



THE SOCIETY OF
THE FRIENDS OF ST. GEORGE'S
WITH WHICH IS AMALGAMATED
THE ASSOCIATION OF
THE DESCENDANTS OF
THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER

REPORT
to 31st December, 1943

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THE DEAN'S LETTER

THE DEANERY,
WINDSOR CASTLE.

February 1944.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

THERE is not much to be said about the work of the Friends in war-time. The kind of work they undertake cannot be carried out in times like these. But the Chapter are keeping their eyes on the buildings and doing such repairs as are necessary. It is worth noting that the financial position of the Chapter has improved since last year, indeed we are quite solvent in spite of the many sources of income which the war has cut out; and we have to thank the Steward and the Chapter Clerk for this in a large measure. One thing, however, has helped them very much, and that is that the remodelling of the management of the Choir School has led to a large decrease of expenditure without any loss of efficiency. We have to thank Mr. and Mrs. Cavenaugh for the loyalty and efficiency with which they have co-operated in carrying out our plans.

One work, however, the Friends and Descendants have been able to carry through, and that is the completion of the microfilming of our documents. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this work. Our collection of documents is of very exceptional value, and our Publications Committee is working hard to make the information they contain available to historians. Their destruction by fire would be a national disaster. But now that we have microfilms of them their contents at least can be preserved even if the original documents are destroyed. And, of course, this does not only apply to the danger of fire in war-time, as fires may come in peace as well as war. We are glad to say that the cost has been less than we expected.

I should like to point out to you the interest of the articles in this Report. They and the articles which have appeared in earlier issues put on record points in the history of our Foundation which are important in themselves, but are difficult to fit into the books which are being issued by the Publications Committee. That Committee intend from time to time to collect the more important ones among them in volumes of miscellany which may take their place in their series. The work of the Publications Committee will, we believe, become a very valuable source of information for historians. And though not many volumes have yet been printed, a good many are in course of preparation and will be issued before long, and their work has been much facilitated by a generous gift of £500 given anonymously.

Next year we hope to include in our Report a full bibliography of books which refer to the history of the Chapel, with notes as to their contents and value. I have always felt the need of such a bibliography myself, and I think it should prove of value to many people. There are a good many other articles which we have in view.

The work of the Friends must, however, mark time to a great degree till the end of the war, when I hope we shall have saved up some money to carry out new work.

I am on the whole surprised and pleased at the way in which our membership has been maintained in spite of the war. But, owing to changes of address and other war disturbances, it is very difficult to keep our list of membership accurate, and if any one knows of cases where addresses have been changed, or where members have died, we should be much obliged if they would inform the Secretary. We should also be much obliged if any one who has a spare copy of any of the Reports, and especially those for the years 1934, 1936 and 1938, would send them to us, as we find them very valuable and we have run out completely of some of them.

We think we had better hold an Annual Meeting at St. George's-tide, although we cannot expect in war-time the attendance of members who live far away. The Committee have recommended that we wait until the Choirboys have returned from their holiday and hold it on Wednesday, 10th May, when a Festival Evensong can be a feature of the proceedings.

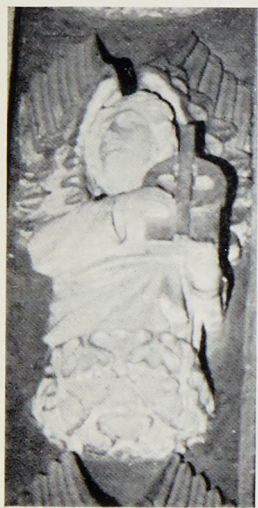
ALBERT BAILLIE,
Dean.



Coloured roof boss of the Croes Naid, second from the east, in the roof of the nave (*see* p. 5).



Coloured roof boss in the easternmost bay of the south aisle. It shows King Edward IV and Bishop Richard Beauchamp kneeling on either side of the Croes Naid (*see p. 5*).



An angel holding a Celtic cross, presumably the Croes Naid. From the choir of angels surrounding the east window. The angel is among those on the south side (*see p. 5*).

CROES NAID

I

IN the easternmost bay of the south aisle of the quire of St. George's Chapel is a carved and coloured roof boss of rare beauty and great historic interest. It represents King Edward IV and Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury 1450-81, Dean of Windsor from 1477-81, and Chancellor of the Garter, kneeling on either side of a Celtic cross which stands on a small mound. This is an effigy of the famous Croes Naid, once the palladium of the Princes of Wales, which formed part of the spoils handed over to Edward I at the close of his campaign against the Welsh in 1283.

The cross was first taken to Westminster Abbey; later, in the reign of Edward II, it was kept in the Tower, and on, or soon after, the foundation of the Order of the Garter in 1348, and evidently by 1352, the cross was given by King Edward III to St. George's Chapel, Windsor,¹ and was henceforth regarded as its chief relic. There it remained, a centre of pilgrimage and devotion, for some 200 years, certainly up to 1534.²

The Chapel contains three further memorials of the relic: a carved and coloured boss in the roof of the nave, a carving of an angel holding a Celtic cross, on the south side of the east window of the quire,³ and an inscription below a niche in the stone screen on the south side of the high altar facing into the south aisle.

The boss in the nave is the second from east to west:

"The famous Cross-Neyt, shown as a tall Celtic cross, jewelled, on an ornamental foot of steps, with a scroll on each side lettered: SCA CRUX SALUS" (Sancta Crux Salus. The Holy Cross is our Salvation).⁴

The inscription beneath the niche in the stone screen on the south side of the high altar is of great interest. It begins: "Who leyde this booke here—The Reverend ffader in God Richard Beauchamp Bisschop of this Dioceyse of Sarysbury", and goes on to explain his object, namely, that priests saying "theyr divyne servyse" and "alle othir that lystyn to seyther by ther devocyon" should pray "knelyng in the presence of this holy Crosse", whereby they would obtain "XL dayys of pardun". The book referred to as lying in the recess is thought to have been a copy of the Sarum Breviary.⁵

The history of the cross falls into three periods: (1) from its arrival in Wales to 1283; when it was removed to England by Edward I: (2) from 1283 until *circa* 1352, when it was given to St. George's Chapel by Edward III; (3) from *circa* 1352 to 1552, when all that was left "of golde pertaining to the garnishing of the holie crosse" was surrendered to the use of King Edward VI by order of the Privy Council, together with most of the remaining treasures belonging to the Dean and Chapter.

CROES NAID IN WALES

The cross has been known by various names: Croes Naid, Nawdd, Gneyth, Neit, Croizneth, among others, and these have been interpreted as meaning variously the Cross of Refuge or Protection, or the True Cross. Reliable authorities believe the name to be derived from the legend that a priest, Neotus, brought to Wales from the Holy Land a piece of the True Cross. There is no evidence to support the view that the relic was connected with the Cistercian Abbey of Neath in Glamorgan, founded in 1129.

The year 1282 is the starting point in the history of the cross as it may now be traced, but long before that date it was held in great veneration as the national palladium of Wales and carried before her princes. In it was centred the union of patriotism and religion which marked that early stage of Welsh history, and the works of bards and poets with their many references to the cross testify to the widespread devotion with which it was regarded in the popular mind.

In 1282, Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales of the native line, found himself excommunicate and facing a powerful army of invasion led by Edward I. There is no space here to recount the events that led up to his death when, unarmed, he was slain near Builth by an English knight. On his body was found a reliquary containing a portion of the True Cross, and this was later delivered to the King. A document signed by Edward at Rhuddlan on 25 June, 1283, sets forth that there had been delivered to him at Aberconway that part of the most precious Cross called in Welsh Croes Neyt, which formerly belonged to Prince Llewelyn and his ancestors the Princes of Wales before him. Seven Welshmen are named as having brought the relic to the King, and these received grants of certain privileges to themselves and their heirs.⁶

CROES NAID IN ENGLAND

Edward I having obtained possession of the cross lost little time in removing it to England. In 1285 the King carried it in procession in Westminster Abbey,⁷ preceded by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates, and accompanied by a vast concourse of people who chaunted as they went. He continued to regard it as his private property and carried it with him in the progresses he made. In 1296 he took it on a triumphal progress through Scotland, and it was upon this cross that Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, who had long been a prisoner, swore his fealty to the King.⁸

On 2 February, 1300, being the Feast of the Purification, the King made oblations at the altar of St. George's Chapel, and among those recorded is one of five shillings to the Cross of Gneyth, and on the same day the Queen made an offering to the same cross.⁹ This year Edward was again on campaign in Scotland, and again the cross went with him. We may trace something of its wanderings from the Wardrobe Account of Edward I for the year 20 November, 1299, to 19 November, 1300, which contains entries showing

that offerings were made by the King *ad Crucem Gneyth* at Stratford in April, and again at Holmcultram in Cumberland in September. In 1307, among the relics taken by Edward on his last expedition against the Scots was *Crux Neygh, ornata auro et lapid' p'cios'* (the Cross Neygh adorned with gold and precious stones).¹⁰

During the reign of Edward II the cross was kept in the King's Chapel in the Tower of London. The Wardrobe Account of 15 and 16 Edward II (1321-22, 1322-23) contains an entry concerning a linen bag in which *continentur claves de Cruce Gneith existente in capella infra turrim London* (are contained the keys of the Cross Gneith which is in the Chapel of the Tower of London), which shows what great store was set on it.¹¹ In 1327 the cross was still in the Tower, as is shown by an entry in the enrolled account of Robert de Wodehouse, Master of the Wardrobe, for 1327: *De Cruce Gneith existente in capella de Turre London ubi memoralia regis que sunt in custod' Thes. et Contr. Scacc* (where are the treasures of the King which are in the keeping of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer). In this year the King was deposed and murdered.

Piers Gaveston, whose stormy history is bound up with the first six years of Edward II's reign, is yet another of the historical figures connected with the cross. Brought up with Edward as playmate and foster brother, he exercised over him so great an influence that the barons twice compelled his exile, first in 1308, and then in 1311. It was upon the Cross Naid that Gaveston swore never to set foot again in England.¹²

¹ There is no documentary evidence of the exact date of the gift.

² Cf. Note 6, p.

³ The discovery of this figure is due to a photograph taken by Mr. C. J. P. Cave, F.S.A., by whose kind permission the accompanying photographs are reproduced.

⁴ St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, Vol. II, p. 454.

⁵ Hope, Vol. II, p. 412.

⁶ Dr. Hartwell Jones: "Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement", *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XXIII (1912), p. 100.

⁷ *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), iii, 59, 63.

⁸ *Rymer Foedera*, II, 867.

⁹ *Garderobae Quotidianum Edwardi Primi*. Printed from the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, 1787, p. 28. Subsequently referred to as *Wardrobe Account of Edward I*, 1787.

¹⁰ *P.R.O. Exch. f. R. Accounts*. E.101/370/3.

¹¹ Wardrobe Account of 15 and 16 Edward II.

¹² Dr. Hartwell Jones: *op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 5.

In the reign of Edward III the gift of the Croes Naid to St. George's Chapel was made. Contemporary records show that the King held it in high estimation and that, like his father and grandfather before him, he carried it with him on his journeys. The Wardrobe Account of his date contains an entry of an oblation made by him *ad Crucem Gneyth in Capella de Clipston* (to the Cross Gneyth in the Chapel of Clipston),¹ and in the twelfth year of his reign (1338-39) the Treasurer's Inventory records the purchase of *un sapphire de la Croice Gneyth* £50.²

On, or soon after, the foundation of the Order of the Garter in 1348, and evidently by 1352, the cross found its resting place in Windsor, the gift of the King to the Chapel of the Order. Here it was accounted the chief treasure of the Chapel and became a centre of pilgrimage to which a constant flow of offerings was made. In the early Treasurers' Accounts the receipts of all oblations were entered as *Oblaciones Capelle de Crois Neit*.³

In 1352 the cross was handed over to the King's goldsmith Richard de Grymesby, for repair and enrichment. A contemporary document in the Public Record Office⁴ gives a detailed account of the manner in which the work was carried out, together with a list of the workmen employed—one for as long as twenty-two months—and of the wages paid to them. Several came from "Colonye", others from Almaye; three "Burnysours" are mentioned. The sums received from the Treasurer in respect of the work and the manner in which they were expended are also recorded. Pearls, rubies and emeralds were purchased, and a foot of gold and silver was fitted to the cross. Finally, charges are entered for conveying the cross to Windsor. Its value when handed to the King's goldsmith was accounted for by him at £247 7s. When the work was completed it was estimated at £315 18s., afterwards altered to £315 12s.⁵

In 1354 the King petitioned the Pope, Clement VI, for a grant of relaxation of enjoined penance to penitents who visited the chapel on certain feasts, reciting his devotion to increase divine worship in the chapel in which he has endowed a College of Warden and Canons, and where there is a cross brought by St. Helen and destined for England. No evidence to connect the cross with St. Helen can be found, but it appears that Edward I caused it to be placed for a short time in the charge of the nuns of St. Helen in Bishopsgate. Two Papal Grants followed—the first, given at Avignon on 30 November, 1354, made special mention of the cross and allowed relaxation of two years and two periods of forty days, and the second of three years and three periods of forty days.

To the reign of Richard II belongs the earliest extant Inventory of the Books, Relics, Jewels, Plate and other Ornaments belonging to St. George's Chapel. It was made in the eighth year of his reign, 22 June, 1384—21 June, 1385, when Walter of Almaly

was Warden. It is now among the Ashmole MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, as is the second Inventory, made in the eleventh year of Henry IV's reign, 30 September, 1409—29 September, 1410, when Richard Kingston was Warden. It is presumed that these inventories were lent to Ashmole by the Dean and Canons; it is certain that they were among the MSS. which he left to the University of Oxford at his death in 1692. A later Inventory of 1501 is in the Aerary of St. George's Chapel, the earliest Inventory now in the possession of the Dean and Canons. It is an Indenture between John Esterfeld, Treasurer of the College, and Richard Payne, Precentor, of the Jewels, Vestments and Ornaments of the Chapel. A fourth Inventory, dated 1534, is preserved in the Public Record Office. Extracts from the three later Inventories will be given under their appropriate dates.⁶

In the Inventory of 1384-85, among the *Jocalia et Reliquie infra Tabulam Summi Altaris* (the jewels and relics below the reredos of the high altar), the Croes Naid is described as follows: *Imprimis una crux nobilis vocata Gneth* (first of all one noble Cross called Gneth). There follows a list of precious stones missing.

One further reference to the cross belongs to this reign. St. John Hope in a long note on the history of the cross,⁷ refers to the Precentor's Account of 1387-88 (Windsor Records xv.56.10), showing a charge of 4d. *Pro reparacione crucis vocati Neyth* (for repairing the cross called Neyth).

Richard concerned himself with the considerable revenue derived from the offerings made by the faithful to the relics in the chapel, foremost among which was the Croes Naid. Up to the year 1393 the Precentor paid over annually to the Treasurer what was left after all the Chapel expenses had been paid, but in that year the oblations were diverted by the King from the common funds to swell the income of the resident Canons.

Richard II's successor, Henry IV, in the fourth year of his reign (1402-03) offered in St. George's Chapel on the Feast of St. George an oblation of 6s. 8d. to the cross.

I have been unable to trace any reference to the relic in the succeeding reign of Henry V, but in that of Henry VI the Precentor's Account for 1428-29 contains an entry showing that he had disbursed 2s. *in sudario de tartaryn rubes empto per custodem Collegij pro Cruce de Gneygth* (on a cloth of red tartaryn bought through the Warden of the College for the Cross of Gneygth (W.R., xv.56.28).)⁸

For the first hundred years of its life the Chapel of the Garter had been that built by Henry III in 1240 as the chapel of his palace. It stood on the site now occupied by the Albert Memorial Chapel, and was eventually demolished by Henry VII, who started rebuilding it—possibly as a shrine for the body of Henry VI. It was in this older chapel of 1240 that the Croes Naid found its first resting place in Windsor. In 1475 Edward IV began his new chapel; by 1481 the quire and its aisles were roofed in oak, and a year later the stone vaulting over the easternmost bays of the

quire aisles was being set up. It is in this portion of the south aisle that the beautiful roof boss showing the King and Bishop Beauchamp kneeling beside the Croes Naid is still *in situ*. The Bishop had been appointed Master and Surveyor of the Works in 1472, and from 1477 until his death in 1481 he was also Dean of the Chapel. The treasures of the older Chapel of the Garter were in due course transferred to the new Chapel, among them the Croes Naid and the oldest stall plates of the Knights of the Order.

The work of building and enriching the Chapel went on through succeeding reigns, and it is interesting to speculate on what manner of devotion was felt by Henry VII for the famous relic which had come from the wild mountains of Wales to rest in the quiet valley washed by the Thames. Henry was a grandson of Owen Tudor, and as a descendant of the Welsh prince Cadwallader he bore as one of the supporters of his shield the Red Dragon of Wales. He had married the daughter of Edward IV, and had therefore a close link with the founder of the chapel in which the Welsh relic was preserved. His Queen, Elizabeth of York, made offerings to the cross, recorded in her Privy Purse expenses for the year March 1502 to February 1503, in which month she died.

In the third Inventory of the Treasures of the Chapel, dated 1501, once more the Croes Naid is given place of honour : *Imprimis crucem auream continentem in se partem pretiosi ligni ornatum multis lapidibus pretiosis sine pede* (first of all a cross of gold containing in it part of the precious wood adorned with many precious stones without a foot). An entry in the Inventory of 1534 shows that the foot of the cross had by that date been restored to it.

In the eighteenth year of Henry VII, Alexander VI issued a Bull dated at Rome 4 April, 1503, and which granted certain indulgences and privileges to the church founded by the Kings of England in which is a certain particle of the Saving Cross (or Cross of our Salvation), and where many relics of the Saints are honourably preserved ; it charges the Dean to appoint a sufficient number of confessors, either of the secular or regular clergy, to be in attendance three days before certain specified feasts, and during the same, to hear confessions of the crowds that will come to avail themselves of these benefits. The original Bull is preserved to this day in the Aerary of the Chapel of St. George.⁹

One other incident connected with the cross belongs to this reign, full of colour, adventure and romance. There is no space here to refer to the moving story of Catherine, the Infanta of Spain, betrothed as a child to Arthur, Prince of Wales, to whom she was married in 1501. Five months later Arthur died at Ludlow Castle, and after much manœuvring on the part of the Spanish and English Courts Catherine was betrothed to his younger brother, the future Henry VIII. Henry VII died in April 1509, and two months later Catherine was married to Henry VIII and passes into English history as Catherine of Aragon. Her elder sister, Joanna, had succeeded to the throne of Spain, and in January 1506, whilst sailing back to Spain from the Low Countries with her husband,

Philip of Castile, their ship was driven by a violent storm on the coast of Dorset. Philip informed the King of their misfortune and expressed a desire to visit the English Court. In due course he and his wife Joanna arrived at Windsor in time to take part in festivities in honour of the Prince of Wales which were then in progress. On 9th February, 1506, Philip was installed as a Knight of the Garter and took the oath on the Croes Naid which was laid on a "cushion of cloth of gold". He made his oath of knighthood in French: "Sur le feust de la Vraye Croix, and kissed the book and the Very Cross".¹⁰

Under Henry VIII, in 1534, the fourth Inventory of the Treasures of the Chapel was made.¹¹ It is a list of the "Jewells and very precyous relycks pertayning to the Colledge of Wyndesor belonging to the hyghe awter", and in it the Croes Naid is described in these words:

"Item the holy crosse cloyd in golde garnyshed with rubyes, saffers. hemerods. lackyng off the same stones yn number XV as yt aperythe in the place where they wer sett. The fote off this crosse is all golde costyd (ribbed) stonding apon lyons garnyshed full with parlle and stone lackyng in the same fote XXIX stones and perlls as it aperythe yn the place where they stode the which holy crosse was at the pryorye¹² off Northeyn Walys and Kyng Edwarde the thyrde owre fyrst fowndar gave the lyvelodde to have this holy crosse to Wyndesor the fote of this crosse wayse CCC. LXIX unces and a halfe".

¹ Quoted in Glossary of *Wardrobe Account of 28 Edward I* (1687).

² A sum representing at the present day *circa* £1000.

³ Treasurer's Account, Windsor Records, xv.34.6, 7. Steward's Account, W.R., xv.18.1.

⁴ P.R.O. E.407/5/100, 25-26 Edward III. Mr. Edward Owen is wrong in stating in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XLIII, p. 1, that this document is missing from the P.R.O.

⁵ A sum representing at the present day *circa* £6300.

⁶ 1. Inventory of 1384-5. Bodl. Library, Oxford. Ashmole MSS. No. 16.

2. Inventory of 1409-10. Bodl. Library, Oxford. Ashmole MSS. No. 22.

3. Inventory of 1 October, 1501. Windsor Records, xi.D.8.

4. Inventory of 1534. P.R.O. Exchequer. Treasury of the Receipt Books, Vol. 113, No. 11.

⁷ Hope, Vol. II, n. 13, p. 466.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ The translation of the text is by Professor Deanesly, of the Royal Holloway College.

¹⁰ Tighe and Davies, L.: *Annals of Windsor* (1868), p. 120, n. 3, quoting B. Museum Bib. Cotton, Vespasian, C. XII.

¹¹ Cf. Note 6, p. 9.

¹² Possibly a reference to Aberconway, where the cross was surrendered to Edward I. Cf. Dr. Hartwell Jones, "Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement", *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XXIII (1912), p. 102.

Under Edward VI disaster befel the Croes Naid and it was finally lost to St. George's Chapel. The second Act of Uniformity passed in 1552 rendered a number of ornaments inappropriate to the services of the Church. Their confiscation was made necessary by the failure of the King to obtain a subsidy from Parliament; "all such goods were taken away to the King's use; that is to say, all the jewels of gold and silver as crosses, candlesticks, censers, and chalices, and all other gold and silver".¹ It is against this background that the destruction of the cross must be seen. Rumours were widely reported of extensive peculations and alienations of property effected by the Dean and Chapter of the Royal Chapel of St. George in the Castle of Windsor, and in May 1552 the Privy Council issued a Royal Commission to conduct a Visitation of the College.²

It consisted of five members, one being the Marquis of Northampton, Great Chamberlain of England—who, however, took no personal part in the inquiry—and another, Sir Philip Hoby, who acted as President. The report which he subsequently drew up and sent to the Privy Council gives a clear and detailed account of the proceedings of the Commissioners and of the discoveries which they made in the course of their investigations. The Commissioners met at Windsor on 16th July, 1552, and proceeded to make an inventory of all the plate, jewels and valuables still in the possession of the College. This they checked against an earlier inventory made in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII (1544-45)³ which by diligent search they "chaunced" on, and a comparison of the two inventories revealed that little was left. This led to a bitter struggle between the Commissioners and the Dean and Canons. The President, writing to Sir William Cecil,⁴ complained that "they of the College have been very untoward to come to the confessing of the things missing out of the same". The Commissioners ordered the Dean and Canons to appear before them, but upon the day appointed the Dean and sundry Canons were absent through sickness. Another date was fixed with no better result. They then required the Dean and Canons to set out in writing a declaration as to the plate and jewels sold by them. On this the Dean and Canons proceeded to draw up a number of documents of great interest, which considerations of space make it impossible even to summarize here. Briefly, their contention was that they had regarded themselves as the absolute owners of the property of the College, and knew of no regulation or statute suggesting the contrary, and that in this belief they had, by common consent, sold certain items in order to meet necessary expenses, citing, among others, work within the Chapel, conveying water in lead pipes to the houses of the Dean and Canons, "furnishing of tenn demilaunces sent wt. the Kinges Majestie to Bolloine at the College charges"; and the charges of "two visitacions of the Kinges Majestie". They handed to the Commissioners a list of all the items that had been sold between the month of March in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII (1545) and 9 July in the

sixth year of Edward VI (1552), setting out the sums received from the sales; they presented, both collectively and singly, their answers to the questions addressed to them by the Commissioners, together with bills or certificates.

To these documents the Dean⁵ added a personal letter in which he declared that nothing was sold with his knowledge before the second year of the reigning King (1548), and that if more was sold it was done without his knowledge, he during the past eleven years having been "in such extreame sickness for the most part of everie year" that he had been constrained to absent himself from Windsor, leaving behind him his "keies and booke of Statutes with the elder Canon then being Resident".

In the Inventory of 21 July, 1552 made by the Commissioners, among the items named in the list of the Jewels in the Aerary is "the foote of the Crosse". The Declaration of the Plate, Jewels and Property sold or distributed in the first, third and fifth years of Edward VI's reign under the heading, "Percelles of Plate put to Vendition in the yere of our Lord 1548" contains these entries:

"Imprimis the back of the holy Crosse, being of plate of golde.

"Item a long peece of gold perteing to the garnishing of the holie Crosse.

"Item 2 peeces of louse gold perteing to the garnishing of the holie Crosse".

The cross is also mentioned by Richard Turner (Canon, December 1551-1553) in his Bill of 8 August, 1552. In it he deposes that he had lived within the College for fifteen years before he became a Prebendary, and that he had known "the holie Crosse with a broad foote set with stones". In the Bill of George Whithorne, Vicar (Canon 1559, died 1565), of the jewels and ornaments belonging to the College delivered to him is included, "Imprimis, the holie Crosse with the foote all gold and stone".

The whole collection of documents was sent by Sir Philip Hoby to the Council with a letter dated 9th August, 1552, containing the report of the Commission.⁶ With it he includes the two inventories, so that it may be seen what remains in the College and what is lacking, together with the "Billes" of the Dean and Canons showing "what they have confessed", and he suggests that the Privy Council should command them to be at Windsor all together at Michaelmas Day next coming to appear before them, or their Commissioners, to make answer to questions, both on matters into which the Commissioners had inquired, and also as to any which in the meantime they may have considered.

The result was never in doubt. The explanations and excuses of the Dean and Canons availed nothing: they were required by the Privy Council to send to the King's use their remaining treasures, and with this order they were forced to comply. A series of documents brings the story to an end. One dated 3 October 1552 witnesses that "by vertue or a letter to them directed from the Kinges Counsaile, dated first of October" the Dean and Canons have delivered to "Sir Anthonye Auchar, Knight, Master Threasorer of

the Kings Juelles and plate, by the handes of Edmunde Pigeon . . . the Juelles and plate aperteyninge to the said Colledge", and that these have been surveyed and viewed by the Lord Marquis of Northampton, Great Chamberlain of England, and the Commissioners appointed by the King. A list of the items follows, among which is "the foote of the Crosse of gold, garnished with sondrye stones, many lacking, and also lacking a lion of gold". A memorandum of 25 October⁷ confirms that the plate had been weighed in "the Juelhouse within the Tower of London" by the officers of the King's jewels and plate, "ammounting in golde, stone, or peeble, to the total of sixe hunderth fourescore fyve ounces and thre quarters: And in guilte, parcell guilte and white plate to thre thousand fyve hunderth fourtye and nyne ounces and half an ounce".

A further document dated from Westminster, 9 November, recites that "fforeasmoch as the Kinges Majestie is pleased to have the same plate put to Coyne wt. convenient spede", the order is made for the handing over of all the guilte, parcell guilte, and white plate for that purpose, reserving still the gold plate that came from the College until the King's pleasure shall be further signified. On the following day an Indenture made between the Treasurer of the King's Mint on the one part and the Officers of the King's Jewels on the other, witnesses that the King's wishes have been carried out. A list of the items that changed hands is given, among them: "Oone Crosse, all guilte with a foote weing thirtie and sixe ounces". That this is not the Croes Naid is clear from the Inventory of 1534, in which the Croes Naid is recorded as weighing 369½ ounces. The foot of the Croes Naid was doubtless retained in the Tower, together with the rest of the gold plate waiting the King's further instructions.

It was thus and in such manner that the Croes Naid vanished from sight. Once the glory of Wales, and later the most treasured possession of the Chapel of the Garter, it was lost to both. To-day nothing remains, save in the Chapel of St. George signs and tokens of the devotion which through many generations drew men to worship at its shrine, and to remember, as they knelt before it, the precious death and burial of their Redeemer.

¹ Wriothsley, II, 83. Quoted by Pollard, *Political History of England*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

² *Archaeologia*, Vol. 42 (1869), p. 77: "Some Accounts of a Visitation of the Royal Chapel of St. George of Windsor in 1552", by the Rev. G. Fyler Townsend. All the documents will be found in Additional MS. B.M.5498, fo. 42, except where they are otherwise referred to.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 93. Of this Inventory no copy has been found.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 79. State Papers, Domestic Series, Vol. XIV, No. 55.

⁵ William Franklyn, appointed Dean, 17 December, 1536. He was an Etonian and had a distinguished career at Cambridge and under Bishop Tunstal at Durham, where he was Archdeacon from 1515. Born *circa* 1480, he was an old man and infirm.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, Vol. 42, p. 93, quoting B.Mus. Cotton MSS., Cal. B., VII, fo. 445, 445.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 96, quoting B.Mus. Additional MSS. 5751, fo. 327. Original Bill on parchment.



Sir Reginald Bray, K.G.

SIR REGINALD BRAY

HE deserves a high place among our benefactors, for it was his munificent bequest which rescued the nave of St. George's from the rudimentary stage at which it had been allowed to remain for some years, and brought it to its splendid completion. When the work was done, his executors resolved that no one should forget to whom it was due. In stone and metal, in large size and small, on vault-bosses, cornices and doors they placed Bray's badge, arms, or initials. Most often they used his badge—a comb-like instrument, the weavers' "hemp-bray"—but one or other of these emblems appears no fewer than 175 times. Therefore many people have jumped to the entirely false conclusion that Bray must have been very much of a self-advertiser. Yet most of the nave was not even built, much less decorated, in his lifetime, and even the most modest of men cannot control the possibly unbalanced zeal of his executors.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* account of Bray is below the best standard of that work. For his connexion with Worcestershire it refers to Nash's volumes, published in 1799, but does not so much as mention in its list of authorities Habington's *Survey of Worcestershire*, written about 1600, which gives all we know of Bray's early life. Yet Habington is accessible enough, having been printed by the Worcestershire Historical Society (1895 and 1899). The *D.N.B.* article begins by describing Bray as "statesman and architect". He was a man of affairs rather than a statesman, and certainly he was not an architect. Indeed, architects, as we now understand that term, did not exist in his day. The great buildings were designed by the master-masons who also constructed them. No doubt Bray was an enthusiast about architecture, and, in particular, about the building and ornamentation of churches. In his later years the place he held as the king's adviser gave him a position roughly equivalent to that of a modern Minister of Works. Probably, too, like other enthusiastic amateurs, he was very ready with comments and criticisms when designs were submitted to him. But it seems impossible that he himself had a master-mason's knowledge, or the technical training necessary for the drawing of measured plans. He was very much otherwise engaged. He was a politician, one of the king's inner circle of counsellors, a diplomatist, a soldier who saw fighting both abroad and in civil wars at home; he held simultaneously a remarkable number of lucrative public offices, many of them entailing considerable duties. To imagine that such a man in his spare moments was a working architect, capable of designing St. George's and Henry the Seventh's Chapels, seems rather obviously absurd.

Reginald Bray came of a Bedfordshire family, but was born, at an unrecorded date, in Worcester,¹ and his father was buried in its cathedral.² It is with Reginald Bray the benefactor of

St. George's Chapel that we are concerned here; to follow his public career in any detail would be to go beyond the scope of these notes. In his early days he served in the household of Henry VII's mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond. At the suggestion of Morton, then Bishop of Ely, he was employed in helping to negotiate the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York. The principal agent in this business was Christopher Urswick,⁸ who, ten years later—i.e. in 1496—was to become, while still a Canon, Dean of Windsor. Possibly enough, Urswick, knowing of Bray's interest in church architecture and his wealth, directed his friend's attention to the unfinished nave of St. George's, and the need of a benefaction to complete it.

Bray, who had shared the king's exile, retained his friendship to the end. Henry gave him both the Bath and the Garter, and the more substantial rewards of much property and many well-salaried posts, so that Sir Reginald became a man of great wealth. Together with Morton, Fox and Lovell he aided the king's odious financial campaign for enriching himself at the expense of the people, and the Cornishmen who rose in revolt begged that Morton and Bray, whom they regarded as the instigators of Henry's policy, might be dismissed. These two, however, did not descend to the depths of Empson and Dudley, who shamelessly used the criminal law as a means of extortion, yet, as Dr. H. A. L. Fisher remarked,⁴ "it is clear that Sir Reginald Bray cannot have disapproved of Empson, for he made him his executor". Yet he seems to have been sincerely religious, and certainly was most liberal in his gifts to churches and monasteries.

Bray took part in the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster on the 24th of January, 1502/3; on the 5th of August in the same year he died. His will ordered "my sinful body to be buried within the church of the college of our Lady and St. George within the Castle of Windsor, in the west end and south side of the same church, within the chapel there new made by me for the same intent". In his *Windsor Castle*⁵ St. John Hope asserts that the present Worcester Chapel "is evidently that referred to by Bray as that 'in the west end and south side' in which he desired to be buried, but his executors converted the south transept into his chapel". This statement, twice repeated in other words elsewhere in his book, is a mistake. When Bray made his will, the south transept did stand at "the west end" of St. George's. All to be seen westward of it was, open to the sky, the site on which the nave would be built when funds permitted. The outside walls alone had been begun, and work on them had ceased when they reached the level of the window-cills. And the nave thus planned did not include the westernmost bay. The original foundations were revealed during the 1920-30 restoration of St. George's; they showed beyond question that the addition of the westernmost bay to the nave was an afterthought.⁶ It was added to the original design when Bray's executors built the

nave, doubtless in order to improve its proportions, and to give it a number of bays equal to those of the quire.

That only the "foundation" of the nave, including the outer walls up to cill-level, existed when Bray made his will is evident from its terms. His bequest (with the spelling and punctuation modernized) runs :

I will that my executors immediately after my decease endeavour themselves with all diligence, with my goods and the issues and profits of my lands and tenements by them to be received and had, to make and perform, and cause to be made and performed, the work of the new works of the body of the church of the College of our Lady and St. George within the Castle of Windsor ; and the same work by them wholly to be performed and finished according and after the form and extent of the foundation thereof, as well in stone work, timber, lead, iron, glass and all other things necessary and requisite for the utter performance of the same.

Many visitors must have noticed how markedly the decayed condition of the tracery in the panelling beneath the nave windows contrasts with the stonework elsewhere. Architects declare that to have perished in this fashion it must have been exposed for some considerable time to the open air and the action of rain. For a period, therefore, these beginnings of walls stood forlorn ; no money was forthcoming from the royal purse for the completion of the nave. Of Henry VII, as of Mrs. John Gilpin, it was true that "he had a frugal mind" ; in fact, his stinginess was a byword. King's College Chapel had a far worse experience of the same kind. No fewer than sixty-nine years separated its beginning and completion. For twenty-four years, while it still stood unroofed and unfinished, no work at all was done upon it. Sir Reginald Bray's bequest saved the nave of St. George's from any fate comparable to that.

We might have expected to find Bray's tomb, surmounted by an alabaster figure of him, on the site now occupied by the Prince Imperial's cenotaph. Possibly such a tomb was destroyed by the Puritans, to whom Bray's record would make him specially obnoxious. What was thought, with no definite evidence, to be his coffin was found, and re-interred, in 1740, when the floor of the chapel was opened for the burial of Waterland. Over the altar, against the east wall, was a reredos composed of a row of canopied figures. Later, Giles Tomson's monument replaced the reredos, but the two outside image-housings remain, each ornamented with the hemp-bray. The will directed the executors to endow a chantry-priest to say mass daily in the chapel.

The photograph reproduced with these notes is a portrait of Sir Reginald Bray, contained in the north window in the Jesus Chapel of Great Malvern Priory Church. (It seems something of a coincidence that the writer of these notes should have served, as Vicar of Malvern and Canon of Windsor, the two churches, a

hundred miles apart, with which Bray is specially connected.) The main subject of this large window is "The Joys of the Blessed Virgin". At its foot were depicted, as often was done, a row of benefactors—Henry VII, his Queen, Prince Arthur and three knights, each of whom had some link with Worcestershire: Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Savage and Sir Thomas Lovell. An inscription beneath bade the onlooker pray for "the wellbeing"—*pro bono statu*—of the king, of the queen, of Prince Arthur, "and his beloved wife", and of the three knights. This prayer "for the wellbeing" is notable, because it was only applied to persons still living. It enables the window to be dated with remarkable exactitude; the inscription must have been written after Arthur's marriage on 14th November, 1501, and before his death, on 2nd April, 1502. Nominally, the window seems to have been the gift of the king, as a set-off to another window which Richard III had given; but the portraits of the knights, instead of other members of the royal family, probably mean that they had the pleasure of paying for it.

Much of the glass in this window, including the row of portraits, suffered from neglect and stone-throwing youths by the end of the eighteenth century,⁷ but the portraits of Prince Arthur and Bray are almost intact. Bray's tabard displays his arms: *argent*, a chevron between three eagles' legs erased, *sable*. The cushion at which he kneels is red with gold tassels, the desk is hung with a violet cloth. On the edge of the book is the inscription: *D(omi)n(u)[s regi] naldus bray miles*. The face is probably a more or less faithful portrait; the face of King Henry in the window resembles rather closely that of his picture in the National Portrait Gallery.

Habington remarks that Bray died "leaving behind him his enduring monuments in his buildings bestowed on the Chapel at Windsor (where he lieth buried) and the Priory Church of the Greater Malvern, to which he was a great benefactor"—a phrase suggesting that Bray's gifts to the Priory were not limited to his share in providing this window.

A full account of the superb glass at Malvern is to be found in Mr. Rushforth's great book on *Mediaeval Christian Imagery*. For the photograph of the Bray light, and for permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Sydney Pitcher, of Gloucester.

ANTHONY C. DEANE.

¹ Habington, ii 130.

² Leland, *Itinerary*, v. 229.

³ See Canon Ollard's account of Urswick in the 1940 *Report*.

⁴ *Political History of England*, v. 129.

⁵ II, 384, 452, 456.

⁶ The different panels, with inverted cinquefoils, over the arch of the westernmost bay should be noted.

⁷ See *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1802. And the condition of the roof was such that "the crumbling plaster fell on the uplifted eye of devotion".

CEREMONIAL PRESCRIBED FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS

This extract from Ashmole's "Order of the Garter", chapter xxi, page 561, seems to have a special interest in these days of "great victories and foreign and unwonted achievements". The kissing of the venerable part of the Cross of our Lord refers in all probability to the Croes Naid described in the article above.

“IN the last place, we may properly add the duty of the Colledge of the royal Chapel of St. George, touching their Reception of the Sovereign, upon special occasions; to wit, the manner to be offered by them in their Proceeding, to meet the Sovereign of the Order, at his first coming thither in his royal State, or in his return after some great Victory, or extraordinary Action performed, or some Foreign or unwonted Achievement; according to the most decent manner there observed, by the most invincible Prince King Henry the Fifth, in the 9 year of his Reign: at which time he ordained, that this his Ceremonial should be firmly observed for ever, in the like cases. The same in effect is also appointed by King Henry the Eighth, only the direction is put into other words.

In the first place, a Form or Bench decently adorned, being placed after the usual manner, in the midst between the Chappell of the Colledge and the outermost gate of the Castle, the Coftos and Canons are there to meet with all the officers of the Colledge, each in their proper order and habits, having a handsome Cross carried before them, with two torch-bearers and two censers. The Register of the Order, bearing the King's Mantle, is to present it to his Majesty, who being therewith invested by the Coftos, assisted by the Senior Canon, the King is to be censured five times, and then, taking the Cross to kiss, from the hand of the Coftos, or some one of the more eminent Prelates then present, he is to be conducted, in way of Procession to the Chappell, the Knights-Companions present vested with their Mantles, going orderly immediately before the King, until that he hath arrived at the Altar before the high Altar, for that purpose adorned, and there kneeling, till the end of the Response, to be sung by the Choir, at his arrival, by appointment of the Praeceptor, to wit, Honor Virtus, or some such like, answerable to the Affair in hand, with a Prayer also correspondent. And then kissing the venerable part of the Cross of our Lord, and the heart of St. George, he is to offer, and then to betake himself to his stall, and there to sit, till the Knights of the Order have also offered, each in their turns, and placed themselves again in their Stalls, and until the Anthem De Profundis has been sung by the Canons, with the accustomed Prayers; then the Knights-Companions are to descend from their Stalls into the Choir, each of them bowing himself towards the Altar, every time they so come down, and thence proceed through the middle of the Choir, unto the place where the Chapter is to be celebrated”.

THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ST. GEORGE'S
 WITH WHICH IS AMALGAMATED
THE ASSOCIATION OF DESCENDANTS OF THE
KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS
For the Year to 31st December, 1943

CAPITAL ACCOUNT

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1943	88	15	2
RECEIPTS:							
Life Membership Fees	30 15 0			
Bank Interest	0 10 6			
					31	5	6
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1943	£120	0	8

(Note: At 31st December, 1943, the Society held £350 3½ per cent War Loan, the market value of which at that date was £361 16s. 3d.; and 500 National Savings Certificates, the realizable value of which was £455 7s. 9d.)

GENERAL ACCOUNT

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1943:							
At Bank	174 13 5			
In Hand	2 10 10			
					177	4	3
RECEIPTS:							
Donations and Subscriptions (including Sale of Badges)	248 11 3			
Interest:							
3½ per cent War Loan	12 5 0			
3 per cent Savings Bonds	3 0 0			
Bank	0 15 8			
					264	11	1
					£441	16	2
PAYMENTS:							
Assistant Secretary	60 0 0			
Printing and Stationery	18 6 2			
Postage and Sundries	8 15 2			
Restoration Work	33 13 3			
					120	14	7
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1943:							
At Bank	317 5 11			
In Hand	3 15 8			
					£321	1	7

(Note: At 31st December, 1943, the Society held £100 3 per cent Savings Bonds 1955/65, the market value of which was £101.)

ROMANCE AND PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

		£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1943	13 19 2
RECEIPTS
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1943	£13 19 2

SUSPENSE ACCOUNT

		£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1943	309 7 11
RECEIPTS:				
Bank Interest	1 10 10
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1943	£310 18 9

L. SMELT, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the foregoing Statement of Receipts and Expenditure and certify that it is in accordance with the Books and Vouchers produced to us.

LAYTON-BENNETT, BILLINGHAM & CO.,
Hon. Auditors.

26th January, 1944.

DOMUS AND FABRIC FUNDS

Summary for the Year ended Michaelmas, 1943

INCOME

	£	s.	d.
(a) "DOMUS" FUND :			
To Payment received from Ecclesiastical Commissioners	6400	0	0
„ Amount received from other sources, including income of a suspended Canonry ..	1510	4	6
(b) "FABRIC" FUND :			
To Amount received from the Windsor Castle State Apartments Fund	450	0	0
„ Amount received from other sources ..	583	3	4
„ Amount of Tax recovered	314	1	2
Total.. .. .	£9257	17	0

EXPENDITURE

	£	s.	d.
By Salaries—Minor Canons, Organists, Chapter Clerk and Surveyor, Lay Clerks, Verger, &c.	4552	19	4
„ Maintenance — Chapel and Services — Lighting, Heating, Cleaning, Rates and Taxes	1461	3	9
„ Maintenance of Musical Services in St. George's Chapel	805	17	6
„ Statutory Payments — Ancient Stipends, Charities	414	10	7
„ Fabric Charges—Chapel and Collegiate Buildings	827	11	8
„ Balance, being Surplus for the Year ..	1195	6	2
Total.. .. .	£9257	9	0

	£	s.	d.
1942. Accumulated Deficit	3094	2	3
1943. Reduction of Deficit—being Balance brought down	1195	6	2
	1898	16	1
Less Tax recovered in 1943—six years' Maintenance Claim	1524	13	5
Net Deficit	£374	2	8

A. C. DEANE,
Canon and Steward.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

THE Society exists to unite friends and admirers of St. George's and descendants of Knights of the Garter in helping the Dean and Canons to preserve and beautify the Chapel and the other buildings in their charge.

Members are asked to pay a subscription of not less than 5/- a year, or to give a donation of not less than £5 5s. to secure life membership.

Donations are used to build up a capital fund to provide income towards the upkeep of fabric. The subscriptions are devoted to various purposes connected with the Chapel, the Library, the documents and records, and the twenty-four houses for which the Chapter is responsible.

Further information and a form of application for membership will be sent to those who apply to: The Hon. Secretary, "Friends and Descendants", St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.