedale of Wickham was admitted to Winchester College in 1430, but died in 1431 (Kirby 1888, 52). In 1440, a John Uvedale resided in Colebrook Street, Winchester. More contemporary with the visit to the College was Sir Thomas Uvedale, lord of Wickham, who served as sheriff of Hampshire from 1450 to 1451 and from 1463 to 1464, and died in 1484 (Keene 1985, II, 1374). He was associated with property in Kingsgate Street, close to the College (Keene 1985, II, 1018). Another young Uvedale, Thomas, was admitted as a scholar in 1500, and, at the time of his admittance, he lived in the soke, Winchester (Kirby 1888, 98).

Information from the hall books, combined with detail from the accounts, helps to establish the differing circles of people with which the College was inextricably linked. There are too many for a full analysis, but, by identifying them in terms of their association with the College, it is possible to provide a sample of visitors with whom the College was connected through education, religion, locality and neighbourhood, and to show that hospitality was offered to a wide range of people from royalty to the humble servant.

Although Winchester's status as a royal and

ecclesiastical centre had suffered a protracted decline, and the growing importance of London had gradually drawn royal administration away from Winchester, royalty continued to visit the city for a variety of reasons. Henry IV was married to Joan of Navarre in Winchester in 1402; Henry V was in Winchester in 1415 before the Agincourt campaign (James 1997, 84); and in 1486, Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII, was christened in the Cathedral (*ibid.* 122). When Henry VI was in the town at the time of the Winchester Parliament which was held between 16 June and 16 July 1449 (Griffiths 1991, 253), he visited the College, and, similarly in 1554, when Queen Mary was married to Philip of Spain, the College was also visited (Kirby 1892, 277). In 1536, however, just before the dissolution of the lesser monasteries (Winchester's three Benedictine houses survived the first round of closures), it was the King's secretary, Thomas Cromwell, who visited Winchester, and the College. On this occasion, the College gave him a silver salt which had been repaired at the cost of 5s 10d (WCM 22194, 1535–36, necessary expenses).

Visitors associated with education

One of the main groups of visitors to arrive annually at the College was the contingent from New College, Oxford. Each year, usually in August, the warden of New College, accompanied by two fellows and servants, travelled to Winchester from Oxford for the annual visitation and election of scholars. A flurry of activity preceded this visitation in most years, as a room was prepared for the warden, cutlery was cleaned, cloths were purchased for wiping dishes, pewter garnishes were bought, and extra food purchased.

There were also links with other educational establishments. In term 3, 1450–51, a servant of the provost of Eton had dinner in hall (WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 6 term 3). Eton College, founded in 1440, constitutionally resembled Wykeham's College in Winchester. Two weeks after the provost had dined in hall, three scholars dined with the fellows; they had come from the royal college at Cambridge, Henry VI's other foundation (*ibid.* week 8 term 4). Again, the College entertained the provosts of Eton and

Cambridge, and others who accompanied them, at the time of Bishop Waynflete's installation on 19 January 1448 (WCM 22123, 1448-49, necessary expenses).

Local dignitaries and neighbours

A wide range of people of differing status dined in the College hall, such as local dignitaries, parents of the scholars and neighbours of the College. In 1407, visitors who dined in hall included John Foxle, knight, and, on another occasion, Thomas Ailward, clerk and executor for Bishop Wykeham, dined in the warden's chamber (WCM 22816, hall book 1406-07, week 9 term 1; *ibid.* 1406-07, week 8 term 1). John Fromond and John Champflour dined privately with the warden in the same period. Champflour was closely linked with both the bishop and the prior of St. Swithun's, and had served as sheriff of Hampshire in 1401-02 (Greatrex 1978, 205 [72 n.3]; Keene 1985, II, 1189). Meanwhile, others of lesser status, such as the clerk of St. Elizabeth's College, dined with the servants in hall (WCM 22816, hall book 1406-07, week 2 term 3).

Robert Colpays is another useful example. Robert Colpays, of East Meon, was admitted to the College as a scholar in 1398 (Kirby 1888, 25). His brother John, also of East Meon, followed him there as a scholar in 1403 (*ibid.* 30). Unlike his brother John, Robert did not become a scholar at New College. In 1420, he was acting as attorney for Titchfield Abbey, in 1423 for St. Swithun's Priory and, in 1433-34, was attorney general in Southampton. He represented Winchester in parliament in 1436-37 and 1441-42, and, in 1442, acted for the bishop as a justice of the Pavillion Court at St. Giles' Fair. He was a county landowner and JP (Keene 1985, II, 1199). Colpays maintained his early links with Winchester College. Following his death, and to endow his obit, the College gained a messuage and lands at Otterbourne in 1446. His obit, shared with Alice Colpays, his first wife, was still being celebrated in 1546-47, the last year in which obits were celebrated at the College. Joan Colpays, Robert's second wife, maintained the link with the College by dining in Hall with her female servant, for example, in week 3 term 4, 1448-49. Also dining

there on the same occasion was the rector of Chesil, possibly her relative. Robert's brother, John Colpays, became rector of St. Peter Chesil, where he requested to be buried. John devised a tenement in St. Peter Chesil parish for his own obit, which was to be celebrated at the College 'after that of his brother Robert' (Himsworth 1976, I, 6-7 and 7 [39]). This property was purchased for the College in 1476.

Among those who dined in hall in the mid-fifteenth century were Nicholas Bernard, a knight of the shire and bailiff of Bishopstoke; Edmund Upham, bailiff of the soke in 1441-42 (WCM 22828, hall book 1441-42, week 3 term 1; *ibid.* week 9 term 1); the mother of a scholar named Farley, who, at the time of his arrival at the College in 1444, was described as living in Tanner Street, Winchester (Kirby 1888, 65); William Fayrford, probably of Botley, who, in 1444, had been granted a life appointment as gaoler and doorkeeper for the palace of Wolvesey 'on account of his diligence and faithfulness' (WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 11 term 2; Greatrex 1978, 86 [277]); and a relative of the sacrist of St. Swithun's priory (WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 9 term 1). In 1450-51, Thomas Hampton, the steward of lands of St. Elizabeth's College which was situated next to Winchester College, dined in hall (WCM 22834, hall book 1450-51, week 5 term 3).

An interesting group of people dined with the fellows on the Sunday of week 13 term 3, 1450-51. They were Peter Hill, his wife Cristina and son Thomas; Dom. William Wyke, Wellys, Arnold, and William Harys. Peter Hill had served the city as bailiff in 1428-29, as mayor (1432-33 and 1441-42) and aulnager (1442, 1452-54 and 1455-56) (Keene 1985, II, 1261). Sir William Wyke was the warden of St. John's House (*ibid.* II, 1394), one of Winchester's five hospitals. St. John's, a wealthy foundation which catered for the poor and needy, was the oldest and most important (Turner 1992, 44). Wellys was, almost certainly, Thomas Wellys, who served as steward of the College manors from 1451-88. On that occasion, Hill, Wellys and Arnold stayed for supper and were joined by the father of a new scholar, Northcote. Richard Northcote of Banbury (Kirby 1888, 67) had only arrived in

College that week; presumably his father had accompanied him on the journey to Winchester.

While some visitors, such as John Cook from St. Swithun's priory, and the butler and cook of St. Elizabeth's College, had not come far, other visitors had travelled some distance (WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 8 term 2; WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 8 term 2; WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 9 term 2). The parker of Clarendon, for instance, who dined with the fellows in 1443-44, had come from the royal palace and forest which was two miles east of Salisbury; the forester of Longwood, presumably, had come from Owslebury (WCM 22830, hall book 1443-44, week 6 term 2; Bettey 1986, 27-9; Himsforth 1984, III, 1408).

Visitors with religious connections

It has already been seen that Bishop Beaufort dined with the warden in his room in 1407. Bishop Beaufort succeeded Bishop Wykeham as Bishop of Winchester (1405-47) and was a loyal patron of the College. It was Beaufort who petitioned Henry VI for the right to acquire the manor of Barton, and who also assisted the College in receiving a crown licence to hold, in mortmain, Fromond's manor of Fernhill and moiety of Allington (Chitty 1926, 146). It was Cardinal Beaufort's suffragan bishop, however, who visited College and consecrated the altar in Fromond's chapel in August 1437 (*ibid.* 144).

William Waynflete (Bishop of Winchester 1447-87) was schoolmaster at the College from 1430 to 1441; in 1441 he left for Eton, but dined as a visitor in hall in the second week of the first term 1441. It was, however, as Bishop of Winchester that he attended vespers in College on 27 January 1449, and on that occasion red wine was purchased for him (WCM 22123, 1448-49, necessary expenses). Other churchmen also visited the College, such as the archdeacon of Surrey in 1450-51, and the Lord [Arch] Bishop of Canterbury in May, 1530-31 (WCM 22834, hall book 1450-51, week 9 term 4; WCM 22189, 1530-31, commons). Archbishop William Warham was from a Hampshire family and had been educated both at Winchester College and at New College before becoming

Lord Chancellor (1502), Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury (1504) (Kirby 1888, 80 and DNB, XX, 835-40). It was from him that the College acquired property in Kingsclere, which later became the Falcon Inn (Himsforth 1984, II, 532).

Representatives of the orders of friars were among those who dined in hall; a Carmelite brother, for instance, in 1414-15, and two Augustinian brothers in 1448-49. They dined at the fellows' table (WCM 22819, hall book 1414-15, week 4 term 1; WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 2 term 3). An Augustinian prior, accompanied by other brothers, came in the same year (WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 11 term 2). Another frequent visitor in hall was the rector of the Sustren Spital, a hospital maintained by the cathedral priory (Keene 1985, I, 106) which was situated adjacent to the College, between the College and Kingsgate. Examples of other members of the religious fraternity who dined in hall include the rector of Chesil, the rector of St. Lawrence, the vicar of Hambledon, a brother from the hospital of St. Cross and two nuns from the house of St. Mary's (WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 3 term 3; WCM 22834, hall book 1450-51, week 7 term 4; WCM 22834, hall book 1450-51, week 11 term 1; WCM 22832, hall book 1448-49, week 10 term 1; WCM 22834, hall book 1450-51, week 6 term 4).

The College also maintained links with the nearby cathedral priory. The organist and choirmasters were entertained in hall on occasion. For instance, in 1407-08 and in 1414-15, John Tyes of the soke dined at the high table. Tyes had been appointed as organist and choirmaster for the cathedral on 29 September 1402 (WCM 22816, hall book 1406-07, week 4 term 2; WCM 22819, hall book 1414-15, week 1 term 1). He was not the only choirmaster to dine at the College. In 1451, week 3 of term 1, Robert Bygbrooke, priest and choirmaster at the cathedral, also dined with the fellows (WCM 22834, hall book 1450-51, week 3 term 1). In 1455, he received a licence to grant property to Winchester College (Keene 1985, II, 1181). This was the same Bygbrooke who, in the 1430s, had featured in an argument between the prior of St. Swithun's and Cardinal Beaufort, who had

poached Bygbrooke from the priory for his own choir (Woolgar 1999, 177).

Visiting craftsmen

Some visitors were present in College while carrying out work of various kinds; bookbinders, carpenters, chandlers, embroiderers, glaziers and tilers are just a few examples. Thomas Glazier dined at the high table with the fellows in 1406–07 (WCM 22816, hall book 1406–07, week 5 term 1). He was the Oxford glazier, whose skills were used by Wykeham for his two Colleges at Oxford and at Winchester (Harvey in Custance 1982, 120). However, Wykeham also used his services at his bishopric palace at Bishop's Waltham, at Winchester Cathedral and also at the bishopric manor of Highclere (Hare 1988, 241). In many years, chandlers took refreshment in hall during periods when working in the College. In 1412, it was Adam, the chandler, who ate with the servants (WCM 22817, hall book 1411–12, weeks 2–3 term 1). Carpenters were there mending the bell-tower in 1450–51 (WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 13 term 2). Men, such as Thomas the bookbinder, who dined with the fellows for four weeks at the end of term 4 1449, and Thomas Browderer, the vestment maker of Salisbury, whose servants were repairing the vestments in weeks 9 and 10 of term 2 1450–51 (WCM 22123, 1448–49, commons; WCM 22125, 1450–51, commons), came to College to provide a service and dined in hall by the week with the rest of the household, servants and other visitors. Thomas, the bookbinder, was fed at the rate of 1s per week, the same as the fellows with whom he dined. Craftsmen often stayed in College for a considerable time and their presence in College added significantly to the number of visitors taking meals.

Visiting servants

Servants of varying degree and status visited the College, and the servant of Sir Edmund Hungerford dined with the fellows when he was in College in 1448–49 (WCM 22832, hall book 1448–49, week 2 term 2). In the same year, the servants of Lord Talbot, one of the outstanding

commanders in France, were given 4d when they came to the College from Rouen.

Other servants were of lower status, and a group, who frequently added to the numbers, were the carters who arrived with stores. They arrived in most weeks bringing supplies of fish, grain or malt; others came with pigs and sheep. The carters and drovers took their meals with others of similar status, when they brought their provisions for the bakery, brewery and kitchen. Yet more came with stores for other household departments. Some arrived with hay for the stable from places close by, such as Allington and Otterbourne (WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 8 term 4; WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 7 term 4). Wax for the College chapel was brought by the servant of the mayor of Salisbury in 1450–51, others came with ray cloth from Salisbury for the College liveries (WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 13 term 2; WCM 22834, hall book 1450–51, week 3 term 1). The carters and carriers also ate with the household servants, as did the millers of Segrims Mill and of Shaw, in 1448–49 (WCM 22832, hall book 1448–49, week 4 term 1; WCM 22832, hall book 1448–49, week 1 term 1). While the former was the principal grain mill of the city (Keene 1985, I, 62), the latter was at Shaw, one of the College estates.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has shown that, while William Wykeham established a school which provided for 70 scholars and 10 commoners, the total household size of Winchester College in the later Middle Ages was much greater and could fluctuate, and household composition was complex and variable. While the number of regular members of the College household amounted to approximately 130, a figure which included domestic servants, this number was increased even further when various College advisers and visitors of differing degree and status are included. It was the range of functions, as a chantry college with its own choristers, as well as a school, and the sheer number of residents, that made Winchester College such an imposing and costly household that required the extensive premises that survive today.

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All WCM references, unless otherwise stated, relate to the bursars' account rolls.

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VCH *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*.

WCM Winchester College Muniments

Primary manuscript and unpublished sources

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WCM 22077 - 22212 bursars' account rolls 1394-1556

WCM 22213 - 22214 bursars' account books 1556-64

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