

William Wynford, Retained Master Mason to William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester

by

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This essay re-examines aspects of the career of William Wynford and reassesses his professional and personal association with Bishop Wykeham. It derives from a paper presented at the 'Winchester: Archaeology and Memory' conference (Winchester University, 2014) and draws on the author's post-graduate thesis, 'The Life and Works, in Winchester, of William Wynford, Retained Master Mason to William of Wykeham c.1370-1406'.

In 1892 the Catholic newspaper *The Tablet* carried a series of letters in which several vexed correspondents each furiously challenged the other on the role and purpose of the medieval architect. The dispute revolved around the question of who was responsible for the design of William of Wykeham's (1325-1404) (Fig. 1) architectural legacy. Some believed that the bishop himself was the designer, a point challenged by the architect and founder of the Catholic Record Society, Joseph S. Hansom, who wrote:

Many writers have given credit of this to the great Bishop; but it must be obvious that with the initiation of this great work, the foundation of his great Colleges at Oxford, Winchester, and other great undertakings, to say nothing of his important duties as Bishop and great State officer, it would be a practical impossibility for him to undertake the execution of work which involved the formation of a new style in architecture.¹

Others considered it was William Wynford (c.1330-1406) (Fig. 2), the bishop's master mason, who took control; a view fiercely contested by the historian and antiquarian Francis Joseph Baigent who boldly went into print with the comment 'I then gave incontestable proof that he was the stonemason, and that it was wrong to designate him William of Wykeham's architect'.²

The Victorians' preoccupation with authorship left little room to explore the notions of how medieval building labour was arranged and co-ordinated to work simultaneously throughout the country, or how patrons achieved their building ambitions during times of re-occurring pestilence, ongoing military campaigns, labour regulation and the consequent impressment of labour. The social existence and role of medieval tradesmen was the topic of research for several scholars during the twentieth century, some of the most important contributors to this field being Douglas Knoop and Gwilym P. Jones;³

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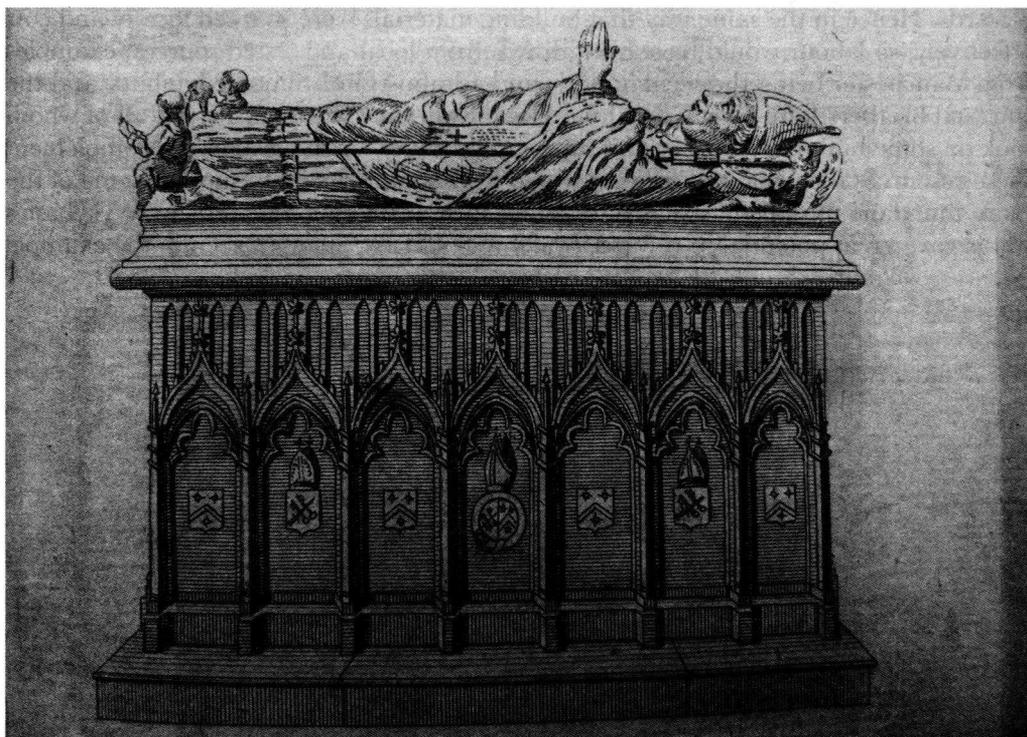


Fig. 1

Tomb chest of William Wykeham (1325-1404), illustration from the title page of *The Life of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester* (1759) by Robert Lowth. It is often speculated that the three tonsured monks at Wykeham's feet are his building team.

Author's collection

L.F. Salzman⁴ and John Harvey, who collated the biographical dictionary on senior medieval builders and craftsmen.⁵ These landmark publications advanced the hypothesis that William Wynford was the designer and builder of Wykeham's architectural legacy, a belief that has been echoed by scholars ever since, most recently by Virginia Davis, in her biography of Wykeham,⁶ and by the notable architectural historians Christopher Wilson,⁷ John Goodall⁸ and John Hare.⁹ There is no doubt that William Wynford was at the forefront of Wykeham's architectural aspirations although in what capacity is less clear. Hence, the aim of this essay is to review Wynford's life and works and re-examine evidence that contextualises two new and important aspects of his career: first, the notion that he was a retained master mason principally loyal to a single patron and second, that he benefitted from the reciprocal nature of service, that is the methods whereby Wykeham secured and rewarded his most loyal builders and how they bettered themselves through association.

Historians such as K.B. MacFarlane,¹⁰ J.M.W. Bean,¹¹ P.R. Coss¹² and M.A. Hicks¹³ have assessed such mutual arrangements as being bastard feudal; that is a personal bond between master and servant which may or may not have been dependent on financial

rewards. Hence in the same way that building materials were sourced locally and cost effectively, so labour would have been drawn from local and tested sources, examples from Winchester being the secular cleric and administrator Simon Membury and the spiritual brothers John Wayte and John Hurst from the Cathedral Priory, all of whom took on some building advisory and supervisory duties for the bishop. To complement these resources the prior and convent would have supplied men to support some of the more mundane unskilled aspects of building such as digging and carting. Wykeham's status gave great potential to reward loyalty and success, again as seen in the example

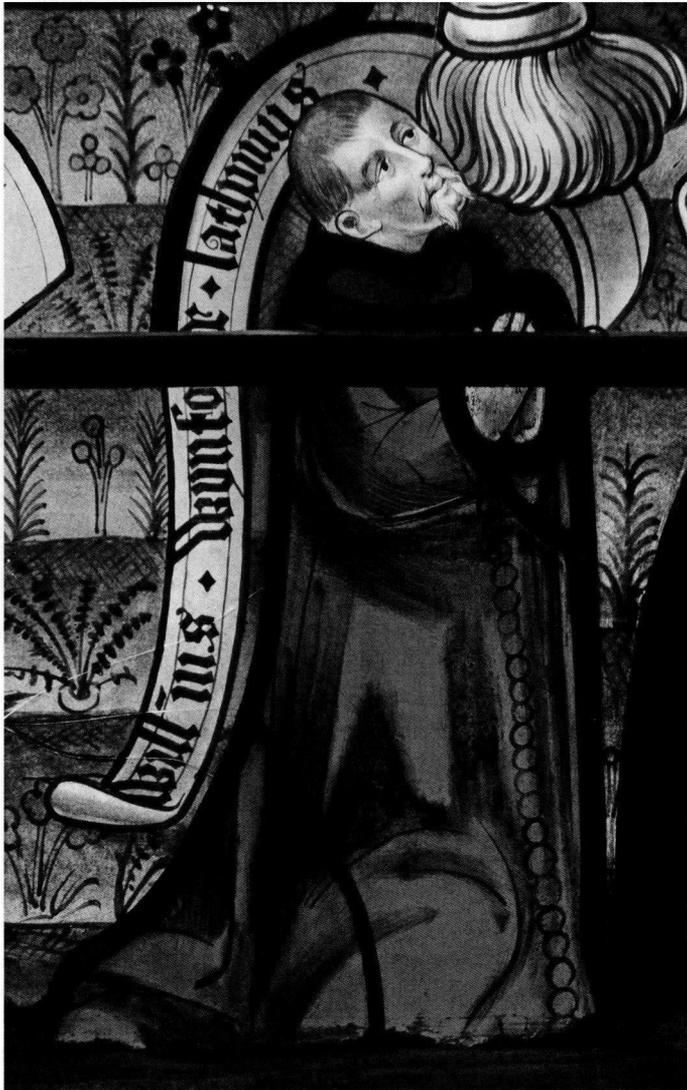


Fig. 2

William Wynford (c.1330-1406), retained master mason to the bishop of Winchester.

Winchester College Chapel

Photograph: Revd Gordon Plumb

of Simon Membury who, in 1395 on completion of Winchester College, furthered his career to become Treasurer of Wolvesey, the bishop's key financial advisor (a position he held until 1404), and in 1400 was appointed commissioner for St Cross hospital with John de Campden. It is of note that his counterpart at Oxford, John Blynklyng, did not progress so well.

Little is known about Wynford's early life, however if a family link with John Wynford (c.1370-1416), Fellow of New College, Oxford, who dined with William Wynford at Oxford in 1389, could be demonstrated then it is likely that his parents were Peter and Joan Winsford and his brother John Wynford (1348-1431), Rector of 'Haukechirche' in the Diocese of Salisbury.¹⁴ William Wynford first appears in the records in 1360, working under John Sponlee (*fl.* 1350-86) as one of two wardens of masons responsible for the new Great Gate and royal lodgings in the Upper Ward of Windsor Castle. Their Clerk of Works was Wykeham who first took charge of finance and procurement of materials and labour at Windsor in 1356, serving the king until 1361 when he was replaced by William Mulso.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that the architectural model used at Windsor, whereby the hall and chapel were amalgamated and enclosed by lodging ranges, was later the inspiration for Wykeham's colleges.¹⁶

By April 1361 Wynford was described as an 'ordinator' working alongside Sponlee whose pay shows that he was clearly the senior man. Two years later Wynford was a second master, and most likely, took extra responsibilities after October 1364 when Sponlee was rewarded with a corrody at Reading Abbey at the king's request.¹⁷ In 1369 both Sponlee and Wynford attended Queen Philippa's funeral, Sponlee still overtly of senior rank being described as an esquire of the greater estate while Wynford was esquire of minor estate.¹⁸ The same year Wynford received a tenancy of land in Windsor which could well be evidence of partial release from royal service.¹⁹

Wynford's indenture at Wells Cathedral in 1363 for supervisory works as a master mason was undoubtedly facilitated by Wykeham who, amongst his huge amount of benefices, was then a provost at the cathedral.²⁰ This commission shows that Wykeham recognised Wynford's talents as a skilled mason at an early stage and perhaps had already noted his potential as having the ability to steer his own building aspirations. In their study of the building campaigns of King Edward III at Windsor Castle, Stephen Brindle and Stephen Priestly suggest that Wynford could well have used his Windsor contacts to staff Wykeham's projects.²¹ Although the authors admit this is based on scant evidence it is clear that Richard Cherche, Peter Cresacre, John Sampson and John Spillesbury, for example, all appeared at Windsor between 1362 and 1364 and later played key roles on the bishop's projects at St Martin-le-Grand in London, Bishop's Waltham, Oxford and Highclere respectively. This is the first evidence that suggests Wynford was acting in some capacity as an agent for the bishop.

From 1367, once created Bishop of Winchester, Wykeham drew on Wynford's advice at Farnham Castle (1369/70), Wolvesey Palace (1371-2) on the remodelling of the residential chambers, Highclere Castle (1372) on the new great hall and high chamber and at Abingdon Abbey (1372-8) where a new chapel was built.²² So that he could focus on the bishop's works alone, Wynford left his post at Windsor in 1372 and took a royal pension paid from the issue of lands of John Brocas, a senior knight who

was a close friend of Wykeham and overseer of works and labour during Wynford's time at Windsor.²³ John Hare has argued convincingly in the *Antiquaries Journal* (see note 9) that a phase of Winchester Cathedral nave was being worked on from 1372; if this was the case then Wynford may well have left royal service specifically for this role, a point further suggested by the fact he impressed masons for the Crown in 1371 and 1372 but not again until 1378.

It is of note that, unlike the masons Robert Kentbury and John Martyn and the carpenter John Massingham, all of whom worked at Windsor and attended the queen's funeral, Wynford never pursued a career with the king's works. Hence, unlike his contemporaries there is a dearth of documentation for Wynford as an aspiring master mason who, had he been in private practice would undoubtedly have forged business partnerships to secure incomes, such as quarrying or property ownership. This lack of evidence suggests that Wynford showed little inclination to advance or diversify solely for financial gain, which may further indicate that the motives of close association with, or inclusion within, the bishop's household between 1372 and 1376 was an opportunity that he could not turn down.

Wynford's close association within Wykeham's household however ceased abruptly during the late summer of 1376 when the bishop fell from political grace and his household was dismissed.²⁴ From this date the surviving records show a distinct change in Wynford's movements. With no employment in Winchester he moved out of the city to work with the newly formed Office of Works under the king's master mason Henry Yevele (*fl.* 1354-1400), on projects such as Corfe Castle (1377-8) and (with Sponlee) on the tower and defensive walls surrounding Southampton Castle (1378-9). This close association with Yevele was not evident before Wykeham's eclipse. Regarding his status at this time, the 1377-8 accounts for the episcopal manor house at Bishop's Waltham refer to Wynford as 'mason and master of all the lord's masonry work' while at Southampton he was not only impressing masons for the king's works but also being paid for over a year's work as 'one of the King's hewers of stone', a 'hewer' being one who cuts and shapes stones.²⁵ Both instances suggest that he was a working mason and overseer of works rather than having any major architectural design input and therefore still subservient to Yevele.

Once pardoned by King Richard II in 1377 Wykeham did not immediately restore his household, a point recognised by the English chronicler Thomas Walsingham who wrote '[Wykeham] in former days...seemed to have far more servants than any other Lord'.²⁶ It took a few more years before Wynford was working solely for the bishop again. Yet, despite his temporary fall from favour Wykeham pursued his architectural ambitions, receiving the papal bull from Pope Urban VI on 1 June 1378 for the foundation of New College, Oxford and Winchester College (Fig. 3). Both building programmes are often credited to Wynford, Harvey for example noting 'There can on stylistic grounds be no doubt that Wynford was the designer, as he certainly was of Wykeham's second foundation, Winchester College'.²⁷ Yevele's relationship with the bishop at this time is often overlooked and needs some consideration.

There is no doubt that Yevele had a close working relationship with Wykeham, an association that endured until the master mason's death. In 1360 Yevele, the king's master mason, was employed by Wykeham at Queensborough Castle where he was described

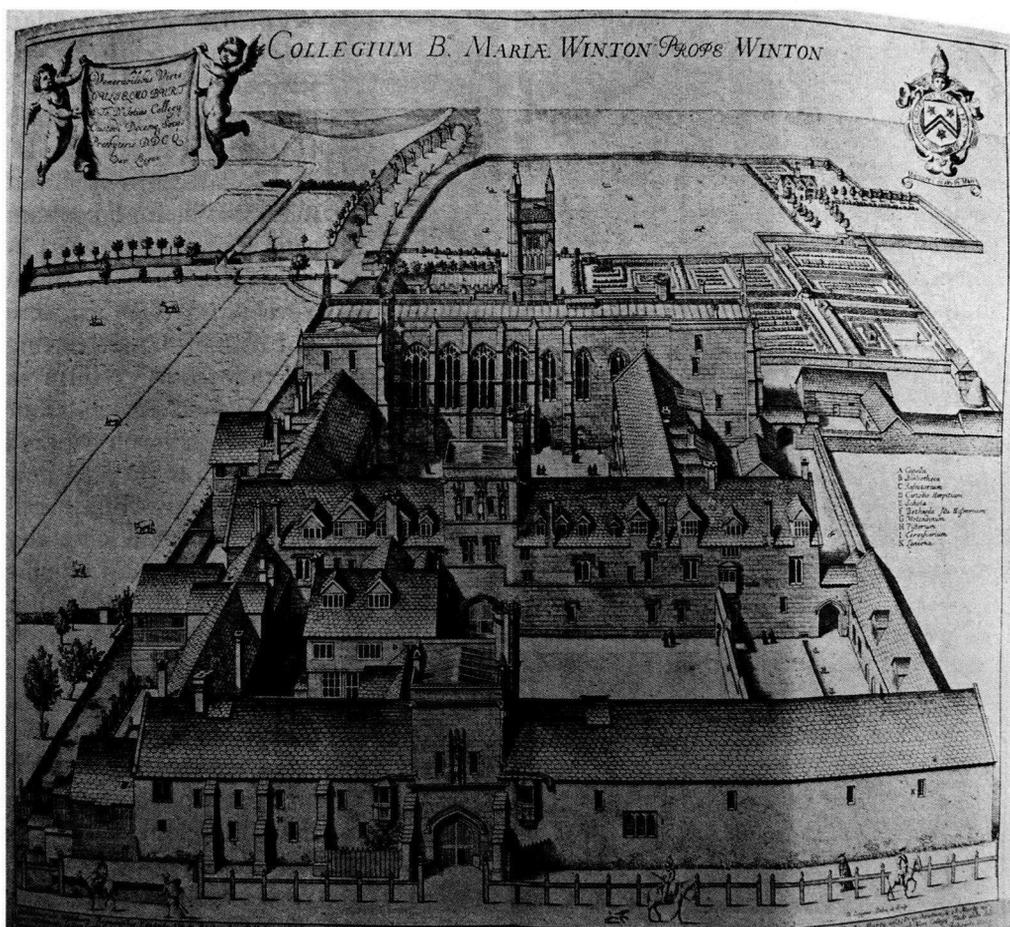


Fig. 3

College of St Mary's, Winchester, from D. Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), showing the inner and outer courts of the medieval college with the chapel beyond.

Photograph: author

as the 'deviser of masonry' (the closest medieval term for architect) and perhaps also between 1360 and 1364 on the rebuilding of the large collegiate church of St Martin-le-Grand where Wykeham was Dean.²⁸ In 1369 Yevele was ranked as 'an esquire of the minor degree' while attending Queen Philippa's funeral, giving him the same status as Wynford, and between 1369 and 1370 both men impressed masons for works at Orwell Haven in Suffolk and for works abroad. Unlike Wynford, from 1372 Yevele developed a successful business working for multiple clients predominantly (but not exclusively) in the south-east of England. For the bishop he was transporting stone in 1375, the following year he was working at Southwark and in 1379, when work commenced on New College, Oxford, he was recorded with Wynford at Waltham where he was charged to 'ordain and supervise the works on the New Hall'.²⁹ In 1380 Yevele supervised at Waltham alone whilst

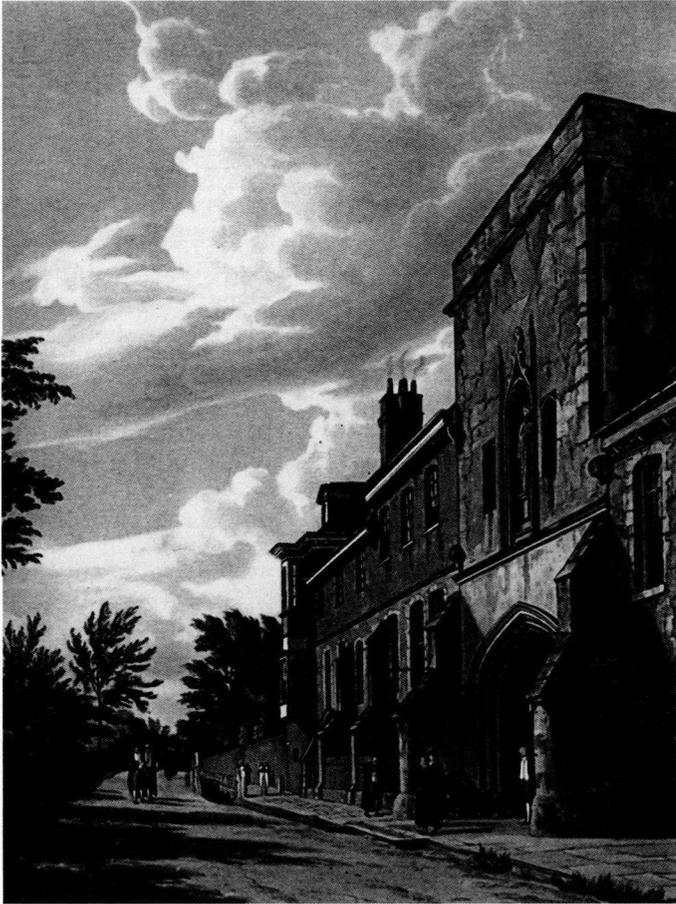


Fig. 4

Outer Gate, Winchester College, from R. Ackermann, *The History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton and Westminster; with the Charter-House, the School of St Paul's, Merchant Taylors, Harrow, and Rugby, and the Free-School of Christ's Hospital* (1816).

Photograph: author

Wynford was recorded working on the roof structure with the king's master carpenter Hugh Herland (c.1330- c.1411) and local carpenter and mason, William Ickenham and Robert Brewes. A year later, in 1381, both Yevele and Wynford were at Farnham Castle paying homage to Wykeham in his private chapel and four years later Yevele worked on the chancel and new chapter house of St Martin-le-Grand.³⁰ Such loyalty saw Wykeham's senior workforce dining either with the bishop himself or within his household at Oxford, Winchester and at his episcopal residences.³¹

Consequently, there is an argument to be made that from the time of Wykeham's restoration to royal favour, Yevele took some element of control over the bishop's building works, perhaps in a planning or design capacity. If this was the case then the demarcation between Wynford's role as the bishop's retained mason

and overseer and Yevele's position as his contracted master mason and architectural advisor becomes ambiguous and difficult to interpret. It follows therefore that both men were well placed to support Wykeham's architectural aspirations in the design and building of New College, Oxford, and at Winchester College (Fig. 4). At Winchester the logical demarcation might be Wynford working on the functional college buildings, while Yevele, in association with the king's carpenter Hugh Herland, constructed the chapel, a high status building most likely financed or part-financed by Richard II under whose license the College was founded. The king took a personal interest in its construction, visiting twice in 1393, and his image was incorporated into the stone fabric of the building

and within the stained glass.

The argument of seniority within Wykeham's household was further touched on by John Harvey who pointed out that the steward's hall books of 1389 at New College, Oxford distinguished between the social status of Yevele as a 'magister' and that of Wynford and Herland who were described as 'familia', that is within the lord's extended family or household offices.³² This shows that the latter two tradesmen were not regarded as 'masters' in Wykeham's circle but were retained for continuous service. Considering that the main building phases for Winchester College were between 1387 and 1394 it is of note that during this time Herland too retained a close association with Wykeham, being employed at Waltham for 133 days in 1391 (and further mentioned in the building accounts for 1395 and 1396), given a pension out of the fee-farm of Winchester, dining nine times in the household over a four months period, given a lease of a mansion belonging to the See Of Winchester and leasing a property from St Swithun's Priory in Kingston called 'the Bishop's Hall'.³³ This appears to be strong evidence of association yet, unlike Wynford, Herland's rewards are all in the secular domain. Indeed there is no evidence to show that Wynford enjoyed any such secular rewards, nor does he appear in Wykeham's company at Oxford without either Yevele or Herland being present. This would further suggest that Wynford's terms of employment differed from the king's master tradesmen and that in their company Wynford was outranked.

A similar situation is evidenced in Wykeham's Household Account Rolls for 1393 which show Wynford dining with the household, defined as a 'guest' rather than a 'gentle' or 'official'. In his capacity as a 'guest' Wynford was often in attendance with bishops, priors, physicians and lawyers, but even here rank appears to be key as Wynford was always in attendance with Membury, while Yevele and Herland regularly dined without any other building artisans being in attendance. This of course may be coincidental, particularly in view of Yevele's being listed as dining nine times between 29 April and 3 July, Hugh Herland intermittently dining between 28 May and 14 September while Membury and Wynford were all mentioned as being present in Wykeham's household between 24 July and 14 September 1393. It is possible that Yevele was present to receive the glass for the east window of the chapel, an event captured in the accounts: 'for 2 wagons from Esshere 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.' Although undated, this may well coincide with a dated reference: 'In a cart of Roger atte Grove hired from Esshere to Farnham with the equipment of Herebright the painter from London for carriage in the month of April 3s. 4d'.³⁴ Unfortunately, the manufacturer of the glass, Thomas of Oxford, does not get any mention in the Winchester accounts as he did at New College, Oxford.

Yet, what remains less conjectural is the definition of social status within the accounts. Senior guests such as lords, sheriffs and knights are defined as 'Monsignors' while Yevele is clearly identified as a 'Master', as indeed he was in 1389 in Oxford. This bestows on him the same rank as John Melton, first master of college between 1388 and 1394; clerics John Laurens and Baron Thomas de la Warr; R. Payn, possibly the Treasurer of Wolvesey of the same name, the physicians Geoffrey and Richard and the clerk John Twyford. Neither Wynford nor Herland is identified in this way which would prove that

as late as 1393, as the finishing touches were put on Winchester College chapel, Yevele still took a senior role in Wykeham's architectural team.

In 1394 Wynford, by now in his mid-60s, still appears active and was recorded working on Wykeham's episcopal residences at Highclere and East Meon.³⁵ In the same year he was working on remodelling the aisle of the thirteenth-century great hall in Winchester Castle and later in the year undertook a contract to build the outer gate at Winchester College.³⁶ His last recorded work outside Winchester was in 1397 when he was supervising work at Waltham with the carpenter William Ickenham, although there is evidence to indicate that masonry work was being transported from St Swithun's to Wykeham's sites for installation, presumably from a workshop operated by Wynford.³⁷ Also in 1397, the by now ageing Herland, Wynford and Yevele were commissioned to repair Winchester Castle, although there is no evidence that any work took place since neither man took any payment for works. Despite the college expenses of 1399/1400 showing that he was issued with gloves, works on Wykeham's sites were forging ahead under the guidance of others: John Donyson at Winchester Castle; Richard Rede (surveyor), William Ickenham (carpenter) and Robert Hulle (mason) at Winchester College and William Brown at New College, Oxford. Wynford died sometime shortly before 26 July 1406.

Retainership or the nature of dependence upon a lord, was the central mechanism in the apparatus of medieval feudal society. Evidence indicates that bastard feudal exchange, often for life, was commonplace for the execution of building works, indeed, examples can be drawn from the king's works as well as those of Edward the Black Prince, John of Gaunt and serving lords such as John Cobham. To secure a loyal and skilled workforce in the years following the Black Death was a challenge for any patron – an issue that Wykeham knew only too well. In 1359 the Continuator of Higden stated that Wykeham 'impressed nearly every mason and carpenter in England so that hardly any good craftsmen, except deserters were available for other people', indeed so volatile was the labour market that, at Windsor, Wykeham's masons wore red caps and liveries 'lest they should escape the custody of the conductor'.³⁸ The scarcity of labour peaked during the second visitation of the plague which enforced further impressment of masons for Windsor on 6 January 1359/60 by Robert of Gloucester.³⁹ Such was the concern that these men may desert that securities were taken and deposited in the Court of Chancery. Furthermore, the employment of migrant tradesmen from the shires who were not affiliated into London trade guilds, and therefore, could not possibly achieve freeman status, created a further volatile threat to social order.⁴⁰ It was with this backdrop that Wykeham's future endeavours to retain quality designers and local workmen to fulfil, what he surely considered as his ecclesiastical duty, must have stemmed.

For Wynford, affinity with an influential patron elevated his social position and provided him with security. Yet, he was not the only tradesman who benefitted from reciprocal association in this way. John Spillesbury, William Ickenham and most likely Robert Brewes, all clearly professionals, were also incorporated within Wykeham's household, though whether in a religious or lay capacity we cannot always be sure. Of course, financial recompense was the primary driver for the bulk of Wykeham's craftsmen, indeed so short was the supply of labour that the bishop openly flouted labour legislation,

for instance employing the masons John Spillesbury at Highclere and William Brown and John Sampson, both at New College, Oxford, at rates above the statutory ceiling. It seems these prosecutions did not harm the reputations of either employer or employee and such arrangements must be seen as a consequence of enhanced London rates.

In exchange for loyalty Wykeham extended the benefits of service beyond purely financial incentives. One example of how he did this can be seen in the Winchester College household accounts. Admission to Wykeham's educational institutions was an incentive for the whole of his household, hence amongst the first admissions to Winchester College, described as 'founders kin', were relatives of Hugh Herland (Kingston-upon-Thames), the Waltham and New College warden Robert Brewes, the masons Richard Norton (Kenton, Devon) and John Martyn (Frome).⁴¹ Later the sons of Simon Membury and Bernard Brocas, Wykeham's treasurer and chief parker respectively, were admitted to the college.⁴² Most of these scholars went on to serve in elevated positions in society. Furthermore, the bishop's building administrators, tradesmen and families are mentioned in a codicil to his will.⁴³ Again, Norton, Martyn and Prewes (Brewes) are featured, as is the builder Thomas Dene and administrators Simon Membury and John Wayte. As far as I know these instances are unique within the medieval building trade and would therefore reflect their special status.

We can also see religious advantages as a consequence of loyal service to a single patron. Wynford was awarded a corrody at Winchester Cathedral Priory in 1399 which although a rare honour was not unique, as shown by John Spillesbury's corrody at Eynsham Abbey and the king's master, John Sponlee, being taken into Reading Abbey towards the end of his life. Other examples include Alan Walsingham (*fl.* 1314-64) a prior at Ely Cathedral who is credited with design works, the mason John Box (*fl.* 1333-75) who had close associations with Canterbury Cathedral between 1350 and 1356, Thomas Hoo (*fl.* 1380-96) described by Harvey as 'resident master mason at Canterbury Cathedral' and Master William of Wermington whose incised memorial stone at Croyland Abbey shows the stone mason wearing a monk's cowl and habit.⁴⁴ In the same way, Thomas of Witney granted land to Winchester Cathedral Priory in 1313, most likely to secure his corrody in later life.⁴⁵ The impediments to overcome selection for such an honour are evident by the failed application of King Edward II to the prior of Bath Abbey for the mason William Joy (or Joye) in 1335/6.⁴⁶ Some corrodians purchased the privilege; while others such as Richard Farleigh at Bath Abbey and William Cobald at Bury had close association with, or received their training through, the confines of the church.⁴⁷ What these men had in common was that they all sought security within the church, accepting an abandonment of personal property for a communal life of prayer and manual work. However, it was common practice to supplement this ready labour force with senior secular figures to administer architectural design. In the cases of Ely and Canterbury the design skills of William Ramsey and Yevele respectively are in evidence, with the latter renting property in London from Christchurch Priory as early as 1375.⁴⁸

Wynford's corrody of 1399 rewarded him as a 'special brother' with a chamber and food for him and a servant for life in reward for 'good service to us and to our church done and to be done in the future'.⁴⁹ As 'master of the work' he received an esquire's robe with lamb's fur, a robe for his servant and could eat daily at the priors' table in the

priors' hall although the corrody makes quite clear that he cannot dine 'when a large number of important people of rank are present'.⁵⁰ This shows that his status within the household remained quite modest. In exchange for protected residency within Wykeham's household or the cathedral priory the monastic chapter would have provided bodily and spiritual care for which the beneficiary would usually sacrifice their entire estate. In 1403 a licence was granted to Wynford for a private oratory, yet despite his advancing years it might appear that his health was intact as he was mentioned in Wykeham's will and entrusted to lead on the ongoing works on Winchester Cathedral nave.⁵¹

Contracts that ensured loyalty in return for spiritual salvation were attractive to the secular brethren; indeed the ability to elevate in social status in order to gain religious preferment can be seen in two examples of Wykeham's own provincial labour. The brewer John Bouke appears in the Oxford Lay Subsidy of 1380 yet, twenty years later, with John Hulyn, he had achieved the position of joint clerk of works at New College, Oxford and went on to become its fifth warden. His death in June 1441 saw him buried before the cross in the chapter of Winchester College.⁵² In the same way, the staunch loyal service of Wykeham's carpenter, William Ickenham, certainly enhanced his prominence in society. After his death in 1424 his will requested him to be buried in the nave aisle of Winchester Cathedral.⁵³ In a society where death was so prominent, the position of Ickenham's burial clearly flaunted rank and involved ties of lordship.

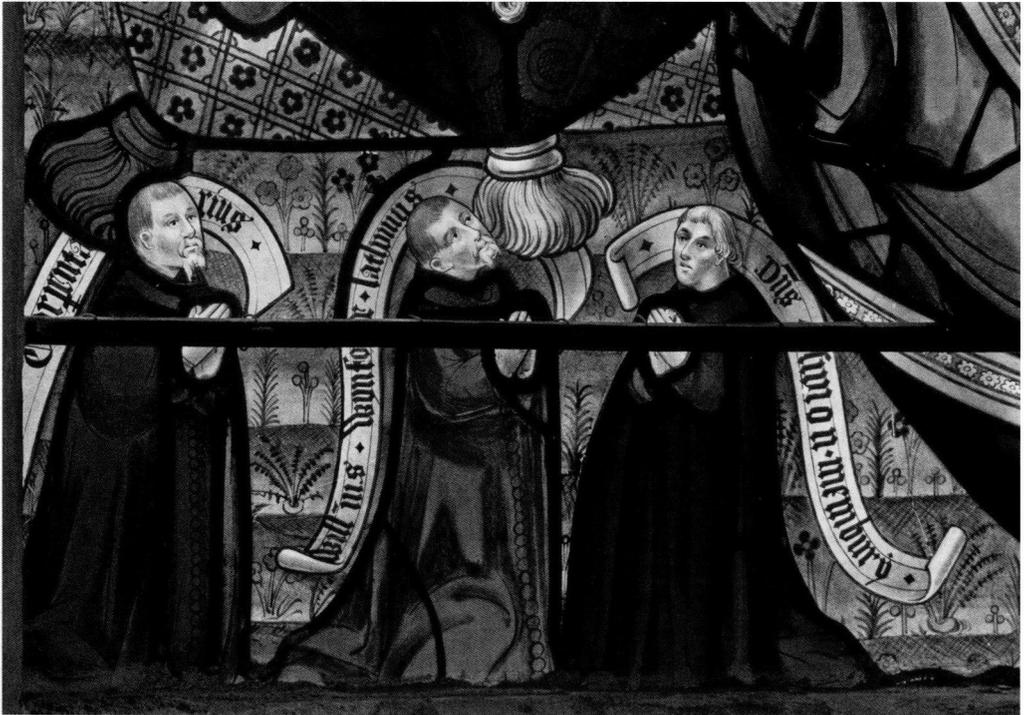


Fig. 5

Three of Wykeham's chief building staff as depicted in the east window of Winchester College Chapel: (from left to right) the unidentified 'carpentarius' (most likely Hugh Herland or William Ickenham), 'Willms Wynford lathomus' and the secular cleric and administrator 'Dns Simon de Membury'.

Photograph: Revd Gordon Plumb

It is also apparent that builders or tradesmen were no different from the rest of the lay community in that they too could become patrons to the ecclesiastical foundation. One example of this would be the king's master mason John Sponlee, who presented a chalice to St George's chapel in Windsor.⁵⁴ Another may well be the great east window of Winchester College chapel in which an unnamed carpenter, William Wynford, Simon Membury and the glazier Thomas of Oxford are illustrated in the stained glass panels (Figs 5 and 6). All of these men worked primarily (although not exclusively) for the bishop and contributed significantly to his built legacy, so rather than just being a measure of Wykeham's high regard for his artisans as Christopher Wilson suggests, could they in fact be part donors of the glass?⁵⁵ What could be a higher reward than physical inclusion within the sacred space alongside Wykeham's own benefactors Kings Edward III and Richard II and the bishop himself? A similar Tree of Jesse west window at New College,

Fig. 6

Thomas of Oxford (*fl.* 1386-1427), glass designer and manufacturer, seen here kneeling in prayer. His work was very influential as it was strongly influenced by the international gothic style, a point shown by the fact that the glass painter Herebright of Cologne is mentioned in Wykeham's household accounts.

The Winchester College Chapel east window depicts the genealogy of Jesus Christ in the form of a 'Tree of Jesse'.

Photograph: Revd Gordon Plumb



Oxford, was made in the early 1390s (fragments of it are now at York Minster) so it is possible that it contained similar iconography.

Some caution must be exercised since this window was replaced by Betton and Evans in the 1820s but comparison with the repatriated glass in the west end suggests that the copies are consistent with the original but the colour less so. However, in a window full of imagery situated at the bottom, beneath the Tree of Jesse, are devotional images of three men, placed perhaps to symbolise morality, roots, status and fertility as the men who facilitated the pious incentives of the founder.⁵⁶ All wear liveried robes but not hats which were not permitted under the 1377 sumptuary legislation. Livery, the visible recognition of retainership, was a rare honour for those outside the king's service although examples do exist, such as Stephen Lote and Henry Yevele who received livery robes for Christchurch and Canterbury priories respectively. Wynford, identified simply as a 'lathomus' or mason, rather than a 'master' is seen in a deep ruby coloured gown with a blue hood trimmed with fur, a garment permitted under the terms of his 1399 corrody. Membury's gown is not trimmed with fur. Some debate over the unnamed carpenter's identity may be answered by the maroon colour of his robe which matches that of the monarch so could therefore depict the king's carpenter Hugh Herland. Others might disagree saying that the difference in colour may distinguish between the lay and clerical orders or between ordinary and extraordinary retainer or just between servants of different status, hence it is just as likely that the carpenter is William Ickenham.⁵⁷ Visual commemoration in such a high profile building would have been perceived as having huge spiritual meaning. Indeed while it would have indicated Christian education and social mobility its main purpose was as a stimulus for the living to pray for the named donors thereby easing their journey through purgatory. This is very unusual, possibly even unique, so strongly re-enforces the notion of a special relationship between patron and retainees.

There has long been a romantic vision that Wykeham was an architect in his own right, a throwback perhaps to the Victorian notion that only a churchman could build a church.⁵⁸ This paper has made every effort to balance the evidence of how Wykeham acquired, organised and rewarded his designers and craftsmen, in particular his key retained master William Wynford. The conclusions reached are twofold. First, Wynford was unlike many of his contemporaries in that he turned away from the migratory nature of the medieval labour market in order to execute a pivotal role in the regional building aspirations of a single patron. Second, the mutuality of this agreement saw Wynford, in his capacity as a retained mason, secure incentives of social and spiritual mobility beyond financial gain, while his patron Wykeham secured the advice and labour he required at a time when the supply of such skills was deficient. It is clear that, in times of skilled labour shortages, the bishop could not have contemplated the engagement of direct paid labour to fulfil his appetite for architectural achievement; instead, he sought dedication and trustworthy support from builders such as Brewes, Herland, Hulle, Ickenham, Wynford and Yevele through the reciprocal nature of bastard feudal exchange, often for life. This is especially pertinent to those who may not have been able to thrive on the strength of their crafts alone and consequently sought supplementary rewards rather than just wages or fees. In doing so the bishop's architectural aspirations were achieved

by some of the most skilled artisans nationally and regionally and, perhaps as important, some of the most devout. As no building accounts exist for either of Wykeham's colleges and very few financial payments have been recorded to his builders *per se*, one wonders how far this mechanism of incentives went. Nonetheless, the system achieved its aims of encouraging new architectural talent, providing Wykeham's craftsmen with the chance for social and spiritual progression while retaining their loyalty through mutual reward and patronage. It is noticeable that such arrangements may have started early in careers as evidenced by Robert Hulle, often identified as Wynford's successor, who was dining in Wykeham's household in 1393 and in 1412 was given the lease of a convent house and like Wynford, given rights to dine at the prior's table.

In her biography, Virginia Davis writes: 'Wykeham's wider service to the Crown, and in particular his period in royal service at Windsor, was of great significance in creating and influencing the composition of his household circle of business associates'.⁵⁹ In order to fulfil his works Wykeham drew on those closest and most loyal to him. I have shown that their rewards were often non-financial, although more tangible financial rewards were given to 152 beneficiaries, including craftsmen, lawyers and local gentry in Wykeham's lengthy codicil to his will.

Returning to the deliberations in the *Tablet* newspaper in 1892, Joseph Hansom's letter concluded:

New College was commenced 1379, and finished 1386. Winchester College was commenced 1387, and finished 1393. Winchester nave was commenced 1394. Wynford might, therefore, have gone from one to the other fabric. Probably the life of Wynford is unattainable; but the records of him, with date of appointments, the nature of them, and his emoluments, put in a handy form, might throw much light on the question.

In piecing together the evidence regarding Wynford's career we can relate to Wykeham's methods of securing his architectural ambitions through the accepted medieval mechanisms of household, livery and maintenance. It is perhaps hardly surprising therefore that he adapted the mid-fourteenth century proverb 'Notions of every manner and clothing maketh man' for his college of *Sainte Marie* in Winchester. Yet, this statement too is far from straightforward. Some believe Wykeham devised the motto himself, others think he borrowed it. Some believe it relates to personal moral codes while others see it as having a more outward meaning relative to behaviour towards others. Some see it as a disclaimer to high rank rather than embracing the medieval codes of maintenance. Little, it would seem is straightforward.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr Peter Cramer for giving me the opportunity to present a paper at the 'Winchester: Archaeology and Memory' conference. With regards to my original research thanks must go to Tom Beaumont James and Michael Hicks for their encouragement, support and teaching. I am indebted to Anna Eavis who gave some insightful reader comments on my draft submission and the Revd Gordon Plumb who helped with images. As always I acknowledge the support of Kathryn and Eleanor Holden.

NOTES

- 1 *The Tablet*, 16 April 1892, 25.
- 2 *Ibid*, 30 April 1892, 22.
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- 5 John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: a biographical dictionary down to 1550* (London, 1954).
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- 7 Christopher Wilson, 'William Wynford (d.1405)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38160>, accessed 16 July 2017].
- 8 John Goodall, *The English Castle*, (New Haven and London, 2011).
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- 16 Goodall, *op.cit.*, 319. Anna Eavis, 'The Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164, (2011), 169-95.
- 17 *Calendar Close Rolls 1364-8* (hereafter *CCR*), 76-7.
- 18 Francis Tate (ed.), *Life Records of Chaucer* (Chaucer Society Publications, 1876) IV, 174.
- 19 *Calendar of Inquisition Post Mortem 1348-77*, III, 276.
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- 21 Stephen Brindle and Stephen Priestly, 'Edward III's Building Campaigns at Windsor and the Employment of Masons, 1346-1377' in Nigel Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel in the Fourteenth century* (Woodbridge, 2005), 203-24.
- 22 For Highclere see C. Philpotts, 'Plague and Reconstruction: Bishops Edington and Wykeham at Highclere' in Nigel Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth-Century England I*, (Woodbridge, 2000), 115-22. For Wykeham's meteoric rise in status see J.R.L.Highfield, 'The Promotion of William of Wickham to the See of Winchester', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 4, (1953), 37-54.
- 23 W.H.Pyne, *The History of Royal Residences*, 1 (London, 1819) 43.
- 24 Davis, *op.cit.*, 63-70.
- 25 *Calendar Patent Rolls 1370-74* (hereafter *CPR*), 65.
- 26 J.Taylor, W.Childs and L.Watkiss (ed.), *The St Albans Chronicle, I, 1376-1394, The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham* (Oxford, 2003), 75.
- 27 John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: a biographical dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1987), 353 (hereafter *EMA*).
- 28 *EMA*, 359.
- 29 *CCR* 1374, 59. John Hare, 'Bishop's Waltham Palace, Hampshire; William Wykeham, Henry Beaufort and the Transformation of a medieval Episcopal Palace', *Archaeological Journal*, 145, (1988), 239.
- 30 F.J. Baigent, 'Cronal Records', *Hampshire Record Society*, III, 1891, 42. William Martyn was also present, perhaps a relation of the Oxford mason John Martyn.
- 31 *EMA*, 366, quoting Winchester College Muniments (hereafter *WCM*), Wykeham's Household Account 1393.
- 32 John H Harvey, 'Some Details of Mouldings used by Yevele', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 27, (1947), 51-60.
- 33 H.E.Malden (ed.), *Victoria County History of the Counties of England: Surrey*, 3, (London, 1911), 490.
- 34 *WCM*1.

- 35 *EMA*, 353. E.Roberts, 'William of Wykeham's House at East Meon, Hants' *Archaeological Journal*, 150, (1994), 456-81.
- 36 WCM 22078. Inexplicably this entry has been struck from the register.
- 37 Hampshire Record Office, Eccl. 2 159403.
- 38 J.R.Lumby (ed), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis*, 8, (London, 1866), 39.
- 39 *CPR* 1361-64, 108 and 112. *CCR* 1360-4, 391 and 397.
- 40 This was apparent at Canterbury in 1381 when the *intrantes* were blamed for many of the city's problems.
- 41 WCM 1. J.E. Thorald Rogers (ed.), 'Roll from New College Muniment Room', *Oxford City Documents 1268-1665*, Oxford Historical Society, xviii, (1921), 306-7 makes specific issue of both Membury and William Norton 'Garderobario hospitii' being held by 'indenturam'. It is also of note that John and William Wynford and William and Hugh Herland dined at New College in 1389 and 1397 respectively.
- 42 *CPR* 1370-4, 224. T.F. Kirby (ed.), *Wykeham's Register 1366-1404*, (Winchester 1896-9), ii, 280.
- 43 Lowth, op.cit., Appendix, xlvii-liv.
- 44 *EMA* 312, 31 and 148.
- 45 *CCR* 1313-17, 37.
- 46 *EMA* 164.
- 47 *Ibid*, 63, 106 & 273, Cobold was described as giving 'good and laudable service'.
- 48 John Harvey, 'Henry Yeveley and the Nave of Canterbury Cathedral', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, (1985), 20-32.
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- 50 *Ibid*.
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- 52 WCM 1.
- 53 *EMA* p.157.
- 54 A.K.B. Roberts, *St. George's Chapel Windsor Castle 1348-1416* (Windsor, 1947), 89.
- 55 Christopher Wilson, 'William Wynford (d.1405)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38160>, accessed 16 July 2017].
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