Edward III chose the chapel in Windsor Castle to be the centre of his new Order of the Garter. A college of secular canons was founded to serve it, and benefactions of the king and other companions of the Garter provided an annual income of about £600. Many of the canons were royal clerks. Statutes drawn up for the college in 1352 by the bishop of Winchester gave control of administration, under the chapter, to three officials elected annually from the residentiaries. Of these three, the treasurer was concerned with finance, especially disbursements, the steward with estate management and collecting revenue, and the precentor with the chapel and its services. Chief of the treasurer's duties was paying wages to members of the college, but he was also responsible for all expenditure made by himself and other officers, except the precentor, and was finally accountable for revenues, which, although collected by the steward, were delivered to him. Important among sources of revenue were eleven appropriated churches and three manors. Estates in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire were at first managed directly, but by 1361 all except two nearby manors were at farm. With regard to estates at farm, the steward's duties were to arrange leases, make occasional visits of inspection and collect rents. Towards estates under direct management his responsibilities were heavier, including constant economic supervision, and holding court. Local officials held office for long periods, and the steward had a permanent lay helper,
the steward of the courts. The income of the chapel itself (offerings and gifts) was collected by the precentor who paid from it for the upkeep of the chapel and the services. Accounts of central and local officials were audited annually at Windsor by the dean and two other elected residentiaries, helped with manorial accounts by an outside auditor.
In presenting this thesis I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Hilda Johnstone, to whose guidance and encouragement I owe so much, and to the Rev. Canon S. L. Ollard, both for the privilege of reading the Windsor Muniments in his library and for his unfailing interest in my work.
The central and local financial organisation and administrative machinery of the royal free chapel of St. George within the castle of Windsor from its foundation (1348) to the treasurership of William Gillot (1415-16).

BY

A. K. B. Roberts.

Presented for the degree of Ph.D. in History of the University of London, 1942.
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Introduction.

In submitting this thesis to the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. in History, I hope a) that the work embodied in it meets the requirements for the degree by making "a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the subject" (regulation 23.b) "based upon independent research" (regulation 26), and b) that the subject with which it deals may be thought deserving of attention. In support of the first contention, the present chapter will deal with the nature of the material available for study, the kind of information obtainable from it, and the limited extent to which it has hitherto been utilised. The second contention may perhaps be thought hardly to need justification. The royal chapel of St. George has a peculiar interest owing to its close association with the sovereigns of England and the Order of the Garter. Its founder, Edward III, excites the imagination as one of the most brilliant and gallant of kings; the occasion of its foundation was the close of a glorious campaign. Edward III had been baptised in the ancient chapel in Windsor castle. When after the triumphs of Crécy he instituted the Most Noble Order of the Garter, to commemorate his military success and to honour those knights who had shared in it, it was this chapel which became the centre of the Order, dedicated anew to St. George and sumptuously decorated as befitted its new dignity. The Order was created at an heroic time, when the court was most splendid and chivalry at its brightest. To-day it is the most ancient and distinguished of all existing Orders of knighthood.
The college of St. George was a part of the Order; it was to consist of as many priests (canons and vicars) and as many poor knights as there were Knights-Companion of the Garter. The duty of the college was to attend upon the service of God in the chapel, where the poor knights, sitting in the stalls alternately with the canons and vicars, represented the Knights-Companion in the daily services. It was a rich foundation and widely privileged both by pope and king. Since it combined the organisation of a college of secular canons with the additional privileges of a royal free chapel, and since many of the canons controlling its affairs had had experience in the royal service, a study of administrative methods used there should be both interesting in itself and also valuable for comparison with methods used elsewhere.

I. Material.

Since St. George's was a royal free chapel, under the direct control of the crown, its affairs have left their trace at many points upon the central records of the Crown in the

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1 Preface to the Statutes of the College, 1352 (see below, p.11, n.2).

2 A valuable study of lay household and estate organisation in the late thirteenth century has been printed in the Oxford Historical Series, namely Seignorial Administration by N. Denholm-Young (1937). Compare also, for manorial organisation only, The Estates of Crowland Abbey by Frances M. Page (1934), printed in the series of Cambridge Studies in Economic History.
various departments of government. By far the most important source of information, however, must of course be the documents accumulated by the college itself in the transaction of its own business. These were, and are, in its own custody, and although members of the college and other investigators in close touch could and did in more than one century use these archives, students of history in general could not be aware of their scope and nature without bibliographical guidance. The report made by the late Dr. R. L. Poole for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1914 was a first step in this direction. This mentions a catalogue, at that time still in manuscript. The catalogue was the life-work of Dr. J. N. Dalton, canon of Windsor 1885-1931, who assisted the late Mr. Francis Bickley, Assistant-Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, in classifying and numbering the archives. Before Dr. Dalton's death in 1931 the catalogue was printed, although incomplete. It has since been completed by Mr. Lewis Stainton, the Chapter Clerk of St. George's, who has also made an index, but these additions are as yet unprinted. The

1 The classes of records which have been found useful are detailed in the bibliography on p.xxxi.

2 With the exception of some manuscripts, originally lent by the dean and canons of St. George's to Elias Ashmole and bequeathed by him to the University of Oxford at his death in 1692, which remain in the Bodleian Library. A list of such of these as have been used for this thesis may be found in the bibliography on p.xxxi.


4 Publication of the complete catalogue is now under way, made possible by a generous gift from Lord Wakefield to cover its cost. It is to include an introduction by the Rev. Canon S. L. Ollard.
printed portion of the catalogue has been circulated privately.  

I have had access to it, and subsequently applied to the Dean and Chapter for permission to search their archives. This was most kindly granted, and the documents have amply fulfilled the promise conveyed by the catalogue of the richness of the matter contained in them.

The main classes of documents utilised were as follows:

1. Cartularies.

First in the catalogue and of primary importance for a study of the early history of St. George's is the cartulary known as the Arundel White Book. This vellum book of 163 folios (15" by 11") is the most beautiful of the manuscripts of the college, containing illuminated and ornamented initial letters. It was begun during the warden'ship of John Arundel, 1419-52, probably in 1430 after Archbishop Kempe's visitation.

Among documents copied into this book were many concerning the foundation and endowment of the college, of which some of the originals no longer exist, the college statutes (1352), and a most interesting collection of tables

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1 I have to thank Dr. Hilda Johnstone and the Rev. Canon Ollard for their kindness in allowing me to use copies in their possession.

2 Windsor Muniments (henceforth referred to as W.M.) IV.B.1.

3 For this date I am indebted to the Rev. Canon S. L. Ollard whose Fasti of the canons of St. George's (shortly to be published in the series of Historical Monographs relating to St. George's chapel) has superseded older lists. Arundel was previously supposed to have been appointed warden in 1417.

4 Ff.2-41.

5 Ff.74-84.
used by the treasurer in accounting. Ten of the folios have been lost and were replaced with blank leaves of a thicker parchment, on which no doubt the documents formerly entered there were to have been recopied. The table of contents gives references to 40 such documents; had they been copied again into this book some gaps in our information might have been filled, notably concerning properties in Windsor.

A second cartulary, called the Denton Black Book, was compiled in 1517 at the instance of James Denton, then steward of the college. Of its contents, most belongs to a period later than that studied here. It does, however, include a list of benefactions made to the college by the original Knights-Companion of the Garter.

2. Treasurers' Rolls.

Of these 30 survive for the period concerned, the earliest being for the year 1361-2 and the latest for 1415-16;

1 Ff. 154-6.
2 F. 159.
3 See below, p. 52.
4 Two volumes, W.M. IV. B. 2 and 3.
5 F. 71.
6 W.M. XV. 34. 1-29; xv. 53. 64.
7 W.M. XV. 34. 1. This roll is ascribed in the catalogue to 1362-3, as indeed it appears to be dated. The heading of the account reads thus: Comptus Magistri Willelmi Polmorva Thesaurarii collegii de Wyndesore a primo die Decembris Anno regni regis Edwardi tertiij usque vicesimun terciij diei Septembris eiusdem anni E(dwardi). Comptus Stephani Branktre et Johannis Lorynge Thesaurariorum ibidem tunc usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis ut inter se respondant de anno integro. Since Edward III's regnal year ran from 25 January to 24 January (36th year: 1362-3), it is apparent that 1 December and the following 23 September could not be in the same year, as the heading states. If, however, the exchequer period of account was being used, i.e. Michaelmas to Michaelmas, the date of Polmorva's account would be 1 December 1361 to 23 September 1362. This is made certain by the fact that Polmorva died in September 1362. His successor as canon of Windsor was
27 are original rolls and 3 are later summarised copies.

The financial year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, 1 but only 18 of the 27 original rolls show the account of a complete financial year, and of these 2 are for the same year, 1407-8, and another 2 for 1415-16. Four other rolls between them cover 2 more whole years, and 5 account for parts of 4 other years. Thus full accounts exist for 18 complete years and parts of 4 other years of the period of 68 years studied. These thus represent roughly one third of the original complete series of rolls, in which each treasurer, 7 (continued)

appointed by letters patent dated 25 September 1362 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-4, p.248), and his executors are mentioned in the foot of this account. Further, the treasurer's account of 1362-3 survives, and does not resemble this account. Another instance of the use of the exchequer accounting period may be found in the household rolls (W.M. xv.3.1) where 1 October 1354 is described as anno regni regis E(dwardi) xxix\(^0\) incipiente. It must refer to 1354, since 1 October is stated to have been a Wednesday, as it was in that year.

1 One of these, of 1398-9 (W.M.xv.34.19), has been cut off halfway through the expenditure section.

2 Two of these (W.M.xv.34.9 and 21) are defective.
annually elected, set out in detail under headings the revenues received and the payments made by himself and other officials during his period of office. The rolls consist of from one to five membranes, some written on both sides, sewn together top to bottom. A subsidiary account was sometimes attached, by stitching or by a parchment thong, to the foot of a roll; there are four attached to existing rolls.

The three rolls containing later summaries were drawn up for purposes of reference from information contained in treasurers' rolls. One, a paper book of three folded sheets, was written apparently soon after 1524. It contains three items: totals of receipts and expenses for the years 1366-7, 1370-1, 1371-2 and 1398-9; a comparison of the revenue of the college in the reigns of Edward III and Henry VIII; and the value of their possessions and expenses in 1524. The second summary roll consists of two membranes fastened one above the other; one of these membranes contains lists (much amended) of money received and spent in 1382-3, and the other similar lists

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1 In accordance with the statutes of the college, the treasurer usually held office for one year. Of the seven changes in mid-year for which there is evidence in the rolls of this period, two were occasioned by deaths of treasurers and three followed the appointment of a new canon who at once was included among the officers.

2 Three of these subsidiary accounts concerned building works; at Iver in 1367 (W.M.xv.34.4), and at Datchet in 1372 and 1376 (W.M.xv.34.8 and 11). The fourth concerned expenditure by the steward in 1367-8 (W.M.xv.34.5).

3 W.M.xv.34.3.

4 Treasurers' rolls have survived for all these years (W.M.xv.34.4,7,8,19) but the roll of 1398-9 (xv.34.19) is incomplete.

5 W.M.xv.53.64.
of an unidentified year, various expenses of 1365-7 and a note of cattle lost through murrain on two manors (Iver and Craswell) during 1364-7. The third, containing a petition for relief from the dean and canons to the king (presumably Henry VI) and quoting the accounts of the year 1429-30, has attached to it a membrane containing a list of receipts and expenditure taken from the treasurer's account of 1410-11.


Three rolls only now survive of the original series of annual accounts for this period. One of these belongs to the financial year 1369-70, and the other two to 1415-16, thus coinciding in the latter case with extant treasurers' accounts. In addition there is a subsidiary account of the steward attached to the treasurer's roll of Michaelmas 1367 to 31 May 1368, but this deals only with expenditure by the steward out of a particular sum of money and does not present his usual annual account of receipts from the estates.

Combined accounts of both treasurer and steward are contained in the treasurers' rolls of part of the year 1375-6 and of 1393-4, when the same canon held both offices. It is significant that these combined accounts do not differ from

1 W.M.xv.34.27.
2 This treasurer's account has not survived.
3 W.M.xv.48.1.
4 W.M.xv.48.4 and 28.
5 W.M.xv.34.5.
6 W.M.xv.34.10.
7 W.M.xv.34.16.
the ordinary treasurers' accounts. From this, and from the evidence of existing stewards' rolls, it appears that the rolls of treasurer and steward were not complementary, but that the accounts of the steward were incorporated in the treasurer's roll, although the items might be grouped under different headings. The fullness of treasurers' accounts of this period thus compensates for gaps occasioned by the loss of most of the stewards' accounts.

The steward's roll of 1369-70 consists of 2 membranes. One of the rolls of 1415-16 was made up of 4 membranes and the other of 4 paper sheets sewn end to end. All three were written on both sides.

4. Precentors' Rolls.

There are 22 precentors' accounts of dates between 1363-4 and 1415-16. Of these the earliest, a single sheet of paper written on both sides, covered a period of 18 months from 24 April 1363 to 2 November 1364. The others are parchment rolls, consisting of one or two membranes: 19 of them contain the accounts of a full financial year, and 2 each cover 7 months.

These accounts were concerned entirely with the chapel; with its own revenues from offerings, gifts, and profits arising from its claim on the insignia of deceased Knights of the Garter, and with expenditure on the services, furnishings and fabric of the chapel. Since the precentor was

\[\text{W.M.xv.56.1 - 22.} \quad \text{W.M.xv.56.1.} \quad \text{W.M.xv.56.3 and 4.}\]
an independent official in his own province, there was no overlapping between his accounts and those of the treasurer, save occasionally for a brief entry in the treasurer's roll of the total sums received and expended by the precentor.

5. Household Rolls.

No continuous or general series of household rolls has survived, but there exist accounts for 17 months between December 1351 and August 1355. These consist of from 2 to 4 membranes, now rolled in two bundles of four and twelve rolls, the latter fastened together in confused order by a parchment thong. Many are undated, but dates can be assigned from headings where they exist and from other internal evidence.

The rolls were drawn up in the usual way, giving household expenses day by day with daily and monthly totals, and at the end of each account among the foreign expenditure, travelling and other expenses connected with the household which included items concerning the estates of the college. The years to which these accounts belong, 1351-5, were very early in the history of the college of St. George, before fitting accommodation had been provided for its members. Communal catering seems to have been a temporary arrangement

There are 16 rolls in 2 bundles, but the whole set of rolls has been catalogued as one document, W.M.xv.3.1. Accounts of two different months, 1-17 June 1353 and May 1355, have been stitched together as one roll. Apparently the rolls were not originally preserved for reference, since drafts of treasurers' rolls of 2 years between 1378 and 1387 have been written on the backs of 2 of them (of May and August 1353) and the name "Raundes" has been scribbled on the back of another (of January 1353). Richard Raunds was a canon of Windsor 1377-1400.
to meet these circumstances. This would explain the absence of household accounts of later years: none were kept, for the college no longer ate in common.

6. Local Accounts.

Five accounts of local officers responsible for estates under the direct management of St. George's have survived. These concern the rectory of Wraysbury in 1353-4 and 1354-5, the manor of Craswell in Bray in 1367-8 and 1379-80, and the manor of Iver in 1381-2.

At Iver the accounting officer was the bailiff, at Craswell the reeve and at Wraysbury the sergeant. Their accounts followed the conventional type, recording money receipts and expenditure on the face of the roll, and the accounts of grain, stock and works on the back.

7. Court Rolls.

One series of court rolls has been preserved, relating to the college's manor of Iver. Of 17 bundles of these documents, one contains rolls which have been badly damaged by damp. In the remaining 16 bundles are rolls of 50 courts of dates between 1360 and 1408.

With the exception of a single membrane on which was written the record of three courts held by the college of

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1 W.M.xv.53.42 and 43. 2 W.M.xv.61.28 and 29.
3 W.M.xv.53.65.
4 The bailiff's account of Iver (W.M.xv.53.65), however, has been rolled with the grain, stock and works accounts inside.
5 W.M.xv.55.7-18, 20-24.
6 W.M.xv.55.13, containing court rolls of 1372-3.
Windsor at their rectory of Uttoxeter, no other court rolls of the period surveyed have survived among the muniments.

Numerous other documents have proved valuable, especially in revealing actual transactions which were represented by brief entries in the accounts of treasurer, steward and precentor. These are described in the text where mention of them occurs. Notable among them were:

1. Chapel Attendance Registers (1384-6 and 1468-79).
2. Indentures between treasurer and steward or precentor (1447-1520).
3. Bills subsidiary to treasurers' accounts (1431-83).

II. Historical importance of the material.

The material described above obviously covers many aspects of history and could be utilised in many different ways. Above all, however, these documents afford a rich field of information concerning the internal organisation of the college, especially in its financial and administrative aspects. In this thesis they have been used in an attempt to clarify problems which fall into three natural groups:

1) Central organisation  
2) Local machinery  
3) Methods of account.

1 W.M.xv.28.17.  
2 W.M.V.B.1 - 2.  
3 W.M.I.B.1 - 3.  
4 W.M.xv.57.1,3-5,7-12; x1.B.22-25.
1) Central organisation.

At the centre the amount of business to be done was considerable. It involved, externally, responsibility for wide estates; and internally, the paying of many persons, members of the college both great and small, lay officials and servants, the upkeep of the chapel and its services, the repair of buildings belonging to the college, and, after a time, the conduct of much litigation. It is clear that the main burden of administration was undertaken by the canons themselves. The documents show how duties and responsibilities were divided between the three chief officers while the chapter as a body directed and approved; and how an admirable continuity was preserved although the statutes required that new elections to the offices of treasurer, steward and precentor should take place annually.

2) Local machinery.

The original estates of St. George's consisted of eleven rectories acquired between 1348 and 1351, and two manors granted by the king in 1352. Apart from gifts of lands and buildings charged with obit rents, there was only one addition to the properties of the college in the period studied, namely the third part of another manor, bought between 1378 and 1385.

1 Wraysbury, Iver and Datchet (with Langley) in Buckinghamshire, Whaddon and Caxton in Cambridgeshire, Saltash in Cornwall, South Tawton in Devon, Ryston in Norfolk, Simonburn in Northumberland, Deddington in Oxfordshire, and Uttoxeter in Staffordshire.
2 Iver in Buckinghamshire and Craswell in Bray, Berkshire.
3 Deddington Castle in Oxfordshire.
From at least the date of the first surviving treasurer's roll, 1361-2, all the rectories were let out to farm, and so also was the new manor when acquired. Only the two original manors, Iver and Craswell, were retained under the direct management of the college. Before 1361, other estates besides these two manors were administered directly by the college. These included the rectories of Wraysbury, Iver and Datchet, all in the county of Buckingham and near enough to Windsor, to the manors and to each other to be managed as demesne. For at least one year the rectory of Deddington in Oxfordshire was also managed directly, despite its 60 miles' distance from Windsor. The information which the documents afford of the system employed by the college in managing these estates is of considerable interest, especially when compared with what we know of systems elsewhere and with the ideal system as set out in contemporary treatises. We can discern a close connexion of centre with locality, an interchange of personnel, and an overlapping of function among local officials of different grades.

It is interesting to see that with the churches let out to farm the college still maintained close connexion. By statute the warden and canons were forbidden to grant a lease for a longer term than five years; this was to ensure that

the state of the property was reviewed periodically. Although in practice churches were farmed by the same persons for long periods, leases were renewed each five years, when rents and other conditions were often changed. Some of those who farmed the churches were entrusted with the business of the college in their districts, and some received a livery or its equivalent in money from the treasurer of the college.

3) Accounting methods.

The rolls of account contain material of the highest importance in this connexion, but to appreciate their full significance it is of course necessary here as in the case of all similar records elsewhere, to grasp the nature of the machinery and methods which produced them. Then it is possible to see the relation of one document to another, and to avoid being misled by the deceptiveness of formulae and book-keeping entries. Once that is done, however, these Windsor accounts provide the foundation for a mental reconstruction of the office in which the business was done, with its staff and their apparatus. This is all the easier because the ancient counting-house of St. George's survives intact, a vaulted stone chamber built over a vaulted porch in the north-west corner of the dean's cloister, now reached through the office of the Chapter Clerk (built in 1483-4 for a library) by a stair in the thickness of the west wall of the cloister. Its name, the "erary" (from aerarium), recalls its old double purpose. It was a treasury as well as a business office; in the accounts
it was called erarium or domus compotaria. Besides containing the treasurer's exchequer, it was a strong-room for money and muniments. The archives of the college are still in their ancient repository, many of them kept in an old oak press of 63 drawers which stands against the north wall of the erary and which may possibly be the same referred to in the treasurer's account of 1422-3.

The period covered by this survey begins with the foundation of the college of Windsor. Its terminus, 1416, was fixed for two reasons, one connected with central accounting methods and the other with the management of estates.

By far the most important source of material for this study was the series of treasurers' rolls. It was the treasurer's practice to include in his account a detailed list of all the revenues of the college although they were actually received by the steward. He also incorporated in the various sections of his account items of expenditure for which in fact the steward had been responsible. From 1416 this was changed. In that year an expert was called in to reform the accounts of the college. The result was a distinct change in the character of the accounts of both treasurer and steward. Henceforward details of revenues received were to be found only in the roll of the steward; the treasurer recorded but one receipt from the steward, a lump sum. The steward's expenditure, similarly, ceased to be included in the treasurer's account. This year 1416, then, marked a new departure in
accounting methods.

In estate administration, 1415-16 was the beginning of the end of direct management from Windsor. The manor of Craswell was first let out to farm in that year, and shortly afterwards (before 1422) Iver, the last to be retained under direct central management, was at farm too.

This study has been brought to a close before the grant to the college in 1422 of new estates, formerly belonging to the alien priory of Ogbourne. With this acquisition began a new period in the history of the administration of St. George's.

III. Previous use of the material.

A history so important as that of St. George's chapel, Windsor Castle, has long attracted the attention both of outside observers and of members of the college itself. But these investigators often concerned themselves with the affairs of the college less for their intrinsic interest than in connexion with some other subject, notably that of the Order of the Garter or of the great castle in which the chapel stands.

An account of the foundation and endowment of St. George's appeared in print as long ago as 1672 when Elias Ashmole published his history of the Order of the Garter.

\[1\]

The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.
From the year of the Restoration, when Charles II rewarded Ashmole's devotion to the royalist cause by creating him Windsor herald, the attention of this many-sided scholar had been directed towards the production of a work which was to show the nobility and distinction of the Order of the Garter. To this end he compiled an exhaustive history of the Order, and was naturally concerned incidentally with the chapel and college of St. George. His main subject was "ushered in" by a survey of the castle and the college, to which he devoted one chapter of 40 pages in his published work. This chapter was divided into eight sections of which two dealt with the castle and chapel, and the remaining six with the college, describing in turn its foundation, members and officers, endowments and privileges.

Although he had access to the records of the college preserved in the erary, Ashmole rarely found it necessary to seek information from them for the purposes of this chapter. He found sufficient material for his account of the foundation, privileges and royal endowment of the college in the Chancery enrolments of the king's grants of estates and charter of liberties, while he based his statements concerning the members and officers upon what he could learn from the statutes of the college and what he knew of their position and functions in his own time. His references to the college muniments were

Chapter IV, pp.127-178, but pp.137-48 contain illustrations only. Thus the text of the chapter, pp.127-36 and pp.149-78, fills 40 pages.
restricted to the cartularies, some Papal Bulls, four foundation
deeds of chantries, and one treasurer's roll, of 1546-7. For
the rest he cited collections of matter relating to the college
made for business reference and historical purposes by canons
of Windsor in his own century.

Ashmole indeed contemplated writing a history of the
chapel and college. His manuscript notes are accessible in
the Bodleian Library to which he bequeathed them. These notes
are rich in material drawn from the public records by "painful
and chargeable search," but again contain little from the
college's own records. So far as the early history was
concerned, Ashmole contented himself with copying extracts and
notes made by earlier and contemporary canons, without, it
appears, comparing their version with the sources of their
information. Thus on the one hand he failed to extend his
collection of material beyond theirs, and on the other he
accepted and reproduced slips and misreadings.

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1 This roll has not survived to the present day.

2 "... we intend no other account here (concerning the endowment
of St. George's), than in that of the Castle, Chapel and
College which was but short ...... referring the rest ......
to the larger discourse which we intend hereafter to make
public" (Ashmole, Order of the Garter, p.167).

3 Notable among these were the names and dates of early canons of
Windsor. The earliest list was compiled by Thomas Frith, canon
of Windsor 1610-31. This no longer exists in the erary, but
Frith's work was reproduced both by Ashmole in his notes
(Bodl. Lib., Ashm.Mss. No.1123) and the list printed from them
in his Antiquities of Berkshire, (1718),vol.III,215, and in
copies made by later canons in their collections (e.g. Dr.
William Brough, canon 1638-71, and Dr. Peter Scot, canon 1671-
89). A revised and accurate list has recently been compiled
by the Rev. Canon S. L. Ollard and is shortly to be published.
In modern times, the most important work to which the early history of the college was relevant was Sir William St. John Hope's *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*. Since the castle was a royal one, nearly all the documentary material was to be found among the public records; but from the foundation of the college of Windsor in 1348, when most of the buildings in the lower ward of the castle became the property of the dean and canons, some information pertinent to this history appeared in the records of the college. St. John Hope carefully examined the accounts of treasurers and precentors, but of course utilised only such part of them as concerned his immediate purpose, namely, unravelling the architectural history of the whole congeries of buildings within the castle, one of the most important being the chapel of St. George. His work is a mine of information: and at many points the history of the buildings throws light upon the history of the college.

In recent years, the Dean and Chapter have applied themselves to the investigation of their archives on a scale in one sense more concentrated, since it is confined to the history of the college and chapel, yet in another sense wider, since it includes every aspect of that history, not merely that of the fabric. Under the editorship of the Rev. Canon S. L. Ollard, a series entitled *Historical Monographs relating to St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* is now in progress. Of those so far published, two deal with the material possessions

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Published by Country Life, 1913.
of the chapel, its altar plate and the stall plates of the
Knights of the Garter, while one concerns a definite aspect
of the history of the college, namely The Organists and Masters
of the Choristers by the Rev. Dr. E. H. Fellowes. Others
shortly to be published include the editor's own valuable
Fasti of the dean and canons of Windsor and Dr. Fellowes'
list of the minor canons, entitled Vicarii seu Canonici
Minores.

Although the archives have thus contributed material
to a variety of historical investigations, they have not
until now been utilised for the purpose of reconstructing
the organisation and administrative machinery of the college,
although to that organisation and its various branches the
very existence of the archives was due.

1 The Plate of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle by E. Alfred
Jones, (1939); The Knights of the Garter 1348-1939, with a
complete list of the Stall Plates in St. George's chapel by
the Rev. Dr. E. H. Fellowes (1939). The series is published
by S.P.C.K.

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A. Unprinted.


1. Cartularies and other Collections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV.B.1</th>
<th>Arundel White Book</th>
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<td>2-3</td>
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<td>Peter Scot's Book</td>
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2. Central Accounts.

Treasurers' Rolls.

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<td>XV.48.5</td>
<td>29 Sept.1416 - 29 Sept.1417.</td>
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**Later Summaries of Treasurers' Rolls.**

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<td>XV.53.64</td>
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<td>XV.34.3</td>
<td>Time of Edward III, Richard II and Henry VIII.</td>
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**Stewards' Rolls.**

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<td>XV.48.1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>(29 Sept.1415 - 29 Sept.1416).</td>
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<td>28</td>
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Roll of Steward's Arrears.

XV.48.2  (1396 - 1409).

Precentors' Rolls.

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**Household Rolls.**

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3. Documents subsidiary to central accounts.

**Indentures between officials.**

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<tr>
<td>I.B.1</td>
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Indentures of payments to canons.

XV.57.10  29 Sept. 1477 - 29 Sept. 1478.
10  29 Sept. 1479 - 29 Sept. 1480.

Bills of payments to vicars.

XI.B.22  October 1476 - May 1477.
23  August 1477.
24  Sept. 1477.
25  Jan. 1483.

Bills of Expenses.

XV.3.3  (1387 - 1389).
XV.57.1 - 9  1431 - 1464.

Quittances.

XV.60.5  28 March 1393.
XI. J.34  4 August 1498.

4. Attendance Registers.

V.B.1  Oct. 1384 - May 1386.
2  June 1468 - July 1479.

5. Rotographs of Inventories.

IV.B.23  1384 and 1409 - 1410.

6. Register of Chapter Acts.

VI.B.2  1596 - 1638.

7. Deeds of grant and purchase.

Properties in Windsor.

XV.44.76  8 Nov. 1339.
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XV.44.105-6
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XV.47.5-7
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XV.58.B.3
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B.2
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X.1.3
20 March 1356.
Miscellaneous.
XI.P.6
26 Oct.1351
XV.55.59
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XV.58.D.45
10 Jan.1397.

XV.47.3  28 Oct. 1349  (Wraysbury).
XI. J.1   7 June 1351  (Caxton).
XI. J.13  7 June 1351  (Whaddon).
XI. K.3   18 June 1351  (Saltash).
XI. K.1   18 June 1360  (Simonburn).

9. Local Accounts.

XV.53.42  29 Sept. 1353 - 30 Sept. 1354 (Wraysbury)
  43  29 Sept. 1354 - 11 May 1355  (  )
XV.61.28  29 Sept. 1367 - 29 Sept. 1368 (Craswell)
  29  29 Sept. 1379 - 29 Sept. 1380  (  )
XV.53.65  29 Sept. 1381 - 29 Sept. 1382 (Iver).

Indenture between officials of Wraysbury.

XV.47.8  12 Dec. 1352.

10. Court Rolls.

  8  25 Sept. 1361.
  9  11 May 1362; 17 June 1362.
 10  Dec. 1360.
 11  18 Jan. 1369; 19 April 1369; 3 July 1369; 24 July 1369; 27 Sept. 1369.
 12  3 Jan. 1370; 16 May 1370; 26 Sept. 1370;
  9  Dec. 1370.
 13  1372-3.
 14  5 June 1374.
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**Uttoxeter** XV.28.17 3 Dec. 1407; 22 July 1409; 1 June 1411.

### 11. Leases.

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<td>XV.44.163,169</td>
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<td>XV.45.110</td>
<td>1431 (&quot;).</td>
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<td>XI. K.4</td>
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<td>XV.58.B.42*-48</td>
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<td>XV.28.12</td>
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<td>XV.58.D.52</td>
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<td>XI. J.25-27</td>
<td>1417, 1421, 1429 (Ryston).</td>
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<td>XV.58.D.73</td>
<td>1422 &amp; 1436 (Craswell).</td>
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<td>XV.47.9</td>
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<td>XV.58.B.23</td>
<td>1448 (Datchet).</td>
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12. Miscellaneous.

XV.28.1 4 Feb.1331 (Ordination of vicarage of Uttoxeter).

XI.A.2 24 April 1355 (Agreement with vicar of Wraysbury).

XV.32.24 29 Jan.1374 (Concerning Deddington Castle).

XI. B.19 30 Nov.1402 (Extract from Patent Roll).


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<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Beltz, G.F.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<td>Thompson, A.H.</td>
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I. CENTRAL ORGANISATION.

1. The foundation of the college of Windsor, its revenues and privileges.

A. The Foundation.

Edward III's project for the foundation and endowment of a college of canons to serve the royal chapel at Windsor was conceived at a time when his own military reputation and his country's prosperity were at their highest. Considering it "a good way of merchandise whereby with a happy bartering transitory things are given up in exchange for things eternal," the king desired to make some religious benefaction as an earnest of his thanksgiving both for success abroad and peace at home. It was natural that he should choose the Windsor chapel as the object of his munificence. He had been born in the castle, and, since 1344, it had been in the king's mind as an ideal centre for a round table and for the knightly exercises in which he delighted. The new foundation was to combine both piety and chivalry. To this end, the chapel in Windsor castle was rededicated and its staff considerably augmented; it was made an integral part of the order of the Garter, and liberally endowed.

1 Et quia bona est negotio per quam transitoria declinantur et aeterna felici commercio subrogantur.... Letters patent dated 6 August 1348 founding the college of Windsor. The Latin text is printed by Ashmole (Institution of the Order of the Garter (1672), appendix) and Dugdale (Monasticon Anglicanum (1673), III, 67b).
a) The dedication.

As far as is known, it was to the honour of King Edward the Confessor that the royal chapel in Windsor castle was first founded. Edward III's letters patent instituting the college of Windsor included the original patron in a new, more comprehensive dedication "to the honour of God Almighty, and of His mother, the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the Saints George the Martyr and Edward the Confessor." The soldier saint, however, soon came to be regarded as the chief, and later as the sole patron of the Garter chapel. On the chapter seal, which is judged to be almost contemporary with the foundation of the college, the figure of St. George occupied the chief place. Less than a year after the foundation, mention was made in royal letters patent of the king's "chapell

1 There was a chapel in Windsor castle from the time of Henry I, who was married in it in 1121. This chapel is said by Ashmole, and other writers following him, to have been dedicated to St. Edward. Ashmole cited in support Edward III's patent founding the college of Windsor, but the wording of the patent is not conclusive. It describes the chapel as in honore beati Edwardi confessoris per progenitores nostros nobiliter inchoatam. The first chapel in the castle known to have been dedicated to the Confessor was built by Henry III, 1240-48.


3 There is an engraving of the seal in Lyson's Magna Britannia, Berks., facing p.424.

4 Sir Harris Nicolas, History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire, I, 15, n.3.

of St. George, Windsor," while letters patent of August 1351 referred to the chapel as "erected by the king in the castle of Windsor in honour of the blessed George, the most invincible athlete of Christ, whose name and protection the English race invoke as that of their peculiar patron." In the headings of the college rolls of account, the dedication was not often included, but where it occurred, St. George's name stood alone. Although later in letters patent (especially those of Edward IV's reign) St. Mary's name was often coupled with that of St. George in the title of the chapel or college, St. Edward's name was rarely mentioned, so that his connexion with his ancient chapel fell into neglect.

b) The establishment.

Before considering Edward III's great foundation of the college of St. George in 1348, it is useful to glance back at the establishments of priests which had previously existed in the castle. Some brief account of these has already been given by more than one writer, but none is as complete as the

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1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-4, p.127.
2 e.g. Compotus Thome Aston precentoris Capelle Sancti Georgii de Wyndesore ... (W.M.xv.56.2; 1369-70).
available evidence allows, and only one is clear concerning the separate existence of two bodies of chaplains at Windsor, one serving the castle chapels, and the other serving the chapel of the king's manor in Windsor park. It seems advisable, therefore, to recapitulate here.

In the chapel in the lower ward of Windsor castle, chaplains had been maintained from the royal revenues since the twelfth century. It was stated erroneously by Ashmole that Henry I placed a college of eight secular priests there. This statement has been so often accepted and repeated that it is essential to state plainly that it is supported by no record evidence. It is certain that by 1155-6 there was only one

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1 Harwood. The value of his work is much diminished by the absence of references to his authorities. The author intended publishing his authorities in a second volume, but he died before this was done and his executors inadvertently destroyed his notes. I am indebted to the Rev. Canon S.L. Ollard for this information.

2 Ashmole's mistake was not, as Harwood suggests (op. cit., p.87), due to pure invention; he was misled by a false statement in the preface to the register of the Order of the Garter, known from its cover of black velvet as the Liber Niger. This register was compiled by Dr. Robert Aldrich, canon of Windsor and registrar of the Order of the Garter from 1534 until 1537 when he was made bishop of Carlisle. It was subsequently printed, with an English translation, introduction and notes, by John Anstis (The Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, 2 vols., London, 1724). Aldrich began his work with what Anstis (op.cit., I,25) calls a "tedious romantick preface, in a fustian stile, that hath more Smoak than fire, containing his History of the Institution of this Order, whence we may perceive he was a credulous antiquary ..." Ashmole's reference is to the statement in this preface that "Henry the first ... thought he should still add to his glory if to so beautiful a castle, he should add a college of priests ..." (ibid., II,21). Aldrich, writing in Henry VIII's reign, was bent on a eulogy of the various Henries who were Kings of England (he concludes "A happy omen that tho' other Kings had done many and great things, yet the Henries should finish and compleat always what
chaplain ministering in the castle, who was to receive one penny a day (30s. 5d. a year) out of the revenues of the manor of Windsor. Such a chaplain continued to receive this sum yearly until 1240 when an addition was made to his duties and a corresponding increase in his wages. Henry III's son Edward was born on 17 June 1239, and at the end of that year the king directed the bailiff of Windsor to find without delay a chaplain to celebrate continually for the safety of the little prince. Simon of Burnham was appointed and was to receive 50s. yearly; besides this he sometimes had a gift of a robe from the king. A second chaplain, Laurence of London, was appointed in 1244 to serve a chapel in the Great Tower of the castle, receiving his 50s. yearly from the farm of the County of Berkshire. By 1246 there was a third chaplain in the castle, who said mass in the chapel of the queen's lodgings newly built by Henry III in the lower ward. His name was John.

2 (contd.)
was wanting"; his statement is without foundation. With regard to the number of priests in this supposed early college, Ashmole may have been misled by Edward III's patent founding St. George's, in which the words ... capellam quandam aptae pulchritudinis octo canonicorum secularium ... in honore beati Edwardi confessoris per progenitores nostros nobiliter inchoatam ... occur. The number, however, refers to the establishment existing in 1348, and not to any earlier one.

1 Pipe Roll, 2 Henry II, quoted by Hope, op. cit., p. 15.
and in 1248 each of the three chaplains, Simon, Laurence and John, was to receive 50s. from the farm of the town of Windsor.

Meanwhile the great new chapel dedicated to St. Edward was being built in the lower ward, on the site now occupied by the Albert Memorial chapel. It was begun in 1240, after the issue of a royal command ordering the building of a chapel 70 feet long and 28 feet wide, with an ante-chapel or galilee at the west end. This was finished by 1248, and the king ordered the bailiff of Windsor, by a writ of liberate dated 2 November in that year, to find four more chaplains to serve it. By December 1250 the new chaplains had been found. They were William of Stawell, Hugh of Okeford, Ralph of St. Alban's and John of St. Leger. Each of them was to receive 50s. a

2 Ibid. 1226-40, p.439, 4 January 1240. The outer doors of this ante-chapel form part of the east wall of the present St. George's chapel, and the north wall of the Memorial chapel, below the windows, is Henry III's work. The original arcading can be seen on the outside, where it forms the south wall of the dean's cloister.
3 Ibid., 1245-51, p.208.
4 Or Seaford. His name is given in the Calendar as Hugh de Acford (Cal. Lib. Rolls. 1245-51, p.278) and Hugh de Seford (Ibid., p.289).
5 Ibid., pp.278,289,323,347.
year, and it was the special duty of John of St. Leger to pray for the soul of the king's half-brother, Hugh le Brun. The castle was now staffed with seven chaplains, each receiving 50s. a year, which in 1251 came from the revenues of the bailiwick of Windsor. By 1275, however, the number of chaplains had dropped to two, namely Thomas of Bustlesham and Henry of Waltham, who were paid by the constable of the castle. There remained only two chaplains in the castle thenceforward until 1313 when Edward II drew up new ordinances for the service of St. Edward's chapel. These provided for an establishment of four chaplains, of whom one was to be chief, and two clerks. The chief chaplain was to receive yearly 10 marks (£6.13s.4d.), the other three 100s. each, and each of the clerks 50s., paid from the exchequer.

To the same year, 1313, belongs the first recorded mention of Edward II's interesting foundation in honour of Our Lady, for a dean, twelve chaplains and four clerks to serve a chapel in the park of Windsor. This was the great chapel of the king's manor in Windsor park, which, according

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1 Hugh XI of Lusignan, called le Brun, was the son of Hugh X of Lusignan and Henry III's mother, Isabella of Angoulême, widow of King John of England. Hugh XI succeeded his father as Count of La Marche in 1249, and died on crusade in Egypt in 1250.


4 Foedera (1818),II,i,193.
to Harwood, stood near the old South Gate of the park on a site still known as Manor Hill. The earliest known mention of the park chapel belongs to March 1246, when it was served by one chaplain, who was to receive, like the castle chaplains, 50s. a year. In the following year, 1247, the staff was increased to two, each receiving 50s. Edward II's new foundation, mentioned above, was completed before August 1313. Large annual stipends were allotted to the members of this new college from the revenues of the manors of Langley Marish and Cippenham, £10 each for the dean and chaplains, and 10 marks each for the clerks. They were also allowed to keep all the offerings in the chapel, and were granted meals in the king's or queen's hall or else an allowance of food and drink whenever the king, the queen or their heirs were at the manor. This collegiate foundation in the park, which might have been an important one, after all came to nothing. The maintenance of the lavish sums granted to its staff early became too heavy a drain on the royal resources. By 1328 the dean's allowance

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1 Harwood, op.cit., pp.163,166. There were two chapels in the manor, one in the king's house (the great chapel), and the other in the queen's.


3 Ibid., p.143.

4 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p.11.

5 Ibid., p.12.
was already fourteen years in arrears, and two years later there remained only four chaplains in the park. The others of Edward II's seventeen chaplains and clerks had either died and not been replaced or had "departed for lack of their wages." The remaining four were removed by Edward III to the castle, and added to the staff of the Confessor's chapel there. The annual sums granted to them were reduced; in 1331 they were granted 10 marks a year, the amount which was received by the chief of the castle chaplains. One of the park chaplains, John of Melton, became chief chaplain in the place of Robert Shuttingdon, who had occupied that position since 1318 and later became one of the first canons of Edward III's foundation of 1348. The Confessor's chapel was now served by eight

1 Cal. Close Rolls, 1327-30, p.436. The first dean, Thomas of Leicester, was succeeded by Thomas of Usefleet, who was granted the deanship by patent dated 16 May 1328. Thomas of Leicester petitioned for £140 owing to him for fourteen years as dean (apparently he had not been paid at all since the year of foundation of the college in the park), and the king ordered these arrears to be paid, in a letter to the treasurer and chamberlains dated 16 February 1329.

2 Harwood, op.cit., p.169. This is apparently quoted from a petition of the park chaplains to the king in 1331 (P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, File 39, No.11946).


4 Harwood, op.cit., pp.171-2. The initial reduction was to 100s. each, but the four, in a petition, reminded the king that he had promised them £10 each when they came to the park, with which they had been "feebly served and still were." It was in answer to this that 10 marks each was granted in March 1331 (P.R.O., Ancient Petitions, File 39, No.11946).

5 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1330-34, p.80.

6 Ibid., p.125.

chaplains and two clerks; the four chaplains from the park and the former chief castle chaplain receiving 10 marks each, the other three chaplains 100s. each, and the clerks 50s. each.

This was the state of the establishment when the great new college of St. George was founded. Edward III's patent dated 6 August 1348 then transformed this small staff of chaplains into a large, rich and important collegiate foundation serving the chapel of his most noble order of the Garter. To the existing eight chaplains a warden and fifteen more were added, making twenty-four in all, and also twenty-four poor knights and other ministers, with a generous grant for their support from the exchequer, which was to make up the value of present and future endowments to a grand total of £1,000 yearly.

It was some time before the new college was properly housed or canonically instituted. The accommodation provided for the eight chaplains and two clerks was, of course, inadequate for the enlarged college with its extra ministers and knights. For nearly two years building works were held up

1 The addition of the park chaplains does not seem to have improved the service of the chapel. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1338-40, p.354, where a visitation is ordered because the chaplains were frequently absent, 16 July 1339.

2 Harwood states that the park chaplains later received an increased sum of 20 marks yearly (op.cit., p.172).


4 Ibid., 1348-50, p.144.

5 The four original castle chaplains shared a hall, cellar and kitchen of a house near the great gate of the castle, and their two clerks occupied three small chambers near the close of
by the devastation of the Black Death; consequently it was not until April 1350 that work could begin on the refurnishing and adornment of the chapel, and the construction of lodgings and other buildings for the use of the canons. Moreover, papal approval had to be obtained before the royal foundation could be set in working order. The required papal letters, commending Edward III's design and granting power to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester to ordain and institute the college, were not despatched until 30 November 1350 and it was not until 30 November 1352 that the statutes

5 (contd.)

the gatekeeper. New chambers had recently been built for the four park chaplains in a close on the south side of the chapel (Cal. Close Rolls, 1337-39, p.179). St. John Hope has identified these lodgings as lying against the south wall of the lower ward, where the houses of the military knights stand now. The lodgings were built in 1339, but no account roll of these building works has survived (Windsor Castle, I, 109).

1 Cal. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1342-62, p.395. The Latin text is printed as an appendix to Ashmole, and also by Dugdale (op.cit., vi,1355). The original papal bull is preserved in the erary (the muniment room of the dean and chapter of St. George's) at Windsor castle, and there is a transcript of it in the Arundel White Book, f.66.

2 We do not to-day possess the statutes of the college in their original form, and no copy of them has been preserved earlier than a roll of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, which is incomplete (W.M.,xi.D.20). There is a complete copy in the fifteenth-century Arundel White Book (ff.74-84), which differs slightly from the earlier one, and others are in Dr. Brough's Book (which belongs to the minor canons of Windsor) and Peter Scot's Book, both of the seventeenth century. Canon Dalton prepared a text of the statutes for publication and the corrected proof sheets are in the erary. There is a copy of the statutes in the British Museum, Add. Mss. Nos.4845,6,7.
and ordinances for the college were completed.

The composition of the new college as set forth in the statutes differed slightly from that proposed by the king in 1348. The number of priests and poor knights was now twenty-six, not twenty-four, and the clerical side of the establishment consisted of a warden (custos) and twelve other secular canons, thirteen priest vicars (making up the twenty-six) and four clerks. Six choristers with twenty-six poor knights and a verge-bearer completed the college. From the earliest times the title of dean (decanus) was used interchangeably with that of warden (custos) for the head of the college. In the letters patent of foundation and in the college statutes the style is custos. Richard Kingston in 1412 and after him John Arundel in 1417 were, however, appointed as deans, not wardens, by the king. Kingston made no comment but Arundel became anxious concerning the validity of his title. In 1429 he petitioned parliament for legal recognition of both styles, stating that the title decanus was used in the statutes of the order of the Garter (of 1349). His petition was granted; he and his successors were confirmed as custodes sive decani and all grants of land and

1 "... in the statuitz of the honurable Ordre of the Gartier, founded and ordeined in the saide Chapelle, the said Wardein is named and wretyn Dean ..." (Rolls of Parliament, IV, 346). The existing exemplars of the Garter Statutes (printed by Ashmole in the appendix to his history of the order), however, of which none is earlier than Henry V's reign, have custos or gardianus sive custos and never decanus. In the college rolls of account, decanus and custos are used before 1400 in the same document, and the report of the visitation of St. George's in 1378 (Foedera (1869), IV, 50) has decanus throughout. Dr. J.C. Cox has commented on this use of dean in 1378, but named the warden Walter Almaly, who was actually not appointed until 1381 (V.C.H., Berks, II, 107).
liberties made to the college by name of dean and canons or warden and canons were ratified.

Canonries at Windsor were profitable only for priests who could reside constantly. Each canon, including the warden, received as his prebend 40s. a year, to which he was entitled whether he resided or not, but, if he kept residence, he could increase this sum to a yearly total of £20.5s. out of the daily distributions (cotidiane) of 12d. to canons present.

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1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1422-29, p.527; 1429-36, p.45; Rolls of Parliament, iv, 346. There is in the erary a sixteenth century transcript of the relevant part of the roll of Parliament of 22 September 1429 (W.M. x1.A.6).

2 cf. Edward III's other foundation of St. Stephen's, Westminster, where the value of the prebends was identical. Residence at either of these centres was a simple matter for king's clerks, who in some cases held prebends in both.

3 John Blockeleye, one of the canons of St. Stephen's, Westminster (where the same arrangement prevailed), certified that the value of his prebend if he kept residence was £20.5s. (Register of Simon of Sudbury (Canterbury and York Society), II, 172, quoted by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson in "Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England" (Archaeological Journal (1917), p.197, n.) from the 1366 Plurality Returns). It is interesting to notice that the three canons of Windsor whose returns are printed in Sudbury's Register (II, 152, 163, 178) gave the value of their prebends there as worth only 40s., and did not mention possible cotidians.
at service in chapel. The statutes allowed the warden alone 60 days non-residence in the year, 15 to be taken in each term, and if he were absent longer than the permitted period, he not only forfeited his cotidis, but also incurred a fine of half a mark for each extra day, the fines being divided between the canons who had kept residence. From the annual totals of money paid out in cotidis to the canons in the early treasurers' accounts, and from the existing Chapel Attendance Registers, 

The canons were required to attend once a day in choir, either at Mattins or High Mass, or Vespers and Compline. St. George's followed the Sarum Use, which divided the day's services into four groups:

1) Mattins, preceded by the morrow mass. According to the Statutes of the College, mattins had to be over by daybreak in winter, and to begin at dawn in summer. The custom at St. George's was, however, to begin service at 7 a.m. (cf. Letter from the minor canons and clerks appealing against Edward VI's order to begin service at 6 a.m., 1 December 1547. W.H. Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reform­ation (Alcuin Club Collections, xv), II, 162-3).

2) The Lady Mass, followed by Prime which was finished in the Chapter House where the canons proceeded at once to the chapter meeting.

3) Terce, High Mass, Sext and Nones.

4) Vespers and Compline.

(College Statutes, Articles xi, xxl-xxvi; A.H. Thompson, Cathedral Churches of England, pp. 199, 202, 205, 209).

From these amounts it appears that between eight and twelve canons were resident in each year. (see below, p.).

Monthly attendance sheets exist for sixteen months between October 1384 and May 1386. In these months the number of residentiaries varied between five and twelve, but in ten out of the sixteen months, eight or more canons resided.
it appears that most of the canons at Windsor were constantly resident. All non-residence, except the warden's, continued to be penalised until 1478, when, in answer to a petition from the canons, Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, then also dean of Windsor, was empowered by the pope to dispense with the ancient statutes in this particular and to allow the canons fourteen days non-residence in each term (56 in all in the year) either continuous or intermittent, without loss of cotidians, provided that they kept the great annual residence of twenty-one days continuously. This residence, as we know from a chapter act of 1430, involved attendance daily for three weeks at the three principal canonical hours (Mattins, High Mass, and Vespers and Compline) in the chapel, with some subsidiary obligations in alms and hospitality. A century later the

1 This is borne out by the 1366 plurality returns. Eight of the canons sent their returns to the bishop of Salisbury by their proctor from Windsor, where they were apparently in residence (A.H. Thompson in Archæological Journal (1917), p.192.n.).

2 Ashmole Mss. No 1124, f, 44. A minimum residence of three weeks was required by the statutes (article xx) before a canon could share in the division of surplus income at the end of the year.

3 No chapter act book has survived earlier than 1596, but this act was transcribed by Frith in his Old Register, p.90.

4 On the first day of this residence, 40s. in money or vestments was to be offered on the altar by the canon. During the three weeks he was to keep continual hospitality in his own house, inviting three poor persons daily to supper, each of whom was to say a psalter for the souls of the Knights of the Garter, past and present, and afterwards be served personally by the canon and given one penny. Within his time of residence the canon was obliged to have all the ministers of the college to dine with him, either separately or together.
canons of Windsor were allowed a much greater indulgence, for the Lord Chancellor Christopher Hatton, in a letter dated 26 November 1590, stated that, in order to enable canons with cures to reside on their benefices without loss, the chapter should arrange for canons to be absent from St. George's for half the year. The chancellor would ratify this, provided that it was so ordained that a competent number of priests was always resident at Windsor and that the majority of canons was present when the sovereign was at Windsor or any Knight of the Garter installed. A chapter act of 3 November 1592 made the necessary provisions, and from this time canons who kept the great residence of twenty-one days and a further four days in each quarter were allowed to be absent for six whole months and twenty-three days without losing the profits of residence, save for a few exceptions. These profits were considerable, for besides cottidians, the income of residentiaries was supplemented from three other sources. These were 1) the division of surplus income at the end of the year; 2) the chapel offerings; and 3) obit distributions. Of the money remaining after all the year's expenses had been paid, one-third had to be deposited in

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1 Frith's Old Register, p.75 and Frere, *Visitation Articles*, III, 248.
2 Frere, *op.cit.*, III, 250.
3 Installation fees and offerings of the Knights of the Garter were reserved to canons personally resident at the time, and a share in three dues in kind (wheat from Datchet, rabbits from Kingsclere and herrings from Yarmouth) was to be given only to canons resident at Windsor at Christmas.
the erary as a common fund to be used in time of need or for the improvement of the property of the college. The remaining two-thirds, however, were to be divided between the residentiaries, in proportion to the residence they had kept; for this purpose no residence of less than three weeks was to count at all. The chapel offerings until 1393 were paid by the precentor to the treasurer to swell the common revenues; in that year, however, Richard II granted that the offerings (together with an annual gift of herrings from Yarmouth) should be the perquisites of the residentiaries. From this time, whatever was left after all the chapel expenses had been paid was delivered by the precentor at the time of audit to be divided among the canons who had resided. Obit money was paid to all those members of the college who were present at the required services. Most obit distributions were paid in double cotidian, but some few were endowed with the incomes of certain properties, and increased in value with the rents.

The warden, besides his prebend of 40s., possible cotidians of £18.5s. and share of the dividends and obit monies in the year, received a stipend of 100 marks (£66.13.4). It was from this sum that his fines for non-residence (multa) were deducted, if incurred. In addition to this, the warden might augment his income from the fruits of other benefices which he was permitted by papal license to hold and enjoy while resident at Windsor. To one of the early wardens, Thomas Cal.Pap.Reg., Letters, 1342-62, pp. 381, 399. This license was necessary since the deanery of a college of secular canons, unlike the canonries, was not usually a sinecure.
Butler, Pope Boniface IX, at the instance of Richard II, granted leave to be absent from Windsor and farm the fruits of his wardenship.

The priest vicars, on the other hand, were bound to be always in residence and to attend every service. For this they received £8 a year, paid in instalments of 8s. each month for their daily table with the balance quarterly. They also shared in the obit distributions, and one of them received an extra 2 marks a year for teaching the choristers. Their absences from the chapel services were punishable by mulcts of 2d. for Mattins and High Mass and 1d. for the other services, these fines being divided among the vicars who had attended. All members of the college below the rank of canon were liable to expulsion from it if absent for more than twenty days without leave.

Of the clerks, two, who were to be a deacon and a sub-deacon, received 8 marks a year, and the other two, in minor orders, 6 marks. Like the vicars they were paid a monthly allowance for their table (4s. each) and the balance at the end of each quarter. Their absences from service were punished by

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1. Cal. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1362-1404, p.395 (21 August 1391). Butler, however, occupied the offices of both treasurer and steward of St. George's from Michaelmas 1393 to Michaelmas 1394, accounting for all the revenues. Since he received the full salary for both offices (£5 each), presumably he performed all the duties attached to them and resided at Windsor during the year (W.M., xv, 34.16).

2. Besides this, each vicar had to say mass daily, and except on certain specified days one of them was also to say a mass for the dead.
similar mulcts. Each of the six choristers was allowed 5 marks a year, which was received and managed for them by the precentor or by the vicar who taught them singing and grammar. Whatever was left over after their daily needs had been provided was paid to them at the end of the year.

In including twenty-six poor knights in the college of St. George, Edward III intended both to provide for some of those who after fighting with him in France had been brought to poverty through adverse fortune, and also to strengthen the connexion of the college with the Order of the Garter by maintaining in the persons of the poor knights deputies in prayer for the Knights-Companions. The knights enjoyed an income equal to that of the canons, 40s. a year and a daily allowance of 12d. In return, as bedesmen, they were required to attend three times a day in choir, at High Mass, the Lady Mass and Vespers and Compline, and to say 150 Aves and 15 Pater Nosters at these services.

The statutes allowed the college to have one verger-bearer, who was to be appointed and removed at the discretion of the chapter. He received 6d. a day and a robe worth 20s. once a year. In addition there were one or two bellringers attached to the college, who were paid an allowance of 2d. a day, with some extra reward for additional ringing on special festivals or when the king came to Windsor. Although not included in the original statutes, the bellringers counted among the

Poverty was one of the conditions of tenure of a poor knight's place at St. George's. If a poor knight subsequently acquired an income of £20 a year, he had to leave the college (Statutes of the College, article vi).
ministers of the college, receiving their daily pay from the treasurer like the others, and not from the precentor who paid for the extra ringing. They also benefited from obit distributions, when, like the other members of the college, they received double their usual cotidiens.

c) Connexion with the Order of the Garter.
As the chapel of the Order of the Garter, St. George's was richly decorated and furnished as soon as workmen in sufficient numbers could be assembled at Windsor. Between 1350 and 1353 the chapel which Henry III had built in honour of St. Edward the Confessor was refitted with a new roof, new painted glass windows, and elaborate canopied stalls. Enamelled plates of arms of the Knights of the Garter were fixed to the stalls, and above them hung their helms and swords. Each of the original Knights-Companions was allowed to present one of the first canons or vicars of the college and one poor knight to occupy his stall daily in the chapel. Although places were thus provided for twenty-six poor knights, apparently there were not sufficient candidates for places. Actually there were never more than three in the college throughout the whole mediaeval period.

The Garter Statutes include the twenty-six priests and

2 All subsequent presentations were reserved to the sovereign.
3 The original statutes of 1349 had already perished when Ashmole wrote his history of the Order of the Garter. In the appendix to his published work he printed four texts of the statutes. The oldest of these Ashmole transcribed from a manuscript of
the poor knights of Windsor as part of the order. On feast days and at ceremonies of the order, the priests were to wear murrey and the knights red mantles, with the arms of St. George on the shoulder, within a roundel. The original statutes were to be kept in the treasury of the college of Windsor, and the copies which each Knight-Companion received at his installation were to be returned at his decease to the warden of the college. Installation fees, which each new Knight-Companion had to pay, were divided between the canons in residence and the poor knights. Similarly, the canons and knights shared the fines paid by the Knights-Companions for such offences as appearing in public without the Garter, or not attending an election. On the death of a Knight-Companion, his helm and sword were removed from above his stall and offered on the altar; after this they became the property of the dean and canons, who enjoyed the proceeds of their sale.

3 (contd.)

Henry V's reign entitled Registrum ordinis chartaeum which in his time was preserved in the Paper Office at Whitehall, but is not now known to exist. A digest of the Statutes has been made by G.F. Beltz (Memorials of the Garter, p.xlviii).

1 Statutes of the Garter, articles 4-7.

2 The donations made by the Knights of the Garter to the college at their installation varied with the rank of the knight. The sovereign's fee was 226.13.4, a stranger king's 220, the prince of Wales' 13.6.8, a duke's 110, an earl's 6.13.4, a baron's 5 and a knight-bachelor's 3.6.8 (Statutes of the Garter, article 22).

3 A particularly large number was sold in 1377-8, when the precentor received £9.3.10 for 15 swords, 34 helms and a silver sword-belt (W.M.xv.56.4). Receipts for such sales appear regularly in the precentors' accounts, and the helms and swords were often bought by the warden or by canons. The treasurer's
Within the castle lived the verger (virgarius) or usher (ostiarius) of the order of the Garter, an esquire appointed by the king, who received a wage of 12d. a day at the exchequer for this office. Walter Whitehorse was the first verger, and although the patent of his appointment is dated 1361, he must have held the office at least by 1352 when a lodging was built for him in the castle. Probably his appointment dated from the foundation of the order. He had charge of the mantles of the company, and it was his duty to bear the rod before the college of St. George in procession on feast days when the king was

3 (contd.)

account for 1415-16 has a list of expenses of negotiations with the executors of Sir John Dabrichecourt for the possession of his mantle and shield of arms which were claimed by the college after his death (W.M.xv.34.28). A collection of instances of the receipt by the college of St. George of mantles, helms and crests of deceased Knights of the Garter was made by Thomas Frith (canon of Windsor 1610-1631) from the precentors' and treasurers' rolls to be cited as precedents (Frith's Old Register, pp.56, 57).

1 In 1376 Whitehorse surrendered the letters patent granting him 12d. a day for life at the exchequer in return for another patent appointing him bailiff of the hundred of Rochford in Essex, in place of his former wage for his duties as usher of the order of the Garter (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1374-77, p.265).

2 St. John Hope conjectures that Whitehorse's house stood in the south part of the middle ward of the castle, the site of the later Black Rod's lodging (op.cit.,II,151), thinking it probable that the house did not stand in the lower bailey, within the jurisdiction of the college, since the constable of the castle was responsible for its repair in 1393-4 (ibid., p.223).
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ESTATES OF ST. GEORGES.
present, an office now performed by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Although the Garter verger was frequently styled the verger or usher of the free chapel of Windsor, he is distinct from the usher or verge-bearer of the college of St. George, who was both appointed and paid by the college.

B. The revenues.

a) Churches.

The main part of the revenues of St. George’s was provided by the fruits of churches appropriated to their use. Among these by far the most important for the present survey were eleven churches alienated in mortmain to the college between August 1348 and May 1351. Of these, six were gifts of the king. The remaining five were given by companions of the order of the Garter, the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton, and Queen Philippa, the first lady of the order. The churches were acquired by the college in

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1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-4, p.23.
2 One of the Garter vergers, Thomas Sy, had held the office of verge-bearer to the college (W.M. xv.34.16) some years before he was appointed to be verger of the Garter in 1399 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401, pp.63,142. There is a seventeenth century transcript of a patent of 30 November 1402 confirming this appointment in the erary, W.M.xi.B.19).
3 See above, p.19.
4 The ladies of the Garter (dominae de secta et liberatura Garterii) wore the robes of the order at the feasts of St. George, and the garter on the left arm below the elbow. Edward III appointed only two ladies to the order, his queen Philippa, and his daughter Isabella, Countess of Bedford (E.H. Fellowes, The Knights of the Garter, 1348-1939, p.102).
four groups

1) Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter (1343).
2) Deddington and Datchet (1350).
3) Iver, Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton (1351).
4) Simonburn and Saltash (1351).

1) Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter.

These three churches appear in the patent of foundation of St. George’s (dated 6 August 1343) as the original endowment of the college, given by the king. Actually, of the three, Wraysbury alone was in the king's possession to give. The advovson of South Tawton belonged to Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and that of Uttoxeter to Henry, earl of Lancaster.

Royal licence for the alienation of these two churches was granted in the following year to the two earls, and their subsequent grants to the college bear date 1349.

Wraysbury

The advovson of Wraysbury with the chapel of Langley Marish in Buckinghamshire had been obtained by the king from the convent of St. Peter's, Gloucester, in 1345 in exchange for the royal manor of Burton by Gloucester and other property in Gloucestershire. In letters patent dated 16 November 1348

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2 Arundel White Book, ff.31v,35.
3 Ashmole included the chapel of Langley Marish in his list of endowments of St. George's not given by the king, and Tighe and Davis, following Ashmole, state that Langley was among the grants made by private individuals to the college (Annals of Windsor, p.162).
4 W.M.xxv.47.1 (original deed) and Arundel White Book, f.2v. (transcript); also cf. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1343-45, pp.551,555.
5 Arundel White Book, f.2v; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p.207.
the king conferred the advowson upon the warden and college of Windsor, and subsequently petitioned the bishop of Lincoln to allow the appropriation of the church to the college. The bishop, when granting this permission in October 1349, recited among the reasons which led him to do so that, owing to the nearness of Wraysbury to Windsor, the needs of the poor of that parish would be evident to the canons, and would be the more relieved. A portion consisting of the small tithes and offerings, valued at 10 marks, was reserved for the vicar, and annual payments to the bishop and chapter of Lincoln, compensating them for the loss of sequestrations, were fixed at 2 marks and half a mark respectively. An addition to the college holding in Wraysbury was made by Richard of Gloucester, heir of Isabel of Dytton who, after granting a messuage in the township

1 W.M. xv.47.3 and Arundel White Book, f.3.
2 The neglect of almsgiving by absentee rectors provoked a royal declaration in 1391, desiring that the diocesan when making an appropriation should ordain a certain sum of money to be distributed yearly to the poor of the parish (Rolls of Parliament, III, 468.a, quoted by Hartridge, Vicarages in the Middle Ages, p.157).
3 The first vicar, William Ashby, attempted to keep the mortuary fees as well, but was obliged to read aloud in the presence of witnesses in the deanery at Windsor a document asserting the right of the college to the fees and declaring his own claim null and void. In return for the fees which he had unjustly kept up to this time (24 April 1355), the vicar agreed to build himself a suitable house at his own cost, not troubling the college to provide one for him as they were bound, and he also promised to give up the mortuary fees in the future (W.M. xi.A. 2 and Arundel White Book, f.4).
4 The deed of appropriation fixed the sum to be paid annually to the bishop at 2 marks, but the treasurers' accounts consistently record a payment of only 20s. to the bishop for Wraysbury.
to the college direct in November 1349, apparently without royal permission, gave it to the king who in turn presented it to the college in frankalmoin in January 1350. For a short period, the rectory of Wraysbury was administered by officials of the college; from at least 1361, however, it was let out to farm, bringing in for the most part £24 a year. The chapelry at Langley was farmed independently of Wraysbury and was worth from £26.13s.4d. to £33.6s.3d. a year, besides a rent of 9s. yearly paid by the priory of Ankerwyke for the tithe of an assart called Prestwick in their manor of Alderbourne, which fell within the parish of Langley.

South Tawton The parish church of South Tawton, Devon, was valued at £20 p.a. in the bishop of Exeter's deed appropriating it to St. George's in August 1349. Of this an annual portion of £10

1 W.M.xv.47.5(and Arundel White Book,f.4v.). The property consisted of a messuage with 18 acres of arable land, one acre of meadow and 4s. annual quit rent. Richard of Gloucester appointed attorneys on the same day, to give seisin of the property to the college (W.M.xv.47.6 and Arundel White Book,f.2v.).

2 W.M.xv.47.7 and Arundel White Book,f.2v. When granted to the king, the messuage was said to consist of 17 acres of arable, 1 acre of meadow, and 3s. rent, and was given thus to the college by the king (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50,p.466 and Arundel White Book, f.3).

3 The tithes of Prestwick were granted to Ankerwyke Priory in September 1350 (Arundel White Book, f.4v.), and the priory continued to pay 9s. a year for them until 1441 when the amount was reduced to 6s.8d. (Frith's Old Register, p.217).

4 Arundel White Book, f.35v.
was to be paid to the vicar, and one mark annually to the bishop. In July 1351, royal licence was given to the warden and canons of St. George's to exchange this church with the rector and scholars of Exeter College, Oxford, for the church of Long Wittenham in Berkshire. The exchange, however, never took place; the dean and canons of Windsor have retained the patronage of South Tawton, and Exeter College that of Long Wittenham, ever since. South Tawton was usually farmed at £24, except for a period between 1386 and 1406 when the farm was £20 a year only.

Uttoxeter Before the church of Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, came into the possession of St. George's, a vicarage had been ordained in it by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The arrangements then made were now retained, the vicar's portion being the small tithes and a suitable manse, while the college, as rector, kept the great tithes and the offerings, out of which 10s. yearly was paid to the bishop. The rectory was a rich one and its farm increased steadily throughout the reign of Edward III from £43.6s.8d. to £50 a year. Its value decreased subsequently, but never fell below £35 in the period treated, and from 1406 to

1 [Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p.118.]
2 [4 February 1331 (W.M.xv.28.1 and Arundel White Book, f.30).]
3 Among the revenues of the church of Uttoxeter was an annual pension of 6s.8d. owed by the rector of the church of Leigh. This was withheld from the warden and canons for fourteen years and finally recovered after an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury who ordered the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to see that the pension was paid, with the arrears, by the rector of Leigh, 23 October 1404 (W.M.xv.28.15 and Arundel White Book, f.32v.).
4 Arundel White Book, f.32.
1416 remained at £40.

2) Deddington and Datchet.

Arrangements for the appropriation of the churches of Deddington, in Oxfordshire, and Datchet, in Buckinghamshire, began early in 1350. Letters patent, dated 26 January 1350, granted leave to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, to alienate Deddington to St. George's, and the earl's charter making the grant was dated 4 May. Edward III obtained Datchet from the abbot and convent of St. Alban's, who had held it since the middle of the twelfth century. In return, the king gave up the right he had on the new election of an abbot of nominating a clerk to receive a pension of 100s. until the abbey provided him with a benefice. The advowson of Datchet passed to the king on 13 May; on the 22nd the king granted it to the college of Windsor.

Pope Clement VI, by letters dated 31 January 1351, authorised the appropriation to St. George's of six benefices, worth in all not more than £200. The warden of St. George's, William Mugge, presented these letters to the bishop of Winchester, when, as the king's proxy, he asked in June 1352

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1 Including the chapel of Fulmer.
3 Arundel White Book, f.20
for Deddington and in July for Datchet to be appropriated to the college. According to the last taxation of the tithe, Deddington was worth £40 and Datchet 20 marks a year. In making the appropriations, the bishop of Winchester reserved portions of 25 marks for the vicar of Deddington and £11 for the vicar of Datchet. Vicarages were ordained in both churches 17 January 1353 by the same prelate, who fixed the pensions to be received by the bishop and chapter of Lincoln at 24s. and 3s.4d. respectively for Deddington, and 3s.4d. and 12d. for Datchet, besides 6s.8d. to be paid yearly to the Archdeacon of Buckingham for Datchet. Since July 1352 when Datchet was united to the college, St. George's had acquired by purchase from Robert Amaunt of Datchet a messuage and 2s.6d. rent in the township, and these were now added to the vicar's portion.

At farm, the church of Deddington was worth £50 a year to the college for one half of the sixty-eight years under review. The farm increased steadily through Edward III's reign from £45 to £50, and then remained at £50 for thirty-four years, from 1369 to 1403. After a drop in value, it rose, this time to £52, from 1406-1411, but had dropped again to £42 by 1415. The

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1 Assessments for taxation were made at a level lower than the actual worth of the benefice. An "unofficial income-tax abatement" was allowed, and the church assessed at the lowest estimate for which it could be farmed (Hartridge, Vicarages of the Middle Ages, p.79).

2 Arundel White Book, ff.19,5v. Since the appropriation was in accordance with papal command, the license of the diocesan, the bishop of Lincoln, was not required.


4 W.M.xv.58.B.3 (and Arundel White Book, f.7v.).
value of Datchet remained at £29.6s.8d. for most of Edward II’s reign, then fluctuated between £23 and £30 for a few years, finally reaching a level of £26.13s.4d., which was maintained from 1402 to 1416.

3) Iver, Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton.

In February 1351 the prior and convent of the Cluniac priory of Lewes felt it advisable to seek denization and consequent quittance of all levies and confiscations made from aliens as such by a timely grant to the king of five churches, Fishlake, Sandal Magna, Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton, together worth 200 marks. Of these the king exchanged Fishlake with Ralph Neville for the church of Iver, in the county of Buckingham. He then on 1 March granted its advowson, and also those of Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton, to the warden and college of St. George.

Their appropriation was completed without delay. At the beginning of May 1351 John, bishop of Lincoln, ordained Iver the vicarage of Iver, fixing the vicar’s portion at 20 marks, his own annual pension at 20s., and that of his chapter at 5s.

Ryston The vicarage of Ryston was ordained at the beginning of June; the vicar’s portion being 20 marks. After one set of firstfruits

1 Arundel White Book, f.25v; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p.47.
3 Ibid., 1350-54, p.51.
4 In Norfolk.
5 Whaddon and Caxton are in Cambridgeshire.
had been paid to the bishop, on the first institution of a vicar at Ryston, the rectors were to pay 4 marks and the vicar 2 marks a year to the bishop, and a pension of 20s. from the Whaddon rectors was reserved for the chapter of Norwich. Whaddon and Caxton were appropriated to St. George's by the bishop of Ely on 7 June. Portions for the vicar were fixed at 2 marks for Whaddon and 11 marks for Caxton, and the pensions of the bishop and chapter at 20s. and 3s.4d. for Whaddon, and 5s. and 1s.3d. for Caxton.

Of these four churches, Iver and Ryston were particularly rich, both commanding the large annual sum of £53.6s.8d. at farm during the reign of Edward III. By 1385, however, the value of Iver had dropped to £48, from 1393 to 1403 it was farmed at £46, and from 1404 to 1416 at £44. Ryston suffered a similar steady decline. From 1375 its farm began to decrease, and by 1415 had sunk as low as £27.16s.8d. Whaddon and Caxton were not as valuable, but their rents did not go down with such rapidity. Throughout the period, Whaddon was farmed for sums varying between £32 and £35. The farm of Caxton sank from £18 to £11.6s.8d., but rose a little to £12 in 1415.

4) Simonburn and Saltash.

Queen Philippa and Edward prince of Wales each made a gift of a church to St. George's through the king. The advowson of Simonburn was stated to belong to the queen by

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2 In South Northumberland, a few miles north of the Roman camp at Chester.
grant from the late Sir John Darcy, while the prince, as duke of Cornwall, was lord of Saltash. A nominal grant of Simonburn and Saltash was made to the king in order that they might pass to the college with the full authority of a royal grant. This was done by letters patent dated 9 May 1351.

Possession of the advowson of Simonburn had long been a subject of dispute between the king and the bishop of Durham. The king's claim to the church was two-fold. First, Simonburn was situated in the liberty of Tynedale, long associated with the Scottish throne till it was annexed by Edward I in his war against King John (Balliol) in 1296. Secondly, on the death of Adam of East Swinburn in 1318, the jurors stated that he had held the manor and the advowson of Simonburn in free marriage from Sir John de Graham. Adam received the manor, undoubtedly, when he married Idonea, sister of Henry Graham its lord, for it was confirmed to him by an assize of novel disseisin in October 1291. In this confirmation no mention was made of the advowson, and it is doubtful whether Adam ever actually enjoyed the patronage, for in 1310 the benefice was held by a royal

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1 Arundel White Book, f.37 (6 May 1351).
3 The advowson belonged to the king of Scots, Alexander II, in 1229. This is the earliest known mention of the benefice (Northumberland County History, XV, 167, citing Archbishop Gray's Register (Surtees Society, vol.56), p.29).
5 Cal. Inq., VI, 95, no.164.
nominee and in 1314 by another king's clerk, while in 1316 the king presented to the church. At any rate, whether by confiscation from King John, or by escheat from Adam, the king of England claimed the right to present to Simonburn, and did so in 1320 and 1335.

The bishop of Durham's claim was based on a grant of the advowson made in 1294 by John Balliol, then king of Scotland, to Anthony Bek, then bishop. This grant was confirmed by Edward I in the same year, and three years later Bek obtained papal license to appropriate the church. In 1306.

3 Ibid., p.555.
4 By a writ dated 17 April 1319 the king's escheator on this side Trent was ordered to deliver Adam's lands to his son and heir, Henry of Swinburn, a recently pardoned adherent of the Earl of Lancaster (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p.231) who had now done fealty to the king (Cal. Fine Rolls, 1327-1329, p.396).

The lands were either never given up to Henry or else subsequently confiscated, for in 1324 Henry petitioned for the return of some of them (N.C.H., IV, 306 citing Inq.p.m. 17 Edward II no.98). A writ dated 12 December 1326 again ordered the escheator to seize Adam's lands, and an inquisition ordered on the same day subsequently found that Adam's daughter Barnaba and two of his grandsons were heirs (Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-27, p.426; Cal. Inq., VI, pp.473-4, no.751).

5 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p.514; Ibid., 1334-38, p.152.
however, Edward I accused the bishop of having obtained the grant from Balliol after his surrender, and of having secured his own confirmation of it by misrepresentation. The case was tried before parliament at Carlisle while Bek was in Rome, and judgment was given against the bishop by default. In 1329 the case was brought up again on the petition of Louis of Beaumont, then bishop of Durham. Edward III ordered a commission to inquire into the matter, and the subsequent inquest reported that the advowson of Simonburn belonged to the holder of the manor of Wark in Tynedale, Sir John Darcy. Beaumont then entered a plea against Darcy, but died before any decision was reached. In 1337 the case was still dragging on, this time with Bishop Richard of Bury as plaintiff and the king replacing Darcy as defendant. The matter was settled temporarily when, in 1338, Edward III, ignoring Darcy's claim, gave up to the bishop of Durham his own claim to Simonburn, in fulfilment of a vow he had made before the battle of Halidon Hill. In return,

7 Reg.Pal.Dun.III,210. In the Northumberland County History (vol. xv,168) the date of this grant is given in error as 1358. This has involved the author of the article in attempts 1) to explain why Simonburn was given to Bishop Bury in 1338, and 2) to reconcile this grant with that made to St. George's in 1351. A supposed verdict in Bishop Bury's favour is given as the reason for the king's release of claim to Simonburn in 1338, while the
Bishop Bury agreed to set up a monastic house near Oxford, to whom he was to give the advowson and the king was to give licence to appropriate the church.

The dispute, however, did not end here, for this grant introduced another claimant to the advowson of Simonburn, the prior and convent of Durham, to whom the new Durham House at Oxford belonged. Neither the bishop nor Darcy relinquished his claim, and the king’s passed to Queen Philippa, to whom he had given his liberty of Tynedale. The queen presented to Simonburn in 1342, ignoring all claims. Then Bishop Bury renewed his own claim to the church, based, as before, on Balliol’s grant, while Sir John Darcy continued to press his right to it. The bishop of Durham’s claim was successfully ignored. Darcy’s was disproved by a decision in the king’s court in 1347 that the advowson of Simonburn was not part of the manor of Wark but still belonged to the crown. Some compromise, however, was arranged between the queen and Darcy, for when in 1351 Queen

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7 (contd.)

grant to Durham House, Oxford (supposed to have been made seven years after the grant to the warden and canons of Windsor and despite their claim), is curiously disposed of by a reference to the surrender of Simonburn made by the prior and convent in return for the advowson of Hemingburgh in 1356, two years before they are said to have received it.

1 Letters patent of 1343 refer to Tynedale as "Queen Philippa's liberty" (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1343-45, pp.67, 88).
3 N.C.H., XV, 168, citing Year Books II, Hil. an. 20 Edw. II, p. 5, no. II.
Philippa gave Simonburn to the king to give to St. George's, her title to it was by grant of Sir John Darcy, who by that time was dead.

The college of St. George thus held Simonburn by right of the united claims of Philippa and Darcy, but in contravention of the right of the prior and convent of Durham. In 1356 Edward III made reparation to the prior and convent by granting them licence to appropriate the church of Hemingburgh, in return for which they surrendered their right both to Simonburn and to an annuity granted to them by Edward I.

It was not until 18 June 1360 that the bishop of Durham, whose own right to the church of Simonburn had been so unjustly overruled, made the appropriation of the church to St. George's, reserving to himself a pension of 40s. yearly for sequestrations. The church was valued by inquest later in the year. The rector's obligations were found to include the

2 Hodgson makes the curious statement that it was owing to Bishop Beaumont's death, which he puts on 26 September 1338, that the church of Durham lost the advantages which the king intended to confer by his grant after the battle of Halidon Hill, 25 June 1333 (Northumberland,III,ii,105,n.). Bishop Beaumont died 24 September 1333, and Bishop Bury, his successor, died 14 April 1345.
5 In 1378 Bishop Hatfield included this pension of 40s. from Simonburn among the endowments of a chantry in Durham Cathedral (N.C.H., XV,168, citing Hist. Dun. Scrip. Tres (Surtees Society, vol.9) p.cxlvi). Mr. H.L. Honeyman in the Northumberland County History, apparently not knowing of this pension from St. George's, although the deed of appropriation is printed from Bishop Hatfield's Register by Hodgson, presumed that the annual payment of
provision of full-time priests to serve the church of Simonburn and the chapel of Bellingham, and priests to serve the chapels of Wark and Haughton each for three days a week. Five shillings a year had to be paid to the archdeacon of Northumberland for synodals, and 1s.6d. to the church of Durham, of which 12d. was for chrism fees and 6d. for a procession at Whitsuntide. Procuration fees were estimated at 37s.6d. for the bishop and 7s.6d. for the archdeacon.

This living of Simonburn was, at the beginning of Edward III's reign, very wealthy. In 1291 it had been valued at £136.4s.2d., and in 1309 it was worth £136.5s.0d. The church, however, was in a lonely situation, within easy reach of the burning and plundering of the Scots. In 1340 the crops and goods of the parish were destroyed by fire, and the livestock carried off. Now were the Scots the only plunderers, for in 1343 Englishmen from the neighbouring liberties of the earl of Angus and of the bishop of Durham joined in the looting of

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5 (contd.)

40s. was the result of a compromise with the king, who thus compensated the bishop of Durham for the loss of Simonburn.

6 N.C.H., XV, 170, citing Hodgson (op. cit., III, ii, 102-3, n.) who printed the valuation from Bishop Hatfield's Register.

1 N.C.H., XV, 168, citing Hist. Dun. Scrip. Tres (Surtees Society, vol.9), p.cvii. The tax of one tenth on the church was assessed at £13.12s.6d.

Tynedale, feigning to be Scots like their confederates. Consequently by 1360, when Simonburn was appropriated to St. George's, it was worth only £106.0s.4d. at Bishop Hatfield's valuation. Even this diminished value, however, was still considerable, but St. George's did not long enjoy it. The value of Simonburn decreased even more rapidly as the Scottish wars continued. In 1374 it was worth only £73.6s.8d. at farm, and by 1393 less than one fifth of this sum, £17.6s.8d. For three years, 1398 to 1401, it was farmed at £20, but after 1402 was worth nothing at all. From this time Simonburn was useless as a source of revenue to the college of Windsor, and in 1482 the bishop was asked to disappropriate the church since the maintenance of it was a dead loss.


2 8 July 1360.

3 Simonburn had been farmed for this amount in 1392-3. In 1393 the lease was renewed for two years, but it was so uncertain that the church would be worth even this reduced sum in the second year that the following clause was inserted in the agreement: - Et si contingat infra annum secundum termini supradicti guerram communem inter reges aut regna Anglie et Scotie fieri aut moveri quominus predicti Willelmus et Willelmus plenum commodum et proficuum de fructibus et proventibus dicte ecclesie levare et percipere potuerint els fiat mitigatio rationabilis de porcione firme anni illius solvende secundum quod probi et fide digni viri de patria super consciencia sua et bona fide onerati decreverint faciendi. The two leases were printed by Hodgson (op.cit., III,11,35) from the Swinburne Manuscripts (vol.I, pp.32,33).

4 N.C.H., XV,170, citing Register Dunelm, IV,221. The king gave St. George's licence to grant the advowson and patronage of Simonburn to Richard, duke of Gloucester by letters patent dated 2 March 1482 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-85, p.260). It was to be used as part of the endowment of the new college at Barnard Castle (N.C.H., XV,170).
The appropriation of Saltash, on the other hand, was secured without delay from Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, and the church remained a good and steady source of income for St. George's throughout the period treated. The bishop's deed of appropriation is dated 18 June 1351, and on the same day the warden and college bound themselves to pay the bishop a pension of 2 marks a year for the church. A vicarage was ordained on 4 August. The vicar's portion, consisting of the small tithes, the mortuary fees and offerings both in the church of St. Stephen, Saltash, and in the dependent chapel of St. Nicholas of Ash, was valued at £20 a year. On 18 February 1361, at the request of the king, who stated that he wished to secure the position both of the rector and of the vicar of the church, lest by chance the vicar's portion might become too small to support him or on the other hand might increase to such an extent that it exceeded that of the college, the bishop of Exeter agreed to fix the vicar's portion at £20 a year, to be paid him by the college or their proxies at the four terms of the year.

Saltash was farmed at a consistently high rent. It

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1 W.M.xi.K.3 (the original), and Arundel White Book, f.37. It is also printed in full in the Register of John de Grandisson (Exeter Series of Episcopal Registers, edtd. by Hingeston-Randolph), II, 1102.
2 Reg. of Grandisson, II, 1104.
3 Ibid., p.1104-5, and Arundel White Book, f.37v.
4 Reg. of Grandisson, II, 1236 and Arundel White Book, f.38. The change was doubtless to the advantage of the college, for while tithes tended to increase, money was steadily decreasing in value: cf. Hartridge, Vicarages of the Middle Ages, p.55. The revenues of Saltash did not fall below their level of 1361 and often rose above it, and it was at the instance of the college
increased from £40 to £48.6s.8d. in 1370, and did not diminish appreciably until 1399 when it dropped first to £42 and then in 1402 back to its original £40. By 1410 its farm was higher than before, £54, and in 1415-16, it was £52.

North Molton The only other grant of an advowson made within our period was that of North Molton in North Devon, a gift of the king which did not result in an appropriation. In 1333 this advowson had been given to the Augustinian abbey of Lilleshall in Shropshire by Alan of Charleton and Ellen his wife. The king had given licence for the abbey to appropriate the church (26 April 1333), and in 1337 Bishop Grandisson of Exeter made the appropriation. A vicarage was instituted subsequently, the vicar's portion being fixed at 26 marks a year, and in 1355 the abbot and convent obtained the bishop's permission to let the church out to farm for four years. Lilleshall's possession of North Molton was, however, soon disturbed. When Alan of Charleton died in 1360, his possessions reverted to Nicholas Seymour, his wife's son by a former marriage. Nicholas died in the following year, leaving as his heir his son Richard, a

4 (contd.) that the alteration was made, for the treasurer's account for 1361-62 included expenses of negotiating with the king and the bishop of Exeter concerning Saltash which presumably were in connection with the change (W.M.xv.34.1).

2 Reg. Grand., II, 842.
3 Ibid., III, 1327.
4 Ibid., II, 1162.
5 Cal. Inq., XII, 169, no. 191.
minor aged nine. Despite the inquest taken after Alan's death, in which it was stated that he died seised of the manor of North Molton excepting the advowson of the church, the king included among his rights as guardian of the heir that of presenting to the living, and in 1366 presented Walter Almaly to it.

Almaly was instituted on 24 September 1366 and held the rectory until 1374 when the king gave him the church of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight and presented Richard Raunds to succeed him at North Molton. In 1378 Richard Seymour had come into possession of his lands, including the advowson of North Molton, but,

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2. Ibid., X, 472, no. 606.
3. Afterwards canon of Windsor (appointed 26 November 1380) and later warden (24 February 1381).
4. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1364-67, p. 246. The king presented Henry Ruddock to the church of North Molton by patent dated 21 December 1369 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1367-70, p. 340), but this was apparently in error, since Almaly's estate as parson of North Molton was ratified in 1371 by patent dated 7 April (ibid., 1370-74, p. 82).
6. Canon of Windsor from 1377 to his death in 1400. Raunds was constantly at Windsor, and in January 1384 was admonished by Bishop Brantingham to reside in his benefice (Reg. Brant., I, 508). From registers of monthly chapel attendance (1384-86) preserved among the archives of St. George's, it appears that Raunds did not cease to reside at Windsor after the admonition. In 1396, at the instance of the duke of Gloucester, Raunds secured permission for three years' absence from North Molton (Stafford's Reg., p. 254).
8. Ibid., 1377-81, p. 215.
ignoring both Seymour and Lilleshall, the king granted the advowson to St. George's in 1390, with licence to appropriate. Bishop Brantingham summoned the dean and chapter of Exeter, and Raunds as rector of North Molton, to consult with him concerning this appropriation. The appropriation was not made; presumably there was some dispute about the advowson. When Raunds died in 1400 the bishop collated to the benefice by lapse. Richard Seymour died in 1401; his widow Ella succeeded to his possessions, and the royal letters close included the advowson among them. Nevertheless, in 1404 the king again presented to the church. This presentation, however, did not take effect. The bishop's nominee continued to hold North Molton until 1406 when he exchanged benefices with his nephew, Richard More, who was admitted and instituted on the presentation of the warden and canons of Windsor. The triumph of St. George's was, however, shortlived. Lilleshall abbey pressed its neglected claim and secured a royal writ dated 28 June 1419 which ordered that the abbot was to be given quiet possession of the church. If Lilleshall regained the appropriation, however, the king retained the advowson, presenting to the

2 Reg. Brant., II,700-1.
3 Ibid., II, 701, n.
6 Stafford's Reg., p.190.
7 Ibid., p.264.
vicarage of North Molton in October 1419 and March 1420. In
1442 the abbot and convent of Lilleshall obtained an *inspeximus*
and confirmation of, among other patents of grant, that which
authorised the alienation of the advowson of North Molton to
them, and gave them licence to appropriate. When the vicarage
next fell vacant (in 1452) the bishop collated to it. Lilleshall,
however, retained the appropriation until the abbey was
dissolved. Thus it can be seen how empty had been the king's
grant to St. George's of this church.

Ogbourne

The important grant of property belonging to the priory
of Ogbourne was made in 1422, and therefore falls outside the
period selected for the present survey.

It is clear then, that in this first category, the
eleven churches granted between 1348 and 1351, and subsequently
appropriated, form the most notable and constant source of
revenue, producing in a good year about £450 in all. In the
table which follows, an attempt has been made to show in
parallel columns the income derivable from this source in each
of twenty-five years between 1361-2 and 1415-6 for which evidence

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2. Ibid., 1441-46, p.149.


4. Dugdale, Monasticon, VI,265.

5. This was a substantial gift of spiritualities formerly belonging
to the abbey of Bec, including the two churches and rectory
mannors of Ogbourne, St. Andrew and St. George, in Wiltshire,
a prebend at Salisbury, the rectories of Ruislip and Glynde,
and portions of tithes in forty-eight parishes. The original
deed of grant (W.M.x.4.1) from Henry V's brother, the duke of
Bedford, is dated 3 December 1421, the patent of grant is dated
21 July 1422 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1416-22, p.441). Ashmole was in

is available. These sums may be compared with the figures in the first column, which are drawn from a list made in the sixteenth century showing the income of the college in the reign of Edward III (for comparison with that in the reign of Henry VIII). The figures given in the table are the amounts which were due, not those actually received in each given year. Since payments were not always made in the year for which they were due, and some few, for various reasons, were forgiven to the debtor by the college, totals for each year have not been given, for they would not correspond with the year's actual receipts.

5 (contd.)  error when he listed the appurtenances of Ogbourne as part of the original endowment of the college. A study of the fate of the English lands of the abbey of Bec (including Ogbourne) by Miss M. Morgan, D.Phil., is shortly to be published in the Oxford Historical Series.

The evidence available is

1) Treasurer's rolls for the years 1361-62, 1362-63, 1366-67, 1367-68, 1370-71, 1371-72, 1374-75, 1375-76, 1376-77, 1377-78, 1385-86, 1393-94, 1394-95, 1395-96, 1398-99, 1399-1400, 1400-1, 1402-3, 1404-5, 1406-7, 1410-11, 1415-16 (W.M.xv.34.1,2,4,5 and 6,7,8,9,10 and 11,12 and 13,14,15,16,17,18,19,21,20,22,23,24,25 and 26,27,28).
2) Steward's roll for the year 1369-70 (W.M.xv.48.1).
3) Digest of a treasurer's roll for the year 1382-83 (W.M.xv.53,64, catalogued among the bailiffs' rolls because it records losses of cattle on the manors of Iver and Craswell during four years of murrain, 1364-67. It also includes a number of extracts from treasurers' rolls of about the same date as the digest utilised).

W.M.xv.34.3.
b) Manors.

The second category of royal endowment took the form of a substantial grant dated 1 July 1352, comprising the manors of Iver and Craswell in Bray, both near Windsor, a weir in the Thames called Braybrook and other lands in the parish of Bray. The properties had been purchased by the king for this purpose. Iver was bought from Ralph Neville in exchange for rents of equivalent annual value, £90, and Craswell with its appurtenances from John of St. Philibert for a lump sum of 700 marks. When giving seisin to the college of these lands, the king included with them a wood called Templewood in Stoke Gal. Fat. Rolls, 1350-54, p.27.

1 In Buckinghamshire.

2 In Berkshire. The manor of Craswell was also called Bray St. Philibert or Philberts. Both names were taken from those of owners of the manor. The Cressewells owned it before the St. Philiberts (Kerry, History of Bray, p.87); it belonged to Roger St. Philibert in 1208 (V.C.H., Berks, III, 100).

3 John of St. Philibert acquired Braybrook from Richard atte Lok of Bray, whose family had held it since the reign of Henry III. Edward III subsequently confirmed St. Philibert in possession of Braybrook (26 December 1328) for the same rent as that previously paid by the Loks, 5 marks a year to be paid at the Exchequer. The rent of the toll on goods going down the river at Braybrook was fixed at 5 marks by King John in a charter of 27 March 1206 granting the weir to a certain Jordan of London. Braybrook was sold to the king among the appurtenances of Craswell by St. Philibert (Arundel White Book, f.16; W.M.xi.A.1).

4 Arundel White Book, f.13v.

5 Devon, Issues of the Exchequer, p.161.
Pages which he had recently acquired by grant from John de Molyns.

The annual value of these two manors is not apparent from the entries of receipts in the treasurers' and stewards' accounts, since these record only money delivered to the central treasury which varied largely from year to year. Equally obscure on this point are the three extant rolls of account of the two manors, since, like all other manorial accounts, they were drawn up to show the liability of the accounting official, and not the year's profit or loss. There exist, however, four lists of the revenues derived by St. George's from their properties in this period. One of these, in the Arundel White Book, showing the college rents in the year 1360, gives the value of Iver as £116.9s.9d. and that of Craswell as £33.13s.2d. These amounts are higher than the values quoted in the three other lists; in one, which gives average values for the time of Edward III, Iver is worth £67.3s.6d. and Craswell £20; the second, for 1382-83, values Iver at £70.12s.7d. and Craswell at £20.13s.4d., both with stock; and the last, a summary of the

3 The three earliest treasurers' accounts have entries of receipts of money from the manor of Iver amounting to £108.4s.11d. in 1361-2, £63.4s.10d. in 1362-3 and £26.3s.4d. in 1365-7 (W.M. xv.34.1,2,4).
4 f.155. The figures given for the rents of the college rectories either correspond to or are very near the rents recorded for 1361-2 in the treasurer's account, W.M.xv.34.1, except for that of Saltash which is given as £50 in the Arundel White Book and only £40 from 1361-70 in the college accounts.
5 W.M.xv.34.3.  6 W.M.xv.53.64.
treasurer's roll for 1410-11 has £75 5s. 103d. for Iver, and

gives the usual value of Craswell as £19.

Deddington In addition to these, one third of the manor of

Castle Deddington Castle was acquired by the college by purchase.

Negotiations for the transference were begun in 1363 and not

completed until 1386. The property was bought from Thomas Dyne.

In 1364, by a fine in the king's court at Westminster, William

Mugge, warden of St. George's, was recognised as owner of the

1

W.M.xv.34.27.

2

In this year Craswell was worth only 27s. 93d. owing to the

expense of repairing the mill, but its value in ordinary years

is added in the margin.

3

Except two messuages, one toft, one and a half virgates of land

and ten acres of meadow. These lands were called "Bomynye" and

belonged to the dower of Joan Dyne (later Joan Breton), wife

of John Dyne and were subsequently granted to Nicholas Somerton

by Joan and John's heir, Thomas Dyne (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-85,
p.465; 4 October 1384).

4

In Oxfordshire.

5

The catalogue summary of the contents of the Arundel White Book

includes the third of the manor of Deddington with the gift of

the advowson of Deddington given to St. George's by William

Bohun, earl of Northampton in 1350. A block of properties,

including Deddington Castle, was granted to William Bohun, 9

September 1332 (Arundel White Book, f.21), and followed by a

further grant of knights' fees, advowsons and reversions on them

dated 12 July 1346 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-48, p.143), but William

Bohun died in September 1360 and there is no evidence to connect

him or his heir, Humphrey, with the acquisition of the manor by

the college.

6

From 1363 to 1367 (or perhaps later) a yearly pension of £10 was

paid to Thomas Dyne, no doubt in part payment for the reversions

(W.M.xv.34.2 and 4).

7

Thomas Dyne was the heir of John Dyne who held one third of the

manor of Deddington in chief and was given licence to grant it

to his son Henry in tail, 2 October 1341 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1340-


8

Arundel White Book, f.21.
reversion in return for 100 marks paid to Dyne. A third part of the property belonged to Joan Breton, formerly wife of John Dyne, for her life, and Elizabeth Twyford had a life-interest in the remaining two-thirds and in Joan Breton's third, should she survive her. A summary of expenses made in the years 1365-67 by St. George's included £86.12s. solutum Thome Dyne recto habendi tercie partis manerli de Dadyngtone pro eadem tercia parte et richil habenimus de dicta tercia parte quousque Elizabeth que fuit uxor Edwardi de Twyforde mortua fuerit. In 1368 William Mugge obtained permission to grant these reversionsto John Rouceby and John Prust, clerk and chaplain respectively of Windsor, in order that they might grant them in frankalmoine to the college of St. George. By agreement in May 1373 Rouceby and Prust paid Mugge 200 marks for them. In the following year they were granted to the warden and canons, who,

1. W.M.xv.53.64.
3. Arundel White Book, f.22. On 29 January 1374 Rouceby released his claim in the property to Prust (W.M.xv.32.24 and Arundel White Book, f.22v.).
4. This increase in the amount paid for the reversion is perhaps explainable by the fact that expectation of enjoying the lands was now nine years nearer than when Mugge bought them.
5. Arundel White Book, f.22. The college paid a further £12.7s.10d. for the manor in a year between 1381 and 1385 in prosecucionecirca tercia parte manerli de Dadyngtone ultra perquisicionem primo solutam (W.M.xv.53.64).
after waiting another twelve years to realise possession of the lands, secured them at last from the surviving Joan Breton in return for a life pension of £10 a year.

Deddington Castle was not retained in the hands of the college to be managed by its officials, perhaps owing to its distance from the centre. From the first it was let out to farm, bringing in a steady income which increased from £26 to £26.13s.4d. in 1405 and was still at that level in 1416.

c) Obit endowments and other properties in Windsor.

In various ways, but mainly by means of obit endowments, St. George's came to hold a number of messuages in New Windsor. Some of these are mentioned by name in the treasurers' and stewards' accounts, and their history is traceable through the period. Others are grouped together under a comprehensive title "Rents in Windsor" in the rolls, and their story is consequently less distinguishable.

Robert Burnham, one of the first canons of Windsor, and the earliest known steward of the college, endowed his obit endowment in the treasurer's account for 1385-86. The indenture of agreement is copied in the Arundel White Book (f.23). In the treasurer's account for 1385-86 are entered the payment of £10 to Joan Breton and the travelling expenses of John Prust going to seal the agreement (W.M. xv.34.15). Prust became a canon of Windsor 26 May 1379 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, p.349), and was steward in this year. No further entry of Joan Breton's pension occurs in the existing treasurers' rolls, of which the next is for 1393-94.

Burnham was holding the office of steward in December 1351 (W.M. xv.3.1). He died 10 August 1362.

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1 25 March 1386. The indenture of agreement is copied in the Arundel White Book (f.23). In the treasurer's account for 1385-86 are entered the payment of £10 to Joan Breton and the travelling expenses of John Prust going to seal the agreement (W.M. xv.34.15). Prust became a canon of Windsor 26 May 1379 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, p.349), and was steward in this year. No further entry of Joan Breton's pension occurs in the existing treasurers' rolls, of which the next is for 1393-94.

2 Burnham was holding the office of steward in December 1351 (W.M. xv.3.1). He died 10 August 1362.
with two messuages in Grape Count Lane. These are easily found in the rolls since entries relating to them are headed with

Burnham's name. One of them consisted of a piece of land with

a dovecot built on it, the other included a curtilage with

appurtenances, and lay alongside the king's garden. On 6

August 1351 Burnham made over the property to Stephen Shalford,

a fellow-canon of Windsor, who obtained royal licence to grant

Harwood identifies Grape Count Lane with the part of the present Church Lane which connects Church Street with St. Alban's Street in New Windsor. The king's garden was used for vine-growing, and the ancient Priest Street (now part of St. Alban's Street) was mentioned in 1443 as adjoining the vineyard (Windsor Old and New, p.102). In the catalogue entries of the manuscript deeds relating to Windsor properties, Grape Count Lane is identified by Dr. Dalton with "Love Lane." The reason for this is not apparent, and the only Love Lane which I have been able to discover lay some distance from the site of Grape Count Lane as identified by Harwood.

This messuage was obtained by Burnham, 11 September 1356, from John of Croxton, who had it of the gift of William Mugge (W.M. xv.44.125). It had formerly belonged to Robert Shutlingdon, a canon of Windsor who died in 1353 and left it to William Mugge in his will (W.M.xv.44.116). Shutlingdon originally acquired the messuage by grant from John Drake, citizen of London, and his wife Agnes Plonte, 22 November 1339 (W.M.xv.44.76).

Burnham acquired this messuage by grant from John of Windsor and Felicia his wife, 3 February 1355 (W.M.xv.44.117).

The king's garden was in the possession of the warden and canons from 23 February 1351, when the king granted it to them (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p.32) until 2 April 1365 when the college surrendered it in exchange for other property in New Windsor (ibid.,1364-7, p.101). The messuage is described in Burnham's deed of grant as lying against the garden of the warden and canons (W.M.xv.44.104).

W.M.xv.44.104. The date of this deed is given in error as 1351 in the catalogue.

Also called Braintree (Shalford is near Braintree in Essex). Shalford was a canon of Windsor from at latest 1355, when he is mentioned in a household account roll (W.M.xv.3.1) until 1378 when he died.

Cal.Pat.Rolls,1361-4, p.107. Although licence was granted for
the two messuages in frankalmoine to the college of Windsor. In return for this grant the warden and canons undertook to distribute 20s. annually, or more if the property should be worth more, to members of the college who attended the vigil and the mass for the dead on the anniversary of Burnahm's death. The rate of distribution was fixed by Shalford's deed of grant, and if 12d. should happen to be left over, one penny each was to be given to each of twelve poor persons. Any further surplus was to be divided between the canons who were present at the obit services.

From the first the rent of these two tenements exceeded 20s. a year. In 1363, when the obit was first celebrated, 26s. 8d. was distributed, since the warden hired Burnham's from the college for that sum. From 1386 or earlier the bigger of the two messuages alone brought in 25s. 8d., and the smaller with the dovecot on it a further 10s. The increased amount of 36s. 8d. was faithfully distributed each 10 August except once, in 1399, when Burnham's obit distributions were paid at the same rate as the others, i.e. double cotidians, and amounted only to 17s. 2d.

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This alienation in mortmain, it appears to have been brought in question later, for in 1382 pardon of forfeiture was granted to the warden and canons for acquiring the messuages without licence (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-85, p. 107).

1 W.M.xv.44.131; 13 January 1362.
2 Ibid., xv.34.2.
3 No treasurers' rolls exist for the years between 1378 and 1385, consequently the rent may have increased at any date between these two.
4 W.M.xv.34.19.
Burnham's two messuages were apparently used as stables. Until 1400 the warden held the bigger, but in that year he began to rent another, opposite the east end of Windsor church, at the same rent, 26s.8d. a year, and released this one for the use of any of the other canons who cared to hire it. The smaller, with the dovecot, was usually held by one of the canons, and for a rent of 10s. a year. Endorsements dated 1426 on two of the early deeds concerning the bigger of these properties state that this messuage was called "Bernham's place."

Mugge's: William Mugge, warden of St. George's from 1349 to 1381, endowed his obit with the rent of a house by the Thames. The documents dealing with this grant were copied in the Arundel White Book and still appear in the index, but the folios upon

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1 W.M.xv.34.23. Under the heading "Bernham" the two rents of 26s.8d. and 10s. are entered each as pro stabulo.
2 This stable formed the endowment of the obit of Richard Raunda, canon of Windsor from 1377 to his death in January 1400.
3 W.M.xv.44.117 and 118. They are the grant and the release from John of Windsor to Robert Burnham of the messuage, in February and April 1355.
4 The treasurer's roll for 1415-16 records a receipt of 6s.8d. and 13s.4d. not yet paid of the rent pro domo iuxta Thamesiam data collegio pro obitu Willelmi Mugge primi decani istius collegii (W.M.xv.34.28). John Chamber, appointed 14 November 1348, was actually the first warden of St. George's, but he died before 18 June 1349 when Mugge was appointed in his place. When the college was instituted on 30 November 1352 with papal authority, Mugge was counted as the first warden.
5 Arundel White Book, f.159v.
which they were written are now missing. It is not possible to discover the date of Mugge's grant. In March 1356 he obtained royal licence to alienate in mortmain to the college of St. George three messuages, two acres of land and 2s.6d. rent in New Windsor and Datchet. Of these properties 2 messuages, one acre and the rent were certainly in Datchet. This left one messuage and one acre in New Windsor, and this was probably the messuage by the Thames bridge which was granted to Mugge by Simon Merston and then given by Mugge's charter to St. George's (cf. the index to the Arundel White Book). Probably the date of this charter was March 1356, when Mugge granted the Datchet lands. Certainly it was before 1366 when preparations were made for building on the land. In this year an old tiled house was bought for 22s.6d. for the sake of its tiles which were intended for use on the new buildings by the Thames. A carter named Robert Whetebreech was hired, and three pairs of traces bought for his cart-horses. In 1368 John the tiler was employed to use the tiles so thriftily purchased the year before, and in

2 By charter dated 20 March 1356 (W.M.x.1.3) William Mugge granted to St. George's a messuage with curtilage, one acre of land and 2s.6d. rent, which he had bought as proxy for the chapter from Robert Amaunt of Datchet for 100s. on 30 September 1352 (W.M. xv.58.B.3 and Arundel White Book, f.7v.), and one messuage with a grange which he had from Geoffrey Lodelawe of Datchet on 12 November 1352 (W.M.xv.58.B.2 and Arundel White Book, f.8). The properties bought from Amaunt were used to form part of the endowment of the vicarage of Datchet (Arundel White Book, f.6v.).
3 W.M.xv.34.4; Michaelmas 1366-Michaelmas 1367.
the following year, 1369-70, the first rents were received from buildings by the Thames.

On this land by the Thames a row of seven stables and a house were built. It seems probable that the college reserved the rent of the house to pay for Mugge's obit, while the rent of the stables went into the common fund which had paid for the building of them, and also paid 1s.7d. a year to the abbot of Reading in whose fee the land lay. In 1369-70 10s.8d. rent was received, probably for two stables. Until 1376 building works proceeded, until seven stables were completed. Six of them were leased to the canons or their servants at a rent of 6s.8d. a year, and the other was usually retained by the college as a store-house for the common straw. The last entry of receipt of rents from these stables is in the treasurer's roll for 1407-8. No accounts survive for the period 1408-1415, and in the steward's roll for 1415-16 under the heading "Rents and farms in Windsor" is a note that no more rents would be received from the buildings and stables by the Thames (except the house) since they had been removed to the castle to be used in the construction of new houses for the vicars there. The land

1 In the treasurers' accounts for 1406-7 and 1407-8 each stable is detailed with a note of the tenant or lack of tenant (W.M.xv. 34.24 and 26). In the other rolls there is no mention of the vacant stables but never more than six were let out to hire.

2 Henry IV granted to St. George's a vacant plot called "Woodhaw" in Windsor castle (the site of the present chapter library and the space to the east of it) on which to build houses and chambers for the vicars of the chapel who had not sufficient accommodation in the castle (Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1408-13, p.90; 20 May 1409). The warden and canons seem to have used the materials of the Thames stables in the building of these new houses, and perhaps used the old vicars' houses for stables.
remained college property, and from the entry of the payment of the Abbot of Reading’s rent it appears that a certain William Rooke was occupying it.

The house on the Thames bank was called "Glory's" in the rolls, since it was occupied from 1376 to 1386 or later by a John Glory. While Glory held it, the house brought in a rent of 30s., but in 1398 when John Burdon held it, the rent was 24s. a year, and this sum was paid by subsequent tenants until 1408 or later. The steward in his roll for 1415-16 noted that the house charged with Mugge’s obit rent used to be let for 24s. a year. It seems conclusive, then, that Glory’s was the rent which endowed Mugge’s obit.

Glory’s house was not built until the seven stables were finished. The leases survive, each granting to John Glory, dyer and fuller, his house next to the bridge over the Thames, with a garden adjoining, for a rent of 30s. a year for 5 years. The earlier, dated 11 December 1376, describes the house as newly built and makes special mention of the row of stables along the side of the river which were not included in Glory’s lease.

The later is dated 25 March 1381 and expired in 1386. Owing to

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1 Et in solucione facta Abbati et Conventui de Redyngne pro resolucione redditus unius tenementi in Wyndesore nova lucta Thamisiam in quo Willelmus Rooke manebat hoc anno xix.d. (W.M. xv.48.4).
2 There is a gap in the rolls from 1386 to 1393, and another from 1408-15.
3 W.M.xv.44.163.
4 W.M.xv.44.169.
5 Despite the newness of the house, the college had to expend £5.7d. on repairs in the next year 1377-78 (W.M.xv.34.14).
an unfortunate gap in the rolls from 1386 to 1393 it is not possible to discover whether Glory renewed his lease in 1386. William Page was holding Glory's in 1393 and occupied it until 1395, apparently at a rent of 20s. a year. After Page, three members of the Burdon family held it in turn. William in 1395-96 for 20s., John 1396-99 and Cecilia 1400-1 for 24s. a year. In 1415-16 Glory's had two tenants each for half the year, John Shrewsbury for the first half and Peter Tybaut for the second half, each paying 10s. for rent.

William Mugge died on 20 February 1381 and his obit was celebrated annually after his death by a fixed distribution of 20s. which did not vary with the rent of Glory's. Until Mugge's death, the obit of the previous warden, John Chamber, was annually observed with a similar distribution. It seems possible that Mugge may have stipulated as a condition of his gift to the college of the Thames' side property that until his own death, the distribution of 20s. was to be made at the obit of his predecessor.

In April 1365 the warden and canons of St. George acquired from the King a place in New Windsor with a garden.

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1 Page paid only 13s.4d. in 1393-94, but this was not the full rent. In 1394-5 he paid 20s. (W.M.xv.34.16 and 17).
2 This sum must have been fixed before Glory's house was built, and any surplus rent would compensate the college for the cost of building, on which £77.19s. was spent up to December 1367 (W.M.xv.53.64), but this would include the cost of building the stables also.
3 W.M.x.4.8 (the original) and cf. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1364-57, p.101.
opposite in return for their surrender of the king's great garden on the south side of the castle which had been granted to them in February 1351. Formerly, this property had belonged to John London, and it is identified by Harwood as lying on both sides of Peascod Street. The garden was earmarked by the king for the use of the members of the college below the rank of canon; the place opposite was for the warden and chapter. It seems possible that this place in Peascod Street was the tenement in the town of New Windsor which is called Baker's or Kymbell's in the rolls, and produced a rent of 1s.6d. a year. The earliest mention of this rent occurs in the treasurer's roll for 1374-75, where it is noted as being accountable by the steward and not by the treasurer. Earlier receipts may, therefore, have figured in stewards' rolls which have not survived. Nicholas Baker rented the tenement in

1 The king's garden stretched from Priest Street (now St. Alban's Street) to beyond the east end of the castle (Harwood, Windsor Old and New, p.111).
2 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p.32.
3 loc. cit.; see also p.292.
4 However the treasurer's account for 1366-7 includes 1s.8d. received for old trees sold from the new garden (W.M.xv.34.4). Another messuage and garden in Peascod Street were granted to the vicars, 25 January 1372, by John atte Lee and Thomas Horn (chaplains of St. George's), as executors of the will of Henry Blount, late canon, to provide for Blount's obit to be observed by the vicars on St. Faith's day (6 October) every year (Ashm. MSS. No.1544.B). Royal licence for this alienation had previously been obtained (23 April 1371: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1370-74, p.88).
5 W.M.xv.34.9; nichil hic quia in compoto senescalli eiusdem anni.
1374 and continued to do so until 1378 or perhaps longer. After him it was held by his heir William Kymbell, who died before Michaelmas 1395 for in the year 1395-96 his executors paid the college 8 years' arrears of rent for the holding. From this year the rolls describe this rent as de domo quondam Kymbell or de domo quondam Nicholai Bakere and the amount remained 1s.6d.

Three other tenements in New Windsor were granted to the dean and canons before 1416. All three were obit endowments, and receipts from them are headed with the donor's name in the Raunds' college accounts. The rent endowing the obit of Richard Raunds, canon of Windsor from March 1377 to his death in January 1400, was charged upon a messuage with garden opposite the east end of Windsor parish church. Thomas Ayno, a priest-vicar of St. George's and the former owner, had granted this holding for his life to Richard Raunds. After Ayno's death it came to his heirs, Thomas Lawrence, John Chislet and John Hulk, who quit-claimed their rights in it to Raunds on 3 December 1399, probably in exchange for a tenement in Peascod Street which Raunds gave to Thomas Lawrence in January 1400. The messuage was let by the college as a stable for a rent of 26s.8d., which sum was distributed annually at Raunds' obit services despite the fact that up to 1407 1s.6d., and after 1407 1s.0d. was paid annually

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1 The treasurer's account for 1375-76 (W.M.xv.34.11) includes Baker's rent both for the current year and the preceding year.

2 There is a gap in the rolls from 1378 to 1385. Baker may have died and been succeeded in the holding at any point between the two dates.

3 W.M.xv.34.18.  

4 W.M.xv.44.233.

5 W.M.xv.44.234.
by the college to the bailiffs of Windsor for the tenement. However this rent was not paid until 1404, and the college had held Raunds’ place from 1400. It seems possible that the rent was for the hire of a further piece of land behind the garden of Raunds’ place in "Old Hawes," for which a lease survives, dated 24 November 1431, from the bailiffs of Windsor to the dean of St. George’s at a rent of 6d., and which was subsequently given to the dean and canons on 14 January 1449. From the first the warden hired Raunds’ stable, giving up Burnham’s which he had held until 1400, and Raunds’ remained the warden’s for a long time, since an endorsement on a deed concerning it states that the tenement was still the warden’s stable in 1426-27.

Ravendale’s Although Robert Ravendale, canon of Windsor from March 1399, died on 19 April 1404, the property with which he endowed his obit did not appear in the college accounts for at least seven years, nor were distributions made on the anniversary of his death. In the rolls for 1415-16 occurs the earliest mention of the rents and distributions. The steward’s roll describes the property which consisted of three buildings in New Windsor, each charged with a yearly rent of 10s. Two of

1 W.M.xv.45.110.
2 W.M.xv.45.170.
3 W.M.xv.44.233.
4 The rent for Ravendale’s is not included in the summary of the treasurer’s roll for 1410-11 (W.M.xv.34.27), and no evidences exist for the period 1411-15. The obits are not given in detail in this summary, but distributions were certainly not made for Ravendale’s obit as late as 1408 (W.M.xv.34.26).
5 In this year, however, one remained unoccupied for three terms, and another for the whole year, consequently only 12s.6d. rent was realised for the three (W.M.xv.48.4).
them stood side by side in the market place, one by the "bull stake" and the other, called Stede's after a former tenant, adjoined it. The third probably stood near by. Money for Ravendale's obit was paid in double cotidians, the total sum distributed depending upon the number of members of the college who attended the services. In 1416 it amounted to 15s.9d.

The third of these obit endowments came from John Chapman, formerly a vicar of St. George's (1377-85), who had acquired it from Alicia, the widow of John Beanfield. Chapman granted the holding to the college in July 1412; it is described in the treasurer's account for 1415-16 as a house opposite Windsor church and produced a rent of 18s. Chapman's obit was celebrated with double cotidian distributions, amounting in 1416 to 10s.7d.

The market place lay by Windsor parish church, bounded by the king's garden, the lower ward of the castle, and the main road, now High Street (Harwood, op. cit., p.102).

These two houses were held in 1400 by Thomas Butler, dean of Windsor from 1389 to 1402. The house by the bull-stake was granted to Butler 25 September 1400 by the bailiffs of Windsor (W.M.xv.44.235) to whom it had been assigned by John Godfrey in 1342, in order that the 6s. rent which it produced should be used for repairing the Thames bridge (W.M.xv.44.78). John Godfrey's grant was for 60 years, and was confirmed by his heir in 1352 for 50 years (W.M.xv.44.105). The adjoining house was Butler's and John Stede held it from him in 1400 (W.M.xv.44.235). How the two houses came into Ravendale's possession is not apparent.

February 1402; W.M.xv.44.239. John Beanfield had formerly enfeoffed Walter Chapman, John's father, of the tenement.

The grant has not survived, but John Chapman's power of attorney to deliver seisin of the holding to the proxies of St. George's is dated 25 July 1412 (W.M.xv.45.42).
d) Obit endowments outside Windsor.

Three obits were endowed with lands lying outside Windsor. These were the obits of Queen Anne, wife of Richard II, Ralph of Windsor, Rector of the church of Hanslope, and Geoffrey Aston and his wife, endowed respectively with two pastures in Bray called Frith and Ashcroft, a wood called Merriesgrove in Stoke Poges and lands in Uxbridge.

Queen Anne's Frith and Ashcroft were granted to St. George's on 6 January 1396 by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, and Edward, Earl of Rutland, who held all the lands which had belonged to the late Queen. In the first instance the grant was for the lives of the grantors or surviving grantor, but was extended later in the year to a grant in perpetuity. The college of St. George was in possession of these pastures in the year before the formal grant was made, but had to pay £2.10s. for them to the collector of revenues of the king's manor of Bray. It was not until 10 January 1397 that letters of Arundel, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Rutland directed their

1 Arundel White Book, f.17v.
2 This extended grant was not enrolled until 8 September 1396 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99) p.26), but the treasurer's account for 1395-96 records that the warden went to London for the sealing of it on 19 April 1396 (W.M.xv.34.18).
3 The treasurer's roll for 1394-95 includes an entry of 8d. for the expenses of taking possession of Frith and Ashcroft, and also 14s.6d. received for the rent of Frith (W.M.xv.34.17).
attorneys to give seisin to the college of the two pastures, but a letter from Archbishop Thomas dated 2 March 1397 ordered that the warden and canons should be allowed the revenues of Frith and Ashcroft as from 6 January 1396 when the grant was made. Queen Anne's obit was first observed at Windsor on 7 June 1399, five years after her death, with the ordinary double cotidian distributions, amounting on that occasion to 16s.9d. Until 1402-3 no receipts are recorded from the rent of the pastures, and Anne's obit continued to be observed with double cotidians. From 1402 until 1415, however, Frith and Ashcroft were farmed out for £2.10s. a year, and the whole of this sum was distributed yearly on 7 June. This munificent endowment increased still further when on 29 September 1415 the pastures were leased to John Wynch of Bray at a rent of 60s. a year for five years, and the 7 June obit was enriched by another 10s.

Ralph of The reversion of Merriesgrove was given to the dean Windsor's and canons of St. George's by Ralph of Windsor in December 1361, in return for their prayers for his own soul and that of his sister Matilda Merry after their deaths. Matilda Merry had a life interest in the wood. On 3 December 1400 Ralph of Windsor's obit was first celebrated at St. George's and double

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1 Arundel White Book, f.17v. Written in French.
2 W.M.xv.58.D.52.
3 Arundel White Book, f.9.
cotidians were distributed. Receipts from Merriesgrove do not appear in the college accounts of this period, and it is not apparent when St. George's obtained possession of the wood, or if Matilda Merry had died before 1416.

Aston's There is very little information in the college rolls of account concerning the lands in Uxbridge presented by Geoffrey and Isabella Aston. In return for them, a vicar was maintained to say mass for the souls of the donors, and St. George's observed their obit. From 14 January 1405 Aston's obit was celebrated yearly, but since his lands were let out to farm, until 1408 or later, to the warden who both made the distributions and paid the vicar's stipend, the treasurer contented himself with a note to the effect that he received nothing and expended nothing because Uxbridge was at farm. It is not clear whether this arrangement still held in 1415-16.

Under the heading "Uxbridge" the treasurer, William Gillot, recorded no receipt because of the cost of repairs and building there and the maintenance of a priest to pray for Aston. Included under the heading Stipendia officiariorum cum rewardis is an item of £2.13s.4d. paid to Aston's priest for the half-

1 In the margin of the Arundel White Book beside Ralph of Windsor's grant of Merriesgrove there is a note apparently in a later hand (it is cursive and the Arundel White BOOK is written in book hand), vocatur Templewood. It is possible that if Merriesgrove adjoined Templewood in Stoke Poges, receipts from it may be included with those from Templewood in the college accounts. Templewood was granted to St. George's by the king, with the manor of Craswell, 23 February 1353.

2 The lands in Uxbridge were promised to the canons of Windsor between 1365 and 1367 and the college expected them to be worth £13.6s.8d. a year. In impetracione terrarum et tenementorum Galfridi de Astone in Woxebrugge nichil recipiemus quousque
year from Michaelmas 1415 to the feast of Annunciation following, but the £2.13s.4d. is not included in the total of these entries since Gillot answered for no receipt from the Uxbridge rents. The steward in his roll for the same year accounted for a receipt of 40s. offered to the college by William Gillot annually, clear, besides the payment of the chaplain, the obit and the repairs and building to be done there by him "to support and pay off the remainder." Since the 40s. was to be paid annually, it seems that it was not an ad hoc grant made by Gillot in his capacity as treasurer, to cover extra expenses in this year, but rather that Gillot was farming the place and perhaps offering to pay off a debt by this means.

e) Revenues in kind.

Last of A welcome and unusual rent came yearly to St. George's herrings from the bailiffs and commonalty of the town of Great Yarmouth. This consisted of a last of red herrings well dried and cleansed, payable at Yarmouth on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (30 November). According to the deed of grant, this gift was made

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2 (contd.)

Isabella uxor eius mortua fuerit et tunc valebit xiii. vi.s.viid. (W.M.xv.53.64, a list of extracts from the treasurers' rolls of 1365, 1366, 1367).

1

Set respondit de xls. pro redditu et firma terrarum et tenementorum ibidem (Woxebrugge) quondam Galfridi de Astone hoc anno integro per magistrum Willelmm Gyloth sic collegio oblatis annuatim de claro ultra onera capellani et obitus ac reparacionum et construccinion omnium ibidem faciendorum per ipsum pro residuo supportando et per salvoendo prout per confratres suos super compotum testatum est (W.M.xv.48.4).

2

A last of herrings contains one hundred "long hundreds," i.e. 13,200 fish, since each "long hundred" consists of 132 fish. It is measured by 20 wicker baskets-full, and weighs roughly 35 cwt.
at the instance of the king, and on account of the sincere devotion which the town of Yarmouth bore towards the warden and college of Windsor, for the better maintenance of the chapel wherein the king was baptised and that the college might remember Yarmouth in their prayers. It appears, however, that there was some doubt about the sincerity of this declaration, for in a summary of the deed of grant made by Dr. Evans, canon of Windsor 1660-1702, he added that some said that this payment of herrings was imposed upon the town as a penance for murdering one of their magistrates. Before 1385 no receipt was recorded for the herrings, since they were divided each year among the canons, but the expense of fetching them from Yarmouth was borne out of the common funds. Occasional mishaps befell them on their journey, for in 1352 the messenger was despoiled by robbers on the way, for which unfortunate accident the college paid him

(contd.)

1 April 1352 (W.M.xv.55.59 and Arundel White Book,f.42).

1 In his book of notes and memoranda compiled for purposes of reference in 1701 (Dr. Evans' Book.A.f.157v).

2 In 1377 a new canon, William Dole, appointed 2 March 1377 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1374-77, p.430), was forgotten in the division of the herrings, and 7s. were paid for some more which had to be bought to give him; Et solutum pro i cada alleclarum empta pro domino Willelmo Dole quia tradebatur oblivioni in divisione alleclarum.vils. (W.M.xv.34.14).
3s.4d. compensation and in 1382 most of the precious cargo was lost in the sea as it came by boat from Yarmouth to London. An estimate of 1382 valued the last of herrings at £4.13s.4d., but in 1385, the first year in which a sale of them is recorded, the college obtained £5.13s.4d. for them. A royal grant of 16 October 1393 reserved the herrings, together with the chapel offerings and the profits of the garden, to the canons resident, expressly shutting out the non-resident canons from a share in the distribution. From this time the herrings ceased to be accounted for by the treasurer, except with the note that they belonged to the resident canons, and their value no longer went into the common fund, although they were still sometimes sold. All expenses of collecting and bringing the herrings to Windsor,

1 Et solutum Ricardo Taillour pro expensis suis versus Iernemutam pro alleciis querendis in rewarde quia spoliatus fuit per latrones per viam in redeundo ... xl.d. (W.M.xv.34.2).
2 Una lasta alleciarum rubearum de Jernemuthe valet communibus annis iiiii.ii, xiii.s. iiiii.d. valuit hoc anno xl.s. et non plus quia submersum fuit in mari (W.M.xv.53.647).
3 W.M.xv.34.15.
5 These expenses varied largely from year to year, sometimes amounting to 7s. only (1407) and often 10s. (1369, 1370, 1376, 1377) but occasionally rising to over £1 (1366, 1393). In 1415 the steward's roll shows signs of attempts by the auditors to cut down the total of 18s.6d. to 8s., apparently in accordance with the allowance made in the six preceding years, but the 18s.6d. was allowed to stand in the end, and a further grant of 32s. made to William Gillot (steward in the preceding year) to cover part of the moneys spent on fetching the herrings in these six years in excess of the 8s. which were allowed him in his accounts (W.M.xv.48.4).
or of selling them in London, were still paid out of the general revenues, but the proceeds of such sales were divided privately among the canons who resided.

On 20 June 1356, Edward III gave to St. George's another revenue in kind, a grant of all swans flying unmarked on the Thames between Oxford and London, for seven years. The duration of this grant was apparently extended, for the canons of Windsor were still enjoying the proceeds of the sale of swans in 1386, and in 1398 Richard II made a further grant, permitting the dean and college to search whenever they pleased for swans, throughout the river Thames and all streams flowing to and from it between Gravesend and the bridge at Oxford. Until 1376 these swans brought only a meagre revenue to the college. In 1368 three were caught, but with the help of the keepers of swans on the Thames and of some fishermen there who were given 6d. for their trouble. Swans were sold at 3s.4d. each, and the college accounts record the sale only of one in 1369-70 and two in 1374-75. From 1376, however, the expectation of them was farmed to one of the canons, John Loring; perhaps unmarked swans had become more numerous, or Loring made more determined efforts to catch them, for he paid 26s.8d. a year for them for ten years or more. But after 1386, despite Richard II's leave for wide and frequent search, no further receipt or mention of the swans appears in the rolls, and presumably the grant was allowed to lapse.

2 Ibid., 1396-99, p.380.
3 W.M.xv.34.6.
For the period of fourteen years (1351-1365) during which the college of St. George was in possession of the king's garden on the south side of the castle, only two treasurers' accounts survive. In them the sole receipts recorded are from the sale of trees from the garden, 10s. in 1361-62, and 25s.4d. in 1362-63. Expenses included the gardener's wage (2d. a day), the cost of carting manure and of buying garlic and onion seeds for planting. Since the king's garden had long been given over to the cultivation of vines, these seeds were perhaps for sowing in the old herb garden which lay within the castle on the north side of St. George's chapel between the erary porch and Henry III's great hall. When, in April 1365, the canons gave up the royal garden, they received in exchange a house and garden in Peascod Street; in 1366 1s.8d. was received from the sale of trees from this new garden. The garden-house was let in 1368 for 1d. a week, presumably to the gardener, since when in 1369-70 and 1370-71 nothing was received from the rent of the house, the reason given was that Henry Gardiner would not come to an agreement with the college concerning it. An increased wage of 3d. a day (£4.11s.3d. a year) was now paid to him, and the

1 See above, p.50.n.4.
2 W.M.xv.34.1 and 2.
3 Hope, Windsor Castle, p.92.
4 W.M.xv.34.4.
5 Henry Gardiner had tended the garden of the warden and canons since 1362; after 1366 he never leased the garden-house again, and I have tentatively identified it with the house rented by Nicholas Baker, and afterwards by William Kymbell for 1s.6d. a year. See above, p.57.
new plot was prepared for vine-growing. The last receipt for the sale of trees cleared from it was in 1369-70, and in the same year vines were planted. This entailed extra labour.

The gardener's wife, Alice, earned 2½d. a day for 123 days and 3d. a day in August for 23 days helping her husband, and two other gardeners, besides two carters for manure were employed from time to time during 1370-71. In the next year the produce of the garden may have been small; at any rate the needs of the household consumed all there was and nothing was sold. The first recorded sale of wine occurred in 1375-76 when one pipe of muscatine (unfermented) wine was sold to a taverner of Reading for £2.13s.4d. Two casks of wine were sold in the next year, and three in the year after that, besides various small items of herbs and seeds. Wine and seeds from the garden continued to be sold until the king's grant of 1398 reserved all its produce to be shared among the canons resident. After this the only receipt accounted for was an item of 8s. for 16 gallons

1 W.M.xv 48.1. De herbagio dicti gardini nichil quia plantatus cum vinis hoc anno.

2 W.M.xv.34.7.

3 W.M.xv.34.8. Exitus Gardini. Nichil quia servatur ad communes dietas Collegii. The canons did not rely upon the garden as their sole source of wine. In a list of gifts made to St. George's by the founder Knights of the Garter, Denton includes 13 tuns of wine (Denton's Black Book, I, f.71), and evidence of other such gifts has survived. E.g. Prince Edward's treasurer accounted for a tun of wine sent to the dean of Windsor 18 December 1352 (Extract from the accounts of the officers of the Prince of Wales, Beltz, Memorials of the Garter, appendix), the king ordered his butler to deliver a similar gift on 10 July 1388 (Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-89, p.509), and in 1415-16 a present of wine was received from the Duke of Bourbon, then in confinement in Windsor Castle (W.M.xv.48.4).

4 W.M.xv.34.11.
of red wine sold to the precentor in 1406-7. All garden costs, including wages, seeds, plants and tools were paid from the general revenues and amounted to about £5 to £5.10s. yearly.

f) Money Grants and Offerings.

In the early years of the foundation, Edward III made generous grants of money to St. George's to cover current expenses until the college were adequately endowed. The first of these was made in the patent of foundation, 6 August 1348, and was a liberal grant of money from the royal treasury to make up the income of the new college to £1,000 a year. Probably this grant never took effect, for unlike the others made in the same patent it was not afterwards confirmed, nor was any mention made of it when in June 1354 a fixed sum of £100 p.a. from the exchequer was granted, presumably in its stead. This was cancelled in May 1360 by other letters patent diverting to St. George's confiscated property of alien religious worth £101.11s. a year, of which £100 replaced the sum previously paid at the exchequer and the remaining 31s. was in part satisfaction of other lands and possessions promised by the king. St.

1 W.M.xv.34.24.
3 The advowsons of the churches of Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter were granted to St. George's again by other letters patent of the same year (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, pp.207,272).
4 Ibid., 1354-58, p.76. The money was paid in four sums of £25. John atte Lee went to fetch one such payment in 1355 (W.M.xv. 3.1).
5 Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1354-58, p.77; 1358-61, p.362. The grant included the keeping of the priory of Wangelford, Suffolk, the Sussex and
George's did not keep this revenue long; the patent of grant was surrendered, probably in exchange for another of 1 June 1361 giving the college £90 a year at the exchequer. Of this money no receipt is recorded in the existing treasurers' rolls, and the only mention occurs in the roll for 1362-3:

De scaccario nichil receptum hoc anno.

When in May 1360 Edward III gave the college lands of alien priories worth £101.11s., he also made a further gift of £51.9s.9d. out of the farm paid yearly for the duration of the war with France by the prior of Takely, reducing his former grandiose project of endowing St. George's with an income of £1,000 with the statement that this £51.9s.9d. represented the difference between the actual income of the college (given as £604.5s.3d.) and that he intended them to enjoy (£655.15s.).

In 1361-62 the prior of Takely paid £14.0s.8d. to St. George's, but despite a clause in the patent of grant assuring the £51.9s.9d. to the college at the exchequer, should the priory be put out (contd.)

Dorset lands of St. Mary's priory, Morhain, the manor of Charleton, Wilts., and the advowson of Upchurch, Kent. Although St. George's held them only for a short time, if at all, Denton listed these lands in detail in his account of the endowment of the college, and Ashmole copied the list (Denton's Black Book, f.71v; Ashmole Mss. No.1124, f.53v.). There is no trace of their being in the possession of St. George's in the treasurers' rolls of 1361-62 and 1362-63 or subsequently.

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, p.24. 2 W.M.xv.34.2.
3 12 May 1360 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, pp.359,364). On this same day the king also bound himself to pay the college debts, amounting to £168.
4 In Essex.
of the king's hand by treaty of peace or any other means, no money was received subsequently either from the prior or the treasury. Royal grants of money to the canons of Windsor were all terminable when the king provided them with an equivalent of lands or rent. After 1352 the canons received no such gift from Edward III, and the two pensions of £90 and £51.9s.9d. apparently continued in name to belong to St. George's. In practice, however, they were not paid; no doubt the state of Edward III's finances made it impossible for them to be maintained.

Northampton

One money rent given by Edward III was, however, permanent. This was a sum of 100 marks a year granted 26 October 1351 and to be paid by the bailiffs of Northampton out of the yearly farm of that town. The money was paid regularly and continually throughout this period, since the king failed to replace it with lands of equal value, and the grant was confirmed in 1378, 1399, 1412 and 1413.

The new knights of the Garter were not slow to follow their sovereign's example of generosity to the chapel of St. George; in Denton's book is a list of their benefactions, but the gifts there enumerated were single and not annual.

Included among them is £200 given by Bishop Edington to endow his obit. The £200 was received in 1361-62 and placed in the erary by the treasurer together with other money gifts. What

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1 W.M.xi.P.6 (the original) and cf. Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1350-54, p.174. The king bought back this rent for 800 marks from Roger of Beauchamp to whom he had previously granted it.

2 Part I, f.71.

3 W.M.xv.34.1.
became of it later is not apparent; it seems to have disappeared, for during the visitation of 1378 the chancellor enquired after it and directed the warden to account for it. From 1366 the bishop's obit was yearly celebrated in St. George's, but if, like Wykeham after him, Edington intended his £200 to be used to purchase lands for its endowment, his purpose was not carried into execution and presumably the money was swallowed up in ordinary expenses. In 1402 William of Wykeham presented a similar £200 for his obit. The indenture of grant was copied by Arundel into his book, and in it Wykeham specified that with the money the chapter should acquire a perpetual rent of 20 marks a year to support an additional chaplain to pray for him continually in St. George's, and to pay for annual distributions at his obit services. Any surplus remaining after discharging these two obligations was to go into the common treasury. Wykeham's obit was observed from 1405, but in 1407 the rent had still not been bought and £15.16s.2d. was borrowed from the £200 by the treasurer to meet the year's usual obligations for which the college revenue was then not sufficient. The loan was faithfully repaid in the following year,
but the chapter still delayed to purchase a permanent rent, paying Wykeham's vicar his £2,13s.4d. and the double cotidians for the bishop's obit out of the general funds.

Offerings  For a chapel as rich in relics as St. George's the offerings of the faithful provided a steady revenue. Until 1393 when the oblations were diverted by the king from the common funds to swell the incomes of the resident canons, the precentor paid over annually to the treasurer what was left after all the chapel expenses had been paid. Foremost among the treasures of the chapel was the Cross of Neath, given to St. George's by Edward III in 1348. The cross, which was believed to contain a piece of the true cross, had belonged to the princes of North Wales and come into the possession of Edward I in 1283 after his final conquest of Wales. This famous and precious relic was recognised by the canons to be the principal attraction of the chapel; in some of the early treasurers' accounts, the receipts of all oblations were entered as Oblaciones Capelle de Croisneit. The flow of offerings was encouraged by two papal grants of relaxation of enjoined penance to penitents who visited the royal chapel at

1 Cal. Chancery Rolls, Various, 1277-1326, p.274. For an account of what is known of the history of this cross and the legends connected with it see Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, 1292-1300, p.365.
2 W.M.xv.34.6 and 7; xv.48.1.
3 30 November 1354 (Cal.Pap.Reg., Letters, 1342-62, p.523; Petitions,1,265); 13 December 1354 (Letters, 1342-62, p.524 and Petitions,1,266). The first allowed relaxation of two years and two periods of forty days, and the second three years and three periods of forty days.
Windsor on the principal feasts and those of St. George, the exaltation of the Cross, St. Stephen and St. Edward. The first of these grants, dated 30 November 1354, made special mention of the Cross of Neath, describing it as "a cross of great length of the wood of the true cross brought by St. Helen."

C. Privileges and exemptions.

a) Temporal.

The value of the property of the canons of St. George's was increased by royal grants of various profits and exemption from numerous dues.

1) Exemption of payment of ecclesiastical tenths for appropriated churches.

Grant of this exemption was made by letters patent dated 13 August 1351, and royal writs of supersedeas issued in December of the following year stopped the collection of the tenth of 1352 from churches belonging to St. George's. This exemption, however, though confirmed in theory in 1353, broke down later in practice. Despite the efforts of the warden, who spent four days at Winchester and four at Salisbury trying to secure exoneration for St. George's from the subsidy of 1371, the college had to pay this tenth for each of its churches. An

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1 The cross is described in the chapel inventories of 1384-85 and of 1534 (Hope, op. cit., p.466, n.13).
attempt to avoid the burden falling exclusively upon St. George's was then made by the warden, who went again to the king, this time in London, to ask that the vicars of these churches might bear a share of the tax. Apparently this petition was granted, for in 1377-78, though the college again failed to secure exemption from the double tenth, the vicars of Iver and Wraysbury, at least, contributed. In 1383 St. George's secured exemption; a writ to this effect was issued, relieving them of the obligation to pay that year's tenth and fifteenth. However the tenth granted by the province of Canterbury in 1406 had to be paid non obstante quocumque privilegio. Henry V's recognition of the exemption was sought and gained in 1415-16 when the steward travelled to London to secure it, but the validity of this royal grant was mainly dependent upon circumstances and by no means assured.

2) Charter of liberties.

The most important and comprehensive grant of privileges (including a re-affirmation of the quittance from tenths) was made to St. George's by Edward III in a charter dated 6 March 1353; and many times confirmed. By the

1 W.M.xv.34.7,8.  2 W.M.xv.34.14.
3 Cal. Close Rolls, 1381-5, p.238.  4 W.M.xv.34.24.
5 W.M.xv.48.4, and xv.34.28.
7 In 1373, 1378, 1399 and 1461 (Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417, pp.228, 445, 392; 1427-1516, p.141).
provisions of this charter, the dean and canons were given freedom from royal taxation, both direct and indirect, numerous legal exemptions and profits and privileges on their lands. Direct money taxes from which they were exempt included aids, subsidies and tallages, tenths and fifteenths both spiritual and temporal, scutage and fines for coastal defence, for bridge- and castle-building and for enclosing. Among the indirect taxes, besides tolls and customs of every kind, they were freed of purveyance and of obligation to lodge magnates or royal officials or to find pensions or corrodies. Their franchises rendered them quit of sheriffs and hundreds, since they had the right to a private hundred court, view of frankpledge and other business of courts leet, infangenthef and outfangenthef, thewe, pillory, tumbril and gallows, assize of bread and ale, and return of writs. In addition, they were quit of all forest pleas and charges. Besides the profits from these special jurisdictions, and the grant of all forfeitures of their tenants and tenements, the dean and chapter of Windsor also had the right to wrecks, waif and stray, and all feudal incidents, profits and issues on their lands. They were allowed free warren in all demesne lands (even within the king's forest) and one weekly market and two yearly fairs for four days on their manor of Iver.

3) Fairs at Deddington.

Two yearly fairs, each for four days, were granted by the king in 1393 at the manor of Deddington Castle which

1 Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417, p.337.
had been bought by St. George's in 1386. The college subseque

tly gave up this privilege, for a note was made beside the entry
in the charter roll, "vacated because restored."

4) Quittance of fees.

The college in 1331 was given the substantial
privilege of quittance of fees due in the king's chancery and
other departments. This grant was made by patent dated 1 March
1361 and confirmed in 1393 and 1400.

b) Ecclesiastical.

As a royal free chapel, St. George's was exempt
from jurisdiction of the diocesan and subject only to the king
or his deputy. This privilege was assured when, on the petition
of King Edward III, Clement VI in a bull dated 12 February 1351
granted exemption from ordinary jurisdiction to all the members
of the college of Windsor and took them into the papal protection.
In return, the college was to pay one mark annually on St.
George's day into the papal camera. Supervision of the king's
free chapels was delegated to the chancellor of England. The
statutes of St. George's reserved to the chancellor the right
of visitation, and appellate and other jurisdictions as
ordinarily exercised in royal free chapels. Cure of the souls
of the members of the college and primary ecclesiastical

1 Arundel White Book, f.2 and Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, p.22.
jurisdiction belonged to the warden. Institution and installation of new canons was performed by the warden, and a new warden was instituted, invested and installed by one of the resident canons of the college, whom the king had previously notified.

Within the precincts of the college, the warden had wide powers. He could excommunicate and expel from the college for certain offences, and deal at his discretion with the shortcomings of his flock, although they had the right to appeal to the chancellor against his decisions. Wills were proved before him or his deputy. The chapter of Windsor paid no synodals or procurations and sent no representatives to synods.

¹ Statutes of the College, article ix.
² Statutes, article xviii.
2. Central Officials.

A. The three major officials.

By statute, the treasurer, steward and precentor were to be elected from among the residentiaries by the warden and canons in chapter, on the morrow of Michaelmas, to hold office for the next twelve months. Retiring officers were eligible for re-election and were often returned, but there is no evidence that any one canon served for more than three consecutive years in the same office. The record evidence which is available but not continuous between 1361 and 1416, relating in all to 96 periods of office, reveals the following facts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Number of periods</th>
<th>Number of canons in office</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treasurership</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardship</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precentorship</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus it will be seen that two or three years (not necessarily consecutive) was the average for one canon in any one of these offices. Canons, however, might and did serve the college in turn in two or all three capacities. Six canons held at various times all three offices, and a further six held two of them. Allowing for these facts, it seems that 29 canons in all held these major offices in the years illustrated, which themselves cover less than two-thirds of the period 1361-1416. Though

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1 For details see table of officials, appendix II, p. 356.
between those dates 63 canons in all held prebends, eight retained them for a year or less, so would be ineligible for election. The proportion, therefore, is 29 out of a possible 55, even on the limited evidence available, and thus it seems that a substantial number of the canons had opportunity to serve in one or more than one of these major administrative offices with their important responsibilities.

Refusal to accept one of these offices was punishable by the forfeiture of prebend for two years and of two months' cotidians. Since one year's prebend was £2 and two months' cotidians amounted to £3, this punishment was equivalent to a fine of £7.

A yearly salary of £5 was attached to each of the three offices, and 2s.4d. a day was allowed for expenses of travelling on the business of the college. Absences for this purpose were not penalised by loss of any of the profits of residence and the absent officer was counted as present in chapel.

a) Treasurer.

Although the treasurer was ultimately responsible for all the finances of the college, his main concern was with expenditure rather than receipt. In the receipt section of his

1 Statutes of the College, article 47.
2 The statutes required that "reasonable expenses" should be allowed. 2s.4d. was the regular rate for canons; more was allowed to the warden and less to vicars and other messengers.
annual account, money received from every source was listed in
detail, but the bulk of this had been actually received by the
steward and figured rather more fully in the steward's account.
Unlike the precentor, who accounted independently from the first,
the steward was expected to deliver all revenues in full to the
treasurer, who was to make the necessary disbursements. In
practice, however, although the steward paid money over at
frequent intervals during the year, he did himself expend some
of it, where necessary, on the estates. It was not until the
treasurership of William Gillot, 1415-16, that these facts
were recognised in the method of accounting; thenceforth the
accounts of treasurer and steward became complementary and no
longer overlapped.

Receipt

The statutory requirement that the steward should pay
over to the treasurer all the money he collected was met in
more than one way. It is possible that sometimes he paid in
large sums at intervals during the year, but it appears that,
most frequently, every receipt however small was paid over
almost as soon as the steward received it, with full details
of its provenance. An indenture, covering a complete year, was
made annually between the two officers, and upon it a fresh
entry was made each time money passed between them. This
indenture is mentioned in the earliest surviving steward's roll
(Michaelmas 1369-Michaelmas 1370), in which under the title

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This was certainly the practice later. See below, p.85, n.1.
Denario rum liberatio the steward noted that he had paid £420 to the treasurer by indenture, for the business of the college. Although this indenture system may probably have been in use between the treasurer and the steward from the first, no mention of it occurs in surviving treasurers' accounts before the year 1368, when all money received between 31 May and Michaelmas (except the rent of the gardener's house and a few late payments) was entered as "through the steward by indenture." In a large proportion of the treasurers' accounts up to 1415-16, the indenture is not mentioned at all, nor are the receipts (with a few exceptions) entered as received through the steward, though this was almost certainly the case. Occasionally the warden received revenues, when he happened to be in London at the time payments fell due, but the money had to be delivered by him to the steward who paid it over in turn to the treasurer.

For the year 1415-16 two treasurer's accounts exist, one drawn up in the traditional way with full details of every receipt and including all payments actually made by the steward, and the other drawn up for the first time in a new way. In the latter, the receipt section was compressed into three items: arrears, money received from the steward by indenture, and

\[\text{W.M.xv.48.1.} \quad \text{W.M.xv.34.6.}\]

\[e.g. \text{In 1369-70 the warden received £20 of arrears from the farmer of Ryston, and delivered it to the steward (W.M.xv. 48.1).}\]

\[\text{W.M.xv.34.28.} \quad \text{W.M.xv.34.29.}\]
chapel offerings, received from the precentor. For this same year a steward's account has also survived, and it is interesting to note that details of money received by the steward and accounted for by him are duplicated or slightly shortened in the parallel treasurer's account, old style, sometimes with and sometimes without mention that the receipt was through the steward. Evidently no significance can be attached to the inclusion or not of per manus senescalli (per indenturam) after receipt entries in the treasurers' accounts, though it is possible that receipts from the sale of garden produce and rents of Windsor properties hired by the canons sometimes may have been paid directly to the treasurer.

Of the indentures between the treasurer and steward only two have survived before 1500. These were dated 18 January 1447 and 5 October 1458. The earlier was made apparently for reference purposes. It was drawn up in tabular form, showing in vertical columns years from 1439-49, and horizontally each of the college estates. Since this indenture shows only the total sum paid by the steward in respect of each of the properties for one year, it is not so informative as the later one, which gives the date and amount of each payment made. This later indenture, of 5 October 1456, was apparently prepared on that date with marginal headings, one for each of the sources.

1 There are four more between 1500 and 1600 (W.M.I.B.3-6) and ten between 1600 and 1700 (W.M.I.B.7-16).
2 W.M.I.B.1.
3 W.M.I.B.2.
of revenue, written at distances of about two inches down the
left-hand side of the membrane. During the year following, sums
paid to the treasurer by the steward were entered with the
date beside their place of origin. The following may serve as
an example:

\textit{Dachet} Item idem senescallus liberavit eidem Thesaurario
\textit{vii die Decembris pro Johanne Lyncolle firmario
ibidem - vii.li. Item idem Senescallus liberavit
eidem Thesaurario \textit{iii die Januarii - xx.s. Item
idem Senescallus liberavit eidem Thesaurario \textit{ii
die Marcii -xi.s. Item liberavit eidem Thesaurario
xxii die Julii pro Johanne Lyncolle firmario ibidem
- viii.li. Item recepit per manus senescalli de
Thoma Knolle vicario ibidem - cxiii.s.iiii.d.}

The difference in the colour of the ink, in spacing and in the
size of the writing show that each of the items in the various
groups was written in at a different time, presumably the
actual day on which the payment was made. In the group of items
relating to the manor of Iver are entries of payments on twelve
occasions, 27 October, 7 and 19 December, 15 January, 3 and 6
February, 1 March, 11 April, 8 May, 1 and 3 June and 31 July.
In all, payments were made to the treasurer on 44 different
days during this year.

\textsuperscript{1} It is interesting to see how close these days were to each
other. They were 4, 13, 18, 27 and 29 October, 24 November, 7,
18, 19, 23 and 31 December, 3, 15, 18 and 22 January, 3, 10, 12
and 16 February, 1, 2 and 20 March, 11, 14 and 28 April, 2, 7,
8 and 20 May, 1, 10, 17 and 27 June, 1, 3, 5, 6, 22, 26 and 31
July, 2, 11 and 20 August and 7 September. The earliest of the
sixteenth century indentures, dated 1 October 1520, similarly
shows a large number of payments (23), some made within a few
The two parts of the indenture had, for obvious reasons, to be drawn up with slight difference of wording. On one part, retained by the steward, the treasurer acknowledged receipt (with his signature after each entry on the later indentures). On the part retained by the treasurer, the steward declared what he had paid (signing each entry, from the sixteenth century on). Both of the fifteenth century indentures are halves retained by the stewards and use the formula ... senes-callus liberavit thesaurario, but the earliest surviving specimen for the sixteenth century is a treasurer's half, each item beginning idem (thesaurarius) recepit de eodem ... senescallo, and marked at the foot Pars Magistri Thesaurarii in custodia magistri Senescalli. The new method of entering receipts in the treasurer's account accurately reflected the nature of these transactions. Instead of re-stating the origin and payer of every sum, only the total of all the entries on the indenture was included.

Occasionally the treasurer received money directly at the source. In 1371-2, 1376 and 1415-16, for example, the

1 (contd.)

days of each other. This suggests that the steward still paid over the money as soon as he received it. Except in the first entry, no indication of the source of the money is given and there are no marginal headings. The later indentures (1586 to 1673) record only the bare fact of payment of large sums to the treasurer for the use of the college, and the number of payments in a year varies from four (1586) to sixteen (1637).

1 Of the sixteen indentures in all which survive, eleven were the treasurer's (nine of them are signed by the steward) and the other five the steward's (of which four are signed by the treasurer).
travelling expenses of the treasurer included the cost of going to London to collect some of the revenues. On all three occasions he received the 100 marks due from the farm of Northampton, and on the first two other sums as well. But it is interesting to see that the steward in his account for 1415-16 included this receipt from Northampton, and, for accounting purposes at least, the fiction of the 100 marks had to pass from the treasurer to the steward and back again to the treasurer in order that the transaction might be properly recorded.

Expenditure

Foremost among the duties of the treasurer was that of paying the salaries of the various members and officials of the college. In most particulars the method was regulated by statute. Prebends were to be paid to the canons and knights in two equal instalments on the feasts of the Annunciation and Michaelmas, and cotidians at the end of each month. The warden's 100 marks were to be paid him in four equal parts on the morrows of the feasts of the Circumcision, the Annunciation, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and Michaelmas (i.e. on 2 January, 26 March, 25 June and 30 September). The vicars and clerks received money monthly for their keep and the balance quarterly, while the choristers' money was paid each month in equal parts either to the precentor or to their master.

In the Arundel White Book two folios (ff. 154-156) are devoted to tables of payments and other lists helpful to the treasurer in his calculations of money due and the drawing up of his account. Such aids to quick reckoning no doubt
existed long before Warden Arundel decided to have them copied into his reference book, and the treasurers' accounts themselves show how useful they were. Prebends, which were paid to residents and non-residents alike, were due to the canons and knights from the day on which they were admitted to the college and had to be calculated accurately. The treasurer had a ready reckoner entitled *Recipients per annum x.s/xx.s/xxx.s/ aut huiusmodi summas quid et quantum per dimidium annum/per quarterium anni/per septimanam/et per diem recipiet declaratur.* It consists of five columns, of which the first, headed *Per annum*, begins with 10s. and rises to £1,000. The other columns divide these yearly sums into half-yearly, quarterly, weekly and daily payments. Weekly payments were arrived at by dividing the quarterly sum by thirteen, and the result was again divided by seven for the daily payment. Indivisible remainders, where they occur, are stated in these weekly and daily columns. For the calculation *pro rata temporis* of the amount of prebend due to a canon or a knight who entered or left the college in the course of a financial year, the time was reckoned to the nearest quarter and after that at 1½d. a day, usually with an extra penny or more added to the total to make up for the indivisible remainder.

The money was usually paid at the end of the Easter and

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1 Warden from 1419-1452. Arundel White Book, ff.155v,156.
2 Ibid., Table of Contents, f.162.
3 Ibid., Table of Contents, f.162.
4 e.g. Et domino Ricardo Bokelli a festo Sancti Michaelis usque xi diem Januarii per 1 quarterium anni et xii dies - xis.illid. (W.M.xv.34.11, for year ending Michaelmas 1376). Richard Bokelly vacated his stall at Windsor in exchange for one in St. Stephen's Westminster, but was at once presented to another stall at Windsor and installed 3 March 1376 (Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1374-7, pp.206,212,209; W.M.xv.34.11).
Michaelmas terms to each canon in person, but on one occasion (Easter 1368) all the prebend money was paid to the warden for distribution. Six late fifteenth century receipts for money delivered by the treasurer to individual canons have survived. These are drawn up as indentures, covering one whole year, upon which each payment was entered with the date. The earliest is very faded and belongs to 1477-8, the other five are all for 1479-80. In the earliest, payment of prebend was made on 24 October for the term ending Michaelmas 1477 and on 4 April for the following Easter term. On the other five, the first payment of prebend was 19 October 1479, but only two of these record the Easter payment and those on different days, 10 April and 2 June. These records of dates show that prebendal payments were (doubtless for convenience) at quite different dates from those prescribed by statute.

Payments of cotidians were also entered on these indentures. Although this system of acknowledging receipt by written indentures was not in use at St. George's before 1416, the actual payments in the earlier period were made at similar intervals and it is interesting to notice the variations in dates upon which the monthly payments were made. To one of the canons, William Towers, who was constantly in residence and did not miss a single day's attendance in chapel in the year 1479-80, cotidians were paid early each month in respect of the

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1 W.M.xv.34.5.
2 W.M.xv.57.10. Indenture of payments made by Master Thomas Passch, treasurer, to Master David Hopton, canon and steward, Michaelmas 1477 to Michaelmas 1478. This document is wrongly described in the Catalogue of the Contents of the Erary, Windsor, p.130.
preceding month. The other four, less constant in residence in this year, were paid less regularly. One of them, Thomas Danet, who attended chapel only 140 days out of a possible 273 from 1 January to 30 September 1480, was paid the £7 due to him for these nine months in one sum on 6 October. These five indentures, however, are for a year following the new dispensation which allowed canons of St. George's 56 days non-residence in the year. Before this time, all non-residence was penalised by loss of income, and canons, residing most of the year, could be and were paid their cotidiens each month.

The college muniments throw light upon many aspects and details of this matter of cotidiens. For example, in 1363, the audit of the treasurer's account being almost completed in early October, a further allowance had to be made to the retiring treasurer to pay the cotidiens due to the college in respect of

3 (contd.) W.M.xv.57.12.

1 Except that he received no payment in May, but had the full amount for April and May on 2 June. He was paid on 3 November for October, 2 December for November, 10 January for December, 4 February for January, 13 March for February, 8 April for March, 2 June for April and May, 6 July for June, 5 August for July, 10 September for August and 5 October for September.

2 5 March 1478. See above, pp.15.
Attendance Register of St. George's Chapel, December 1384
(Windsor Muniments V.B.1.f.2)
the last month of his financial year. Record of attendance in chapel, on which, of course, the claim to cotidians depended, was kept for the treasurer on large sheets of paper (each described in the accounts as magnum papirum) which were afterwards bound up for reference. Eight such sheets have survived, each written on both sides, for sixteen months between October 1384 and May 1386. At the head of each month's record were written the name of the canon who was treasurer at the time, the name of the month, the number of days in it and the regnal year, e.g., Postell October xxxi dies Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi viii (October 1384). The names of the members of the college were written in seven groups in the left-hand margin, first the warden and canons, then knights, vicars, clerks, choristers, bellringers and the usher. The page beside the names of canons and knights was divided into twenty-eight, thirty or thirty-one columns, according to the number of days in the month, each

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1 W.M.xv.34.2.
2 E.g., Expense Necessarie - In primis in uno magno papiro pro cotidianis et alia papiria - vii.s. (W.M.xv.34.23).
3 Et solutum pro coopertura papiri magni cotidianarum - vi.d. (W.M.xv.34.16).
4 Now bound up together, W.M.V.B.1. Others survive for months between June 1468 and July 1479 (W.M.V.B.2), from 1667 to 1711 (W.M.V.B.3) and from 1762 to 1900 (W.M.V.B.4-11).
column being marked with 0 for a canon's attendance or with three Os for a knight's, since the knights were obliged to be present at three services a day, and the canons at only one. The total sum due to each canon and knight was entered at the end of each line of Os. This was the treasurer's guarantee that the sum was due. Each recipient of a sum of money for cotidians made a cross beside his name as a mark of receipt. This system was in vogue until the introduction of the indenture system.

Cotidians of absent canons remained in the common fund, sometimes to the relief of the college, when the annual income was insufficient to support all its burdens. This may be illustrated by a petition which was addressed to King Henry VI about the year 1430. It quoted the income and expenses of the college in the year 1410-11, and concluded with the following statement: Notandum quod hoc anno erant residentes Custos Spigurnell Lacy Exton Spicer Eston Gyloth Melton per dimidium annum. Et sic erant absentes quinque per totum annum et unus per dimidium annum. Et sic clare liquet quod si omnes canonici essent residentes bona collegii non sufficerent pro cotidianis suis per iiiii xix.li. Cotidians forfeited by absent knights,

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1 When the treasurer was using indentures as records of receipt, the attendance register ceased to have any totals of money due or any marks of receipt by the names of recipients. It became a mere record of attendance with no further part in the system of accounting as evidence of the treasurer's payments, and was no longer headed with the treasurer's name, but with the precentor's, and it was kept by the succentor (W.M.V.B.2, June 1468 to July 1479).

2 W.M.xv.34.27.
on the other hand, were by statute to be divided among those who had attended. When the chancellor visited the college in 1378, the knights complained that this had not been done. The result was that in his injunctions after the visitation, he ordered the dean not only to allow the knights to have the mulcts in the future, but also to pay up the arrears. Consequently, in the balance of the treasurer's account for the year ending Michaelmas 1378 there was a further expense of £5.12s.4d. which was given to the knights for absences of their colleagues during the year. No mention, however, was made of the arrears.

Warden's Although the canons had thus no share in the mulcts forfeited cotidians of absent colleagues, the fines (half-a-mark a day) imposed on the warden for absences above the number of days allowed him were their perquisites. To make reference easy on this point, the warden's absences were marked on the attendance sheet by a cross in the square for each day, whereas the squares of other absentees were left blank. For the sixty days' non-residence which he was allowed, the warden lost only his cotidians; but for every day's absence after that he lost half-a-mark from his wardenship money. This was duly noted in the treasurer's account, e.g. Custodia - Et solutum Custodi pro sua custodia per annum lxxxiii.lli.vi.s.vili.d. Et non plus quia absentavit se per x dies ultra suos lx dies et propter hoc incurrit multam V marcarum videlicet per diem dimidie marce.

1 Foedera, IV, 50.  
2 W.M. xv. 34. 14.  
3 W.M. xv. 34. 4.
These mulcts probably were added in with the dividend which was shared between the residentiaries, for usually they were not mentioned separately by the treasurer. In the account which was drawn up immediately after the Chancellor's visitation, however, the mulcts were noted separately at the end: Postea recepit de absencia Willelmi Mugge Custodis xii libras que divise fuerunt inter canonicos residentes.

Warden's salary was, apparently, not always paid at the four terms as required by the statutes, but at the end of a period of account. Normally a period of account would cover a whole financial year, ending at Michaelmas, but on various occasions for various reasons there was a change of treasurer during the year, and accounts were made to the date of retirement of each treasurer. Thus, for example, the financial year 1367-68 was shared between two treasurers, Stephen Shalford and Edmund Cloville, Shalford holding office from Michaelmas 1367 to 31 May 1368, and Cloville from 31 May to the following Michaelmas. Each of them paid the warden his money for the duration of his own account, Shalford for 241 days and Cloville for 122. On these occasions the amount due was calculated pro rata temporis, by reference to the treasurer's table of reckoning, at 3s. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. a day.

1 W.M. xv. 34.14.

2 By this method the warden lost 2 days altogether, but 8 days' pay which had to be deducted was also calculated pro rata (this time at 3s. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. a day) so that the total money paid him was £64.11s. 5\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. Had he been mulcted the usual 6s. 8d. a day, his total would have been £61.6s. 8d. This method of calculation was a clear gain to the warden (W.M. xv. 34.5 and 6).
By 1366-7 the heading Cotidiane in the treasurers' accounts had come to include not only the cotidians of canons and knights, but also the wages of the other five groups in the college (vicars, clerks, choristers, bellringers and usher), whose names were entered in the chapel attendance register. Their salaries were paid in monthly sums, like the cotidians, but deduction was not made here for absence from chapel, where they were expected to attend all services. Instead, the absence was punished by fines, which were noted at the foot of the page. The pages of the attendance register at this time were used by the treasurer for a record of the money he paid out to the college. Consequently no attendance columns were inserted except with respect to the canons and knights, since the treasurer in the other cases had not to take attendance into account in calculating the sum. The dates of their entering and leaving the college were noted beside their names, since if this happened in mid-month or mid-quarter, their salaries had to be calculated pro rata.

Vicars' Vicars received 8s. a month with an extra 16s. in the months in which quarter-days fell (December, March, June, September) bringing up the total to 24s., so as to complete the full salary of 88 a year. If a vicar entered or left the college in the middle of a quarter, he was paid for the days

1 In the rolls for 1361-2 and 1362-3 they were separated from the cotidians under the heading Vadia.

2 When the attendance register ceased to be the treasurer's receipt, and became instead the precentor's record of attendance, attendance marks became necessary for all members of the college (W.M.V.B.2).
he was there at the full rate of £2 a quarter (i.e., according to the treasurer's reckoner, 5½d. a day). Since normally the vicars received uniform amounts of 8s. or 24s. each month, it was in such circumstances necessary to note the exception by the name of the vicar concerned. In 1385, for instance, a new vicar named Wyther was admitted on 13 August. He was paid for the rest of August at the full rate receiving 8s.3½d., but in September, when the others were having 24s. each, had only 13s.1½d., beside which sum was written pro rata temporis.

Receipt of their money was acknowledged by a cross beside the name of each man, like those made by the canons and knights. Vicars' fines for absence were paid to those who had attended, and were marked at the foot of the page of the register Vicariis soluta.

During the visitation of St. George's in 1378, the vicars had two complaints to make to the chancellor. First, they alleged that the dean delayed to pay them their salaries, keeping the money back for a long time in his own hands, and secondly that the salary belonging to vacant vicarships was

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After 1416, receipt was acknowledged in writing by the vicars as well as by the canons. Eleven such monthly receipts have survived. Eight of them form a continuous series from October 1476 to May 1477; the other three are for August and September 1477 and January 1483. On each month's receipt the amount due to each vicar was written, in order of their stalls, with the total at the foot and Recepcio per manus domini ... followed by the autograph of one of the vicars. They took it in turn to receive the whole amount on behalf of their colleagues (W.M.xi.B.22,23,24 and 25).
received and appropriated by the dean to his own uses. The chancellor threatened instant suspension if the dean in future delayed payment of the vicars' salaries, and ordered that all money belonging to vacant stalls was to be divided between the other vicars. From this time salaries were apparently paid regularly, but the vicars were still treated unjustly with regard to vacant stalls. During a vacancy they received 2s. a week for the stall. This was adequate if the vacancy lasted only a short time, as the statutes intended. Canons presented in turn to vacant vicarships, but this right was forfeited to the chapter if the vacancy lasted one month, and to the warden if there was a second month's delay. If the stall was vacant at longest for two months, 2s. a week (8s. a month) was the ordinary payment, but if it lasted three months or more, the vicars were entitled to the extra 16s. each quarter, and this was not paid them. At length the vicars again complained to the chancellor, and an agreement was reached to which the vicars, the canons and the chancellor appended their seals in February 1416.

1. Fœdera, IV, 51.

2. e.g. Et solutum vicariis pro vacacione vicarie domini Ricardi Schawe a xxviii° die Januarii usque ii° diei Julii non computatum per xxii septimanas ii dies pro septimana iis. - xlili.s. vii.d. (W.M.xv.34.11, 1376).

3. For instance in 1377-8 a stall to which John Loring was entitled to present was kept vacant for 46 weeks and five days, and only £4.13s.6d. was paid to the vicars for it, that is 2s. a week, without quarter-money (W.M.xv.34.14).

4. W.M.X.VI.B.1 and 2. Of these two copies, X.VI.B.2 is in Latin and much mutilated, X.V.B.1 is an English translation.
This stipulated that for every week after the dean and chapter had been notified of the death of a vicar, 2s. was to be paid by the treasurer to be shared among the vicars, for a period up to two months. If the vacancy lasted more than two months, the vicars were then to receive the full salary of the vicarship, as if it were held by one of them. In return for this concession, the vicars agreed not to complain to the king, the chancellor or to any knight-companion of the Order of the Garter concerning nonpayment of vacant stall money previous to the date of the agreement.

The survival of the eleven written receipts already mentioned, of dates between October 1476 and January 1483, makes it possible to see how this agreement worked out in practice. Thomas Dixon vacated his stall on 19 October 1476. For the first eighteen days of October he was paid the full rate of 5½d. a day (that is, including the proper proportion of his quarter-money). For the 8 weeks immediately following 19 October, the vicars were paid 2s. a week in respect of his vacant stall, and after that the full rate (which amounted to 3s.0½d. a week) until the stall was filled by William Fese on

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1 The money was paid to one of the vicars on behalf of the rest. It seems probable that they chose one of their number to be steward for the month and to represent them. Cf. Et solutum Roberto Vesale senescallo vicariorum nomine omnium sociorum suorum pro vacacione vicariarum - vi.a. (W.M.xv.34.23, 1415-16).

2 See above, p. 96, n.1.

3 W.M.V.B.2, f.51 (Attendance Sheet for October 1476) xix° die huius mensis dominus Thomas Dyxon dimisit stallum suum in isto collegio ante altam missam.

4 W.M.xi.B.22.1,2,3.
15 September 1477. It is easy to see how keeping vicarships vacant had previously profited the chapter; even with the new arrangement only £1.9s.9d. was paid altogether for the quarter October to December 1476 for this stall, instead of the £2 normally due for it. It is interesting to see how vicars who left the college in the middle of a quarter were paid the right amount of quarter-money even for past months. William Ledys, who gave up his stall on 1 September 1477, had been paid the usual 8s. for July, the first month of the quarter. When he was paid for August, after which his stall was vacant, at the full rate of 5s.6d. a day, he was also given an extra 5s.6d. to bring his July money up to the full rate.

Gospel

From at least as early as 1393-4, the vicars had been given £2 a year (10s. a term) for reading the Gospel, in the absence of a deacon. At first this payment was entered in the section Dona in the treasurers’ accounts, but by 1402-3 it was transferred to Stipendia, the payments due to officers of the college. This points to the fact that this £2 had now come to be regarded as a regular payment to the vicars, and not as an honorarium given for filling a gap in the temporary lack of a deacon. When the agreement of February 1416 already described

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1 W.M.V.B.2, f.56.d.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Et solutum vicariis collegii pro lectura evangeliorum hoc eodem anno ex rewardeo pro defectu unius diaconi ad hoc constituti - xls. (W.M.xv.34.28, 1415-16).
4 When in 1362-3 there was no deacon for the whole financial year, the vicars received £4.14s.0½d. for reading the Gospel (W.M. xv.34.2).
was made concerning vacant stalls, the vicars took this opportunity to define their position also with regard to the Gospel money, and the canons agreed to pay this 40s. to them yearly, until a deacon should be appointed to read the Gospel.

Clerks' Of the four clerks who ministered in St. George's, the 1 Sabries Statutes required one to be a deacon, another a subdeacon, and the other two in minor orders. The annual salary was eight marks (£5.6s.8d.) for the deacon and subdeacon, six marks (£4) for each of the other two. Payment was made at the rate of 4s. a month with the balance each quarter. Thus, in December, March, June and September, two clerks received 18s.8d. (4s. plus 14s.8d. quarter-money) and two 12s. (4s. plus 8s. quarter-money). When clerks were admitted to or left the college in mid-quarter, their salary was, like the vicars', calculated pro rata, at 3½d. a day for the deacon and subdeacon and 2½d. a day for the others, with a little extra to compensate for the impossibility of dividing the sum of money exactly. The treasurer had a list of amounts due to all the members of the college, on two scales of pay. One of them read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per diem</th>
<th>Plus per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distribuciones cotidiane</td>
<td>Canonicus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarius</td>
<td>v.d.q.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 It is clear from the fact that the vicars read the Gospel that no deacon was among the clerks from 1393 to 1416. There was a deacon and a subdeacon in May 1386 (W.M.V.B.1, f.8) but after that date there is no evidence of their being at St. George's. The clerks received 26s.8d. each year for reading the Epistle in the absence of a subdeacon.

2 Arundel White Book, f.154v.
Diaconus et subdiaconus | iii.d.ob. | i.i.d.ob.
---|---|---
Clericus | ii.d.ob. | iii.s.xi.d.ob.
---|---|---
Chorista | ii.d. | v.s.xi.d.
---|---|---
Hostiarius | vi.d. | nichil
---|---|---
Garciones | ii.d. | nichil

*In mense per medium alternis* (There follow the categories as above, with the average amount due each month to each, and the indivisible remainder noted).

**Omnia praedicta sunt vera ubi**

- **Canonicius recipit per annum** | xviii.li.v.s.
- **Vicarius** | viii.li.
- **Dyaconus et subdiaconus** | cvi.s.viii.d.
- **Clericus** | iii.i.li.
- **Chorista** | lxvi.s.viii.d.
- **Hostiarius** | ix.li.i.i.s.vi.d.
- **Garciones** | xl.s.x.d.

This was particularly useful to the treasurer when calculating the amount payable when the yearly salary was not a multiple of 10s. and did not figure on his "reckoner." An example of the way the system worked is the case of a clerk in minor orders admitted to the college on 1 September 1385. He was paid *pro rata temporis* for September, receiving 6s.3d., *i.e.* 30 days' pay at 2½d. Since September was the last month of the quarter, he was paid the usual 4s., 4s. and 12s. in the following months.

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1. *Garolones* here obviously refers to the bellringers, whose salary was 2d. a day.

2. W.M.V.B.1, f.5v.
Again, at the end of November 1385, the deacon or subdeacon left
the college. He had been paid 4s. for October, and in November
was paid 13s.9d., to make the total sum received in the two
months up to 17s.9d., the full pay for that time. Receipt
was acknowledged by the clerks by making a cross beside their
names on the attendance sheet.

Choristers' The choristers' salaries were paid in a lump sum
Salaries each month, when the attendance register was marked with a
cross beside the title choriste. When all six choristers were
present for the whole month, 33s.4d. was allowed for them
(5s.6½d. each). In December 1384 there were five choristers,
of whom one was admitted on the 10th of the month. The total
sum paid for them was 25s.10d., that is 5s.6½d. each for four
(22s.2d.), and 3s.8d. for the other for 21 days at 2d. a day.
The full year's salary was 5 marks (23s.6½d.) for each chorister.

Bellringers' The bellringers also received 2d. a day, but their
Salaries full year's salary amounted only to £3.0s.10d., since their
wages were daily wages and not annual sums divided as nearly as
possible for odd days. Throughout the months for which
attendance sheets exist (between October 1384 and May 1386) there
were three ringers (not mentioned by name in the register) whose
money was paid in a lump sum, usually 15s. or 15s.6d. (for
months of 30 or 31 days) and for which sometimes one cross was
marked as receipt and sometimes a triple cross, i.e. one
horizontal stroke running through three verticals.

1 W.M.V.B.1, ff.6,6v.  2 Ibid., f.2.
The verger or usher received a uniform wage of 6d. a day. This was paid him every month and he receipted the treasurer's attendance sheet, beside the word Hostiarius, without explicit mention of his name. He received 15s. or 15s.6d. a month, amounting to £9.2s.6d. in the year.

Chaplains

From an early date there were at St. George's two chaplains, not included in the statutory composition of the college, but placed there by the king and maintained by the college in deference to the king's wishes. Thus to Thomas of Aston and John atte Lee, by letters patent dated 22 March 1361 the king granted £10 yearly of the fruits and profits of St. George's chapel, to be paid by the hands of the treasurer of the chapel for such time as they remained there. On the patent-roll these letters were subsequently annulled, since they were returned "because the king does not wish, nor has he power to charge the chapel, but wishes that the dean and chapter ordain the sustenance of chaplains." Aston and Lee duly appeared as receiving wages in the treasurers' accounts for 1361-2 and subsequently. Evidently the chapter acceded to the king's request and maintained the chaplains, once their right to refuse to do so was recognised. Indeed, according to one of the treasurers' tables in the Arundel White Book already referred to, Aston and Lee were given a higher salary.

One of them, John atte Lee, was at St. George's in 1354-5 (W.M.xv.53.43); the other, Thomas Aston, is mentioned in the earliest surviving treasurer's roll, 1361-2 (W.M.xv.34.1).

at St. George's than that originally granted them by the king. It is noted as follows: Johannes atte Lee et Thomas de Aston

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>recipient</th>
<th>Per diem</th>
<th>vili.d.ob.q.</th>
<th>vi.d.q. plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per mensem</td>
<td>xxii.s.ii.d.ob.</td>
<td>ii.d. plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per annum</td>
<td>xx marce</td>
<td>Nichil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 15 August 1369 Thomas Aston was presented to a canonry at St. George's by the king, but John atte Lee was still receiving his £13.6s.8d. in 1377-8, when he was included in a digest of the income and liabilities of the college in that year.

Dividend

The treasurer also paid to residentiaries their share of the dividend, that is the two thirds of the surplus income remaining after all expenses had been paid. The remaining third was deposited in the erary to form a fund for use when necessity should arise.

Obit payments were distributed by the treasurer to all members of the college who attended both the vigil and the mass for the dead on the anniversaries of the deaths of the king, the queen, their eldest son, the bishop of Winchester and benefactors. By 1416 nineteen such obits were celebrated at St. George's. Of these ten are known to have been endowed,

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1 Arundel White Book, f.154v.
3 W.M.xv.53.64.
4 See below, pp.181-5.
5 Two of them were kept only for a number of years. The obit of John Chamber (first warden) was celebrated only until the death of William Mugge, when Mugge's obit replaced it; the obit of Thomas Butler (third warden) was observed from 1402 to 1403.
Obits celebrated in St. George’s Chapel, 1361-1416.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of First recorded Endowment</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warden John Chamber 1 1 June 1349</td>
<td>1362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon Robert Burnham 10 August 1362</td>
<td>1363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop William of Winchester 7 October 1366</td>
<td>1366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.G. Earl of Warwick 13 November 1369</td>
<td>1370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.G. Earl of Northampton 16 September 1360</td>
<td>1371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.G. Duke of Lancaster 24 March 1361</td>
<td>1371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.G. Queen Philippa 15 August 1369</td>
<td>1371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.G. Prince Edward 8 June 1376</td>
<td>1377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warden William Mugge 21 February 1381</td>
<td>1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.G. Queen Anne 7 June 1394</td>
<td>1399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph of Windsor 3 December</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon Richard Raunds 3 February 1400</td>
<td>1401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warden Thomas Butler 11 June 1402</td>
<td>1402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Winchester William of Wykeham 27 September</td>
<td>1404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey Aston 14 January</td>
<td>1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.G. Earl of Oxford 22 November 1392</td>
<td>1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon Robert Ravendale 19 April 1404</td>
<td>1416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-Vicar John Chapman 29 November</td>
<td>1416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Chamber’s obit was observed only until Mugge died.
2. In 1370-71 distributions for these obits were at a lower rate, see above. p.105. n.4.
3. Of this 20s., double cotidians were paid to the college and the rest, up to 12d., given to the poor. Any further surplus was divided among residentiaries who had attended.
4. Butler’s obit was observed only until 1408.
either with the rent of properties, or with a sum of money to provide such rent. The remaining nine commemorated Edward III, Queen Philippa, Prince Edward and four other companions of the Order of the Garter, and two wardens of the chapel. If these were endowed, it was with a sum of money and not a rent, for no annual receipts for them appear in the college accounts.

Five obits were endowed with specific sums of money or rents with directions regulating their distribution. The other fourteen were paid at a uniform rate, that is of double the usual daily wage, to everyone who attended. Residentiaries and others below the rank of canon were to be fined for non-attendance. By statute, the warden's fine was to be 10s., a canon's 5s., a vicar's 2s., and the fines were to be placed in the erary in the common fund. There is no evidence, however, that this was ever done, perhaps because loss of a share in the obit distributions was considered sufficient penalty for failure to attend.

Canons who were absent upon the business of the

1 The obits of Robert Burnham, William Mugge, Queen Anne, Ralph of Windsor, Richard Raunds, Geoffrey Aston, Robert Ravendale and John Chapman were endowed with rents; those of Bishop Edyngton and Bishop William of Wykeham each with £200.

2 The earls of Warwick, Northampton and Oxford, and the duke of Lancaster.

3 John Chamber and Thomas Butler (see above, p.104, n.5).

4 In 1370-71, however, distributions of 8d. to each canon, 4d. to each vicar, 3d. to the deacons, 2d. to the clerks and 1d. to the choristers and bellringers were made at the obits of the earls of Northampton and Warwick and the duke of Lancaster. This is the first year in which these obits are mentioned in the accounts, and subsequently these three, like the others, were paid in double cotidians.
college were treated with regard to obit distributions in the same way as with regard to their cotidiens, that is to say they were counted as actually present in chapel on these days. Those who attended only the mass and not the vigil for the dead received half of the full amount. For obits which were paid in double cotidiens, each canon received one shilling, each vicar 5½d., the deacon and subdeacon 3½d., the clerks 2½d., and the choristers and bellringers 2d. each. Aston and Lee received 8d. when they attended. Obits endowed with special sums to be distributed were usually more profitable to the canons. Robert Burnham's obit was endowed, in the first instance, with a rent of 20s., which was to be distributed in the following manner: 6d. to each canon, 2d. to each vicar, 1½d. to the deacon and subdeacon, 1d. to the clerks and ½d. to the choristers and bellringers at each of the two services, the vigil and the mass. Thus in the first instance the canons received their full shilling for the two services, although the others were given rather less than on the double cotidian system. Any money left over from the 20s. was first to go to provide twelve poor people with a penny each, and after that to be divided among the canons who had attended the obit services. Since from the first the property with which Burnham

1 e.g. Obit of Queen Philippa, 6 August 1395 ... in quo fuerunt presentes et in negocis collegii v canones ... (W.M.xv.34.17).
2 e.g. Obit of the earl of Northampton, 16 September 1395 ... in quo fuerunt presentes vili canones et feldes ad missam tantummodo ... (W.M.xv.34.17).
3 W.M.xv.44.131 (13 January 1362).
endowed his obit brought in 26s.8d. rent, and by 1385 36s.8d.,
the canons received much larger sums than the usual shilling. In
1395 the seven canons who were present at both services received
4s.0½d. each, and another who attended only the mass had 2s.0d.
Queen Anne’s obit, which was endowed with the rent of two past-
ures in Bray called Frith and Ashcroft, was even richer, since in
1402-3 the rent was £2.10s., and it rose to £3 in 1415-16.

Thirty-three original tickets recording the payment of
obit distributions to the college of Windsor in 1477-8 are
preserved among the Ashmole manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.
They vary in size, but most are 4½ inches long and 3½ inches
wide. The ticket for Burnham’s obit, 10 August 1478, is written
as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Obitus Roberti Bernham canonici tentus ibidem anno} \\
\text{regni regis Edwardi quarti xvii}^0 \text{ in quo presentes} \\
\text{mensis} \\
\text{Augustis fuerunt canonici vi cuique xlid. vid\'elicet Downe} \\
\text{Danet Passch Hopton Tourres et Vahan} \quad \text{Summa vi.l.s.} \\
\text{Vicarii x cuique iii.i.d. Halle ad missam tantummodo} \\
\text{Summa iil.s.vi.d.} \\
\text{Clerici x cuique ii.i.d.} \quad \text{Summa xx.d.} \\
\text{Choriste vii cuique i.d.} \quad \text{Summa vii.i.d.} \\
\text{Campanistri iii cuique i.d.} \quad \text{Summa iii.d.} \\
\text{Summa totalis xii.s.}
\end{align*}
\]

1 W.M.xv.34.17.
2 Ashmole Mss. No. 1296 (previously fastened together with a
parchment thong but now pasted in Ash. Ms. No. 1763, ff.41,42).
The tickets are cut through as having been cancelled.
It is possible that the treasurer used this method of recording payment for obits in our period also, but, in view of the fact that other written receipts were, apparently, not in use before 1416, it seems more probable that a register similar to that of ordinary chapel attendances was kept for obits and was used by the treasurer both as an authority for payment and as a receipted record.

Travelling expenses of those engaged upon the business of the college were allowed at fixed rates, with some exceptions in the early years. The normal allowances were 4s. 8d. a day for the warden, 2s. 4d. for a canon, 1s. for a vicar and 6d. for a clerk, with sometimes 2d. or 3d. a day extra if a horse had to be hired. Most of the travelling connected with supervising and receiving money from the estates was done by the steward, and paid for by the treasurer after the steward's bills for his expenses had been passed in chapter. These bills are mentioned in only two of the surviving treasurers' rolls before 1416, namely those for 1406-7 and 1407-8. In 1406-7 the steward, William Gillot, presented six bills to the chapter for his travelling expenses when busy about the estates, and a further three bills for expenses incurred in

1 The warden was allowed as much as £13 for 26 days' absence, visiting Simonburn in 1366-7 (i.e. 10s. a day), and from 1362 to 1371 the ordinary allowance for the warden was 5s. 8d. a day, but perhaps this included his cotidian.
travelling to London to litigate concerning the church of Saltash. Further bills for travelling and other expenses were presented by William Young (a vicar who frequently assisted the steward at this time), by the farmer of Saltash, Thomas Ebrelle, and by Henry Heath, the legal adviser to St. George's and steward of their courts. These bills were approved in chapter on the following dates: 18 December 1406, 22 January, 27 August, and 22 October 1407 (within the period of this account) and 10 and 13 March 1408 (after the close of the account). Similar bills were prepared and presented by the warden, the treasurer, the precentor and others who were sent out to manage college affairs, and by clerks who wrote letters and other documents for the chapter. The earliest bill which has survived was presented by John Arundel, warden of St. George's, for expenses incurred in visiting the duke of Bedford in December 1430 concerning the spiritualities of the priory of Ogbourne which the duke had given to the college. Arundel was away for eight days. For this he was allowed 4s.8d. a day and 1s.10d. for hire of a boat for his journey, making £1.19s.2d. in all. The bill was approved in chapter on 4 January 1431. Later bills were signed at the foot by each canon present in chapter when they

1 W.M.xv.57.1. The bill is written on a slip of parchment 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches wide and 2 inches long.
were passed. The earliest of those bearing signatures of the chapter is a bill for two shillings, the wages of Thomas Assheley, a vicar of St. George's, for two days in December 1446 when he was sent by the dean and chapter to Chalfont to collect the farm of one of the properties belonging to the priory of Ogbourne. At the foot of the bill is written Allocatur per capitulum per decanum et auditores collegii Mychelle Depedene Hanslape Howden Bunghull Birey. The names of the canons are autographs.

As paymaster of the college, the treasurer was responsible for and included in his account all the money expended in St. George's either by himself personally or by officials accountable to him to whom he had to allow or refund the amount. Consequently the expense section of his account included all the money spent about the affairs of the college, as it included all the money received, with the one exception of the chapel expenses, which were, until 1393, met by the precentor out of the chapel offerings and accounted for independently. After 1393, when the offerings became one of the perquisites of residentiaries, the treasurer accounted for chapel expenses also, handing over to the precentor at the beginning of each month the amount expended in the preceding month. Only the total of these payments was entered on the

1 Five bills of William Mitchell, treasurer, exist for the year 1446-7 (W.M.xv.57.7), four of Thomas Passch, steward, 1464 (W.M. xv.57,8 and 9), two of clerks for various writings, 1446-7 (W.M. xv.57. 4 and 5). These bills were marked when discharged; those of 1446-7 have a receipt cross made at the foot, and those of 1464-5 have chevron-shaped cuts and are marked thus \( \backslash \) on the back.

2 W.M.xv.57.3.
treasurer's final account, but an indenture drawn up between the treasurer and the precentor for the year recorded each payment as it was made. One such indenture, dated 18 October 1456, and covering the financial year 1456-7, has survived. It records twelve monthly payments made by William Mitchell, treasurer, to Roger Misterton, precentor, in respect of chapel expenses.

This same indenture is of interest because it records the treasurer's payment of the precentor's wages for the year. In the months of April and October the precentor received £2.10s. as his wage for the preceding half-year. By this date (1456) salaries of officials were, apparently, sometimes paid only twice a year, but till 1416, four payments of 25s. each were made to the three major officials, one at the end of each quarter. When these offices were not held for a whole year by one canon, payment was made pro rata at 32d. a day. The minor officials were also paid at the four quarters, the succentor and the master of the choristers (both vicars) receiving £1.6s.6d. each in the year (half a mark each term), the keeper of the clock 13s.4d. a year (3s.4d. a term) and the chapter clerk £2 a year (10s. a term).

During the period before 1416 the whole revenues and all the expenditure of St. George's appeared on the treasurer's account. Thus it is possible to see how the annual income and expenditure were accounted for.

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1. This is attached by a parchment thong to an indenture between the treasurer and the steward for the same year (W.M.I.B.2).
2. This practice was re-adopted later, also, for an indenture of 1477-8 recording payments to David Hopton includes, besides prebend and cotidiens, four payments of 25s. for his salary as
income of the college sufficed for its liabilities and whether there was a reasonable surplus to divide among the residentiaries. From 1361 to 1405 the actual income received varied between about £520 and £673, this large variation being partly due to irregularity of payment of revenue. The average income may be said to be about £600. Expenditure varied even more widely, between £466 and £601. The number of residentiaries made a difference to the amount of cotidiens paid, which sank as low as £255.13s.9d. for the whole college in 1385-6, as compared with £360.11s.8d. in 1377-8. Cost of repairs and of litigation are among other variable expenditure. The surplus (not counting chapel offerings) was sometimes over £100; in 1367-8 it was as high as £142.15s.1d. and once it fell as low as 4s.5½d. (1400-1). In 1406-7 both the chapel offerings and a loan of £15.16s.2d. were necessary to balance the account. The loan was repaid in the following year, but again the chapel offerings were absorbed to eke out inadequate revenues. From this time until 1416 it is evident that the income of St. George's barely sufficed for the year's necessities. In 1415-16, as already explained, a reorganisation of the methods of account caused a change in the character of treasurers' and stewards' accounts, and written receipts were probably introduced at the same date. The treasurership of William Gillot was notable because of

2 (cont'd.)

steward (W.M.xv.57.10).

See table of income and expenditure below, Appendix III p. 357.
these administrative changes. Probably they were an attempt to cope with insufficient income and prevent unnecessary expenditure. Conditions continued to be difficult for the canons for a number of years after the close of this survey, but the grant by the duke of Bedford of the spiritualities of the priory of Ogbourne in 1422 no doubt helped considerably towards the financial rehabilitation of St. George's.
b) Steward (Central Activities).

Senecallus autem predictus directioni et gubernacioni omnium bonorum presertim externorum dicte capelle iuxta discretionem sibi a deo datam pro viribus intendens pecuniam quam et prout commode poterit inde levari faciet, et Thesaurario huiusmodi liberari. This was the definition of the steward's functions in the foundation statutes of St. George's. His duty was to collect revenues, not to retain or expend them. A chapter act of 1430 reiterated this principle. By this, the steward was to receive all the income of the college, with the arrears of preceding years, but was not to make any payments either within or outside the college without the special consent or command of the dean and canons, nor was he to keep any money in his own hands for more than three days after receiving it or after his return from journeys abroad, but to pay it at once to the treasurer. That it was necessary in 1430 to pass a chapter act on this matter suggests that meanwhile stewards had strayed outside the statutory province of their office. Yet this may not have occurred till late in the history of the period. No indentures of money delivered by the steward to the treasurer before 1430 have survived, it is true, but the detail with which all receipts were entered in the treasurers' rolls up to 1415-16, often without mention of the steward as intermediary, show that at least until that date the treasurer received all revenues

1 Frith's Old Register, pp.90-91.
2 Some of the receipts, however, were fictitious. The steward retained the money for current expenses, and the treasurer accounted for it as if received and afterwards spent. See below, p.121.
as they were paid, making himself accountable for them. If divergencies from this practice provoked the chapter act of 1430, it seems probable that they occurred after 1416, when the steward began to account independently.

Receipt

The steward, therefore, was pre-eminently a receiver. In the heading of his accounts he styled himself "steward and receiver of money" or "steward and receiver general." His responsibility for the collection of revenues was, in some ways, unenviable. It was his business to find lessees to farm the college properties, and if he could not manage to secure a rent which the chapter thought reasonable, he had to make up the money out of his own pocket. From 1406 to 1415 the church of Deddington had been farmed out for £52. During the last year of this lease (1414-15), the steward, William Gillot, was unable to secure a renewal on the same terms. Consequently he let it, for one year only, at £42, and had to pay an additional £10 himself. His successor as steward, John Exton, was more fortunate; he leased the church for five years at £50 a year, with the consent of the chapter. Exton himself narrowly escaped having to pay £20.13s.4d. for the revenue of the church of Whaddon. In 1415-16 the church was in the hands of the college, for want of a lessee, and Exton sold the fruits and produce of the place for only £13.6s.8d. Since in normal times the church was farmed for £34, Exton was liable for the remaining £20.13s.4d., and acknowledged this in his account. Subsequently,

1 W.M.xv.48.1 (1369-70).
however, the chapter relented. It was found at the audit that the terms of this sale had been known to the chapter and that the steward concluded the deal with their consent. The steward was exonerated; and in the meanwhile he had contrived to lease the church for five years at £30, with the chapter's approval.

In this early period only local rents were paid at Windsor. To collect the rest, the steward was obliged to go elsewhere, usually to London where the majority of them were paid. Upon his return he submitted to the treasurer details of the expenses of his journey, sealed with his own seal. For each day away from Windsor he was allowed the usual 2s.4d. In 1369-70, however, he tried to secure 5s.0d. a day for his expenses, pleading that food was expensive in that year. The auditors, although refusing to grant this enormous increase, allowed him 3s.4d. a day, one shilling more than usual.

Among the rents always paid in London was an annual sum of 100 marks due from the town of Northampton. The town bailiffs brought the money to London each year soon after

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1 Both these examples occur in the steward's roll for 1415-16 (W.M.xv.48.4).
2 For instance, in the year Michaelmas 1377 to Michaelmas 1378 the steward was absent from Windsor for 63½ days; of these 59½ were spent in journeys to London (W.M.xv.34.14).
3 The treasurer accounted for these expenses in his roll, e.g. Et solutum Ricardo Shaw senescallo per diversas parcellas michi per eundem traditas algilloque suo signatas ... (W.M.xv.34.13, 1377).
4 Marginal note beside these entries in the steward's roll; tantum guia victualla fuit cara hoc anno (W.M.xv.48.1). This is an interesting sidelight on economic conditions of the time.
Michaelmas, and there it was delivered to a representative of St. George's, usually the steward. As far as can be seen from the available treasurers' rolls, this rent was paid regularly. However, in 1377 the warden and the steward went to London to ask for a writ ordering the bailiffs to pay it. This was issued, dated 1 June 1377; the money was subsequently paid and, for its safe custody, the steward hired a man with a horse to escort himself and the money back to Windsor. The bailiff who brought the money to London was rewarded with 3s.4d. Thenceforward the expenses of collecting the 100 marks each year began to increase. First, the gift to the bailiffs for their trouble in bringing the money became inevitable and increased in value, and secondly, the steward began to entertain them to breakfast at Westminster. Whereas formerly 4s.8d. (the steward's allowance for two days' travelling) had covered the cost of collecting this 100 marks, in 1406-7 a claim for 28s.4½d. was allowed by the auditors. This included three days' expenses for the steward,

2 An escort for this money had also been hired in the preceding year (W.M.xv.34.11, 1376).
3 W.M.xv.34.13.
4 This gift was an inducement to the bailiffs to pay their rent in good money, e.g. Et datum ballivis Northamtone pro bono auro ab eis habendo hoc anno in solucionem eorundem - xiii.s.iii.i.d. (W.M.xv.34.32, 1422-3). In 1421-2 St. George's had lost 26s.8d. in bad gold paid them from the farmers of their properties.
5 As in 1368 (W.M.xv.34.5).
13s.4d. given to the bailiffs, 1s.3d. to their clerk, 8d. for a bottle of Malmsey presented to the mayor of Northampton and his companions, and 5s.8d. for their entertainment at breakfast. Some years before this, in 1325-6, the auditors had refused to allow 1s.4d. asked again by the steward for the hire of a man to escort him on his return journey for fear of robbers, otherwise this item would have swelled the cost still further.

Besides the yearly breakfast given to the bailiffs, they were entertained to a drink after dinner; the cost increased steadily. At last in 1459-60 the steward presented a bill of 46s.8d. spent in rewarding and feasting the bailiffs. This time the auditors demurred; at length they consented to allow it but declared that it was not to create a precedent.

As a record of receipt the steward used either indented quittances or tallys. The earliest specimen of such an indenture which has survived relates to a transaction on August 1498 between the steward and Richard Unde, farmer of the rectory of South Tawton. It is certain, however, that such indentures were used from the beginning, for although in

1 W.M.xv.34.24.
2 W.M.xv.34.18.
3 In expensis maioris ballivorum et aliorum ministrorum eiusdem ville Northamton apud Westmonasterium ut in i tantaculo eiusmodi dato et potacionibus post prandium eiusmodi datis in receptione dictorum demariorum vi.s.ii.d. (W.M.xv.34.35, 1425-6).
4 Auditors' note: probatur sed non trahatur in exemplum (W.M.xv. 48.25).
5 W.M.xi.J.34.
the treasurers' rolls mention of these tallies and indentures is rare, one such reference occurs in the earliest of the existing rolls, and in the stewards' rolls such references occur constantly. For example, a subsidiary steward's account attached to the treasurer's roll for 1367-8 records the receipt of £8.10s.6d. from the reeves of the manor of Craswell, and cites as vouchers tallies made between the steward and the reeves. Apparently when the steward was dealing with local officials of the manors of the college, he gave tallies of receipt; to others, who paid fixed rents, he gave written quittances. Probably these quittances were written out at St. George's before the steward left on his journeys. At any rate, in a treasurer's account of May to Michaelmas 1368, the steward is described as "going to London on the morrow of Michaelmas to carry a quittance of the 100 marks from Northampton and to do other business of the college, for two days."

While on his journeys, the steward made himself useful in many ways. He procured writs and copies of documents required by the college, consulted lawyers and sought advice, and represented St. George's in lawsuits, besides doing necessary

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1 It relates to an indenture between the steward and the farmer of the church of Iver (W.M.xv.34.1, 1361-2).
2 W.M.xv.34.5.
3 W.M.xv.34.6.
4 See especially W.M.xv.34.13, when the steward was busy with a case against William Kynardsley of Uttoxeter (1377).
Expenditure of revenue, apart from his own reasonable expenses, was forbidden to the steward by the statutes. Nevertheless, it was impossible that he should fulfil his duties without some money in hand, and consequently he spent a certain amount of money, though never a large sum. For this he accounted to the treasurer, who made himself responsible for it to the auditors. Such payments were for outside expenses; all money spent inside the college naturally came from the treasurer.

For the period before 1416, besides two stewards' rolls (1369-70 and 1415-16) we possess a steward's account attached to the treasurer's roll for 1367-8. This shows that the steward, Edmund Cloville, had retained in his own hands a sum amounting to £8.10s.6d. He had received this from the reeves of Craswell in two payments of £3.10s.0d. and £5.0s.6d., for which he gave them tallies. Out of it he spent £7.1s.9d. as follows: 1) Two purchases of tiles, £1.11s.9d. 2) Garlic and onion plants for the garden, 11s.7d. 3) Wages of a supervisor of wheat-threshing at Craswell, £2.2s.6d. 4) Wages of a smith making iron supports for a new building, 3s.1d. 5) His own travelling expenses on three occasions to London, 14s.0d. 6) Three years' pensions to the chapter of Lincoln for churches in that

1 The only exception I have found to this general rule was that in 1415-16 the steward paid John Plumber for repairing the well in the cloister, and this was owing to the temporary absence of the treasurer. Et solutum Johanni Plumere in absencia Thesaurarii per manus Johannis Exton senescalli pro opere suo in claustro xii.d. (W.M.xv.34.28).

2 W.M.xv.34.5.

3 Literally "iron horses": ... pro factura xx1 ferri equorum pro
diocese appropriated to St. George's, £2.3s.0d. The remaining £1.8s.9d. he paid to the treasurer. Among his expenses Cloville had attempted to include his own prebend (£2) and his wages (£5), but these items were crossed out, the treasurer no doubt preferring to pay these amounts himself. The total receipts of the college for this year, as shown on the treasurer's roll, were £336.19s.6½d., and among them appeared the £8.10s.6d., which had actually remained in the hands of the steward. It was entered as two separate amounts, of £3.10s.0d. and £5.0s.6d., and of these only the first was stated to have been paid to the treasurer via the steward. With the exception of the farm of South Tawton (£36) which was stated as received by the warden, Cloville had doubtless received all the revenues, but of this total of £300.19s.6½d. paid into his hands, he kept only £8.10s.6d., and of that spent only £7.1s.9d. Unlike the receipts, Cloville's expenses were included in a single entry in the treasurer's account to which they were attached in expenses factias per dominum Edmundum senescallum ut pabest in compoto dicti domini Edmundi de hoc anno xlii do unde dictus compotus huic annexatur vii.li.xxi.d. A similar steward's account, which has not survived, was attached to the treasurer's roll for four months ending Michaelmas 1368. Among his expenses the treasurer included £9.8s.6d. "paid" to the steward for certain repairs on

3 (contd.)

novo edificio...
the manors and rectories of the college, citing the appended steward's account for details of its expenditure. Similarly, for repair of a wall in 1366-7, the steward was allowed £14. 5s.4d. Of this £6 was borrowed from the emergency fund in the wardry, and £3.6s.3d. was kept by the steward out of the proceeds of the sale of wool at Iver and Craswell. The provenance of the remaining £4.18s.8d. was not stated.

In 1369-70 the steward received in all £826.7s.2d. Of this he himself spent only £179.5s.6½d., and this included a lump sum of £66.13s.4d. delivered to the warden for his salary, and an allowance of 255.17s.0½d. to the farmer of Simonburn out of his arrears, i.e. a fictitious repayment of arrears which the steward had never received. Thus, in actual fact, only £46.15s.1½d. was spent by the steward as follows:

1) Pensions to the bishop of Lincoln for churches appropriated to St. George's, £3.7s.4d. 2) Fees to the college attorneys, £3
3) Cost of a new mill at Bray, £8.7s.1d., of repairs at Ryston, £6.3s.8d., of straw for the barn at Uttoxeter, 15s. 4) Wages of a supervisor of threshing and winnowing at Craswell, 3s.2d.

1 W.M.xv.34.4.

2 This sum is reached by adding to the total of £826.0s.6d. given in the roll (W.M.xv.48.1) a further 6s.8d. received later and noted in the balance of the account.

3 From the total expenses (£722.13s.6½d.) given in the roll I have deducted money paid over to the treasurer and into the wardry (£545.3s.0½d.), and added to the result a further £3 spent later and noted in the balance of the account.
5) Cost of new stock for Craswell (7 oxen, £5.5s.0d.) and garden expenses (18s.3d.), £7.3s.8d. 6) Travelling expenses of himself and servants, £14.1s.3d. 7) Expenses of auditing local accounts, £2.9s.4d. 8) Sundries, such as paper, wax, parchment and the clerk's fee, £1.4s.3d.

During the year 1415-16, the steward received in all £233.3s.9d. Of this he delivered only £284.7s.1d. to the treasurer, keeping the rest in his own hands, while giving the treasurer every detail of when and from whom it came. He spent only £111.7s.11d., however, the balance being paid over at Michaelmas at the audit. His expenses were these: 1) Pensions for appropriated churches, £35.10s.0d. 2) Fees to the steward of the courts (£2), the college attorneys in the courts of the Exchequer and Common Pleas (£3.4d.), the clerk and auditors of the accounts (£3) and himself (£5), £10.13s.4d. 3) Robes and furs for the servants of the college, £4.8s.2d. 4) Travelling expenses (his own, the warden's and the servants'), £15.14s.3d. 5) Gardener's wages, and cost of tools and plants, £5.4s.10d. 6) Repairs at Uttoxeter, Deddington Castle, Wraysbury, Iver and Windsor, £14.4s.9d. 7) Rents in Windsor, 2s.7d. 8) Gifts and costs of litigation, £26.10s.0d.

It will be seen from the examples given above that the

The actual total of these expenses is £46.15s.2d.

From the steward's total, £964.0s.5½d., I have deducted £30.16.8d. of "allowances" made to various payers, i.e. forgiveness of their debts, which are entered on both the credit and the debit side of this account (W.M.xv.48.4).

This is apparent from the detail of the parallel treasurer's account (W.M.xv.34.28), in which there is more of this sort of information than in the steward's.
steward's expenditure was in two directions only, that is to say upon the estates of the college (in wages, stock, labour, repairs, etc.), and upon travelling expenses, with payments made on behalf of the chapter when in London, and expenses incurred in the transaction of legal and other business on behalf of the chapter.

Receipts (quittances) for pensions paid, and bills for other expenses authenticated with his seal, had to be submitted by the steward to the treasurer to support his account. The treasurer took over responsibility for all this expenditure, including the amounts in his own account. These bills (like others we have noted) had to be approved in chapter before the treasurer could refund or give the steward credit for the money.

It is particularly interesting to notice that, after the change in accounting in 1416 which prevented the receipt section of the treasurer's and steward's accounts from overlapping, the same change gradually came in the expenses section. One by one the payments usually made by the steward were recognised as his responsibility and appeared only in his account. By 1438-9 the steward alone accounted for the following: fees and robes, all travelling expenses, gifts, and costs of litigation. Payment of pensions, however, was taken over by the treasurer, and the scope of expenditure allowed to the steward

4 (cont'd.) Including a pension of £20 payable to John Crukern, whom St. George's had ejected from his perpetual vicership of Saltash. See below, \[ ] I hope to treat this subject fully elsewhere.
The steward was also in charge of the household. At the time of audit, when the clerk of the accounts and the reeves of Iver and Craswell had to stay in Windsor, the steward was given 6d. a day for each of them for their table. Usually each reeve stayed two days, and the clerk for four. Canon auditors and accountants, however, were not catered for by the steward, but dined as usual in their own chambers and were allowed 1s.0d. a day for their food.

Sixteen rolls of household expenses, for which the steward was responsible, survive covering months between December 1351 and August 1355. No others have survived. In these years, the administration of the new college was hardly normal. Building works were in progress, under the supervision of Robert Burnham, one of the first canons, and it was not until early in 1355 that the canons’ and vicars’ lodgings were completed. A new roasting-house, bakery and brewery and a mill were built for the college in 1353-4. Meanwhile the college

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W.M. xv. 3. 1. These rolls are in two bundles, one containing twelve and the other four. In the catalogue (p.98) they are ascribed in error to 1353-5 but the earlier date is made certain by a heading on the back of one of them: contentum x rotulos expensarum hospicii collegii de Wyndesore ab ultimo die Octobris anno xxvtdo usque ultimum diem Septembris anno xxvi°...
used the great hall of the lower ward (rebuilt by Henry III, 1222-3) and its kitchens (1313-4) for meals. Consequently it was necessary for the stewards (there were two of them at this time) to keep the usual daily accounts of household expenditure. Produce was supplied from Wraysbury, Datchet, Iver and Craswell. Among the guests entertained were the master mason, John Sponley and his wife. The warden's lodgings were apparently finished first, for in the margin beside the entry for Sunday, 27 January 1353 is a note per custodem in camera sua nova which may mean that the warden entertained the college, since out of 51 meals only six were served that day from the household. In January 1355 Burnham's own chamber was finished; on the first of the month the household served only 5 meals and non plus quia omnes in prandio et in cena cum R. Bernham. Food was supplied from the household for Burnham's table. On 20th of the month food was supplied similarly to the chamber of Henry Blount. In February ale also was delivered to the canons' chambers.

At the foot of the month's account the steward noted other expenses for which he was responsible. These included travelling expenses for himself and his messengers, the wages of household clerks, garden costs, pensions and fees, repairs,
and purchase of stock for the manors. This household roll appears to represent an early form of account for the steward, later superseded by the steward's roll. In it was included all the money the steward expended; money received was probably accounted for by the treasurer only, the steward's record of it being his indenture.

The complete absence of any later household rolls, or of any reference to them in existing treasurers' and stewards' accounts, points to the fact that when the building of the college was finished, there was no longer any need for communal provision of food. The nearby rectories (Wraysbury, Iver and Datchet), formerly retained under the management of St. George's for supplies, were afterwards let out to farm. Canons bought their own stores privately and fed in their own chambers. We know that the canons' chambers included kitchens, for Nicholas Sturgeon in 1443-4 attempted to claim from the common fund the cost of repairing his kitchen chimney. The vicars received part of their salaries monthly for food, and either catered for themselves or ate with their canons. St. John Hope has conjectured that the vicars lived in ground floor rooms beneath the chambers of their canons. However, the 26 chambers erected on the site of the old royal lodgings of Henry III were

A bailiff's account for the manor of Iver exists for 1381-2, and records the sale of wheat and oats to various individual canons (W.M.xv.53.65).

Custus camini in coquina domini Nicholai Sturgeon. The whole entry was crossed out and over it was written: Disallocatur hic per decretum Domini Custodis sive Decani et Auditorum eo quod non erit in exemptum allis canoniciis (Treasurer's Account, W.M. xv.34.41).

Windsor Castle, II,501.
described in Robert Burnham's account of 1353 as for the canons, with no mention of the vicars. From 1355 when these chambers were completed until 1371-2 the vicars may have lived beneath their canons, but by royal letters dated 18 July 1367 an old tiled house called "the lodge" within the castle was provided as a dwelling for all the vicars. This house, which had been occupied by the masons, was delivered by Adam of Hartington in 1371-2 to three of the vicars, William Stanlake, Walter Ashbury and John Deree.

The clerks lived in chambers built along the south side of the lower ward, stretching eastward from the old bell tower. Where they ate is not known, but since they, like the vicars, received part of their wages each month for their food, it appears that they catered for themselves. The choristers had a lodging over the college storehouse, against the north wall of the castle.


2 Et Willelmo Stanlake, Walter Asshebury et Johanni Deree vicariis liber capelle Regis de Wyndesore unam veterem domum tegulis cooptatam le logg pro Cemantariis infra Castrum predictum pro habitacione omnium vicariorum ibidem per breve Regis datum xviii° die Julii Anno x1° per quod Rex mandavit prefato Ade ad predictam domum predictis vicariis pro dicta habitacione sue liberare pacifice (quoted from Foreign Account, 45 Edward III, m.F. by St. John Hope, op.cit.,I,203,212).

3 St. John Hope, op.cit.,II,532. These chambers were converted in 1557-8 into lodgings for the use of the military knights. The old bell tower is now the house of the governor of the military knights.

4 St. John Hope, op.cit.,II,512.
Their master, who received their wages for them, provided their food from the money.

It is apparent that the great hall was not in general use as a dining-hall, although it may have been used occasionally for feasts, for in 1390 when St. George's chapel was undergoing drastic repairs under the supervision of Geoffrey Chaucer and William Hannay, the great hall was temporarily arranged as a chapel with an altar and choir stalls. It was not until after the close of the period here surveyed that common dining-halls were provided, first for the vicars, and a century later for the choristers and chantry priests. A vacant plot within the lower ward, to the west of the great hall, was given by Henry IV in 1409 for the use of the vicars, clerks and choristers. Building upon this plot was not begun until 1415-16. It was called "Woodhaw" and on it was built a vicars' hall (now the chapter library), a first-floor room standing over large cellars. A common hall for the choristers and chantry priests was given in 1520 by James Denton, one of the canons. This was called Denton's Commons and stood to the east of the site of the old great hall, which by

1 Hope, Windsor Castle, I, 222. William Hannay's accounts for Michaelmas 1392 - October 1393 include £10.6s. for carpentry work (the making of stalls, an altar, a vestry and a gap window) and 20s.5d. for ironwork on the stalls in the great hall (P.R.O. Accounts Exchequer K. R. Bundle 495/17 quoted by Hope, op. cit., I, 225, n.24). The account of the precentor of St. George's for the following year (1393-4) includes further items in this connexion, the ironwork of the gap window, the carpentry of a small altar and an almery before the dean's stall, and 40 ft. of glass and iron shutters for a window in the great hall (W.M. xv. 55.13).


3 St. John Hope, op. cit., II.517,520.
then had been pulled down.

The steward's household duties, then, for the main part of this period, were light. Although no doubt guests of the college were in his charge, like the auditors and reeves, it seems possible that he entertained them in his own chambers and that the sixpence a day allowed for them was his own refund.

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When Edward IV's new chapel was built (1485) the great hall was largely demolished to clear a site for it. Denton's Commons was pulled down in 1859 (St. John Hope, *op.cit.*, II, 512).
c) Precentor.

All that concerned the chapel and its services was committed to the charge of the precentor. The singing in choir and arrangement of the daily services were his responsibilities; moreover, his duties as prescribed by statute included care of all the furniture of the chapel and the provision of everything necessary for the services. He received and accounted for all offerings made in the chapel, using this income to cover his expenditure. Until the financial year 1393-4 the chapel, as far as possible, lived of its own. In October 1393, all chapel offerings, together with the annual gift of herrings from Yarmouth and the produce of the college garden, were granted by Richard II to the residentiaries because they bore an extra burden of hospitality when the king and his court came to Windsor. After this date, although the precentor continued to use the offerings as money in hand to spend on what was necessary, all such expenditure was refunded by the treasurer. Thus the full sum of the year's offerings could be divided among the residentiaries.

Receipt

By statute, the precentor was required to account for chapel offerings either weekly or monthly. Apparently monthly accounting was found more convenient. Only the total sum collected in each month was recorded on the precentor's account roll for the year, but subsidiary accounts, containing details

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of every collection, were kept on paper. None of these paper accounts has survived, but we know that paper was bought for this purpose, besides parchment for the year's roll. However, although no details of daily collections are available, the monthly totals show how receipts fluctuated. As much as one quarter or even one third of the whole year's offerings was regularly recorded for either April or May. Doubtless these generous amounts were contributed on the feast of St. George (23 April) and during its octave; obviously the precentor sometimes counted the money in time to include it with the April receipts, and sometimes left it over into May. Collections at Easter (when it fell in April) may have helped to enlarge the total for that month, but not, it appears, to any large extent, for when the offerings from St. George's day were left over into May, totals for April which usually included Easter were often small. Christmas collections made the totals for December or January comparatively large, and sometimes the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June), when the relics at St. George's were exposed, was particularly remunerative.

1 Et pro papiro ad scribendum parcellam oblationum - ob. (September 1414, Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.21); In papiro empto pro parcellis superscribendis - ob. (October 1415, ibid., xv.56.22).

2 Et pro pergameno ad scribendum compotum (September 1414, ibid., xv.56.21).

3 For example in 1409, when Easter day was 7 April, the total receipts for April amounted only to 2s., while those for May were 55.7s.3d. (ibid., xv.56.20).

4 Offerings made on this day in 1378 were paid over separately to the treasurer and amounted to 26s.3d. (ibid., xv.34.14). In 1388 one of the vicars was paid 12d. for helping collect the money on St. John the Baptist's day, and in 1389 three vicars helped.
collecting box stood in the chapel at the foot of an image of St. George dressed in tunic and armour. In 1417 and 1418 oblations from this box were counted separately, when sums of £1.4s.7d. and 10s. were taken from it. It is interesting to notice that on two recorded occasions, in December 1415 and June 1416, bad money was put in the collections.

The income for which the precentor accounted included other items besides money offerings. All profits arising from the connexion of the chapel with the order of the Garter were in his province. These included installation fees, gifts and the insignia of deceased knights. By Garter Statute (no. 22), installation fees were intended towards the support of the canons and poor knights of Windsor and also to augment the alms which were always to be given there. Consequently these fees were shared out separately from the other oblations. However, when in 1388 Richard Fitzalan, 4th earl of Arundel, and Sir Henry Percy were installed, their fees of £10 and £5 respectively were shared between the canons and vicars, eight residentiaries receiving

4 (continued)

Totals for June in both these years were high, in 1388 £4.16s.1d. (the year’s total was £21.9s.7d.) and in 1389 £3.9s.6d., when the year’s total was £24.0s.8½d (ibid., xv.56.10, 11).

1 W.M., xv.56.23,24.
2 Item computans petit allocari pro falso auro aqoblaciones missarum mensibus Decembris et Junii videlicet quolibet mense xxd...iiiis.iiiid. (ibid., xv.56.22).
25s. each while the vicars divided the remaining £5 between them. The legitimate claim of the poor knights to a share was apparently overlooked. Two gifts of gold rings were made to St. George's in our period, one in 1377-8 from Thomas of Woodstock and the other in 1379-80, donor unnamed. The precentor sold these rings for 6s.8d. and 26s.8d. respectively, and added the proceeds to the chapel offerings. No statutory grant of the insignia (helms, crests and swords) of deceased knights of the Garter was made to the canons, whose claim to them was based upon an extension of Garter Statute no. 19. This statute ordained that each knight-elect was to send to Windsor a helm, crest and sword in preparation for his installation. Should the election fall through, these insignia then became the property of the dean and chapter. From an early date the canons claimed the insignia of all knights who died as well as of knights-elect who were never installed. King Henry V instituted a ceremony for offering the insignia of dead knights at the high altar in St. George's. It is probable that some such ceremony existed before Henry V regularised it; thus helms, crests

1 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.10.

2 The number of elections which fell through must have been limited but already by Michaelmas 1377 (when occurs the first mention of the insignia in a precentor's roll) the canons had 15 swords and 34 helms left over to be sold (Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.4). Frith (in his Old Register, p.67) quoted Garter Statute 19 as authority for the canons' claim.

3 Garter Statutes of Henry V (Ashmole, appendix) article 14.
and swords, after being offered at the altar, became part of the chapel collections and the property of the canons. The precentor sold them as he sold any other gifts among the offerings. Sometimes they were sold locally (often to canons or vicars of the chapel), but more often were sent by water to London where they were sold to goldsmiths. Helms and swords intended for hanging in the chapel were made larger than usual. Consequently, it seems probable that they were bought back from the canons to be used again. However, no evidence that this was done exists earlier than 1606, when William Segar, then Garter King of Arms (whose duty it was to provide new knights with helms and swords) agreed to purchase them regularly from the canons, paying 20s. for those of knights, barons, earls and dukes, and £3 for those of kings and princes. The huge two-handed sword which hung over the founder's stall was kept by the chapter. In May 1388 the precentor had it repaired in London; and in April 1394 and August 1408 paid for it to be polished.

1 See below, p.138.
2 Precentors' Accounts, W.M.xv.56.4,7,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,22.
3 Ashmole, p.535.
4 Memorandum of agreement made 20 May 1606 (W.M.xi.D.2). In the Catalogue (p.56) the date is given in error as 30 May.
5 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.10.
6 Ibid., xv.56.13,19.
Inventories of the chapel furniture drawn up in 1384 and 1409-10 included (among others) this sword of Edward III's, and in May 1615 the treasurer accounted for making clean the Twoe-hand swoorde which hangeth by King Edward's the 3 picture 2s.6d.

The sword now hangs in the retro-choir. In addition to helms and swords, the college of Windsor claimed the Garter mantles of knights who died. A pretext for this was provided by Garter Statute no. 15 which ordered all knights-companions to keep their mantles at Windsor in case they arrived unexpectedly. Since the mantles were at Windsor, no doubt the canons kept them when their owners died. The inventory of 1384 included six among the goods of the chapel, and in 1408 one was used to repair some copes.

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1 Ashm Rolls (Bodleian Lib.) no.47. Printed by Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (1673),III,App. pp.79-87; (1817-30),VI, 1362-7. This printed version contains numerous mistakes. The cost of writing this inventory was included in the precentor's accounts for 1383-4: .... et pro scriptura i rotuli continentis nomina Reliquiorum et vestimentorum diversorum dicte capelle .... (W.M.xv.56.7).

2 Ashm. Rolls (Bodl. Lib.) no. 36. Rotographs of this and the inventory of 1384 are in the erary (W.M.IV.B.23), also a typed transcript.

3 Richard II's sword was included in the inventory of 1409-10.

4 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.59.32. This entry is quoted in the Catalogue, p.111.

5 See Frith's Old Register, p.66.

6 The canons presumed to sell the Emperor Sigismund's mantle while its owner was still alive. This was discovered by the Chancellor in 1431 and the culprits reaped no benefit from their anticipation of the Emperor's death, for, besides forbidding such an action in the future, the Chancellor ordered the price received to be kept entire until the Emperor should die, when it was to be shared only between the then Dean and canons (Injunctions of 1431, no.19, quoted by Frith, Old Register, p.66).

7 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.19.
In 1415-16, however, the college claimed Sir John D' Abrichecourt's mantle, which was not at Windsor. A messenger sent to the knight's executors to demand it had some difficulty in securing it. After much negotiation the college was victorious and the mantle was delivered to Windsor. Expenses of this negotiation were paid by the treasurer (that is, out of the common fund), although the mantles were always sold by the precentor and the profits included in the chapel income which was exclusive to residentiaries.

Since all money received by the precentor was reserved for the resident canons, it was convenient for home-produced wine (granted with all other garden produce to the residentiaries in 1393) to be sold and accounted for by him. This wine was sold to outside buyers or kept for use in the chapel, when the ordinary market price was paid for it and also the cost of carting it from the garden to the precentor's store-room in the vestry. Other wine besides this from the garden

1  Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34. 28 and 29.
2  See receipts in the rolls for 1394-5 and 1415-16 (Precentor's Accounts, W.M.xv.56.14,22).
3  Ibid.,xv.56.13,14,15,16,20.
4  The door of this room within the vestry where the precentor stored wine was furnished with new hinges in October 1394, and in the following month 8d. was paid for the carriage of a pipe of wine from the garden to it (ibid.,xv.56.14). Sixpence a gallon was paid for 28 gallons of wine from the garden used in the chapel between 1 October 1383 and 6 April 1384. For the rest of the year wine was bought from outside at the same price (ibid.,xv.56.7).
was sold by the precentor from his store. Presumably such wine had been given to the college and was sold in order that the canons might enjoy the value of it, since wine for the chapel was chargeable to the common fund. It is possible that sometimes these sales may have been fictitious, the wine being used in the chapel while the treasurer paid for it and the price was credited to the precentor's receipts.

In the same way, the precentor's receipts often included money for wax sold. Even when the wax had been given for some specific purpose, it was "sold" and its value credited to the chapel income. Sometimes wax was sold to individual members of the college, perhaps for their private use. Since from 1393 wax and wine for the chapel were paid for by the treasurer, the common fund would have benefited from any gift of them. This practice of selling offerings in kind and crediting their value to the precentor's account ensured that the residentiaries had full benefit of them, as Richard II's grant intended.

Expenditure

From the income listed above, the precentor spent month by month what was needed for the proper conducting of the services and the upkeep of the chapel. His expenditure was

1 In 1394-5, 8s. worth of Gascon wine was sold (W.M.xv.56.14).

2 As in June 1394 when 1s.8d. worth was given on behalf of William Goodrich, knight (ibid., xv.56.13) or in 1397 when the wax was intended for the funeral of Robert Bitterley, one of the poor knights (ibid., xv.56.15).

3 See ibid., xv.56.22.
therefore limited to the following items:

1. Bread, wine, incense and wax.
2. Provision and repair of service books, vessels and vestments.
3. Seasonal expenses in the chapel.
4. Cleaning and repairs in chapel, chapter-house, cloister and belfry.
5. Travelling expenses.

This expenditure was totalled each month, and after 1393 the money spent was refunded monthly to the precentor by the treasurer from the common revenue.

1. Bread, wine, incense and wax.

These standard necessities for service figured in the accounts every month. Bread usually cost 1/2d. or 2d. the hundred, but once, in December 1369, went up to 12d. for 500 quia blada cara extitierant. When the bread was bought in London (as in 1363-4), the travelling expenses of those who brought it added 4s. to its cost. Wine varied in price between 6d. and 12d. a gallon, according to the year and the quality. The chapel used 50 to 60 gallons each year, of which only a small proportion was supplied from the college garden. Incense was, apparently, sold in many grades, for it cost anything

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All but two of the precentors' rolls for this period were drawn up thus; in the two exceptions, for 1363-4 and 1383-4 (W.M.xv. 56.1 and 7) expenditure was entered under subject headings, Bread, Wine, Incense, Wax and so on.

See above, p.110.

Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.2. Cf. the steward's plea for a higher allowance for travelling expenses because food was dear in this year (above, p.103).

Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.1. In this year 15s.0½d. was
between 1s.4d. and 3s.4d. a pound. Wax was bought in London and, since transport by water was cheap, came by barge along the Thames to Windsor, except when the river was in flood, when it had to come by road. Sometimes it was made into candles, tapers and torches before leaving London, but a certain amount of candle-making was done at St. George's. In October 1377 the precentor bought a mould and two iron tools for making candles and paid out drink-money for the men who used them, while in 1415-16 John Gardiner (who did odd jobs about the chapel) regularly earned a half-penny a pound for making up the wax. Accidents occasionally befell the wax on its journey from London to Windsor. In 1364 112 lbs. of wax bought for Candlemas (2 February) was fashioned into candles at a chandler's in London and then put on a barge for Windsor. The river froze while it was on its way, however, and the barge stuck fast. Adam Pentrich, who later became one of the vicars, was sent from St. George's with a hired horse and cart to unload the candles from the

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(Contd.)

spent on buying bread for the chapel, 1700 at 1½d. a hundred and 7750 at 2d. a hundred (9450 in all).

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1 As in November 1415 and January 1417 (W.M.xv.56.22,23).
2 Ibid., xv.56.4.
3 Ibid., xv.56.22.
immobile barge, taking with him hay to pack them in and nails to keep them secure on their jolting journey. During the year 1388-9 some candles were stolen on the river; the precentor was held personally responsible and had to make good their loss by paying 5s.3d. at the end of the year for them. From about 1388 the king made a habit of presenting a quantity of wax to be burned on St. George's day. This was usually enough to make at least four torches and a number of candles besides. The king's chandler made up the wax and sent it with one of his servants to Windsor. In return, the college made him an annual gift of 3s.4d., and often gave the servant a further 4d. for himself.

2. Provision and repair of service-books, vessels and vestments.

At the beginning of the inventory of 1384 is a list of books belonging to St. George's. Of these, the first section consists of service-books, described briefly but with mention of donors and of silver covers where applicable. Two new books, of the services for Corpus Christi and Saint Anne, were made at the same time as the inventory; the precentor paid 4s. in

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1. W.M.xv.56.1.
2. Ibid., xv.56.11.
3. A torch seems to have weighed from 7 to 11 lbs. (ibid., xv.56.8,22).
4. In 1408 and 1409 there were 47 candles besides the 4 torches (ibid., xv.56.19,20).
1384 for the writing of all three. Books on various subjects were chained in the chapel and a collection of law books was kept in a chest. Further references to these books and to others as the college acquired them may be found among the entries in the account-rolls of the precentor, whose duty it was to have them corrected and repaired. An exception to this usual practice occurred in 1362-3 (a year for which no precentor's roll has been preserved) when it was the treasurer who disbursed £15.3s.1½d. for the correcting at Salisbury of the chapel service-books. John Aleyn (canon 1362-73) and Adam Pentrich travelled to Salisbury and spent 86 days there at this task: the books were carried by two hired horses, accompanied by a clerk. Most subsequent expenditure on books, however, appeared in the precentors' accounts. It included rebinding and the

1 Item in ii quaternis de novo scriptis et notatis continentibus historias corporis Christi et Sancte Anne et pro scriptura i rotuli continentis nomina Reliquiorum et vestimentorum diversorum dicte capelle iiiis. (W.M.xv.56.7).

2 A list of these non-liturgical books with notes by Dr M.R. James was printed for the Bibliographical Society in 1932 entitled The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

3 By statute (no. 51) the service-books were to be examined and made to accord every three years.

4 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.2.

5 The treasurer still occasionally accounted for money expended on books, e.g. in 1366-7 when he paid one of the vicars, William Stanlake, 10s. for correcting two books (W.M.xv.34.4) and in 1367-8 when he disbursed 6s.8d. for the binding of two books (ibid., xv.34.5).

6 Precentor's Accounts, W.M.xv.56.2,3,4,5,10,11.
repair of silver clasps and rings besides correction of the text and the making of new books. A unique and interesting bill has survived which gives in detail the cost of making six books: an antiphonary, a text of the Gospels, a martyrology and three processionals. John Prust (canon 1379-1403) had commissioned the work and submitted the bill which amounted to £14.9s.3d. Of this, £13.16s.8d. had already been advanced to him, leaving an unpaid balance of only 12s.7d. The bill was undated but payment both of the advance and the balance was recorded in precentors' rolls which have survived. Prust received £13.16s.8d. from the executors of Edmund Clovile (lately precentor) in September 1387, and the remaining 12s.7d. from Richard Shaw in May 1389.

The most costly of the six books was the antiphonary, owing to its great bulk and the expense of scoring music. The book required 46 quires of vellum, of which 34 were bought at 1s.3d. a quire for £2.2s.6d. and the remaining 12 were supplied from stock. Writing the 46 quires cost £3.3s. and the notation a further 20s.6d. 15s.11d. was paid for illumination plus 12d. for blue capital letters and the binding cost 5s., which brought the total cost to £7.7s.11d. Considering its size, however, the antiphonary was not as expensive to produce as the Gospels which covered only 19 quires of vellum of a cheaper quality than that

1 W.M.xv.56.3,5,10,12,14. 2 Ibid., xv.56.6,7,9.
3 Ibid., xv.3.3. 4 Ibid., xv.56.6,7,9.
5 Ibid., xv.56.11. 5 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.9.
used for the antiphonary but cost £3.15s.8d. This total, however, included 20s. for goldsmith's work on the binding, besides 1s.7d. for the expenses of Peter John who carried the book to and from London for this purpose. Among the other items were 1s.2d. for ink, 10d. for an ink-bottle and 9d. for vermilion. The scribe apparently worked at Windsor, for Prust claimed 10d. a week for his commons as well as his total wage of 13s.4d. for the 18 weeks spent on this book.

Early in 1416 eleven books were presented to St. George's by King Henry V. They formed part of the library of Lord Scrope which had been confiscated with all his goods after his condemnation for treason in the preceding August. In Lord Scrope's will, dated 1415, he had bequeathed to St. George's a noble set of white vestments embroidered with his arms, and 10 marks: his many books he left to various persons, most to his heir. In order to secure some of them for the college, the warden, Richard Kingston, and Canon William Lochard went to London where they spent £5.13s.6d. of the chapel's money. Part of this covered the expenses of their journey, but no doubt the greater part was employed in gifts to ease the transfer of the books. They returned with 4 antiphonaries, 4 graduals, an ordinale and 2 volumes of Lives of the Saints.

About this time the books for the organ were painted with

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1 Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham, 1406-15.
2 Foedera, ix (1729), 272.
3 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.22.
vermilion (bought in April 1416 for 2d.) and 15 sheets of vellum were bought for a book called "Organboke" which was to contain five gatherings of three sheets each, "namely 12 folios." From this it appears that three sheets were to be left blank for end papers.

It was the precentor's responsibility to keep a list of Knights of the Garter. He bought parchment for it, and paid for writing it in up to date.

Of the vessels and ornaments necessary for services St. George's possessed a large and rich stock. Consequently the precentor made few purchases of them in our period, and most of these before the earliest inventory was drawn up in 1384. Among them were 10 cruets bought between 1370 and 1384: a pair for the second altar costing 5d., six bought together for 1s.6d., and a bronze pair for 8d. His only considerable purchase was a silver candelabrum to hold blessed candles on the feast of Purification which cost 45s. and was bought in January 1378. After 1384 his recorded purchases were three aspergilla (holywater-stykkes), two candlesticks and a stone candle-snuffer. Far more numerous were his payments for repairs. Censers were

1 W.M.xv.56.22.
2 Ibid., xv.56.23 (June 1417).
3 Ibid., xv.56.16,17,22,23, etc.
4 Besides the high altar, the chapel contained two lesser altars, one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; of the other altar, known as the second altar, the dedication is unknown.
constantly in need of mending, perhaps because they were handled by the choristers, who were certainly responsible on one occasion. Usually only small sums were spent on repairs and renovations, but in 1408 two censers and four chalices were regilded at a cost of 20s. It is of interest to notice that a chalice mended in October 1376 was called Sponle in the precentor's account: presumably its donor was John Sponley, the master mason.

It was not necessary for the precentor to buy any of the more expensive vestments, for the college possessed numerous very lovely sets and the generosity of benefactors provided additions to them from time to time. New sets of vestments were blessed in August 1380 (two sets "with stars") and in May 1382; since the cost of materials was in neither case recorded, they were probably gifts. Again, in April and July 1416 John Charles, a vestment-maker, earned 20s. and 26s.8d. from the precentor, but no materials were purchased. In December 1377, however, the precentor expended 26s.11d. on two blue tartarin curtains "for a new set of vestments with eagles." Probably these curtains were to go with the vestments described in the inventory as of blue velvet embroidered with golden eagles. By February 1417, when the tartarin hangings appeared again in the accounts, they were badly worn having been "gnawed by rats and mice for many years past"; repairs by John Tailor of Windsor cost 8d.

1 Item aurifabro pro reparacione magni senseri fracti per choristas xiid. (Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.10).

2 In emendacione unius veteris panni de tartaryn cum aquilis de auro verberati pendentia coram tabula de alabaustro supra summum altare rodati a ratonibus et muribus per multos annos elapsos.
Although little was spent on buying elaborate vestments, constant care and expense was necessary to keep them in good repair. A supply of thread of various colours (black, white, blue and red) was bought regularly for mending, besides pieces of ribbon and silk for patching. Vestments being repaired were tacked down with nails to hold them taut. The magnificent copes of which in 1384 St. George's had 23 besides those belonging to sets, were given especial attention for some were rather worn. In 1408 it cost 30s. to repair them besides one of the Garter mantles which was sacrificed, probably to patch the copes of blue velvet. A cope-chest was made for them in October 1375 when a carpenter spent 27 days at the job, aided by a boy for 22 of them. Copes stored in the erary were covered over with canvas.

The simpler vestments and cloths, such as surplices, albs, amices, towels and covers for crosses and chalices, were frequently replaced as well as repaired. Plain linen or sometimes Flanders cloth was bought for making these new things, and the making was done by a sewing woman locally. The choristers' clothing particularly needed much mending and renewing. Up to 1416 only one sewing woman was mentioned in the accounts by name: she was Isabella Chamber, who in August 1370 received 5½d.

2 (contd.) per Johannem Taillour de Wyndesore viiid. (W.M.xv.56.23).

1 In clavis emptis pro vestimentis tactandis tempore reparacionis eorundem id. (February 1416. Ibid., xv.56.22)

2 In July 1389 the precentor bought 6½ ells of canvas to cover the copes in the treasury (ibid., xv.56.11).
as a joint fee for mending the boys' clothes and for cutting nettles in the cemetery before the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August). From 1416 the widow of Sir John Grimsby did fine sewing for the chapel, such as making elaborate frontals and mending the pearl fringes for the altar, while Isabella Croft did plain sewing and mending.

Every quarter a laundress received 12d. for washing vestments. This payment apparently included only the laundering of plain linen albs, amices, towels and cloths, for vestments of silk, corporals and precious things were washed and paid for separately. In April 1388 Richard Fissely's wife earned 5d. for washing a towel and an alb of silk and the corporals "with soap", while in the following July she was entrusted with washing a prized relic, the shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

3. Seasonal expenses in the chapel.

A study of the precentor's accounts reveals some details of preparations made in the chapel for the observance of festivals and seasons in the church's year. First of such expenses to figure in his accounts (which began after Michaelmas) was the erection in December of a throne for the bishop of the

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1. Et solutum Isabelle Chambre pro emendacione vestimentorum puerorum et pro falcione urticarum in cimiterio contra festum Assumpcionis beate Marie vd. (W.M. xv. 56. 2d.)

2. The precentor's account for December 1407 mentions the laundress's 12d. as primarily for washing albs and towels: Et solutum lotrici albarum et manutergiorum et ceteris capelle necessarilis .... xiiid. (ibid., xv. 56. 19).

3. Item uxor Richardi Fissely pro lotione camisie Sancti Thome et unius coverchef pro sancta Cruce iid. (Ibid., xv. 56. 10).
boys for the eve of St. Nicholas (5 December) or Holy Innocents Day (28 December). The choristers of St. George's, like the boys in some other chapels, parish churches and cathedrals, elected from among themselves a bishop who wore episcopal vestments and was enthroned in the choir during the services on the children's day. His throne was put up for him every year with nails, tacks and packthread bought by the precentor for the purpose. A set of episcopal vestments was kept for him and overhauled when the day drew near. They included, as the inventories tell us, two mitres, one ornamented with pearls and the other with precious stones of which three were missing, two pairs of gloves, one without embroidery and the other with two gold buttons studded with pearls, two pairs of shoes and one of sandals, a pastoral staff, two rochets and an alb and amice of the set with archangels. The alb and amice no doubt belonged to the vestments described elsewhere in the inventory as of red cloth of gold embroidered with archangels.

The approach of the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (Candlemas, 2 February) was marked by a particularly large purchase of candles. In 1373 a special candelabrum of silver was bought to hold them; it was made in the form of a cross and by 1384 one of its arms had been broken.

In Lent, the first of the precentor's responsibilities was to provide cord and wire for hanging the veil. This was a singularly beautiful one made of blue and white material powdered

See above, p. 145.
with garters and golden eagles, with a matching curtain for covering the reredos. When Holy Week drew near, his duties multiplied. In preparation for Palm Sunday he bought ale to give to the choristers who sang the Gloria laus, and he paid for the collection of pieces of palm and flowers. Before Maundy Thursday he went himself to London or sent a messenger to buy spices, sweetmeats and wine for the feast. These always included cloves and madrean ginger, anise and ginger comfits, dragées and gobbets-royal, besides red and white wine. Also he bought a stock of candles for the last three days of Holy Week (for the tenebrae) and for Easter day itself.

For Easter, the chapel was cleaned thoroughly inside and out and strewn with fresh rushes; cloister and chapter-house were swept and scrubbed. The bell-ringers, who acted as the precentor's handy-men, usually did the cleaning and earned drink-money as a reward. An Easter sepulchre and a Judas were set up in the chapel. The sepulchre was put together with nails, tacks

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1 Item i velum quadragesimale palleatum blodii et albi coloris cum Gartieres et aquilis aureis poudratis. Item i Ridellum eiusdem secte per totum pro fronte super summum altare cum cordulis de filo albo pro eisdem (Rotograph of the Inventory of 1384, W.M. IV.B.23.p.6).

2 W. E. Mead (in The English Medieval Feast, p.165) notes that confectionery was almost unknown at feasts in the Middle Ages. "At most," he says, "after a feast, one finds particularly in France, what are known as dragées or sugar plums, served with sweet spiced wine at the conclusion of the repast." According to Larousse in Grand Dictionnaire Universel (referred to by Mead, op.cit., p.251,n.103), before the discovery of the Indies, dragées were spiced instead of sugared and were known in France as épices.
and packthread and had two angels on it secured with iron pins.

The Judas of the Paschal was a framework of wood and iron which held candles for matins on Maundy Thursday and again on Easter day. Extra men were hired to help ring the Easter bells; in 1378 ten men rang for three days at 4d. each a day, and when the king was at Windsor for Easter there was more ringing in his honour.

Close upon Easter came St. George's day (23 April).

The chapel bells rang on the eve, feast and morrow of the patron saint. Again chapel and cloisters were cleaned and fresh rushes strewn. Every effort was made to have all things at their best for this day; in 1380 the clock was repaired and in 1384 the reredos was cleaned specifically for this feast.

For St. George's day in 1397 the precentor bought new carpet decorated with nine designs of a garter with a hart, and in 1416 new red covers, with the arms of St. George, for the benches in the choir.

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1. According to a definition of 1877 (quoted by N.E.D. from Acc. Id. H. Treas. Scot. I. Gloss. 421) the name Judas of the Paschal was given to the middle branch of a seven-branched candlestick, which was of wood though painted like a candle, and rose nearly to the roof of the church. At Eastertide the paschal candle was placed on the top of it.

2. Unless, of course, Easter fell very near (as in 1375, 1386, etc.) or actually on St. George's day (as in 1413).

3. Item solutum Thome Paynter de Evere pro mundacione de la Rerdos contra festum Sancti Georgii 11s. (Precentor's Account, W.M. xv.56.7).

4. 36 yards of carpet cost £2.14s. plus 18s. for the nine patterns at 2s. each (W.M.xv.56.15).

5. In ii rubeis banqueris de armis Sancti Georgii pro formulis chori vi.s. viii.d. (W.M.xv.56.22).
For the processions on Rogation days and Ascensiontide St. George's possessed a lion and a dragon and six other banners, two embroidered with the arms of the king and four with figures pounced upon them. The bearers of these banners usually had 3s. from the precentor each year.

The relics belonging to St. George's were especially venerated on St. John the Baptist's day (24 June) as well as three Sundays later, on the feast of Relics. On St. John the Baptist's day 1386 Thomas Gerneys earned 2d. for guarding the relics (apparently, then, they were exposed on this day), and a year later he earned 2d. for guarding the cross. Since the Cross of Neath always bore its full title in the college accounts, perhaps this cross was the very elaborate one containing, like the Cross of Neath, wood from the True Cross, but set with sapphires and with three ivory figures standing on a gold base, and at its foot a beryl and a representation of the Resurrection. On Relic Sunday, the precentor provided one gallon of wine for washing the relics, but no payments for guarding them this day have been recorded.

4. Cleaning and Repairs.

The chapel and its dependent buildings - cloister, chapter-house, erary and belfry - were under the dominion of the precentor who supervised their cleaning and repair. Also for some years while the chapel was undergoing serious repair at the

1 i.e. The design was transferred on to the banners by dusting a perforated pattern with pounce (a fine powder made from gum sandarac, pipeclay or charcoal).
king's hands (from 1390 onwards), the great hall which was fitted up to take its place became temporarily the precentor's responsibility.

Cleaning in these buildings was done by the bell-ringers whose work included washing the cloister leads and whitewashing the chapter-house and cloister. The precentor paid them and provided brooms, and probably the rest of their equipment; he also supplied reed mats for under the choir stalls and rushes for strewing the floor on feast days. Occasionally the clerks helped with chapel-cleaning, when they were entrusted with the more delicate tasks such as cleaning censers or washing the alabaster reredos.

This reredos was the king's gift: it had been made in Nottingham by Peter Mason who charged 300 marks (£200) for it. By October 1367 it was finished, and was to be delivered at Windsor before All Hallows. Since ten carts, each drawn by eight horses and attended by two men, were necessary to carry it, it must have been of great size and weight. When erected over the high altar in the chapel it was covered and

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1 The precentor accounted for the following expenses in connexion with the great hall: in August 1392 and March 1397 for cleaning, in 1393-4 for the glazing of a window and for ironwork shutters, and in August 1397 for repairing the door (W.M.xv.56.12,13,15).

2 Ibid., xv.56.10,11.

3 Ibid., xv.56.10.


5 St. John Hope, Windsor Castle, I,201 quoting Pipe Roll, 41 Edw.III.
locked and thus was able to serve as a cupboard for jewels and relics.

First among the treasures which it housed was the Cross of Neath. Already by 1384 seven stones were missing from this cross of which six were replaceable and the seventh was lost. Moreover from the foot eleven pearls were gone besides three small emeralds from the edges and the tops of three pinnacles. Despite minor repairs to the cross in June 1388 and September 1394, by 1409 two more of the pinnacles were broken.

Besides the reredos there was another smaller table for reliquaries which could be raised and lowered by a rope. In July 1414 this table was polished by Edmund, one of the clerks. It is possible that this table was the wooden one which stood on the small altar on the north side of the chapel opposite the high altar and depicted the passion of St. George. A wooden table with painted figures was made for the chapel at the king's command by John of Lindsey in 1364-5; possibly, too, this was the table painted with the story of St. George which

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1 Et in i cera pendenti empta pro clausura tabule retro magnum altare iiiii.d. (Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.23).
2 Item in una corda empta pro tabula reliquiarum elevanda et deponenda iiiii.d. (February 1388; ibid., xv.56.10).
3 Item i tabula lignea stans super parvum altare in parte boriali ex opposto summo altarii cum platis et ymaginibus cupreis desauratis continens passionem Sancti Georgii (Rotograph of the Inventory of 1384, W.M.IV.B.23,p.4).
4 Devon, Issues, pp.185,187,189.
was mended in August 1394.

Costly repairs to the reliquaries were undertaken in 1408. The precentor gave 9½ ozs. of broken silver to the goldsmith for this purpose, directing him to keep what was left over towards the fee for his labour. In addition to this, however, the goldsmith charged 53s.4d. One of the reliquaries, which contained part of the skull of St. Thomas the Apostle, was a cup made of a "griffin's egg" with silver-gilt stand and chains. Its cover of silver "newly made" in 1384 had to be repaired in August 1394 when the goldsmith was paid 1s.4d. for the job besides the broken silver. In the same month he repaired another cover of jasper and a chain for a pyx to hold the consecrated host (perhaps the silver-gilt one with a beryl described in the inventory). A silver-gilt angel whose golden crown contained two thorns from Our Lord's crown and precious stones had a wing broken at some time after the drawing-up of the inventory in 1384, for a later marginal note recorded this. The wing was repaired for 12d. in October 1393.

By the high altar stood an image of St. George clad in armour. It was made at Windsor, for Richard Rothley, clerk of the works there, included the cost of making it (4s.) in his account for February 1351. The arms of the image were mended

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1 Item aurifabro pro reparacione .... unius tabule in qua pingitur historia Sancti Georgii .... (Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.13).
2 Ibid., xv.56.19.
3 Ibid., xv.56.13.
by a goldsmith in October 1388 and in November 1416 all its armour was repaired and cleaned by John Furbisher of Gascony for 20s. St. John Hope considers that the image was probably of life-size and made of wood.

Other disbursements upon chapel furnishings were varied; things repaired included a basin hanging in the choir (perhaps containing a wick floating in oil), a candelabrum which hung before the high altar, a processional cross and a latten cross; purchases included two pokers, hooks and chains for books chained in the chapel, 16 tassels for 4 cushions and some hooks for hanging silk curtains round the high altar.

In October 1376 the succentor paid 6d. for the making of a stone basin for washing hands behind the high altar.

The organ required attention in 1395 and 1416. One pennyworth of wire served temporarily to repair its deficiencies in January 1395 until Nicholas, one of the king's clerks, mended it in the following July at a cost of 6s.8d. In April 1416, however, the trouble was more serious. The precentor was obliged to summon two men from London to repair the organ. Their initial

1 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.23.
2 St. John Hope, Windsor Castle,II,374.
3 Item in ii ferris ad ignem percuciendam iiiid. (Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.5).
4 In xvi tassellez pro iiiii Quissonns viiid. (ibid.,xv.56.6).
5 Et in chrochis emptis pro suspencione pannorum cericorum circumquamque autensiculum altare iis. (ibid.,xv.56.3).
6 St. John Hope conjectures that the organ was in the loft over the choir-screen (op.cit.,II,375).
charge of 40s. was refused by the chapter when the precentor submitted it, and cut down to 25s. 8d. The precentor's own travelling expenses to and from London amounted to a further 7s. Repairs to the fabric as well as to the furniture of the chapel and its buildings were committed to the precentor. Apart from the extensive works done by the king when in 1390 the chapel threatened to fall in ruin, everything from gutters and leads to worn pavements was in his care to repair or renew. His disbursements for repairing included 2d. in November 1369 for restoring the floor of the chancel where the pavement had been broken for Queen Philippa's burial, and 14d. in November 1407 "for expenses concerning the pavement of St. Thomas' stone in the cloister." Broken windows were sometimes reglazed, but sometimes, however, as in January and June 1388, they were filled in with laths and plaster or merely stopped up. In January 1389 the precentor bought one ell of canvas for the west window of the chapel, perhaps for such a purpose. Charges for new locks and hinges appeared often in the precentor's

2 Except in 1395-6 when the cloister needed extensive repaving. On this occasion the treasurer paid for the labour and the materials, which included 500 new tiles for the pavement. (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.18).
3 In refectione aree cancelli in pavimento fracto pro sepultura Regine iid. (Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.2). Perhaps the paving was broken where the queen's hearse stood in the chapel.Although Queen Philippa died at Windsor, she was buried in Westminster Abbey.
4 Et in expensis contra pavementum lapidis Sancti Thome in claustro xxivd. (ibid., xv.56.19) I have found no other mention of St. Thomas' stone to explain this obscure entry.
5 Ibid., xv.56.10.
accounts: besides those for the doors of the chapel, choir-
screen, vestry (and its inner wine-store), chapter-house and
belfry, the precentor provided locks for a chest in the erary
which contained the muniments of the college and a new hasp
and staples for the cemetery gate. Also within the precentor's
province was a water cistern, for in June 1392 he paid 1d. for
the removal of a lamb from it.

The precentor's brief descriptions of repairs to
the clock belonging to the college throw little or no light on
its mechanism or appearance. In February 1377 he bought a
hammer for the clock, doubtless for the bell which struck the
hours, and in December 1385 a little rope. Perhaps this clock
was similar to the one made in 1351-2 for erection in the Round
Tower in the upper ward which had a train of wheels set in motion
by a weight, and probably no dial. The precentor had the clock
repaired three times in our period. In 1383 Nicholas Smith
and in 1387 John Gloucester mended it for 5s. About the third
occasion the precentor was more detailed. On 24 September 1409
he visited Thomas Clockmaker in London, returning to Windsor
the next day. Thomas followed with a servant on the 26th, took
down the clock and rode back to London on the 27th. He mended
it at his own workshop and sent it on to Windsor by water; then
he and his servant rode to St. George's again to replace it.

1 W.M.xv.56.5 (June 1380).
2 Ibid.,xv.56.8.
3 In evacuacione adae de cisterna id. (ibid.,xv.56.12).
4 St. John Hope, op.cit.,I,152-3.
5 In July 1383 (W.M.xv.56.6), December 1385 (ibid.,xv.56.10) and
September 1409 (ibid.,xv.56.20).
spending from 4–7 November on the journey and the job. The whole business cost the chapter £1.17s.6d.

The clock bell was called Edward, perhaps after the king whose gift it was. In Adam of Hartington's account of expenses he had incurred as clerk of the works at Windsor from 29 October 1375 to 13 April 1377, he included the cost of this bell which he described as "a certain great bell called Edward bought for a certain horiloge called Clokke within the Castle of Windsor." In payment for this bell £50 was delivered to Adam at the Exchequer.

Up to this time (1375-7) there had been, apparently, only one bell in the belfry. This was called Wyrun and the first mention of it occurred in the precentor's account roll for 1369-70, when a new rope was bought for it. An addition was made by the king who, when he provided the bell Edward for the clock, also had four other bells (said by St. John Hope to have been for some years in store) delivered for the chapel. From the evidence of the precentors' accounts for 1400-1 and

3. Mr. F. M. Underhill (of the Berks. Arch. Soc.) suggests that this name may be connected with the old German Werun, meaning the growling or whirring one, and would thus be a suitable name for a warning bell. From werun come warren and warnen and N.E.D. gives a good example "to warn for the hour" "the clock is warning ten" (referring to the clicking or whirring noise made by a clock before it strikes).
4. Julius. In i corda empta pro campana que vocatur Wyrun vid. (*W.M.* xv.56.2).
5. *op.cit.*, I,204.
1407-8 it appears that the names of these four bells were Jesu, Mary, John and St. George. In February 1377 the precentor bought three great hooks for the bell-ropes, and in October 1382 ropes for two middle-size bells, besides a small rope for Wyrun. There were now six bells in the belfry, although Edward was probably used only for the clock. Each year the precentor bought oil for greasing the bearings of the bells.

These bells and the clock were housed in a square stone tower on the south side of the lower ward. The wooden

6 (contd.)

Et liberasse Decano et collegio libere Capelle Regis Sancti Georgii infra predictum Castrum de Wyndesore predictas
magnas campanas pro capella et predictam Campanam
vocatam Edwardus pro horilagio per breve Regis .... (P.R.O.
Foreign Account 50 Edw.III, m.E. quoted by St. John Hope, op.cit.
I,212).

In duobus bolstris erreis pro campana Sancti Georgii vs.vid.
(November 1400, W.M.xv.56.16). Item pro emendacione unius
belclaper de campana que vocatur Maria illis. (March 1401, loc.
cit.) Et pro fune empto pro magna campana Jesu iis.iiid. (Oct.
1407, ibid., xv.56.19) Et in fune empto pro campana vocata
Johannes xxd. (May 1408, loc. cit.)

In ii funibus pro ii campanis mediocribus iis.vid. (ibid., xv.56.6)

The earliest mention of another bell (Aston) which I have found
is in the precentor's account for 1426-7 when a new rope was
bought for it (Et in i corda canabium empta de predicto cordario
pro campana vocata Aston ... vid. W.M.xv.56.27). St. John
Hope's reference (op.cit., I,537) to entries concerning repairs
to John, George, Aston, Edward, Jesu and Mary in 1417-18 is
perhaps a misprint. The document he quotes (W.M.xv.56.24) does
not include the entries. In March 1388 a wheel was bought for
"le Baron" (ibid., xv.56.10). Perhaps this was the name of a
bell, but no other mention of it has been found.

A belfry was erected on the roof of the chapel from October 1352
to January 1353 (St. John Hope, op.cit., I,139) but how long it
was in use does not appear. By 1375-7 clock and bells were in
the bell tower. Its position was described in letters patent
giving authority to Bishop Beauchamp to pull down all buildings
within a certain area to make room for the new enlarged chapel
belfry in the tower was repaired in March 1394 by John Wolf and other carpenters for £3.12s.7d. including the cost of timber. Early in 1397 the precentor expended a further £10.17s.3½d. for various repairs and the rehanging of some of the bells. On top of the belfry stood a cross and a weather-vane; in May 1414 the cross was taken down for repair by John Gardiener who gave a coat of paint to the vane at the same time.

5. Travelling expenses.

When the precentor travelled on the business of the chapel, his allowance was the normal one for a canon, that is, 2s.4d. a day. If he sent a vicar in his place, the vicar had 1s. a day, but if some other messenger were sent, his actual expenses were reckoned and accounted for. For instance, when the precentor went to London to buy wax or bread or spices for

5 (contd.)
in 1475 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.535). The bounds of the area were the west front of the old chapel, the castle walls on north and west, and the bell tower on the south. This tower is now the home of the governor of the military knights, in the middle of the range of houses stretching eastwards from the Henry VIII gateway.

1 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.13.
2 Ibid., xv.56.15.
3 Ibid., xv.56.21.
the Maundy feast, he usually spent 1½ days on the journey and claimed 3s.6d. When, however, a less important person went, he might do the journey for as little as 8½d. (as in March 1394) including the hire of a horse.

On special business the precentor usually travelled in person. He spent ten days in London when the reliquaries were being repaired in 1408, and 1½ days when the king's sword was mended in 1388. He made it his responsibility to summon London workmen when required for repairing the organ or the clock; no doubt this was in order that he might settle the price in advance. When the organ needed repairing in April 1416, it appears that the precentor sent John Bowyer to bring two men from London to repair it. Besides the precentor's own travelling expenses of 7s. (for three days) he asked for 7s. for Bowyer's expenses to and from London, 10d. for the cost of the two men's return from Windsor to London and 5d. "paid to wife Gurreys for their beds." These expenses were drastically cut down by the chapter. The precentor's own 7s. were allowed, but Bowyer was to have only 2s.6d. (this including the hire of a horse), and the two workmen nothing for their journey or their beds. Their fee was also cut down in chapter from 40s. to 26s.8d., and their charge of 2s.6d. for fuel used for the repair reduced to 6d.

Although the precentor's province was large and his accounting independent, this one example reveals to how careful auditing his accounts were subjected.

1 W.M.xv.56.13.
2 Ibid., xv.56.22.
B. Minor officials.

Less important offices than those of treasurer, steward and precentor were filled not by canons but by vicars or clerks. Of these offices only one, that of master of the choristers, was mentioned in the statutes of the college. Other offices, however, were created as the business of the college required, with a suitable salary attached to them. From the irregularity of references to them in the accounts, it appear that some of these offices were at first intermittent although later they became regularised. The references, where they occur, are brief; the treasurer did not always mention by name the vicars or clerks who held minor offices. Consequently it is impossible to draw up any but a sketchy list of these officials, or to form conclusions concerning the length of tenure of office. Only two offices, the statutory one of master of the choristers and that of keeper of the clock, were continuous throughout our period from the time of the earliest records.

a) Master of the choristers.

The instruction of the choristers both in grammar and singing was by statute entrusted to one of the vicars. Every vicar before being admitted to the college had to satisfy the chapter that he possessed a good voice and knowledge of music, and a vicar who was to teach the choristers had to submit to an

1 Statutes of the College, no.13.
examination in reading and singing before the warden and canons and the other vicars. As his salary he was to receive two marks (26s.8d.) a year, in two equal sums of 13s.4d. on the feasts of the Annunciation and Michaelmas. However, the earliest known master of the choristers, whose name was Adam, received only 13s.4d. as his wage for the year 1361-2. Probably this was Adam Hull, who was mentioned earlier in the same record as newly a vicar: why he was paid half the statutory wage for the year does not appear. After this year, the full annual wage of 26s.8d. was paid until 1370-2 when Roger Brancote was master. A much enlarged sum of 40s. was paid to him for each of his two years of office. This, however, failed to create a precedent, and for the rest of our period the master of the choristers received 26s.8d. a year.

From the evidence available it appears that this office changed hands frequently, often in mid-year. For at least 2½ years, however, and possibly longer, Walter Cumberton was master (1393-6). His was the longest recorded term of office in this period.

Under the precentor, who was ultimately responsible for all that concerned the music for the chapel services, the master had full charge of the choristers. If he thought it necessary for their education, he could obtain from the warden

1 Statutes, no.15.
2 Treasurer's account, W.M.xv.34.1.
3 A list of masters of the choristers, as far as it can be ascertained, is on page 175.
leave for one or more of the choristers to be absent from the daily services. Excuses presented by choristers to the precentor for their absences from chapel without leave, had to be vouched for by their master. The salaries of the choristers were delivered to him and he disbursed money as needed for their food and other requirements. Only what was left at the end of the year was given to the choristers themselves: their master had statutory authority to manage their income for them.

b) Keeper of the clock.

From the accounts of the treasurers of St. George's it is apparent that there was a clock in the lower ward from 1361 if not earlier. The date of its erection is not recorded: the earliest mention of it in surviving builders' accounts occurred in Adam of Hartington's account for 1375-7 in which he entered the cost of a bell for the clock. In the first of the surviving treasurers' rolls, however, was recorded the payment of 6s.8d. to John Aylmer pro custodia orlogii. The same account (1361-2) includes a payment of 3s.4d. to John Aylmer for his expenses ad ordines. This must refer to his ordination as sub-deacon by Simon of Sudbury, bishop of London, on 24 September 1362. Since Aylmer was not in priest's orders he could not then have been a vicar, but was probably one of the clerks of

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1 Statutes, no.11.
2 Statutes, no.4.
3 See above, p.159.
4 Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria (Canterbury and York Society), V, App.II,11.
the chapel. In the following year (1362-3) he received a further 6s.8d. as keeper of the clock, but by 1370-1 the salary attached to this office had been raised to 13s.4d. and it was held by William More, then a clerk but by 1377 a vicar. More retained his office of keeper until 1386 or later. The duties of the keeper probably included winding the clock and oiling its works; no doubt the mechanism needed careful handling since the office was considered important enough to be held for these years by a vicar.

Only one other keeper besides Aylmer and More was named in the rolls. This was Robert Bellringer who held office in 1395-6. Robert, like the other bellringers, did numerous jobs in the chapel and belfry; his name appeared in the precentors' accounts in this connexion. Possibly he was entrusted with the care of the clock because of his knowledge of bells.

c) Succentor.

No provision was made in the statutes for an assistant to the precentor. In his capacity as ruler of the choir, the precentor had an obvious deputy in the master of the choristers; in his financial capacity, as receiver, spender and accountant of the chapel income, there was no such helper at hand. By 1370

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1 By statute, all vicars had to be in priest's orders on their admission or at least in deacon's orders and about to be ordained priest at the next Ember season (Statutes, no.3). If the clerks proceeded to priest's orders on the title of the college, they were to be promoted (if fit) to vicarships as they fell vacant (Statutes, no.17).

2 Apparently there were two William Mores at St. George's about this time. One was already a vicar in 1366-7 (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.4). The other, the clock-keeper, was named a clerk in the treasurer's account for 1371-2 (ibid.,xv.34.8) but by 1377 he was a vicar and was succentor in 1378.

3 Ibid., xv.34.18.
the need had been felt and the gap filled. A vicar was appointed to assist the precentor; he bore the title of succentor and was paid 26s.8d. a year. The succentor's wage for 1370-1 was divided between two vicars, Thomas Horn and John Marreys, who each held office for six months. Marreys continued as succentor throughout the following year.

From Christmas 1375 to 1 March 1377 Robert Whitchurch was succentor. He received 20s. as his wage for three terms of the year 1375-6 (i.e. Christmas 1375 to Michaelmas 1376) and 10s. for 1½ terms of the year 1376-7 (i.e. Michaelmas 1376 to 1 March 1377). For a period beginning on 19 August 1376 and ending 1 March 1377 Whitchurch accounted for the income and expenditure of the chapel, in place of the precentor. It appears that there was no precentor for this period, for Thomas Aston, who became precentor at Michaelmas 1375, laid down his office on 18 August 1376, and the treasurer made no further payment for the office of precentor until Richard Launston became precentor on 24 March 1377. Whitchurch's account differed in no way from the accounts of precentors; he travelled, and bought, repaired and replaced things exactly as precentors did. During his months of account, among other more ordinary items, new curtains were hung at the high altar, a cope-chest was made and a set of vestments sent to be blessed. Unfortunately the precentors' accounts immediately preceding and following Whitchurch's have not survived.

In the following year, 1377-8, the succentor again seems

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1 W.M.xv.34.11. 2 Ibid., xv.34.12. 3 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.3.
to have acted independently in place of the precentor. For the first half-year (29 September 1377 - 25 March 1378) there was nothing unusual; Richard Launston was precentor and Robert Busch, a vicar, succentor. From 25 March to 30 April there was no succentor but Launston continued as precentor; his account covered seven months, from 1 October 1377 to 30 April 1378 when he relinquished office. No canon was appointed precentor for the rest of the financial year. However, Robert Busch was re-appointed succentor, holding office from 1 May to 6 July, for which period we know he accounted, although his account has not survived, for among the receipts in the treasurer's roll for 1377-8 was an item of £3.5s.5d. of chapel offerings from Robert Busch ut patet per compotum suum. It is interesting to notice that for this period of just over two months Busch was paid a wage of 10s. This was more than a succentor's wage, which would have been about 4s.6d., and less than a precentor's wage, which would have been about 18s.

For the remaining three months of the year (i.e. 6 July - 29 September) William More, a vicar who was also keeper of the clock, filled the office of precentor. According to the treasurer's account More was paid pro officio precentoris. There is no doubt that More did the precentor's work, and for that reason was described thus in the account, but since More was a vicar and not a canon he received as his wage for the

1 W.M.xv.56.4.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.14.
quarter 6s.8d., a succentor's pay.

No further reference to a succentor occurs in the account rolls which survive for the period here surveyed; nor has any subsequent mention of a succentor at St. George's been found earlier than 1550 when Edward VI's commissioners ordered, among their injunctions of that year, that thenceforth there was to be no precentor but that one of the priests of the choir was to hold office as Chaunter. "Chaunter" here denotes succentor. 

Chapter clerk.

For many years it appears that the college of St. George managed its affairs without the help of a permanent clerk to the chapter. No registers of chapter meetings have survived earlier than 1596, although canons of the seventeenth century copied into their notebooks extracts from chapter acts of earlier date. These extracts prove that registers were kept at least from 1430 and, since by statute the chapter was required to keep a written record of the oaths taken by the warden, canons and vicars at their installation or induction, some register must have been kept also in the earlier years of the foundation. Possibly such records were written by one of the clerks of the college for a fee.

An early and isolated reference to a chapter clerk

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1 Dr. E.H. Fellowes, Organists and Masters of the Choristers of St. George's Chapel 1362-1939 (Monographs on the History of St. George's Chapel), p.2.
3 Frith's Old Register, pp.90-91. Chapter Act of 1430 concerning the functions of the steward. See above, p.114.
occurs in the treasurer's account for 1377-8 where among the payments of wages to officers of the college the treasurer included 40s. paid to John the chapter clerk for the year. From 1362 up to and including this year (1377-8) a clerk named John Rowe had drawn up the treasurers' and stewards' account rolls and acted as clerk to the auditors. His fee for drawing up an account was included in the expenses or under the balance of the account concerned, and his wage as auditing clerk among the costs of audit. The names of clerks who received fees for writing indentures and other documents for the chapter during these years were not included in the treasurers' entries. It seems possible that by 1377-8 John Rowe was doing all writing for the chapter and was the John who received 40s. as chapter clerk for the year.

If the office of chapter clerk was continuous from this date it has left no trace in the rolls of the college until 1402-3. After 1378 there is a gap of seven years in the series of treasurers' rolls; during this time it is probable that John Rowe died, for he appeared no more in the records. His business of writing accounts and assisting at the audit was by 1385-6 the province of a new official (whose office was continuous from this time), the clerk of the courts and accounts of the college: when letters, indentures and other documents

1 This item had been entered among the Fees and Robes (although here the amount was 26s.6d. and for only three terms of the year) but had been crossed out at the audit (Treasurer's Account, W.M. xv.34.14).

2 Usually 6s.8d. for drawing up an account up to 1370, and 10s. from 1371.
were required a number of clerks earned small sums for writing them. However, in the treasurer's account for 1402-3 the chapter clerk appeared again. In this year he had a robe from the college costing 13s.4d. and was paid 1s. a day for his expenses when travelling on the business of the chapter. Entries in the next surviving treasurer's account, for 1404-5, show the chapter clerk again travelling on behalf of the chapter, and receiving this year a fur with his robe.

The business with which he was entrusted was varied. He accompanied the warden to London to the parliament of 1403; in the same year he went again to London this time with William Spigurnell, to protest against the demand of a tenth and fifteenth from the churches and manors of the college. He went with the steward to collect rents, and was sent alone to take security from the farmers of the college properties and to give warning that payment was due.

After 1405 no further mention of the chapter clerk occurs until 1415-16, in the last of the treasurers' rolls for our period. In this roll the chapter clerk's full name was given: he was Master John Okeburn, and he received 46s. as his wage for the months of July, August and September at 6d. a day. Okeburn apparently was newly appointed in July 1416, for he received 20d. earlier in the same year for writing two letters.

Among the clerks named in treasurers' accounts in this connexion were John Loderay and Henry Clerk (1385-6), Walter the Warden's clerk and John Rolfe (1394-6), Richard Shaw's clerk, Walter Cod and John Page (1400-1). In 1385-6, however, most writing was done by Master Ralph Canon.
because he was not then chapter clerk. In the following year Okeburn was paid £5.3s.6d. for his wages as chapter clerk; he received a cotidian of sixpence for each day that he was present in the chapel, his attendances being recorded in the attendance register.

From the evidence set out above, the chapter clerk's duties appear to have been both central and local. At Windsor he drew up documents which were to bear the common seal of the chapter (indentures, leases, letters) and presumably he registered the acts of the chapter. Outside the college he both helped to carry out decisions of the chapter in company with the warden or a canon, and acted as an under-steward in his journeys to the college properties. Stewards' account rolls, had they survived, might well have thrown more light on this side of the chapter clerk's activities.

e) Organist.

Since there was an organ in St. George's chapel before 1395, when the precentor had it repaired, it is remarkable that no mention of an organist has been found prior to 1406. The organ must have been in use, for it was twice repaired in 1395. To play the organ for divine service in the fourteenth century, however, required no great skill, for the music was of the

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1. ad tunc non clerico capituli (W.M.xv.34.28).
2. Item magistro J. Okeburne clerico capituli pro vadiis suis hoc anno pro mensibus et diebus quibus presens erat ut patet per librum cotidianarum videlicet per diem vid. viii.iis vidé (Digest of the accounts of the treasurer 1416-17, W.M.xv.48.5).
simplest character. In St. George's it seems that the organist was one of the clerks of the college.

The first clerk to be named in this connexion was Walter Whitby who was paid 13s.4d. at the instance of the warden for accompanying the services at Christmas time 1406. It is probable that playing the organ was regarded as an unpaid duty of the clerks; this payment to Whitby, which was more a reward than a wage, was possibly for particularly strenuous work at Christmastide. The next of the clerks to be paid for organ-playing was Laurence Dreweryn who received 5s. as a gift from the warden and college for playing at divine service in the Christmas term 1415. In the year 1417-18 Dreweryn was paid a further 5s. for playing the organ, and 26s.8d. as master of the choristers. Since Dreweryn was a clerk and not a vicar, his holding the office of master of the choristers was unstatutory. However, for part of the year 1407-8 a clerk had held this office, and, no doubt, it was found convenient for the organist to have charge of the musical instruction of the choristers.

From this date until the end of the fifteenth century the

1 Dr. E. H. Fellowes, Organists and Masters of the Choristers, Introduction, p.xiii.

2 Item Waltero Whitby clerico existenti ibidem tempore Natalis domini ad instanciam Custodis pro divinis in Organis exequendis ex rewardo xiiis.iiiid. (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.24).
mastership of the choristers was usually held by a clerk although the clerk was not, except for three terms of the year 1461-2, organist as well.

1 See Fellowes, *op. cit.*, pp.5-10.
2 Thomas Rolfe was organist for the whole of 1461-2 and master of the choristers for three terms of the year. The remaining term of office in that year was held by Adam Coke who continued as master of the choristers for the following year.
### Masters of the Choristers 1361-1417.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1361-2</td>
<td>Adam [Hull]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1366-7</td>
<td>Adam Pentrich</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Dyer</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1367-8</td>
<td>John Dyer</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Horn</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370-1</td>
<td>Roger Brancote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1371-2</td>
<td>Roger Brancote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375-6</td>
<td>Thomas Wybourne</td>
<td>9 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1376-7</td>
<td>Nicholas Chandel</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas Mason</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1377-8</td>
<td>Thomas Grys</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Gedding</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1385-6</td>
<td>John Gloucester</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Ferye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1393-4</td>
<td>Walter Cumberton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1394-5</td>
<td>Walter Cumberton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1395-6</td>
<td>Walter Cumberton</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roger Gernys</td>
<td>4½ months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1407-8</td>
<td>John Kelly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Pounger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Clerk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1416-7</td>
<td>Laurence Dreweryn</td>
<td>(a clerk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The length of tenure of office was usually stated. Where it was not, the time is calculable from the sum paid in wages.

**Sources:** Treasurers' rolls, W.M.xv.34.1,4,5,6,7,8,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,26.
3. The Chapter and its Personnel.

A. Emoluments.

The college of St. George was intended by its founder to be richly endowed. When at Edward III's request William Edington, bishop of Winchester, one of the papal delegates in this matter, drew up statutes for the college, he made generous provision for the wages of its members, in accordance with the king's wishes. These statutes, when approved by the king and the bishop and chapter of Salisbury (in which diocese Windsor lay), were accepted by William Mugge, warden of the new college, and sealed 30 November 1352. Although St. George's never actually received the income of £1000 a year which Edward III had contemplated, the revenue it enjoyed was sufficient to pay the wages fixed by statute, since much of them was conditional upon residence and since of the places provided for poor knights few were filled.

The scale of wages at Windsor can best be judged when compared and contrasted with those in a similar contemporary foundation. Such a comparison is possible since Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson has included in his history of the college of St. Mary in the Newarke at Leicester, a full translation of its statutes. The college in the Newarke was founded and endowed by Henry, 1

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1 The history of the Hospital and New College of the Annunciation of St. Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, 1339-1539 (1937).
duke of Lancaster in 1354-6. Its statutes, ordained by the diocesan, John Gynewell bishop of Lincoln, were sealed 24 March 1356.

The endowment of the college in the Newarke amounted to £602.2s.9d. a year, a sum very like that which the college of Windsor received yearly, on the average, from its possessions. From this amount, however, were maintained not only a clerical establishment almost identical with that of St. George's, namely a dean, 12 canons, 13 vicars, 3 clerks and 6 choristers, but also 100 poor men and 10 serving women to look after them. Of the £602.2s.9d. revenue yearly due, only £283.16s.0d. was distributed to the dean, canons, vicars, clerks and choristers, while £260.2s.1d. was reserved for the poor, to be divided among them whether or not the full number was in the college. At Windsor, on the other hand, although wages were fixed for 25 poor knights who might each receive £20.5s. in a year, there were never more than three in one year during the middle ages, whose distributions could amount only to £60.15s.0d. By statute £490.8s.4d. was available yearly for the warden and canons (if

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1 He erected the college in the hospital of St. Mary, founded by his father in 1330 for a warden, two chaplains, two clerks and fifty poor persons, with an endowment of 100 marks (£66.13s.4d.). Papal permission for the change of foundation was granted by a bull dated 14 December 1353, and royal assent given in letters patent dated 4 March 1355.

2 At St. George's there were four clerks.

3 To the dean £40, 12 canons £13.6s.8d. each, 13 vicars £3.13s.8d. each, 3 clerks and 6 choristers £2.13s.4d. each, the provost £6.13s.4d., the sacrist and almoner £1 each.
they resided) and for the vicars, clerks and choristers, a sum almost double that allowed at the college in the Newarke.

Particularly dissimilar were the wages allotted to the deans of the two colleges. The warden of St. George's had a portion of 100 marks (£66.13s.4d.) from which he forfeited 6s.8d. for each day's absence beyond the 60 days allowed him. Besides this he, like the other canons, was paid £2 yearly for his prebend and cotidians of one shilling a day if he were present in chapel. Thus his income could amount to £86.18s.4d. plus his share in the chapel offerings and the division of surplus income at the end of the year. The dean of St. Mary in the Newarke, however, received as his portion only 40 marks (£26.13s.4d) to which was added a further 20 marks (£13.6s.8d.) for his prebend. No profits were available for keeping residence, but if the dean exceeded the two months' non-residence allowed him he lost a sum from his wages proportionate to the length of his absence. Like the other canons he was liable to expulsion from the college for unauthorised absence of more than 15 days. For failure to attend any service in the chapel the dean might be corrected by the local ordinary. His income, if he were continually resident, could be only £40, less than half that of the warden of St. George's.

For the canons of St. Mary in the Newarke prebends of 20 marks (£13.6s.8d.) each were provided. They could not

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1 To the dean £88.18s.4d., 12 canons £20.5s.0d. each, 13 vicars £8 each, 2 clerks £5.6s.8d. each and 2 clerks £4 each, 6 choristers £3.6s.8d. each, treasurer, precentor and steward £5 each, master of the choristers £1.6s.8d.
augment their income by residence, nor from the offerings in the chapel which were set aside for repairs to the fabric of the church and for the acquisition of properties. Their absences from services were punished by fines of one penny for matins and ½d. for other services. Two months' non-residence in a year were allowed them, further absence meaning loss of income and, after 15 days, possible expulsion. Houses were provided but the dean and canons had to repair them at their own charge. Three officials, provost, sacrist and almoner, were elected from among the canons. Of these the provost, who combined the duties of treasurer and steward, received a wage of £6.13s.4d., the sacrist (precentor) 20s. and the almoner, who supervised the poor folk, 20s. Although the provost's wage was high, his duties were onerous. Not only had he to account for all the revenues of the college and pay out all distributions, but also to supervise and visit the college properties. Moreover, when local officials came to Leicester he had to entertain them at his own expense, and when he travelled to the manors he might have only fuel and hay from them for his stay. The sacrist, in return for his nominal wage of 20s. a year, had to provide at his own cost wax and salt for the chapel and on obit days bread

1 Two versions of the statutes were drawn up by bishop Gynnewell, of which the second version with its codicil was clearly a revision making slight alterations particularly in stipends. In the first version the almoner's wage was 20 marks (£13.6s.8d.) which seems more adequate for his many burdens. However, in the second version and the codicil it was corrected to 20s.
and wine as well, to pay for the chapel to be cleaned and for repairs to the vessels and ornaments. There can have been little inducement to undertake either of these offices. It was, however, compulsory to accept if elected.

The canons of St. George, on the other hand, although their prebends were worth only £2 a year, might receive considerable profits if they kept residence. First of these was the cotidiens daily distribution of one shilling a day (£18.5s. a year, which, according to the statutes, was to be paid to canons who attended matins or high mass or vespers and compline, or whose absence was excused since they were travelling on the business of the college. A further condition was added by Richard II when he visited the college in October 1385, namely that no canon was to receive cotidiens unless he had kept residence for at least three weeks. This was the first mention of cotidiens being dependent upon the so-called "great residence" of 21 days which had to be kept in each year before a canon could share in the dividend of surplus income. At the same time, on 17 October 1385, the king ordered that two of the canons, John Prust and Richard Shaw, who had been expelled from the chapel at his own command at Christmas 1384 for 44 days, were to have their cotidiens for these days. Consequently the treasurer paid to each of them their full distributions of 44s. The reason for

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.15.
2 Statutes of St. George's, article 20.
their temporary expulsion was not stated. A further precedent was created in this year, for Richard Shaw, who had been marked absent in the attendance register for three days in June 1386, was paid cotidians for the time since he had been away ill pro medicina habendo.

Dividend Secondly, residentiaries shared a dividend of two-thirds of the money left from the common income when all necessary disbursements had been made. The remaining third was by statute reserved for an emergency fund to be kept in the erary. The amount of dividend fluctuated considerably from year to year, nor was it always limited to two-thirds of surplus income. In 1363, for instance, when the treasurer's account showed a balance in hand of £70.16s.6½d., £66 of it was shared between eleven residentiaries, leaving only £4.16s.6½d. for the erary. Again in 1377 £34.13s.0½d. was taken for dividend when the surplus for the year was only £35.5s.8½d. However, it appears that repayment was made later when the statutory third had not been delivered to the erary fund, for in 1378 £11.13s.4½d. out of a surplus of £18.1s.10½d. was placed in the erary pro tercia parte dividende anni precedentis quia nichil repositum illo anno fuit. In most years the surplus was faithfully allocated both to erary and residentiaries.

Entries in the treasurers' accounts concerning

Comparable to this statute of St. George's (no.19) is an ordinance of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter for the college of Ottery St. Mary, 1 July 1354, that half of the surplus income there was to be kept in the treasury as a reserve fund, leaving only half for dividend (J. N. Dalton, Ottery St. Mary, p.106).
payment of dividend reveal some details of interest. For example, although only thirteen canonries were provided at St. George's, seventeen canons shared in a dividend of £28.8s.9½d. on 14 May 1362, each of them receiving 33s.5½d. All seventeen canons were named by the treasurer. Other entries in the same account show that only thirteen canons received payment of prebend or distribution of cotidians in the year. Apparently, therefore, the king had presented a number of his clerks to canonries at Windsor before prebends were vacant for them. Expectant canons were admitted to the college, given stalls in choir and allowed a voice in chapter but could not receive payment of prebend or daily distributions. They did, however, as this record testifies, share in the dividend: presumably they had kept residence. In the same year, 1362, £4 was advanced to one of the canons, Hugh Bridham, in part payment of his dividend for the Michaelmas term of the coming year "because he has gone abroad with the prince." Bridham was one of the clerks of the prince of Wales: probably he had already kept residence for a time sufficient to qualify him for a share in the dividend, but had been obliged to leave Windsor to accompany prince Edward before the regular day.

1 Idem computat liberatum pro dividenda xiii die Maii inter xvii canonicos xxviii li. viiiis. ⅐d. ob. videlicet Custodi Whitchirche Leek Polmorva Scaldeforde Lodyntone Bokelly Northamptone Rothele Cloville Warner Madefray Bernham Bridham Lorynge Mulso Whitecroft cuilibet istorum xxxiiiis. vd. ob. (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv. 34.1).

2 Item liberatum domino H. Bridham in partem solucionum dividende sue de termino Sancti Michaelis pro anno futuro quia transfretavit cum principi.
for payment. Dividend was shared out on two occasions in this year, on 14 May (rather belatedly) for the Easter term and again at Michaelmas. The two general chapter meetings of the year were to be held on the morrows of the first Sunday after Easter and of All Souls' Day (November 2) unless that day were a Sunday. These would be the natural occasions for sharing out the dividend, and were certainly so kept at a later date. A declaration of the customs of the college of Windsor in the matter of dividend was made to the Lord Chancellor Hyde in 1666 by the four senior canons who held that these customs were of neer 300 yeares standing. The declaration was necessary since complaints had been made to the Chancellor on the matter, and since the muniments which proved usual practice had been lost. Probably the lost documents were early registers of Chapter proceedings. It was the custom of the college to share dividend at the two general chapters. At the winter chapter (held 3 November to mid-December as was convenient) dividend of rents was shared, in proportion to the time of residence kept by each canon during twelve months ending on the Michaelmas immediately preceding the general chapter. At the summer chapter (held eight days after Easter) dividend of fines for leases, cornmoney and the rents of new lands was made, to each canon in proportion to the residence he had kept during twelve months ending on 24 March before the chapter meeting. These customary practices were subsequently

1 Register of Chapter Acts 1596-1638, W.M.VI.B.2.f.142d.
approved by the Lord Chancellor in his injunctions.

One of the largest sums to be allocated as surplus to erary and residentiaries was £141.1s.8d. in 1376. This sum exceeded the actual balance of the treasurer's account by £27.13s. 8¾d. The accountant explained his over-estimate of the surplus by stating that he had expected to have from the church of Simonburn £20 more than he had received. For Simonburn the treasurer had been paid only half of a sum of £40 owed by the farmer of the church. No explanation was offered concerning the remaining £7.13s.8¾d. included in the surplus, but a marginal note beside the entries of receipts from the manor of Iver recorded that John Hunt, reeve, owed £7.13s.9d. besides what was included in the account, and that he had paid it subsequently. Of the £141.1s.8d. one third was put in the erary and two thirds (£94. 1s.1½d.) divided among the residentiaries. On behalf of the residentiaries the treasurer had anticipated the payment from the reeve of Iver as well as that from the farmer of Simonburn, for doubtless it was the erary fund which had to wait for the late payments.

It is not possible to calculate the sums received by each canon in respect of dividend, for the number of residentiaries was rarely mentioned in the treasurers' accounts, and never the proportion of their residence. As shown above, in the half year ending 14 May 1362 seventeen canons divided £28.8s.9¾d. into equal shares, each receiving 33s.5¾d. The number of canons who received dividend in a full year was recorded for 1362-3, 1396-7 and 1410-11. In 1362-3 £66 was shared between eleven residentiaries,
in 1396-7 £31.16s.7\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. between six, and in 1410-11 £9.10s.3d.
and a half farthing between eight. If in each of these instances the
canons received equal shares, their dividend would have
amounted to £6 in 1363, £5.6s.1\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. in 1397 and £1.3s.9\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. in 1411.
The sums available for dividend were of course dependent upon the
income and expenditure of each year: the list given shows how
these varied. In 1406-7 and 1407-8 there was nothing at all.

Chapel

Thirdly, from 1393 the full sum of chapel oblations

Offerings was to be divided among the residentiaries. Since the chapel
offerings were not included in the treasurer’s receipts, this sum
was an additional dividend, above that of surplus income. Between
1393 and 1402 the recorded sums of offerings twice exceeded £20
and did not fall below £13. In 1402-3 the total was £13.13s.11\(\frac{1}{2}\)d.,
but out of this the precentor was obliged to meet the cost of
chapel necessities, which amounted to £8.7s.11\(\frac{1}{2}\)d., since the common
income was insufficient to cover them. Consequently only £5.6s.0d.
was left, of which 6s.0d. was paid to the clerk who wrote the
account and the remaining £5 allocated to the residentiaries.

The precentor noted that the residents for the time of his account
were the dean, the precentor, the steward, the treasurer and
William Spigurnell, five in all. Since the office of treasurer
was held in 1402-3 by two canons in turn, Edmund Lacy (1 October

1 Memorandum quod anno Regis Ricardi xxi° in festo Michaelis fuerunt
residentes in anno preterito Custos Bowland Masyngham Spigurnell
Shawhe Prust inter quos dividitur ista summa xxxi li. xvis. viid.
ob. This note was written on the back of the precentor’s account
for 1396-7 (W.M.xv.56.15) but cannot refer to the dividend of
chapel offerings since they amounted only to £26.15s.2\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. in this
year. It is possible that the sum of £31.16s.7\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. may represent
both the dividend of surplus income and the chapel offerings for
the year.

2 Appendix III p.357.
1402 - 29 January 1403) and Robert Ravendale (1 February - 1 October 1403), it is difficult to see how the residentiaries could number only five. Moreover a note added in a different hand claimed that the precentor's memorandum of residentiaries evidernter falsum erat quia Spicer erat residenciarius eodem anno secundum statuta Collegii ut patet in libro eiusdem precentoris. Whatever the precentor's mistake in naming the residentiaries it seems unlikely that any canon who had kept residence was backward in claiming his due share of profits. In 1406-7 and 1407-8 all the offerings were paid over to the treasurer to help meet the year's ordinary expenses which exceeded the income of the common fund. In the last year covered by this survey, receipts in the chapel amounted to £28.15s.1d. Of this 14s.4d. was allowed to the precentor de gratia Custodi et Capituli speciali. This left £28.0s.9d. which the precentor paid to the residentiaries when his account was completed.

Houses

The canons' houses at Windsor, unlike those at the Newarke, were repaired at the common charge in the period under survey. It was the practice of the canons of St. George to have a general change of houses whenever a new canon was admitted to the college. To the new canon was assigned the least attractive house and all the other canons moved into a better

e.g. Et solutum Johanni Palmere pro vii libris sonder pro emendacione domorum in claustro canonicorum precium libre iiiid. xxid. (Treasurer's Account 1394-5, W.M.xv.34.17).
house in order of seniority. Royal letters patent were occasionally granted in favour of a new canon, commanding that he should have a specific house, usually that occupied by his predecessor. Richard Medford, who had been a canon of St. George's from 1375, exchanged his prebend in October 1381 with William Packington for the church of Ivinghoe. Packington resigned his new prebend almost at once and Medford was re-appointed to it, but since he was now a newly presented canon he had forfeited his house. In consequence, Richard II by letters patent dated 2 December 1381 granted to him the house which Walter Almaly had vacated earlier in the year when he was promoted to the deanery. When the king presented Nicholas Slake (1382), Thomas Butler (1387), John Drake (1387) and John Boor (1389) to prebends at Windsor he granted to them also the houses which their predecessors had. The garden to one of the canons' houses had a little gate "by the poultry" through which the occupant was wont to bring in his victuals. In 1412 when this house was occupied by Simon Marcheford, the king's officers of the poultry closed the gate, but in reply to Marcheford's petition Henry IV granted the gate to him with free entrance and exit.

At some period after 1416, probably about 1443-4 when

Similarly at Salisbury "the death of a senior residentiary entailed a series of house removals in the close, each residentiary moving into the house of the canon senior to him in residence" (K. Edwards "Salisbury Close in the fourteenth century" Journal of the British Archaeological Society, IV, 66, 69).

2 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1374-7, p.165; 1381-5, pp.48,54,62. At Salisbury the question was raised in chapter whether a canon collated by the bishop to another prebend was bound to begin again in a junior house of residence.

3 Ibid., pp.123,132; 1385-2, pp.297,299,365,368; 1388-92, p.106.

4 Ibid., 1408-13, p.401.
a bill for mending the chimney of one of the canons was refused by the chapter, the houses of the canons ceased to be repaired at the common charge. Since each canon hoped to move into a house more to his liking as soon as one of his seniors vacated it, there was no inducement for him to improve or even to keep in good repair the worse houses. For this reason King Henry VIII ordered the college to change its custom and to assign to each new canon the house which his predecessor had, as was the practice in the king's college of St. Stephen at Westminster. The canons regarded their ancient practice as being "more reasonable, for otherwise it might bee the Lott of the junior to live as it were in a palace, and the senior of all to be shutt up in a box his whole life time which is very incongruous."

Although the three major officials of St. George's had many responsibilities, their remuneration was large and unburdened with any expenses. All necessary costs incurred in the fulfilment of their duties was borne out of the common fund and a very adequate allowance was made to them, in addition to the profits they would have had if in residence, when they

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1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.41. See above, p.127, note 2.
2 Henry VIII's letter was copied in full into Denton's Black Book, f.177.
3 Note made by Ashmole in one of his notebooks (Bodleian Library, Ashm. Mss. No.1124.f.156v.) following a summary of the letter of Henry VIII concerning houses from Denton's Book.
4 Five pounds each year, plus an allowance of 2s.4d. a day when travelling.
travelled on chapter business. In every way their position compared favourably with that of the officials of the college in the Newarke.

Obits

Obit distributions at St. Mary in the Newarke were, however, on a slightly higher scale than that usually paid at St. George's. The dean of St. Mary received 2s., the canons 1s., vicars and clerks 6d. and choristers 3d. each if they attended the obit services, whereas at Windsor the usual rate was that of double commons, an extra 1s. each to the dean and canons, 5½d. to vicars, 3½d. to two of the clerks, 2½d. to the other two and 2d. to choristers.

Although the college of St. George was of the same type as that of St. Mary in the Newarke in that the dean and canons were expected to keep residence and lost their profits if they did not, there was a distinct difference in the character of the foundations which was reflected in the amount of emoluments provided. Among the dean and canons of St. Mary were no royal clerks, nor were the benefices in that college used to reward distinguished officials for their services to the crown. The canons of St. George, on the other hand, were drawn largely from clerks in the royal service who expected rich benefices in return for their labours in government departments. To keep residence at Windsor was not difficult since it was no great journey from London and often near the king, and the canons frequently held other benefices from which they obtained licence to be absent.

1 By papal bull dated 18 August 1435 (Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters, 1427-47, p. 576) licence was granted to the warden and all the canons present and future to absent themselves from their benefices with and without cure, if resident at Windsor, and to farm them to any persons, even laymen.
B. Personnel.

Benefices in the king's free chapels, like others in royal patronage, were regularly utilised by the crown to supplement the wages of its public servants. In the college of St. George, although the presentation of the first canons was allowed to the founder-knights of the Garter, the king presented to the warden-ship and to all the other prebends when they fell vacant. Consequently the wardens and canons were king's clerks, many of whose names appeared frequently in the records of government departments, both in the course of their administrative duties and when they received their reward in ecclesiastical preferment.

a) Wardens.

To the warden-ship of Windsor, with its potential emoluments of at least £86.18s.4d. were presented men who merited high rewards for their administrative work. The creation of the college came at a time when John Chamber was reaping the harvest of twenty years in Edward III's service. Between April 1347 and May 1349 he obtained grants of the warden-ship of the hospitals of St. Leonard in Newark, Nottinghamshire, and of West Newton in Holderness, of the warden-ship of the college of Windsor and of the sub-deanery of St. Peter's, York: his death in June 1349, however, put an end to the succession of preferments. Chamber

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-8, p.267 (1 April 1347).
2 Ibid., pp.102,120 (May and July 1348).
4 Ibid., p.295 (10 May 1349).
was in the royal service in 1328, and probably at least as early as 1327 when Edward III presented him to the prebend of Wartling, Ninfield and Hooe in the royal free chapel of St. Mary in Hastings Castle. In the following year the king took advantage of a vacancy in the bishopric of St. David's to present his clerk to a prebend of that church, and also granted him the deanery of Wolverhampton. Chamber resigned his canonry at Hastings in 1329 and gained instead the rectory of Llanbadarn Vawr in Cardiganshire and canonries of Hereford and Abergwili. By 1330 he had prebends in St. Martin's le Grand and in St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, was chaplain of the king's free chapel of St. Michael in Shrewsbury Castle and rector of St. Mary's, Burwell. From 1331 to 1333 he held the treasurership of Hereford. His church of Llanbadarn Vawr he exchanged in 1334 for that of Haddenham in Cambridgeshire. By papal letters dated 23 June 1331 he was required to resign his canonry with the treasurership of Hereford. When however he did resign the canonry in 1339 it was in exchange for the church

3 Ibid., p.273.
4 Ibid., p.325.
5 Ibid., pp.403,468.
6 Ibid., pp.334,505.
9 Ibid., 1330-4, p.566.
of Martley in Worcestershire. He was a canon of Salisbury by 1345. Concerning the administrative duties for which these benefices were the reward the records are less illuminating. In 1329 he was described as "their majesties' clerk" in papal letters granting a request of Queen Isabella's that Chamber might enjoy the provision of a canonry of Hereford made earlier at Edward III's request although he had subsequently obtained the rectory of Llanbadarn Fawr. Other papal letters of 19 July 1330 reserved a benefice for Chamber at the request of Queen Philippa "whose clerk he is." Chamber was among the king's clerks who had charge of some of the vast possessions forfeited to the crown by Roger Mortimer in 1330, for in 1337 he was one of those required to render account at the exchequer for treasure and jewels which Edward III had taken from the fallen earl. In 1339 he was in the Isle of Wight on the king's service. Letters of protection dated 16 August were issued to Chamber and others who were to assist the keeper of the island to defend it against attacks by foreign foes, for the next month Edward III assembled his army against the French king. In 1345 Chamber was among the commissioners appointed to visit the king's free chapel of

3 Ibid., 1305-42, p.293.
4 Ibid., p.323.
Hastings. The three wardenships (of St. Leonard's, Newark, of West Newton in Holderness and of Windsor) and the subdeanery of York granted to him in 1347-9 were perhaps intended to enable him to retire very comfortably after his long service. At the time of his death in June 1349 he was the king's almoner.

His successor in the wardenship of Windsor was William Mugge, one of Edward III's household clerks, who already held of the king's gift the rectories of Hartfield in Sussex and Weston Longville in Norfolk. His patent of appointment to the wardenship of Windsor was dated 18 June 1349. Subsequently he was preferred to canonries of Exeter (1351), Lichfield (1357) and Grantock in Cornwall (1369), and to the treasurership of Exeter (1367). The church of Weston Longville he exchanged in 1359 for the archdeaconry of Barnstaple, and the treasurership of Exeter in 1377 for the rectory of Crewkerne in Somerset. Mugge was a west country man. In 1355 he obtained licence from the king to hunt with his own hounds "the fox, hare, wolf and cat" in the woods of Hembury and Ashburton in Devon, as long as he did not

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2 Ibid., 1348-50, p.346.
7 His name is a west country one, now spelt Mudge, as it was pronounced (J. N. Dalton in his page proof of Ottery St. Mary, p.xi).
"take the king's great deer or course in warrens." If Mugge took advantage of this licence he must have spent some part of his time in the west country, where indeed he later held four benefices: his archdeaconry of Barnstaple, prebends of Exeter and Crantock and the church of Crewkerne. Mugge died before 24 February 1381.

The next warden was Walter Almaly concerning whose position in the king's service no details appear. However, Almaly was a royal clerk and the number of his benefices testifies that he was a successful one both under Edward III and Richard II. Before his wardenship of Windsor he had obtained the church of Rhoscilly in Glamorgan (before 1366), the church of North Molton (1366), prebends in the collegiate church of Tamworth, Staffordshire (1368), and in Hereford (1369), the church of Ross in Hereford (1369), the church of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight (1374 in exchange for North Molton), a canonry of Chichester (1379), the church of Byfield in Northamptonshire (1380), and

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-8, p.238. 2 Ibid., 1377-81, p.601.
5 Ibid., 1367-70, p.108. 6 Ibid., p.300.
7 Ibid., p.340. 8 Ibid., 1370-4, p.416.
9 Ibid., 1377-81, p.328. Almaly was ratified in the prebend of Somerleigh in Chichester 13 May 1386 (ibid., 1385-2, p.145).
10 Ibid., p.536.
a prebend at Windsor (1380). His appointment as warden of
Windsor was by letters patent dated 24 February 1381. At Windsor
he was unpopular with the residentiaries who complained in 1384
Michael de la Pole, then chancellor, that Almaly was usurping
the chancellor's jurisdiction and power of visitation and had
summoned them to appear before him and submit to a visitation to
be made by him. Richard II appointed Master Thomas Backeton
to hear the canons' appeal and to decide the case. In October
of the same year, however, a visitation of the chapel at Windsor
was made by the king's authority, and was to be continued until
2 November. The findings of the visitors were not recorded on
the patent roll; probably Almaly was merely cautioned. He was
ratified as prebendary of Somerleigh in Chichester by letters
patent of 13 May 1386. In February 1389 he was presented to the
prebend of Carfai in St. David's, and when he died, before 9
September 1389, he was still in possession of prebends of Hereford,
Chichester and Tamworth, as well as the wardenship of Windsor.

The wardenship passed to Thomas Butler who had already
held a prebend at Windsor since 1387. He had obtained besides,
the rectories of Winwick in Lancashire, of Tunstall and Liminge
in Kent, prebends in Salisbury, Chichester, Lincoln, Westbury on

4 Cal. Close Rolls, 1381-5, p.484.
6 Ibid., pp.103,107.
7 Ibid., 1385-9, p.297.
Trym and Wilton, and the archdeaconries of Salisbury and Northampton. Two years after his presentation to the wardenship of Windsor this well beneficed king's clerk was granted licence by papal letters dated 22 August 1391 to farm the profits of his wardenship and to absent himself from it. Between 1394 and 1399 Richard II granted to Butler prebends of Hastings (1394, exchanged in 1395 for prebends of Llandewibrevi and Abergwill), of Hereford (1396), of Chichester (1396) and of Bridgenorth (1398). Only two incidents in his administrative career under Richard II have left a trace on the patent rolls: in November 1391 Thomas Butler and Thomas de Quynton were appointed to sell timber in the king's park of Cheylesmore in Warwickshire to raise a sum of 20 marks which was needed for repairs to the bridge, hall and park fence of the king's manor there, and in June 1396 Butler was appointed to visit St. Peter's chapel called "le Spitell" near Windsor.

1 Churches of Winwick 23 January 1385 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-5, p.528); Tunstall 19 September 1385 (ibid., 1385-2, pp.18,35); Liminge before 11 September 1385 (ibid., p.20); prebends in Salisbury 1367-1402 (Jones, Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis, p.361); in Chichester, Sidlesham 11 September 1385 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1385-2, p.20) and Colworth 17 August 1389 (ibid., 1388-92, p.101); in Lincoln 25 March 1387 (ibid., 1385-2, p.286); in Westbury before 28 September 1387 (ibid., p.351); in Wilton 7 May 1389 (ibid., 1388-92, p.28); archdeaconry of Salisbury after 1379 to 1394 (Jones, op.cit., p.160); archdeaconry of Northampton 23 March 1386 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1385-2, p.124).


3 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1391-6, pp.361,577,578; 1396-9, pp.11,226,416.

together with the under-constable of Windsor castle, to enquire concerning the loss of the chapel's goods and whether the holder of the chapel were usually a clerk or a layman. Butler, like other permanent clerks in the administrative service, lost nothing by the accession of Henry of Lancaster. He was one of the many king's clerks ratified by Henry IV in their benefices, and in 1401 was presented by the new king to a prebend in the royal free chapel of Hastings.

Upon Butler's death in July 1402, Henry IV preferred Richard Kingston, already a canon of Windsor, to the wardenship. Under Richard II Kingston had been granted the archdeaconry of Hereford (1389), a prebend in Hereford (1391), the chancellorship of Abergwili (1392) and the churches of Pertenhall (before 1397) and Yeovil (1397). He was one of the household clerks who accompanied Richard on his ill-fated expedition to Ireland in 1399. Under the new king Kingston gained both office and preferment. By 1400 he was dean of the royal chapel within the household and a canon of Windsor. With William Loveney, keeper of the great wardrobe, he shared a grant for 10 years of unmarked swans flying on the Thames between Gravesend and the bridge at Oxford. In 1402 when the wardenship of Windsor fell vacant,
Kingston was clerk of the works in Hereford castle. He was appointed to the vacancy, but continued for a time at Hereford where he was one of those appointed to enquire into the loss of building materials there owing to the depredations of inhabitants of the district. During Henry IV's Welsh expedition in 1403-4 Kingston was occupied first in raising a loan of 2000 marks on the security of customs dues or of the subsidy or tenth and fifteenth just granted to the king, and then in collecting payments of the subsidy in Gloucestershire, Hereford and Worcestershire to pay the men-at-arms and archers. He was empowered to receive repentant Welsh rebels into the king's peace although saving to the king forfeiture of their lands and goods. Between 1405 and 1407 he held the treasurership of the household and was the recipient of a number of benefices in the king's gift. These included the church of Croston in Lancashire, prebends of Beverley, of St. Paul's in London and of Salisbury, and the archdeaconry of Colchester also in St. Paul's. King Henry obtained from Innocent VIII permission for Kingston to visit his archdeaconry of Hereford by deputy; his archdeaconry of Hereford he had resigned in 1404.

Although he held a prebend of Salisbury, Kingston obtained from Pope John XXIII in 1413 licence to continue to observe the use of Hereford, which he had followed in saying the canonical hours for about twenty years when he was archdeacon of Hereford, and not to be obliged to observe the use of Salisbury. The Salisbury use was by statute observed at Windsor. Kingston held his wardenship of Windsor until his death at the end of 1416. His successor, John Arundel, was appointed by patent dated 6 January 1419.

b) Some Canons.

Other canons of Windsor, besides the wardens, were equally prominent in administrative service and equally well beneficed in return. Among the surveyors and clerks of Edward III's works in Windsor castle were no less than four of the first canons of the new college. The business of these clerks in supervising building operations was purely administrative and financial. They looked after materials and labour and were responsible for the progress of the work, but they were in no way concerned with the planning of the architecture. This was the work of the master mason in charge of the building; at Windsor it was John Sponley whose wage was one shilling a day. First of the canons of Windsor to hold office as surveyor of the works there was Richard Rothley, whose

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1 Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters, 1404-15, p.377. This instance was quoted by W.H. Frere (The Hereford Breviary (Henry Bradshaw Society),III, Introd.,p.xlviii) as an illustration of the hold the use of Hereford had over those who were accustomed to it.

2 Calendar of Norman Patent Rolls in F.R.O. Deputy Keeper's Report xii,App.,p.706. Given before Rouen. Kingston's will in which he described himself as "an unworthy chaplain of St. George's" was dated 1418 (Harwood, Windsor Old and New, p.365).

3 Knoop and Jones, The Mediaeval Mason, p.17.
appointment was by letters patent dated 26 April 1350; he held office until 6 August 1351. Rothley's accounts for this period have survived both in summary form, among the foreign accounts on the Pipe Roll, and in detailed form, where the expenditure was set out week by week. His wages amounted to £23.9s.0d. (one shilling a day) plus an extra £3.1s.0d. for 61 days within his time of account spent in going to London to fetch money and to pay wages at Beams. His clerk received a wage of 3s. a week. After Rothley another of the canons, Robert Burnham, became surveyor of the works from 1 August 1351 to 31 October 1356, receiving a similar wage of one shilling a day. His accounts, like Rothley's, have survived in both summary and detailed form. William of Wykeham, who was not a canon of Windsor, succeeded Burnham as surveyor at Windsor, directing at the same time the building works on the king's manors of Easthampstead and Henley. From at least the end of April 1359, however, another of the canons acted as controller of the works at Windsor, under Wykeham. This was William Moulsoe, who received sixpence a day as controller until 1 November 1361 when he became clerk of the works at one shilling a day with John of Rouceby as controller under him. Moulsoe was at this time at the beginning

1 Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1348-50, p.486. Rothley was parson of Cil-y-cwm in Caermarthen (1349), vicar of Luton in Bedfordshire (1349) and later rector of Dunton Waylett in Essex.
4 See ibid.,I,136.
5 Ibid.,I,184. Moulsoe was a canon of St. George's by 19 March 1361 (Cal.Close Rolls,1360-4, p.255).
of a successful administrative career. He was a friend of William of Wykeham whom he succeeded as dean of St. Martin's le Grand in 1364. Besides his prebend at Windsor he later obtained the church of Amersham in Buckingham (1361) and prebends of Abergwili (1361), Lincoln (1362), Dublin (1363), St. Stephen's Westminster (1365) and Hastings (1366). He also held the office of repairer and binder of books in St. Paul's London which was worth 60s. a year in money and a further 60s. in bread and beer. In 1365 Moulsoe was appointed king's chamberlain of the receipt. He held this post for ten years when he was promoted from the exchequer to the wardrobe where he was keeper from 13 October 1375 until his death, 24 November 1376. As clerk of the works at Windsor, Moulsoe had been succeeded by Adam Hartington, who was appointed by letters patent dated 13 April 1365 and held office until the end of Edward III's reign, with John of Rouceby working under him as his controller. Hartington also succeeded Moulsoe in his canonry of Windsor in 1368. For some reason Hartington resigned this canonry within a few months.

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1 Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1364-7, p.39. Moulsoe held the deanery until his death. He was one of the many canons of St. Martin's to be also an officer of the Wardrobe (See Tout, Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History, II, 15, n.1).


3 Ibid., 1361-4, p.74; Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria (Canterbury & York Soc.),II,178.

4 Cal.Pat.Rolls, 1364-7, p.93. See also Tout, Chapters,III,250; IV,153, 155-6, 163-4.

5 Tout, op.cit.,VI,27.


7 St. John Hope, op.cit.,I,
but was appointed at once to another which he held until 1376, when he resigned it. His successor in it was appointed in February 1376, but the canonry was again vacant in December 1376 and Hartington regained it, holding it until his death in 1380.

Other distinguished clerks of the royal household held prebends in St. George's. John Newbury, canon at least from 1353 to 1355, was treasurer of the wardrobe of Queen Isabella up to her death in August 1358. In 1359 he was promoted to the great wardrobe, where he held the office of keeper from 2 January 1359 to 29 June 1361 when he died. William Packington, keeper of the king's wardrobe (1377 - 1390) and chancellor of the exchequer (1381 - 1390), held a prebend of Windsor for one month, 25 October - 24 November, in 1381. Richard Medford, favoured clerk of Richard II, held a canonry at Windsor from 1375 to 1390. In 1385 Medford became the king's secretary and was presented to a number of benefices. His promising career suffered only a temporary setback in 1388, when he was arrested by the lords apellant and imprisoned to await trial, for he was released on surety within a few months.

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2 Tout, Chapters IV. 283.
4 He obtained the deanery of St. Martins le Grand, the archdeaconry of Norfolk and prebends of Chichester and Wilton in 1385, and prebends of York and Wells in 1386 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1385 - 9, pp.14, 21, 67, 72, 163, 195).
and resumed his office and his quest for preferment when the king returned to power in 1389. By 1390 he had secured the bishopric of Chichester. In 1394 he became treasurer of Ireland, and was translated from Chichester to Salisbury in 1395. He died in 1407.

William of Polmorva, Queen Philippa's confessor, was a canon of St. George's from some date before November 1352 until his death on 25 September 1362. Hugh Bridham and Thomas Madefray, clerks of the Black Prince, held prebends there from before May 1362 until their deaths in 1372, and 1375 respectively.

Although the canons of St. George's were almost all king's clerks, the statutes of the college required that they should be for the greater part of the year resident at Windsor. Unlike other colleges of secular canons where king's clerks held prebends but never resided, leaving the business of the chapter to be controlled by residents, St. George's could and did benefit in its own administration from the capabilities and energies which had marked out its canons for promotion in the king's service. The offices of treasurer, steward and precentor changed hands almost yearly, yet there was no lack of continuity or ability in the practical running of its affairs. On an average two-thirds of the chapter was constantly resident. Among the stewards of the college were Burnham (1351-2), Rothley (1354-5), Moulsoe (1361-3), Hartington (1368) and Butler (1394-5); Polmorva was

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1 Tout, Chapters V, 216 - 221.

2 Among the bequests in Thomas Madefray's will (dated 1374) was a piece of tapestry depicting the story of the prince of Wales (Harwood, Windsor Old and New, p.364)
treasurer in 1361 - 2 and Butler in 1394 - 5; among the precentors were Bridham (1365 - 6) and Madefray (1371 - 2).

C. Chapter Activity.

Final control of administrative affairs was in the hands of the whole body of canons in chapter. Much was left to the initiative of the officials, but all expenditure outside the ordinary routine and all important business had to be referred to the chapter for a decision. The chapter **met daily.** Prime was always finished in the chapter house; when it was over all were to withdraw save the canons who could proceed to chapter business if any. Probably most business was done weekly, at the Saturday chapter when records of chapel attendance and arrangements for the services of the coming week were presented to the warden by the precentor. In the treasurer's account of 1407 - 8 dates were given of the chapter meetings at which bills for expenses were approved. These dates were mostly, although not exclusively, Saturdays. If ten days' notice were given, matters of importance might be decided at any chapter meeting, but such business was usually transacted at the two general chapters held each year at Easter time and in November. The college did not adhere strictly to the dates fixed by statute for these meetings, eight days after Easter and 3 November, but arranged to hold the general chapters on convenient days at about these times. A view of account for the half year was available for the Easter chapter, and after Michaelmas and the

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1 Statutes, article 24.
2 Statutes, article 37.
3 See above, p.109.
4 Statutes, article 44.
annual audit the canons could hear a full report of the financial position. With this information the chapter was able to decide how best to make arrangements for the future.

a) Loans and the reserve fund.

With the consent of the chapter a loan might be contracted, although not more than 100 marks (£66.13s.4d.) was to be borrowed unless permission had been obtained from the king. In order that the college might not be obliged to borrow from outside when in need of money for extraordinary expenses or for making improvements in the properties of the college, a fund was set aside in the erary, which could be used for such purposes. This fund was built up from the third part of surplus income put into the erary each year when the residentiaries shared the remainder. Regulations concerning the fund were strict. If anyone took money from it unlawfully he was to repay double the sum within one month or be suspended from his benefice until he did. The canons in chapter controlled the fund and were to use it only for "contingent" expenses as distinct from "incumbent" or ordinary expenses which were paid out of the common revenue. Some such contingencies were mentioned in the statute: the fund might be used to meet expenses occasioned by fire, murrain of animals or failure of crops, to defend the rights and properties of the college if it became necessary to litigate for them, and to increase the income of the

\[1\] Statutes, articles 45, 46.
college.

In our period the canons in chapter stood by the letter of the law concerning spending the money in the fund, but they also regarded it as available in emergency as a loan fund. Expenditure from the reserve fund was legitimate if for purposes mentioned in the statute; if the money was needed for any other purpose, however, it could be used only as a loan and was repayable. A loan of £20 was taken from the erary in May 1367. Of it £6 was spent by the steward on buying materials for repairing a wall; what became of the rest was not stated. Again, in 1411-12 another loan was taken from the erary to pay for the repair of the bells. Repairs were part of the ordinary expend-

1 Ordinamus et statuimus quod tercia pars illius quod de redditibus et proventibus dictae Capellae, ultra corpora prebendarum Canonicorum pecuniamque solvendam dictis militibus pro eorum necessariis ac distributiones quotidianas Canonicis et Militibus exsolvendas, portionesque vicariarum clericorum et choristarum de quibus posse mittitur, necnon caetera eidem Capellae onera incumbienda debite supportanda, superesse contigit in communis aerario dictae Capellae annuatim reponatur et custodiatur secure ad ipsius Capellae thesaurum et usum, in utilitates seu necessitates per incendium, morinam animalium seu defectum bladorum vel aliunde contingentes, pro ipsius defensione iurium et pertinentiarum, si pro eis litigare oportuerit, seu in incrementum redditum applicanda. College Statutes, article 19 as quoted in the 1605 interpretation (see below, p.208,n.4).

2 Treasurer’s Account, W.M.xv.34.4.

3 Ibid., xv.34.28.
iture and not lawfully paid for from the reserve fund: therefore, although the fund had been utilised to advance the money, it had to be repaid. In 1371 £80 taken from the erary was spent in the following manner: £20 on building a new mill on the manor of Craswell in Bray, and the remaining £60 on the purchase of 281 sheep for the manor of Iver and 241 for Craswell. Since by this expenditure the property of the college was improved and the stock of the manors replenished, it was rightfully borne by the reserve fund. It is probable that some cattle disease had made this re-stocking necessary, for a very high price was paid for the new sheep, about 2s.4½d. a head, when an average price for the year 1371 was 1s.8½d. Some of the costs of

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.7.
2 The sheep were bought at Beaconsfield on 14 May 1371 at £33.7s.5d. for 281 and £26.10s.0d. for 241. The table of prices in Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices in England (I,354) gives 1s.8½d. as the average and 2s.2d. as the highest price for sheep in 1371.
a lawsuit against John Crewkerne concerning the church of Saltash was supported from the reserve fund in 1415 - 16. The chapter did not usually expend from this fund to pay costs of litigation, even when rights and properties were concerned, but this suit (an appeal) was particularly important, for had it been successful it would have saved the college £20 a year for Crewkerne's life.

An interesting interpretation of the meaning of the statute concerning the fund in the erary was made in 1605 after the dean and canons had petitioned the Lord Keeper in Chancery for a decision on two points connected with it. First, they wished to know which were incumbent and which contingent burdens, according to the intention and real meaning of the statute. Secondly, whether all contingent burdens were to be supported out of the erary fund, and if not, which might be, for the wording of the statute limited the application of the money in the fund to contingent payments occasioned by utility or necessity. The answers given were clear and detailed. Incumbent burdens were the wages allowed by statute to the various members of the college and customary payments for the properties of the college, such as pensions, portions, procurations and synodals for churches, and quit rents.

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.XV. 34.28.
2 A decision was made in chapter 3 November 1603..."that a consultation should be hadd both by over selfes and also men Learned in the lawes what ar to be accompted onera contingentia et onera incumbens wheroif mention is made in ower statutes, to the end that tertia pars may be iustly allotted owt agaynst the next accomptes" (Register of Chapter Acts, W.M.VI. B.2., f.l3).
3 Sir Thomas Egerton (Lord Keeper 1596 - 1603; Lord Chancellor 1603 -17).
4 Interpretatio Statuti de 3 Parte, W.M. XI. D. 18. Dr.Evans copied this document into his common place book (W.M. IV. B. 16. Book AFF.154v - 155r) and Ashmole copied it from Dr.Evans into one of his notebooks now in the Bodleian Library (Ashm. Mss. No 1124. ff. 129 - 130).
for lands. Contingent burdens were four-fold: i) payments voluntarily undertaken by the dean and canons, such as fees and annuities to counsel at law or to local officials ii) payments which had become customary or had been allowed at a visitation, such as increases in the wages of the members of the college, the wages of officials not named in the statutes, allowances for fuel or stables, and alms iii) inevitable expenses caused by decrease of rents, necessary repairs and lawsuits iv) payments imposed by the king beyond those allowed by statute. Of these, all in the first category could be met from the erary fund because they were for the common good. In the second category, increase in the prebends of canons was to be borne from the dividend of the residentiaries, and not from the erary fund. Extra wages of other members of the college and of officials not named in the statutes could be paid from the erary fund. Allowances for fuel and stables were to be paid likewise but only if they could be shown to date from the first foundation of the college. All the rest could be met from the erary fund. For this long list of contingent payments (which amounted to £ 441. 1s. 7d. for this year) the erary fund was found to be quite inadequate. The dean and resident canons had to give up part of their dividend to meet these expenses, and thus nothing could be put in the erary that year, and the fund also owed £ 136. 3s. 3½d. to the residentiaries. Such a broad interpretation of the wording, although justified in the opinion of lawyers, could hardly have been intended by

1 During the period here surveyed, the canons rented and paid for their own stables with no allowance from the common fund.

2 Note made by Ashmole ( Bodl. Lib. Ashm. MSS. No. 1124 f.130).
b) Farming of properties.

The canons of St. George's, like other ecclesiastical owners of property of this time, found it more profitable to let out most of their estates to farm rather than to attempt the management of them when the Black Death had made labour both dear and scarce. With the exception of the two neighbouring manors of Iver and Craswell in Bray, the estates of St. George's were farmed out within a few years of their acquisition by the college. To prevent the abuses attached to long leases, Bishop Edington had ordained by statute that no lease was to be granted for more than a five years' term. At the Easter chapter the residentiaries shared the fines paid by lessees on their taking up a lease. For a long lease at a low rent, the lessee would be willing to pay a large fine. This would benefit the residentiaries of the moment but impoverish the college in the future. No such large fines were given for a lease of five years or less.

At least until 1416 and possibly until about 1450 the chapter of St. George's granted leases only for the permitted term. Evidence of the length of leases is contained in some accounts of treasurer and steward and in the chapter's halves of original indentures of lease which have been preserved in the erary. Only a small number of early indentures has survived. There are fifteen for dates before 1450, of which eight are earlier than 1416.

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Wraysbury 1446 (W.M. xv. 47. 9); Langley Marish 1377, 1393, 1399, 1404, 1409, 1411, 1440 (W.M. xv. 58, B.42 #, 47, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48); Uttoxeter 1385 (W.M. xv. 28. 12); Datchet 1448 (W.M. xv. 58, B.23); Ryston 1417, 1421; 1429 (W.M. xi. J. 25, 26, 27); Saltash 1370 (W.M. xi.K.4); Manor of Craswell 1436 (W.M. xv. 58. D. 73).
All of these were for a term of five years or less. In the treasurer's account roll for 1406-7 and the steward's for 1415-16, the duration of all current leases of the college properties was stated: none of these was for more than five years. Leases were frequently renewed for a further term to the same lessees, but the chapter kept to the five year limit for each lease. Consequently the periodic expiry of the lease necessitated a survey of the property, which had to be returned in as good a state as it had been received, and made possible a revision of rent at least every five years.

At the end of Elizabeth's reign the chapter presented a petition to the queen asking for release from the statute forbidding long leases. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the chapter had disregarded the statute, for in 1462 the manor of Craswell was farmed out for a 15 years' term. The indenture of this lease is the earliest of those now in the erary in which a lease to farm was granted for more than five years. From about 1475 leases were frequently granted for ten, twenty or thirty years. Although they had ceased to observe the intention of the statute, the canons remained within the letter of the law by careful wording of the indentures granting long leases which were cut up into so many terms of five years. Thus a lease to farm for twenty years would be made *usque ad finem termini quinque annorum et sic de quinquennio in quinquennium usque ad finem termini viginti annorum extunc proximo sequencium et plenarie complendorum.*

1 W.M. xv. 34. 24.
2 W.M. xv. 48. 4.
3 Lease of Uttoxeter 1477 (W.M. xv. 28. 21).
The canons of Elizabeth's reign petitioned for legal recognition of what had been their practice for many years, supporting their request with a list of 1 reasons. They submitted that the founder had imposed a five years' limit for leases in order that the stock, which was farmed out with the land, might not be allowed to depreciate. This stock had been gone long since. Also, the canons maintained that "ther is no president to be found that this statute was ever observed since the first foundacion". The evidence cited above shows the error of this statement, but doubtless the chapter had no desire to find such a precedent. The term of five years was found to be impracticable because, since by law a reversion was allowed three years before the expiry of a lease, the term was in effect one of only two years. Tenants could not be found willing to take up leases which were always near expiry. Moreover lessees would not spend labour or money on improving the land when their tenancy was so insecure, nor would they give large fines for the lease. In consequence, the properties of the college were falling into a ruinous state, and the dean and canons could not keep up their accustomed hospitality without the fines.

The usual term for leases was now 21 years for churches and 40 years for city and town tenements. A final reason for the abrogation of the statute was that no king of England had drawn up the statutes of St. George's; they had been ordained by the bishop of Winchester, a canonist, by the authority of Pope Clement VI. The king had only set his seal to confirm them. The petition based on these reasons was drawn up in the following words:

To the Queen's moste excellente Majestie Most humblie shewe and beseche your most excellent Majestie your highnis Loyall subiects and humble

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1 A brief of reasons against the statute for fyve yeres, W.M. xi. D. 34.
servants the deane and Canons of your Majesties chapell of Windesor
That whereas by the loiall statutes of your Majesties said Chapell your
said subjects are restrayned from leaseing their landes and Tenements
above the Number of five yeres: The reason that moved the Founder
to make and ordeyne the said statute was first for that the Canon lawe
dyd lymyt all demises of ecclesiasticall lyvings to endure but for
five yeres; secondlie for that all the landes or the moste part of them
were then let with stocke and store; and therefore that at thende of
every five yeres the said Deane and Canons might see the increase of the
same; and the same after five yeres should retorne into their handes:
( which stockes are now gone long sithence). The inconveniences growing
by the said statute are these. First, where it is lawfull for others
to graunt reversiones (wherein a farmer lease is within three yeres
expired) for xxi yeres or three lyves, your said servants Tenants can
have but ii yeres clerely; and beinge by no meanes to be assured of
longer tyme, will never give any fine for such estate; and without such
fines the said deane and canons are not hable to maynteyne the charge
of hospitalitie in their places, nor susteyne their owne lodgings, much
lesse your Majesties said Chapell Royall. Secondlie for such short
estate they will scarce till the ground, nor bestowe any coste thereon,
for the betteringe of it, nor yet repaire their houses, or fence the
grounds, whereby all will fall to Ruine. For reformacion whereof
and in regarde of the contynuance of the good estate of that most
worthie foundacion wee moste humblie beseche your highnes by aucthoritie
of your prerogative Royall to graunte libertie unto your said servants
to demise and make leases according to the statutes made in the
xiii\textsuperscript{th} and xiii\textsuperscript{th} yeres of your highnes raigne, which like libertie
your highnes did graunte unto Trinitie College in Cambridge in the
xxxvii\textsuperscript{th} yere of your Majesties moste gracious raigne. And your
said servants the deane and Canons aforesaid and their Successors,
poore knights and the rest of the Membres of that place shall as they
are bounde contymuallie pray for your Majesties longe and moste happie
raigne over us.

The answer to this petition was written on the back:

Her majestie is graciouslie pleased to referre the consideracion hereof
to the right ho: the Lord Kepar and his Lordship shall find the suite
of the petitioners agreeable to lawe then her highnes is pleased that a
booke shalbe drawen up in forme for them by her Majesties lerned counsell
readie for her highnes signature - Caesar.

The petition (which was undated) must belong to the last years of
Elizabeth's reign, for when the required royal answer to it came, James I
was on the throne. James, in a grant dated 9 February 1604, decreed that
the canons of Windsor might make leases to farm of their town properties
for not more than 40 years, and of their manors and rectories for not more
than 21 years. By this grant the chapter of St.George's was enabled
lawfully to lease out the properties of the college for terms as long as
those allowed by the law of the land.

1 Allowing leases of 40 years for tenements in cities and borough towns.
2 1595 - 6.
3 The petition of the Deane and Canons of Windsor, W.M. xi. D. 34.
4 Frith's Old Register, p. 65.
c) Legal affairs.

From at least as early as 1353-4 the canons of St. George's retained an attorney to represent them in the court of the Exchequer. In October 1354 John Bray, usher of the Exchequer, received 20s. as his fee for prosecuting the business of the college during the past year. His fee was entered among the foreign expenses on the household roll. By 1361-2, when the series of treasurers' rolls begins, the chapter retained, besides Bray in the Exchequer, an attorney named William Murfield in the Chancery court at a similar fee.

In the Exchequer, John Bray continued to act for St. George's until 1367 when he became for one year, 1367-8, their attorney in the Chancery. His successor in the Exchequer court was William Wolford who for the year 1367-8 received the same fee of 20s. For some years after this St. George's retained no permanent attorney in the Exchequer, but by 1375-6 the chapter was represented there by no less a personage than Robert Pleasington, then chief baron of John of Gaunt's Lancashire exchequer and his attorney also in the royal Exchequer, later chief baron of the Exchequer (1380-6), and in 1388 spokesman of the lords appellant. His fee was 40s., twice the sum Bray and Wolford had received. When however Pleasington ceased to act

1 Household Roll, W.M.xv.3.1.m.4.
2 His name was spelt in many ways. Merfeld, Mirfeld, Merefeld and Murfeld are variants.
3 This is curious since in 1332 attorneys were restricted to practise only in the court in which they had been admitted (E. V. Christian, A Short History of Solicitors).
4 As John of Gaunt's attorney Pleasington received a fee of £10 a year (Tout, Chapters,III,357).
for St. George's (at some date between 1386 and 1393), the new attorney, Henry Webb received only 13s. 4d. a year from the chapter, and this fee remained unchanged until the end of our period.

In the Chancery, Murfield was the chapter's attorney until 1367 for 2os. a year. For one year, 1367-8, John Bray took his place there at the same fee, but by 1370 Murfield was again retained by St. George's, now at 40s a year which he continued to receive until 1372. No further fees were paid by the canons for a representative in the Chancery, but from 1377 they retained an attorney in the court of Common Pleas at a fee of 6s. 8d. a year.

These attorneys watched over the interests of St. George's in all pleas in the courts to which they were attached, but for particular cases the chapter sometimes appointed another to act as their advocate and proxy. In 1361-3 Master Richard Hampton received 10s. (3s. 4d. in 1361-2 and 6s. 8d. in 1362-3) for representing St. George's in affairs concerning the church of Uttoxeter, and in 1377-8 a special advocate was paid by the college for a suit against Richard Gregory concerning the tithe of woods at Datchet. Besides this, the canons themselves played an active part in the numerous lawsuits in which they became involved. Each year from about 1370 when the college's litigation began to increase, the warden and major officials spent much time in travelling to attend the courts. Some of the litigation was in defence of the many privileges which had been granted to the college by Edward III's charter of liberties.

By Edward III's charter, the dean and canons of St. George's were entitled to imprison within their own precincts all who had committed felony on their estates, however captured. This right came in question in October 1422 and was decided in the canons' favour. The chapter had confined
within the cloister of St. George's chapel William Hicks of Kybbeworth in Leicester whom they accused of felony on their lands. Hicks escaped from his prison and was caught by Sir Robert Babthorpe, steward of the king's household who committed him to the king's prison called the "Coalhouse" for safe custody. The House was in the lower ward of the castle between the gate and the houses of the poor knights, and was the county prison. Babthorpe protested that he did not intend his act to be in violation of the liberty of St. George's, but merely to keep the criminal safely until the king's court of Marshalsea could decide concerning the chapter's right to his custody. The dean and canons by their attorney, Nicholas Clopton, appeared before the steward in the king's court of Marshalsea at New Windsor on the Saturday before St. Faith's Day (6 October) 1422, and exhibited Edward III's charter. This satisfied the court, which pronounced judgement for St. George's, and William Hicks was returned to the canons to be kept in their own prison until his case was tried on 13 October.

Another of Edward III's grants was put to test in 1455. Henry Este, of the king's Wardrobe, delivered a writ to John Depeden, one of the canons, within the precincts of St. George's. The execution of all writs had been granted to the college's own bailiffs and ministers in Edward III's charter, which had been confirmed by Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI. The dean, Thomas Manning, met the canons in chapter to consider Este's offence, and they decided that he should be excommunicated for it. Este was warned to appear before the chapter to answer for his offence, under pain of excommunication. He came on the appointed day very humbly, admitted his

1 The county had complained in 1315 of the inconvenience of having the prison at the Coal hole in the castle, but it continued to be a part of the local prison until the end of the eighteenth century (Harwood, op. cit., pp. 109 - 110).

fault and submitted himself to the correction of the dean and canons, who received him into grace because of his humility. As a public penance, they ordered him to offer a candle weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. in honour of Almighty God and the Virgin His Mother and of St. George, and to say five paternosters, five aves and one credo on bended knee before the image of St. George in St. George's chapel. He was warned never to repeat his offence.

No such full accounts of chapter action to defend the rights of the college have been preserved for the period under review, but from the entries in treasurers' rolls of the costs of litigation, it is evident that the chapter was equally jealous of its liberties then. Edward III's charter of liberties was frequently copied and exhibited; gifts were made to officials of the courts to secure their goodwill, and the canons and their attorneys were pertinacious in defence of their privileges.

d) Visitations.

Some light is thrown upon the activities of the dean and chapter by the records of visitations. Religious houses under the jurisdiction of the chancellor were seldom visited unless they were notoriously in need of correction. There is evidence that St. George's was visited in 1378, 1384 and 1408; on each of these occasions there was much to be corrected.

Of only the first of these visitations has a full report been preserved. This reveals culpable negligence on the part of the chapter both of their spiritual duties and of the business of the college. The dean, William Mugge, with his chapter, was found guilty of keeping back from the

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1 Arundel White Book, copy on end f. 50 of an almost obliterated record on f. 49c facing.
2 Foedera, IV, 50, 17 September 1378.
poor knights their shares in cotidiens forfeited by their colleagues and in gifts of money made to the college by Knights-Companions and magnates. He also neglected to pay the vicars their salaries and kept back the incomes of vacant vicarships which should have been shared among the vicars. A sum of £200 given by Bishop Edington of Winchester to endow an obit had disappeared and the dean was responsible: other gifts had not been properly divided among the members of the college. The muniments of the college were not kept safely as they should have been, and the close had been allowed to become overgrown with weeds and nettles.

Since the dean set an example of laxity in his responsibilities, the members of the college had no respect for him and he made little attempt to correct their wrongdoings. One of the canons, John Loring, absented himself from the chapel in order to go hunting and fishing: another, Edmund Cloville, was profligate and frequently absent from chapel; when he did attend he was irreverent and joked with the laity during the service. All the canons were lax in their chapel attendance; they remained in chapel just long enough to qualify for their daily shillings and then left at once. There were two knights in the college, Thomas Tawny and John Breton, who both behaved scandalously. They kept women in their houses, and John Breton was insolent, came rarely to chapel and, when he came, immediately fell asleep. The vicars behaved

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1 Cloville was also a poacher. By letters patent dated 1 June 1358 he was granted pardon for taking a young deer on Queen Philippa's land near Sunninghill when out with his greyhounds on Whitsun Eve (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, p.53).

2 "... Earde accedit et nimis delicate ad horas canonicas in dicta capella: et cum reclinaverit se ad orandum in eadem, statim dormit."

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and ignored the dean's correction.

Probably it was owing to the complaints of the poor knights and vicars of the loss of part of their income that the visitation had taken place; the dean was commanded to pay them the arrears and their full moneys in the future. For the conduct of the members of the college the dean was held responsible and warned to deal severely with offenders. It is interesting to notice that the chancellor reproved the chapter here for granting a lease of the church of Uttoxeter to Thomas Tapley for more than five years. This was presumably the only current lease of more than five years, since no other was mentioned, and points to the fact that the chapter observed the statutory limit but for this exception.

The 1384 visitation was provoked by the complaint of nine canons to Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, against the warden, Walter Almaly, who had assumed an autocratic authority over the canons and had commanded them to submit to a visitation made by himself. The king ordered a visitation which took place in October 1384, but of which no report has survived. Entries in the treasurer's roll for the following year, however, recorded a decision perhaps made at the visitation, that no canon was to receive commons unless he had kept residence for at least three weeks.

The only evidence of a visitation of St. George's in 1406 is contained in the treasurer's accounts for 1407-8. Among his disbursements was a gift of 3s.4d. to a messenger announcing a

2 Cal. Close Rolls, 1381-5, p.484.
3 W.M.xv.34.15.
visitation and a further gift of 6s.8d. to another messenger who informed the college that it had been postponed until 2 August. The visitation was doubtless occasioned by the grave financial state of the college at this time. In the preceding year a loan was necessary to meet the year's expenses, besides all the chapel offerings which normally belonged to the residentiaries. In the year of the visitation, 1407-8, the loan was repaid but again the chapel offerings had to be absorbed into the common income. An unfortunate gap in the series of accounts from 1407-8 to 1415-16 makes it impossible to see what results the visitation may have had. Certainly by 1415-16 the college was managing on its income more easily, and its accounts showed a comfortable balance, but the inclusion of a summary of the accounts of 1410-11 and of 1429-30 in a later petition to King Henry VI to demonstrate how impoverished were the revenues of the college, shows that both before and after 1415-16, the chapter found its income insufficient for its expenses.

1 W.M.xv.34.26.
II. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

1. Management of the estates.

With the exception of the churches of Wraysbury, Datchet and Iver, and the manors of Iver and Craswell in Bray, the estates of St. George's were sufficiently distant from Windsor and from each other to make it difficult to manage them profitably from the centre. This difficulty was aggravated by the economic disasters of the time - plague, cattle disease, high wages and scarcity of labour. Although in the first decade of the foundation the college attempted direct management of one at least of the distant properties, by 1361 they were all leased out and were not again administered by the college save when temporarily there was no lessee. Of the neighbouring estates, the three churches (Wraysbury, Datchet and Iver) were administered by local officials under the supervision of the steward until 1355 and possibly later, but by 1361 they too were at farm. After 1361 only the two manors of Iver and Craswell continued to be managed as demesne lands, and in 1415 Craswell was let out to farm. Thus by the close of this period the manor of Iver alone remained directly under the control of the college.

A. Estates at farm.

a) Churches.

By 1361, when our series of treasurers' accounts begins, all the eleven churches appropriated to St. George's were at farm. They included the churches of Wraysbury (with the chapel of Langley), Datchet (with the chapel of Fulmer) and Iver in Buckingham, South
Tawton in Devon, Saltash in Cornwall, Whaddon and Caxton in Cambridgeshire, Ryston in Norfolk, Uttoxeter in Staffordshire and Simonburn in Northumberland. A vicarage had been ordained in each of these churches, and a portion set aside by the diocesans for the support of a perpetual vicar. Such a vicar, although presented to the church by the rector, was instituted by the bishop and was in the ordinary way irremovable. Two of the vicarages, Wraysbury and Uttoxeter, were endowed with part of the income of the church; the vicar of Wraysbury was to keep the small tithes and offerings (valued at £6.13s.4d.) and the vicar of Uttoxeter the small tithes (value not given). To the vicars of the other nine churches the college, as rector, was bound to pay a fixed yearly wage. One of them, the vicar of Deddington, had besides his money wage the offerings and mortuaries and the tithe of 20 acres of meadow in his parish. Another, the vicar of Saltash, had first been endowed with the small tithes, offerings and altar dues (valued at £20), but in 1361, ten years after the original ordination of the vicarage, the bishop of Exeter allowed a sum of £20 in money to be substituted for the endowment. The change was made at the

1 See above, pp.23-39.
2 Ordination of vicarage, Arundel White Book, f.19v.
3 Register of Grandisson (Exeter Series of Episcopal Registers), II,1104-5,1236; and Arundel White Book, ff.37v.,38. See above, p.39.
instance of Edward III, probably prompted by the college which thus could benefit from any increase in the value of the small tithes.

By 1361 St. George's controlled the whole income of eight of its churches (great and small tithes, glebe lands, offerings and altarage) and in return maintained vicars in them at a wage. From a ninth church, Deddington, St. George's took all the tithes save those from one plot of meadowland, and paid the vicar a wage. From the remaining two churches, Wraysbury and Uttoxeter, the college took the great tithes (of corn, hay and wood) and the altarage, leaving to the vicars the small tithes, of fruits, herbs, cattle and dairy produce.

The canons leased their interest in these churches at a fixed rent, leaving to the lessees the collection of the parish revenues. Although leases to farm were restricted by statute to a term of five years, they were frequently renewed upon expiry, and churches remained in the same hands for long periods. Sometimes the vicar was the lessee, or one of a group of lessees. When a group of men farmed a church it was rarely that all their names were mentioned in the treasurers' or stewards' accounts; usually only one was named, he who actually handed over the rent. Consequently no full list of lessees can be compiled, nor is it possible to discover how many vicars were farming their churches. The evidence available reveals that the following churches were farmed out to their vicars:

Wraysbury to William Ashby (vicar) from 1355 to 1370.

Datchet to John Milcombe (vicar) from 1367 to 1378 or later.
Caxton to Bartholomew Colne (vicar) from 1370 to 1386 or later.
Uttoxeter to - (vicar) from 1375 to 1378 or later.
      to John Rolfe (vicar) and others from at least 1415.
Simonburn to William Angram (vicar) and others for years between 1392 and 1400.
Saltash to William Young (vicar 1408-21) and others from 1402.
Ryston to William Buskyn (vicar) and others from at least 1415.
The chapel of Langley Marish was farmed independently of the church of Wraysbury to which it was attached. A series of leases of this chapel, covering years between 1377 and 1415, has been preserved: these leases show that the groups of men who farmed Langley in those years always included a chaplain; from 1377 to 1382 Geoffrey Whitemarsh, from 1393 to 1396 Thomas Goldhop, from 1399 to 1411 Richard Franklin vicar of Iver, and from 1411 to 1415 John Smart vicar of Wraysbury. The others of the groups were laymen, and it was one of them who paid the rent and was named as farmer in the treasurers' and stewards' accounts.

Some of the lay lessees received from St. George's an annual livery, a robe or its money equivalent. Liveries provided were of two kinds, the better kind pro gentilibus and the other pro valettis. A further distinction was made in the better livery.

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1 W.M.xv.58.B.42,47,43,44,45,46.
2 In the lease of 1399 (W.M.xv.58.B.43) Franklin was described as perpetual vicar of Iver, but in subsequent renewals of lease (1404 and 1409) as chaplain. Presumably he served the chapel of Langley.
The best kind of all, which included a fur, was given only to the verger of St. George's chapel, to the bailiff (when there was one) of the manor of Iver and, in 1404-5, to the chapter clerk. Its equivalent in money was usually reckoned at 20s., but when given in kind the amount and price of the material varied. Always it included some striped and some coloured stuff (often it was 3 yards of striped and 2 of coloured) at about 2s. a yard. The fur usually cost 2s.; in 1406-7 it was of white lamb. No other gentiles received furs, although they often received as much and as expensive material as the verger and bailiff; occasionally the amount was slightly less. Gentleman's livery was given to most farmers who had livery, and to the steward of the courts and, in 1395-6, to an auditor. Recipients of servant's livery were the reeve, granger and warenner of Iver, the reeve of Craswell, and, in 1385-6, the college carpenter. When given in kind this livery consisted of perhaps 2 yards striped and 1 ½ yards coloured material of a cheaper sort than that given to the gentiles. Its money value varied. As its equivalent the granger of Iver had 13s.4d. in 1366-7 and 10s. in 1370-1 and 1371-2, the reeve of Craswell had 6s.8d. in 1402-3, and the warenner of Iver 5s. in 1401-2 and 1402-3.

The first livery recorded in a treasurer's account as given to the farmer of a church was 6s.8d. pro tunica given to

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1 In 1402-3, however, the verger and the chapter clerk received only 13s.4d. each in lieu of livery (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv. 34.22).
John Bayly, farmer of Uttoxeter in 1385-6. The next surviving treasurer's account, for 1393-4, recorded 20s. given to John Wheler, farmer of the church of Deddington pro roba. Bayly's livery was probably a servant's, since it was worth only 6s.8d., but the words tunica and roba did not represent the distinction between servant's and gentleman's livery, for in the treasurer's account of 1377-8 when the verger of St. George's and the bailiff of Iver received identical liveries, the verger's was written robe and the bailiff's tunica. Another farmer to have servant's livery was Robert Pastorel, one of the farmers of the chapel of Langley from 1399 to 1411. In the last renewal of their lease (1409) a new clause was added: Habebit Robertus unus firmariorum durante termino predicto robam de liberata dictorum Custodis et Capituli competentem pro valetto. Other farmers of this period who had livery received gentleman's livery. John Wheler of Deddington always had his in money, 20s., but the others received theirs in kind. Livery lists in the treasurers' accounts did not always give the names of recipients. In surviving accounts only the lists for 1385-6, 1393-4, 1394-5, 1395-6, 1400-1, 1402-3 and 1406-7 included names of farmers receiving livery: they were as follows:

1 John called "le Bayllyf" of Uttoxeter leased a tenement from the college in Uttoxeter, at a rent of 2s.1d. a year, from 23 April 1388 for five years and then for five years after five years until fifty years had been completed. John Harpedale, farmer of Uttoxeter before Bayly, held a hereditary tenement there for which he owed 12s. a year and suit of court (Terrier of Uttoxeter, W.M. xv.28.17).

2 W.M.xv.58.B.45.
John Bayly (farmer of Uttoxeter) in 1385-6.
John Wheler (farmer of Deddington from at least 1393-1403) in 1393-4, 1394-5, 1395-6.
William Goodfellow (farmer of Whaddon from at least 1391-1401) in 1394-5, 1395-6, 1400-1.
Robert Coke (farmer of Ryston 1395-1399) in 1395-6.
Richard Maistergent (farmer of Uttoxeter from before 1393-1403) in 1395-6, 1400-1.
John Gonne (farmer of Caxton from at least 1393-1407) in 1400-1.
William Spelyng (farmer of Iver 1404-7) in 1406-7.
John Clerk (farmer of Whaddon 1402-7) in 1406-7.

From this table it is evident that at this date provision of livery was a condition of only few leases. Four was the largest number of farmers to receive it in any one year, and no livery at all was given to any farmer at least as late as 1377-8 (the date of the treasurer's roll preceding that for 1385-6 in our series). Grants of livery to farmers became more common in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Indentures of lease which have survived for this period relate only to the chapel of Langley (six leases) and the churches of Saltash and Uttoxeter (one of each). Further information concerning leases can, however, be gathered from treasurers' and stewards' accounts. From most lessees the college demanded a sum of money or bond as security. This was deposited in the erary together with the indenture of lease, to be produced if the rent
were not paid. Upon the expiry of a lease, the college sometimes demanded payment for dilapidations. For example, when Nicholas Carter's lease of the chapel of Langley expired in 1396, his widow, Isabella, who had continued the lease after her husband's death in the preceding year, had to pay 20s. for the deterioration of buildings at Langley during her husband's tenancy. Robert Smith, whose lease of the church of Iver expired in 1371-2, "bought" from the college then two cart-horses, six oxen, 25 lbs. of iron for a coulter and a ploughshare, a plough and harness, and an old building at Thorney mill. All this cost him £5.18s.4d. It may have been that Smith wished to take away with him the stock and implements thus paid for, but it is perhaps more probable that the payments were for decrease in cattle and deterioration of equipment and buildings during his tenancy: he had held the lease of Iver from at least 1362. It is apparent from this reference that the stock of the rectory of Iver was leased with the land. Probably most if not all of the leases were stock and land leases. Henry Atwater, who took up the lease of Iver after Smith, paid £8 to St. George's for the corn growing in the fields on his arrival, while Smith was allowed 20s. off the rent for the last term of his farm, perhaps to compensate him for the seed which he

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1 Et de xxs. receptis de uxor de Nicholai Cartere nuper firmarii de Langele pro defectibus in domibus apud Langele inventis in dimissione firme sue in fine termini sui (Treasurer's Account, W. M. xiv. 34. 18).

2 Cf. One of the reasons advanced by canons of Windsor in Elizabeth's reign against the statute limiting leases to five years: "for that all the landes or the moste part of them, were then (in the founder's time) let with stocke and store .... " (See above, p. 212).
had planted there. St. George's made a similar allowance to William Ashby whose farm of Wraysbury came to an end in 1372; he was allowed £6 off his last term's rent.

Remissions of rent were occasionally made by the college on grounds of compassion or for other reasons. Outstanding among such remissions was the large sum of £48.13s.9d. owed by William Person of the rent of Ryston over a number of years. In 1395-6 he was forgiven his debt, custos et collegium scientes dictum Willelmum Person in paupertatem incidisse. The college's action was, however, not purely philanthropic. Already in the preceding years much time and money had been spent in an attempt to obtain payment of Person's debt by process of law. By this time the canons were convinced of the hopelessness of further attempts. Therefore they forgave the debt and made out a quittance for it, to cancel the bond which they held from Person and his guarantors as security. Other remissions of rent were of smaller sums and in consideration of hardships suffered by lessees through plague or failure of crops. For some years, at least 1404-8, one of the canons, William Spigurnell, held a lease of Datchet at a rent of £26.13s.4d. a year. During the years 1404-7 he incurred considerable losses but, despite all, he managed faithfully to pay the full rent. In view of this and since he had arranged a new lease of the chapel of Langley for five years at a rent 4 marks higher than formerly, the chapter made an allowance to Spigurnell in 1406-7 of £8, of

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1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.8.
2 Ibid., xv.34.18.
which £2.13s.4d. was deducted from his rent for Datchet. The remaining £5.6s.8d. was a sum he had received on behalf of the college from the late lessees of Langley, of their arrears, and was allowed to keep. The treasurer, who had to account for it among the receipts from Langley, entered the amount again on the expense side of his account as an allowance made to himself, but with an explanation of the circumstances. Thomas Stonehall took out a lease of Iver in 1413 for five years at £44 a year. His crops failed in 1415-16; consequently he was impoverished and could not pay all his rent. The chapter forgave him £10 which he had been unable to pay ex speciali gratia ... ratione pauper-tatis et impotencie sue et quia bladum ibidem hoc eodem anno in magna parte deficiebat and allowed him to terminate his tenancy that year, relieving him of the remaining three years of his lease. A further example of clemency on the part of the chapter belongs to the year 1422-3, outside the period treated but included here since it shows that although the college was itself in financial difficulties the canons were merciful to others in

1 Item in allocacione facta eidem Thesaurario nunc computanti de parte firme Capelle de Langley de ii annis proximis precedencibus unde superius oneratur in titulo de Langley videlicet pro tot denariis per dominum Willelmum Spigurnell Canonicium Collegii de firmariis ibidem tunc receptis et eodem domino Willelmo per Capitulum remissis et relaxatis pro eo quod pro ecclesia de Dachet solveret integre prout superius oneratur unde sicut instancius affidavit detrimentum et perdicionem non minima incurrebat ac eiam pro eo quod ad commodum Collegii Capellam de Langley predictam ad firmam posuit pro termino quinque annorum quolibet anno ad incrementum quatuor marcarum scilicet de utroque dictorum ii annorum proximorum precedencium iiiii.s. iiiii.d. - cvi.s. viii.d. (W.M.xv.34.24).

2 Steward's Account, W.M.,xv.48.4.
similar straits. In 1422-3 no payments were made of prebends or of the warden's salary: together with other liabilities they were left to be paid in the following year, for the money coming in was insufficient to meet them. Large debts were owing to the college from their estates. However to John Wise, farmer of the church of Deddington from 1416, who had suffered through the hard seasons, a debt was forgiven as a gift in relevacione firme sue pro annis molestis et duris ac contrariis eventibus ... iii.li. vi.s. viii.d. Although good men of business the canons of St. George tempered justice with mercy.

On the other hand the chapter could be and often was pertinacious in attempts to reclaim debts. The history of the church of Ryston at farm may serve as an example both of this and of contact between the canons and the churches appropriated to them.

By 1361 Ryston was farmed out for £53.6s.8d. a year.

According to the ordination of the vicarage there made in June 1351, St. George's was responsible for i) the vicar's stipend of £13.6s.8d. a year ii) a pension of £2.13s.4d. a year to the bishop of Norwich for sequestrations iii) repair of the chancel iv) provision of service books. In addition the college as rector

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1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.32.

2 When a rectory fell vacant the bishop of the diocese laid his sequestration on it and enjoyed its income during the vacancy. The rectory of an appropriated church never became vacant, consequently the bishop, when making the appropriation, usually reserved for himself a pension from the rector as compensation for this loss. Such a pension was "for sequestrations" (Hartridge, Vicarages, p.128).
was responsible for alms-giving to the poor of the parish, and for the payment of royal taxation. No record of payment of either the vicar's stipend or the bishop's pension appears in any surviving treasurer's account save that for 1377-8 when the church of Ryston was temporarily in the hands of the college for want of a lessee, and both payments were discharged by the treasurer, and in 1393-4 and 1394-5 when the bishop's pension only was paid, doubtless because, as the treasurer noted, the lessee had failed to pay. Obviously the responsibility of both these payments was transferred with the lease. A lease of Ryston dated 11 June 1417 contained such a provision: Et predicti firmarii solvent durante termino predicto vicario ecclesie eiusdem porcionem suam in ordinacione vicarie predicte sic limitatam ... Et ... de omnibus oneribus ordinariis et extraordinariis dicte rectorie et ecclesie qualitercumque incumbentibus erga Episcopum Norwicensem et quousque alios acquietabunt preter quam prefati Custos et collegium acquietabunt prefatos firmarios erga dominum regem de quibuscumque taxis et tallagiis sibi concessis seu concedendis durante termino predicto. No details of leases of Ryston prior to 1416 have been preserved, but in the treasurer's account for 1376 an entry recording payment of the bishop of Norwich's pension for Ryston was crossed out quia per firmarium. Since the lessee of Ryston paid both the vicar and the bishop, the sole remaining liabilities of St. George's with regard to Ryston, once service books had been

1 W.M.xi.J.25.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.11.
provided, were repairs, alms and royal taxes.

Of these liabilities the first two, repairs and alms-giving, were discharged by the lessee on behalf of the college. Necessary repairs both to the chancel and the farm buildings, were done by him, the cost of this being credited to him against his rent. When directed by the steward, he distributed a quantity of barley to the poor of the parish as from the college of St. George. This may have been an annual alms to the poor but only two occasions of it have been recorded in surviving accounts: in 1369-70 1 quarter 4 bushels (costing 15s.) were thus distributed, and in 1375-6 5 quarters (costing 20s.). These references are the only evidence of alms-giving to parishioners of churches appropriated to St. George's which appear in the records of this period. By Edward III's charter of liberties the estates of St. George's were exempt from every form of royal tax, but this privilege was valid only when the king pleased to allow it. Only occasionally could the king afford to allow the estates of St. George's to pass untaxed. Consequently the canons frequently found themselves, despite all appeals, liable to pay tenths and subsidies for all their properties, the church of Ryston among them. Such payments were made from Windsor.

The first lessee of Ryston to be named in the accounts was William Person. His rent of £53.6s.8d. was payable in four equal sums of £13.6s.8d. at the four terms of the year, Christmas, Christmas, Christmas, Christmas.

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1 Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.1; Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.10.
Lady Day, Midsummer Day and Michaelmas. Collection of rent was the steward's responsibility, but he did not always receive it personally. For instance in 1369-70 the warden collected sums of money from various estates, keeping back £66.13s.4d. of it for his own salary which the steward included in his expense account as if he had paid the warden. Among the sums thus kept by the warden was £20 of William Person's rent for Ryston. In the following year, 1370-1, Person paid only £27.13s.4d. of his rent, leaving a debt of £25.13s.4d. His payments in the next year, 1371-2, were irregular and inadequate. A messenger was sent to him in January 1372 and again in February to ask for the money due, but eventually the steward, Richard Bokelly, collected £19.1s.8d. from him on 15 February. He paid a further £25 at Easter (of which £5 was collected by the warden) and another £3 on 13 July, but this was all. Consequently at the end of this year his arrears had risen to £31.18s.4d.

Apparently Person was unable to make the lands he had rented pay. In addition the property suffered when in 1374 a band of ruffians broke in. They stole stock worth £40 besides hares, conies, pheasants and partridges from the warren, and other goods worth £100; they attacked the farm servants and beat and threatened them so severely that they were in fear of their lives and dared not stay to do their work. The stock was the property of St.

1 These were the most usual terms for payment: ad festa Natalis Domini, Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis, Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste et Sancti Michaelis.
2 Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.1.
3 Treasurer's Acct., W.M.xv.34.8.
George's, therefore William Mugge, the warden, complained of these men to the king who appointed a commission to hear and decide the matter. A similar complaint was made by Hugh Burnell and William Kerdeston, two knights of Ryston whose property had also suffered at the hands of the ruffians. Subsequently it was discovered that the wrongdoers belonged to the manor of Sutton in Norfolk which was part of the inheritance of the heir of the late earl of Pembroke, a minor in the king's ward. Lest the inheritance of his ward might be in any way prejudiced by this trial, the king ordered the commission not to proceed. Mugge acquiesced, but Person was not disposed to let the matter drop, neither were Hugh Burnell and William Kerdeston whose complaint against the Sutton men had similarly been shelved. Kerdeston sought revenge. Person was willing to join him, and with a band of followers they made a raid into the Sutton lands at Brumstead and Suffield, where they carried away turves, trampled down the grass, beat the servants and so threatened them that they dared not go to their homes, much less till the lands. The manor of Sutton was then held at farm by Margaret, countess of Norfolk, who complained to the king in her turn. A commission was appointed by letters patent dated 18 September 1376 to hear and decide the case, but its findings are not known.

Although Person had managed by 1375 to reduce his arrears

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of rent to £4.13s.4d., he soon found himself again hopelessly in debt. His rent had been lowered to £50 a year in 1375, but, despite this, by 1377 he owed the college £40.12s.8d. Now St. George's took action. On 9 September 1377 Richard Raunds, treasurer of the college, rode up to Ryston. He carried with him a writ against Person which he delivered to the sheriff of Norfolk; he re-entered the Ryston estates in the name of the college, and attempted to find another lessee. Raunds was away from Windsor for thirteen days, but could arrange no new lease. Consequently the church remained temporarily under central management.

For the year 1377-8 Ryston had to be administered from Windsor, and John Massingham, one of the canons, was put in charge of it. He went there first in December, beginning his journey on the 3rd and spending 24 days in all away from St. George's. His next visit took only 8 days and was made for the purpose of selling the crops, presumably well before harvest, for he made a third journey early in July to expedite the business, when he stayed at Ryston for three weeks. Finally Richard Packington, a trusted administrative official of St. George's, went there at harvest to superintend the gathering in of the sheaves. All Massingham had been able to get for the produce of Ryston was £29.1s.5d. Of this the college had to pay the vicar £10, the bishop of Norwich £2.13s.4d., and to Massingham and Packington for their travelling expenses a further £9.0s.6½d. Thus from the

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.13.
2 Ibid., xv.34.14.
church of Ryston St. George's gained only £7.7s.6½d. in the year, a poor income compared with the £50 for which William Person had been renting it.

After 1377-8 there is a gap of seven years in our series of treasurers' accounts, but from notes of arrears in subsequent accounts it is possible to trace the fortunes of Ryston. For three more years (1378-81) the church remained in the hands of St. George's. If profits from it were as low as in 1377-8, the anxiety of the canons to secure any lessee, even at a rent considerably lower than formerly, is understandable. Person, who had been outlawed for not appearing to answer the college concerning his debt, was pardoned his outlawry in 1379. In 1381 he again took up the lease of Ryston and was holding it in 1385-6 (the date of the next treasurer's account after 1377-8) at a rent of £33.6s.8d. Doubtless the canons preferred to farm out the church rather than have much trouble and small returns from it, but they found Person no more satisfactory as lessee than formerly. By 1393-4 his rent was £45.4s.4d. in arrears, his debts extending over the past three years. Next year Ryston was once more taken into the hands of the college. Besides owing rent to St. George's, Person also owed the bishop of Norwich his pension for two years. This St. George's paid. The canons took out three writs against Person, and John Massingham, now steward of

1 See titulus Ryston in treasurer's account of 1406-7 (W.M.xv.34.24).
3 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.15.
4 Marginal note beside the titulus Ryston in the treasurer's account
St. George's, again took charge of Ryston, holding court there and selling the produce this time at a better price, £36.3s.11d. Robert Steel, vicar of Ryston, acted as proxy for the college; he collected the money due and brought it to Windsor where he received 13s.4d. for his trouble.

In the following year, 1395-6, the treasurer recorded that the warden and canons had forgiven Person his debt, which now amounted to £47.13s.9d., on account of his poverty. Person's poverty was by now complete, for he had been outlawed and all his possessions were forfeit. The reason for his outlawry may have been his inability to meet his debts, or possibly some further friction with the men of Sutton manor, for two of his comrades in the former raid suffered a like sentence of outlawry. The warden, Thomas Butler, seized the opportunity afforded by a royal visit to Windsor Castle in July 1396 to petition the king for the goods and chattels forfeited by Person and his friends as they were parishioners of the college. Butler's request was granted. Since the college now had all William Person's possessions, it was useless to pursue him further for his arrears, although his guarantors might have been called upon to pay. Probably there was little hope of recovering the debt from them,

4 (contd.)

of 1394-5 (W.M.xv.34.17).

1 Ibid.,xv.34.17.
2 Ibid.,xv.34.18. See above, p.230.
3 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1395-9, p.27.
and the college was wise to withdraw before incurring further expense in attempts to do so.

John Massingham was able to arrange a lease of Ryston in August 1396. Until 1399 the lessees were Robert Coke and John Arkale, who still owed part of their rent in 1408. From at least 1400 the church was farmed out to a group of men, usually represented by Richard Person in the treasurers' accounts, who held the lease until 1416. In 1407-8 Richard Person and his associates were £5.18s.0d. in arrears for back rent and owed £3.14s.8d. of the current year's rent. The chapter allowed to them the £3.14s.8d. which was owing, to compensate them for losses they had sustained when the growing corn was destroyed by tempest.

Since Ryston was the nearest of the properties of St. George's to Yarmouth, it had been the practice of the steward to combine visits to these two places when it was necessary to make any arrangements at Yarmouth concerning the delivery of the annual last of herrings. Usually the herrings were brought from Yarmouth by a messenger sent from Windsor. In 1404-5, however, Richard Person rode to Yarmouth for them. For this the treasurer of St. George's paid him 12d. In 1407-8 the treasurer paid him 3s.4d. for bringing his own rent to Windsor. By the terms of

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1 Arkale was one of the outlaws whose possessions were granted to the warden of Windsor in 1396. Presumably he had secured pardon.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.26.
3 Ibid., xv.34.23.
4 Ibid., xv.34.26.
most leases, rents for estates were payable at Windsor Castle, but the steward and his messengers were obliged to make frequent journeys to the estates or to London to collect money which otherwise might not have been paid at all. It was in the interest of the college for the treasurer to pay farmers for bringing their rents, since it saved time and travelling expenses for the steward. As early as 1385-6 John Bayly, farmer of Uttoxeter, received 5s. for bringing money to Windsor on two occasions. In 1393-4 10s. was paid to the servant of Henry Kirkstead, farmer of Saltash, for his long journey from Cornwall with the rent. In 1407-8, besides Richard Person, John French farmer of Saltash and William Walker one of the farmers of Uttoxeter received gifts at the hand of the treasurer for bringing their rents to Windsor. In the same way it was useful for the college when farmers and vicars could perform small items of business in their districts. William Wintour, farmer of Whaddon, arranged the transport of the herrings from Yarmouth in 1393-4, as Richard Person of Ryston did in 1404-5. Much of the business connected with the college's long litigation against John Crewkerne, vicar of Saltash, was done for St. George's by Thomas Ebrelle, one of the farmers of the church, and William Young, farmer and later vicar there.

The foregoing brief account of the church of Ryston and its farmers touches on some further points of interest with reference to the other churches appropriated to the college. It is particularly interesting to see how much responsibility the college had towards these churches and what payments had to be made in respect of them. Division of burdens varied according to the
ordination of each vicarage, but for the most part, ordinary burdens were the concern of the vicar and extraordinary burdens had to be supported by the rector. However, liability for many of the burdens of the rector could be, and frequently was, transferred with the lease of the rectory to the farmer.

Ordinary burdens were those which recurred regularly each year. These included, with regard to the church, the maintenance of chaplains (where there were dependent chapels), the provision of bread, wine, incense and wax for the services, the wages of cleaners, the cost of washing and mending vestments and of binding and repairing service-books. In addition, each church owed annual payment for visitation dues to the diocesan authorities: to the bishop "sinodals" and to the archdeacon "procurations." These expenses were paid by the vicar in all the churches save that of Datchet for which St. George's was bound to pay 6s.8d. procurations yearly to the archdeacon of Buckingham.

Extraordinary burdens included the provision of service books, repair of the chancel, and irregular payments such as procurations to the archbishop and to papal nuncios, papal subsidies and royal tenths and subsidies. These were the responsibility of St. George's as rector, but were in some cases discharged by lessees as part of the conditions of their lease.

Although St. George's was responsible for providing service books, the vicars had to keep them in repair. Consequently,

According to the ordinary of the vicarage of Wraysbury, the vicar was to support all burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, but payments by St. George's for these extraordinary expenses were recorded consistently in treasurers' accounts.
once the initial cost of supplying them had been met, the college
was free of further expense with regard to books for a considerable
period. For the church of Wraysbury the college had to provide
vestments and ornaments as well as books. One set of vestments
was given to Wraysbury at some date subsequent to 1384, for, in the
inventory of St. George's chapel made in that year, beside the
entry describing the set (one chasuble, two albs, one amice, one
stole, one phanon and an altar apparel for the masses of the
Blessed Virgin) was written in another hand *datum ecclesie de
Wyradesbury. Deficit vestimentum.*

In addition to repairing the chancels, the college
provided suitable dwellings for the vicars and (except when
arranged otherwise in the lease) kept farm buildings, hedges and
fences in repair. All rebuilding and repairs for which St.
George's was liable were done by the farmer of the church (who
was, in some cases, also the vicar) under the orders of the
officials of the college; the expenditure was refunded from St.
George's. When the work was extensive a detailed account of costs
was sent in by the farmer. Three such accounts have been
preserved, attached to treasurers' rolls of the year in which they
were presented. The earliest of them was submitted by Robert
Smith, farmer of Iver, and covered the cost of a new building
containing a bakery, brewery and kitchen which he had erected
in the summer and autumn of 1367 in accordance with orders given
him by the warden, treasurer and steward of St. George's in the

1 Rotograph of the Inventory, W.M.IV.B.23.
preceding year. Timber for the building had been provided from the college's wood called Thorney wood in Iver, where Smith was allowed to fell oaks. The bark from some of these trees was sold by Smith for 7s.2d., which sum he credited to the college's account against his expenses. Other oaks had not been stripped of their bark for lack of buyers. Smith's expenditure included the wages of a man hired for 13 days to fell the oaks and the hire of nine carts to carry them to the site. Bread, meat and ale was bought to provide three meals a day for carpenters and other workmen at their employer's cost. Four of the carpenters were given gloves, perhaps for their protection when handling rough timber. The whole building works cost £16.13s.81/2d. When 7s.2d. was deducted for the price received from oak bark, a balance of £16.6s.61/2d. was left and this the treasurer paid or allowed to Smith at Michaelmas 1367. The other two accounts were both presented by John Milcombe, vicar and farmer of Datchet, in 1372 and 1376. The first referred to the cost of repairing a barn and building a new wall. Timber for the barn was again supplied from Thorney wood, and the carting to Datchet was done by boon workers who received only their food and a gift of 4d. between them from the steward. Two carpenters with one servant and two other men were hired to saw the wood; other workmen included plasterers, roofers and cement diggers. Costs for barn and wall amounted to £8.7s.101/2d. Milcombe closed this account with the statement that he then owed the treasurer 18s.91/2d. payable at

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.4.
Michaelmas 1372. Presumably he owed from his rent a sum of £9.6s.8d., of which, when this bill had been deducted, only £3.9s.8d. remained to be paid. The other account was for the building of a bakery, brewery, kitchen, granary, and stable at Datchet at a cost of £11.17s.2d. Wood for this too was brought from the manor of Iver.

Although no other accounts for building work in the various churches have been preserved, some interesting details concerning them were included in the treasurers' accounts. Ten marks (£6.13s.4d.) was taken from the erary in 1361-2 to pay for work on the vicar's house at Iver. In the same year a glass window was replaced in the church of Wraysbury at a cost of 16d. When the chancel of South Tawton church needed repair in 1385-6, the earl of Warwick gave twelve oaks from his estates towards the work. The steward of St. George's, John Prust, superintended the collection of the oaks, and his expenses included gifts to the keeper of the wood, so that he might have better trees. By ancient custom parishioners were expected to keep the nave of their church in repair, while the rector was responsible for repairing the chancel, but in 1393-4 St. George's made a gift of 26s.8d. to the parishioners of Langley, to help them in repairing the nave.

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.8.
2 Ibid., xv.34.11.
3 Ibid., xv.34.1.
4 Ibid., xv.34.15.
5 Ibid., xv.34.16.
Only one example of payment of metropolitical procurations was recorded in the treasurers’ accounts of the period. Archbishop Thomas Arundel began a visitation of his province on 30 April 1397. After visiting his diocese of Canterbury he passed through London, Rochester and Chichester to Coventry and Lichfield where he spent the autumn of 1400. He reached Ely in the autumn of 1401. Everywhere the archbishop or his commissaries went they were well received and due procurations were paid. Procuration fees of 16s.8d. for Uttoxeter (in Coventry and Lichfield) and 7s.6d. for Whaddon (in Ely) were paid by the farmers of those churches to whom the treasurer afterwards refunded the amounts.

St. George’s paid papal procurations in 1371-2 and 1376. Two cardinals, Simon Langham of St. Sixtus and John de Dormans of Sancti Quatuor Coronati, were sent by Gregory XI to England in 1371 as mediators for peace between Edward III and King Charles of France. Procurations were ordered for them, to meet the expenses of their mission. Payments were made to the cardinals by the treasurer of St. George’s for the churches of Wraysbury, Iver, Datchet and Deddington in the diocese of Lincoln, and for

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2 Treasurer’s Account, W.M.xv.34.20.
3 Formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, 1366-8. His acceptance of a cardinal’s hat in September 1368 offended Edward III who considered the see of Canterbury vacant in consequence. Langham resigned his archbishopric on 27 November 1368, and soon recovered royal favour. His mission of 1371-2 was not successful, but he arranged a truce between Edward III and the court of Flanders (*Foedera*, III, 953 and Cal. Close Rolls, 1369-74, p.447).
5 Ibid., p.102.
South Tawton and Saltash in the diocese of Exeter at a rate of 4d. in the pound. For the archbishop of Rouen, who finally arranged the Truce of Bruges in 1375, procuration fees were paid at a rate of 1¼d. in the mark. The vicar of Datchet represented St. George's at Aylesbury where he discussed with the papal messengers both these fees and the subsidy then payable. He also paid over the money due, on behalf of the college, in respect of the churches of Wraysbury with Langley, Iver and Datchet. For Deddington payment was made by the farmer of the church and refunded by the treasurer of St. George's. The warden paid what was due for South Tawton and Saltash and submitted a bill to the treasurer for the amount. There is no record of payment of procurations to papal nuncios for the other five churches belonging to St. George's. Probably the conditions of the leases to farm of these churches rendered the farmers liable for them.

Similarly with regard to papal tenths and subsidies, payment was always made direct from Windsor for the four churches in the diocese of Lincoln (Wraysbury, Iver, Datchet and Deddington), but practice varied with the other churches. The papal tenth of 1362-3 was paid from Windsor for the Lincoln churches and for Whaddon and Uttoxeter; the tenth of 1375-6 was paid from the centre for the Lincoln churches and the two Exeter churches, South

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.8.
2 Ibid., xv.34.10 and 11.
3 Ibid., xv.34.2.
Tawton and Saltash. To Bartholomew of Bavaria, papal nuncio in 1394-5, the treasurer paid the subsidy of 1/2d. in the pound only for the four churches in the diocese of Lincoln.

Liability for royal taxes and subsidies was rarely undertaken by the farmer of the church, even when he took on the other extraordinary burdens. Tenths, fifteenths and subsidies due to the king had to be paid whenever St. George's failed to realise its grant of exemption. Since such failure was frequent, the expense involved was considerable.

Payment of the vicar's wage (when in money) and the pension due annually to the diocesan was undertaken in most cases (as at Ryston) by the farmer of the church. Some, however, were paid from Windsor. Of the vicars, only two, the vicars of Datchet and Whaddon, were paid regularly by the college, and direct payments to the vicar of Whaddon ceased after 1368. Other vicars were paid from the centre only when their churches were temporally without a lessee. The vicar of Datchet alone continued to receive his wage from the treasurer of the college throughout our period. In 1353-4 Robert Amant, then vicar of Datchet, received part of his wage in kind, 10 quarters of barley valued at 40s., but all other recorded payments were in money. Only to

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.10 and 11. 2 Ibid., xv.34.17.

3 John Lylye and Robert Kellum who held a five years' lease of Caxton 1412-17 were responsible for all ordinary and extraordinary burdens, including repair of the chancel and royal tenths and subsidies (Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.4). Many leases, however, especially excepted royal taxes from such a clause.

4 See above, pp.75-6.

5 Sergeant's Account, Wraysbury, W.M.xv.53.42.
the bishop and chapter of Lincoln were their pensions in lieu of sequestrations paid by the treasurer of St. George's. The total sum paid annually to the bishop of Lincoln was £3.7s.4d., of which 20s. was for Wraysbury, 20s. for Iver, 24s. for Deddington and 3s.4d. for Datchet. The dean and chapter of Lincoln had 16s. a year from these four churches, 6s.8d. for Wraysbury, 5s. for Iver, 3s.4d. for Deddington and 1s. for Datchet. A quittance of payment of these pensions to the dean and chapter of Lincoln has been preserved; it belongs to the year 1393 and payment, due on the feast of the Annunciation, was made on 28 March that year. Pensions for churches in dioceses other than Lincoln were paid only occasionally from the centre. For Ryston the bishop and chapter of Norwich received payment from Windsor when the church was temporarily not farmed out (1377-8) and when William Person, already in debt, omitted to pay it (1393-4 and 1394-5). Pensions were paid for Whaddon in 1362-3 when two years' payment was owing, and in 1370-1 when three years' arrears were paid up. Similarly the treasurer paid for Caxton in 1371-2 when the bishop of Ely's pension was six years in arrears. Possibly in these instances the college was obliged to pay owing to the failure of the farmer to do so, for the bishop would hold St. George's responsible for payment. The pension due yearly to the bishop of Exeter for Saltash was 2 marks (£1.6s.8d.). This was payable by the farmer of the church. A quittance from Bishop Brantingham, dated 14 October 1374, acknowledged that he had

Quittance, W.M.xv.60.5.
received 8 marks, his pension for four years, by the hand of Robert Vaggescombe, canon of Exeter and farmer of Saltash. When, however, the pension was left unpaid for some years it was to the dean and canons of Windsor that an order to pay was directed, not to the farmer personally, for the transference of liability was a private arrangement and not recognised by the bishop.

Almsgiving by the college of St. George in their appropriated parishes was recorded only for Ryston, and on only two occasions. Of the ordination deeds of vicarages in their eleven churches only one, that of Wraysbury, made any mention of alms for the poor, and even in this instance the performance of it was left to the charity of the dean and canons. Each canon when he came into residence was expected to give alms to the poor, but this generosity in Windsor did little to relieve poor folk in distant appropriated parishes, although those from parishes near-by may have benefitted. The farmers of the churches may have undertaken fixed alms to the poor, but no evidence of this has been found. St. George's like other absentee rectors, perhaps looked on appropriated churches as sources of income primarily, and left spiritual duties including that of charity to the vicar, whose portion was rarely large enough to allow much almsgiving.

The liabilities of St. George's in respect of appropriated churches were not heavy and were lightened considerably by the conditions of leases to farm. With some exceptions, notably the

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1 Reg. Brantyngham (Exeter Series), I, 348.
2 Ibid., I, 533 (1384).
four churches in the diocese of Lincoln for which the college paid extraordinary burdens and the bishop's pension, the churches caused very little expense to their rector and their rents were to a large extent clear profit. Occasional repairs, occasional royal tenths and subsidies, and payments incidental upon the collection of rent were the sole expenses which the college had to meet when a church was at farm on a lease which burdened the farmer with payment of the rector's ordinary and extraordinary dues. Sometimes even repairs and royal taxes were borne by the farmer. Default of payment of rent was the biggest of the college's troubles. When the farmer paid regularly appropriated churches were extremely profitable and rarely caused the canons much trouble.

1 As at Caxton 1412-17 (see above, p.248,n.3).
St. George's possessed three manors. Two, Iver in Buckingham, and Craswell in Bray, Berkshire, were close to Windsor; the other was in Oxfordshire some 60 miles from St. George's, and consisted of one third of the manor of Deddington Castle which was bought by the college and finally acquired in 1386. Of these three, the two neighbouring manors were administered from Windsor, Iver for the whole of our period and Craswell until 1415 when it was first let out to farm, but distant Deddington Castle was farmed out as soon as obtained.

The deed by which Joan Breton relinquished her claim to this third part of the manor of Deddington Castle in return for a life pension of £10 a year, was dated 25 March 1386, but either the grant was retrospective or St. George's had taken possession of the manor earlier in the year, for the treasurer recorded receipt of rent both for the Easter and Michaelmas terms of the financial year 1385-6. The total receipts were £18, £9 at each of these terms. John Prust, steward of St. George's, held court and view of frankpledge at Deddington in Whit week, together with William Wilcote, steward of the manor. By 1393-4 the manor was farmed at a rent of £28 a year to Richard Prust who owed 28s.3d. for the year 1392-3 and £6.6s.0d. for the current year. In this year St. George's paid a fee of 20s. to John Abburbury, steward of Deddington, but subsequent records contain

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1 See above, pp.47-9.  
2 Arundel White Book, f.23.  
3 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.15.  
4 Ibid., xv.34.16.
no further mention of such a fee.

Richard Prust died in 1395 (before 17 March), having paid off his arrears of 28s.3d. for 1392-3, but not the larger debt of £6.6s.0d. owing for the following year. His executors, Thomas Prust and William Hokard, paid part of the rent due for his last year (1394-5), but left the rest to swell the total of his arrears to £23.11s.9d. Hokard discharged a further £13.6s.8d. in 1395-6, but ten years later £8.13s.9d. was still owing.

On 19 September 1395 John Massingham, steward of the college, left for Deddington where he held court and also arranged a lease of the manor to John Yerman at a rent of £26 a year. Yerman proved a satisfactory tenant, but he retained the lease only for one term of five years, when he retired with honour leaving no arrears. After him John Abburbury (perhaps still steward of the manor) took up the lease at the same rent, £26, which he paid fully and faithfully for five years in his turn, after which he too retired. An allowance of 20s. was made to him in the last year of his tenancy for the expenses of a journey which he had been obliged to make to London to bring back a runaway villein.

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1. Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.17.
2. Ibid., xv.34.18.
3. Ibid., xv.34.24.
4. Item Johanni Abburbury reducenti i nativum a London usque dominium de Dadyntone xxs. (Ibid., xv.34.23).
From 29 September 1405 when a lease for five years to
John Kent was arranged, the rent of Deddington was increased by
one mark to £26.13s.4d. a year, payable in two equal sums on St.
George's day and All Saints' Day. Kent held the lease for only
two years of his term, for he died in 1407, when John Yerman
agreed to take on the remaining three years of his lease on the
same terms.

No details of a lease of Deddington Castle have been
found save in the steward's account of 1415-6 which recorded at
some length the terms of current leases of each of the college
properties. Deddington Castle was still farmed at £26.13s.4d.;
the tenants were William Wyghthull and William Horncastle who
held the manor for five years from All Saints' Day 1414. Their
rent was payable at Windsor, half at Lady Day and half at
Michaelmas, and they had deposited a bond for £40 in the exary
as security. By the conditions of the lease the farmers were
responsible for discharging the fees of the steward of the courts
and all services and customary due to the lords in chief and for
maintaining the rights and liberties of the manor. St. George's
did necessary repairs, although of course the farmers were bound
to keep and return the manor in as good a state as they had
received it.

The same steward's account contains some of the terms of
the earliest lease of the manor of Craswell which was farmed out

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.26.
2 Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.4.
to Thomas Bowyer of Bray for five years beginning 1 October 1415 at £21 a year. Bowyer’s rent was payable at Windsor Castle also, in two equal sums at Easter and Michaelmas, and a bond for £40 guaranteed by himself and two others had been deposited in the erary as his security. A detailed list of the goods and chattels leased with the land was likewise kept in the erary. Bowyer was to support all the liabilities of the demesne: to maintain its rights and liberties, pay the fees of the steward and his train when coming to hold court, and repair all the buildings of the manor including Bray mill with its bridges, floodgates and waterwheels. St. George’s undertook to provide for repair of the buildings wood, tiles and lime, and for repair of the mill all materials considered necessary by the steward. An account was submitted by Bowyer in this year in which he claimed £5.5s.0d. spent on repairs. This was allowed by the college and consequently Bowyer paid only £15.14s.11/2d. of the £21 rent due from him for the year.

The earliest indenture of lease of Craswell which has been preserved in the erary was drawn up on 31 October 1422. The lessee was still Thomas Bowyer who was to hold the manor for a further five years at the same rent as that asked in 1415, £21 a year. It is very probable that other terms of the lease were the same as in 1415, and since this document expressed them more fully than the summary made in the steward’s roll of 1415-16, an

1 W.M.xv.58.D.73. The date on the lease was altered subsequently so that it might be used again. The altered date was either 5 Henry VI (1426) or 15 Henry VI (1436).
examination of it supplements our information concerning the arrangements made when Craswell was let out to farm. Together with the demesne of Craswell, with its rents, lands, fisheries and vineyards, were demised the perquisites of view and court, namely fines, heriots and amercements made in the court leet, and the water mill called Bray mill and all other appurtenances of the manor. Expressly excepted, however, were the rights of wardship, marriage and escheat, and fines and amercements of tenants of the manor made before royal and itinerant justices. The dean and canons also reserved the right to enter and stay in the houses of the manor as often as it pleased them to come to inspect the state of the demesne. In addition the farmer was to supply at his own cost food and other necessities required by the steward of the college, the steward of the courts and their retinue, servants and horses, whenever they came to hold court at Craswell or to inspect the manor. St. George's undertook, in this lease, to defend the liberties of the demesne, but Bowyer was still responsible for its enclosures and customary dues, and for repairing all buildings when necessary, although the dean and canons agreed to provide, besides timber, tiles and lime, the cost of carpentry. With regard to Bray mill, the dean and canons were to supply timber and "millstones of iron," to pay costs of

\[\text{Molares ferri.} \] Perhaps this strange expression refers to the iron band which held together the best kind of millstone. This kind was made of very hard stone found near Paris only in small pieces which had to be stuck together with strong cement, and held by an iron band (A History of Agriculture and Prices in England by J. E. Thorold Rogers, I, 504).
carpentry and to keep up the wharf, but Bowyer was to keep in repair the "cogges, runges, flotgates, ladeles, stertes" of the water wheels; the steward of the college was to decide when repairs were necessary. Bowyer was to have sufficient fuel for his own needs and those of his household, and the annual livery of a servant each Christmas. He was not to sub-let any of the demesne without the permission of the steward.

As a guarantee of his rent Thomas Bowyer delivered to the college a bond of £60 for which, besides himself, Henry Bowyer and John Bowyer of Bray held themselves liable. If the rent fell into arrears for twenty days, the farmer undertook to pay St. George's 3s.4d. above what he owed to compensate them for the trouble caused by his lateness. After 20 days the dean and canons were free to re-enter the manor and lease it to some other person, while claiming from Bowyer both the rent owing and expenses incurred because of his default. The lease was to date from 1 October 1422, but from that date until 24 June 1422 the dean and canons reserved the right of entry and exit for themselves and their servants, in order that they might deal with and dispose of their goods and chattels in the demesne. A similar privilege was promised to Thomas Bowyer at the end of his term, so that he might remove his goods and dispose of them as he wished. Apparently this lease, unlike that of 1415, did not include goods and chattels with the land.

When manors were at farm St. George's was relieved of nearly all responsibility concerning them. The only expenses incurred in respect of the manor of Deddington Castle were those
connected with holding court there and arranging the smooth succession of leases. Periodically the two stewards (of the college and of the courts) visited Deddington with their servants, held view of frankpledge and court, inspected the manor, and withdrew. Their travelling expenses were the sole debits on this account, and, in 1395-6 a further 4d. for a bag bought to put the court rolls in. Costs for repairs were infrequent since the farmer was expected to maintain buildings in as good a state as he found them. With these few and usually modest exceptions, St. George's had little to disburse for the manor, and, since the rent was paid regularly for the most part, little trouble on that head. Craswell, which was put out to farm only at the end of the period surveyed, cost the college £5.5s.0½d. in initial repairs but probably in subsequent years was the cause of very little expense, for although St. George's had agreed to supply materials necessary for repairs, the farmer was responsible for the far heavier burden of providing and paying for the labour.

1 Et solutum pro una bagga empta pro rotulis curie de Dadyngtone imponenda iiiid. (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.18).
THE DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ESTATES OF ST. GEORGE’S
IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND
BERKSHIRE

from Christopher Saxton’s map of Oxfordshire,
Buckinghamshire and Berkshire, 1574.
B. Estates under direct management.

a) Before 1361 (Wraysbury, Datchet, Deddington, Iver, Craswell).

For the period before 1361 no treasurers' or stewards' accounts have survived. Consequently we have no comprehensive survey of the revenues and estates of the college before that date. No such records can be expected before the year 1350, since, although Edward III's letters patent founding St. George's bore date 6 August 1348, the three churches (Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter) which formed the original endowment were not appropriated to the new college until the end of 1349. The income of Uttoxeter, which had been appropriated to an absentee rector before, could pass at once to St. George's, but the college could not take possession of Wraysbury or South Tawton until the present rectors either resigned or died. Possibly arrangements were made for St. George's to enjoy the revenues speedily, but few receipts could have come in before 1350.

From 1350 onwards revenues grew steadily larger as the possessions of the college were augmented. Some account of receipts must have been kept, although none has survived. The first decade of the foundation is not, however, wholly lacking in central records. We have a series of monthly accounts of household expenditure for dates between December 1351 and August 1355. Although these

1 W.M.xv.3.1. Two bundles, one of twelve, the other of four rolls. Nine of the rolls are dated and internal evidence makes it possible to date the others. They appear to belong to the following months. First bundle (in the order in which the rolls are fastened): January 1355, February 1355, March 1355, April 1355, May 1355 and June 1353 sewn together, June 1355, July 1355, August 1355, October 1354, May 1353, January 1353, December 1351. Second bundle: January 1352, March 1352, August 1353, November 1354.
accounts deal only with expenditure (foodstuffs consumed each day and other miscellaneous expenses), they afford some information concerning the college estates. Among the account of foodstuffs they record when supplies were sent in to the household and from which of the estates; among miscellaneous items were the expenses of the stewards, supervisors and messengers visiting the estates. It is possible to discover within narrow limits when first the estates began to supply produce to Windsor, and which of them were retained under the direct management of officials from Windsor.

This information is supplemented by the evidence of two local account rolls. Both refer to the rectory of Wraysbury under Richard Packington, sergeant (serviens) of the dean and canons there and in other of their estates. The first covers a whole year from Michaelmas 1353 to Michaelmas 1354, but the second covers only eight months, from Michaelmas 1354 to 11 May 1355. This account was closed before the end of the financial year because arrangements had been made to let out the rectory for the first time to farm.

Before examining what these two sources (household accounts and local accounts) can reveal about the estates, it is useful to review the state of the college in the years with which they deal, 1351-5. The household accounts show that at least during these four years a common table was provided in the college. Those who ate at it each day were enumerated in the margin of the accounts as Gentlemen (gentiles) so many, Servants (valetti) so many, and

1 W.M.xv.53.42.  
2 Ibid., xv.53.43.
visitors (supervenientes) so many. A further description of the visitors was usually included. They might be friends of the dean or the canons, messengers, pilgrims, or tenants of the estates who had come on some errand. The servants were of course those attached to the canons and the household. Less definite, however, is the meaning of the term gentiles. Strictly used, this term should refer only to laymen; it was employed in later treasurers' accounts to denote those who received the better kind of college livery - the verger, farmers of estates and counsel at law, all laymen. But the number of gentiles who ate daily at the table of the college in 1351-5 precludes this limited interpretation of the term. There could not have been as many as from ten to twenty such gentlemen at Windsor each day. It seems probable that gentiles and valetti were used as mutually exclusive terms, that is, that everyone who was not a servant was accounted a "gentleman" whether layman or clerk. If this was the case, the category of gentiles must have included the canons and vicars of the college. We know from the statutes of St. George's that central provision of food for the members of the college was not intended. Arrangements were made in the statutes (which were dated 30 November 1352) for each canon, vicar and clerk to receive a proportion of his wage for his keep; only the choristers were expected to eat together, and their master was to cater for them. There is a

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1 I am indebted to Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson for this information and for his helpful discussion of this matter.
simple explanation of the common table of 1351-5. It was a temporary expedient only. During these years lodgings for the new college were in building. There had been a delay owing to the Black Death, and when in 1350 sufficient workmen were assembled at Windsor to proceed with the necessary alterations and extensions, it was to the chapel that their attention was first turned. In 1351 they began on the canons' chambers, but did not complete them until 1355. Without proper accommodation it was impossible for individuals to cater for themselves. Consequently two of the canons held office as stewards of the household, catering for the whole college and servants and visitors. The warden's chambers were the first to be completed, and on 27 January 1353 he ate there for the first time. The household catered for 51 persons, 25 gentlemen and 26 servants, but of these only six ate at the common table in the great hall. Food was provided for the rest from the kitchens of the household but was served per custodem in camera sua nova. If this means, as it appears to do, that the warden entertained these persons in his lodging, the entry lends some support to the theory that gentiles referred to the canons and vicars, for it is most probable that the warden's guests were his fellow-canons, their vicars and their servants. None of the other chambers was finished until 1355 when Robert Burnham's was apparently the first to be ready, for on 1 January 1355 he gave a housewarming in his turn. This time only five persons were served by the household, although twelve loaves were sent up to Burnham's chambers from the pantry. All the lodgings were finished in 1355 and it is very probable that common catering ceased shortly afterwards.
The first financial year for which household accounts have survived was the year 1351-2, when Robert Burnham and Reginald Lodington were stewards of the household. They held office from 31 October 1351 to 30 September 1352 and kept ten rolls of accounts. Only three of these ten now remain; two cover complete months, December 1351 and January 1352, and the other covers the last twelve days of March 1352. The accounts were drawn up in the usual way. For the most part, each roll contained the expenditure of one calendar month, written in day by day. Foodstuffs consumed each day were entered beside the name of the domestic office through which they came; bread from the pantry, ale and wine from the buttery, meat, fish and dairy produce from the kitchen. At the end of the day's entries three totals were given, in money. The first, Empciones, showed the cost of foods purchased; the second, De stauro, showed the value of foods supplied from stock; and the last, Exennia, the value of gifts (if any). Supplies from "stock" included both commodities taken from the store-houses in the college and also produce supplied from estates.

1 The roll for December 1351 was endorsed as follows: Contentum X rotulos expensarum hospicii collegii de Wyndesore videlicet ab ultimo die Octobris anno xxvî° usque ultimum diem Septembris anno xxviî° utroque die computato videlicet per unum annum preter xxx dies in toto per R. Bernham R. Lodyngton senescallos.

2 Since there were only ten rolls for the eleven months between 31 October 1351 and 30 September 1352, one or more of the rolls must have covered a longer period than one month. The existing roll for March 1352, although covering only 12 days and without a heading, does not appear to be a fragment. At the foot of it was written: Summa xii dierum per R. Ludyngstone.
At this date, 1351-2, St. George's had possession only of Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter. Of these only Wraysbury was near enough to send supplies to St. George's.

It is evident from the distinction made between purchases and the produce of estates that no money passed from the stewards to the local officials at Wraysbury. When supplies were sent in, their market value was entered in the household accounts but the stewards did not pay for them. Instead they gave the local officials a tally for the goods supplied. These tallies acknowledged receipt by the household of so much wheat, so many pigs, geese or chickens. The transaction was not regarded as a sale, consequently the tally was not made out to represent the money value of the supplies. Wheat was sent in from Wraysbury one quarter at a time on baking day. Although the cost of the whole quarter of wheat was noted in the household account for the day, only the cost of bread actually consumed was charged to the day's expenses. The remainder of the bread went into the pantry store and was issued each day as it was needed, when the cost of it figured in the total of foods from stock. The produce of Wraysbury supplied only a very small proportion of the household's requirements.

At this time Wraysbury was administered for the college by a reeve, John Godfrey, who was removed from office on 12 December 1352 when Richard Packington took over management of the rectory in his stead. An indenture was drawn up between Godfrey and Packington in which were detailed the live-stock, carts, ploughs, tools, and other equipment of the manor as delivered by
the retiring official to his successor. The live-stock included 3 old farm horses of which one was blind and feeble, 6 oxen of which one was the property of Robert Burnham, 1 cow (in calf), 2 young boars, 6 sows of which one had four sucklings and two had fourteen sucklings all born in December 1352, 29 little pigs, 21 geese of which twelve were destined for the household of the college of Windsor, 2 yearling cattle of which one was a heifer, 3 capons and 21 cocks and hens. The carts, with their wheels, harnesses, and traces, the ploughs and farm implements were enumerated and described with minute thoroughness. One cart had well-shod wheels, another (the manure-cart) had weak wheels but they were bound with good iron. One of the ploughs was old and nearly worn-out and had lost its wheels. The kitchen equipment included a tripod with one broken foot, eleven dishes, a ladle, six platters and six saucers, a worn and broken bowl and a worn-out pan. There was one table fixed in the hall, a trestle-table besides, and six small benches. A gallon pitcher of earthenware was provided for fetching water. This comprehensive inventory, drawn up soon after the close of the financial year 1351-2, gives a clear picture of the stock of the rectory lands of Wraysbury when they had been in the possession of St. George's for less than two years.

Concerning South Tawton and Uttoxeter there is little or no evidence. Possibly South Tawton had not yet come into the possession of the college; certainly there was no mention of it in the three surviving household rolls of 1351-2. The only

W.M.xv 47.8.
reference to Uttoxeter occurred in the roll for January 1352 when
the stewards accounted, among their miscellaneous expenses, for
20s. delivered to Hugh Whitchurch, one of their fellow-canons,
for the expenses of a journey to Uttoxeter on the business of the
college. The nature of the business was not stated. Perhaps
Uttoxeter was already at farm.

Of the household accounts for the next financial year
(1352-3) we have those for January, May, part of June, and August
1353. By January 1353 Datchet and Iver had joined Wraysbury in
supplying the household, but still the proportion of foods
purchased far exceeded that sent in from the estates. The total
cost of catering in January 1353 amounted to £23.18s.3½d. Of this
sum £18.7s.6d. was actually expended on purchases, the canons had
received gifts to the value of £5.8s.0d. and the estates supplied
produce worth £4.2s.9½d. Produce supplied during the months for
which accounts have survived included wheat, veal, pork and
chicken from Wraysbury; wheat, mutton, rabbit, chicken, eels and
candles from Iver; wheat from Datchet; and in August 1353 a pigeon
from Craswell in Bray.

By this time St. George's had obtained the appropriation
of ten rectories and seisin of two manors. Wraysbury, South Tawton
and Uttoxeter were of course three of the appropriated rectories,
and to them had been added in 1351 Iver, Ryston, Whaddon, Caxton
and Saltash, and in 1352 Deddington and Datchet. Since the rectory
of Iver fell vacant in June 1351 (one month after it had been

1 There were valuable eel fisheries in the Thames there.
appropriated to St. George's), the warden and canons were able to present a vicar and enjoy the income of the church without much delay, but they may have had to wait longer to realise their possession of Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton. There was a vacancy at Saltash in August 1351. This meant that St. George's could then take over the rectory. On 4 August Bishop Grandisson ordained a vicarage there and on the following day instituted the first perpetual vicar. Deddington was vacant when the appropriation was made, on 10 June 1352. The revenues thus passed to the college at once. Although Datchet was appropriated in July 1352, no vicarage was ordained there until 17 January 1353. This suggests that no vacancy occurred until then, otherwise such an ordination would have been necessary before. Since supplies were coming in from Datchet to Windsor from the beginning of January 1353, it is possible that, the rectory having become vacant before the beginning of the year, St. George's had taken over the estates while awaiting a formal ordination of the vicarage before presenting the first vicar. The two manors were Iver and Craswell in Bray of which, together with Temple wood, Edward III gave orders that the warden and canons were to have seisin in letters dated 23 February 1353.

From the fact that they supplied the household it is evident that Wraysbury, Datchet, Iver and Craswell were administered under the direct control of the college. We know that

1 Reg. Grandisson, III, 1418.
Packington was in charge at Wraysbury, as sergeant, from December 1352. Datchet was managed by a bailiff who came to Windsor on two occasions in May 1353 when the household accountants recorded his presence at table. On 8 May when he came, one of his fellow visitors was an accounting clerk. This suggests that the bailiff came to present his accounts, perhaps his half-yearly view. On 24 May he was accompanied by two parishioners of Datchet. No distinction was made in household accounts between the church and the manor of Iver. There was a bailiff of Iver who perhaps managed both estates. Court was held there on 6 and 8 May, when, among gifts of wine received on those days, 3 gallons on the 6th and 2½ gallons on the 8th were for holding court. Timber from Temple wood was carried to Windsor by 23 tenants of Iver on 3 June; as a reward the tenants supped at Windsor at the cost of the college. Although Craswell came into the possession of St. George's at the same time as the manor of Iver and Temple wood (in February 1353) no produce from the estate was supplied in either May or June 1353. In August one pigeon was sent in, on Sunday the 25th. The local official in charge of Craswell was not mentioned.

The distant rectories received no mention in household accounts of this year save that in January 1353 a messenger was paid 12d. for carrying letters to Deddington.

For the year 1353-4 there are no household rolls but a sergeant's account which we have for the rectory of Wraysbury in this year throws light on both local and central management. Besides revealing administrative methods at Wraysbury, and incidentally in the neighbouring estates of St. George's, this
account illustrates from the local standpoint the connexion between household and estate.

The official in charge at Wraysbury was still Richard Packington; this was his second year as sergeant there, for he had succeeded John Godfrey, formerly reeve, at the end of 1352. In 1353-4 Packington was also sergeant of Datchet, and although he accounted separately for each rectory, he administered them in close conjunction. For instance, when oatmeal was supplied to Windsor, the required quantity was made up from both Wraysbury and Datchet and the stewards gave Packington one tally only for it, not separate tallies for the amounts supplied from each rectory. Consequently Packington had to cite the same tally as evidence of expenditure in each of his two accounts. Where the produce of Wraysbury was insufficient for its needs, that of Datchet supplemented it: one quarter of oats, 3 quarters of maslin (mixed wheat and rye) and one bushel of malt were transferred from Datchet to Wraysbury during the year. Although these two estates were near enough for Packington to be able to supervise both without much difficulty, he had a deputy, Robert Hampton, to take his place at Wraysbury during his absences.

There was a similar interchange of produce between Wraysbury and the neighbouring manors of St. George's. When

Farine Avene ... Liberatum pro expensis hospicii collegii per talliam cum farina avene de Dacchette i qu. ii b. (W.M.xv.53.42).

The two kinds of grain were sown together. Maslin (mixtillio) usually denoted a mixture of wheat and rye, dredge (dragetum) a mixture of oats and barley.
Packington needed brushwood to fence the rectory garden, he bought six cartloads of thorn from the manor of Iver. Similarly since his own crop of apples had failed completely this year, he bought a tun of cider from Iver, too. The responsible official at Iver was John atte More, the sergeant. Although in Packington's account More was termed sergeant, this does not necessarily imply a change of official from the bailiff of Iver of the preceding year's household accounts. Throughout the St. George's records of our period the term bailiff was used loosely to denote local officials other than reeves. The manor of Craswell was managed by a reeve, Henry Frise, to whom Packington delivered one cow with a calf from the Wraysbury stock.

At Wraysbury there were, besides the sergeant, four other paid farm servants (famuli). Packington was paid a wage of 10s. as sergeant of Wraysbury, and possibly received a similar sum for his duties at Datchet. The other paid servants, ploughman, drover, dairymaid and swineherd, received a wage which remained constant for the first three terms of the year but increased considerably for the Michaelmas term. During the terms which ended on Christmas day, Lady Day and St. John the Baptist's (Midsummer) day, the ploughman and drover received one shilling and the dairymaid and swineherd 6d. each, but for the Michaelmas term the two former were paid 4s. and the two latter 3s. each. In addition the ploughman earned an extra shilling for working as a carter during the harvest. These farm servants were the permanent workers of the demesne and were expected to turn their hands to any job that needed attention, besides doing their specialised
business. To fetch the six cartloads of brushwood from Iver Packington had to hire five carts and ten men but the remaining load was carried by the cart belonging to the demesne and was attended by two of the farm servants. The cost of hoeing and haymaking was much lightened by the labour of these farm servants who were able to do all the hoeing between them, since there were few thistles in the grain this year, and needed only threepenny-worth of help with the haymaking. Besides their wages the farm servants received food and gifts of money to the value of 3d. each at Christmas and at Easter and livery of food throughout the year. This livery consisted of coral of wheat and maslin and salt for their pottage. Most of this was part of the produce of the manor, but some of the mixed grain and all of the salt had to be purchased for them. One quarter of grain was due to the ploughman every 10 weeks, to the drover and to the dairymaid every 12 weeks, and to the swineherd every 14 weeks. Their pottage was cooked for them by the dairymaid who also looked after the poultry.

Packington's money receipts on the estate amounted to £23.9s.7½d. Since last year his expenses had exceeded receipts he had no arrears with which to debit himself, and the sum for which he was responsible was made up in the following way:

- Rents of assize: £1.2s.4½d.
- Issues of the manor: 15s.11½d.

De sarclazione bladi nichil hoc anno quia per famulos et quia pauci cardones in blado hoc anno.
Sale of grain £13.14s. 0½d.
Sale of livestock 5s. 4d.
Perquisites of the court 18s.10d.
Foreign Receipts £4.11s. 4d.
Further Sales £2. 1s. 9½d.

The most considerable item was, as might be expected, the sale of grain. Very little livestock was sold, only 6 geese, 2 yearling cattle and one old and feeble horse. Similarly in the following year few animals were sold and they were useless: one old blind horse, one pig of no value for stock and one little pig sold for fear it had the murrain. The item Further Sales (Vendiciones super compotum, literally Sales above the account) included the proceeds of sales of both grain and livestock which were transacted too late to be included in detail with the others; no particulars of these sales appeared in the money account, but they could be checked by reference to the stock accounts on the dorse of the roll. Grain and livestock together, then, brought in £16.1s.1½d. Rents payable in money were few: the £1.2s.4½d. here recorded showed an increase of 3d. on the receipts of preceding years, for a curtilage had newly been leased to Geoffrey Whetebrech at 6d. a year and he had paid his first half-year's rent at Michaelmas. Issues of the manor included payments for pasturing pigs in the lord's wood (1s.6½d.) and for hire of the lord's plough for 6 days (4s.), sale of straw and hay (9s.4d.) and money paid by John Godfrey, formerly reeve, for an old pan, a fork and a spade and a pair of thole-pins (1s.1d.). Of the hay, 2s. worth had been sold to Master William Polmorva, one of the canons of Windsor. Courts
had been held on 19 May and in Whit week with view of frankpledge. For details of the amercements the sergeant referred his auditors to the court roll. Packington's foreign receipts were from the warden and canons of Windsor. He had received one sum of £3.3s.4d., perhaps as an advance, that he might have money in hand. The remaining £1.8s.0d. was the price of two oxen which the college had bought for the stock of the rectory. Packington entered the money among his receipts, but balanced it with an entry on the expense side of his account of the cost of buying two oxen, £1.8s.0d.

From the sum of his receipts, Packington's first deduction was £2.18s.11\frac{1}{2}d. owing to him from the preceding year when he had spent more than he had received. Costs of the repairs and upkeep of carts, ploughs and buildings absorbed a further £3.14s.3\frac{1}{2}d. Mixed grain to the value of £1.1s.10d. had been bought partly for seed and partly for livery to the farm servants, and £2.16s.3\frac{1}{2}d. expended on buying livestock (2 horses, 12 chickens, 2 oxen). The farm servants' wages amounted to £1.14s.0d. Since the farm servants had done all the hoeing and most of the haymaking, costs of these together with mowing were only 2s.3d. The meadow called Eldemed, containing 3 acres, was ordinarily mown by six customary tenants who received nothing from the lord for this. In the present year, however, only five turned up (possibly one of the tenements was vacant) and, since they mowed between them the whole meadow, they shared the value of the sixth work which was 4d. and paid to them by the sergeant. The remaining meadow of La Torre (1\frac{1}{2} acres) was mown by piece work at a cost of 10d. For haymaking in Eldemed the
customary tenants received ale, bread and cheese to the value of 10d. Threshing and winnowing were done by piece work at 3d. a quarter of grain for threshing and 1/8d. a quarter for winnowing; the total cost was £2.3s.10½d.

Cost of harvesting was the highest of Packington's expenses. It included the harvest dinner provided for the tenants, and wages and food of extra helpers. Besides 15 days' work done by the customary tenants and a week done by the farm servants, a further 107 days' labour had to be hired. The number of reapers hired was not given, but they did between them 107 days' work for 3d. a day and their food. A maker of hayricks had 5s. and his food as a wage for the whole harvesting period, 3 August to 15 September, and two collectors of the tithes of sheaves received 3s. each and their food. For the harvest dinner and the meals of all these casual workers large quantities of food were bought and more used from the stock of the rectory. Home stores furnished bread worth 9s.9d., ale brewed from £1.5s.2d. worth of grain, 2 pigs and 4 piglings worth 9s.4d., 5 geese worth 1s.8d. and one half of the tun of cider bought from Iver for 6s.8d. In addition the following foodstuffs had to be purchased: 2 flitches of bacon 3s.2d., beef and mutton 19s.0d., salt fish 3s.0d., herrings 10d., fresh fish 10d., cheese 5s.3d., butter 10d., milk 1s.0d., eggs 4½d. and more bread and ale 2s.3d. The bacon and fish were brought

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1 In the following year winnowing cost 1d. a quarter since the necessary wind had failed to blow (Sergeant's account of Wraysbury 1354-5, W.M.xv.53.43).

2 No vegetables or fruit were provided for the table, nor, indeed, with the exception of white peas and cider apples, were any grown.
from Reading at a cost of 8d. Further harvesting expenses included the purchase of eight pairs of gloves (1s.4d.) and 7 lbs. of candles (1s.2d.), the shoeing of two horses who drew the harvest cart (1s.0½d.) and the hire of another cart for 5½ days while the cart belonging to the rectory was fetching foodstuffs required at Windsor (4s.7d.). In all, Packington expended £4.3s.0d. at harvest time, besides home produce to the value of £2.9s.3d.

Petty expenses (Expense minute) on the demesne amounted to £1.13s.0d. Among them were two amercements paid to the beadle of the manor of Wraysbury. One of these fines, 4d., was payable because two of the cows belonging to the rectory had strayed into the lands of the manor and pastured there. The other was more serious: the amount was 3s.4d. and it was imposed for failure to clean out a ditch stretching along by Eldemed. If ditches became blocked all the adjacent lands suffered; fields might be water-logged and roadways impassable. Another item was parchment for the account roll costing 4d.

All the rest of Packington's expenditure was connected with the household. It was written under three heads, Expenses of the steward 3s.9½d., Foreign Expenses 3s., and Payment of money £6.13s.4d. When the steward or a supervisor from Windsor visited an estate, the official in charge there provided them with the things they needed during their stay and included in his account the money value of this hospitality. They in their turn made out a bill of the foods they had consumed which was produced as evidence by the sergeant when presenting his account. This 3s.9½d.
was vouched for by such a bill. No details were given here, but in Packington's account for the following year he specified the foodstuffs consumed on court days. On 8 November 1354 when Roger Parker, supervisor, and Walter Nothurst, steward, came to hold court and inspect the demesne they had 4½ gallons of ale bought at Staines for 7½d. When the steward came with another supervisor, John atte Lee, on 30 April 1355 to hold court and view of frank pledge they and their retinue ate 6d. worth of bread, 10d. worth of meat, 7½d. worth of ale and one capon from stock. Under Foreign Expenses were included sums not expended directly on the estate. Packington had only one, the sum of 3s. being the expenses of one cart with two carters and four horses used to fetch foodstuffs for the household at Windsor. The Wraysbury cart was used similarly in the following year to bring wood from Iver, straw from Iver and Datchet and wine from London to Windsor. Finally the sergeant accounted for money that he had paid into the treasury at Windsor. A sum of £4.13s.4d. had been paid to Reginald Garderobe, one of the canons, and Packington had a tally for it. The remaining £2 was part of the wage of the vicar of Datchet which Packington had paid on behalf of the college: actually the sum was paid to the vicar in kind, 10 quarters of barley at 4s. a quarter, but Packington included it as a payment of money since he had entered the price of the barley among his

\[1\text{ Et domino Roberto Amant vicario de Dacchette in partem compositionem vicarie sue predicte in precio x qu. ordei per litteram xls.}\]
receipts from the sale of grain.

The year's expenses (£26.17s.8d.) exceeded receipts by £3.8s.0½d., but this does not of course indicate that the estate was being run at a loss. The money account of a manorial official bore no relation to a profit and loss account; this is evident from an examination of the items in the account. Among his receipts the accounting official included money advanced from the household and the arrears (if any) of preceding years, while his expenditure included money paid to or on behalf of the household. Supplies of produce to the household were omitted altogether from the money account. The object of the account was to show how much the accounting official ought to have in hand or how much ought to be refunded to him that he had overspent. At the foot of Packington's money account, beneath the balance, was a note Proficuum huius rectorie xvii.li. xi.s.vii.d.ob. This estimate of the profits of the year was probably made by the auditors but it bears no discoverable relation to the items of the account. No amount of manipulation of the various items recorded can reveal how this sum was arrived at. However, this is not surprising, for to estimate the profits the auditors would have to take into account the value of supplies sent in to the household and the value of increase of livestock, none of which was stated on this account.

Although the money value of goods supplied to the household

1 The meaning of a manorial account has been discussed in detail by N. Denholm Young (Seigniorial Administration in England, pp. 126-30).
was entered in the household accounts, no record of this was made by the sergeant in his roll. For grain or stock thus delivered the sergeant's receipt was a tally notched to represent the quantity of wheat or the number of pigs or chickens, not their market value. Consequently no mention of household supplies appeared on the front of the account roll (that is, in the money account), but all such supplies were recorded on the dorse of the roll in the accounts of crops and livestock. Of the crops, quantities of wheat and oatmeal were sent in to Windsor, while pulse and dredge (mixed oats and barley) was consumed on the spot by pigs being fattened for the household and by the horses of the steward, the supervisors and their retinue when they came to hold court or to inspect the demesne. The amount of fodder eaten by their horses was included in the bills made by these visiting officials of the hospitality they had received. The sergeant cited a bill as evidence of this expenditure. Besides grain Wraysbury supplied to St. George's in the course of the year 2 sows, 16 pigs, 5 sucking pigs, 8 cockerels and 100 eggs.

What was supplied to the household was only a small part of the produce of the rectory. The sergeant recorded in his barn and stock accounts what had become of every kind of grain received and of every animal on the demesne. Besides crops grown on the demesne lands, the tithes of the parish were received into the rectory barn. Some was used as seed, some consumed by the farm servants and at harvest, some sent in to Windsor and some sold. Since wheat was supplied regularly to Windsor, only 3 bushels remained to be sold, but of other grains larger quantities were
sold. Sales included one bushel of white peas (the whole crop), 5 quarters and 5 bushels of pulse, 42 quarters 3/8 bushels of barley, 19 quarters 2 bushels 3 pecks of dredge, 71/2 bushels of oats, 4 quarters 1 bushel 3 pecks of dredge malt and 2 bushels 1 peck of oatmeal. Among the receipts of livestock were two capons from William atte Ford for chevage (capitagium), a fee which entitled him, though a villein, to live outside the lord's demesne, and 12 cocks paid by the customary tenants on St. Martin's day (11 November) for cherset. One pig had died of murrain this year, and the court roll was cited as evidence of this. Of the animals supplied to St. George's, two sows and nine pigs were for salting.

Finally the sergeant accounted for the works due from customary tenants. There were six customary tenants of the rectory who owed works of mowing, haymaking and harvesting. Each tenant owed one day of mowing and one of haymaking, but they were responsible for 15 days' harvesting between them. One tenant had to do 4 days' work, another 3 and the remaining four 2 days' work each. All 15 days were spent this year in reaping and binding the crops of the demesne. For mowing the tenants received nothing, for haymaking they had bread, cheese and ale and when harvesting they received one meal. There is no evidence in either this account roll or in that of the following year of any change in traditional methods of agriculture which might have been occasioned.

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Cherset or church-scot was originally a tribute of corn paid to the church on St. Martin's day but the name was extended to other traditional ecclesiastical dues (N.E.D.).
by the Black Death.

Richard Packington continued as sergeant of Wraysbury for eight months of the following year; the period of his account was 29 September 1354 to 11 May 1355. During this time he also managed the college estates at Datchet, Deddington and Old Windsor. The estate in Old Windsor consisted of standing fields of grain (60 acres) and meadow-land (25 acres) bought from Oliver of Bordeaux. For this, together with 6 oxen, 14 farm horses, 9 stags, 10 swans and 16 cygnets, the college paid £22.2s.0d. in July 1355. The lands were apparently given up to the king within a few years, for in January 1359 Edward III granted them to William Trussel of Kibblestone. When Packington's account for Wraysbury was balanced in May 1355 it was found that he owed £4.3s.9d. To this sum was added £1.15s.2½d. which he owed from his account of Datchet, and £1.7s.5½d. owing from his account for Deddington. At Old Windsor, however, he had spent 5s.4d. more than his receipts, and this was deducted from the sum for which he was liable, together with 6s.8d. for his expenses when travelling on two occasions to Deddington from Windsor on the business of the college. Further allowances were made by the special grace of the chapter, one acquitting him of a receipt of 3s.7½d. for dredge malt in his account of Wraysbury in the preceding year, and the other a condonation of £1.11s.9½d. in consideration of the good service

1 Household Roll, W.M.xv.3.1.
and the work which he had done for the college. This left a round sum of £5 still to be paid and the college allowed Packington four years in which to discharge it at a rate of 25s. a year payable in two equal parts on the feasts of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June) and All Souls (2 November). The first payment was not due until 24 June 1357.

Despite its distance from the other properties under Packington's management, the rectory of Deddington was supervised personally by the sergeant. During these eight months (29 September 1354 - 11 May 1355) Packington was absent at Deddington for five weeks while Robert Hampton, his deputy, carried on at Wraysbury. Packington also made two other journeys to Deddington for which his expenses were allowed him in the balance of his Wraysbury account. Deddington shared in the interchange of produce, for capons, cocks and hens were received into Wraysbury stock from there, and on 13 October 1354 20 pigeons from Deddington were consumed by the household at Windsor.

After Richard Packington closed his account in May 1355, the rectory of Wraysbury ceased to be managed under the control of St. George's, but was let out to farm to William Ashby the vicar of Wraysbury. Apparently the lease was a land lease only, since all the livestock of the rectory was transferred either to Windsor or to the college's manor of Iver before Packington closed his account. To St. George's were sent 3 farm horses to work the

Marginal note at the foot of the barn account: Et dimittitur vicario de Wyrardesbury qui dimittet terras in fine termini prout eas recept.
mill and draw the cart of the college and 2 bulls, a hog and 4 pigs for making salt meat, besides the usual supplies sent for the daily consumption of the household. All remaining livestock was sent to Iver where it was received by Robert Wolward, reeve there. Together with 6 oxen thus delivered to Iver was sent all the equipment of the plough except the wheels. An indenture between Packington and Wolward cited in the Wraysbury account as evidence of delivery bore date 15 April. The transfer of stock must have taken place on or before this date. What grain remained in the barns was cleared out in the same way, some being given for seed to the gardener of Windsor and some sent to Datchet. From this time supplies to the household from Wraysbury must have ceased. Household rolls for the year 1354-5 record only pork received from Wraysbury after April 1355. This meat, consumed in June 1355, was probably some of that sent earlier for salting.

Besides Wraysbury, Uttoxeter and Deddington were let out to farm in this year. In February John atte Lee, chaplain of St. George's, attended by two servants and a page, travelled to Uttoxeter to negotiate a lease to farm. His arrangements were completed in the following May when he visited Uttoxeter again, returning with the prospective lessees, Thomas and Henry Tapley, to London where a statute-merchant was drawn up between them and sealed. This document was a bond which gave St. George's the right to re-enter and seize the rectory if the lessees failed to pay their farm at the appointed time. Meanwhile it appears that a lease of Deddington was being arranged. In January, Lee had accompanied
Robert Spenser, one of the canons, to Deddington to sell the crops of the rectory. An extensive sale like this suggests that a change in administration was anticipated; at least the rectory was no longer to be managed from Windsor. Lee made another journey there in May to collect a sum of £20. Perhaps this was the proceeds of the sale negotiated in January, but it may have been the first payment of rent by a farmer of the rectory. This seems possible since various repairs to the rectory buildings were done by William Hayley who presented a schedule of particulars of the work to the college in July. One half of what he had expended was refunded to him, £4.15s.3d., but the other half apparently he supported himself. This is understandable if Hayley was the farmer of the rectory. The first farmer of Deddington to be named as such in the accounts of St. George's occurs in the treasurer's roll of 1366-7: his name was William Hayley. This evidence is separated by more than ten years from the year with which we are dealing, 1355, but since Hayley continued to farm Deddington for a further ten years, until at least 1377, it is perhaps not too unreasonable to suggest that he entered upon his tenancy in 1355. William Ashby, vicar of Wraysbury, held the lease of Wraysbury for almost as long a term, from 1355 to 1370.

Thomas Tapley, who began to farm Uttoxeter in 1355, was apparently still in possession in September 1378 when St. George's was visited by the chancellor. It was then found that Uttoxeter
had been given over to farm for longer than five years and, it was said, for Tapley's life. Although he was a layman, Thomas lived in the manse, together with his wife, children and household, in contravention of canon law and to the detriment of the dignity of the church. The chancellor's reproof is singular since, according to the treasurers' accounts, Uttoxeter had been farmed from 1361-8 to John Harpedale and from 1370-2 to John Newbury, while between 1375 and 1378 the vicar of Uttoxeter had held the lease. A possible explanation is that the rectory had been farmed to a group of men, of whom Tapley had always been one although others of the group had actually handed over the rent and thus been named by the treasurers in their account rolls. If Tapley occupied the manse it is easy to see why the chancellor singled him out in his complaint.

Datchet continued to send supplies to Windsor up to 1 July 1355. The latest of the surviving household rolls was for the following month, August, during which nothing was received either from Datchet or from the dependent chapel of Fulmer. It may have been purely accidental that no supplies were taken from Datchet in this month; on the other hand it may indicate a change of administration. During the whole of August, all the wheat used at Windsor had to be purchased. In the preceding months wheat had been sent in regularly from Datchet, and if the barns at Datchet still contained any, doubtless it would have been sent in as before, unless Datchet were at farm. This evidence is far from conclusive since it applies equally to the manor of Iver which had shared with Datchet in supplying St. George's with wheat since
Wraysbury had been put out to farm. Nevertheless Datchet sent in its last consignment of wheat to Windsor (15 bushels) on 1 July. Iver continued to supply the household with wheat throughout July and with other commodities all through August as well, but of Datchet no further mention was made in the household records after 1 July. It is possible that Datchet, like Wraysbury and Deddington, was first farmed out in 1355. At any rate it is certain that by 1361 this rectory, like all the others, was at farm.

The household rolls cover ten of the twelve months between Michaelmas 1354 and Michaelmas 1355. They reveal a contrast between supplies from the estates in the first and last of the rolls. In October 1354 produce came in from Wraysbury, Datchet, Iver, Craswell and Deddington: from Wraysbury 5 quarters of wheat, 23 geese and 7 little pigs; from Datchet 4 quarters of wheat and 15 pigeons; from Iver 1 quarter of wheat and 4 little pigs; from Craswell 1 sheep, 8 geese and 27 pigeons; from Deddington 20 pigeons. In the following month the diet of the college was further varied by the addition of rabbits from Iver, chickens from Datchet and capons from Datchet and Wraysbury. By August 1355, however, only two estates were sending in produce, Iver and Craswell, which between them supplied 6 sheep, 3 geese, 3 capons and 40 pigeons. These two estates remained in the hands of the college, although no longer supplying the household, until 1415 when Craswell in its turn was put out to farm, leaving only the manor of Iver under central control.
b) After 1361 (Iver and Craswell).

On the two manors which alone of the estates of St. George's were not at farm by 1361, administration continued as before by bailiff and reeve under the supervision of officials from Windsor. In central accounts notices of the manors were brief and confined to money received, occasional expenditure on stock, and the annual audit. Some further evidence is provided by local account rolls, of which there are two for Craswell (1367-8 and 1379-80) and one for Iver (1381-2) and court rolls of Iver. Administrative methods as revealed by these records were traditional: labour services rarely defaulted although this period immediately followed the years of plague 1348-61. For the present the warden and canons of St. George's found it sufficiently profitable to keep the manors in their own hands.

At the head of the administrative hierarchy was the warden of St. George's, lord of the manors in the right of the college. In court rolls, reference to the "lord" or to the "lords" of the manor was equally frequent, the singular

\footnote{1} W.M.xv.61. 28 and 29.
\footnote{2} Ibid., xv.53.65.
\footnote{3} Rolls of 50 courts of dates between 1360 and 1408. They are rolled in 17 bundles as follows: W.M., xv.55.7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Court rolls of 1372-3 (W.M. xv.55.13) have been rendered largely illegible through damp.
term presumably denoting the warden and the plural the whole college of Windsor. Although the responsibility both of supervision and of holding court was delegated to the steward, the proximity of Iver and Craswell to Windsor made it possible for the warden to appear occasionally in person on the manors. For instance, William Mugge came with the steward to hold court at Craswell on 19 January 1368 when the reeve, John Athelwolf, was removed from office and John Coterel put in his place. On 18 January 1369 when John Hunt of Iver took up a new holding, the usual entry-fine was remitted to him, William Mugge and the steward, Adam Hartington, being present. Again, when a difficult plea came before the steward in court at Iver on 26 September 1370, it was postponed until the coming of the lord warden. John Meneville, who held two virgates of land at Iver by military service (one twentieth part of a knight's fee), did homage and swore fealty to William Mugge personally in July 1369, but at Uxbridge. In 1369-70 occurred an instance of the warden's receiving money directly from a manorial official.

1 Reeve's account of Craswell, W.M.xv.61.28.
2 Court roll of Iver, W.M.xv.55.11.
3 Et super hac parte partes habent diem usque adventum domini custodis (court roll of Iver, W.M.xv.55.12). The dispute concerned land claimed in dower by the widow of the late holder. The present holder's defence was that since he had received the land directly from the lord of the manor, he owed her no part of it.
4 Ibid., xv.55.11 (Court held 24 July 1369). Meneville's holdings were set out in the court roll of 16 May 1370, after his death without heirs (ibid., xv.55.12). Besides these two virgates he held 1½ virgates of land by service of 1 lb. of cummin and 5 acres by 1 lb. of pepper. Receipt of the cummin and pepper for these lands was recorded in the bailiff's account of 1381-2 (W.M.xv.53.65).
He collected £11.10s.0d., the proceeds of sales of corn, from the reeve of Iver. Although Mugge kept this sum, in part payment of his salary, the steward accounted for it, entering the transaction in his accounts as if he himself had received the money and paid it to the warden. One of the four wardens of Windsor in this period, Thomas Butler, must have had particular contact with the manors, since he held the office of steward (and also of treasurer) while warden in 1393-4.

Questions of particular importance or difficulty arising in the manor court were reserved by the steward for the attention of the warden and his advisors. Before 1400, when a plea was thus delayed for consultation the phrase used was Adhuc dominus vult consuli, or Et ideo consulendum est cum dominis as in September 1390 when advice was sought concerning Thomas Palmer of Iver who had refused to do his customary services and had threatened the beadle when he came to distraint upon his goods. Possibly the advisory committee at this time was the chapter of Windsor, but after 1400 it appears that the warden had a council to consult in such matters. Two items were referred to the lord from four successive courts in 1408. One of them concerned rent: Thomas Thorne held a

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1 Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.1. Among receipts from Iver was xi.li.xs. receptis de eodem [preposito] per manum custodis in frumento per 1 talliam. Among expenses, a group of entries headed Denarli liberati custodi, which included this £11.10s.0d. paid to the warden by the reeve of Iver, was crossed out quia alius in custodia. Under the titulus Custodia was one comprehensive entry: Et solutum custodi pro sua custodia lxvi.li.xlis.iiiid.

2 Court roll, W.M.xv.55.18.
tenement and a virgate of land besides 12 acres of meadow on the banks of the river, but he paid no rent at all. The other was a case of long standing and concerned three villeins who, after claiming in vain to be of free status, had left the demesne of Iver and continued to live outside it without licence. Now, however, the consultation was to be cum domino et concilio suo. There is very little evidence about this council. Mention of it is confined to court rolls, of which those for the year 1408 are the last which have survived before 1493. It is, of course, possible that the chapter constituted the warden's council, but perhaps more probable that a body consisting of, say, the steward, the steward of the courts and some laymen skilled in law acted as advisory council to the chapter.

Before 1361 the steward had been aided in his manorial duties by one or more of his fellow canons who were appointed supervisors by the chapter. The office of supervisor or visitor of the manors was statutory, and refusal to hold it was punishable by a fine as heavy as that imposed for refusal to act as treasurer, steward or precentor. From at least 1367, however, the steward had a permanent helper.

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1 Court roll, W.M.xv.55.22,23,24.
2 Such a council would be comparable with that which advised the abbot of Crowland on similar matters. This council, too, became particularly active in the first half of the fifteenth century (F. W. Page, The Estates of Crowland Abbey, pp.45-49).
3 Statutes, no.47. The fine was loss of prebend for two years and of cotidians for two months.
the steward of the courts, who seems to have replaced the canon-supervisors. This steward was a layman, often one of the free tenants of Iver, and was retained by St. George's for an annual fee. His business was confined to the courts; in economic matters he had no authority and was never cited by bailiff or reeve as warrant for their actions or expenditure as they frequently cited the steward of the college.

Although the steward of the college exercised a general supervision over every aspect of manorial management, economic duties were left mainly to local officials resident on the manors. At Iver the administrative official was either the bailiff or the reeve. Until 1377 the reeve was responsible for managing the manor; the bailiff was rather a shadowy figure with uncertain functions. He was mentioned only twice in the records. The earlier of these references occurs in the roll of view of Frankpledge held on 19 May 1362, when the chief pledges presented that the bailiff had closed a certain lane called Renetteslane, a public right of way, by means of a stile which he was ordered to remove. \(^1\) In the treasurer's roll for Michaelmas 1367 to 31 May 1368 the bailiff was mentioned \(^2\) by name; he was Richard Packington, formerly sergeant of Wraysbury, Datchet, Deddington and Old Windsor. Packington was a tenant of Iver, but was frequently employed by the chapter

\(^1\) W.M.xv.55.9.

\(^2\) Ibid., xv.34.5. Among receipts from Iver was 30s. delivered by Richard Packington, bailiff of the liberty.
of Windsor as a responsible messenger about their business. Consequently he could not have been permanently resident on the demesne, and the working of the manor was left to the reeve. There was a change of practice when in 1377 William atte Forde, another tenant of Iver, became bailiff. He was a resident official and took over the whole management of the manor until 1395 without the help of a reeve. After his retirement from office in 1395, the administration was once more assumed by a succession of reeves. There was, however, at least in 1400, a bailiff as well, but he remained in the background. The transfer of a tenement in court held on 11 June 1400 was witnessed by him.

Craswell was always administered by reeves. It was a small manor and perhaps for that reason did not warrant a bailiff with his high salary. The reeves held office for long periods. From at least 1362 to 1375 (save for an interval of four months from Michaelmas 1367 to 19 January 1368) John Coterel was reeve there. His successor, Ralph Chese, continued in office from 1375 to 1396 when Simon Coterel followed him and remained in charge until the manor was put out to farm in 1415.

In addition to the usual revenues, such as had been received on the Wraysbury estate, from assised rent, sale of crops and stock, small issues and profits of the court, these two manors received income from two other sources, from sheep-farming and from farming out parts of the demesne. Since we

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1 W.M.xv.55.21.
have no earlier local accounts with which to compare those for the period after 1361, it is not possible to see whether or not these revenues were the result of new financial expedients after the plague. Existing records show, however, that few holdings on these manors remained vacant for long and that customary works, with few exceptions, were performed in full. This suggests that shortage of labour and tenantless holdings, caused wherever the Black Death came, were not lasting here. It is probable that sheep had long been kept on both manors, and certainly the leasing of appurtenances of the demesne (especially of mills and of cows) was widespread before the plague.

Already by 1353-4 there were sheep at Iver and Craswell, for mutton was supplied from them to the household then. During three bad years of cattle disease, 1364-7, among livestock lost were 115 sheep at Iver and 47 sheep at Craswell. Probably heavy losses continued through the next four years, since in 1371 it was necessary to take £60 from the college's reserve fund to buy sheep. The two reeves, John Hunt of Iver and John Coterel of Craswell, were entrusted with selecting the animals and making the purchase. They bought their sheep at Beaconsfield on the eve of Ascension Day (14 May), spending a little more than the £60 provided. Hunt bought 281 sheep at £33.7s.5d. and Coterel bought 241 at £28.10s.0d. The high price paid for them (roughly 2s.4½d. a

1 Memorandum of stock lost, W.M.xv.53.64.m.2.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.7.
head when an average price was about 1s.8\(\frac{2}{4}\)d. is an indication of the scarcity; no doubt mortality among sheep had been serious in the district. A valor of Craswell drawn up at some date subsequent to the plague recorded that the manor contained common pasture sufficient for 500 sheep. In 1367-8 the lord's flock there numbered 290 at the beginning of the financial year and 236 at the end, when 30 had been sold, 2 killed for food and 22 had died of murrain. By 1379-80 the flock had decreased considerably; it numbered 77 in October 1379 and only 86 in the following September despite the addition of 22 new-born lambs, for 9 of the older animals had died of murrain while two of the lambs were sold and two given up for tithe. Although the murrain took a regular toll of the Iver sheep (mortui in morina non ob defectu male custodie alicui set ex infortunio as the stock-inspectors (cadaveratores) of the manor regularly testified), the flock there was still of fair size in 1381-2; probably it was much bigger to begin with than that of Craswell. There were 207 sheep in October 1381, of which 17 died of disease during the year and 27 were sold. Of 56 new-born lambs 4 went in tithe, the shepherd had one and 3 were sold. One ewe, a heriot, brought the numbers up to 212 at the end of the year.

Each year after shearing the steward took charge of the fleeces, sometimes selling them at once and sometimes keeping them back in order to find a better market later. For

1 See above, p.207, n.2.
2 Arundel White Book, f.62. This book was drawn up during John Arundel's wardenship, 1419-52, but the valor copied here was probably of earlier date. It contains a reference to the "pestilence."
instance in 1371-2, the year after new flocks had been purchased for both manors, the steward sold wool from Craswell for £10.18s.3d. but accounted for only £4.10s.0d. for wool from Iver. Since Iver had the bigger flock, a good proportion of the wool must have been kept in store. At Craswell in 1367-8 276 sheep were shorn. One of the fleeces was given, according to custom, to the shepherd and \( \frac{27}{2} \) to the rectory of Bray in tithe. The remaining \( 247\frac{1}{2} \) were delivered to Edmund Cloville, then steward of St. George's, to sell. By 1379-80, despite the purchase of 241 sheep in 1371, there were only 71 sheep and 20 lambs for shearing. Tithe was taken only of the sheep's fleeces (7), since two of the lambs had already been taken before shearing, and all the remainder were sold. At Iver in 1381-2 197 sheep and 89 lambs were shorn. Tithe and the shepherd's due accounted for 20 of the sheep's fleeces, leaving 177 to which were added 176 kept back from the preceding year. These 353 fleeces weighed 57 stone and were sold by Richard Postell, the steward, for £5.4s.6d. The 89 lambs' fleeces fetched only 5s.0d. Sheep who died of murrain were not a complete loss, for if they had died before shearing their woolfells could be sold, usually for 2d. each, and if they had been shorn first their wool was sold in the usual way and their skins fetched 1d. besides.

Appurtenances of the demesne which were let out to farm at Craswell included Bray mill with the adjoining fishery,
the pigeon-house, the warren, and the dairy herd with poultry. From 1363-8 the lease of Bray mill (a water-mill) was held by William Bidecok. In the last year of his term, 1367-8, Bidecok paid rent only for three quarters of the year, £3; during the last quarter, 24 June to 29 September, no rent could be demanded because the mill lay idle owing to its ruinous condition. To rebuild the mill, St. George's withdrew a sum of £20 from the reserve fund in the erary, and building works were completed in 1370. Ten years later the college expended a further £4.7s.0½d. on the new construction of the lock by the mill. The mill was then at farm to John Windsor at £3.6s.8d. a year, and his term of five years had two more years to run. In both the years for which reeves' accounts have survived, the pigeon-house at Craswell was at farm to a canon of Windsor, in 1367-8 to John Loring for 12s. a year and in 1379-80 to Richard Raunds for 6s.8d. Raunds took up a five-year lease of the pigeons in 1379, and since the house was in a bad state of disrepair his first year's rent was remitted to him to compensate for his initial outlay upon it. The warren was not farmed out in 1367-8, but it brought in no revenue since no rabbits were caught there that year. By 1379 it was at farm to Edmund Cloville, then steward of Windsor, who paid 3s.4d. for it. Cows and hens were farmed out at so much a head. In 1367-8 John Athelwolf (reeve from Michaelmas 1367 to 19 January 1368) was the farmer; he paid 5s. a head for the herd of 22 cows (with calves) and 6d. a head for the 16 hens, a total of £5.18s.0d. In 1379-80 the farmer was again the reeve, Ralph
Chese, who paid 3s.4d. a head for 29 cows and 6d. a head for
16 hens, a sum of £4.18s.0d. in all. Part of this outlay came
back to the farmer of the dairy in wage, for he was paid an
annual fee of 6s.8d. A regular supply of poultry came into
the demesne each year on St. Martin's day (11 November) when
some of the customary tenants owed a poultry-rent. A
married man had to give a cock and a hen, a widow a hen; an
unmarried man appears to have given a cock. This brought in
between 50 and 60 cocks and hens each year, for the rent was
due from 28 holdings, but most of them were sold.

At Iver the mills, fisheries, cows and poultry were
similarly farmed out. Of the three mills (at Iver, Thorney
and Huntsmoor ), one was leased by Walter Wygeyn from at least
1362 to 1382 at a rent of £5 a year. For a term of five years,
1377-82, and possibly longer, Wygeyn farmed two of the mills
(both water-mills), with their fisheries, at £10 a year.

In 1362 and 1369 he was fined for taking excessive toll at
the mills. By 1397 the miller was John Hunt who was punished
for a similar offence. A fishery on the Colne was let to

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1 This rent, like the rent of poultry paid to the rectory of
Wraysbury on St. Martin's day, grew out of the due called
cherset or church-scot, originally a tribute of corn and
payable to the parish priest.

2 These mills were mentioned in Domesday Book and survived until
modern times. Iver and Huntsmoor mills were burnt down in
1850 and 1865 respectively, and Thorney mill lasted until

3 Bailiff's account of Iver, W.M.xv.53.65.

4 Court rolls, W.M.xv.55.9 (May 1362) and 11 (April 1369).

5 Ibid., xv.55.20 (May 1397).
John Hunt for his life at a rent of 5s. a year; he paid an entry-
fine of 5s. on taking up the lease in September 1361.
Apparently Hunt did not offer his fish for sale in the required
way, for in July 1387 he had to bring two supporters to
guarantee that he would in future carry all his catch from this
fishery to the cross in the vill of Iver, and there sell it
between the seventh and the eighth hour, under penalty of a
fine of 6s.8d. The lord's herd of 30 cows was farmed to
Simon Leef in 1369 for three years. The rent required was
5s.6d. a head and, in addition, Simon was to give to the
college of Windsor four calves or the price he had received
for the four best calves sold. By 1381-2 the herd was reduced
to 20 and the rent was 5s. a head and 2 calves annually. When
in 1369 the cows were let to Simon Leef, he began also to farm
the poultry, 12 geese and 2 ganders at 12d. each a year, and
20 hens and 3 cocks at 6d. each. The dairy farmer received an
annual wage of 7s. Poultry rents were due at Iver as at
Craswell, but from only five cottage holdings. Since from 1364
these cottages were held at a money rent, this custom of
poultry ceased to come in.

Besides the mills, fisheries and dairy, plots of
demesne land were farmed out at Iver. In 1372 two such plots
were leased out, both for a term of 100 years. One was a field
called Thorney Ruding, containing 63 acres of arable, which
was let at 12d. an acre to Richard Packington, William Lorimer

1 Court rolls, W.M.xv.55.8.
2 Ibid.,xv.55.17.
and William by the Wood. The other plot, consisting of a pasture of 8 acres called Black Thorn and a meadow of 3 acres called Cowenmede, was let to Richard Packington for 10s. a year. A further plot of one acre was let to Robert Dormene at 8d. a year for a term of five years, 1377-82.

Some customary holdings, left in the lord's hand for lack of a tenant who would take them on the old terms, were also let for a money rent instead of the usual services. They Craswell were not numerous on these manors. At Craswell there were four; two tenements, one with 6 acres of land formerly Michael Bodrynghale's and the other with 12 acres formerly Mark Coterel's, and two cottages, each with a curtilage, which had previously belonged to Doyly and Isabella Lutte. Letting customary holdings for money rent was in practice a commutation of works. In the case of Bodrynghale's and Coterel's this was regarded as a temporary expedient only (although it dated from 1360), consequently the rents received from them were entered by the reeve in his accounts (1367-8 and 1379-80) as "farms", that is, under the titulus Firme. With regard to Doyly's and Lutte's, however, the change was considered permanent enough for the rent to figure in the accounts not as a "farm" but as a fixed rent in the "assised rent" item, distinguished from the rents anciently due by the name "new

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1 Both these leases were copied into the Arundel White Book, f.15v.
2 Bailiff's account, W.M.xv.53.65.
rent." The customary works formerly owed from these cottages were of course not due, but the reeve continued to enter them in his account of works as "allowances" or "defaults," like those from the holdings at farm. Doyly's and Lutte's, being cottage holdings, had owed only boon-works (precaria), but Bodryngale's and Coterel's owed every kind of customary work due on the manor.

Ploughing works, each of half an acre, were due from only two holdings, Mark Coterel's and Ralph Chese's. Mark Coterel's of course defaulted and from 1375 to 1396 when Ralph Chese was reeve, his was forgiven him because of his office. Of hoeing works, owed from 15 holdings, two defaulted (Bodryngale's and Coterel's) and one was allowed to the reeve. The demesne meadows called le Hamme and le Cozen were to be mown by 9 customary tenants receiving food worth 12d. from the lord. In 1367-8 this 12d. was spent on cheese 3½d., salt ½d., and mutton 8d. Since Bodryngale's and Coterel's should have supplied two of the mowers, two workers had to be hired to replace them at 5d. for each meadow, costing the lord 1s.8d. in all. Haymaking in these meadows was the obligation of 18 holdings; again two workers had to be hired to replace Bodryngale and Coterel, this time at 2d. each, 4d. in all. Nine customary tenants owed ten days' work each in summer, on Mondays and Fridays (except feast days) between 24 June and 1 August. The reeve's allowance and Bodryngale's and Coterel's defaults accounted for 30 of these 90 works. In 1380, since St. Peter ad Vincula fell on a Friday, the six other tenants
were forgiven one day's work. The remainder of these summer works were used in hoeing and mowing three demesne meadows, Fiveacres, Chalfgarston and Briggemed. At harvest these nine tenants owed 225 days' work between them. Bodrynghale's owed 25 and Coterel's 50. These works were due on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays between the Gule of August and Michaelmas, excepting feast days. In 1380 the tenants were particularly fortunate for five feasts (St. Lawrence, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, St. Bartholomew, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and St. Matthew) fell on work days. Harvest works were used in reaping and binding, four works to the acre. Further harvesting works, called Bedrip, were due from 16 holdings, of which 15 (Bodrynghale's and Coterel's among them) owed three each and the other two, a total of 47. In addition, one boon-work was due from every holding, from the tenants who had performed other works and from the cottars as well. The workers were rewarded with ale. Of the full total of 45 boon-works only 40 were done, for Bodrynghale's, Coterel's, Doyly's and Lutte's were each responsible for one default, and one was allowed to the reeve.

The farm servants of the manor did between them most of the agricultural work not covered by labour services. For instance in seven demesne meadows, Fiveacres, Chalfgarston, Briggemed, Cornesmead, Highmed, le Sterte and Brembulfur, they did all the haymaking with hired help costing 1s.6d., which, at 2d. a day, meant one hired helper for nine days. There were

1 August, Lammas Day.
at Craswell eight farm servants, a carter, four ploughmen, a shepherd, a swineherd and the dairy farmer. The swineherd's wage was 3s. for the year and the dairy farmer's 6s.8d., but the others received a quarterly wage which was higher in the last term of the year when their work was heavier. In the first three terms they were paid 1s. each, but for the Michaelmas term their wage was 4s. In addition they all received the usual gifts of food and money at Christmas and Easter (to the value of 2d. each at each feast), and regular liveries of grain. In 1379-80 no salt was bought for them "because they had oats for their pottage."

Craswell was a dependent manor of the royal manor of Bray to which it and some of its tenants owed dues. Each year at Michaelmas a rent of 18s.4d. had to be paid to Bray, besides a further 12s. for the water-mill, and 6s.11d. to the bailiff of the liberty for a new purpresture. While Mark Coterel's tenement was in the lord's hand a cock and a hen was paid to the manor of Bray annually from Craswell for it. To the court of the manor of Bray the lord of Craswell had to pay fines when his ministers neglected obligations such as keeping ditches clear.

Iver

At Iver, four customary holdings remained in the lord's hands from at least 1360. In 1381-2 two of them were at fixed rent and two at farm. Those included in "assised rents" were a toft formerly John atte Donne's and a toft with 2 acres of land formerly Gilbert Norman's. Those at farm were two tofts formerly Bartholomew Coket's and Thomas Steunford's. Although the new tenants of Donne's and Norman's
were stated to hold the tenements in villeinage (native), their money rent replaced labour services. Nevertheless the bailiff in his account of services included works due from them as "quitted" (or "allowed") just as he did those from the beadle and collectors of rents whose works were remitted to them in that year because of their office. This is interesting in two ways. It shows that a permanent commutation of labour services for money in those holdings had been effected, since the works were not exacted although the lands were still held in villeinage. Secondly it shows that the bailiff continued to account for the same number of works as before, stating an ideal total now not even due in theory, and explaining in each instance that the work was not performed because the tenement was now at money rent. Works due from holdings now at farm were entered as "defaults."

Since Iver was a bigger manor than Craswell, services due were correspondingly more numerous. Here there was a surplus not always needed for the cultivation of the demesne which, when found to be superfluous, was "sold" to the villeins who owed it, that is, the lord accepted a sum of money instead of the labour due. Money received thus figured in the bailiff's account as "sale of works." This item in the account recorded the temporary sale of works not needed in that particular year, but was not in theory a commutation of works; it was a convenience both for the lord, who had more use in that year for the money, and for the villein who could use his labour on his own holding.
From every virgate in the vill five works were due each week, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Besides these week-works, services were due at the usual busy seasons of the agricultural year for winter and spring ploughing, for hoeing, mowing, haymaking and carting, for reaping, binding and threshing. Most of the threshing was done by paid labour (as it was at Craswell), with the help of the farm servants, but 124 of the week-works were also used in threshing in 1381-2. Of the total of 2197 days of week-work due, 831 were sold. Among other sales were ploughing, carting and binding services, for this work was done by the permanent staff of the manor, the farm servants.

Labour services were occasionally withheld without licence. The earliest surviving roll of court held by St. George's at Iver, of 15 October 1360, contains an example of this. Robert Somerset had failed to do two hoeing services and had wilfully withheld a day's harvesting from the lord. Another villein had not done a day's hoeing, and both he and Somerset were to be distrained. In 1369 the lord's harvest was largely destroyed owing to the defection of customary services. Nineteen villeins had not come to reap corn on the demesne but had gone off to reap elsewhere while the lord's corn was ruined in the field. Another villein, Robert Wulward, had absented himself for three days when he should have been reaping barley, with the result that part of the lord's crop had been lost. Yet another, Thomas Roos, was to

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1 Court roll, W.M.xv.55.7.
forfeit his land and holding because he had refused to reap
the lord's corn. In 1390 Thomas Palmer would not do his
labour services and threatened the beadle who was charged to
distrain upon his goods.

Besides these few instances of dislike for labour
services, which in 1369 at least was probably due to the
pressing necessity of reaping the villeins' own harvest before
they lost it, there are some traces in the records of the
tendency towards personal freedom. It had long been possible
for a villein to secure permission to live outside the manor
if he paid chevage, a fee usually of 5s. a year and two capons
on Hoke Day (the second Tuesday after Easter). At Craswell
there were two chevage-paying villeins, John Coterel who lived
at Henton and paid in 1367-8 and 1379-80, and Adam Lovelock
who paid in 1367-8. At Iver John Welsh was required to pay
a lump sum of £10 for chevage; he paid £5 of it in 1367-8.
These villeins were bound still to come to view of frankpledge,
for payment of chevage did not give free status. For a fee,
the lord would relax the obligation of attending court also,
as in the case of William Norgent by North Wood who paid 4d.
on 11 May 1362 pro secta curie et lete relaxanda until the
following Michaelmas. There are some examples of desperate
measures to gain freedom. In 1370 the whole homage of villeins

1 Court roll, W.M.xv.55.11.  
2 Ibid., xv.55.18.  
3 Reeves' accounts, Craswell, W.M.xv.61. 28 and 29.  
4 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.5.  
5 Court roll, Iver, W.M.xv.55.9.
was ordered to produce William Gape at the next court because he had fled from the demesne with his goods and chattels. In 1374 there were three more fugitives, among whom was John, son of Robert Wulward who had been reeve of Iver in 1354-5 and 1362-3. Of the three runaways, John Wulward had the most to lose, for he left behind him his wife Joan, a son John, lands sown with grain, some malt, a young ox and 5s. in money. His possessions were valued at 13s.10d. By December 1373 Gilbert Norgent had joined the fugitives.

William Gape, together with his brothers Peter and Guy, claimed to be of free status. This claim was respited from court to court until 1374. There is a gap in the rolls from 1374-84, but by 1384 Guy had joined William outside the manor and Peter was to forfeit all his possessions and lands because he had failed to produce his brothers in court to answer for their flight. The bailiff was to arrest the fugitives and bring them to the next court. Peter's forfeiture was postponed until a decision was reached concerning their status. At last in December 1388 it was found "by ancient rolls and other evidences" that the Gapes were villeins of the lord. Apparently Peter accepted the decision, but William and Guy never returned. Another villein to claim free status was John Hunt senior who was summoned to state his case

1 Court roll, Iver, W.M.xv.55.12.
2 Ibid., xv.55.7 (10 August 1374).
3 Ibid., xv.55.7.
4 Ibid., xv.55.20 (November 1384).
5 Ibid., xv.55.17.
in court throughout 1385 and 1386. From 1387 to 1390 his brother was held responsible for bringing him to court to show why he considered himself free, but in 1408 John Hunt, like William and Guy Gape, was still living with impunity outside the demesne and the advice of the lord’s council was to be sought on the matter. Less fortunate were two villeins, Henry and William Welsh, who disclaimed their villeinage and remained on the manor. All their lands and goods were seized and they themselves were put into the stocks. Under this treatment their illusion of free status soon vanished and the miserable pair presented themselves at the next court ready to swear themselves villeins.

Although the performance of villein services was essential at some seasons of the year, particularly at harvest, the steady work of the demesne did not depend upon customary labour. It has already been shown that the lord was willing to accept money in place of services which could more easily be done by his farm servants. Since the servants at Iver included 2 carters and 6 ploughmen, besides a warrenner, a shepherd, a swineherd and the dairy-farmer, it is easy to see that ploughing and carting services might readily be commuted for money. At harvest-time, too, the farm servants were particularly useful. In 1381-2 besides doing all the binding into sheaves and making of hay-cocks they furnished from their number one who acted as repereeve without extra pay and another who made the hay-ricks. At a court held in December 1370 an order was

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1 Court rolls, Iver, W.M.xv.55.17,18.  
2 Ibid., xv. 55,22,23,24.  
3 Ibid., xv. 55.7.
given to the farm servants that they were to sleep each night in
the manor with the animals in order to keep them safe. The
warrenner received a wage of 8s. a year and, from at least 1385,
an annual livery from the college of Windsor similar to that
given to the reeves of Iver and of Craswell. The dairy farmer
had 6s. a year, but the other ten received, like the farm
servants of Craswell, one shilling each a term for the first
three terms and 4s. for the last term of the year, a total annual
wage of 7s. They had, of course, the usual Christmas and Easter
gifts, liveries of grain, and salt and oatmeal for their pottage.
In 1381-2 the grinding of oats into meal for the farm servants
cost nothing since it was done at the mill for toll.

According to the auditors' estimates at the foot of
local account rolls, Craswell was worth £29.1s.1d. in 1367-8 and
£23.3s.1d. in 1379-80; Iver was worth £77 in 1381-2. A document
which gives a list of the average values of the properties of
St. George's in Edward III's reign has £20 for Craswell and
£67.3s.6d. for Iver, and two later lists, of 1382-3 and 1410-11,
give £20.13s.4d. and £19 respectively for Craswell and £70.12s.7d.
and £75.6s.10¾d. for Iver. In view of these values, it is
apparent that St. George's lost nothing by letting the manors
out to farm. Craswell, farmed to Thomas Bowyer of Bray from
1415, brought in a rent of £21 a year. Iver was kept under
central management for a little longer, but at some date between
1417 and 1422 it too was farmed out, at a rent of £80 a year.

1 W.M.xv.55.12. 2 Bailiff's Account, W.M.xv.53.65.
3 See above, pp.46-7.
2. Local Officials.

A. Visiting Officials.

a) Steward (Local Activities).

Some account of the general functions of the steward of Windsor has already been given, showing the nature of his responsibility for the revenues of St. George's, and that much of his time was occupied in travelling both on business connected with the estates and on other affairs of the chapter. This section deals with one aspect of the steward's office, his activity with regard to estates under central management and his own immediate supervision. In this connexion the steward's duties were legal and economic in every respect as well as financial. Besides being responsible for collecting the income of the manors and delivering it to the treasurer, the steward presided at the college's courts and supervised bailiff and reeves, guiding them by his instructions to manage the estates to the best advantage.

Manorial revenues for the most part were received by bailiff or reeve, collected by the steward, and passed on to the treasurer. This three-cornered transaction was in some instances simplified in practice, though not in theory. The steward might receive certain manorial issues without the reeve as intermediary, or the reeve might deliver money directly to the treasurer. Although the wording of entries in the accounts reveals what actually took place, all three officials were still accountable for the money which had thus jumped one step of its way, as if it had passed from one to the

1 See above, pp. 114-130.
other as usual. In the treasurers' accounts, money which had come in the ordinary way through reeve and steward to the treasurer was entered without mention of its source save occasionally for the general phrase de exitibus. Where sums of money were entered separately, with an explanation of their provenance (such as de lana vendita or pro porcis venditis), this seems to indicate that they had been received in some other way. For instance, in the treasurer's account of 1366-7 receipts from the manor of Craswell were entered in three items:

Crassewelle in Bray

De Johanne Coterel juniore preposito per i talliam mense Februarii anno xli mo viii li.

De eodem Johanne per manus domini Edmundi [senescallii] de lana vendita li x lii liis iiid.

De eodem preposito per manus Johannis Lorynge pro columbellis xs.

The first item recorded a delivery of money in the ordinary way: the tally had of course been given by the steward but we have already seen that the treasurer very frequently omitted to state this. Since we know that selling wool was the steward's business, the second item becomes clear. Profits from wool were received directly by the steward and paid by him to the treasurer, although the money remained a part of the income for which the reeve was accountable. The wording of the last item reveals a similar transaction. In this case Loring, who was a canon of Windsor and farmed the pigeon-house at

1 W.M.xv.34.4.
2 See above, p.84.
Craswell, had paid the amount of his farm on the spot probably to the steward but possibly straight to the treasurer, although of course the sum had to appear in the reeve's account as if paid to him.

Examples of the steward's receiving such money at the source demonstrate the close contact which he maintained with the manors despite his many other duties. Various sales of manorial produce were negotiated by him; besides wool he sold grain, livestock and eggs. John Loring who bought 5 quarters 4 bushels of wheat from Craswell in 1367-8 paid the price of it, £2.7s.8d., to Edmund Cloville, the steward. This payment figured in the reeve of Craswell's account first as a receipt from Loring and again as a delivery of money to Cloville through Loring. In 1368 the steward received part of a fee for chevage from John Welsh, a customary tenant of Iver, and in 1394-5 John Deye, the dairy farmer of Craswell, paid his farm to the steward directly. In 1380 occurred an example of the opposite process. During the absence of the steward in Lent the reeve of Craswell paid £3 to the treasurer of Windsor directly.

Other direct payments to the treasurer were made at the time of view and audit, when the reeves were at Windsor.

The courts of the college of Windsor over which the steward presided exercised both seigniorial and royal jurisdiction.

1 W.M.xv.61.28.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.5. 3 Ibid., xv.34.17.
4 Et liberatum domino Ricardo Postell Thesaurario sine tallia in absencione senescalli in quadragesima lxs. (Reeve's account, Craswell, W.M.xv.61.29).
Each of these jurisdictions technically had two aspects. The seignorial court, held by the lord of a manor of his own right because he had tenants, included the court baron to which free tenants owed suit and the court customary (or hallmoot) for villeins. In the royal court, held by grant of the king, the college had the right to hold view of frankpledge and to do work analogous to the sheriff's tourn. This court was called "view of frankpledge with court" or "court leet." In the courts of St. George's no distinction was made between the two aspects of either jurisdiction, but the seignorial court was kept distinct from the court leet. View of frankpledge was usually followed immediately by the seignorial court, but to record these proceedings a fresh start was made on the court roll under the heading Sequitur Parva Curia or Nunc sequitur le Curia. Although according to tradition a manorial court sat every three weeks, there is no evidence of more than five such courts held in a year by the college of Windsor on any estate. At Wraysbury in 1353-4 and in 1354-5 only one court was held; in the latter year it was on 8 November. At Craswell in 1367-8 and 1379-80 the steward held four courts, one with view, and at Iver in 1381-2 five courts and one view. Among the court rolls of Iver there are not more than five for any one year. View of frankpledge should have been held twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, according to the provisions of the Great Charter (1217 and 1225). Usually it was held once a year by the steward of St. George's, at a date which approximated to the Easter session, varying between 19 April
and 5 June and bearing no relation to the actual date of Easter. On one recorded occasion the other session was held, too, on 1 December 1399.

When the steward came to hold court, he took advantage of this opportunity to inspect the estates. Since he was a busy official it is probable that he did as much supervisory work as possible on these occasions, checking the activities of bailiff or reeve, arranging sales or giving his authority for them, deciding which fields should be sold and which kept for the lord's use, rewarding the labour of the farm servants, and collecting the revenues. Instances of all these responsible duties may be found in the records. The steward's witness was necessary to prove that a crop had failed, as in 1381-2 at Iver when neither the apple nor the pear orchard yielded any fruit. Sales of underwood or timber and agreements for the lease of demesne land and appurtenances were arranged by him. At Craswell in 1367-8 he authorised the sale of some pastures, reserving others for the animals of the demesne, and ordered that the hay from some meadows was to be mown and carried to the manor instead of being sold in the usual way. Recognition of the good work done by officials

1 Beside the bailiff's entry in his account that there were no pears nor apples an addition was made at the audit per testimonium senescalii (W.M.xv.53.65).

2 Ibid. Sale of underwood and agreement concerning lease of dairy arranged by steward at Iver.

3 Reeve's Account, W.M.xv.51.28 (among items headed Exitus Manerii).
and servants of the manor was made at his orders. To John Athelwolf, reeve of Craswell from Michaelmas 1367 to 19 January 1368, the steward gave an extra quarter of wheat, besides the usual quarter which was a perquisite of his office, as a gift from the college because of his service. In 1379-80 the farm servants of Craswell shared a gift of 3d. and a further 2d. was given to four tenants of the manor who had lopped trees in the wood. A gift of 3s. made to the farm servants of Iver in 1382 at the steward's order was for "their great labour."

The steward's supervision of local management was, however, closer than could have been maintained had the visits to hold court been his only appearances. Although it is probable that he arranged to combine holding court and other duties as far as possible, his presence was necessary at certain times when it would have been inconvenient to hold court. Outstanding among these were shearing time and harvest. When the flocks were shorn the steward was present, both "to assist and to supervise" as the bailiff of Iver stated in his account of 1381-2, and afterwards he took charge of the fleeces to sell them. We know he visited the manors during harvest, for he fixed the amount of wages to be paid to the repereeve at Craswell in 1368, paid wages to the supervisor of threshing.

1 Reeve's Account, W.M.xv.61.28d (in Grain Account).
2 Reeve's Account, Craswell, W.M.xv.61.28.
there in 1368 and 1370, and rewarded reapers both at Iver and Craswell in 1395. Other occasions upon which he was present included the tithing of lambs at Iver in 1395 when he gave the shepherd 4d. When building works were in progress the steward was bound to be there, for he was responsible for supervising the work and paying the labourers. During the building of Bray lock in 1379-80 he twice made a gift of one penny each to the three assistant carpenters.

The steward's responsibility towards estates under his management was not limited to his visits of superintendence and holding court. When new stock or equipment was needed it was usually he who undertook to select and purchase it. Although in 1371 the reeves of Iver and Craswell were entrusted with buying new flocks, it was the steward who purchased a mare for the latter manor. He also delivered carthorses to the two manors in 1367-8 and bought cows and oxen for Craswell in 1369-70 and 1395-6. When buying new millstones for the mills at Bray and Iver in 1386, the steward took the bailiff and the miller of Iver with him to London to select them. The stone for Bray mill cost £4.13s.6d.,

1 Steward's Account, attached to Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv. 34.5.
2 Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.1.
3 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.17.
4 Reeve's Account, Craswell, W.M.xv.61.29.
5 Treasurer's Acct., W.M.xv.34.7.
6 Steward's Account, attached to W.M.xv.34.5.
7 Steward's Acct., W.M.xv.48.1.  
8 Treasurer's Acct., W.M.xv.34.18.
including its carriage from London to Bray.

It is particularly interesting to consider the different aspects of the steward's local activity in the light of his being a temporary official. Although a canon might continue as steward for two or perhaps three years, the office remained theoretically an annual one, and in practice frequently changed hands from year to year. A knowledge of preceding years was required in legal, financial and other economic duties. Since the steward of the college was so impermanent an officer, the value of his permanent colleague, the steward of the courts, and of experienced manorial officials must have been the greater.

b) Steward of the Courts.

It may well have been to remedy a lack of permanence among officers supervising the manors that the practice of associating with the steward in these duties another canon, also in office only for one year, was given up in favour of a permanent appointment of a steward of the courts. In 1353-4 and 1354-5 canon-supervisors accompanied the steward on his visits to hold court and inspect the estate of Wraysbury, but they do not appear again in records of later years. In surviving central accounts the first mention of the steward of the courts occurs in 1385-6 when the treasurer paid him his annual fee of 40s. From that year onwards payment of this 40s.

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.15.

2 Ibid.
figured regularly among the Fees in the treasurers' accounts. That there was a steward of the courts before 1385, however, is apparent from local accounts which we have of Iver and Craswell. In the earliest, of 1367-8, he was named as assisting the steward of the college in holding court at Craswell, and he was mentioned in the same way in the accounts of Craswell in 1379-80 and Iver in 1381-2. His fee of 40s. was in 1381-2 paid him by the bailiff of Iver, who accounted for the amount among payments of wages to the farm servants of the manor. The 40s. was stated to be inclusive of livery (the sum was pro feodo cum roba) although according to a summary of the annual expenditure of St. George's in the time of Edward III the steward of the courts was to receive 12s. for a robe as well as his fee of 40s. This instance of the steward of the courts' being paid out of the income of the manor of Iver provides an explanation of the absence of his fee in treasurers' accounts before 1385.

Since the steward of the courts was often if not always a tenant of the manor of Iver, this early practice of the bailiff's paying his fee was a natural one. Of the five men known to hold the office in the period surveyed, three certainly were free tenants of Iver and possibly the other two were also. The five were Nicholas Bodewell (1367-8), William Nafferton (1377-86), Richard Overton (1393-9), Henry Hethe (1400-1408)

1 W.M.xv.61.28 and 29; xv.53.65.
2 W.M.xv.34.3.
and Richard Wyot (from at least 1415). Incidental references in court rolls of Iver prove Nafferton, Overton and Wyot to have been tenants there.

The duties of the steward of the courts were legal only, but were not confined to assisting the steward of St. George's in presiding at manorial courts. Besides this he shared with the steward in the prosecution of all legal matters, travelling with him to sue out writs against debtors, co-operating with the attorneys of the college in the king's courts, and attending parliaments. The warden and canons made him a gift of 26s.8d., above his 40s. fee, in 1404-5 for his efforts at Westminster, and a similar present in 1406-7 for his counsel. In 1393-4 the treasurer paid for one gallon of wine sent to the house of Overton, then steward of the courts, where an agreement was being made with William Spelyng who later farmed the rectory of Iver. Like the steward of St. George's and others travelling on the business of the college, the steward of the courts drew up bills of expenses thus incurred which were presented to the canons in chapter for

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1 The dates given are for the years in which they were mentioned as in office; probably their terms of office were longer.

2 In 1377 Nafferton accompanied Richard Shaw, steward of the college, to Uttoxeter for a writ of nisi prius against Kynardesley, farmer there (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.13).

3 Henry Hethe, John Massingham, steward of the college, and Henry Webb, attorney of St. George's in the exchequer, worked together in 1400-1 to obtain a quitclaim of rent for the pastures of Frith and Ashcroft (Ibid.,xv.34.20).

4 Ibid.,xv.34.23.

5 Ibid.,xv.34.24.

6 In i lagena vini missa ad domum Overtone ad tractandum cum Spelyng (Ibid.,xv.34.16).
their approval and then paid by the treasurer.

As the litigation in which St. George's was involved became steadily greater, the steward of the college was constrained to spend much time in London to watch the progress of the cases. In this duty the steward of the courts could and did relieve him, remaining in London while the other resumed his activities elsewhere. In January 1403 when John Massingham, steward of the college, had to make a journey to London on some matter connected with the herrings due from Yarmouth, he seized the opportunity to deliver to Henry Hethe, steward of the courts, a bond and an indenture, which were doubtless evidences needed in a suit for recovery of debt. Hethe, apparently, was staying in London. Possibly those who became stewards of the courts already had some legal knowledge; if not, their comparatively long terms of office must have given them knowledge and experience, of use both to the steward of the college and to the chapter. At any rate, Hethe's advice was considered sufficiently good for the chapter to reward him for it in 1406-7.

c) Clerk of the Courts and Accounts.

The office of clerk of the courts and accounts was established at some date between 1382 and 1385. Its province was purely local since the accounts dealt with were manorial only. The predecessor of this official had been less specialised.
From at least 1362 a clerk named John Rowe had drawn up and assisted at the audit of the accounts of St. George's, both central and local. He received no salary from the treasurer, but was paid a fee for each account he wrote and for attending the audit. On 19 January 1368 he accompanied the warden and the steward on a visit to Craswell when John Athelwolf was retiring from the office of reeve. Although a court was held on this day there is no evidence that John Rowe came to write the court roll. It is more probable that his business was to draw up the account of the retiring official: he was paid 5s. at the end of the financial year for making one roll of this account of Athelwolf's and of that of his successor. Rowe was not named as attending any of the other courts held at Craswell in this year. The earliest record to connect Rowe with the courts of the manors is the account of the bailiff of Iver of 1381-2. The bailiff paid to Rowe, whom he described as clerk of the accounts, a wage of 26s.8d. which included payment for writing the rolls of court. In addition Rowe received 13s.4d. from the bailiff in lieu of livery.

In the treasurer's account of 1385-6 the clerk of the courts and accounts of the manors of the college made his first appearance. His name was John Stoke and his annual fee 40s.

1 Reeve's Account, Craswell, W.M.xv.61.28.
2 Et in stipendio Johannis Rowe clerici compotorum maneriorum dictorurum Custodis et Collegii simul cum scriptura Rotulorum Curie per annum ultra Robam suam xxvis.viliid. (W.M.xv.53.65).
3 Et solutum Johanni Stoke clerico Curiarum et compotorum maneriorum Collegii pro feodo suo per annum x1s. (W.M.xv.34.15).
Since there was no further mention of John Rowe, it seems probable that his death or retirement at some date between 1382 and 1385 was the occasion for creating a definite office when appointing his successor. By 1393 John Stoke had been succeeded by Thomas Campford who retained the position until 1416.

Campford appears to have made a success of his office. In 1395-6 the college made him a gift of 6s.8d. above his fee for his work on the accounts of the reeves. By 1398-9 this reward had increased to 20s. It was for his efficiency at the audit that he gained this reward, and by 1400-1 Campford was holding the office of auditor of the local accounts as well as that of clerk, receiving the auditor's fee of 20s. besides the clerk's fee of 40s. He continued to combine both offices until 1416. By 1417-18, however, Campford was discharging the duties of auditor only; his former position of clerk was then held by Nicholas Clopton.

B. Manorial Officials.

a) Bailiff, sergeant and reeve.

Between bailiff, sergeant and reeve there was no apparent difference of function, but a difference in their remuneration indicates that there was some distinction between the three

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1 Or Capmanford.
2 Item datum Thome Campford clerico curiarum nostrarum ex rewardo pro labore impenso circa compotos prepositorum vis.viidi.
(Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.18).
officials. The bailiff's salary was the highest. At Iver, William atte Forde (bailiff 1377-95) received an annual wage of 40s. and one bushel of wheat each week from the manor, besides a livery of the best kind with fur from St. George's. The sergeant came next. Richard Packington, when sergeant of Wraysbury, had a wage of 10s.; concerning his livery there is no evidence. Last was the reeve, a villein who received for his services remittance of both labour and money rent for his holding, an allowance of wheat from the estate, and a servant's livery or its equivalent in money from St. George's. From an entry in the treasurer's account of 1366-7 it appears that the reeve of Iver had a money wage of 6s.8d. as well.

It is clear that from 1377-95 when there was no reeve at Iver, the bailiff, William atte Forde, did exactly the same work as was done both before and after these dates by reeves. When there were both bailiff and reeve on the manor, the reeve's duties are straightforward; he was the prominent managing official. It is the function of the bailiff at these times which is obscure.

In 1367-8 when John Hunt was reeve and obviously the responsible official at Iver, Richard Packington was named as bailiff of the liberty. Packington had an interesting career. He was a tenant of Iver and held at least part of his lands in

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Et Johanni Hunte preposito de Evere per manus Roberti Cartere pro vadiis suis vis.villld. (W.M.xv.34.4). John Coterel, reeve of Craswell, who received 10s. from the college in the same year had it not as a wage but as a gift (ex curialitate).
villeinage. In a court held on 18 January 1369 he was fined for not putting his two sons in a tithing, and later in the same year was warrener of the manor. During 1366 he was ale-taster. He must have been fairly prosperous, for he shared with William Lorimer and William by the Wood 63 acres of arable land leased from the college at 12d. an acre, and in addition held the lease of 8 acres of pasture and 3 acres of meadow at 10s. a year. He first appeared in the service of the college in 1352 when he became sergeant of Wraysbury. In 1353–4 he was sergeant of Datchet as well, and in the following year was managing the estates at Deddington and Old Windsor in addition. All the estates which he had administered were at farm by 1361, but Packington was still employed by the college in 1362, now as a responsible messenger from the centre. He travelled to Southampton for them in that year on unspecified but essential business. Packington continued to serve St. George's for many years in this capacity. In 1366-7 he relieved the steward by riding to London with the usual quittance for the herrings from Yarmouth; in 1376 he delivered gifts on behalf of the college to the sheriff of Staffordshire and to John Bretton's

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1 On 16 May 1370 he took up a holding in villeinage (Court roll of Iver, W.M.xv.55.12).
2 Ibid., xv.55.11.
3 Court roll of 19 April 1369, Ibid., xv.55.11.
5 In vadiis Ricardi Pakentone versus Southamtone pro negocilis necessariis vis. viiid. (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.1).
6 Ibid., xv.34.4.
clerk; in 1377-8 he spent ten days at Uttoxeter and later went to Ryston to superintend the collection of the tithe of sheaves. In these duties he appears to have acted as an assistant to the steward. Possibly his title of bailiff of the liberty covered an office with duties in any direction in which the steward required assistance.

There is an instance of a reeve of Craswell's being styled bailiff, in the treasurer's account of 1402-3. This is remarkable since elsewhere in the same document was recorded the delivery to Simon of the usual reeve's livery. The distinction between bailiff and reeve was preserved without confusion in all other treasurers' accounts, and it is possible that this was an error on the part of the clerk writing the account. On the other hand this may be an indication of the extension of the term bailiff to include any manorial official, a tendency which has been found in contemporary accounts elsewhere.

Management of an estate was in the hands of either a bailiff or a sergeant or a reeve. Although each of these three received a different wage and had a different title, their functions were uniform. Besides the obvious similarity of

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1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.11.
2 Ibid.,xv.34.14.
3 Ibid.,xv.34.22.
responsibility which is apparent from a comparison of accounts submitted by each of these officials, entries in the court rolls of Iver show how from 1377 to 1395 the bailiff was ordered to perform duties which before and after this time were the business of the reeve. For instance when on 21 April 1390 at a view of frankpledge the chief pledges reported that a common way was blocked and a millstream had overflowed its banks because of the lord's neglect, it was William atte Forde, the bailiff, who was ordered to put things right. But a flooded ditch in 1369 and a broken bridge in 1374, both the lord's responsibility, were referred to the reeve. Similarly, although from 1377 to 1395 the bailiff had to answer for the profits of holdings in the lord's hands and for lands and goods which fell forfeit, at other times it was the reeve who was accountable.

When there was a reeve at Iver, the bailiff appears to have had no hand in economic duties. He received no wage or livery then. His functions remain uncertain but it is possible that he was an assistant to the steward.

b) Beadle and collectors of rent.

Mention of a beadle and of collectors of rent occurs in connexion with only one of the estates of St. George's, the manor of Iver. Probably Craswell, since it was a dependent of the royal manor of Bray, needed no beadle for its own court; at any rate fines for offences against the common welfare (such as neglect of roads and water-courses) were
paid to the court of Bray. Similarly, such fines were paid from the rectory of Wraysbury to the beadle of the manor of Wraysbury. Collection of rent at Craswell may have been added to the duties of the reeve. At Wraysbury, although there were no permanent collectors, two men were employed during the harvest to collect the tithe of sheaves due to the rectory. In 1353–4 when the harvesting period extended from 3 August to 15 September they received a wage of 3s. each and their food.

The beadle of Iver in 1381–2 was John Aleyn. He received a wage of 6s. for the year and a further 5s.3d. for the six weeks of harvest during which he was paid 1½d. a day. Besides payment in money he was granted quittance of rent in labour and kind for his holding, the rent in kind being a custom of ten eggs. Money rent was not remitted to him, according to the custom of the manor. The beadle was the executive official of the court; it was his business to seize forfeit property, levy distress, make arrests and produce persons on certain days as the court required.

There were two rent-collectors at Iver, who received no wage but, like the beadle, enjoyed quittance of labour service and rent in kind though not money rent. They were elected and sworn officials, to whom were entrusted the rent-

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1 Sergeant’s Account, W.M.xv.53.42.
2 De acquietancia redditus Bedelli et duorum collectorum redditus nichil per consuetudinem manerii (Bailiff’s Account, W.M.xv. 53.65).
books of the manor. On 24 September 1387 two retiring 1 collectors handed over in the court three such rentals. These were kept in the treasury of the college of Windsor until the next court, on 26 November, when the new collectors were elected. To them only one rental was delivered, a fairly recent one, for it had been drawn up on 23 May 1374: possibly the other two were out of date. The collectors sometimes paid over rents directly to the steward instead of to the reeve or bailiff, and they were responsible for unpaid rents. In 1389 distraint was to be made to recover debts incurred by a former collector, John Wulward, during his term of office.

1 Ad hanc Curiam venerunt Willelmus Lorymer nomine suo proprio prout dictum fuit ei ad ultimam et Johannes Wulward nomine Johannis Hunte et liberaverunt in plena Curia tria redditalia que liberate eis fuerunt tempore quo fuerunt collectores redditus domini et que redditalia remanent in Thesaurario Collegii de Wyndesore (Court Roll, W.M.xv.55.17).

2 Willelmus Foul et Henricus Walsh electi sunt et iurati in officio Collectoris redditus domini et liberatur eis quoddam rendale manerii de Evere factum xxiii die Maii in septimana Pentecosten anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quadragesimo octavo (ibid.).

3 E.g. in 1371-2 and 1374-5 (Treasurers' Accounts, W.M.xv.34. 8 and 9).

4 Court roll of 14 September 1389, W.M.xv.55.18.
III. Methods of Account.

1. Apparatus of Account.

A. The Erary.

Among the many new buildings constructed in the lower ward of Windsor castle for the use of the college of St. George was a stone chamber, called in the building accounts le tresorie. This treasury was built while Robert of Burnham was surveyor of the works in the castle. Masons began work on it in April 1353, first constructing a beautiful vaulted porch on the west side of the chapel cloister, over which the new treasury was to stand. By March 1354 the walls of the stone treasury chamber had been erected, and work began on its vaulted roof. The vault, of two bays with carved double roses at the intersections of the ribs and against the walls, was completed by November, when a roof of timber and lead was laid above it. There was one window, in the south wall, set in an arched recess; iron work for it was made in September 1354.

Early in 1355 materials were bought for decorating the chamber. White lead, painter's oil, brushes and thread to bind them were among the purchases, and in April a workman was hired to grind colours for painting the vault. Painted glass was set in the window. The floor was paved with tiles of different patterns. By September 1355 the treasury was finished.

1 St. John Hope, Windsor Castle, I, 150-8, II, 504-5.
Although in building accounts this chamber was always called the treasury, the college of St. George had a variety of names for it. In the account rolls it was called thesauria, erarium, scaccarium, domus computaria and le countynghous. Of these erarium was perhaps the most frequent, and it is this name which has survived. The stone chamber is still in existence and is known as the erary. Its appearance has altered little since it was first constructed, but there is now no trace of painting on the vault and the window is filled with clear glass. The present chimney seems to date back only to 1443-4, since the treasurer's account of that year recorded costs of its building, but some chimney, possibly of similar design, existed before then, for fuel was supplied for use in the erary in earlier years. The window was not barred until 1496-7.

The names given to this chamber reveal its two functions. As treasury or erary, it was the strong-room. In it were kept money and muniments. Its door had a double lock and its furniture included a chest for money and a coffer for muniments, both with locks and provided with new keys in 1366-7. A cupboard, also for muniments, was made in the same

1 Et datum caretario de Bray caretanti focale pro Countynghous illid. (Treasurer's Account, 1400-1, W.M.xv.34.20).

2 Et solutum pro refectione ii serarum ac reposicione earundem in hastio computarii vid. (ibid., 1377-8, xv.34.14).

3 Et solutum Johanni Smyth pro uno clave ad seruram ciste in Thesauria cum clavis emptis ad idem xviiiid. In i clave empto ad seruram coffre munimentorum collegii illid. (ibid., xv.34.4).
year. The rolls and evidences collected by the college soon became too numerous for their containers. In 1377-8 four new deed-boxes were purchased to hold them, and in 1422-3 (soon after the close of the period surveyed) a new press was put up in the erary for the same purpose. Among purchases made in 1370-1 for the erary was a linen sack to keep money in.

In its other aspect, as exchequer and counting-house, the room served as a business office for the treasurer. An exchequer table stood there, covered with green striped cloth which was renewed in 1368 and again in 1395-6. A number of benches were placed round it. Here the financial business of the college was transacted until about 1493 when a new counting-house was built. Since from that time this room ceased to be used for business transactions, it was natural that the name which clung to it was erary rather than counting-

1 In uno novo armariololo facto pro munimentis collegii xiiis. iiid. (ibid.)
2 Et solutum pro iiiii pixidibus ad monumenta imponenda viid. (ibid., xv.34.14).
3 Et solutum Johanni Horstede operanti circa reposicionem i armariololi in domo computario pro rotulis et evidenciis Collegii intus custodienti per duos dies capienti per diem sine scibo vid. xiid. (ibid., xv.34.32). It is possible that this was the press which still stands at the north end of the erary (St. John Hope, op.cit., II,506).
4 In uno saculo lineo empto pro pecunia conservanda iid. ob. (Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.7).
5 In ii ulnis viridis panni emptis pro scaccario vs. (ibid., xv. 34.5). Et solutum pro ii virgis et i quarterio panni viridis radiati pro computario cum tonsura eiusdem iiii.xiid. (ibid., xv.34.18).
6 In emendacione formularum in dicto scaccario iid. (ibid., xv. 34.7).
house or exchequer. Although for the purpose of these chapters it is with its function of counting-house that we are concerned, the name erary, by which the room is still called, has been used rather than one of the less familiar terms.

Occasional entries in account rolls throw some light on the furnishings of the erary. A supply of parchment, paper, ink, pumice and sealing-wax was kept there. Both red and green wax was used for the common or great seal of the dean and chapter. Counters, used in making calculations on the exchequer table, were purchased in 1370-1, when five "accounting shillings" cost 12d., and in 1400-1 when two more were bought for 4d. and a bag to put them in for a halfpenny. The table itself was repaired by a carpenter in 1377-8 at a cost of 6d.

An interesting problem connected with the erary has been raised by Sir William St. John Hope. Both as an office

1 e.g. Idem computat in viridi et rubia cera empta papero causto et pomiseo emptis pro Thesauria iiiis. (1362-3, ibid., xv.34.2).
2 Item pro papiro empto per Thesaurarium pro officio suo et precentoris xvid. pro viridi et rubea cera viiid. pro pomiseo iid. .... pro percamento xd. (1400-1, ibid., xv.34.20).
3 In una libra viridis cera empta pro magno sigillo xd. (1368, ibid., xv.34.6). In viridi et rubea cera empta pro sigillo communi xd. (1371-2, ibid., xv.34.8).
4 Item ... pro iis. Computatoriiis iiiid. pro bursa pro eisdem ob (ibid., xv.34.20).
5 Et solutum Fraunceux Carpentario pro emendacione computarii collegii vid. (ibid., xv.34.14).
and a strong-room it would have been desirable for the erary to have some direct entrance, but apparently it had no staircase from the cloister. Thus the only approach which Sir William could suggest was by a staircase at the west end of the old chapel which had a door opening on to the roof of the cloister. By walking over the cloister leads from this doorway the entrance to the erary could be reached. This roundabout route must have been peculiarly inconvenient in bad weather, and especially when chests and boxes had to be carried in.

B. Rolls of Treasurer and Steward.

From at least the date of the earliest surviving account (1361-2) until the year 1415-16, the roll of the treasurer was drawn up in the same form. Under a heading which stated the name of the accountant and the period of account, came first arrears (if any) of the preceding year, then a list of receipts from the churches, manors and other properties of the college given separately and in some detail, and, until 1393, the chapel offerings. A total of these items completed the receipt section. From this amount the treasurer recorded disbursements of various sums due to the members and officials of the college, pensions payable for appropriated churches, fees and liveries of lay officers, gifts and costs of litigation, travelling allowances of canons and others on business, and the sum expended by the precentor on the maintenance of the chapel and its services. Finally came the costs of audit, followed
by the sum total of expenditure and the balance of the account. Thus a typical treasurer’s roll was set out in the following way (mutatis mutandis):

Account of Richard Shaw treasurer of the royal free chapel within the castle of Windsor from the last day of the month of September in the 19th year of the reign of King Richard the second from the conquest until the same day in the 20th year of the said king through one complete year.

Arrears
Ryston
Uttoxeter
Caxton
Datchet
Langley
Church of Deddington
Church of Iver
Wraysbury
Whaddon
Saltash
South Tawton
Simonburn
Northampton
Ankerwyke
Manor of Iver
Manor of Craswell
Deddington Castle

[Note: In the majority of the accounts, properties were given in this order.]

1 Treasurers Account of 1375-6, W.M. xv. 34. 18.
Rents of buildings by the Thames
Rents of Robert Burnham's buildings
Rent of Assize (Kymbell's)
Foreign Receipts

Sum of all receipt:

Cotidians
Warden's salary
Prebends
Wages of officials
Obits
Fees and Robes
Gifts and Pleas
Necessary expenses
Pensions and Subsidies (including payment of a papal subsidy this year)

Expenses of the Warden and other Canons
Costs of the garden
Repairs of churches and buildings
Purchase of stock (for Craswell this year)
Costs of the chapel
Repayment of rent (to the Abbot of Reading for buildings by the Thames on land in his fee)

Costs of auditing clerks
Costs of canon-auditors

Sum of all expenses:

And thus the accountant owes (so much). Of which a third part is placed in the erary. And thus there remains
in the hands of the accountant [so much] which
he pays to John Prust treasurer after him.
And thus he is quit.

The form of the stewards' rolls of this period was very
similar. Except that the steward included rather more detail
than the treasurer concerning payment of revenues, the receipt
sections of the two accounts were almost identical. In many
ways, too, the items in the expense section were duplicated.
Naturally the steward did not account for disbursements of
cotidians, prebends and obit distributions, which were entirely
the treasurer's responsibilities, but he occasionally included
payments which, although in the usual way made by the treasurer,
had come into his province because they had been met out of
1 monies for which he was accountable. The steward's own
expenditure upon the estates and upon travelling for business
purposes appeared in both accounts: in the steward's because
he had disbursed the money, and in the treasurer's because the
treasurer was ultimately responsible for it. A detailed
examination of the steward's expenditure has been made above.
Every item of it was reproduced in the treasurer's account
except the biggest item, that of sums of money delivered by the
steward to the treasurer. The form in which the steward presented
his account may be summarised as follows:

1 For instance the warden's salary in 1369-70 (See above, p.288).
2 Pp.120-4.
Arrears
Receipts from properties [list as in treasurers' rolls]
Garden produce (from 1393 none, because the perquisite of residentiaries)
Foreign receipts
    Sum of all receipt:
Delivery of money (to the treasurer)
Pensions (for appropriated churches)
Fees and Robes
Gifts and Pleas
Travelling expenses
Costs of the garden
Costs of repairs
Foreign expenses
    Sum of all expenses:
And thus the accountant owes [so much] which he pays to the college over the exchequer. And thus he is quit.

This system of accounting provided a double check on all the receipts, and stressed the treasurer's responsibility for all expenditure. Although in theory it is simple enough, in practice it was a little involved. The account of the steward must have been audited first. He had delivered to the treasurer a large proportion of the money received; of the rest he had spent so much and in the presence of the auditors he handed over the rest. So far this was straightforward, except when there were unpaid arrears. Now came the more important account
of the treasurer. Instead of accounting only for the sum actually delivered to him by the steward, the treasurer assumed liability for all receipts. This necessitated the inclusion in his account of all the steward's expenditure, too, and before the balance of the account could be struck, the money which the steward had owed on his account had to be credited to the treasurer. This might have worked well enough, as indeed it did, until the steward accumulated a large and unrealisable debt, made up both of rents which he himself had failed to collect and an inheritance of similar arrears from his predecessors. Difficult as it was for each successive steward to account reasonably for his own arrears and for those of earlier years, some of which were paid off in small sums during his own period of office, it was far more complicated for the treasurer, who had to deal also with arrears of former treasurers.

Soon after 1400 St. George's began to be in financial difficulties. Until 1405 income covered expenditure, but with only a small margin. In 1406-8 there was a deficit. Between 1408 and 1415-16 the accounts of the college became increasingly involved. None of these accounts has survived; we have a summary of the treasurer's roll of 1410-11, but this included only the briefest statements of income and expenditure. It is significant, however, that although there was a balance in hand of just over £14, the canons thought the year a sufficiently lean one to use this summary as a demonstration of the inadequacy of their income in support of a later petition
to Henry VI for financial aid. They added a note that, had all the canons been resident in 1410-11, their income would have fallen short of the sum needed for cotidians by £99.

From 1413-15 William Gillot was steward and in 1415-16 treasurer. It may have been his experience of the difficulties for both officers of the present methods of accounting which prompted a change. In 1416 the dean and canons in chapter decided to invite outside assistance in an attempt to clarify and reform their accounts. A commission to this effect, drawn up and sealed with the common seal, was delivered to John Burton, who made two visits to Windsor in consequence. On each occasion the college sent a messenger with three horses to escort him and his servant from London, and for the eight weeks of his stay he was entertained in the deanery. For his labours during these eight weeks he received a fee of 20s. The dean was allowed 6s.8d. a week for the maintenance of Burton and his servant.

Under Burton's guidance a great deal of work was done, both in recasting and simplifying past accounts and in creating

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1 W.M.xv.34.27 (Undated but clearly after 1430).

2 Et in expensis trium equorum domini Roberti Gowse missi London ad reducendum dominum W. Burton uque Wyndesore ad assistendum audicidionli et reformacioni compotorum novorum et antiquorum luxtia tenorem cuilusdem commissionis date sub sigillo communi Collegii pro labore iiiis. iiiid. Et secunda vice unus famulus Decani cum tribus equis missus London ad reducendum dictum dominum J. Burton xxd. Item in mensa dicti domini Johannis Burton et unus famuli sui existentium in mensa cum Custode pro dicta reformacione compotorum per diversa tempora ibidem sedentium videllocet per octo septimanas per septimanam vis. viiid. 1i,li. xiiiis. iiid. Et in solucione factura dicto domino J. Burton pro labore suo per concensum Capituli pro huiusmodi reformacione compotorum xxs. (Summary of Treasurer's account of 1416-17, W.M.xv.48.5).
a new form for the future. Some indication of the scale of Burton's undertaking may be found in the large sum spent on parchment, paper, ink, wax and other necessities for his use. Their cost amounted to £8.11s.9d. One of his achievements was the making of a roll of arrears for which one canon, William Spigurnell, was responsible, because they were owing for years when he had been steward. This roll was compiled from numerous accounts of years between 1396 and 1409, and Richard Wyot, the steward of the courts, assisted in extracting the relevant items. The roll has been preserved, but unfortunately the beginning of it is missing; and since all subsequent items referred back to an explanation given in the first item, the precise reason for its compilation remains obscure. It is, however, apparent that this was a beginning of a more reasonable allocation of liability. An individual steward was to remain liable for debts contracted during his term of office, instead of passing them on to his successor who in his turn shifted responsibility to the treasurer. Spigurnell's debt amounted to £227.15s.10d.

Another roll made at this time was a simplified version of the treasurer's account of 1407-8. Both the earlier, fuller

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1 Item in pergamenon, papiro, incausto, cerea rubea et viridi et allis rebus necessariis viiili. xis. ixd. ob. (ibid., in the same group of entries).

2 Et in quodam iantaculo Ricardi Wyot cum tribus famulis suis per ordinacionem Custodis et Capituli in superexaminatione extractus arreagriorum domini Willelmi Spigurnell facti per auditores et Burton iiiis.iiiid. (ibid., among Dona et Placita)

3 W.M.xv.48.2.

4 W.M.xv.34.25.
account and this shorter one have survived. The latter was endorsed: per Johannem Burton

\begin{center}
\textit{terminatus Compotus domini Henrici Spicer Thesaurarii ibidem Anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum novo}
\end{center}

It included, immediately after the balance of the treasurer's account, a brief statement of the total receipts and expenditure of the precentor, with the balance of his account, under the titulus \textit{Compotus Precentoris hoc anno}. In this year the chapel offerings had been kept back from the residentiaries to help cover expenditure on the chapel.

It is very probable that many other accounts were similarly reviewed and simplified, but no other examples have been preserved save those of the year 1415-16. Of the two treasurer's rolls which we have of this year, one was drawn up in the form previously described, but the other was presented in a new and simpler form, to which all subsequent accounts of treasurers adhered. No longer did the treasurer account for all revenues received: his liability was confined to the sums actually delivered to him by the steward. Gradually, too, from this time, certain types of expenditure became recognised as the province of the steward. Thus the steward's accounts became henceforward independent of the treasurer's. Details of rents received were to be found only in the roll of the

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1 W.M. xv.34.26.
2 See above, pp.112-13.
3 Above, pp.332-3.
4 See above, p.124.
steward; the item, Money delivered, among his expenses recorded sums passed on to the treasurer. The total of this item appeared in the roll of the treasurer as his only receipt besides arrears. There was one other heading in the treasurer's receipt section, Chapel offerings, but this was always followed by the same statement that there was nothing because the residentiaries had shared the offerings.

Burton's reform achieved the separation of the accounts of treasurer and steward. This was valuable in dealing with arrears already owing as well as in simplifying the method of recording debts to be incurred in the future. After the balance of the treasurer's account (new style) of 1415-16, which left the treasurer liable for £168.14s.0d., a new heading was written *Unde super*, followed by a list of the actual debtors for whose failure to pay the treasurer was accountable. The chief debtors were the dean and residentiaries who had divided £162.7s.11d. between them in the past 10 years instead of putting the money into the erary or meeting the costs of necessary repairs to their properties. A similar list headed *Unde super* followed the balance of the steward's rolls of this and subsequent years, allocating the arrears both to the stewards who had failed to collect them and to the defaulters who had not paid.
2. Audit.

The erary was the scene of audit of both central and local accounts. In the boxes and cupboards with which it was furnished were kept all the rolls and evidences needed by the auditors in their careful scrutiny of the year's returns. Calculations were performed on the exchequer with its squared green covering, using the counters kept in a bag there for this purpose. Any money left over when the accounts had been balanced could be placed at once in a sack in the locked chest. Soon after Michaelmas, at the close of the financial year, was the time of audit. Information about it has been collected from entries in the treasurers' rolls, of fees and allowances to those hearing and presenting accounts, and from emendations and additions made in the various rolls by the auditors themselves. It appears that local accounts were audited first, then central accounts, of which the treasurer's would be the last to be heard.

A. Local Accounts.

Much has been written about the process of audit of manorial accounts. We know both from contemporary theoretical treatises on husbandry and methods of accounting and from studies of actual account rolls with what minute thoroughness a

1 For treatises on husbandry see E. Lamond, Walter of Henley (1890). An example of accounting rules (of Beaulieu Abbey) has been printed by N. Denholm-Young (Seignorial Administration, Appendix III, pp.159-76).

2 e.g. H. S. Bennett, Life on the English Manor 1150-1400, pp.188-192; H. M. Briggs, Surrey Manorial Accounts (Introduction); A. E. Levett, Studies in Manorial History, pp.44-6.
manorial official was required to render his account, and how searching was the auditors' examination of his returns. Most of the accounts of private persons were audited on the estate in question, by itinerant auditors who carried with them the records necessary for reference and checking, and were able to hold an inquiry on the spot if they found an accountant vague or evasive on any point. The accounts of some private estates, however, were audited in a central office, thus following the royal practice of summoning officials to bring their accounts to the exchequer rather than the more widespread private method of taking it to them. A central audit had its advantages, and this method was practised at St. George's. It was more convenient to hear all the accounts in one place with the materials of reference at hand, rather than to travel about laden with the contents of their strong-boxes. The nearness to Windsor of those estates for which accounts had to be rendered meant also that it was possible to clear up an unsatisfactory return by dispatching a messenger to the estate to make inquiries.

There is no evidence of holding a view of account of the estates of St. George's. It is possible that a view was held, although no reference to it occurs in surviving accounts. Since only five final accounts have been preserved of the many which were presented before all the estates were farmed out, it would

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1 e.g. those of the monks of Canterbury (H. S. Bennett, op. cit., p.189,n.1) and those of the Lord Edward, son of Henry III and afterwards Edward I (Denholm-Young, op. cit., p.11).
not be surprising that of the view rolls (if any) none remains. If the view were held on the estate by the steward, no record of it would have appeared in central accounts. View of the current year could not have been combined with the audit of the preceding year's accounts, for this took place at Windsor too early in the financial year, within a month or two of Michaelmas.

To assist the treasurer and steward in the business of hearing accounts, two others of the resident canons were by statute to be elected to serve with the warden as auditors. The election was to be made in general chapter. Since the date of the winter general chapter was 3 November or near it, audit could not have been held before then. In some rolls the date of audit was stated; it took place in the middle of November or early December. Further assistance was found to be necessary in the hearing of local accounts. For this purpose the chapter employed an outside auditor at a fee usually of 20s. and his expenses. The following list gives the names of those who acted in this capacity between 1361 and 1416:

- John, vicar of Stanwell 1361-7
- William London 1369-72
- Richard Heyton 1376-8
- Richard Rycheman 1393-4

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1 As on the estates of Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Devon and Aumale, 1260-93 (Denholm-Young, op.cit., p.143).
2 In ipsis [Capitulis Generalibus] insuper deputentur duo de Canonicis residentibus antedictis qui una cum Custode Senescalli et Thesaurarii predictorum eiudemque Precentoris necnon omnium et singulorum aliorum ipsius Capelle seu bonorum eiudem communium administrationem habencium quamcumque raciocinia et computos audiant (Statutes, no.41).
Sometimes the auditor brought with him his own clerk, who received no fee but was usually given a shilling or two by the college "of gift." The rolls were drawn up by the clerk of the accounts who from at least 1367 combined this function with that of writing the rolls of the manor courts, and received 40s. as a joint annual fee for the two offices.

As soon as the canon-auditors had been elected, the date of audit could be arranged with the outside auditor. While at Windsor, the auditor and his clerk (when he brought one) and the clerk of the rolls were entertained at the steward's table. The steward likewise arranged for the entertainment of local officers who were obliged to stay over-night for the hearing of their accounts. Allowances made to the steward for their maintenance varied slightly until about 1395. For the most part, one shilling a day was allowed for the auditor (with or without his clerk), and 7d. or 8d. each a day for the clerk of the rolls and for local officers. In 1394-5 nothing was expended for their table, since the warden provided for them at his own cost as a gift to the college. From 1395 there was a fixed allowance of 6d. a head for each day. Extra was allowed

1 One of Edward III's clerks (Tout, Chapters, V, 175, n. 4).
2 Clerk of the courts and accounts 1393-1416.
3 See above, pp. 318-20.
4 Treasurer's Account, W. M. xv. 34. 17.
for the provender of the auditor's horses. Canon-auditors (including the warden, treasurer and steward) were also granted maintenance allowances; theirs were assessed from at least 1385 at Is. each a day.

Audit of local accounts took from two to six days. At the sessions in the erary there were eight persons to hear the accounts, five canons (warden, two auditors, treasurer and steward), the auditor, his clerk, and the clerk of the rolls. The accounts of Iver were presented first. Usually there was only one accounting officer for Iver, but in 1377 there were three, William Lorimer, John Hunt and Richard Packington. Of these John Hunt and William Lorimer had served in turn as reeve during the preceding year. Richard Packington had been from 1374-5 collector of rents of the "manor of Cornwall," an estate within the manor of Iver in the lord's hands for lack of an heir of the Cornwalls who had held it. Lorimer's account took two days to hear, Hunt's and Packington's each took one. In most years audit of the accounts of Iver was completed in two or three days. When the hearing was nearly finished a messenger was despatched to warn the reeve of Craswell that the auditors were ready for him. The reeve returned to Windsor at once with the messenger; his account was shorter and only occasionally took more than one day to hear.

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.13.

2 In vadiis unius garcionis eodem die [xix Novembris] euntis usque Crassewelle ad premunendum prepositum ibidem venire usque Wyndesore ad reddendum compotum suum iid. (ibid.,1371-2, xv.34.8).
The clerk of the rolls had already compiled the accounts; presumably he had visited Iver and Craswell previously for this purpose. At the audit he made any necessary alterations, added a record of receipts from sales or any costs incurred since the roll was drawn up, wrote in the final totals and struck the balance of the account. In support of each of the items, the bailiff or reeve cited a tally or a bill or the instructions of the steward. Tallies and bills had to be produced for the auditors, and the steward was present to answer for his directions. After the balance had been calculated, further deductions might be made. On behalf of the college, the warden sometimes remitted to the accountant part of his liability "of special grace" in recognition of good service rendered. The auditors might wipe out a bad debt or order some extra payment to be made (for instance to the clerk). When the final sum was fixed, however, the reeve or bailiff had to answer for it. If he was fortunate enough to have the money in hand, he paid it at once to the treasurer and was written off. More often he paid some of it and the remainder appeared in the next account as part of the arrears. When eventually the whole amount had been paid, the roll was taken out, payment recorded and the accountant at last acquitted.

Finally it was the task of the auditors to compute the value of the manor for the year. How this was done has not been discovered, but many items besides money actually received must have been taken into consideration. Perhaps the valor manerii was based upon the grain-yield, as on the estates of Norwich
priory and Beaulieu abbey, or perhaps it was an assessment
of the "wainage" or all the profits of agriculture (i.e. of stock
as well as grain) like the estimate made by the auditors of the
accounts of Roger Bigod's estates at the end of the thirteenth
century. On each of the three accounts of manors of St.
George's which have been preserved (of Craswell 1367-8 and
1379-80, and of Iver 1381-2) the auditors made a note of the
annual value; this suggests that such an estimate was usually
made.

B. Central Accounts.

For the hearing of central accounts, rendered by canons,
the services of a professional auditor were not required.
When local accounts had been heard, the auditor and his clerk
and the clerk of the rolls departed, leaving the canons to deal
with the rest of the audit. The rolls of treasurer, steward and
precentor were drawn up by another clerk (possibly one of the
clerks of the chapel), except in the early years when John Rowe
wrote all the accounts of the college.

1 Denholm-Young, op.cit., pp.129-30. The calculation seems to
have been made by deducting the running expenses of the manor
from the value of corn sold and supplied to the household.

2 Op.cit., pp.128-9. Wainage is thought to have been computed by
adding up the value of the items in the stock and grain
accounts.

3 Except perhaps in 1403 when Campford was paid 3s.4d. for
"coming for Ravendale's account." Ravendale was treasurer
from 1 February to 1 October 1403. Possibly Campford came
to draw up the account.
The warden and the two canon-auditors continued to preside in the erary, assisted by the treasurer and the steward until it was their own turn to be heard. Either the steward's or the precentor's returns were presented first. The precentor usually took no part himself in auditing, and his roll rarely occupied the auditors for more than a day. Consequently his allowance for time spent was small. The others, whose presence was required for the whole period of audit, were occupied for seven days or more and were paid accordingly. Up to 1378 canons received as much as 2s.4d. a day during audit, but from 1385-6 the allowance was standardised at a shilling a day. Besides this the auditors were supplied with fuel and candles, for the winter days were short and the erary lit only by one window. In 1400-1 they received the additional comfort of 2½ gallons of wine.

Until 1393 the chapel offerings, for which the precentor accounted, formed part of the common income. Thus when the precentor's account had been heard and the balance struck, any surplus of receipts over expenditure was payable to the treasurer. On most occasions the precentor paid at once, over the exchequer, and the money was placed in the chest.

In 1370, however, the precentor paid by having the amount deducted from the dividend due to him, and after 1386-7, when

1 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.20.
2 e.g. Et sic remanent viii li. xiiiis. iid. quos solvit super Compotum et ponuntur in Cista Et quietus est (Precentor's Account, 1391-2, W.M.xv.56.12).
3 Et sic debet iii li. iiiis. iid. ob. qu. Quos solvit Collegio in substracione dividende sue Et quietus est (ibid., xv.56.2).
the sum owing was £18.10s.5d., he paid in four instalments.

From 1393 the oblations were by royal grant to be divided among the residentiaries. Although the precentor still paid the balance over the exchequer, it was not put with the money in the treasurer's chest; instead the treasurer added to it a refund of what the precentor had spent, and the whole sum was devoted "to the use to which the king had assigned it." 2

At least one of the central accounts, that of the steward, was viewed in mid-year. This we know from the heading of the roll of 1369-70, which had read Visus compot Edmundi Cloville senescalli ...., but by crossing out the word Visus and altering the closing date of the period of account had been made to serve for the final account. It is possible to distinguish additions to almost every group of entries in the roll, and alterations to all the sums. This is the only evidence of a view being taken.

Besides the altered view-roll, we have two other stewards' accounts but these both belong to the year 1415-16. 4 They are, with one small exception, exactly similar in content.

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1 Precentor's Account, W.M.xv.56.9.
2 Et sic computans debet de claro v li. quos idem computans solvit Auditoribus Compti sui super scaccarium ad convertendum in usus ad quos per dominum nostrum Regem fuerunt assignati (ibid., xv.56.18).
3 Steward's Account, W.M.xv.48.1.
4 An item of expenditure in connexion with the carriage of herrings from Yarmouth was first disallowed by the auditors, then allowed to stand. In one of the rolls (W.M.xv.48.4) the item was crossed out and afterwards marked stet, but in the other (xv.48.28) it remained crossed through.
Although both have apparently been audited, one was marked only with the word *exhibita* over the mention of any quittance in support of the account, while the other bears also the auditors' *probatur* beside each sum. The existence of these two rolls suggests that a counter-roll of the steward's returns may have been kept for reference purposes. Since the two are almost identical it does not seem likely that the second one was made under Burton's instructions, as in the case of treasurer's rolls.

Since audit did not take place until a month or more after the end of the financial year, it occasionally happened that some receipts and expenditure of the intervening weeks were included in error in the roll of the preceding year. The auditors were careful to pick out these entries and cross them through with the written explanation *quia in anno futuro*. The herrings due annually from Yarmouth seem to have been fetched usually in November. In the treasurer's roll of 1362-3 there appeared two sets of expenses in connexion with their carriage: one of these was allowed to stand, this referring to November 1362, but the other, for herrings received in November 1363, was crossed through for it belonged to the next financial year.

The auditors were equally careful to see that no items included in a previous account appeared again the next year. An entry of expenditure at Whaddon, on repairs to the hall, chapel, granary, grange, cattle-sheds and stables together with the cost of

1 See above, pp.338-9.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.2.
timber, was crossed out by the auditors in 1363 "because it is in the preceding account" as indeed it was.

Besides checking entries and calculating sums, the auditors entered in the margin of treasurers' rolls a note of money owing for each estate, both unpaid dues of the year of account and debts of longer standing. When these were paid this was recorded in the roll of the last year only; the marginal entry was usually crossed through and beside was written a note that the amount had been paid (quia solutum).

Of the treasurers' rolls, that of 1406-7 bears marks of the most careful auditing. The roll itself had been drawn up very fully, mentioning in the case of each source of revenue if only part of the sum due had been paid, and if its value had depreciated. Notes of arrears added in the margin by the auditors were likewise full, going back over many years. Nearly all the receipts were stated as "through the steward by indenture," and over each mention of the indenture the auditors wrote examinata. Each quittance cited by the treasurer was exhibita, and every sum marked probatur. The sum total of receipts amounted to £612.16s.3¾d. Beside it the auditors wrote how this sum was made up, £541.8s.10¾d. actually received, £55.11s.3¾d. of old debts and arrears of preceding years and £15.16s.2d. of loan. This rather cramped little note was

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1. Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.2. The items had appeared in the account of 1361-2 (W.M.xv.34.1).
2. W.M.xv.34.24.
written out more clearly on a slip of parchment which was then sewn to the side of the roll by it.

Calculations were of course done outside the roll, with counters on a board, but occasionally the auditors left some mark of their sums in the margin, a number of dots arranged in little squares.

A fee was granted to the clerk who wrote each roll. This was frequently assessed by the auditors who, when the balance of the account was an odd sum but of suitable size, directed the accountant to pay it to the clerk. In 1400-1 and 1407-8 when the treasurer's balance in hand was 4s.5½d. and 6s.6½d. respectively, the clerk received that amount and the account then balanced exactly.

1 e.g. Precentor's Account of 1415-16, W.M.xv.56.22.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.M.xv.34.20.
3 Ibid., xv.34.25.
CONCLUSION.

An outstanding feature of the system of administration in use at St. George's was the common responsibility and authority shared by the whole body of canons in chapter. Although naturally it was the residentiaries who were most concerned with business affairs, matters of importance and particularly the election of auditors were reserved for the bi-annual general chapters when most of the canons might be expected to attend. Of the residentiaries any might be chosen as treasurer, steward or precentor, and would be fined severely for refusal so to serve. Since these offices were temporary and elective, there was little opportunity for any canon to build up an independent position or to increase his own wealth and importance by occupying one of them.

The three sides of the administration, finance, estate management and care of the chapel, were nicely balanced. The three officials responsible for them received equal wages and seem to have enjoyed equal status. Of the three, only the precentor both received and expended independently; the steward's work of receiving was checked by the treasurer who made himself liable also for the steward's limited disbursements. During the course of the financial year the chapter kept in close touch with the work of its officials, directing, authorising and afterwards approving extraordinary expenditure. At the close of the year the accounts of all three officials were subjected to a scrutiny none the less searching for its
being conducted unaided by chosen delegates of the chapter.

In estate management the canons made use of outside experience. The steward's collaborator, the steward of the courts, was a permanent officer with local knowledge; bailiffs and reeves were retained for long periods. Further, the canons did not undertake the audit of manorial accounts by themselves, but employed an outside auditor and clerk to assist them in this. Thus although the steward changed frequently, a continuity of control was preserved. This was, of course, helped by the permanency of the warden who was an active participant in all the business of the college.

The administrative methods of St. George's as revealed in this study had two main characteristics. First, there was a working system of common control where the authority of executive officers had well-defined limits. The outline of this system, with its checks and balances, was contained in the statutes of the college, for which Bishop Edington of Winchester was responsible. In practice, his provisions suffered only slight modifications; their wisdom is demonstrated by the smooth way in which they worked. Secondly, the work of administration was performed as far as possible by the canons themselves, helped where necessary by experts from outside. The interests of the college were doubly safeguarded, for the chief administrators were canons, and no canon had a chance to be autocratic in office.
The value at farm of church is appropriated to St. George's,

a) Where no receipts are accounted for in a particular year, a
   dash has been put in the relevant column.

b) Where some receipts are recorded, but provide no clue to the
   annual value, a query has been entered.

c) For Simonburn, in the years 1367-68 and 1369-70, sums have
   been written in pencil. The sums do not claim to show the annual
   value of the church, which cannot be ascertained from the
   documents available, but are the amounts actually received in the
   years, not arrears. They are included because the figures
   amounts are important as showing the wealth of the church in
   those years.

<p>| Town     | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
|----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Langley  | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| South Tawton | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Uttoxeter | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Dat Chet  | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Deddington | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Iver      | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Ryeton    | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Whaddon   | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Caxton    | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Simonburn| 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |
| Saltash  | 1361-2 | 1362-3 | 1363-4 | 1364-5 | 1365-6 | 1366-7 | 1367-8 | 1368-9 | 1369-70 | 1370-1 | 1371-2 | 1372-3 | 1373-4 | 1374-5 | 1375-6 | 1376-7 | 1377-8 | 1378-9 | 1379-80 | 1380-1 | 1381-2 |</p>
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<th>Precentor</th>
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<td>Henry Blount</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>John Loring</td>
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<td>Henry Blount</td>
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It appears from a roll of arrears for 1396-7, 1397-8, 1398-9, 1399-1400, 1401-2, 1403-4, 1405-6, and 1408-9 (W.M.xv.48.2), that the stewardship in these years was held by the same canon. Since it is known from other evidence that Spigornell was steward in three of these years, and no other information has been found concerning the steward in the remaining five years, I have ventured to include Spigornell's name here in these blank spaces, while not including this in my totals on the preceding page 80.
### Income and Expenditure of St. George's Chapel

in eighteen years between 1362 and 1416.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td><strong>£565.0.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>£578.3.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>Deficit</strong> 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td><strong>£561.11.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>£547.6.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>£14.5.4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td><strong>£769.5.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>£630.14.11</strong></td>
<td><strong>£138.10.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In this year, the chapel offerings were used to pay the expenses of the precentor's account, and the balance of £3.14.0d., together with £15.16s.2d. borrowed from £200 lately given by William of Wykeham to endow his obit, just covered this deficit.

2 The chapel offerings, amounting to £13.2s.11½d., were absorbed to pay part of the chapel expenses. Repayment of the preceding year's loan of £15.16s.2d. is included in the expenditure, and the account just balanced.