

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY INN AT ANDOVER

By EDWARD ROBERTS

INTRODUCTION

In March 1445 a contract was made between Robert Thurbern, Warden of Winchester College, and two carpenters who were to build a timber-framed inn for the College at Andover. The building contract, which is of exceptional interest for its detailed description of a mid-fifteenth century inn, shows that it was to comprise four ranges, built around a courtyard (WCM 2522; Appendix). When the contract was first published in 1892, it was correctly associated with The Angel Inn in Andover High Street (Kirby 1892, 175) but, when the contract was again published in 1952 no reference was made to the inn's name and, in 1961, W A Pantin called it 'an inn at Andover, Hants which is only known to us from its description in a contract for its building' (Salzman 1952, 517–9; Pantin 1961, 168). However, the documentation is so full and unbroken, and the surviving structure conforms so closely to the 1445 contract, that there can be no doubt in linking one with the other.

In the early 1970s, Richard Warmington was the first to recognize the importance of the inn to the architectural historian and he made measured drawings of the north range and also of a medieval fireplace which had been removed during renovations (Warmington 1970, 3–6; 1972, 11). The subsequent publication of a detailed descriptive list of Winchester College muniments has made readily accessible the records of The Angel from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century (Himsworth 1976–84, 86–7) and recent extensive refurbishment has revealed substantial remains of the inn's eastern range and fragments of the south range. Thus there is now available for study a rare combination of detailed documentary evidence together with a significant proportion of the structure of the original inn. Indeed, this combination makes The Angel arguably one of the most significant timber-framed buildings in Hampshire.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ORIGINAL STRUCTURE

The building contract of 1445 described a rectangular plot, ninety feet north to south and

eighty feet from west to east where it fronted the High Street. On this plot were to be built four ranges around a courtyard (Fig 1).

The East Range

The east range, with its ridge parallel to the High Street, stands between cross-wings which are parts of the north and south ranges (Figs 1 and 2). It is in four bays and its chief component was the finely-carpentered and spacious hall (now subdivided). The southern two bays of this hall were originally open to the roof, for their rafters are heavily sooted and there is a carefully framed opening in the roof apex for a louver. The central roof truss of the hall is most unusual in design (Fig 3). It has a jointed cruck whose upper members are not rafters (as is commonly the case) but scissors braces which cross and extend to the opposing principal rafters. The sharp outline of this cross is softened by a cambered bracing piece which creates, with the jointed crucks, a graceful arch. The small struts linking the principal rafters to a scissors brace, were properly mortised and clearly integral. No exact parallel to this truss appears to have been recorded, although it does partly resemble a group of fifteenth century church roofs in north-east Hampshire (for example, at Rotherwick and Up Nateley) and a domestic roof at 20–24 The Square, Titchfield (Atkinson 1942, 148; *pers comm* Mr J Oliver and Miss E Lewis). The hall truss is described in the contract as '*a couplet trussid fro the groundside*', and Salzman correctly observed that this phrase implies a cruck construction (Salzman 1952, 518).

The north face of this truss is well chamfered but, on the southern face, deep moulding runs from the bracing piece, along the scissors brace and down the post – an indication that this was intended to be the 'high' end of the hall. The trusses at either end of the hall have curved queen struts and a central king strut to

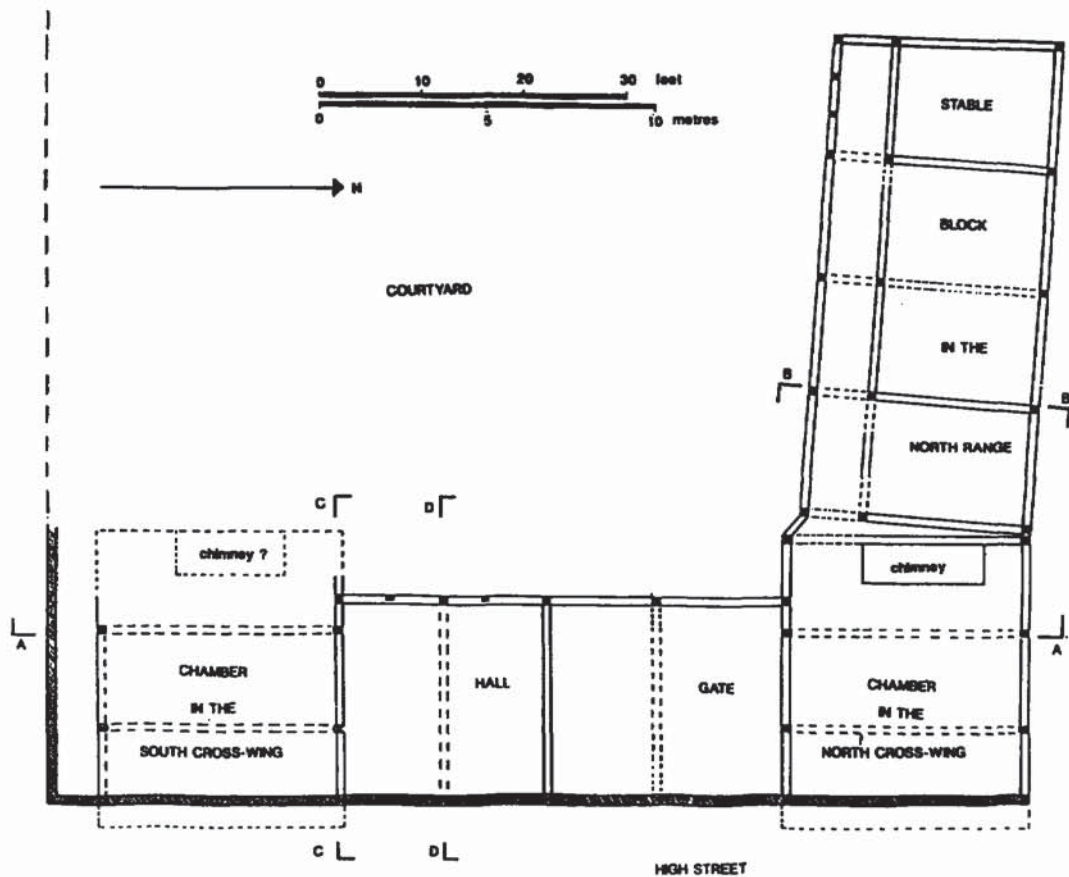


Fig 1. A plan of The Angel Inn at first floor level. (Brick walls are represented by hatching)

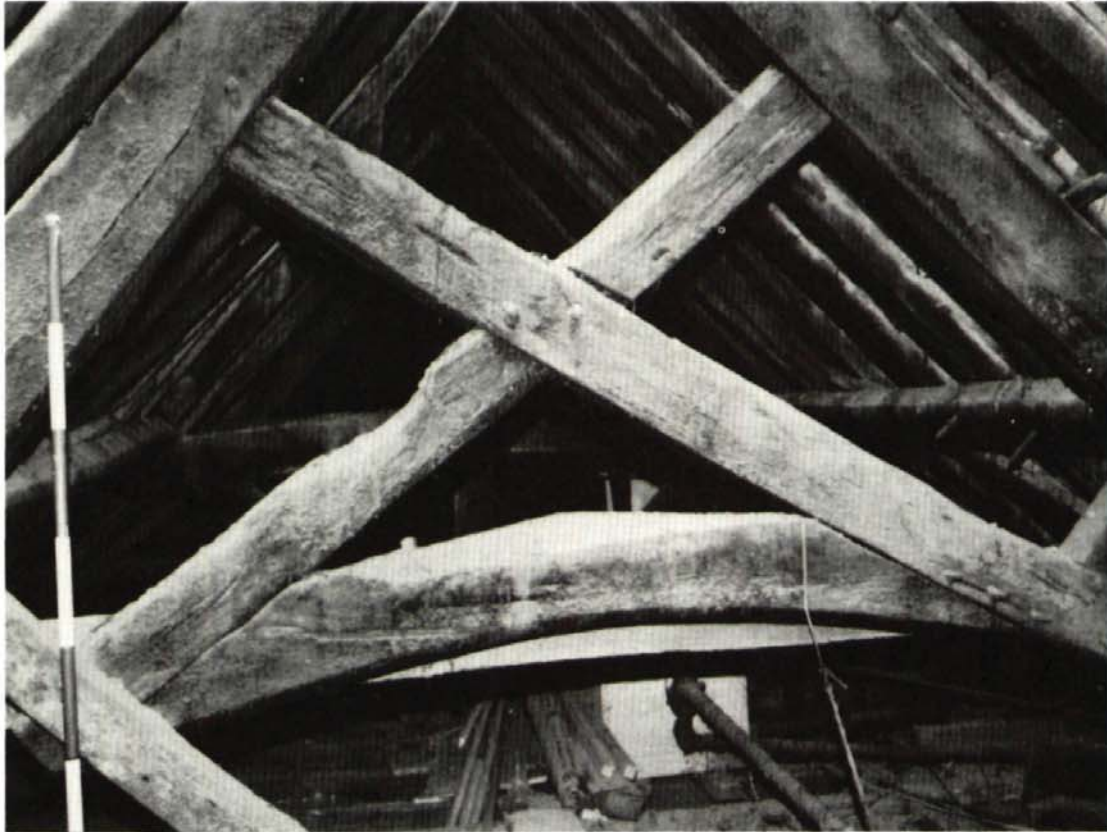
produce a graceful pattern. All wind braces and purlins are finely chamfered (Fig 2). Clearly the hall was designed to impress, although its relatively small size (20 feet x 30 feet) suggests that it was not designed to accommodate the whole company at one sitting. Indeed it may be that the grander guests ate privately in the heated parlours in the cross-wings – a practice suspected at other fifteenth century inns (Pantin 1961, 186–7). Traces of dark red paint on the post at the north end of the hall may represent an early, or even original, decoration.

Although the hall occupied only two bays at roof and first floor level, at ground floor level it extended a further bay to the north where it

was oversailed by a chamber above (Fig 2). This is shown by a lack of mortises for partition-frames both in the soffit of the cross-beam and in the surviving post at this point. All this conforms to the contract, as do the measurements of the hall (thirty feet long and twenty feet across) – although the hall truss has spread by a few inches due to the removal of a brace.

The northernmost bay of the east range contains a gateway which is still the entry to an inner courtyard. It is now eleven feet nine inches wide, although the contract required twelve feet. From the gateway a blocked doorframe with a depressed four-centred arch gave access to the north, overshot bay of the

PLATE 1



The Angel Inn, Andover: the scissors brace in the hall viewed from the north side. (Photo courtesy of Mr F G Green)

hall. Above both this overshoot bay and the gateway was a two-bay chamber, now divided but originally one room on the evidence of the face of the central tie beam which has no peg-holes for a first floor cross-frame. The placing and size of this chamber exactly conform to the contract according to which it was to be twenty-two feet long of which ten feet should oversail the hall [*x fete to be trussid over in to the hall*].

Where visible, the cross-frames and western wall-framing of this range are composed of rectangular panels and curved arch braces (Fig 4), but on the eastern elevation of the hall, where it fronts the High Street, a line of close-set, rectangular mortises in the soffit

of the wall plate imply showy and extravagant close studding, now unfortunately removed.

The contract specifications for the east range were faithfully observed by the carpenters, except on one point – the orientation of the entire range was reversed. Thus the gatehouse, which the contract requires to be placed at the south end of the range, is in fact at the north. While this could be attributed to medieval indifference or uncertainty with regard to such niceties, a more plausible explanation is the desire to site the main entrance to the inn at the junction of the High Street and the main London road (Warrington 1970, 9).

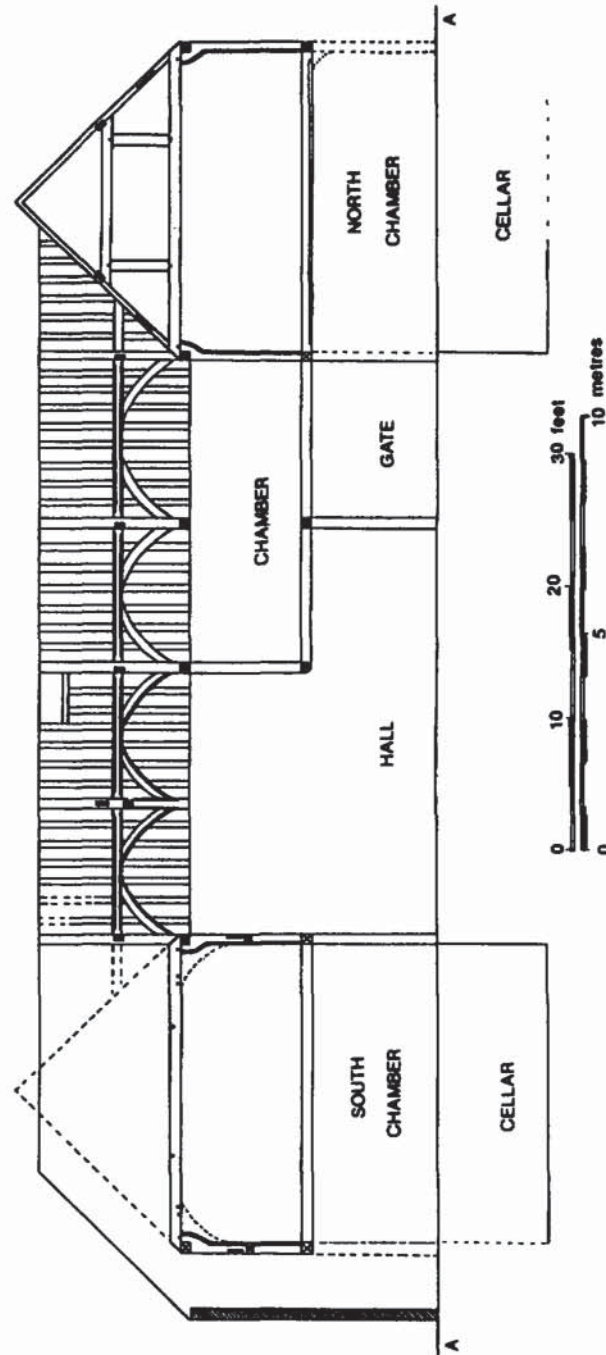


Fig 2. A longitudinal section through the two cross-wings and the central, east range. (Modern partitions have been omitted)

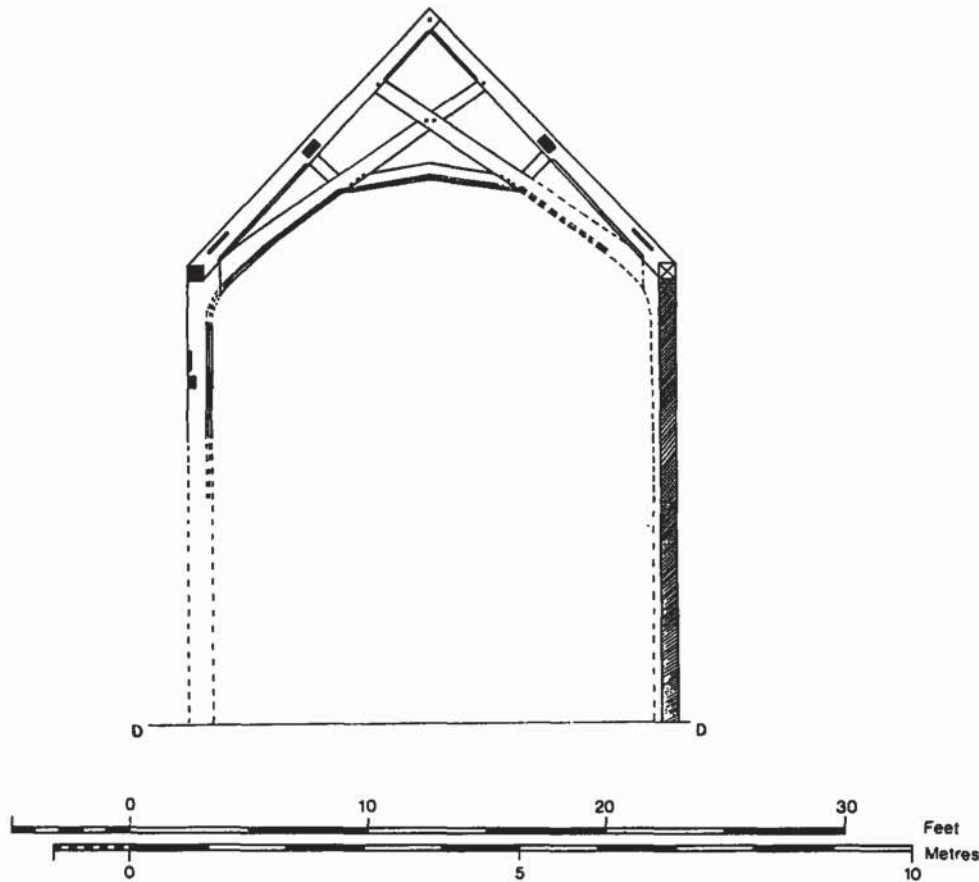


Fig 3. A cross section through the hall truss.

The north range

The north range comprises two separately framed structures: a cross-wing and a stable block. To the north of the inn gateway stands the fine, three-bay cross-wing, its eastern gable end now truncated. In the ground floor chamber, which occupies all three bays, the ceiling is borne by two richly-moulded cross-beams. The chamber above was originally open to the roof on the evidence of the clasped purlins which are chamfered both above and below. The roof has queen posts, side purlins, undiminished principals and curved wind braces. Three surviving trusses are spaced at

intervals of about eight and a half feet. If, as seems likely, the fourth truss (which has been destroyed) was similarly spaced, then the east, gable end of the cross-wing jettied over the street by approximately two feet. This bears out the contract which requires that the chamber to the north of the hall should have '*a jety utward of ij fote est and west*'. (The last phrase must refer to an east-west orientation rather than to jetties on both sides, for a western-facing jetty would hardly have been built hard against the stable block.)

A large, stone chimney stack, almost certainly built by Thomas Beere in 1449/50, rises to the apex of the western gable of this cross-

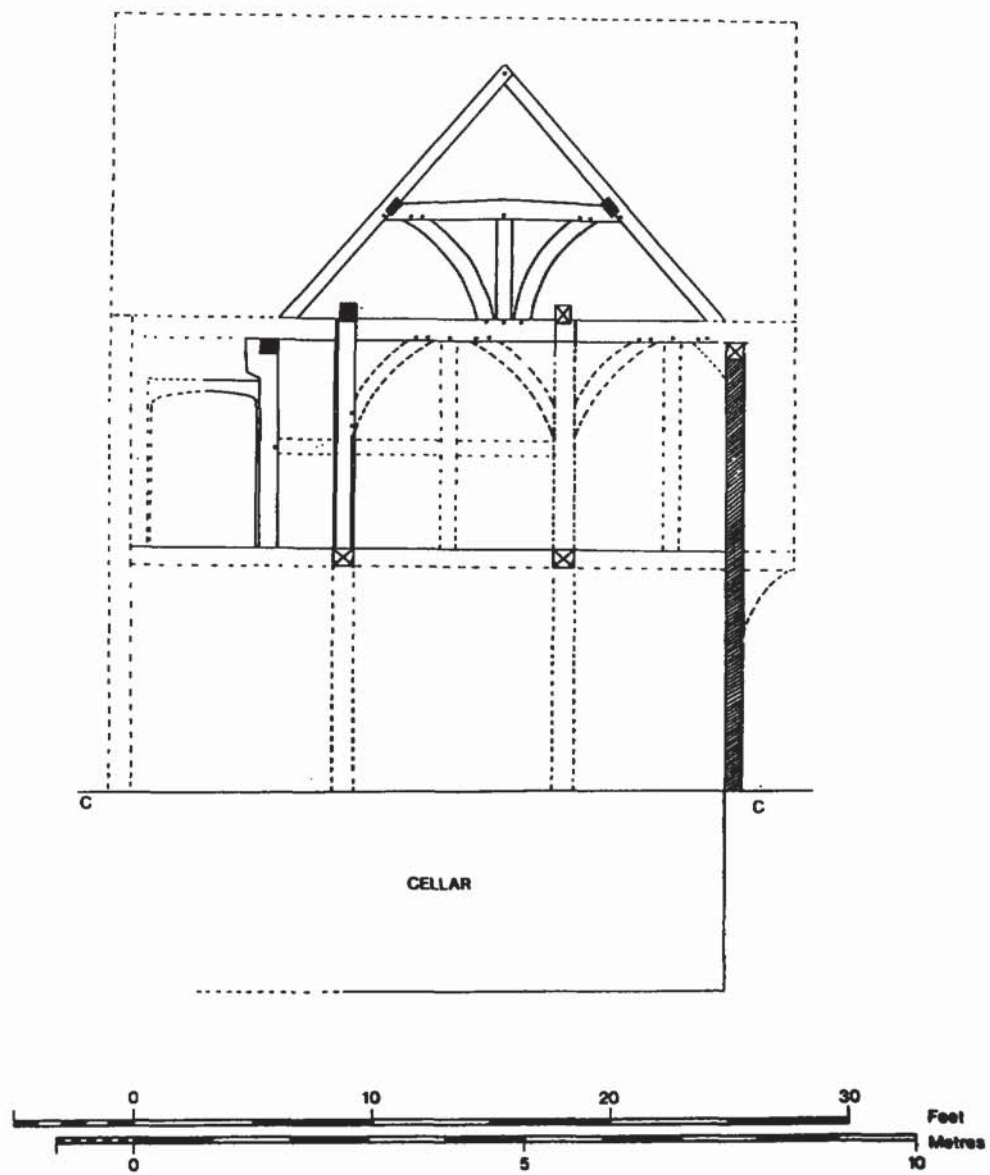


Fig 4. The southern cross-frame of the hall which also functions as a side wall of the south cross-wing (the jetty and roof of which are outlined with a broken line).

wing (WCM 2684). This feature, taken with the spaciousness of the chambers and the quality of the moulding on the timbers, shows that the cross-wing offered lodgings to visitors of quality. Moreover, the contract called for the cross-wing to measure twenty-four feet north-south by twenty feet east-west. In fact it was built on a grander scale, being approximately twenty-six feet east-west. This change of plan must have been of some significance and may perhaps be explained by the growing demand for inns to cater to men of wealth and status who, in the fifteenth century, were increasingly leasing out the residences at which they formerly stopped on their journeys (Dyer 1989, 99-101).

According to the contract, a stable block was to adjoin the cross-wing to complete the north range. These stables were to be built on the same pattern [*in like wyse*] as the south range, which was to have stables twenty feet wide with chambers above twenty-two feet wide. This implies a jetty two feet wide overlooking the courtyard. The widths of the ground floor rooms (presumably the stables although no structural evidence of their original function survives), of the jetty, and of the chambers above precisely follow the contract which also requires '*v fete jtake owte of the same chambers in widnesse for oriell*'. The open gallery - now converted to a closed corridor - is five feet in width and this must be the oriell of the con-

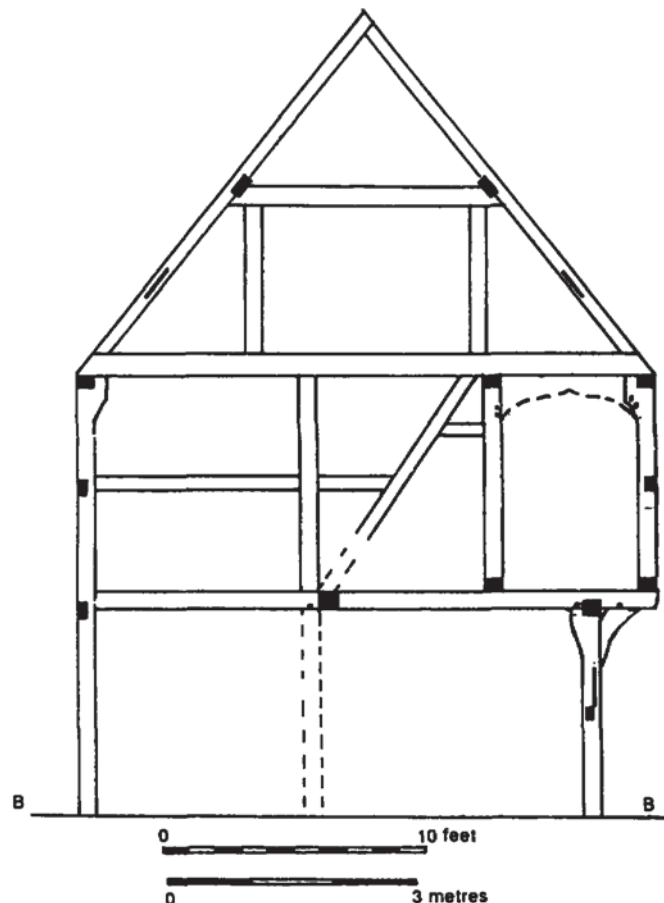


Fig 5. A cross section through the stable block in the north range, showing the gallery above the jetty.

tract, as the word 'oriel' could denote any built-out gallery in the Middle Ages (Wood 1965, 99; Pantin 1961, 169). Certainly there is no indication of an oriel window in this block.

On the first floor, there was probably one room to each bay, although not all the dividing cross-frames survive. At ground floor level there were partitions at each bay division, creating four small stables or rooms. The whole block, which appears to have been originally unheated, has unchamfered timbers and is lower in height than the cross-wing to which it is attached. All these features proclaim a relatively low status.

Thus the cross-wing provided spacious, heated accommodation overlooking the High Street, while unheated and relatively cramped lodgings were to be found above the stables which flanked the courtyard. Indeed, it was

usual for medieval inns to offer both high quality and inferior accommodation (Drinkwater *et al* 1964, 240-1). Yet although the cross-wing and stable block were different in status and have separate timber frames, there is good reason to suppose that they were built at the same time. Not only are they both required by the building contract, but they also share a common style of construction: queen post roofs with curved wind braces and clasped purlins.

The north range, as built, does not appear to match the contract in one respect. The contract seems to require both stables and kitchens in the north range but stables only in the south range. A sketch map of 1839 shows that, at that time, there were indeed both stables and a kitchen in the north stable block (WCM 21303; Fig 7). However, there are no smoke-

PLATE 2



The courtyard of the Angel Inn, looking east. Centre-right is the gate leading out to the High Street. On the left is the stable block in the north range, the jetty of which is now under-built. Just visible half-left is a gable and chimney of the north cross-wing.

blackened rafters nor other signs of a medieval kitchen here and it is probable that originally this block contained only stables. The same conclusion was reached by Warmington, who argued that when the orientation of the east range was altered, it was deemed necessary to reverse the functions of the north and south ranges as well (Warmington 1970, 9). So little survives of the south range that one cannot rule out this suggestion, but the farmers' accounts suggest that the kitchens occupied a separate long house (WCM 2679, 2680). Furthermore, Hardyng's and Holnerst's contract of 1445 specifies a plot on which the inn should be built; the long house which contained the kitchens was built according to a separate contract. This may imply that they were built on a separate site, perhaps on the inner 'timber yard' shown on the plan of 1839 (Fig 7).

The west range

The contract requires a west range [*like to the north and suth parte sayyng a chambr' over a gate in the said parti' with a joti wyndowe*]. This seems to imply a further stable block interrupted by a west gate. Although none of this survives, the inventory of 1462 shows that the west gate, at least, was built (WCM 2696).

The south range

At the southern end of the hall are the remains of a cross-wing which appears to have been a mirror image of the northern cross-wing, as was required by the contract. The surviving wall plate (which has mortises for posts and ties) shows that it was a three-bay structure which jettied over the street, just like the northern cross-wing (Fig 4). The surviving posts show that it was the same height and width, and the surviving tie beam that it had a similar queen post roof (Fig 2). No chimney remains but a large stack was removed, possibly from this cross-wing in the mid twentieth century (*pers comm* Richard Warmington). The fine, stone chimney piece which was associated with this stack had moulded jambs and a

lintel with five panels arranged horizontally. Three panels displayed shields and between them were two panels with regular flowers (possibly roses). Above these devices were cusped, ogee arches with trefoils in the spandrels (Warmington 1972, 11). The whole ensemble represented high quality workmanship appropriate to the parlour of a notable inn. On stylistic grounds, it could be assigned to the mid fifteenth century and was almost certainly made by Thomas Beere and installed when the inn was first built. Unfortunately it now seems to have been lost.

Where the southern cross-wing extended westwards beyond the external wall of the hall there are remnants of a doorframe at first floor level (Fig 4). This possibly gave access to a stair down into the courtyard, or to a gallery which ran along the southern block.

Beneath both northern and southern cross-wings are cellars, as was required by the contract. The cellar under the south cross-wing is the more complete. Where it faces the street, it has a knapped flint wall with ashlar quoins. At what was probably the original ground level are two small, square windows of chamfered ashlar. Beneath the southern end of the cross-wing, the wall ends with dressed stone quoins. Between this feature and the south end of the present building is a gap of about three feet (Fig 1). The disposition of cellar walling here could suggest a flight of steps outside the main timber-framed structure and towards the street.

It should be noted that both south and north cross-wings must be contemporary with the east range, for the outer tie beams of the east range also serve as the wall plates of the cross-wings and the lap dovetail assemblies at this point could not be a secondary feature (Harris 1978, 13).

There can be little doubt that the structure described above dates from the 1440s, and not from a later rebuilding. True, there was post-medieval remodelling which will be noted in due course, but the core of the building closely follows the contract of 1445 in plan, room size and in the scantling of the various timbers (Appendix). It is highly unlikely that a total

rebuilding, if it had occurred, would have followed an earlier contract so closely. Moreover, the datable features, such as the hall truss and the chimney piece, consistently point to the mid fifteenth century. It could be argued that curved braces, with a side purlin and queen post roof were standard in Hampshire throughout the sixteenth century, but they were certainly not uncommon by the mid fifteenth century (Lewis *et al* 1988, 50, 54, 71).

BUILDING THE ANGEL

Winchester College was founded by deed in 1382, and in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries came to possess many valuable properties (Harvey 1976, vii-ix; Himsworth 1976-84, ii 21-3). It is clear that a well-planned inn, situated in a market town and on a busy route, was considered a profitable investment. Thus in 1418 the College built an inn, also called The Angel but later called The George, in the main market street of Alresford (Salzman 1952, 493-5), and in 1485 it acquired The Swan at Kingsclere, of which the magnificent hall still survives (Himsworth 1976-84, ii 532). Other institutions were alive to similar opportunities and, in Andover itself, Magdalen College, Oxford rebuilt The Bell in 1534 (Warmington 1976, 131-41).

In the fifteenth century, Andover was a centre of the cloth trade situated at the crossing of important trade-routes. Thus, when Winchester College acquired property there in 1413 it would have been prudent to consider investing in an inn – especially as the College held a fine plot on a prime site in the High Street (Parsons 1945, 180; Keene 1985i, 317; Harvey 1976, ix). It has been claimed that, in fact, an inn was built there before the disastrous fire of 1434/35 (WCM 2669, 2670; Kirby 1892, 174-5; Himsworth 1976-84, ii 45), a fire which may have left the smears of charcoal recently discovered across the surface of the chalk on the site of the south range (*pers comm* Mr F G Green). Certainly it would seem that the fire consumed all previous structures on the site of The Angel, for the building

contract of 1445 stated that the new inn was to be built on void ground.

The carpenters who undertook the task were John Hardyng and Richard Holnerst. In 1443/44 and 1444/45 Hardyng was working on a College property outside the Bargate at Southampton but he had already completed a *portratura* or drawing of The Angel by the time the contract was sealed on 4 March 1445 (WCM 2522, 22119, 22120). The contract stated that the inn should be built according to this drawing but the College seems to have had second thoughts about Hardyng's plan. A messenger rode to Southampton to tell him not to begin work on The Angel until he had received further instructions from the Warden, and on 2 April 1445 the carpenter of Eton College was at Winchester College where he was paid for his counsel on the design and for making another *portratura* on parchment of the proposed inn at Andover (WCM 22120; Harvey 1984, 130). It seems that this design partly superseded Hardyng's, for the timber frame of The Angel does not conform in every particular to the specifications set out in Hardyng's contract (Appendix).

In the 1440s there was a significant interchange of ideas on architectural matters between Winchester and Eton Colleges. The royal college of Eton was founded in 1440 by Henry VI who visited Winchester College several times in order to study Wykeham's foundation (Cook 1959, 191-2; Kirby 1892, 192-3; Harvey 1967, 214). Clearly, the Warden took the opportunity of the presence of the king's carpenter at Winchester to seek reciprocal advice on the design of his new inn at Andover.

The College bursars' and farmers' account rolls paint a marvellously detailed picture of the inn's construction. By Michaelmas 1444, timber was being carted from Hannington Wood, near Kingsclere, probably for the long building [*longa domus*] which was built by John Norton carpenter between 1444 and 1446 (Mercer 1972, 9-10). This, the first structure to be erected on the new site, was tiled and contained no less than three kitchens. While this work was in progress, the well was com-

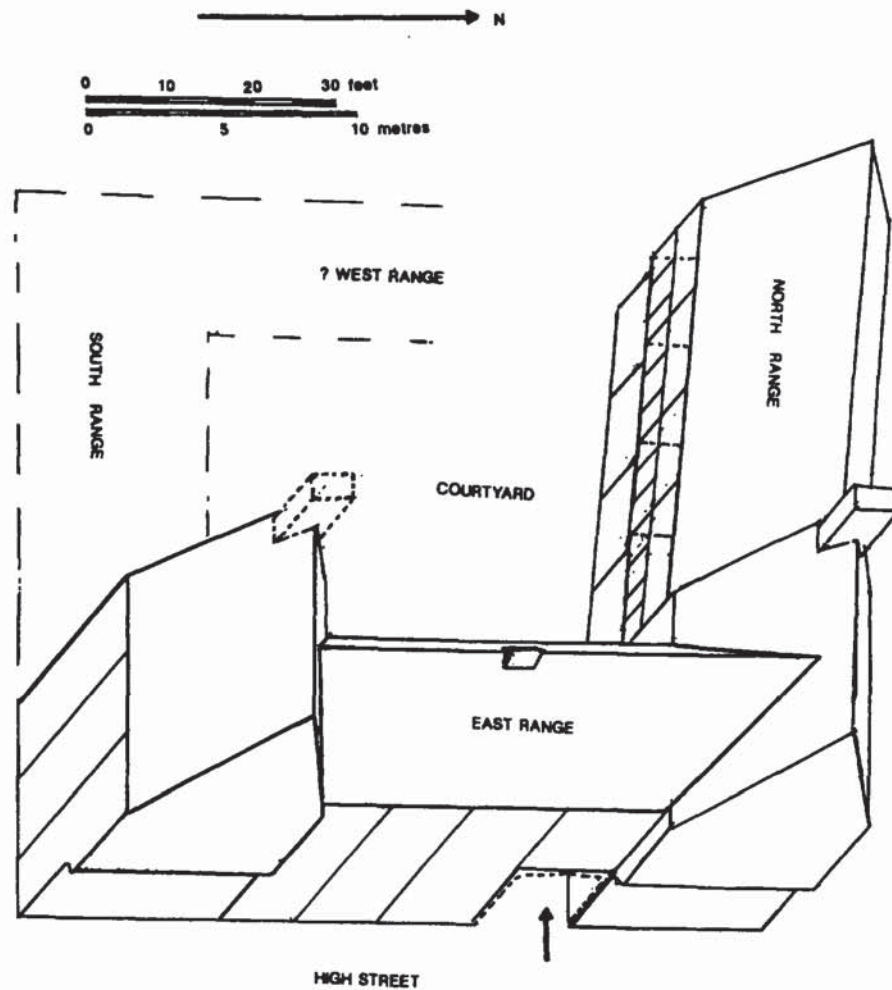


Fig 6. A partial reconstruction of the original appearance of the Angel.

pleted and a foundation wall, or *grass table*, was built with Beer stone from Devon. Although this may have been the foundation wall for the kitchens, it is more likely that such costly stone would have been reserved for the inn itself (WCM 2679, 2680, 22119; Salzman 1952, 91). Hardyng and Holnerst began work on the timber frame soon after the contract was sealed in March, 1445, and in July 1445 Hardyng went to Froxfield to get *quarterboord* for the inn. Other timber for the carpenters came

from the sixty oaks that were felled at Finkley in Chute Forest, a few miles north of Andover (WCM 22119, 22120). In spite of the condition in their contract that they should finish within a year, Hardyng was paid yearly for his work until 1448/49 and Holnerste until 1449/50 (WCM 2679–2684).

As was the custom, it would seem that they began shaping the timbers at a framing-place, for in 1445/46 the site was being cleared and levelled (Salzman 1952, 200; WCM 2680).

However, by 1446/47 the timber-frame was sufficiently erected for fifty-eight couples of rafters to be received from Ashmansworth and 17,000 tiles from Mottisfont. In the same year, ironwork was fitted to the windows and a cellar was floored over. Caen stone was carried from Botley to a mason who was making the windows in the cellar, some steps, and a *water table* – perhaps a string course to finish off the foundation wall (Salzman 1952, 89; WCH 2681).

In 1447/48, work was well advanced. More tiles were carried from Woodhay, doors were bought, locks and keys were obtained from a smith at Romsey, and two weather vanes were placed on the gables of each cross-wing [*in ij vanyis pro ij poynonis*] (Salzman 1952, 214 and 236). Of special interest is the purchase of 20,000 bricks from Daniel Brykeman to stop up the front wall of the inn – [*pro muris de le frount predict' hospic' obstupand' et faciend' cum brykys*]. This seems to imply the infilling of the timber frame with brick nogging, although the nogging – if it ever existed – has not survived the eighteenth century rebuilding of the elevation fronting the High Street (WCM 2680–2682). A recent survey has found no wholly satisfactory example of brick nogging in England before 1462–63; and even then on a royal building – the king's gatehouse at Hertford Castle (McCann 1987, 108). Nevertheless, The Angel was partly planned by the king's carpenter and built by a major institution. Furthermore, it would have been odd to have built an entirely brick front onto an otherwise timber-framed inn.

From 1448 to 1453, work neared completion. Stone from Chilmark and Pewsey in Wiltshire was carried to the site. Thomas Beere, the mason, built the chimney stacks and made the sophisticated *parelles*, or chimney-pieces (Salzman 1952, 101; Warmington 1972, 11). A labourer dug a cellar to the north of the inn gate and two latrine pits in the southern part of the inn; both cellar and pits were lined with stone by John Cotyn, the mason. The latrines were enclosed with a tiled structure and more roofing completed other inn buildings. Eaves boards were sawn (Salzman 1952, 244), tiles

were brought from Woodhay and Tytherley, the louver above the hall was covered with lead, and the gable windows – which were probably projecting oriels – were roofed.

Lastly, four tables were bought for the cellars; racks and mangers were made, and padstones were placed under the principal posts of the stables; partitions were made in the rooms over both gates; and *selynge*, or wooden panelling, was fitted – probably in the best chambers in each cross-wing. Two ovens were built and enclosed within a timber frame, and a hay barn of four bays was erected within the inn's curtilage. In 1452/53, as a finishing touch, John Messyngham painted the inn sign which was then carried from Winchester to the Angel in Andover (WCM 2683–2687).

The new inn was already called The Angel in an inventory of chattels belonging to the College of 1462 (WCM 2696). Although this document provides a valuable list of rooms within the inn, it was not its object to provide a complete list. Thus no mention is made of the stables, even though the farmer's account of 1450/51 shows that they were built (WCM 2685). However, the *ostery* is mentioned, presumably the room of the ostler or stableman, but just possibly the innkeeper's own room (Mayhew *et al* 1888, 165).

The document provides important evidence that the missing west range was in fact built, for it refers to the west gate and a west parlour. It refers also to two kitchens: a south kitchen, and a northern one with a dresser, a bucket and chain for drawing water, two *coppis* [?coops] for keeping poultry in, and an iron bar in the chimney. These were probably two kitchens within the long house completed by John Norton in 1445/6 (WCM 2680) and perhaps situated in an inner court behind the main courtyard built by Hardyng and Holnerst.

Turning to the east range and the two cross-wings, the hall was furnished with tables and benches, and in the south parlour (probably the ground-floor chamber of the south cross-wing) were a bed, a press, a spence for keeping victuals, and a *spere* (or screen), while in the north parlour were a bed, a trestle table

and three benches. There is no unambiguous reference to the chambers above the parlours, although one of them may have been the chamber called *Cristoferchambr* in which were two beds, a trestle table, three forms, a cupboard, a *selyng de bord* (wainscot), a *spere* and a *latise* (lattice). The north and south cellars beneath the parlours contained a stand to set beer on and more tables and benches.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE ANGEL

The inventory of 1462 dealt only with College chattels. Thus, not only did it fail to list all the rooms in the inn, it also ignored the innkeeper's possessions and consequently presented a picture of a rather sparsely furnished inn (WCM 2696). By contrast, the inventory of Richard Pope innholder of The Angel, drawn up in 1633, is extremely rich both as a record of room names and of chattels. Apart from the hall and a parlour, it lists seventeen chambers with names typical of early inns: *the Crosse Keys*, *the Halfe Moone*, *the Crowne*, *the Lyon*, and so forth. This fits neatly with Pantin's estimate from the building contract of 'some sixteen chambers, capable of accommodating up to fifty or sixty guests' (Pantin 1961, 169). On the other hand, it is possible that additional rooms had already been created; a view supported by the name '*Neuwe Chamber*' and by the listing of two lofts and a garret, for the inn was apparently not built with any second floors. A grand total of ninety-one beds in the inn, together with the medieval practice of sleeping several to a bed, indicates a much greater capacity for guests than Pantin suggested (Drinkwater *et al* 1964, 240). Certainly, the fifteen fireplaces listed in the 1633 inventory greatly exceed the number implied by the fifteenth century documents or structural evidence.

As well as the guest rooms, there were lodgings for two key members of the inn's staff: *the hostery* (with the ostler's bedding) and the innkeeper's chamber. There were also numerous service rooms. The kitchen and brewhouse probably represent the two kitchens of the 1462 inventory, while the beer and

wine cellars probably represent the two original cellars beneath the north and south cross-wings. There was another cellar beneath the larder and a buttery. Indications of the inn's appearance are given by '*the Stayer foote next the great Gate*', '*the stayers head next the Unicorne*' [chamber], and '*the Gallery at the stayer head*'.

There was '*the stone court*' (perhaps flagged with stone – an expensive luxury), and '*the Courte yard next the kitchin*' with a '*plump*' (a pump that had replaced the well mentioned in 1462). This implies a second court behind the inn in a space that certainly belonged to the Angel by 1839, and probably from the beginning (Fig 7). The reference in the inventory to '*the flyve stables*' may imply that there were only five. As four of them were apparently in the north range, this would have left space in the west and south ranges for the service rooms listed in Richard Pope's inventory.

Structural evidence suggests that considerable alterations took place mainly between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately there is only space here to summarize them briefly. A cellar was excavated beneath the entire east range, a gallery overlooking the courtyard was constructed behind the east gate, lean-tos and internal partitions were made, and chimneys were inserted in several rooms. The external appearance of the inn must also have altered considerably during this period. Apart from the total demolition of the west range and the remodelling of most of the south range, the entire east front facing the High Street was rebuilt in brick. It was probably at the same time that the jettied, gable ends of the cross-wings were removed, and their roofs truncated so that it would appear that the building had a continuous roof apex parallel with the street. An inscribed brick in the wall of the north cross-wing indicates that this remodelling took place in 1775.

Documentary sources show that in (or shortly before) 1793, the building was divided into two tenancies. To the south of the gate the building was occupied by James Church, a carpenter, with a right of way through the inn gate to his timberyard. The northern part of the building was now called The Old Angel

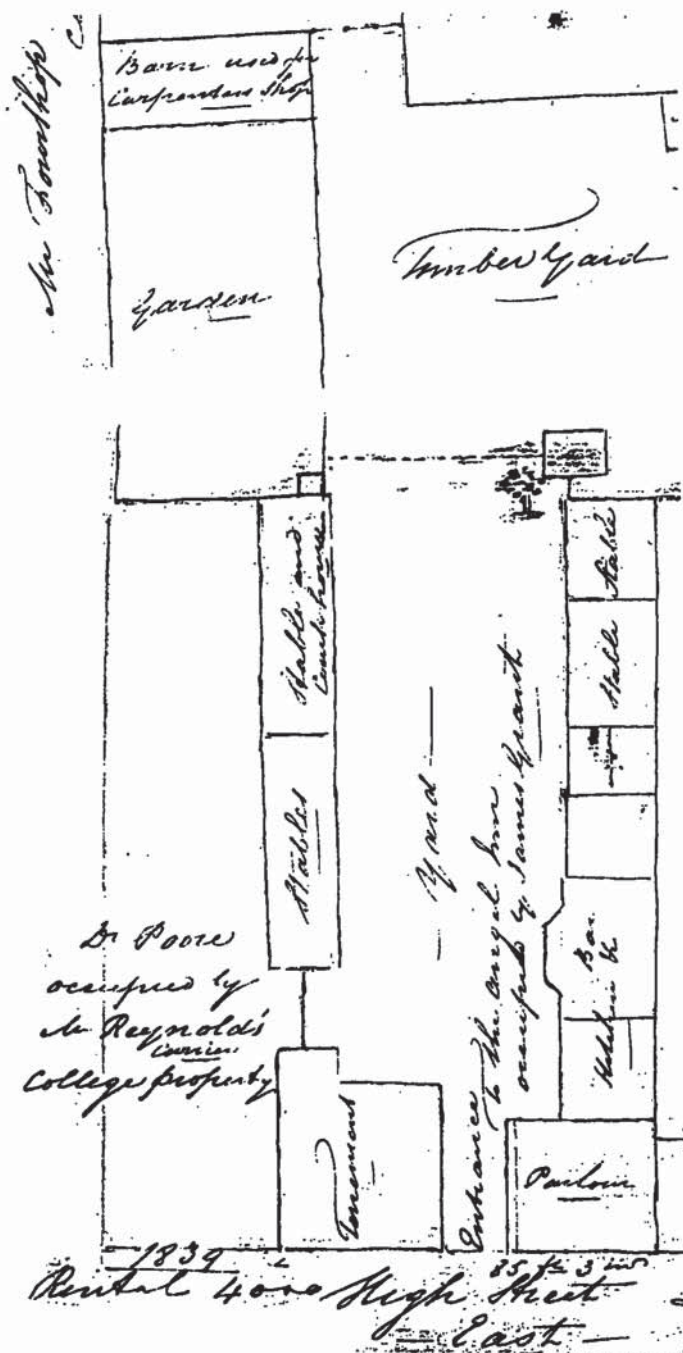


Fig 7. The Angel Inn in 1839.
(WCM 21303: by courtesy of the Warden and scholars of Winchester College.)
The north range then contained a kitchen, bar, stables and parlour. The south range, which had been detached from The Angel in the eighteenth century, was occupied by Mr Reynolds the carrier.

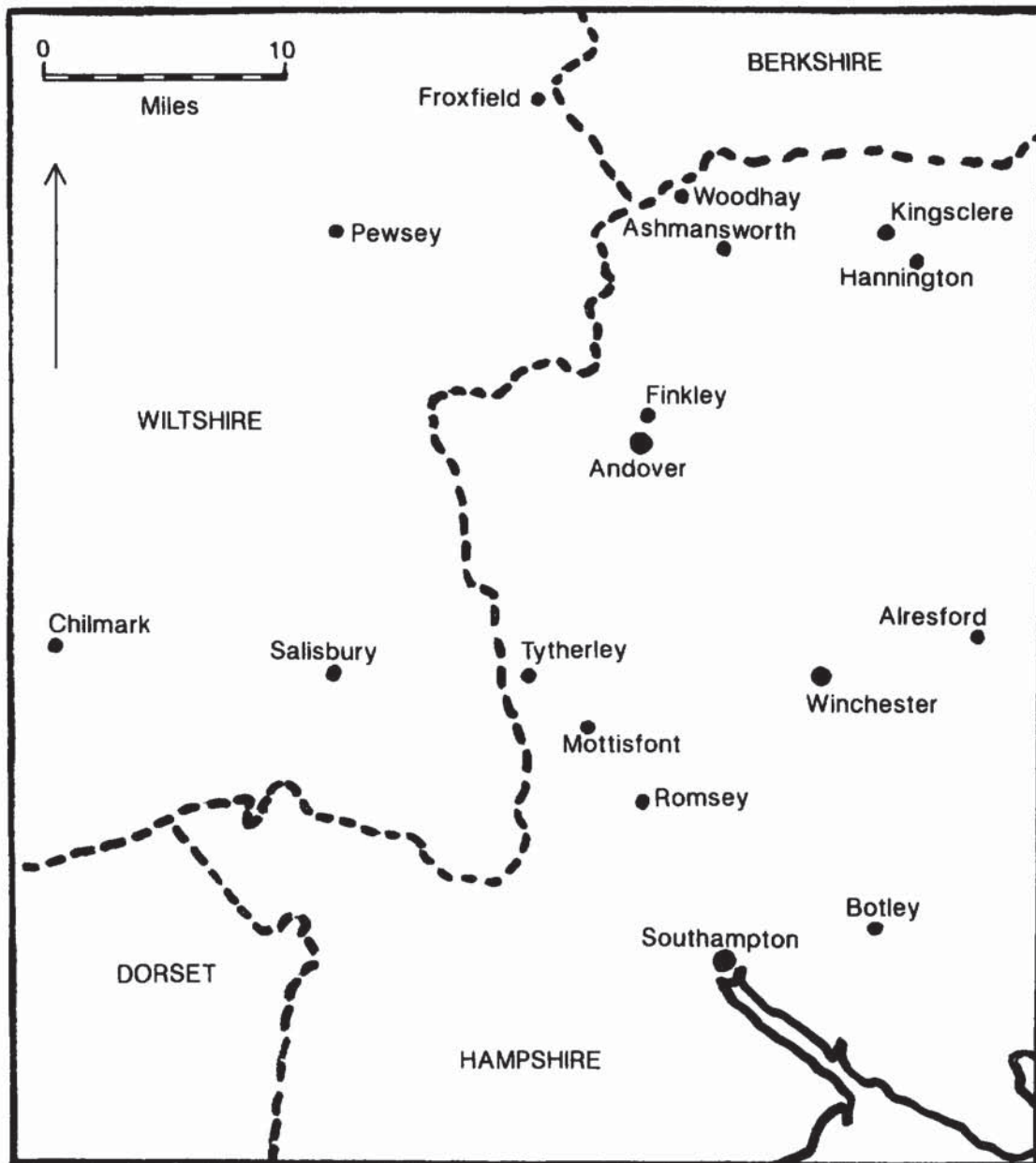


Fig 8. Places from which building materials were brought to The Angel, and which are referred to in the text. It is probable that the Froxfield mentioned in the building accounts was in Wiltshire, and not the more distant Froxfield, near Petersfield, Hampshire. Dr Harvey takes the opposite view (Harvey 1954, 122).

Inn and was occupied by Charles Heath, a brewer (Himsworth 1976–84, ii 86). This division is shown on a plan of 1839 (Fig 7) which nonetheless gives a picture of the inn not greatly at variance from that presented by fifteenth century sources. Today the section north of the gate is still The Angel Inn.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- (i) John McCann has pointed out that the 20,000 bricks bought from Daniel Brykeman would have been too many for infilling the supposed close-studding of the inn front. He suggests that some may have been used as a plinth along the sloping street frontage. He also points out that the sides of the studs and posts that clasped the bricks would have had shallow depressions. In the absence of this evidence, he concludes that the existence of brick-nogging at The Angel remains unproven.
- (ii) Dr John Harvey has suggested to me that The Angel may have been rebuilt after a fire in 1550–51. However, the farmer's account for that year (WCM 2783), does not seem to provide convincing evidence for this view and much of the 1445–53 building evidently survives.
- (iii) John Massyngham who painted the first inn sign for The Angel was a noted carver and polychromist who also painted the statue over Outer Gate at Winchester College in 1465–66 (Harvey 1982, 116). The carpenter of Eton College who was at Winchester College in April 1445 was almost certainly Robert Whetely who was the warden of the carpenters on the works at Eton College from 1442 (Harvey 1984, 333).

APPENDIX: THE BUILDING CONTRACT FOR THE ANGEL INN, 1445

This endenture mad bytwene Mr Robert Thurburn Wardeyn of the college ycallid Seynt Marie College of Winchestr' byside Wynchestr' felaus and scolers of the same college of that one parte and John Hardyng and Richard

Holnerst carpenters of that other parte berith witnesse that the said John and Richard shal wel and counabili' make in so moch as to carpentri bi longeth that is for to sey A inne with inne the towne of Andever the which shal be sette in a voide ground in the north parti' of the land y called Niggelond conteyning in circuyte xvij^{xx} fete in the Counte of Sutht after a portatur ther of mad or better and a cording to the counantis in this endentur' rehersed Of the which xvij^{xx} fete iiij^{xx} to be billid north and suth a forestrete uppon the same ground wher on shal be sette in the suth parti' of the forseid ground a chamb^r xxiiij fete widnesse north and suth and in lenth xx fete with a joty utward of vj fete est and west under the which chamb^r shal be a scler cont' the same widnesse and brede and the same chambr the forseid John and Richard at here owne coste shal joiste beme and flore. Also northward fro the same chambr a gate conteynyng xij fete bi grounde in widnesse over the which gate shal be a chambr cont' in lenth xxij fete of the which x fete to be trussid over in to the halle. Also a halle north fro the same gate cont' in lenth xxx fete and xx fete in widnesse with a coupel trussid fro the groundsile. Al so a chamb^r in the north parti' of the same halle cont' in widnesse xxiiij fete north and suth in lenth xx fete with a joty utward of ij fete est and west. Al so fro the suthchambr inward al to be billid cont' iiij^{xx} fete in the which shal be stables in widnesse by grond xx fete with chambers above xxij fete in widnesse and v fete jtake owte of the same chambers in widnesse for oriell and every oriel the pryncipal haunsid and ymonellid aboute and ij fete by twyne every monel. Al so fro the north chambr inward iiij^{xx} fete i billid with kechyn and stables in like wyse. Also in the ende of the said Inne that is for to sey in the west party of the same inne al jbillyd cont' iiij^{xx} fete and x like to the north and suth parte savyng a chamb^r over a gate in the said parti' with a joti wyndowe a cording to the portatur. Also the grondsell of the same inne a fote brode and ix inches thikk. The postes of the same j fote brede and x inches thick. The somers a cording to the same werk The joistes aforstret

viiij inches brede vj thikk and bytwene every joiste vij inches. The joistes inwards vij inches of brede vj thikk and by twyne every joiste viii inches. The walplates viii inches squar thorow al the bildyng. The refters vj inches brode iiij thikk thorow al the bildyng and by twene everi refter ix inches space. Al so the said John and Richard shal make al manner of speris bynches dores wyndows in bordyng of beddys and saw al manner bordes and plankes to the said inne longyng savyng bord longyng to dores and wyndows and rekkes and mangers. Also the same John and Richard shal make al manner dores and wyndows a cordyng to the portatur a bove rehersid or better. Furthermore to be vounde to the same John and Richard tymbr' with the cariage so moch as hit nedith to the said werk so that the said John and Richard with ther werkmen be nat let in defaute of cariage in dew tyme so that weder fall. Al so the tymbr' to be fillid [*interlined*: and wer[k] manli to be scapulid at wode] at the cost of the said John and Richard and thei to have the offel of the said tymbr' with in kerf for ther labour. Al so of the makyng of this sed werk the forsaid John and Richard hath day fro the feste of the Annunciacion of owre ladi' nexte foluyng after the makyng of this present writyng endentid in to the same fest sewyng by twayne hole yere. Takyng for ther labour iiij^{xx} pounds and x that is for to sey x pounds at bigynnyng and so further to be paid as the werk encrescit in wirchyng. In witnesse of the which thyngs to one parti' of this scrite endentid toward the forsaid John and Richard remaynyng We the forsaid Robt Thurbern Wardeyn of the said College felowes and scolers of the same owre comyn seal we have putte, to that other parti' of this scrite endentid toward us remayning the forsaid John Hardyng and Richard Holnerst ther sealls thei have putte. J yeve the ferth day of March in the

yere of the regnyng of Kyng Harry the sexte after the Conquest thre and twenti'.

[WCM 2522: this contract was first accurately transcribed by Dr John Harvey who has kindly agreed to its publication here (Salzman 1952, 517–19). The endorsement is omitted but appears in Salzman who notes that the first jetty measurement (vj fete) is probably a slip for two (ij) feet, and that 'fillid' means 'felled'. Pantin (1961, 169) interprets 'oriel' as a bay of the open gallery, and renders 'every oriel the pryncipal haunsid and ymonellid aboute and ij fote by twyne every monel' as 'the openings were to be divided by mullions at two ft intervals, with arches in the heads'].

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