



St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle

REPORT OF
THE SOCIETY OF
THE FRIENDS OF ST GEORGE'S
AND
THE DESCENDANTS OF
THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER



1969-1970





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1969—1970

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THE DEAN'S LETTER

November 1970

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

By the time that this Annual Report is arriving on your tables Mrs. Woods, the family and myself will be almost on the road to Worcester. I know you will all understand what a very difficult decision it has been for us to leave all this fascinating and rewarding work at Windsor for the very different responsibilities of an English Diocese. During our time here we have been able to share in the development of the life of the Chapel which has included experiments in the Chapel and experiments in lay consultation and clergy training. It is due to the ready co-operation of all of you that these years at Windsor have been so creative and useful not only to St George's but also to the wider Church. We are enormously grateful for your help and in particular for the partnership of the "Friends" and "Descendants". You have cared for so many developments on a much wider front than the maintenance of our fabric.

There have again been memorable occasions in Chapel; on Garter Day 1970 the Service of Installation, which is in itself a great thanksgiving, was as beautiful as it was moving. In welcoming four new Knights of the Garter, Lord Chandos, Lord Cobbold, Sir Edmund Bacon and Sir Cynnydd Treherne, we have been strengthened with the help and partnership of men of Christian belief and great personal dedication to the life of our nation. The occasion of the Funeral of Her Royal Highness Princess Andrew of Greece, mother of the Duke of Edinburgh was one in which we were glad to sustain the Royal Family in their loss and glad to co-operate with the Greek Orthodox Church in the Service itself.

Other special services included, of course, the St George's day Scout Service; thought is now being given as to how best large gatherings, in particular of young people, can be directed and made meaningful. The colour TV broadcast of the Christmas morning service involved an enormous amount of preparation but evidently was very successfully received by millions at home and overseas. The Festival of the Friends was a big and happy occasion, Choral Evensong was sung in the Nave at the end of the day which included a visit to the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore.

Our Secretary

Late in 1969 our Secretary Brigadier Morrison sadly lost his wife Kathleen. She had been not only a devoted wife but also a real colleague in the care and administration of the organisation. For many years they had lived happily in the Castle and had become much loved by the whole community. In recent months the Brigadier has concluded that he must resign the position of Secretary and hand over to a younger man. It is not easy to over estimate the great efficiency and personal zeal with which Hugh Morrison has carried out the work. In an honorary capacity he has supervised

our finances, our annual gatherings, our contributions in money and kind to the Chapel, and the recruiting of new members. I hope that at the annual meeting in May tributes will be paid to the Brigadier in recognition of his long and efficient service to the Friends and to the Chapel as a whole. God bless you, Hugh, and may you enjoy many happy years of retirement!

The late Field Marshal Lord Slim—Governor of Windsor Castle

It was on one summer's evening in the Castle that the Guard turned out in full, the Police were all present and many members of the community were watching when Lord and Lady Slim left through Henry VIII Gate to go into retirement.

We all felt their going very much at the time and we knew that our Governor was not well. He died in mid-December and all of us felt a great sense of loss and wished to convey our love and sympathy to Lady Slim. The Field Marshal was a very remarkable man, not only in military leadership, but also in his knowledge and competence in the realm of Government and industry.

For some seven years Lord and Lady Slim occupied Norman Tower and from that home they shared their life with a great many people. Those of us inside the Castle came to love and respect him as he took a great interest in all the many-sided activities of the community. At the same time Lady Slim has entertained constantly, looking after large numbers both from the Commonwealth and from the Windsor neighbourhood.

Just as Lord Slim left an indelible impression in Australia of his character, honesty and friendliness, so has he left the same impression on all those who came to know and respect him in the last ten years of his life.

Losses and Gains

The sudden death of Perceval Bridger, Lay Clerk, came as a great shock to the Choir and College. He had been a lay clerk for fourteen years; as a counter-tenor his voice and range of singing were quite remarkable. These abilities together with his happy disposition and quick sense of humour made him a unique person.

Then, in the early autumn of 1970, the Friends and the whole community lost a Military Knight of long and great standing. Major Billy Clough was appointed a Military Knight in 1932 and he died here nearly forty years later at the age of 94. He will be remembered as a keen churchman and a vigorous personality. Soon after, we lost Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Campbell, who had been with us for only three years. Coming from a Highland regiment he enjoyed his time with us but recently suffered ill health. To all these families we offer our affection and sympathy.

As we go to press we have heard of the deaths of Lord Wakehurst, K.G., and of Lord Middleton, K.G., each of whom much cared for the life and work of the Chapel.

The resignation of Canon Hawkins took place in June 1970. His work has been greatly appreciated by both College and visitors alike. We hope that with Mrs. Hawkins they will enjoy their new

quarters and reduced duties. In his place we have welcomed Canon Stephen Verney. He comes to us with his wife and four children from Coventry Cathedral and so brings to us very acceptable experience in running a place of worship with constant visitors. He also brings a real expertise in lay and clerical training which will be invaluable to the work of St George's House.

During this year we have had to say goodbye to Iris Pritchard, who has been Chapter Clerk for nearly eight years and who has now retired to live in Norfolk. It is difficult to say how much the Chapter, the Chapel, and the Castle Community have owed to her for her devoted service during this time. In spite of ill health latterly, she has always been an unfailing help to everyone who came to her. We shall all miss her very much and the Friends will wish to send her their warmest greetings and best wishes for a long and happy retirement. In her place we welcome Vera Hamer. She has now moved into the Cloister with her husband, and we hope that they will be happy in their new home.

Alan Kendall and Nigel Perrin have joined us as new lay clerks; David Vinden and Mervyn Bryn Jones are our new choral scholars. Already the Choir is profiting from these new members.

In the life of the Castle we shall remember Mr. Lucking, who retires at this time from being Superintendent. His kindly assistance in many matters concerning the Chapel has been much appreciated.

Our Finances

Looking back on the last eight years I find the reading of our annual reports makes me aware of what all of you have created and what remains in the development stage. The finances of the Friends and of the College and of St George's House are on the whole in a healthy state, though more improvements and necessary repairs are going to stretch our resources. The rebuilding and renovations of Denton's Commons, of the Canons' Cloister, and in the Horseshoe Cloister are virtually complete. The Friends have made certain contributions to a capital expenditure on building that has been completed costing a little more than £300,000. In this respect I would pay particular tribute and gratitude to Mr. Charles Hayward who has this winter given to St George's College Development Fund £30,000 from the Hayward Foundation towards the rebuilding of housing in the Canons' Cloister.

The Chapel itself

I have been very conscious of the co-operation of our committee in the difficult area of furnishings and fittings for the inside of the Chapel. The finding of some £11,000 for the total re-wiring of the Chapel in all its area is a great job done! Now, for a period of years, the new lighting in the Choir and the new pendants in the Nave will meet the need of another generation—perhaps not for longer. The provision of movable Choir seating and movable screens to form a Nave Sanctuary, which have been specially designed with prolonged care and consultation, will have greatly enriched worship in the Nave. Tapestries for the Rutland Chapel

have begun to be made, and designs are being prepared where by the Bray Chapel becomes a Treasury and exhibition centre. The long felt need of a storage room looks like being fulfilled by rebuilding the great West Door steps (which had to be re-laid) and the space underneath them. In all these proposals and designs we are grateful to our Architect Mr. Pace, to Professor William Cope, Mr. Oliver Millar and Mr. Patrick Manley who have worked with the Chapter over all the projects mentioned. When you are next in the Castle I hope you will not omit to look at the cleaning and partial re-facing of the outside north wall of the Choir. Our own stone mason and staff have shown excellent craftsmanship in this respect.

St George's House

The work of St George's House is well outlined in its own annual report and I would hope that an increasing number of Friends become Associates of St George's House in order that you may follow the developing role of the House. The lay consultations, with selected theological assistance, are trying to meet an ever increasing demand from men in industry, government, professional associations and other spheres who are looking for a new moral and religious evaluation in their work. The Clergy courses have now found a place in the life of the Churches that means their becoming occasions of advanced theological and ministerial training that are widely recognised. All aspects of the work of the House lean heavily on the life of worship of the Chapel: I believe this inseparableness of thinking and praying is of real importance to the future of our ancient foundation.

Friends overseas

The Society's Festival was marked this year by the visit of some thirty Friends and Descendants from the U.S.A. for the weekend. It was good to be able to welcome so many and accommodate them in St George's House. The growing number of members in the States and in the Commonwealth is a matter for which we can be very thankful: they number now some 450 in the U.S.A., 36 in Australia, 34 in Canada, and 15 in South Africa. Their help and support is considerable. Over the year, however, since we were able to consult with them here, it has been decided not to encourage the further organisation of our members in the U.S.A. into any local organisation. We hope they will all remain in direct contact with our office here in the Castle. I look back on the years of working with Mrs. Lane of Atalanta with gratitude. As she ceases in office this coming year we all thank her for her help.

The Festival

For the second year the Windsor Festival was carried through, with a most competent administration of voluntary and professional helpers, and gave great pleasure to many. Undoubtedly the Military Spectaculars in the Lower Ward were exhilarating and moving occasions. The setting of the Lower Ward for any performance on the parade ground is a "natural" for such occasions. The trumpeters

of Kneller Hall on the towers and roofs responding to one another with the combined bands of the Guards Brigade were superb. The contemporary dance at the Eton Theatre was full of imagination. It is difficult nevertheless, to estimate the taste of the neighbourhood; the number of patrons rose from 12,000 to 17,000, but even then their choice was largely of a very conservative nature. The future of the Festival will be dependent on a larger body of voluntary performers and helpers and a reduced number of concerts and gatherings. Windsor can count itself lucky to have the leadership of Yehudi Menuhin in this venture.

* * * * *

In bidding farewell to so many friends Mrs. Woods and I know that we will never forget the privilege and pleasure of caring for St George's Chapel. Naturally those of us who know this place well regard it as the most perfect Church of its kind in the world. Its marvel, however, lies not just in its exquisite detail and design, but in its uses as bringing true religion into the minds and lives of people. We shall pray for the developing life of the College of St George; we shall hope that, as Knights and Clerks have combined for centuries in worship and teaching, so Church and State may continue to grow in spiritual understanding through the life of St George's.

With greetings and gratitude to you all,
Your Friend and Dean,

ROBIN WOODS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

All Friends will by now have heard that the Dean is to be consecrated Bishop of Worcester on 20 February 1971. The news has come too late for us to do more in this *Report* than to congratulate him, and to send him and his family our warmest good wishes. Everyone of us will think of them with the greatest affection and gratitude, and will miss them enormously.

Honorary Secretary's Notes

Brigadier H. McL. Morrison writes:

We continue to break our Annual General Meeting attendance figures each year and this augurs well for the Society; the Nave can still hold many hundreds more. The experiment of beginning at 11 a.m. instead of 2 p.m. was successful, and the A.G.M. luncheon in the Castle Hotel was greatly appreciated by the 250 members who were present. The suggestion that 11 a.m. was on the early side was taken up, and the next meeting will begin at 11.15 a.m.

Our membership, though again over 3,000, is far short of our 5,000 target, which must be reached if we are to fulfil our objects as set out in the Constitution, namely:

"To assist the Dean and Canons of St George's to preserve the fabric of the Chapel and its associated buildings in their charge within the Castle by contributing towards the maintenance and improvement of the fabric."

If every member recruited but one new member a target of well

over 5,000 would be within our grasp; in fact we should exceed 7,000 members.

The proceedings at the Annual General Meeting on 30th May, 1970, were opened by the Dean in the usual manner, and he expressed his gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen for her permission to display some of the Plate from the Gold Pantry in Windsor Castle. He then gave an especially warm welcome to the large contingent from the U.S.A. who were with us for the A.G.M. and the Garter Ceremony and were enjoying their stay in St George's House. He also expressed his pleasure at the presence of the Mayor of Windsor and the Deputy Mayor.

The Agenda was then followed. Item 4 referred to the Annual Report, which included the financial statement and accounts. This was adopted. The Dean again thanked our Editors, Mr. and Mrs. Bond, for their outstanding efforts in producing an excellent Report, which seemed each year to achieve the impossible by surpassing other Annual Reports.

The election of the new Committee members then took place, and the retiring members, Miss Shawcross, Sir Henry Abel Smith, Sir Austin Strutt and Mr. Burgess, were thanked for their three years work. Lady Alexander, Miss A. K. Allinson, Judge Duveen and Mr. C. Tait were elected for the ensuing three years.

The Dean then proposed that the Honorary Officers should be elected "en bloc", and this was agreed. He thanked them for their services and also referred to the hard work and loyal support of the Honorary Secretary and his staff.

Grants beyond the powers of the Committee were then considered, and the allotment of £3,500 for the Rutland Chapel, and £5,000 for the construction of necessary storage space under the steps of the West Door, were approved. The latter would result in the release of the Bray Chapel which had been used as a store room.

The Honorary Secretary said it was almost common form to begin his notes with thanks to Lord and Lady Slim for allowing the Friends to visit the Moat Garden, and to Mrs. Woods and the Castle ladies for serving teas. He mentioned that we had been very fortunate in being permitted to visit Frogmore and outlined the conditions that had to be observed.

In his closing address the Dean referred to the purpose of the Society and stressed the importance of participation in five different types of activity:

(i) the maintenance of our historic inheritance in the Chapel as a national shrine; (ii) active worship; (iii) the Windsor Festival, which had heightened the cultural activities of St George's; (iv) St George's House and its work; and (v) the Mission of the Chapel.

The Friends during the afternoon visited Frogmore, the Moat Garden, and other parts of the Castle. After tea, festival evensong was sung in the Chapel.

Steward's Notes

Canon G. B. Bentley, Steward and Precentor, contributes the following report:

My predecessor in the seneschal's office, Canon Hawkins, used to begin his reports by handing a bouquet to Mr. Pratt, the Clerk of Works, and to the versatile staff who work under his direction. My year as Steward has taught me that the tribute is well deserved, and also that we owe a great deal to Canon Hawkins, who retired at the end of June, for doing nearly twelve years hard in a job that is by no means a rest cure. *Experto credite.*

The aforesaid staff has been fully engaged for much of the time in attendance on the engineers installing central heating in the Horseshoe Cloister and in doing consequential work in the houses. Heat began to circulate in the middle of October, so that we have to congratulate Messrs. Haden and Young on achieving what rarely seems to be achieved, that is, completion of a piece of work up to time. We hope that those who are engaged on the division and restoration of 4 The Cloisters will be equally punctual, since we want our new colleague, Canon Verney, to be in his house in time for his March residence.

The work of cleaning and repairing the northern exterior of the Chapel has continued, and the mason has also had the preservation of the Porch of Honour in hand. Inside the Chapel further progress has been made towards refurnishing and relighting the Nave. The screens for protecting the altar area from the north and south doors (or rather from what comes through them) and the new seating for clergymen and singers have now been ordered. Then the Aesthetic Advisory Committee and the Chapter are at last satisfied that, in the latest type of pendant designed by the architect, we have the best answer to the lighting problem. These pendants shed an excellent light, downwards, upwards, and into the aisles, and their "see-through" vertical lines match the architecture admirably. There are still those who murmur regretfully about "concealed" lighting, but experiment has proved that, since no one has yet invented a lamp with position but no magnitude, there just is no such thing to be had—not in St George's at any rate. Our intention is to light the transept chantries with pendants of the same kind, and to put similar but smaller fittings in the Quire aisles.

We are now definitely hooked on the idea, suggested by the architect, of making storage space for Chapel impedimenta under the steps up to the west door. To do this efficiently it will be necessary to lift some of the steps, and we hope that the operation may be extended to cover repair of the steps as a whole.

The creation of this storage space will allow the Bray Chantry to be cleared and become a treasury for the display of the Chapel plate. Mr. Pace is designing a cabinet to stand against the west wall of the chantry. The burglar-alarm system which has recently been put in to protect the plate wherever it may be can readily be extended to the chantry.

We are also addressing ourselves to improving the lay-out of the vestry cupboards—an undertaking long overdue.

Finally we hope that restoration of the murals found in 2 The Cloisters during building work will be begun in 1971.

Succentor's Notes

The Reverend Ian Collins, Succentor, contributes the following report:

The past year has been a relatively quiet one in the Chapel. Perhaps the most significant issues involve people rather than events.

On 30th June Canon R. H. Hawkins retired from his canonry which he had held since 1958. Most of this time he had been Steward but from October 1969 up to his retirement he held the office of Precentor. To this office, albeit held as a caretaker, he brought a great love of church music and the liturgy which even in eight months left its mark. We wish him and Mrs. Hawkins a long and very happy retirement.

Canon Stephen Verney was installed into the vacant canonry on 27th September at the obit service. The service, attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, Visitor of the College, began with the commemoration of benefactors, was followed by the installation of Canon Verney and concluded with a sung eucharist.

In May the College, and particularly the choir, suffered the loss, by sudden death, of Perceval Bridger, who had been a lay clerk of St George's since 1956. Percy's fine alto voice, his friendship and his devotion to church music are a loss from which we are not easily going to recover. The ranks of the altos were further depleted by the resignation of Mr. Brian Northcott, who left to take up a full-time teaching career.

To replace these losses we welcome Mr. Alan Kendall and Mr. Nigel Perrin, both of whom have previously been choral scholars of King's College, Cambridge. Later we shall be welcoming Mr. Derek McCulloch, also an alto, who has great experience of vocal work.

Mr. Richard Witt, a bass choral scholar for three years, left us at the end of the summer term to take up an appointment at Birmingham University. His place has been taken by Mr. David Vinden, who is studying at the Royal Academy of Music. Mr. Mervyn Bryn Jones, a bass lay clerk for about a year, has changed his status to that of Duke of Edinburgh Scholar, and is engaged in research at Reading University.

Once again the Chapel provided the venue for much of the Windsor Festival during September. The opening service was held in the Chapel on Wednesday, 23rd September, and during the following ten days concerts and recitals were performed by the Menuhin Festival Orchestra, the Windsor Festival Chorus, the Monteverdi Choir and Orchestra, Ravi Shankar, the English Opera Group (who performed two church operas, *Curlew River* and *Prodigal Son*, by Benjamin Britten) and Pierre Cochereau, organist of Notre Dame Cathedral. Evensong each day sung by the Chapel Choir was part of the Festival programme, and a wide range of church music was heard over the period.

For the church as a whole these are times of liturgical change and experiment and St George's is certainly not the last bastion of

conservatism in these matters. The *Series II* rite of Holy Communion both in its said and sung forms has become firmly established and so perhaps it was inevitable that the "reformers" attention should be turned to the daily offices. So, as an experiment, for the month of November, mattins is to be said on weekdays at 7.30 a.m. and use is to be made of the order of service and lectionary suggested in *The Daily Office* by the Joint Liturgical Group. This order of mattins was used during the month of August as a previous experiment. In November the psalms and biblical canticles will be recited in the *New English Bible* version. Evensong will remain unchanged except that the psalms will no longer be those of the day as set out in the Prayer Book, but will follow, as will the lessons, the proposals of the Joint Liturgical Group. The difference is that the psalms are recited in a cycle of thirteen weeks instead of a month and some psalms and verses of psalms are omitted entirely. The object of this experiment is to see whether the gain from more rehearsal time for the choir will be found to offset the loss of sung mattins and to give more extensive trial to the new form of mattins.

It remains briefly to record some notable events of the year.

Dec. 12—Funeral of Princess Andrew of Greece.

Dec. 25—Mattins, in the presence of H.M. the Queen, televised.

Feb. 20, 27, Mar. 6, 13, 20—Lent Lectures by Canon Bentley, Canon Fisher and The Dean.

Mar. 14—Confirmation by the Rt. Rev. Kenneth Sansbury, Assistant Bishop of London.

April 1—Service for the Headmasters' Association.

April 18—Recital by Jaqueline du Pré and Daniel Barenboim.

April 26—National Scout Service.

May 2—Evensong sung by choirs of the Buckingham Archdeaconry affiliated to Royal School of Church Music.

May 30—Friends of St George's A.G.M. Commemoration of Old Boys of St George's School after Evensong.

June 6—Evensong *In Memoriam* Perceval Bridger.

June 15—Garter Day. Installation of Lord Cobbold, Viscount Chandos, Sir Edmund Bacon and Sir Cennydd Traherne.

June 16—Sung Eucharist of Requiem for departed Knights of the Garter.

July 3—Recital by the choir of St Paul's Church, Westfield, New Jersey.

July 21—Chalice presented to H.M. The Queen by R.A.F. College, Cranwell, dedicated.

Sept. 23-Oct. 3rd—The Windsor Festival.

Oct. 1—Alan Kendall and Nigel Perrin installed lay clerks. David Vinden and Mervyn Bryn Jones admitted scholars.

Warden's Notes on St George's House

Rear-Admiral Anthony Davies writes:

St George's House has concentrated in the past year on developing the policy which had evolved as a result of experience from our lay

and clergy consultations and courses in earlier years. Briefly our policy is, first, to explore the relevance of the Christian faith to people today in their political, professional and business situations and to encourage the implementation of discoveries made during this exploration, and, secondly, but equally important, to provide courses for clergy in mid-career so that they can reflect on their experience and develop their knowledge in order to equip themselves for greater responsibility in the church.

Thus, while there has been no change in the direction and pattern of our main work, we believe our courses and consultations are improving in quality and in relevance to today's society; we are beginning to explore in greater depth such things as motivation and belief at our general consultations, and theology and methods of organisation in our clergy courses.

In addition to our main work on implementing our policy as noted above, we have continued to arrange short consultations for special groups of both laity and clergy who have common vocational or social interests. Some of these groups, such as heads of management colleges, members of parliament, natural scientists and theologians and civil servants, meet regularly at St George's House each year; other groups are formed to explore an important current topic of concern to both church and state, such as local government in the light of the Maud Report or the Seeborn Report on the social services.

We have found it essential in all these consultations, whether it be part of our main work, one of a series, or for a special group, that those taking part include both laity and clergy—not only for the contribution each make from their own knowledge and experience but also to provide opportunities for them as individuals to learn from each other.

In our general consultations it has been fascinating to note that whatever the subject the same sort of problems constantly arise—the inborn fear of change and the failure to see the opportunity it provides for people to grow and fulfil themselves—the conflicts between personal standards, hopes and fears and loyalty to the group, and the further problem of conflict between loyalty to the group and wider loyalties—the problems of participation and responsibility. A variety of ideas towards a solution of these problems have been discussed, amongst them the need for legislation or a code of practice, but most important the need for good communication and a common standard of behaviour in order to induce trust. Finally, of course, we have discussed Christian contributions to the approach to these problems and to their solution.

In all this work we have been greatly indebted to the Dean and we shall sadly miss his inspiration and leadership; but throughout the year we have been blessed in the work of Kenneth Adams, who, as Director of Studies, has played an essential part in the progress made in depth and continuity at general consultations and in our in-service clergy training.

Amongst the consultations arranged by outside organisations,

but in many of which the staff of the House has played an active part, has been the first formal meeting of the Anglican/Roman Catholic Permanent Joint Commission, when we were also honoured by a visit from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Heenan. Another new development, by an industrial organisation, has been the start of a continuing series of short consultations for middle management and men from the shop floor jointly to discuss informally in a neutral atmosphere their understanding of the moral standards and operating factors in a free industrial society.

Although no part of our work in arranging consultations and courses, St George's House was honoured and delighted to accommodate a party of American Friends who came to Windsor to attend the Annual General Meeting this year. We very much enjoyed the pleasure of their company and were glad of their interest in and support of our work.

Altogether some 1,700 people have taken part in our activities at St George's House and nearly all of them have been accommodated here or entertained at one or more meals. The Bursar and her staff of young and cheerful girls have looked after all these people admirably; indeed it is their friendly efficiency and the whole atmosphere of the Chapel and College of St George which encourages our visitors to participate so wholeheartedly in our work.

St George's Church, Stamford

In the *Report* for 1968-9 we recommended Friends who were in the Cambridge area to visit Anglesey Abbey where there are many works of art with a Windsor connection. This year, at the suggestion of Miss Kathleen Shawcross, we would like to draw attention to a building a little further off which also has important Windsor connections: St George's church in Stamford, Lincolnshire. This church was rebuilt in 1449 at the expense of Sir William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms. Its windows were adorned with representations of the Golden Legend of the life and martyrdom of St George, and also with the figures of Edward III and the 25 other Founder Knights of the Order of the Garter. Unfortunately much of this glass was subsequently destroyed, but the head of one of the Knights, Sir John Lisle, can still be seen in the south chancel window. Nearly 200 of the original Garter mottoes which once surrounded the figures of the Knights have since 1732 been set in the north chancel window, and the superb chancel ceiling still has the flying angels bearing the Signs of the Passion which were ordered to be carved by Sir William Bruges. The connection with Windsor is obviously still treasured, for amongst the framed photographs in the church is one of their quincenary procession in 1949 which included the special preacher, our late Dean, Eric Hamilton.

THE FUNERAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA

A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE REV. E. H. FELLOWES TO HIS MOTHER

THE CLOISTERS,
WINDSOR CASTLE,
Feb. 9th, 1901.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

You will have had so many and full descriptions of everything in the papers as well as from all the family that I can add very little I expect of my own experiences that you have not already heard.

No one in St George's last Saturday could have had such a view as we, the clergy and choir, had, for we were just inside the Altar rails and were turned towards that wonderful assembly. The King looked magnificent standing at the head of the coffin with the Emperor at his side. I could see all the Kings and Princes very well as they were only a few yards away and immediately after the service they filed out past me into the north aisle.

In the stalls on my side nearest me were Lord Salisbury & the Duke of Devonshire and just in front in the second row Chamberlain and A. J. Balfour. Altogether it was a wonderfully brilliant sight in addition to the solemn and historical aspects.

We (the clergy and choir) met the procession at the West Door so we saw the bluejackets drawing the Gun carriage and also saw the bearer party of the guards carry the coffin up the steps which they did with the greatest difficulty, magnificent men though they were, and I could see the front man's hand trembling from nervousness when they were in difficulties with the weight. We fell in behind the heralds and immediately in front of the Coffin, and went straight up inside the rails singing the Croft music to the opening sentences. The choir drew up on the south of the Altar and we on the North. The Coffin was placed in the centre just outside the rails and the Princes and Kings etc stood as they came in behind, in rows of 3. They extended beyond the choir to the West door.

On Sunday morning, as you have seen, all the Castle people came down to Chapel. The King & Queen with the Emperor, the King of the Hellenes & the Crown Prince and others were up in the Royal box: about 2 minutes to 11 when we were all ready in the Vestry the door suddenly opened and someone announced "the King" and in walked the whole lot on their way up which is through the Vestry—about 15 of them and we saw them well the King & Kaiser shook hands with the Dean and the Bishop of Winchester. The Queen and princesses had gone up earlier: most of the stalls were occupied by Royalties, the Duke of Connaught the Duchess of Albany & Princess Beatrice were in the stalls and just behind my stall were the 4 Battenberg children. I was rather nervous singing

the service but fortunately it did not affect my voice: it was a queer sensation "praying and beseeching as many as were there present etc" and also standing up to pronounce the absolution to such a congregation on their knees.

After Chapel I had a very good view of the King & Queen and others who walked round the cloisters looking at the wreaths. I expect Emily will have described our view on Monday. We were admitted to the South Terrace and stood just outside the Sovereign's entrance. We saw them come out of the Quadrangle and walk the whole way down to the turn-off to Frogmore, which took them over 20 minutes as we saw them. It must have been extremely trying to them all, particularly the Queen and princesses. Everyone felt a little nervous about the horses drawing the gun carriage, they had to be patted and coaxed very much especially the two leaders.

The playing of Chopin's funeral march both then, and on Saturday as we heard it from inside the Chapel, was a most impressive thing; they play it very fast on the bands, much faster than it is played on the piano or organ but it gains wonderfully in solemnity as they play it, and with the muffled drums, reversed arms, and surrounding circumstances, it is impossible to imagine anything to approach the solemnity of the effect—the guns and the tolling of the curfew bell adding an indescribable obbligato.

There was a marvellous contrast in the whole atmosphere of feeling the next day when the King and Kaiser drove off for London. We saw them well and the enthusiasm of the crowd was great.

[The rest of the letter was devoted to personal and family matters.]

The Editors are indebted to Mr. W. H. Fellowes for permission to print this letter written by his father which supplements the account of Queen Victoria's funeral given in Dr. Fellowes's Memoirs of an Amateur Musician (1946) pp. 106-108.

THE ANGELS SURROUNDING THE EAST WINDOW OF ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL

By MAURICE BOND

King Charles I once described St George's Chapel as being "cornized and frized with Angells",¹ and the chapel, notably lacking in sculpture of the human form, is rich in angel sculpture. Sequences of feathered and diademed angels, issuing from clouds and holding scrolls, form the principal recurring motif of decoration throughout the chapel. Six such angels are carved above each arch in the Nave and in the Choir; the Rutland and Bray chantries have bands of angels at two levels; the small choir aisle chantry chapels have similar bands of angels over the altars; and the motif is continued at various points as part of the decoration of the roof bosses. All this

¹ See his letter in *The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor*, 1430, 1523-1672, ed. Shelagh Bond (1966), p. 180.

carving is quite easily seen and has often been discussed. Paradoxically, however, the most unusual angel sculpture in St George's Chapel is seldom noticed, and has only once been described—and then briefly and incorrectly.² This is the set of angels placed in what might seem to be a dominant position—surrounding on three sides the great East Window of the Choir—but the figures are set high above the ground, and are so deeply recessed in the hollow of the window arch, that they are not easy to discern, and even binoculars do not enable all the details of the carving to be made out. The angels have, however, once in recent years been seen distinctly. This was during the restoration of the 1920s, when scaffolding was built across the Choir at mid-window height. From the scaffolding Mr. R. H. Robertson, Surveyor of the Works, photographed all the upper angels, and plates and prints of these photographs are preserved in the Schorn Tower.³ Four of them are reproduced in this *Report* in plates II-IV. More recently, on a suggestion of Sir Owen Morshead made at the Friends' Annual General Meeting in 1969, photographs have been taken of the lower set of angels (see plates IV-V). With the help of this photographic material it is now possible to attempt some account of the complete series of angel carvings.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the carvings is that they are given meaning and unity by the topmost carving, that immediately above the central point of the window arch (plate IIIA). Here the sculptor has placed an unusual representation of the Holy Trinity.⁴ God the Father is shown as an aged man, crowned, sitting on one side of what is probably the book of the Last Judgment. On the other side of the book sits Our Lord wearing the Crown of Thorns, and the Holy Ghost is represented as a dove with outspread wings and with a cross-bearing nimbus. Below is a globe, surmounted by a cross. The lower half of the globe is covered with undulating lines, presumably to represent water, and the upper half is divided by a vertical band, symbolising a division between land and sea. An alternative possibility is that the threefold division of the globe represents the three elements of fire, air and water. The overall conception, however, is clearly that of God presiding over the whole creation, and sitting in judgment on it.

The angels carved below this sculpture of the Trinity take their place in the total conception as beings intermediate between God and man, employed by the Creator in ruling the universe, in protecting kingdoms, and in guarding each particular soul.

Thirty-eight angels are shown attendant upon the Holy Trinity, nineteen on each side of the window. Each angel is about 27 inches tall and is sculptured two-thirds length, issuing from conventional representations of clouds. All are today partly gilded. The following

² By Sir William St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii (1913), p. 425.

³ W.R. R/G, G1, and R/70.

⁴ This sculpture was described by C. J. P. Cave and H. Stanford London in their article on "The Roof-Bosses in St George's Chapel, Windsor", *Archaeologia*, vol. 95 (1953), at p. 111. Their description follows the suggestion of Professor Francis Wormald.

individual descriptions summarise the vesture, posture, emblems, etc., for each angel on the north and south sides respectively, numbering from the top downwards:

NORTH	SOUTH
1. Plumed (i.e. wearing feathers), hair adorned with a fillet, hands crossed on breast.	1. As N.1.
2. Plumed, wearing skull-cap helmet, carrying open book, left hand pointing to an entry at top.	2. As N.2, but finger points to bottom of book.
3. Plumed, wearing coronet, hands raised in adoration.	3. As N.3.
4. Plumed, wearing crown, scapular and gauntlets, bearing sword.	4. As N.4, but bearing mace as well as sword.
5. Plumed, wearing cap of estate, bearing standard of rayed sun.	5. As N.5, but bearing wheel as well as rayed standard.
6. Plumed, wearing ribbed skull helmet and gorget, bearing cross, with chained dog-faced beast.	6. As N.6, but bearing small mace.
7. Plumed, wearing multi-ribbed skull helmet, gorget and gauntlets, bearing pole-axe and lance.	7. As N.7.
8. Plumed, wearing coronet, bearing water-pot.	8. As N.8.
9. Vested in alb and amice, wearing fillet, hands raised in adoration.	9. As N.9.
10. Vested in alb and amice, bearing shield of St George.	10. Vested in alb, bearing Cross Gneth.
11. Vested in alb, crossed stole and cope, playing a fiddle.	11. Vested in alb and cope, bearing scroll inscribed ALLE-LUIA.
12. Vested in alb and cope, bearing a crown.	12. Vested in alb and cope, bearing a Knight's helm.
13. Vested in alb, bearing a breast-plate of armour.	13. Vested in alb and cope, playing a cittern.
14. Vested in alb and cope, hands joined in prayer.	14. Vested in alb and cope, bearing stave, with the left hand raised in blessing.

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| 15. Vested in alb and cope, playing a cornett. | 15. As N.15. |
| 16. Vested in alb and cope, bearing scroll. | 16. As N.16, but scroll worn across left shoulder and inscribed GLO DEO IN EX. |
| 17. Vested in alb and cope, playing a psaltery. | 17. Vested in alb and amice, hands joined in prayer. |
| 18. Vested in alb, crossed stole and cope, playing a fiddle. | 18. Vested in alb and cope, bearing scroll of music and singing. |
| 19. Vested in alb and cope, bearing stave, left hand raised in blessing. | 19. Vested in alb and cope, hands joined in prayer. |

Sir William St John Hope commented that these angels were "playing on various instruments of music".⁶ In fact, however, only 6 of the 38 are playing, and I am most grateful to Dr. John Morehen for the note he contributes on pages 23-24 on these carvings. The great majority of the angels bear various types of arms or emblems, and it is tempting to consider the whole set as representing the complete nine-fold hierarchy of angels, first described by Dionysius the Areopagite in the fourth century, and often represented in stained glass or in carving during the middle ages. Canon J. N. Dalton in 1926 endorsed an envelope in the Aerary, containing some of Mr. Robertson's photographs, with the title "Trinity and nine orders of Hierarchy". In fact, however, the East Window angels are not a multiple of nine, but 38 angels in all, and it is hard to assign individual carvings to each of the nine particular types of angel. Yet, broadly speaking, most of the traditional orders of angels seem to be represented. The angels in adoration, close to God (North and South 1 and 3) perhaps belong to the highest orders of angels, the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones, who are "burning with the love of God",⁶ or who "find their satisfaction in gazing into the mysteries of God".⁷ The middle angelic group, of Dominations, Principalities and Powers, were considered to be concerned with ruling the universe, being thought of, respectively, as kings, as princes, and as warriors, and being represented with emblems, either of authority or of warfare.⁸ This is in fact what is found in the middle ranges of angels at St George's, angels who wear crowns, coronets or caps of estate (3-5), or carry swords, maces or standards (4-7). The lowest group in the angelic hierarchy comprises Virtues, Archangels and Angels, whose duty is to act as God's messengers

⁶ Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁶ A. G. Mortimer, *Catholic Faith and Practice*, vol. i (1923), describing the Seraphim.

⁷ *Ibid.*, describing the Cherubim.

⁸ Cf. G. McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery* (1936), pp. 212-4. See also M. R. James, *Suffolk and Norfolk* (1930) for a full description of the Nine Orders on the screen of Barton Turf church. (I am indebted to Mr. Christopher Hohler for references to these and other works dealing with iconography.) A recent angelology is given in G. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels* (1967).

or (in the case of the Virtues) to bring healing to mankind. These were usually shown as vested in ecclesiastical robes—as are all the lowest angels in the St George's set (9-19)—or, in the case of the archangels, as clothed in armour. Thus, although there is no very precise representation at St George's of each of the nine orders of angel, there is some general correspondence, and this is all that is usually found in late mediaeval representations of the angelic hierarchy. As G. N. Rushforth noted, "in the later mediaeval art north of the Alps the iconography of the Nine Orders was developed with extreme variety and elasticity";⁹ hardly any two sets were alike and the most varied literary and ecclesiastical sources determined individual symbolism.

Any attempt to consider the St George's set as a single conception, however, is made impossible by the discovery in 1970 that the lower carving on each side (10-19) is not mediaeval but modern, and modern work which, through the circumstances of the case, could not have reproduced what had originally been carved in the middle ages. A series of entries in the correspondence files, in the accounts, and in other papers in the Aerary,¹⁰ proves that when in 1786 the whole of the tracery of the East Window was taken out to enable a "transparency" of the Resurrection by Benjamin West to be inserted, the lower ten angels on each side were removed and destroyed, leaving only the angels numbered 1-9 of the original work.¹¹ When in the 1860s it was decided to commemorate Albert, Prince Consort, in a new stained glass window, the transparency window was condemned and the present glass was substituted for it. The opportunity was then taken to fill the empty jambs of the arch with new angels. The Chapter clerk's note book contains the following entry for 1868:

"It has been determined to continue the figures of Angels down either side of the East Window from the points where they cease (the spring of the Arch), and Messrs. Poole & Son have undertaken the work."¹²

It is possible that Canon C. L. Courtenay was responsible for the general plan.¹³ The sculptor was Mr. Poole, junior. He observed that those angels which had been spared in 1786 were "very beautiful". They had been coloured a deep brown when Benjamin West's transparency was inserted. In July 1869, 20 new angels were ready for fixing, though they awaited "the remainder of the Reredos which Mr. Philip has in hand".¹⁴ Messrs. Poole's bills show that the charge for the "20 new angels carved and fixed in the reveal of the

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹⁰ I am most grateful to my wife for searching these files in the Aerary and for providing these key references.

¹¹ See in particular the Chapter Clerk's Notebook, W.R.XVII.9.4, entry for July 1869, and a letter from Messrs. Poole to Canon Anson, 13 Feb., 1868, W.R.XVII.61.62.

¹² W.R.XVII.9.4.

¹³ See note 23, p. 22.

¹⁴ W.R.XVII.9.4.

eastern window" was £60, £3 an angel.¹⁵ A further £9.16. was charged for "Cleaning off the paint from the 18 old angels and central group [the Trinity] on the upper part of the arch."¹⁶

Thus the angels N. and S. 10-19 can be firmly dated as 1868-9, their sculptor being Poole of Westminster.¹⁷ What of the more ancient sculpture, N. and S. 1-9, together with the Holy Trinity? There is no record of their carving, but on stylistic grounds as well as on grounds of probability it seems that the angels are contemporary with the wall structure within which they were placed. This suggests a date of *circa* 1480. It is interesting to note that the Trinity sculpture has already been assigned to the sculptor who carved the bosses in the North Choir Aisle, which date from 1477-80.¹⁸ If this is so, the sculptor may have been Henry Janyns, the architect of the fabric of the eastern half of the chapel, rather than William Vertue, the architect of the subsequent structure. Janyns was one of the outstanding designers of the fifteenth century, and had served as master-mason at St George's from the beginning of works there in 1474 or 1475 until 1484.¹⁹ The carving of the upper angels of the East Window has a delicacy and firmness not inappropriate for work of the fifteenth century, and contrasts with the heavier design and more stolid expressions of, for instance, William Vertue's angels on the choir bosses of a generation later.²⁰ The total design is balanced, but with subtle variations. S.1 and N.1 are identical, as are N.3 and S.3 and N. and S.7 to 9; but whereas the angel in N.2 points to the top of an open page, that in S.2 points to the bottom; and although the attire of S.4-7 reproduces exactly that of the opposite angels, the weapons and symbols differ. The only other marked contrast between the two sides is that the armed angel in N.6 has an attendant dog-faced beast—does this represent a devil, or the forces of evil, held in check on a chain by a warrior angel?

Finally, the mediaeval angels N. and S.1-8 are all clothed in what have been called "feathered tights". Originally, in the twelfth century, angels were shown wearing simple tunics; then, under the influence of liturgical drama in which angels were played by men dressed in deacon's vestments, angels were shown wearing copes, albs, dal-

¹⁵ W.R.XVII.61.22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Henry Poole and Son, Marble and Stone Workers, had their works at Great Smith St., Westminster, and, from 1866 onwards, also at the nearby 47 Tufton St., Westminster.

¹⁸ Cave and London, *op. cit.*, p. 121, where the work is called "purely mediaeval".

¹⁹ John Harvey, "The Architects of St George's Chapel", pt. 2, *Report of the Friends* (1962) pp. 89-90.

²⁰ Cave and London, *op. cit.*, p. 121, remark that this work is "stylistically rather colourless", "Gothic without conviction" and half way between the pure mediaeval work of the sculpture of the Trinity and the semi-Renaissance work in the bosses of the crossing and transepts. There is a certain lack of congruity between the detailed sculpture of Janyns and Vertue; the easternmost of Vertue's pendent bosses in the choir vault is so placed as partly to obscure Janyns's sculpture of the Trinity—in some of Robertson's photographs the boss is seen to hide either one or two of the three Persons of the Trinity.

matics, etc.²¹ In the fifteenth century, mystery plays had accustomed the faithful to seeing angels played by actors wearing feathered costume, and it became frequent to sculpt angels in feathered costume, though sometimes with armour above. The older tradition survived, however, of the churchly garments, and N. and S.9 show that the mediaeval St George's sculptor considered it as suitable vestiture for the lower angels, those nearer to man, and to the altar.²²

If the mediaeval angels fairly represent the style and ideas of the fifteenth century, those of 1868 represent mid-Victorian conceptions. There is an immediate contrast in the expressions of the angels. The mid-Victorian are spiritualised, and quite unlike the sturdier east window angels of the fifteenth century. The Victorian angels are also more ecclesiastical—though in this, Poole probably sought to continue what he thought had been the original conception. Axes, swords and maces predominate in the upper and mediaeval half of the hierarchy. Poole provides musical instruments and attitudes of prayer. He represents the angels of the Annunciation and Nativity rather than the hierarchy of Powers, Dominations and Principalities. His work is good, certainly sufficiently good to permit St John Hope and Dalton to consider it mediaeval. It is as varied in treatment as the mediaeval work, and it brings a special St George's note into the design by having angel N.10 bear the shield of St George, and S.10 the Cross Gneth, the relic of the True Cross once preserved in the Chapel. Poole tends to adopt a more "feeling" and dramatic posture for his angels than Janyms, and his expressiveness verges on the sentimental, but he contributes an important element to the total mediaeval conception, and Poole must now take his place with Henry Emlyn as a modern craftsman whose work at St George's has successfully harmonised with that of the Middle Ages.²³

²¹ Cf. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, tome ii (1956), pp. 35-8, and G. McN. Rushforth, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6, for the mediaeval representation of angels. Réau emphasises that angels held an important place in English sculpture in the middle ages; the English "had a passion for them" (*op. cit.*, p. 37). Réau and Rushforth give a number of useful references to important examples of English angel sculpture—at Salisbury, Lincoln, Exeter, Gloucester, Tewkesbury Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, etc.

²² Angels in amices, albs, surplices, etc., appear among carvings in Westminster Abbey, dated to c.1250 (C. J. P. Cave and L. E. Tanner, "A Thirteenth-Century Choir of Angels in the North Transept of Westminster Abbey and the Adjacent Figures of Two Kings", *Archaeologia*, vol. 84 (1934), pp. 63-7). The continued use of ecclesiastical vestments for angels is represented, for instance, by the fifteenth century carvings in wood of minstrel angels as supporters of the wall posts of the Nave roof in Manchester Cathedral (see H. A. Hudson, "Carvings of mediaeval musical instruments in Manchester Cathedral", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. lxxiii (1922), p. 100-126).

²³ It should be added that angels had been represented prominently in the stained glass of the East Window itself, inserted five years earlier, in 1863. Our Lord in Glory is there surrounded by seraphim, angels and archangels. The anonymous writer of the contemporary booklet about the window (who was undoubtedly Canon C. L. Courtenay) describes how these angels gather round Our Lord, "all in praise, all in worship, some uplifting their palms of victory, some striking their instruments of joy, some with their golden censers full of odours, some with the voice of the trumpet sounding loud and long" (pp. 12-13).

MUSIC AND THE ANGEL CARVINGS

By JOHN MOREHEN

The musical aspect of some of the angel carvings calls for special comment. It appears that in some of the nineteenth-century replacement angels the sculptor's intention was to incorporate musical instruments which were in use in the period immediately prior to that of the earliest angels (*i.e.* prior to the fifteenth century). Although the depiction of medieval and renaissance musical instruments in English church carvings is, of course, by no means unusual, it should be borne in mind that very few renaissance instruments were still extant in the nineteenth century. Consequently, many Victorian sculptors must have relied for their designs upon earlier carvings or upon other forms of pictorial representation. The exemplars on which the St George's Chapel sculptures were based appear not to have been wholly accurate, since the chapel carvings do not faithfully reproduce all the features of any single musical instrument, although they do show the salient features of many. It must unfortunately be added that in the case of the Windsor carvings the lack of detail seriously hampers attempts at positive identification of the instruments themselves.

The East Window carvings which include musical elements are numbers 11, 15, 17 and 18 on the North side, and numbers 13 and 15 on the South side. In number 18 on the South side the angel appears to be singing from a musical scroll, although the music itself (if, indeed, it *is* genuine music) is not sufficiently clear to permit identification. The seven "musical angels" include blown, bowed and plucked instruments, although this should not necessarily be taken to imply that such a variety of instruments was used liturgically in this country at any period. Although documentary evidence is admittedly scanty, it would appear that the only instruments in regular liturgical use in England prior to the mid-seventeenth century were cornetts and sackbuts. Viols, often mistakenly believed to have been an alternative to the organ for the accompaniment of Elizabethan and Jacobean verse anthems and verse services, appear to have been employed but rarely. While it might seem picturesque to imagine that the performance of church music was accompanied in the medieval and renaissance periods by all manner of musical instruments (along the lines of Psalm 150), such colourful performances were in all probability very much the exception rather than the rule.

North 11 and 18. Renaissance Fiddle

Although the carving of the renaissance fiddle is accurate in showing the instrument without frets and held in a near-vertical position almost flush with the body (a visually more pleasing posture than that in which the instrument's descendant, the violin, is held today), one would expect the bow-stick to be rather shorter than portrayed. Furthermore, most contemporary representations show

the bow in a rather more arched state (*i.e.* with the hair much more taut) than shown here.

North 15 and South 15. Cornett

The instrument depicted here appears not to embody a mouth-piece incorporating a reed, which rules it out as an instrument of the shawm family. It is, at the same time, of too conical a bore to belong to the recorder (flute) group. The instrument most closely resembled is perhaps the cornett, a wooden instrument in widespread use in the renaissance period, not only in a wind consort but also in an accompanimental role (*e.g.* with cornetts and sackbuts doubling the voice parts in the performance of a church motet).

North 17. Psaltery

The instrument portrayed here, the psaltery, has no obvious modern descendant. It is a rectangular stringed instrument lacking a neck, and is plucked rather than bowed. The psaltery appears to have been evolved in the Near East about the tenth century A.D. It is seen in the West from the twelfth century onwards, held either against the chest (as here) or across the knees. In its original conception the psaltery was no more than a set of strings stretched over a plain board—an unsophisticated form in which it still survives amongst uncivilised races. The "gay sautrie" was the instrument played by the "poore scholar" in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. From the renaissance period it was gradually superseded by its keyboard version (the harpsichord) and, in folk music, by the dulcimer group.

South 13. Cittern

This angel appears to be carrying an instrument of either the chittarone or cittern groups. Although it is not possible to be absolutely certain that the instrument portrayed has a flat back, it does seem likely that it is a cittern rather than a chittarone, since the neck of the latter was definitely longer than shown. The cittern was one of the most popular renaissance instruments, its flat back making it easy to hold or to fix to a wall in the barber's shop. It could be played with a plectrum, like the psaltery, or, with a little less comfort, with the fingers. Unlike the lute, which at no time did it ever rival in popularity, the cittern did not succeed in inspiring composers. Not for the cittern was there destined to be written a repertoire of music such as that provided by John Dowland for the lute.

THE PANELS OF STANDING BISHOPS IN THE URSWICK CHAPEL

By MARTIN KEMP

The two badly-damaged panel-paintings presently situated on either side of Wyatt's monument to Princess Charlotte in the Urswick Chapel (plate I) deserve serious attention from the historian; and urgent attention from the restorer. Even in their present condition, the full-length figures of the Bishops possess an undeniable physical presence. Professor Pevsner, the only historian to have taken note of the panels, attributed this monumentality to the influence of Hugo van der Goes (*d.* 1482).¹ The paintings do indeed display some affinities with Hugo's powerful version of the Netherlandish style; but their format cannot be precisely paralleled in Netherlandish art, and the vertical folds of the deeply cut draperies stand in marked contrast to the complex drapery forms generally favoured in the Netherlands during the second half of the fifteenth century. All the important historical questions remain unanswered. Where, when and by whom were the panels painted? And for what purpose? In the complete absence of documentary evidence, we are forced to rely upon comparisons with paintings of known date, origin and function.

The stylistic clues, in this case, are rather ambiguous. However, the format of the panels can be identified reasonably precisely with a type known to have been popular in Britain during the second half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries. The hexagonal pedestals upon which the figures stand are supported by curved brackets or corbels. The intention is that the figures, pedestals and corbels should appear to be situated in front of a flat picture-plane, as if they were components in a sculpted screen or portal. This form of presentation is uncommon on the continent, but British examples are relatively numerous, both in stained glass and panel painting. A number of East Anglian rood screens, consisting of rows of standing figures, conform to this type.² More local examples are provided by the figures which separate the narrative scenes in Eton College Chapel (painted 1486-7) and by the Kings in the South Choir aisle of St George's itself.³ Perhaps the most impressive

¹ N. Pevsner, *Berkshire* in The Buildings of England series (1966), p. 279.

² See W. G. Constable, "Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings (*The Connoisseur*, vol. lxxiv, 1929), pp. 141, 211, 290 and 358, and plates.

³ See E. Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837* (1962), vol. I, pls. 1-2 and 7. In spite of the starting date in the title, the early plates in Croft-Murray's book provide a useful corpus of early sixteenth century painting in England.

instance of figures mounted in this way occurs in "Master Humphrey's" wall-paintings in the Jesus (or Islip) Chapel of Westminster Abbey (datable to 1529-30); and, as we shall see, the St George's Bishops share certain features of "Master Humphrey's" style.⁴

The black-letter scrolls which are swathed around the figures also feature commonly in British screens and stained glass. In one instance—the figures of David and Jeremiah on the rood screen in North Crawley, Buckinghamshire—both corbels and scrolls appear in the same design, providing a close parallel for the format of the Bishop panels.⁵

This evidence suggest that the panels were designed for a British market. Furthermore, since the majority of the comparable paintings are to be found in architectural screens, it is reasonable to deduce that the Bishops were originally part of just such a scheme. These screens invariably consisted of half-a-dozen or more figures set within a decorative framework of Gothic niches. The two surviving Bishops may well have originally been accompanied by a number of fellow Bishops or Saints. The present appearance and condition of the panels is utterly consistent with their having been removed (rather brutally) from the screen; the more complete of the paintings has been cut down all round, while one of the two "planks" which must have originally comprised the other panel has split completely from its partner and been lost. The robustly thick nature of the wood and the heavy-handed joinery also indicate that the panels were originally part of the fabric of a church (or room) rather than components of a specially designed altarpiece.

A wide variety of figures were portrayed on British rood and choir screens during the period 1480-1530: Old and New Testament characters, saints, contemporary ecclesiastics, and donors. The absence of haloes in the panels does not necessarily exclude the possibility of identifying the Bishops as saints (the saints in the 1526 altarpiece from Winchester Cathedral, for example, are indented as such by inscriptions rather than by haloes),⁶ but it is more probable that these sharp characterisations are just what they appear to be—actual portraits of contemporary churchmen.

The inscriptions on the scrolls provide little or no help in identifying the Bishops. The readily legible text on the half panel is quite standard and unspecific: *O maria mater pia tu es*. On the rear of this panel, a series of ten or so names have been carved and painted.⁷ However, the rough, reverse side of the panel is unlikely to have been visible in its original setting, and these names only appear to

⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. 3-4. "Master Humphrey" may have been an Anglicised Netherlander or an Englishman with extensive experience of Netherlandish art.

⁵ Constable, *op. cit.*, no. xi.

⁶ The Winchester altarpiece, now at Knowle, is illustrated by Croft-Murray, *op. cit.*, pls. 30-1.

⁷ These names are: I. DICKINSON (at the top); Bressey (painted). N (or M) LEE, F YATE, KING, F. CROS, W POWELL, I PYE, W PRI . . . , H GORE, W. POWELL 1691, W . . . (all carved).

I am grateful to Mrs. Shelagh Bond for her transcriptions of all the inscriptions on the panels.

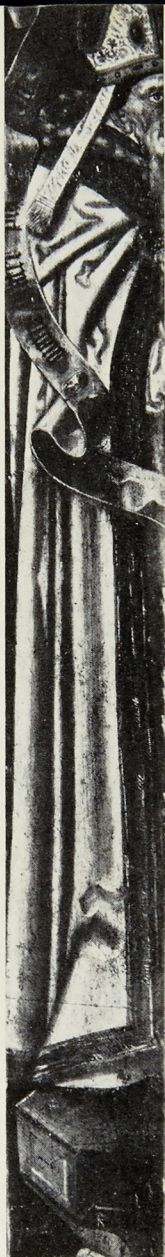


PLATE I (A)
Standing Bishop, partial side
view, 23.6 cm. \times 182.3 cm., oil on
wooden panel.

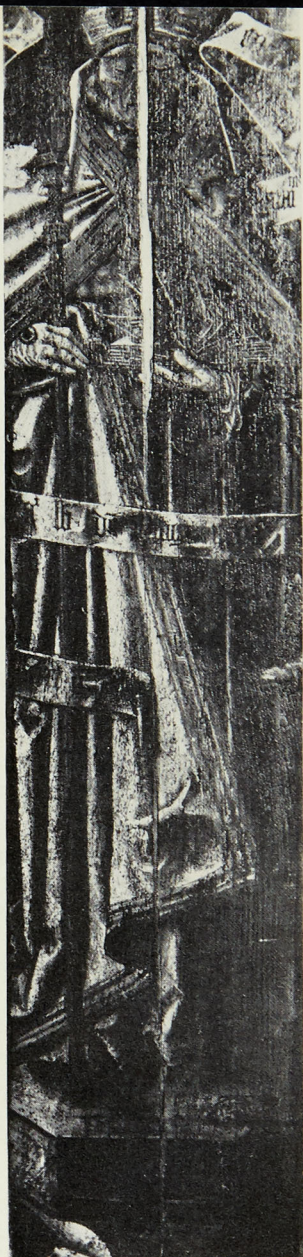


PLATE I (B)
Standing Bishop, reading a book,
31.5 cm. \times 182.3 cm., oil on
wooden panel.

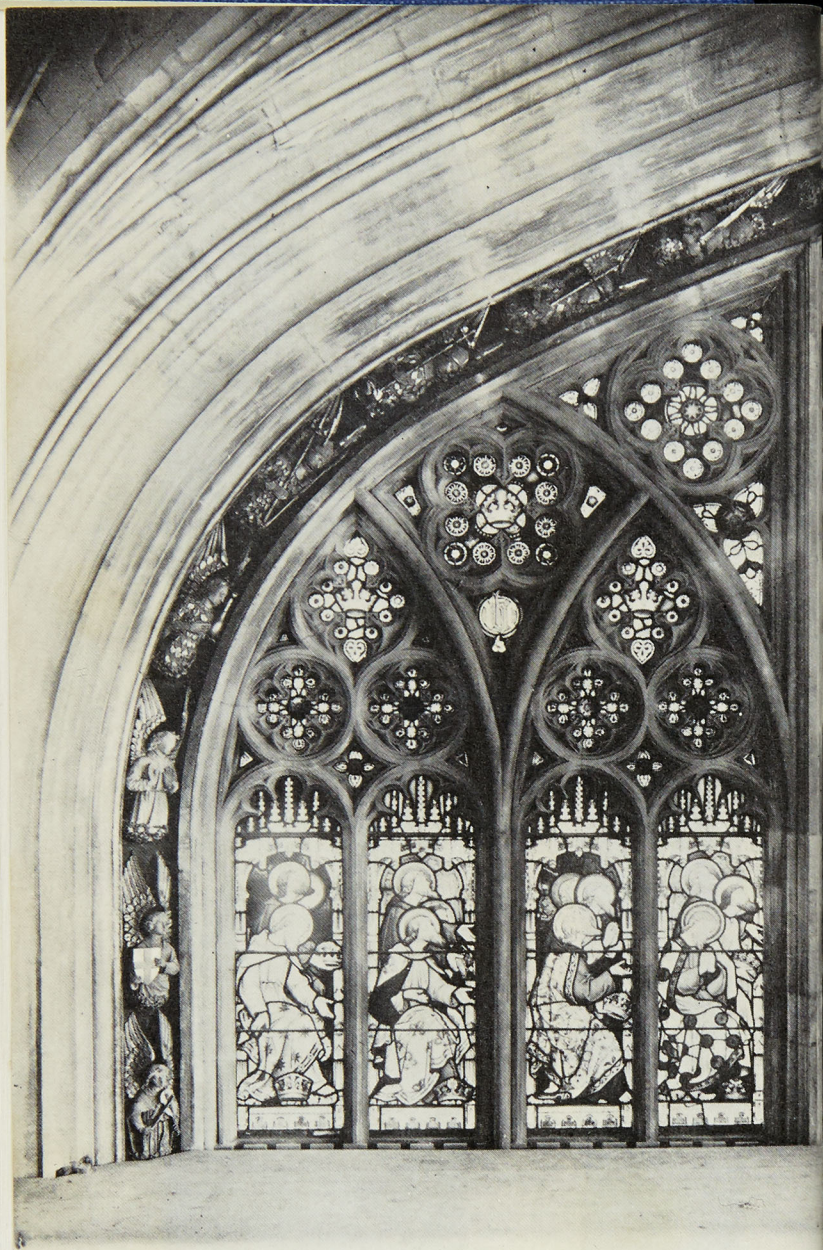


PLATE II

Sculptures of Angels surrounding the East window showing figures on North side numbers 3 to 11.

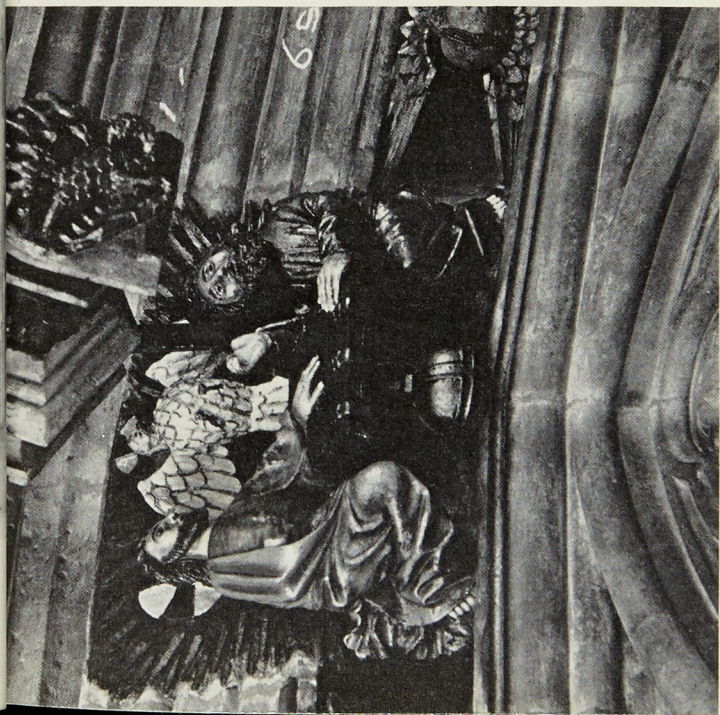


PLATE III (A)

Sculpture of the Holy Trinity above the East window.

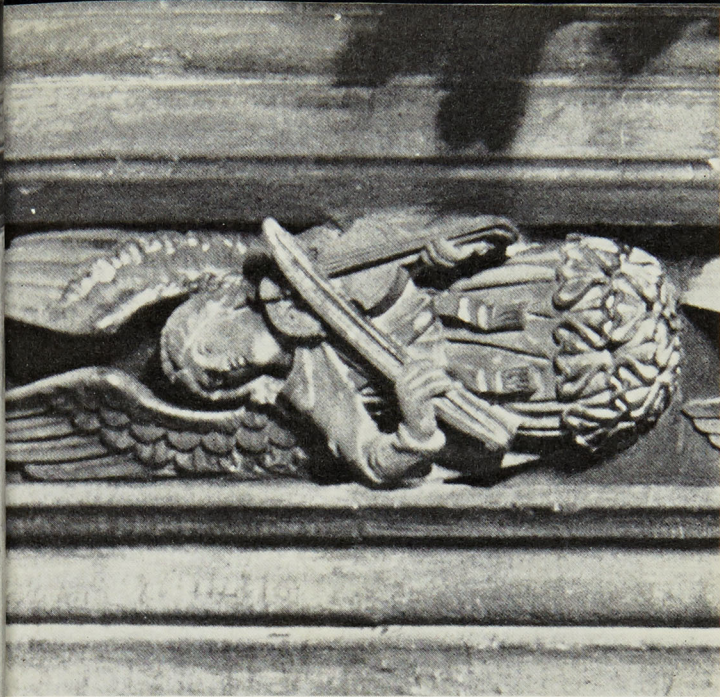


PLATE III (B)

Sculpture of Angel playing fiddle, North side number 18.

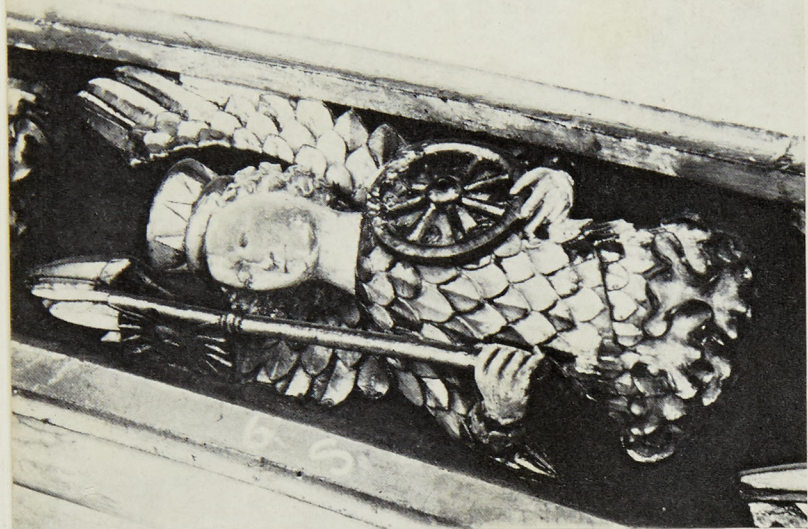


PLATE IV (6)

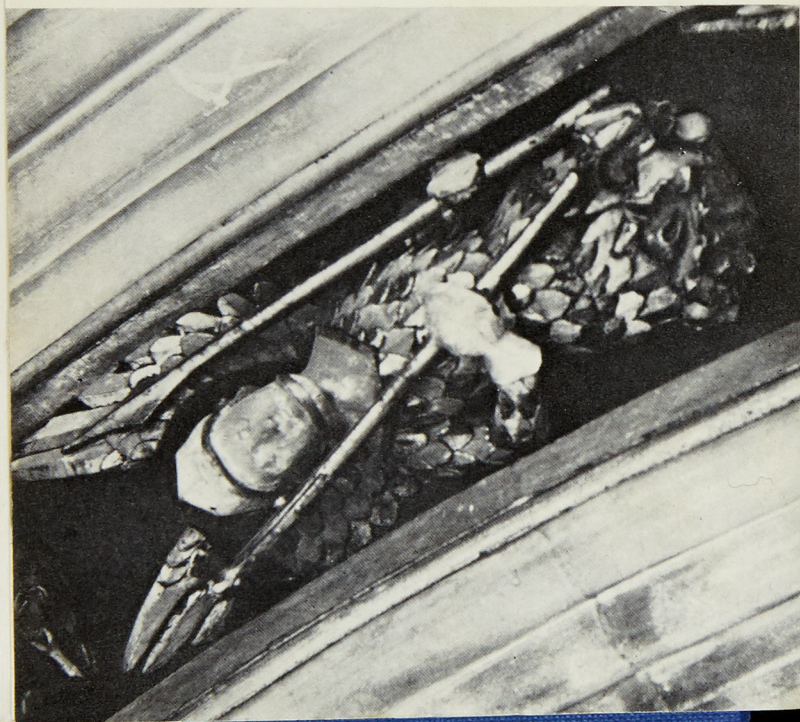


PLATE IV (5)

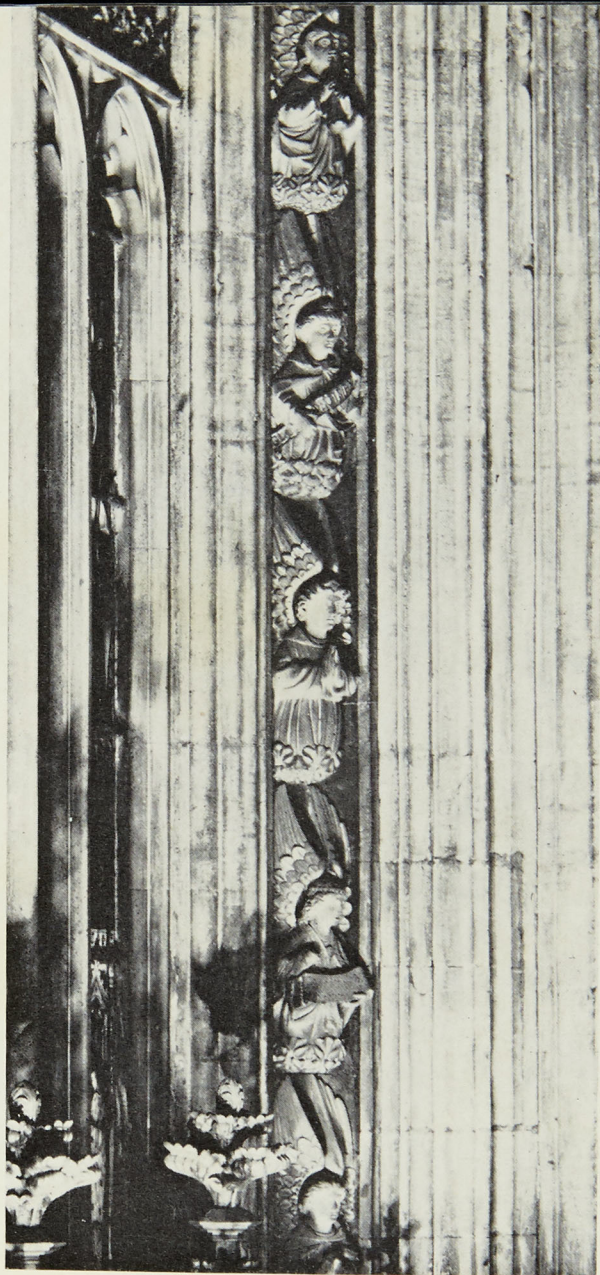


PLATE V
Sculptures of Angels surrounding the East window showing figures on South
side numbers 15 to 19.



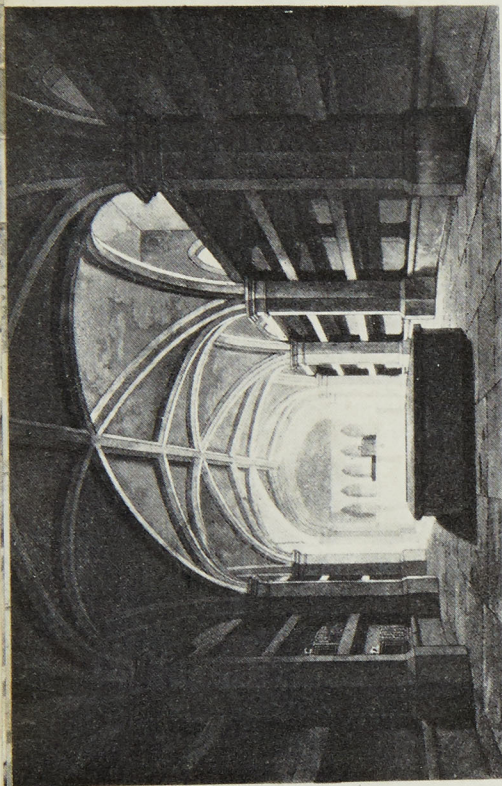
PLATE VI

The Tomb of Henry VI in the second bay of the Choir, with the Henry VI Pilgrims' Money-box.



PLATE VII

The Vault of Henry VIII and Charles I in the Choir.



THE ROYAL VAULT,

St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

As it appeared in 1845, after the death of Queen Victoria, and before the alterations made in 1846.

King George III.
Queen Charlotte.
Princess Amelia.
Prince Octavius.
Prince Alfred.

Duke of York.
Child (Duke of Clarence). Princess Elizabeth.
Princess Charlotte, Ursula, and Child.
Duchess of Brunswick.
Duke of Kent.

Child (Duke of Clarence). Princess Adelaide.
Princess Augusta.
King George IV.
King William IV.
Queen Adelaide.

provide confirmation that the panel was later used for some purpose other than that for which it was originally intended. The names certainly cannot be taken as providing any clear indication of the original function of the paintings on the obverse. On the other hand, the abbreviated and damaged inscription on the larger panel may contain some real clues to the name of the reading Bishop or to the name of a donor, but I have been able to make no sense of those portions which are still partially legible.⁸

If, as suggested by their format and condition, the images of the two Bishops did indeed originate from a British rood or choir screen between 1480 and 1530, the ambiguity of the stylistic evidence becomes more readily comprehensible; and a more precise dating becomes feasible. British painting during this period (unlike most of the architecture) displays a chameleon quality of change, falling under a variety of outside influences. Though none of the comparative examples cited above (or other extant examples) possess precisely the combination of stylistic features exhibited by the two panels, all the component styles in the Bishop paintings can be discerned in British art at this time.

The tall Bishops have been given an imposing, columnar grandeur. The deeply fluted, parallel folds of their copes, which emphasise their height, are unusual in either British or Netherlandish painting; but closely similar drapery patterns are extremely common in British tomb structure during the period in question. This sculptural effect is thoroughly consistent with the presentation of the Bishops as components in a sculpted screen. Sculptural examples also come to mind as probable precedents for the harsh characterisation of the face of the Bishop in the smaller panel. A portrait head in the Muniment Room at Westminster (probably an image of Abbot Islip) exhibits many similar features—the tight-lipped mouth, heavy jowls, carefully incised eyelids and prominently high cheek bones.⁹ As a whole, the hard severity of the painted figures shares more in common with British sculpture than with the refined naturalism of Netherlandish painting.

That is not to say, however, that Netherlandish characteristics are entirely absent in the St George's panels. The strange canon of proportion—the head-to-body ratio in each figure is almost 1 : 8—may well reflect the influence of Hugo van der Goes's towering figures, or even the extreme attenuations of Dirk Bout's more elegant style.¹⁰ Similarly, the facetting of the drapery folds in

⁸ From top to bottom: *ea*
 . . . *maim* (or . . . *naim*)
 . . . *t W Dn u (?) di . . . i (?) g . . . da.*

It is possible that the third line contains a reference to Saint W. (Wulfstan?). *Dn* may be *Dominus*.

⁹ See A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (1951, rev. ed.), pl. 457.

¹⁰ A useful survey of Netherlandish art at this time is provided by M. Whinney, *Early Flemish Painting* (1968). See particularly pls. 52 (a) and (b), which illustrate the altar wings (or organ shutters) by Hugo which were given to Trinity Church, Edinburgh, by Sir Edward Bonkil after 1480.

a few places and the clever internal variations of light and shade on the black-letter scrolls betray some knowledge of the Netherlandish style. All the modelling displays a control of tone which is exceptional in British painting at this time. The resulting plasticity is further enhanced by the scrolls, which describe the space around the larger figure in a quite advanced manner. The artist has also attempted to suggest the boney structure of the hands beneath the loosely wrinkled gloves of the reading Bishop, and he has delighted in the varied curves of the turning pages in the open book. All these relatively advanced ambitions point towards an artist who possessed direct experience of Netherlandish art. But, whatever the detailed references to Netherlandish style in the panels, their presentation remains distinctly British.

This combination of provincial format with hints of Netherlandish skill is precisely what would be expected in British art shortly before and after 1500. Following the marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou in 1445, British painting had been subject to a certain amount of influence from the French style, itself a variant of Netherlandish art. Later, as a result of Edward VI's exile in Bruges between 1470 and 1471, and Henry VII's ambitious patronage, the Netherlandish style became more widespread in Britain. By the early years of the sixteenth century, the numbers of continental artists practising permanently or temporarily in Britain had risen to such an extent that British painting was becoming a provincial adjunct to the Netherlandish style, albeit with occasional echoes of the Italian Renaissance. The important task of designing the windows for King's College Chapel during the second and third decades of the century was largely entrusted to a group of expatriate (and somewhat Italianate) Netherlanders rather than to native British artists.¹¹ The foreigners appear to have adapted their style to suit the demands of the British market, just as some of the British artists adopted certain features of the foreign style. In either case, the result was a hybrid style of varied quality and type. The Bishops appear to be extremely strong products of just such a hybrid union.

The relatively high level of formal achievement and the virile characterisation of the Bishops points to a late date in this period of outside influence. They represent a stage comparable to that of the figures in the West Window at St George's and to two examples already mentioned—"Master Humphrey's" paintings in the Islip Chapel at Westminster and the sculpted portrait, probably of Islip himself. As far as can be judged from the damaged Westminster frescoes, "Master Humphrey's" drapery style shares something of the deeply cut quality of the Bishop panels, and his sharpness of facial characterisation appears to be similarly developed. This stylistic evidence is not sufficient to allow the actual attribution of the Bishops to "Master Humphrey", but it does suggest a date between 1520 and 1530 for the panels.

I propose, therefore, the following hypotheses in answer to our

¹¹ See K. Harrison, *The Windows of King's College Chapel* (1952).

four historical questions: the paintings were probably executed in Britain in about the third decade of the sixteenth century by an artist who possessed some knowledge of Netherlandish style; and they probably formed part of a wooden screen. If these solutions are anywhere near the mark, the Urswick Chapel Bishops can be counted as unusually impressive representatives of that phase of British painting which was moving firmly and not incompetently in the direction of the Netherlands. The hard virility of the Bishop panels seems to point in a new direction for British monumental painting. But this apparently promising phase of religious art was cut short by the Reformation; and, in secular painting (portraits in particular), the field was shortly to be dominated by the very different style of the German artist, Hans Holbein, who first visited in Britain in 1526.

BURIAL PLACES OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHS

By MAURICE BOND

For most people the choice of a burial place has usually been quite simple; where one has lived one is buried. To many mediaeval kings, however, the matter was more complicated. In the first place, they seldom had a place of habitual residence; they were often on the move, staying one night at Windsor, a few days at Woodstock, a week at Gloucester, and so on across their territories, perhaps crossing the Channel to administer French dominions or to pursue a military campaign. Some kings had as many as thirty royal residences, and although the Palace of Westminster was the official headquarters of government and Court for practically all of the kings, it was merely one of many "homes". Therefore the choice of a royal burial place remained an open one.

A more positive factor, however, could serve to determine a burial place: the need felt by almost all mediaeval kings for the church's prayers after death. The best way to ensure this was to establish a community of clergy—monks, friars, secular canons—who would be under obligation to pray daily for the departed monarch. There, in the midst of a praying community, was the best burial place for a king, and his descendants. The daily assembly at the tomb would stimulate prayer, and the existence of what might be a large and splendid church, rich in relics, would bring travellers and pilgrims to add their own prayers. Mediaeval kings, therefore, in the interests of their own more rapid passage through purgatory, often founded, or re-founded, a religious community to serve as a burial place for themselves and their descendants.

The first of the post-Conquest kings, *William I* (d. 1087) exemplifies both the negative and the positive factors in the choice of a burial place. He died at Rouen in the midst of a campaign against France; his body was then taken to the collegiate church of St Stephen at Caen. This he had himself founded as an act of expiation for having married within the prohibited degrees of relationship, and there today a plain marble slab can be seen in the pavement before the high altar, but the grave beneath is empty—the royal tomb has twice been despoiled, by the Huguenots in 1562 and by the revolutionaries in 1793. The Conqueror's son, *William II* (d. 1100) did not found a church, and when he was killed by the arrow of a fellow huntsman in the New Forest he was buried in the nearest major church considered suitable—the monastic cathedral of Winchester, where many Saxon kings had been buried—only for

the central tower to collapse on his tomb in 1107, "a catastrophe which was traditionally interpreted as the protest of heaven against the interment of an inveterate enemy of religion and the Church in so sacred a place". Today there is a large black slab with a raised roof-like centre in the cathedral which has traditionally been considered to be William II's tomb, but some archaeologists now believe it to be the tomb of Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester (*d.* 1171), brother of King Stephen.

William II's brother, *Henry I* (*d.* 1135) was buried in the chancel of the Benedictine monastery of Reading, an abbey founded by him for the salvation of his father, William I's, soul. With the destruction of Reading Abbey at the Reformation, the tomb (which had been in the chancel of the Abbey church) disappeared, and there is no mark today amongst the gaunt ruins behind the Forbury Gardens at Reading of where Henry's bones lie. The last Norman king, *Stephen* (*d.* 1154) was laid to rest in the Cluniac monastery which he had himself founded at Faversham in Kent, and this too was destroyed at the Reformation. When excavations were undertaken in 1965, however, masses of masonry in the centre of what had been the choir of the Abbey church were identified as the bases of the monuments of Stephen and his Queen, Matilda.

What might have become a more continuing dynastic place of burial was chosen for the first of the Angevin dynasty, *Henry II* (*d.* 1189). He died at Chinon, fighting against rebels, amongst whom he had just learned his youngest son John was numbered. Henry's body was taken for burial to the great Angevin abbey of Fontevrault in the mid-Loire region. There his son, *Richard I* (*d.* 1199), after his death at the siege of Chalus, was also buried. Today the church of Fontevrault has been secularised and it stands empty of furniture. In the nave, however, are statues from the original Plantagenet tombs which were found in 1910, beneath ground, in what was clearly the Angevin royal vault. The largest is of Henry II—the most ancient effigy of an English king. There are also effigies of Queen Eleanor, of Richard I, and of Queen Isabella (*d.* 1246), who ended her days as a nun at Fontevrault. *John* (*d.* 1216) lost his Angevin territories and did not seek burial at Fontevrault. Although his reputation with churchmen was not unlike that of William II, John was given a particularly devout burial. He was buried in a monk's habit in the monastic cathedral of Worcester, between the shrines of Saint Wulfstan and Saint Oswald. His coffin was let into the floor and covered by a slab on which his effigy was placed. In the sixteenth century he was given a new tomb in the cathedral choir, but the former sculptured lid of the coffin was placed above it. John was buried at Worcester between two Saxon saints; he had lost his Angevin dominions, and he emphasised his Englishness. It remained for his son, *Henry III* (*d.* 1272), to create an English Fontevrault, a dynastic burial place which would also satisfy in the most emphatic way the traditional religious needs.

Henry III had rebuilt and in effect re-founded Westminster Abbey; situated next to the first Palace in the kingdom, the Abbey became

the country's greatest religious house, and in its centre Henry erected a new shrine for the Saxon king and saint—Edward the Confessor. Henry himself was buried in a superb tomb surmounted by a bronze effigy, but his heart was sent to rest with his Angevin ancestors in the abbey of Fontevrault; the King's body was a physical link between the first and short-lived dynastic burial place in France and the new one in England, for with Henry III's burial at Westminster in 1272 begins the long line of royal burials at the Abbey. This sequence, with some interruptions, ends only in 1810 with the emergence of Windsor as a third dynastic burial place. After 1272 the question to ask, in the relevant instances, is why a king was *not* buried at the Abbey; the presumption is that he normally would be laid there alongside Edward the Confessor.

Henry III's tomb in the Abbey typified many of the subsequent royal burials in that the burial was above ground within a chest-tomb or table-tomb, i.e. a sarcophagus with a table top. In this and some other instances the sarcophagus was raised by being placed on a substantial stone base, and an effigy of the king was placed on the table top. Two alternatives to this table-tomb type of burial occur both at Westminster and at Windsor. They are, firstly, burial below ground with an (empty) table-top tomb set above; and secondly, burial below ground in an excavated room or vault, usually with a commemorative floor slab in the pavement above.

Edward I after his death (1307) at Burgh-on-Sands near the Scottish border was also buried in the Confessor's chapel at the Abbey, in a large completely undecorated black Purbeck table-tomb without an effigy (the inscription on it is of mid-sixteenth century date). His son *Edward II* (d. 1327), murdered in Berkeley Castle, probably with the connivance of Queen Isabella, was denied burial in the Abbey although the monks begged for his body to be entrusted to them. Instead, Edward was buried in the Benedictine abbey of Gloucester (now the cathedral church), and over him was erected a many-pinnacled canopy and a notable alabaster effigy, certainly rivalling the work at the Abbey. The burial brought pilgrims and money to Gloucester, and so perhaps made possible there the development of the proto-Perpendicular style.

Edward III (d. 1377), continued the ring of royal tombs at the Abbey round the Confessor's shrine, there lying next to his Queen Philippa. Each has a table-tomb and is represented by an effigy, that of Philippa being "an evident attempt at a portrait", that of Edward made from a cast of his face after death—two of the earliest convincing likenesses to appear on royal tombs.

The dynastic sequence at the Abbey seemed likely again to be interrupted as a result of murder when *Richard II* (d. 1399), having been killed at Pontefract Castle, was buried at Kings Langley in Hertfordshire. His Queen, Anne of Bohemia, had already been buried in the Abbey, and eventually Henry V, perhaps as an act of expiation for the killing of Richard II, brought his body to the Abbey in 1413 and buried it in Queen Anne's tomb. Effigies of the royal couple showed—by Richard's own wish—the king holding the

queen's right hand in his own (but both arms were subsequently stolen).

The new Lancastrian dynasty at first seemed likely to break with the Plantagenet tradition of Abbey burial. *Henry IV* (d. 1413) and Queen Joan, were buried in Canterbury Cathedral—the king had become a close friend of Archbishop Arundel, he had frequently stayed at Canterbury, and the metropolitan cathedral and shrine of Thomas Becket was a not unsuitable setting for a new series of royal tombs. His son, *Henry V* (d. 1422), developed a great sense of devotion to Westminster Abbey, however, and sought burial there. As the ring of tombs round the Confessor's shrine was complete, an extension of the shrine chapel eastwards was built, and what is in effect the first complete royal chantry chapel was erected. The Abbey was granted the manors of Letcombe Regis in Berkshire and Offord Cluny in Huntingdonshire to provide income for an elaborate sequence of anniversary requiem services, gifts to the poor, and stipends to the monks. This conception of an independent royal chantry with its own individual and elaborate architectural structure marked a fresh development in English royal burials, to be magnificently developed by Edward IV at Windsor and Henry VII at Westminster, and was the logical outcome of burial in the midst of a religious community pledged to regular prayer for the soul.

Henry VI (d. 1471) intended burial in the Abbey also; the monks suggested that Henry V should be moved slightly to allow his son to join him, but Henry VI is said to have replied: "Nay, let hym alone, he lieth like a nobell prince, I wolle not trouble him", and directed the abbey mason to mark with his pick where his tomb should be. Twenty years later Henry was murdered in the Tower, and his successful rival, Edward IV, was no readier to allow burial in the Abbey than Edward III had been for his own murdered predecessor in 1327. Instead, Henry VI was buried with the minimum of circumstance at Chertsey Abbey. No one has yet suggested a reason for the choice of this Benedictine monastery, though perhaps Chertsey was sufficiently near London not to become a focus of regional and dynastic discontent, and yet in so quiet a neighbourhood that it might be little observed. In fact the choice was not acceptable to Richard III, and the later removal by him of Henry's body from Chertsey will be described below.

Edward IV (d. 1483), broke decisively with the tradition of Abbey burial when in his will, drawn up eight years before his death, he ordered that he should be buried in the church of the college of St George within his Castle of Windsor, "by us begoune of nowe to bee buylded". This new St George's was clearly intended to be a vast chantry chapel. Henry V had had for his burial a separate but small structure within the Abbey; Edward IV was to have a whole new church as his chantry, and his tomb was to be close to the high altar, with two altars for requiems, one at the head of the grave, the other in a chapel at an upper level. He was to be buried in the ground under a floor slab "to be laied and wrought with the figure of Deth, with scochyne of oure Armes and writings convenient

aboute the bordures of the same, remembering the day and yere of oure decease". The (empty) table-tomb was to stand in the chapel above and a silver gilt, or "at the lest coope and gilt" effigy of Edward was to rest on it.

The unhappy two years' reign of his successor, followed by a change of dynasty, seems to have prevented some of this plan being fulfilled. Until the Reformation there was an altar but no monument in the upper chantry. On the ground floor between the high altar and the choir aisle to the north there was Edward IV's grave—he was buried "lowe in the grownde", and in 1492 his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, was laid beside him. Above the grave was some type of tomb structure (though Sandford called it in the seventeenth century "a stone pedestal whereon the effigies or head of this king in Brass"), and over the tomb there hung the king's coat of mail and his banner.

Edward IV's tomb structure, mail and banner were all lost during the Civil War, "sold for a song to a Dutchman" according to a report, and one object only survives to the present day, the splendid iron grating with two gates, wrought by John Tresilian, which stood between the grave and the high altar. This iron-work, the most remarkable craftsmanship of its type in the country, remained until 1789 as the only memorial of the king. In that year, when St George's Chapel was being repaired, the king's coffin was discovered—its whereabouts had been forgotten. Henry Emlyn covered it with a black marble slab, and erected a wall monument to the king and his queen in the arch above the grave, totally filling in the bay of the choir arcade.

Edward IV's son, the boy-king *Edward V* (d. 1483), reigned only from 9 April to 18 June 1483, being imprisoned in the Tower of London and there, according to the generally received tradition, murdered, together with his brother and buried in an unknown place. Bones discovered in the White Tower in 1674 were considered to be those of the murdered princes and are now preserved in an urn standing in the north aisle of Henry VII's chapel, in Westminster Abbey. It is still however regarded by experts as "not proven" that the bones in the Abbey are in fact those of the princes.

Meanwhile Richard III had ordered the removal of *Henry VI*'s body from Chertsey Abbey to St George's Chapel. The reason for this was never stated, but by 1484 Henry VI was coming to be regarded as a saint. Prayers for his intercession had been followed by miraculous cures, and pilgrims may have been beginning to converge on Chertsey. By moving the body to Windsor Richard III made it more likely that the cult of Henry VI would be kept under control and that it would have fewer political repercussions. Incidentally, the removal would enable the Royal Chapel to benefit from the prestige and income resulting from the pilgrimages. Henry was buried in the second bay of the choir on the south side and, according to Ashmole, "a fair monument" was erected over the grave and heraldic painting was added to the arch. A sixteenth-century drawing in the British Museum shows this monument to have been

a low table-tomb, surmounted by an effigy of Henry VI, representing him bearded, as he was only during the last few months of his life. At his feet were the king's beasts—the antelope and the leopard, the supporters of his arms. Above the tomb were suspended his coat-armour, helm, gauntlets and scabbard. All this was seen in 1598 by Paul Hentzner, but when Speed wrote in 1611 he observed that "the Tombe is removed, and where the Corps is now laid is not vulgarly knowne". During the restoration of St George's Chapel in 1790, a lettered slab commemorating Henry VI was placed in the centre of the south choir aisle, but it was only in 1910 that the exact site was rediscovered. Investigation then revealed within the second arch on the south side of the choir, just below the floor, a brick grave containing a rectangular, leaden chest, 3 ft. 5 in. long and 15 in. wide. Within it was an oak box containing what were considered certainly to be the king's bones. A vault was made for them, and ultimately the 1790 lettered slab was removed from the aisle and placed where it now is, immediately above the burial (see plate VI).

Richard III (d. 1485) was killed on the field of Bosworth. His body was carried to nearby Leicester and buried in the Greyfriars Church there. Henry VII, with somewhat remarkable charity, had a monument erected in the church, with Richard's "picture in alabaster". When the abbey was dissolved at the Reformation the monument was destroyed, and in 1677 Sandford described Richard III's grave as being overgrown with weeds and nettles, and "the stone coffin, wherein his corpse lay, was made a drinking-trough for horses at a common inn."

With *Henry VII* (d. 1509) there opens the second great period in the history of Westminster Abbey as a royal burial place. The king was buried in the centre of his chantry chapel, Henry VII's Chapel, under "a stately monument of copper" by Pietro Torrigiano, the "rowdy youth who knocked Michelangelo's nose in". The burial was in a tomb chest with recumbent effigies of the king and his queen, surrounded by a massive bronze screen. Most subsequent royal burials for two centuries were in close proximity to this vast and impressive tomb, just as the mediaeval sequence of royal burials had encircled Edward the Confessor's shrine further west in the Abbey.

The later series of Abbey burials did not, however, start immediately. *Henry VIII* (d. 1547) early in his reign had chosen Windsor as his burial place. He publicly declared "that when the most High God called him out of this World, he would have his Corps interred at Wyndesor and no where else". This decision was announced at a Chapter of the Order of the Garter held at Greenwich in 1517, and it may well have been in part influenced by the connection the Order itself had with Windsor. The king made no effort to prepare a burial place at Windsor, until, after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey in 1529, he appropriated the old chapel to the east of St George's Chapel which Wolsey had designed to use as his own chantry and burial place. The partly constructed tomb which Wolsey had prepared for himself

Henry also appropriated and began to convert for his own use. Yet, before his death, the king changed his mind. In his Will, dated 30 November 1546, Henry expressly commanded that "our bodie be buried and entered in the quire of our College of Winsor, midway between the stalls and the high altar; and there to be made and set . . . an honourable tombe for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made therefore already, with a fair grate about it". Queen Jane Seymour was to be buried with him, and an altar erected at the head of the tomb (as had been done for Henry VII at the Abbey). The tombs of Henry VI and of Edward IV in St George's were also to be made "more princelie, in the same places where they now be". The Dean and Canons were endowed with lands to the yearly value of £600 p.a., to support requiem masses and quarterly obits for the king's soul and to enable the complement of Poor Knights to be brought up to thirteen. Henry VIII thus clearly revived Edward IV's aim to make Windsor the royal burial place, but whereas Edward IV's tomb was set well to one side of the high altar in a relatively inconspicuous position, Henry VIII's tomb was to dominate the whole choir. In fact, however, the tomb appropriated from Wolsey was never moved to the choir, and not even a grave-slab was laid down. A fresh tomb was considered in 1567, but nothing was done, and Henry VIII's grave was unmarked until 1837 when an engraved slab was placed to commemorate not only Henry VIII's burial but that of Jane Seymour, of Charles I, and of an un-named child of Queen Anne (see plate VII).

Dean Stanley remarked that *Edward VI* (d. 1553) would probably have wished to be buried in St George's, beside his father and mother. Instead, he was buried under the altar at the head of Henry VII's tomb in the Abbey. This was by command of his sister Mary, who had restored the Benedictine monks to the Abbey, and who obviously wished to do all that was possible to enhance the monastic tradition there as well as to revive the mediaeval custom of Abbey burial.

In the latter aim she succeeded and Abbey burials again became the norm. *Mary I* (d. 1558) is herself buried in the north aisle of Henry VII's Chapel, though "interred without any monument or remembrance". Her sister *Elizabeth I* (d. 1603) was buried at her side and in 1606 a white marble sarcophagus with a recumbent figure, designed by Maximilian Colt, was erected above the grave. A brief commemoration of Mary was then included in the inscription relating to Elizabeth.

James I (d. 1625) followed the new tradition and was also buried in Henry VII's Chapel, not in the aisle, but instead to one side of Henry VII's own tomb. Again, there was neither tomb nor slab, and the burial place was lost sight of until Dean Stanley rediscovered it in 1869 and a floor slab was set above it. It is hard to imagine why Charles I should not have erected a monument to his father, but the whole series of royal burials in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to have been attended by a curious lack of interest and care.

When *Charles I* was executed in 1649, a burial in the Abbey was

as much out of the question as it had been for the murdered Henry VI in 1471; a centre of popular veneration would have greatly embarrassed Cromwell's government. Instead, the king's body was taken to Windsor; this gave it royal burial, but in a castle completely controlled and garrisoned by the Commonwealth forces and unlikely to become a focus of cavalier devotion. The Governor of the Castle had a grave dug for the king between the altar and Edward IV's grave at the east end of the choir, but as the workmen dug, someone, tapping the ground with his stick, noticed that it appeared to sound somewhat hollow in the middle of the choir. The workmen pulled up the stones at this point, and discovered, according to the account of Thomas Fuller published in 1656, that "It was altogether darke (as made in the midst of the Quire) and an ordinary man could not stand therein without stooping, as not past five feet high. In the midst thereof lay a large leaden coffin (with the feet towards the East) and a far less on the left side thereof. On the other side was room, neither to spare nor to want, for any other coffin of a moderate proportion". The large coffin had a Garter pall over it, and it was correctly assumed that this was Henry VIII's coffin, with Jane Seymour's to the north and a space left for that of Katherine Parr (who survived Henry) on the south. This empty space immediately seemed the most suitable position for Charles I's burial, and the grave by Edward IV's tomb was filled in again.

No inscription marked Charles I's burial and, perhaps not surprisingly, it soon became a matter of opinion whether the king had in fact been buried in St George's Chapel. A story circulated after the Restoration that the body had been disinterred and re-buried at Tyburn, and, yet another, that the king had been buried in Whitehall, the coffin at Windsor simply being "filled with rubbish, or Brick bats". Clarendon tells that two of the surviving royalist lords, the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Lindsey, went to Windsor to identify the position of the grave. They had the ground opened at various points, but without success; they were quite unable to locate the vault.

Extraordinary as this seems, it may well have been the reason causing Charles II to abandon two successive plans for the re-burial of his father; firstly to re-bury him in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, secondly to destroy the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor and erect on its site a mausoleum containing a magnificent tomb. The second plan in 1678 had produced designs by Sir Christopher Wren and a sum of £70,000 voted by the Commons. Charles II received the £70,000 but said nothing further about re-burial "for the better discountenancing further enquiry", as Lord Clarendon remarked.

In the last year of Charles II's reign, in 1685, the entire floor of the choir of St George's was paved with its present black and white marble, but no further enquiry was made concerning Charles I's grave. It seems that the vault was located only during the reign of William III, when, on 21 September 1696, the coffin of an infant child of Queen Anne was placed within the vault, though again, very strangely, without any form of inscription to mark its place or

that of the neighbouring coffin.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century it had again become completely uncertain where Henry VIII, Charles I and other members of the royal line were in fact buried. The construction of an entirely new royal burial place for King George III and his family caused excavations to be made immediately to the east of the old royal vault, and by accident workmen broke into it. To make certain that this was indeed Charles I's vault, the Prince Regent ordered that the entire area should be opened up, and on 1 April 1813 he himself superintended the opening. Some small relics of the King, the neck-bone, the pointed beard and a tooth were taken away by Sir Henry Halford, and were only replaced in the tomb on 13 December 1888 under the conditions described in an article printed in the 1968 *Report*. The remarkable history of this vault ends with the placing above it in 1837 of a memorial slab by command of King William IV.

Charles II (d. 1685), was buried in the Abbey, again in the Henry VII Chapel, but whereas Elizabeth and Mary were in its north aisle Charles II was buried where Mary Queen of Scots already rested in the south aisle, there starting a new group of burials, subsequently to include *Mary II* (d. 1694), her husband *William III* (d. 1702) and *Queen Anne* (d. 1714) with her husband, Prince George of Denmark (d. 1708). These five members of the royal line were all buried in the vault below the aisle, and no monuments were erected, although the period was one when a lavish monument was a normal concomitant to the burial of the great.

James II fled from England in 1688, and died in 1701. He was buried in the English Benedictine Church of St Edmund in Paris, where miraculous cures were reported to have been performed through his intercession. This burial was "provisional"—until the body could be removed to Westminster Abbey. Some parts of his body were buried respectively in the parish church of St Germain-en-Laye, the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot, the Scots College at Paris, and the English college at St Omer. In 1789 the coffin at St Edmund's was broke up for its lead, and the contents thrown away. The other remains all disappeared, except that the heart at St Germain's, rediscovered in 1824, was there re-buried, by order of George IV, and an inscription placed over it.

The continuity of royal burial in England was again broken when the first of the Hanoverian dynasty, *George I* (d. 1727) was buried in the royal burial vaults in the palace at Hanover, but *George II* (d. 1760) and his Queen Caroline, "genuine personages of English history" as Stanley described them, returned to the Abbey and were buried in the vault in the centre of Henry VII's Chapel under simply inscribed gravestones, the last of the sequence of Abbey burials which had opened with that of Henry III in 1272.

Why did *George III* (d. 1820) then desert the Abbey? Sir Owen Morshead has pointed out that as early as 1794 George III had realised that there was only room for one more coffin in the royal burial place in Westminster Abbey—the king had already buried

there his two youngest children, Alfred and Octavius, one each side of George II and Queen Caroline, and the number of his remaining family made it quite certain that the vault under Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster was quite inadequate. George III could yet have prepared a new centre for royal burial at the Abbey; but by 1794 his interests were becoming centred on Windsor Castle. In 1778 he had taken up residence at Windsor—the first monarch to do so since Queen Anne—and Queen's Lodge was fitted up to be what Queen Charlotte called "Our own habitation . . . just the thing for us". Between 1782 and 1792 the King supervised elaborate restoration work in St George's Chapel; and then in the 1790s began to consider major alterations in the Upper Ward. George III became "the squire of Windsor", a local citizen. Perhaps for the first time in English history the sovereign had a permanent home. What more natural than that the King, like most of his subjects, should wish to be buried where he lived?

The King's choice for a new dynastic burial centre fell not on St George's Chapel but on the adjacent chapel (now the Albert Memorial Chapel), which had stood empty and neglected since the end of Henry VIII's reign. The chapel itself was restored between 1800 and 1804 with the purpose of making it a Chapter house for the Knights of the Garter, and between 1804 and 1810 a vault was constructed beneath it, excavated in the solid chalk (see plate VIII). It consists of a single large chamber, lined with masonry and covered by a flattened stone vault. This vault is carried by a row of four octagonal pillars down each side. Recesses are filled with shelves to contain 48 coffins; they are protected by light gratings of open ironwork added in 1900. The whole vault is an exact copy of the vault at Westminster Abbey. Royal funeral services take place in St George's, the coffins being lowered beneath the ground in front of the high altar of St George's, and then placed in the royal vault. In this burial place now rest *George III* and *Queen Caroline*, *George IV* (d. 1830), *William IV* (d. 1837), and *Queen Adelaide*, together with the *Duke of Kent* (father of *Queen Victoria*), the *Duke of York*, the princes *Octavius* and *Alfred* (brought from the Abbey), *Princess Charlotte of Wales* (daughter of *George IV*), the blind King *George V* of *Hanover* and his sister, *Princess Frederica* (see plate VIII).

Queen Victoria (d. 1901), however, abandoned the whole tradition of burial in a church. As the writer of the official guide to Frogmore has pointed out, the Queen on a visit to Claremont in 1843 had seen and admired a small mausoleum in the grounds of Claremont. This had been erected by King *Leopold of the Belgians* to the memory of his wife, *Princess Charlotte* (who had been buried in the royal vault at Windsor in 1817). The next year *Prince Albert* helped to design a mausoleum for his father in *Coburg*, and when the Queen's mother, the *Duchess of Kent*, died in 1861, a similar mausoleum was almost ready in the grounds of *Frogmore House* in the private park at Windsor. When the *Prince Consort* died in the same year, the Queen decided to build a second mausoleum for him and herself at *Frogmore*. It was completed in 1868, and the *Prince's* remains

were placed in a granite sarcophagus in the centre of the Mausoleum, where they were joined by those of the Queen in 1901. Recumbent marble effigies of the Queen and the Prince Consort were placed above the sarcophagus.

In the twentieth century royal burials returned to mediaeval tradition. *Edward VII* (d. 1910), was buried, together with Queen Alexandra, on the south side of the high altar of St George's Chapel, in a position exactly corresponding to that of Edward IV on the north side. The burials are above ground within two marble sarcophagi, on which carved effigies have been placed. *King George V* (d. 1936) and Queen Mary, rest within similar tombs on the north side of the Nave under the second bay of the arcade, with effigies in *bianca del mare* stone. For the burial of *King George VI* (d. 1952), the most complete of the ancient traditions was followed. In 1969 a separate side-chapel was constructed adjacent to the north choir aisle. Within this chapel the King was buried beneath an incised slab. An altar stands by the grave and the entire chapel is protected by an iron wrought screen and gates reminiscent in design and craftsmanship of that made by John Tresilian for Edward IV's grave five centuries earlier.

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The best general account of English royal burials is by A. P. Stanley in *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 2nd ed. (1868). For Windsor burials, see W. St J. Hope, *Windsor Castle* (1913); *The Monuments of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, ed., S. M. Bond (1958); and the official Guide, *The Royal Mausoleum, Frogmore*, 2nd ed. (1968). Other tombs and burials are noted by N. Pevsner in the relevant county volumes in his Penguin "Buildings of England" series. The individual royal biographies in the *Dictionary of National Biography* provide narratives of varying degrees of detail.

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FORM OF BEQUEST

I BEQUEATH a legacy of £.....to the Society of the Friends of St George's and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter, St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and I DECLARE that the receipt of the Treasurer for the time being of the said Society shall be a good and sufficient discharge to my Executors in respect of such legacy.

LIST OF WORK DONE

either entirely by, or with the assistance of,
The Society of the Friends and Descendants

Installation of a pipeless heating system.
Mediaeval paintings in Oxenbridge and Hastings Chapels restored.
Tapestry restored and placed in glass frame.
Restoration of painted panels of the "Four Kings".
Installation of amplifying system.
Candles for electric lighting in choir.
Reparation work in Dean's Cloister.
Painting of organ pipes.
Restoration of Hastings and Oxenbridge Chapels.
Work on roof and organ.
Micro-filming of documents.
Treatment of stonework in Rutland Chapel.
Restoration of George III Shield over Cloister door.
Heating and reorganisation of Chapter Library.
Book of Hours purchased.
Repair of the John Davis Clock in the Curfew Tower.
Restoration of the Beaufort Chapel.
Purchase of Statue for Beaufort Chapel.
Restoration of FitzWilliams Plate in Bray Chapel.
Restoration of the Porch of Honour.
Colouring and gilding of East Door.
Restoration of East wall and oriel in Dean's Cloister.
Purchase of Norfolk stallplate.
New altar rails and altar frontal.
New N.W. Pier in the Dean's Cloister.
Restoration of the Oliver King Chapel.
New doors at North-East Entrance to Chapel.
Addition of iron gates to North-East Entrance to Chapel.
Installation of an air conditioning system in the Chapter Library.
Cleaning walls of Dean's Cloister.
Contribution to restoration of Horseshoe Cloister.
Provision of Altar Frontal, Cope, Music Stand.
The Organ.
Cleaning and treating 14th century tiles in Vestry and Aerary.
New Carpeting for Military Knights' Stalls.
Cleaning Galilee Porch.
Provision of Roundels in the Horseshoe Cloister and in Deanery Courtyard.
Cleaning and repairing Mortlake tapestry.
Work on Schorn Tower Record Room.
Provision of Notices in the Chapel.
Provision of stone mason (for five years, 1966-1971).
Furnishing of Edward IV Chantry.
Provision of a carpet in Choir Stalls.
Audio Equipment.
Re-wiring of the Chapel.
Purchase of Cope.
Rutland Chapel altar table.
Provision of kneelers; and carpet in the Choir Stalls.
A new dais for the Nave Altar.
A list of Sovereigns and Deans on a wooden panel in the North Choir Ais

THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ST GEORGE'S

with which is amalgamated

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER

CAPITAL FUND

For the year ended 30th September, 1970

Year ended 30th September 1969	£		£	£
1,550		Total of Accumulated Fund at 30th September, 1969		17,536
1,438		Add: Life Membership Fees and Donations Received	1,404	
30		Gifts (10% of Annual Total)		
		Profit on Sale of "The Romance of St George's Chapel":		
	818	Sales	846	
134	684	Less Printing Costs	586	260
		Net Increase in Value of Investments	1,113	
	1,602		2,777	
		2,515 Less Decrease in value of Investments		
101		Loss on Sale of Investments		2,777
1,014	2,616	Total of Accumulated Fund at 30th September, 1970		£20,313

At 30th September, 1970, the Capital Fund consisted of:

1,555	Quoted Investments (fixed interest) at Market Value	14,669
727	Balance with Barclays Bank Limited—Deposit Account	4,976
254	Unsold Copies (at Cost)—"The Romance of St George's Chapel"	668
1,536		£20,313

At 30th September, 1970, the General Fund consisted of:

Year ended 30th September 1969	£		£	s	£
1,000		Quoted Investments, etc., at Market Value:			
511		Deposits with Local Authorities			15,000
796		Fixed Interest Stocks			3,369
		Ordinary Stocks and Shares			8,382
1,307					26,751
		Balances with Barclays Bank Limited			
2,531		Deposit Account	5,086		
817		Current Account	206		
	3,348		5,292		
358	10	Cash in Hand	11		5 303
		Stocks at Cost:			
	293	Christmas Cards	250		
418	86	Leaflets	39		
	39	Badges	26		315
		Amounts Owing to the Society for:			
542	431	Income Tax deducted from Dividends and Covenants	622		
	111	Sales of Christmas Cards	9		631
625					33,000
24		Less Sundry Creditors			
601					£33,000

GENERAL FUND

For the year ended 30th September, 1970

Year ended
30th September
1969

£	£		£
1,820		Income:	
284		Subscriptions	
		Add Income Tax Recoverable in respect of Covenanted Subscriptions ...	
2,104			
2,696		Dividends, Interest and Income Tax Recovered	
270		Gifts (90% of Annual Total)	
—		Profit on Sale of Investments	
5,070			
	430	Office and Similar Expenditure:	
	136	Assistant Secretary and Other Salaries	435
	97	Miscellaneous Expenses and Clerical Assistance	281
	794	Postages and Telephone, etc.	99
	32	Printing and Stationery	960
		Badges (net Cost)	78
1,489			1,853
		Deduct: Net Surplus on Sale of:	
	£		£
	277	Christmas Cards	49
	24	Less Corporation Tax	36
	253		13
804	685	432 Publications	448
			461
4,266		Net Increase (decrease 1969) in Value of Investments	
2,196			
2,070		Total of Accumulated Fund at 30th September, 1969	
34,850			
		Restoration and Similar Expenditure:	
		Contribution towards Cost of Stone Mason	1,250
		Re-Wiring	1,056
		Kneelers	201
		Nave Lighting	135
		Rutland Chapel	48
		Restoration of Chapel fabric	472
5,319		Chapel furnishings and fittings	536
£31,601		Total of Accumulated Fund at 30th September, 1970	

HONORARY AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have examined the books and records of the Society and in my opinion they have been properly kept. I have prepared the Accounts of the Capital Fund and of the General Fund for the year ended 30th September, 1970, from the books, etc., and certify that they are in accordance therewith.

EACOTT STANDING & CO.,
8 Sheet Street,
Windsor, Berks.
19th October, 1970.

J. D. SPOFFORTH,
Chartered Accountant,
Honorary Auditor.

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General Editor: Maurice F. Bond, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

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THE BANNERS OF THE KNIGHTS AND LADIES OF THE GARTER

The Banners hang in the Choir in the following order:

HIGH ALTAR

North Side

The Lord Middleton
The Viscount De L'Isle, V.C.
The Viscount Slim
The Duke of Northumberland
The Lord Casey
The Lord Ashburton

—

The Duke of Portland
The Marquess of Salisbury
The Lord Wakehurst

—

—

—

Olaf V, King of Norway
Baudouin, King of the Belgians
Gustav VI, Adolf, King
of Sweden
Juliana, Queen of the Netherlands

South Side

The Duke of Wellington
The Duke of Norfolk
The Earl of Arundel
The Viscount Portlough
Sir Gerald Temple
The Viscount Amherst

The Viscount Brookeborough
The Viscount Cobham
The Viscount Montgomery
The Earl Mountbatten
The Duke of Beaufort

—

—

—

Paul, Prince of Yugoslavia
Leopold, ex-King of the Belgians
Haile Selassie I, Emperor
of Ethiopia
Frederick IX, King of Denmark

The Duke of Windsor
The Queen Mother
H.R.H. The Prince of Wales

H.M. The Queen
The Duke of Edinburgh

SCREEN

Note that the banners of some Knights have not yet been hung

THE SOCIETY OF
THE FRIENDS OF ST GEORGE'S
and
DESCENDANTS OF
THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER

Application for Membership

I wish to join as *"Descendant" and to pay as
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*A Donation for Life Membership (not less than £15.75) the
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*An Annual Subscription (not less than One Pound)
the sum of £

I enclose *Bank Order, *Cheque, *Postal Order, *Cash, for the
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**Cross out whichever does not apply.*

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Date.....

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THE CURFEW TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE.

For Bank Order see overleaf.

The use of this order will save both yourself and the Society trouble and expense

BANK ORDER

(Kindly return to the Hon. Secretary, The Curfew Tower, Windsor Castle)

To Bank

.....Branch

Please pay to Barclays Bank Limited, Windsor, for the credit of the account of the Society of the Friends of St George's and Descendants of the Knights of the Garter the sum of pounds now and every year on the same day until further notice.

Signature

The Society of the Friends of St George's

with which is amalgamated

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See overleaf

COVENANT

I,
of
HEREBY COVENANT with the Friends of St George's, Windsor Castle, that for seven years,
or during my lifetime, whichever is the shorter period, I will pay to the funds of the said Society for
the general use of that Society, such yearly sum as, after deduction of Income Tax at the rate for the
time being in force, will leave the net yearly sum of *£
such sum to be paid annually, the first payment to be made on the (a).....day
of..... 19.....

DATED THIS (b)..... day of..... 19.....
Note: It is important that if possible date (a) should be at least one day LATER than date (b)
otherwise the Covenant cannot take effect the first year.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED by the above named

..... (Signature)

IN THE PRESENCE OF

Name

Address

Occupation

* Insert the amount of subscription actually paid.