ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL
WINDSOR CASTLE
1348-1416
ALREADY PUBLISHED


ORGANISTS AND MASTERS OF THE CHORISTERS OF ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL.

THE PLATE OF ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE.
By E. Alfred Jones, M.A., F.S.A.

THE MILITARY KNIGHTS OF WINDSOR, 1352–1944.

THE MINOR CANONS OF ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL.

ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, 1348–1416.
A Study in early Collegiate administration.
By A. K. B. Roberts, B.A., Ph.D.

IN COURSE OF PREPARATION

THE DEANS AND CANONS OF ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL.
By the Rev. Canon S. L. Ollard, Litt.D., F.S.A.

THE BAPTISM, MARRIAGE AND BURIAL REGISTERS.

INVENTORIES OF ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1384–1667.
By M. F. Bond, M.A.
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL
WINDSOR CASTLE
1348-1416
A Study in early Collegiate Administration

By
A. K. B. ROBERTS, Ph.D.

With a Foreword by
G. M. TREVELYAN

Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED FOR
THE DEAN AND CANONS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL
IN WINDSOR CASTLE
BY
OXLEY AND SON (WINDSOR) LTD.
4 HIGH STREET
WINDSOR
THE PUBLICATION OF THIS BOOK HAS BEEN FACILITATED BY A FUND ESTABLISHED BY A FRIEND IN MEMORY OF E. ALFRED JONES, M.A., F.S.A. AUTHOR OF "THE PLATE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL" A MAN SLENDER IN MEANS, RICH IN LEARNING SINCERE AND GENEROUS IN ITS APPLICATION
FOREWORD

By G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

This learned volume appears at an appropriate time when the Order of the Garter has been put upon a newly-defined constitutional position in relation to the Crown and has been rendered even more illustrious than in the past by the creation of so many famous men as Knights.

Miss Roberts' work on the records of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, from 1348-1416, so closely associated with Royalty and with the Order of the Garter, is a model of scholarly work by the best modern standards. It is a contribution to our intimate knowledge of the actual working of institutions, endowments, administration and daily life in the period of Chaucer, which will be most welcome to mediaevalists. Particularly interesting, I think, are the pages (153-206) dealing with the Estates at Farm and still more the Estates under the direct management of the Canons and their servants, during the period when the old manorial system based on villeinage was gradually decomposing.

In the first page of her introduction Dr. Roberts points out that St. George's Chapel “is the only collegiate church in England which has maintained a continuous existence from a mediaeval foundation to the present day”, and that “its constitution provided Henry VIII with a model for the cathedrals of the new foundation”. For this reason, as well as for its close connexion with all our reigning Kings and Queens and with the Order of the Garter down the ages, St. George's Chapel holds a unique place in our national history. Here at last it has obtained a full and worthy record.
FOREWORD

By C. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

Master of Trinity College, Cambridge

This learned volume appears at an opportune time when the need of the Church has been made palpable by the great financial crisis of our time. The Bishop of London has made known to the nation at large the crisis of the Church and has shown that it is not a question of mere money but of principles of the highest importance. It is a matter of grave concern to all who are interested in the welfare of the Church and in the future of the nation. The volume under review is the latest expression of the ideas of the Church and its leaders, and it is a matter of great satisfaction that these ideas are expressed in such a clear and concise manner.

In the foreword of this introduction, Dr. Robertson points out that the work of the Church is not confined to the development of institutions, but that it is concerned with the welfare of the whole nation. He emphasizes the importance of the Church in the life of the nation, and he stresses the need for the Church to be a powerful force in the life of the nation. He also points out the importance of the Church in the moral and spiritual life of the nation, and he stresses the need for the Church to be a source of strength and support in the face of adversity.

The volume under review is a valuable contribution to the study of the Church and its role in the life of the nation. It is a work that will be of great value to all who are interested in the welfare of the Church and in the future of the nation. It is a work that will be read with profit and enlightenment.
PREFACE

For the opportunity of writing this book I am indebted to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, who allowed me access to their archives, and to Dr. Ollard, editor of this series, under whose roof I read the records and whose encouragement and interest have been invaluable from the inception of this work to its publication. I should like also to express my thanks to the Chapter Clerk of Windsor, Mr. Lewis Stainton, M.V.O., custodian of the archives, for his help and kindness.

To Dr. Hilda Johnstone, who inspired this book, I am most deeply indebted. My warm gratitude is due to her both for suggesting the subject of my research and guiding its progress, and because I was able to turn to her continually for friendly advice, encouragement and kind correction.

My very deep gratitude is due to Dr. Trevelyan for his interest and for his foreword.

In the preparation of the book for publication I owe much to Dr. Ollard, Dr. E. H. Fellowes and Sir Owen Morshead, who read the proofs and made many valuable suggestions. To Messrs. Oxley & Son I am sincerely grateful, both for their generosity in publishing this volume and for their patience and courtesy. My thanks are also due to Miss R. Bennett, of University College, Leicester, for help with the index.

In this book, wherever identification has been possible, the modern equivalents of names of places and of persons have been used.

A. K. B. ROBERTS.

April 1947.
PREFACE

For the opportunity of writing this book I am indebted to the Dean and Chapter of Minster, who allowed me to the Dean and Chapter of Minster who allowed me access to their archives and to the library of the college under whose care I keep these records and mss. In the absence of the editor, who was kind enough to recommend to me the position of this work to its completion, I should like to express my gratitude to the Dean of Minster, Mr. J. A. S. Kitson, M.O. M.S., for the assistance he afforded me during the preparation of this work for publication. I am indebted to Mr. H. H. Gell, Esq., for his valuable assistance in preparing the text, and to Mr. A. G. Rowe, for his kind permission to publish these records. Mr. J. A. S. Kitson, M.O. M.S., is to be thanked for his assistance in the preparation of the catalogue of the manuscript volumes and for his kind permission to publish these records, and Mr. A. G. Rowe, for his kind permission to publish these records.

A. H. ROBERTS

[Year, 1907]
CONTENTS

FOREWORD by G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge  v

INTRODUCTION xiii

I. CENTRAL ORGANIZATION:

1. THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE OF WINDSOR, ITS REVENUES AND PRIVILEGES:
   A. The Foundation:
      (a) The Dedication, (b) The Establishment, (c) Connexion with the Order of the Garter  1
   B. The Revenues:
      (a) Churches, (b) Manors, (c) Obit Endowments and other Properties in Windsor, (d) Obit Endowments outside Windsor, (e) Revenues in Kind, (f) Money Grants and Offerings  14
   C. Privileges and Exemptions:
      (a) Temporal, (b) Ecclesiastical  47

2. CENTRAL OFFICIALS:
   A. The three Chief Officials:
      (a) Treasurer, (b) Steward, (c) Precentor  50
   B. Minor Officials:
      (a) Master of the Choristers, (b) Keeper of the Clock, (c) Succentor, (d) Chapter Clerk, (e) Organist  99

3. THE CHAPTER AND ITS PERSONNEL:
   A. Emoluments:
      Comparison with the Newarke College: Income, Dean’s Salary, Prebends, Quotidians, Dividend, Chapel Offerings, Houses, Obit Distributions  107
   B. Personnel:
      (a) Wardens, (b) Some Canons  114
   C. Chapter Activity:
      (a) Loans and the Reserve Fund, (b) Farming of Properties, (c) Legal Affairs, (d) Visitations  139
II. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION:

1. MANAGEMENT OF THE ESTATES:
   A. Estates at Farm:
      (a) Churches, (b) Manors
   B. Estates under Direct Management:
      (a) Before 1361 (Wraysbury, Datchet, Deddington, Iver, Craswell), (b) After 1361 (Iver and Craswell)

2. LOCAL OFFICIALS:
   A. Visiting Officials:
      (a) Steward, (b) Steward of the Courts, (c) Clerk of the Courts and Accounts
   B. Manorial Officials:
      (a) Bailiff, Sergeant and Reeve, (b) Beadle and Collectors of Rent

III. METHODS OF ACCOUNT:
   1. APPARATUS OF ACCOUNT:
      A. The Aerary
      B. Rolls of Treasurer and Steward
   2. AUDIT:
      A. Local Accounts
      B. Central Accounts

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

APPENDIXES:
   I. The Value at Farm of Churches Appropriated to the College of Windsor
   II. Chief Central Officials of the College of Windsor between 1361 and 1416
   III. Obits celebrated in St. George's Chapel, 1361-1416
   IV. Income and Expenditure of St. George's Chapel in Eighteen Years between 1362 and 1416

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX
ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Register of attendance in St. George's Chapel in December 1384 (Windsor Records, V.B.1, f.2).  
   *Facing p. 57*

2. Bill for making books for St. George's Chapel, 1487-89 (Windsor Records, xv.3.3).  
   *Facing p. 87*

3. Account of Robert Whitchurch, Succentor of St. George's Chapel, 19 August 1376—1 March 1377 (Windsor Records, xv.56.3).  
   *Facing p. 101*
II. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

A. Management of the Estates

1. Estates at Farm
   (a) Churches
   (b) Manors

2. Estates under Direct Management
   (a) Before 1371 (Wreayebury, Detchel, Dudleyton, Iver, Cranwell)
   (b) After 1361 (Leyce and Cranwell)

B. Local Officials

1. E. Vising Officials
   (a) Steward
   (b) Recorder
   (c) Clerk of the Courts

2. F. Management
   (a) Bailiff, Serjeant and Reeve
   (b) Beadle and Squire

III. METHODS OF ACCOUNT

A. Accounts of Expenses

1. The Royal Energy
   (a) Expenditure on the College
   (b) Royal Treasurers and Stewards

2. Accounts of Income
   (a) Income from Church
   (b) Social and Religious Activities

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

APPENDICES:

1. The Value at Farm of Churches Appropriated to the College of Windsor

2. Chief Central Officials of the College of Windsor between 1291 and 1418

3. Obit of St. George’s Chapel 1391-1418

4. Income and Expenditure of St. George’s Chapel in Eighteen Years between 1361 and 1419

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX
INTRODUCTION

The royal chapel of St. George in Windsor Castle has many claims to fame. Its close association with the sovereigns of England and the Order of the Garter gives it a peculiar interest. Its founder, Edward III, excites the imagination as one of the most brilliant and gallant of mediaeval kings; the occasion of its foundation was the close of a glorious campaign. When, after the triumphs of Crécy, Edward III instituted the Most Noble Order of the Garter, to commemorate his military success and to honour those knights who had shared in it, he chose as the centre of the Order the ancient chapel in Windsor Castle, where he had been baptised. The Order was created at an heroic time, when the English court was most splendid and chivalry at its brightest: the Garter chapel shared in the splendour, dedicated anew to St. George and sumptuously decorated as befitted its new dignity. To attend upon the service of God in the chapel Edward III founded the college of St. George, as part of the Order of the Garter. The college was to consist of as many priests (canons and vicars) and as many poor knights as there were Knights-Companion of the Garter: daily prayers were to be offered for the Order in the chapel, where the poor knights were to represent the Knights-Companion at the services.

To-day the Order of the Garter is the most ancient and distinguished of all existing Orders of knighthood. St. George’s Chapel has a parallel claim to distinction and antiquity, for it is the only collegiate church in England which has maintained a continuous existence from a mediaeval foundation to the present day. Not only did it survive the Reformation, but its constitution provided Henry VIII with a model for the cathedrals of the new foundation. In imposing his statutes upon the new and re-founded cathedrals Henry VIII was following the precedent of founders of such colleges as that of St. George at Windsor; but also in the composition of the new chapters, small bodies of royal appointees, and in details of administration he followed the pattern set by the statutes of St. George’s Chapel, and its sister foundation of St. Stephen at Westminster.¹

¹ This has been revealed by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson’s study of the Henrician Statutes for the new foundations (The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham (Surtees Society, 1929), Introduction, p. xxxix).
The mediaeval St. George's Chapel was widely privileged both by pope and king. Its canonries were used by the king to reward those who had some claim upon his bounty, often in consideration of their services in administrative offices of the crown. Thus a study of administrative methods used at Windsor can claim to be of use and interest, since it shows the organization of a college of secular canons with the additional privileges of a royal free chapel, and the management of its properties under the direction of a chapter many of whose members were experienced administrators, trained in the royal service. Such a survey should also be valuable for comparison with methods used elsewhere, particularly on monastic and lay estates which have recently been studied, and with the ideal system of estate management as set out in contemporary treatises. For a study of administration at St. George's Chapel in its early years there is interesting material available which has hitherto been utilized at all only to a limited extent and not previously for this purpose.

I. MATERIAL

Since St. George's was a royal free chapel, under the direct control of the crown, its affairs have left their trace at many points upon the central records of the crown in the various departments of government. By far the most important source of information, however, must of course be the documents accumulated by the college itself in the transaction of its own business. These were, and are, in its own custody, and although members of the college and other investigators in close touch could and did in more than one century use these archives, students of history in general could not be aware of their scope and nature without bibliographical guidance. The report made by the late Dr. R. L. Poole for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1914 was a first step in this direction. This mentions a catalogue, at that time still in manu-

1 See R. A. L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory: a study in monastic administration (1943); F. M. Page, The Estates of Crowland Abbey (1934); N. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration (1937).
2 Such as Walter of Henley's Husbandry, Grossetête's Les Reues Seynt Robert, and the anonymous Seneschaucie and Hôsebonderie, all dating from the middle of the thirteenth century. Printed by E. Lamond, Walter of Henley (1890).
3 The classes of state records which have been found useful are detailed in the bibliography on p. 247.
4 With the exception of some manuscripts, originally lent by the dean and canons of Windsor to Elias Ashmole and bequeathed by him to the University of Oxford at his death in 1692, which remain in the Bodleian Library. A list of such documents relevant to this study may be found in the bibliography on p. 247.
5 Various Collections, VII, 10-43.
The catalogue was the life-work of Dr. J. N. Dalton, canon of Windsor 1885-1931, who assisted the late Mr. Francis Bickley, Assistant-Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, in classifying and numbering the archives. Before Dr. Dalton’s death in 1931 the catalogue was printed, although incomplete. It has since been completed by Mr. Lewis Stainton, the chapter clerk of Windsor, who has also made an index, but these additions are as yet unprinted. The printed portion of the catalogue has been circulated privately. Its descriptions convey a promise of the valuable and interesting matter to be found in this collection. The present study is the result of researches into these archives made possible by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor; a search which has revealed some of the richness of the content of the documents.

The main classes of documents utilized are as follows:

1. Cartularies

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

Among documents copied into this book were many concerning the foundation and endowment of the college, of which in some cases the originals no longer exist, the college statutes (1352), and a most interesting collection of tables used by the treasurer in accounting. Ten of the folios have been lost and were replaced with blank leaves of a thicker parchment, on which no doubt the documents formerly entered there were to have been recopied. The table of contents gives references to forty such documents; had they been copied again into this book some gaps in our information might have been filled, notably concerning properties in Windsor.

1 Publication of the complete catalogue is now under way. It is to include an introduction by Dr. S. L. Ollard.
2 Windsor Records (henceforth referred to as W.R.), IV. B.1.
3 For this date I am indebted to Dr. Ollard, whose Fasti of the canons of Windsor (shortly to be published in this series) has superseded older lists (see below for reference, p. 125, n. 7). Arundel was previously supposed to have been appointed warden in 1417.
4 Ff. 2-41. Ff. 154-6. F. 159v.
5 Ff. 74-84.
6 See below, p. 32.
A second cartulary, called the Denton Black Book, was compiled in 1517 at the instance of James Denton, then steward of the college. Of its contents, most belong to a period later than that studied here. It does, however, include a list of benefactions made to the college by the original Knights-Companion of the Garter.

2. Treasurers' Rolls

Of these thirty survive for the period concerned, the earliest being of the year 1361-62 and the latest of 1415-16; twenty-seven are original rolls and three are later summarized copies.

The financial year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, but only eighteen of the twenty-seven original rolls show the account of a complete financial year, and of these two are of the same year, 1407-08, and another two of 1415-16. Four other rolls between them cover two more whole years, and five account for parts of four other years. Thus full accounts exist for eighteen complete years and parts of four other years of the period of sixty-eight years studied. These thus represent roughly one-third of the original complete series of rolls, in which each treasurer, annually elected, set out in detail under headings the revenues received and the payments made by himself and other officials during his period of office. The rolls consist of from one to five membranes, some written on both sides, sewn together top to bottom. In four rolls, a subsidiary account has been attached to the foot, by stitching or by a parchment thong.

The three rolls containing later summaries were drawn up for purposes of reference from information contained in treasurers' rolls. One, a paper book of three folded sheets, was written apparently soon after 1524. It contains three items: totals of receipts
and expenses for the years 1366-67, 1370-71, 1371-72, and 1398-99; a comparison of the revenue of the college in the reigns of Edward III and Henry VIII; and the value of the possessions of the college and sum of expenses in 1524. The second summary roll consists of two membranes fastened one above the other; one of these membranes contains lists (much amended) of money received and spent in 1382-83, and the other similar lists of an unidentified year, various expenses of 1365-67 and a note of cattle lost through murrain on two manors (Iver and Craswell) during 1364-67. The third, containing a petition for relief from the dean and canons to the king (presumably Henry VI) and quoting the accounts of the year 1429-30, has attached to it a membrane containing a list of receipts and expenditure taken from the treasurer's account of 1410-11.

3. Stewards' Rolls

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

Combined accounts of both treasurer and steward are contained in the stewards' rolls of part of the year 1375-76 and of 1393-94, when the same canon held both offices. It is significant that these combined accounts do not differ from the ordinary stewards' accounts. From this, and from the evidence of existing stewards' rolls, it appears that the rolls of treasurer and steward were not complementary, but that the accounts of the steward were incorporated in the treasurer's roll, although the items might be grouped under different headings. The fulness of stewards' accounts of this period thus compensates for gaps occasioned by the loss of most of the stewards' accounts.

1 Treasurers' rolls have survived for all these years (W.R., xv.34. 4, 7, 8, 19), but the roll of 1398-99 (xv.34.19) is incomplete.
2 W.R., xv.53.64.
3 W.R., xv.34.27.
4 This treasurer's account has not survived.
5 W.R., xv.48.1
6 W.R., xv.48.4 and 28.
7 W.R., xv.34.5.
8 W.R., xv.34.16.
9 W.R., xv.34.10.
The steward's roll of 1369-70 consists of two membranes. One of the rolls of 1415-16 was made up of four membranes and the other of four paper sheets sewn end to end. All three were written on both sides.

4. Precentors' Rolls

There are twenty-two precentors' accounts of dates between 1363-64 and 1415-16. Of these the earliest, a single sheet of paper written on both sides, covered a period of 18 months from 24 April 1363 to 2 November 1364. The others are parchment rolls, consisting of one or two membranes: nineteen of them contain the accounts of a full financial year, and two each cover 7 months.

These accounts were concerned entirely with the chapel; with its own revenues from offerings, gifts, and profits arising from its claim to the insignia of deceased Knights of the Garter, and with expenditure on the services, furnishings and fabric of the chapel. Since the precentor was an independent official in his own province, there was no overlapping between his accounts and those of the treasurer, save occasionally for a brief entry in a treasurer's roll of the total sums received and expended by the precentor.

5. Household Rolls

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

The rolls were drawn up in the usual way, giving household expenses day by day with daily and monthly totals, and at the end of each account, among the foreign expenditure, travelling and other expenses connected with the household, which included items concerning the estates of the college. The years to which these

1 W.R., xv.56.1-22. 2 W.R., xv.56.1.
3 W.R., xv.56.3 and 4.
4 There are sixteen rolls in two bundles, but the whole set of rolls has been catalogued as one document, W.R., xv.3.1. Accounts of two different months, 1-17 June 1353 and May 1355, have been stitched together as one roll. Apparently the rolls were not originally preserved for reference, since drafts of treasurers' rolls of two years between 1378 and 1387 have been written on the backs of two of them (of May and August 1353) and the name "Raundes" has been scribbled on the back of another (of January 1353). Richard Raunds was a canon of Windsor, 1377-1400.

xviii
accounts belong, 1351-55, were early in the history of the college of St. George, before fitting accommodation had been provided for its members. Communal catering seems to have been a temporary arrangement to meet these circumstances. This would explain the absence of household accounts for later years: none were kept, for the college no longer ate in common.

6. Local Accounts

Five accounts of local officers responsible for estates under the direct management of the college of Windsor have survived. These concern the rectory of Wraysbury in 1353-54 and 1354-55,¹ the manor of Craswell in Bray in 1367-68 and 1379-80,² and the manor of Iver in 1381-82.³

At Iver the accounting officer was the bailiff, at Craswell the reeve and at Wraysbury the sergeant. Their accounts followed the usual convention, recording money receipts and expenditure on the face of the roll, and the accounts of grain, stock and works on the back.⁴

7. Court Rolls

One series of court rolls has been preserved, relating to the college’s manor of Iver. Of seventeen bundles of these documents,⁵ one contains rolls which have been badly damaged by damp.⁶ In the remaining sixteen bundles are rolls of fifty courts of dates between 1360 and 1408.

With the exception of a single membrane on which was written the record of three courts held by the college of Windsor at their rectory at Uttoxeter,⁷ no other court rolls of the period surveyed have survived among the records.

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

1. Chapel Attendance Registers (1384-86 and 1468-79).⁸

¹ W.R., xv.53.42 and 43. ² W.R., xv.61.28 and 29.
⁴ The bailiff’s account of Iver (W.R., xv.53.65), however, has been rolled with the grain, stock and works accounts inside.
⁵ W.R., xv.55.7-18, 20-24.
⁶ W.R., xv.55.12, containing court rolls of 1372-73.
⁷ W.R., xv.28.17.
⁸ W.R., V.B.1-2.
2. Indentures between treasurer and steward or precentor (1447-1520).\textsuperscript{1}

3. Bills subsidiary to treasurers’ accounts (1431-83).\textsuperscript{2}

The material described above obviously covers many aspects of history and could be utilized in many different ways. Above all, however, these documents afford a rich field of information concerning the internal organization of the college, especially in its financial and administrative aspects.

II. PREVIOUS USE OF THE MATERIAL

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

An account of the foundation and endowment of St. George’s Chapel appeared in print as long ago as 1672 when Elias Ashmole published his history of the Order of the Garter.\textsuperscript{3} From the year of the Restoration, when Charles II rewarded Ashmole’s devotion to the royalist cause by creating him Windsor herald, the attention of this many-sided scholar had been directed towards the production of a work which was to show the nobility and distinction of the Order of the Garter. To this end he compiled an exhaustive history of the Order, and was naturally concerned incidentally with the chapel and college of St. George. His main subject was “ushered in” by a survey of the castle and the college, to which he devoted one chapter of 40 pages in his published work.\textsuperscript{4} This chapter was divided into eight sections, of which two dealt with the castle and chapel, and the remaining six with the college, describing in turn its foundation, members and officers, endowments and privileges.

Although he had access to the records of the college preserved in the aerary, Ashmole rarely found it necessary to seek information from them for the purposes of this chapter. He found what he considered to be sufficient material for his account of the foundation, privileges and royal endowment of the college in the Chancery enrolments of the king’s grants of estates and charter of liberties,

\textsuperscript{1} W.R., I.B.1-3. \textsuperscript{2} W.R., xv.57-1, 3-5, 7-12; xi.B.22-25.
\textsuperscript{3} The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

xx
while he based his statements concerning the members and officers upon what he could learn from the statutes of the college and what he knew of their position and functions in his own time. His references to the college’s records were restricted to the cartularies, the inventories, some papal bulls, four foundation deeds of chantries, and one treasurer’s roll, of 1546-47. For the rest he cited collections of matter relating to the college made for business reference and historical purposes by canons of Windsor in his own century.

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

In modern times, the most important work to which the early history of the college was relevant was Sir William St. John Hope’s *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*. Since the castle was a royal one, nearly all the documentary material was to be found among the public records; but from the foundation of the college of Windsor in 1348, when most of the buildings in the lower ward of the castle became the property of the dean and canons, some information pertinent to this history appeared in the records of the college. St. John Hope carefully examined the accounts of treasurers and precentors, but, of course, utilized only such part of them as concerned his immediate purpose, namely, unravelling the architectural history of the whole congeries of buildings within

---

1 This roll has not survived to the present day.
2 “... we intend no other account here [concerning the endowment of St. George’s Chapel] than in that of the Castle, Chapel and College which was but short... referring the rest... to the larger discourse which we intend hereafter to make public” (Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, p. 167).
3 Notable among these were the names and dates of early canons of Windsor. The earliest list was compiled by Thomas Frith, canon of Windsor 1610-31. This no longer exists in the aery, but Frith’s work was reproduced both by Ashmole in his notes (Bodl. Lib., Ashm. MSS., No. 1123) and the list printed from them in his *Antiquities of Berkshire* (1718), III, 215, and in copies made by later canons in their collections (e.g., Dr. William Brough, canon 1638-71, and Dr Peter Scott, canon 1671-89).
4 Published by *Country Life*, 1913.
the castle, in which one of the most important items was the chapel of St. George. His work is a mine of information: and at many points the history of the buildings throws light upon the history of the college.

The collection of court rolls of the manor of Iver which has been preserved among the archives of St. George's Chapel was used by Mr. W. H. Ward for a chapter in his History of the Manor and Parish of Iver in which he traces the history of the village when the college of St. George was its lord, but was concerned with the college only in this capacity.

In the present series of Historical Monographs relating to St. George's Chapel, investigation of the archives of the Dean and Canons of Windsor has been undertaken on a scale in one sense more concentrated, since it is confined to the history of the college and chapel, yet in another sense wider, since it includes every aspect of that history, not merely those which occur incidentally in another connexion. But although the archives have contributed material to a variety of historical investigations published in this series, they have not until now been utilized for the purpose of reconstructing the organization and administrative machinery of the college, although to that organization and its various branches the very existence of the archives was due.

III. THE LIMITS OF THE PRESENT SURVEY

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

By far the most important source of material for this study was the series of treasurers' rolls. It was the treasurer's practice to include in his account a detailed list of all the revenues of the college, although they were actually received by the steward. He also incorporated in the various sections of his account items of expenditure for which in fact the steward had been responsible. From 1416 this was changed. In that year an expert was called in to reform the accounts of the college. The result was a distinct change in the character of the accounts of both treasurer and steward. Henceforward details of revenues received were to be found only

1 By W. H. Ward and K. S. Block, published by Secker, 1933.
in the roll of the steward; the treasurer recorded but one receipt from the steward, a lump sum. The steward’s expenditure, similarly, ceased to be included in the treasurer’s account. This year 1416, then, marked a new departure in accounting methods.

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

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

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

A. THE FOUNDATION

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

(a) THE DEDICATION

As far as is known, it was to the honour of King Edward the Confessor that the royal chapel in Windsor Castle was first founded. Edward III's letters patent instituting the college of Windsor included the original patron in a new, more comprehensive dedica-

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

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

3 Sir Harris Nicolas remarked that in the new dedication the name of St. George preceded that of the Confessor ("Observations on the Institution of the Order of the Garter", Archaeologia, xxxi (1846), 126).
tion "to the honour of God Almighty, and of His mother, the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the Saints George the Martyr and Edward the Confessor". The soldier saint, however, soon came to be regarded as the chief, and later as the sole patron of the Garter chapel. On the chapter seal,\(^1\) which is judged to be almost contemporary with the foundation of the college,\(^2\) the figure of St. George occupied the chief place. Less than a year after the foundation, mention was made in royal letters patent\(^3\) of the king's "chapel of St. George, Windsor", while letters patent of August 1351\(^4\) referred to the chapel as "erected by the king in the castle of Windsor in honour of the blessed George, the most invincible athlete of Christ, whose name and protection the English race invoke as that of their peculiar patron". In the headings of the college rolls of account, the dedication was not often included, but where it occurred, St. George's name stood alone.\(^5\) Although later in letters patent (especially those of Edward IV's reign) St. Mary's name was often coupled with that of St. George in the title of the chapel or college, St. Edward's name was rarely mentioned, so that his connexion with his ancient chapel fell into neglect.

(b) THE ESTABLISHMENT

Before considering Edward III's great foundation of the college of St. George in 1348, it is useful to glance back at the establishments of priests which had previously existed in the castle. Some brief account of these has already been given by more than one writer,\(^6\) but none is as complete as the available evidence allows, and only one\(^7\) is clear concerning the separate existence of two bodies of chaplains at Windsor, one serving the castle chapels, and the other serving the chapel of the king's manor in Windsor park. It seems advisable, therefore, to recapitulate here.

\(^1\) There is an engraving of the seal in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, I, ii (Berks.), facing p. 424.
\(^5\) E.g. *Comptus Thome Astom precentoris Capelle Sancti Georgii de Wyndesore...* (W.R., xv.56.2; 1369-70).
\(^7\) Harwood. The value of his work is much diminished by the absence of references to his authorities.
In the chapel in the lower ward of Windsor Castle, chaplains had been maintained from the royal revenues since the twelfth century. It was stated erroneously by Ashmole that Henry I placed a college of eight secular priests there.¹ This statement has been so often accepted and repeated that it is essential to state plainly that it is supported by no record evidence. It is certain that by 1155-56 there was only one chaplain ministering in the castle, who was to receive one penny a day (30s. 5d. a year) out of the revenues of the manor of Windsor.² Such a chaplain continued to receive this sum yearly until 1240, when an addition was made to his duties and a corresponding increase in his wages. Henry III’s son Edward was born on 17 June 1239, and at the end of that year the king directed the bailiff of Windsor to find without delay a chaplain to celebrate continually for the safety of the little prince.³ Simon of Burnham⁴ was appointed and was to receive 50s. yearly; in addition he, like other royal chaplains, was to have a livery of a robe⁵ from the king. A second chaplain, Laurence of London, was appointed in 1244 to serve a chapel in the Great Tower of the castle, receiving his 50s. yearly from the farm of the county of Berkshire.⁶ By 1246 there was a third chaplain in the castle, who said mass in the chapel of the queen’s lodgings newly built by

¹ Ashmole’s mistake was not, as Harwood suggests (op. cit., p. 87), due to pure invention; he was misled by a false statement in the preface to the register of the Order of the Garter, known from its cover of black velvet as the Liber Niger. This register was compiled by Dr. Robert Aldrich, canon of Windsor and registrar of the Order of the Garter from 1534 until 1537, when he was made bishop of Carlisle. It was subsequently printed, with an English translation, introduction and notes, by John Anstis (The Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, 2 vols., London, 1724). Aldrich began his work with what Anstis (op. cit., I, 25) calls a “tedious romantick preface, in a fustian stile, that hath more Smoak than fire, containing his History of the Institution of this Order, whence we may perceive he was a credulous antiquary. . . .” Ashmole’s reference is to the statement in this preface that “Henry the first . . . thought he should still add to his glory if to so beautiful a castle, he should add a college of priests. . . .” (ibid., II, 21). Aldrich, writing in Henry VIII’s reign, was bent on a eulogy of the various Henrys who were kings of England (he concludes: “A happy omen that tho’ other Kings had done many and great things, yet the Henries should finish and compleat always what was wanting”); his statement is without foundation. With regard to the number of priests in this supposed early college, Ashmole may have been misled by Edward III’s patent founding St. George’s, in which occur the words . . . capellam quandam aptae pulchritudinis octo canonicorum secularorum . . . in honore beati Edvardi confessoris per progenitores nostros nobiliter inchoatam. The number, however, refers to the establishment existing in 1348, and not to any earlier one.

² Pipe Roll, 2 Henry II, quoted by Hope, op. cit., I, 15.


⁴ Close Rolls, 1242-47, pp. 102, 148; Cal. Lib. Rolls, 1240-45, pp. 12, 47. In 1244 Burnham became princess Margaret’s chaplain (Close Rolls, 1242-7, p. 211).

⁵ A robe (roba) was a complete outfit, including everything worn.

Henry III in the lower ward. His name was John, and in 1248 each of the three chaplains, Simon, Laurence and John, was to receive 50s. from the farm of the town of Windsor.

Meanwhile the great new chapel dedicated to St. Edward was being built in the lower ward, on the site now occupied by the Albert Memorial chapel. It was begun in 1240 by royal command which ordered the building of a chapel 70 feet long and 28 feet wide, and finished by 1248, when the king ordered the bailiff of Windsor, by writ of liberate dated 2 November, to find four more chaplains to serve it. By December 1250 the new chaplains had been found. They were William of Stawell, Hugh of Okeford, Ralph of St. Albans and John of St. Leger. Each of them was to receive 50s. a year, and it was the special duty of John of St. Leger to pray for the soul of the king’s half-brother, Hugh le Brun. The castle was now staffed with seven chaplains, each receiving 50s. a year, which in 1251 came from the revenues of the bailiwick of Windsor. By 1275, however, the number of chaplains had dropped to two, namely Thomas of Bustlesham and Henry of Waltham, who were paid by the constable of the castle. There remained only two chaplains in the castle thenceforward until 1313, when Edward II drew up new ordinances for the service of St. Edward’s chapel. These provided for an establishment of four chaplains, of whom one was to be chief, and two clerks. The chief chaplain was to receive yearly 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.), the other three 100s. each, and each of the clerks 50s., paid from the exchequer.

2 Ibid., 1245-51, p. 204.
3 Ibid., 1226-40, p. 439, 4 January 1240. Parts of Henry III’s chapel are still standing. Its west wall and doors are incorporated in the east wall of the present St. George’s Chapel, and its north wall with the original arcading now forms the south wall of the dean’s cloister.
4 Ibid., 1245-51, p. 208.
5 His name is given in the Calendar of Liberate Rolls (1245-51) as Hugh de Acford (p. 289) and Hugh de Seford (p. 278), but reference to the original roll (P.R.O., C/62/26 m. 10) shows Seford to be a misreading. Okeford is the modern equivalent of Acford.
6 Ibid., pp. 278, 289, 323, 347.
7 Hugh XI of Lusignan, called le Brun, was the son of Hugh X of Lusignan and Henry III’s mother, Isabella of Angoulême, widow of King John of England. Hugh XI succeeded his father as Count of La Marche in 1249, and died on crusade in Egypt in 1250.
8 Cal. Lib. Rolls, 1245-51, p. 347. A writ of liberate which mentions eight chaplains at Windsor in 1251 includes as the eighth a chaplain ministering in the park chapel (ibid., p. 385).
10 Foedera (1818), II, i, 193.
To the same year, 1313, belongs the first recorded mention of Edward II's interesting foundation in honour of Our Lady, for a dean, twelve chaplains and four clerks to serve a chapel in the park of Windsor. This was the great chapel of the king's manor in Windsor park, which, according to Harwood, stood near the old South Gate of the park on a site still known as Manor Hill. The earliest known mention of the park chapel belongs to March 1246, when it was served by one chaplain, who was to receive, like the castle chaplains, 50s. a year. In the following year, 1247, the staff was increased to two, each receiving 50s. Edward II's new foundation, mentioned above, was completed before August 1313. Large annual stipends were allotted to the members of this new college from the revenues of the manors of Langley Marish and Cippenham, £10 each for the dean and chaplains, and 10 marks each for the clerks. They were also allowed to keep all the offerings in the chapel, and were granted meals in the king's or queen's hall or else an allowance of food and drink whenever the king, the queen or their heirs were at the manor. This collegiate foundation in the park, which might have been an important one, after all came to nothing. The maintenance of the lavish sums granted to its staff early became too heavy a drain on the royal resources. By 1328 the dean's allowance was already fourteen years in arrears, and two years later there remained only four chaplains in the park. The others of Edward II's seventeen chaplains and clerks had either died and not been replaced or had "departed for lack of their wages." The remaining four were removed by Edward III to the castle, and added to the staff of the Confessor's chapel there. The annual

---

1 Harwood, op. cit., pp. 163, 166. There were two chapels in the manor, one in the king's houses (the great chapel), and the other in the queen's.
3 Ibid., p. 143.
4 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p. 11.
5 Ibid., p. 12.
6 Cal. Close Rolls, 1327-30, p. 436. The first dean, Thomas of Leicester, was succeeded by Thomas of Usefleet, who was granted the deanery by patent dated 16 May 1328. Thomas of Leicester petitioned for £140 owing to him for fourteen years as dean (apparently he had not been paid at all since the year of foundation of the college in the park), and the king ordered these arrears to be paid, in a letter to the treasurer and chamberlain dated 16 February 1329.
7 Harwood, op. cit., p. 169. This is quoted from a petition of the park chaplains to the king in 1331 (P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, File 230, No. 11949), but Harwood gave no reference. The petition is written in French.
sums granted to them were reduced; in 1331 they were granted 10 marks a year, the amount which was received by the chief of the castle chaplains. One of the park chaplains, John of Melton, became chief chaplain in the place of Robert Shutlingdon, who had occupied that position since 1318 and later became one of the first canons of Edward III's foundation of 1348. The Confessor's chapel was now served by eight chaplains and two clerks; the four chaplains from the park and the former chief castle chaplain receiving 10 marks each, the other three chaplains 100s. each, and the clerks 50s. each.

This was the state of the establishment when the great new college of St. George was founded. Edward III's patent dated 6 August 1348 then transformed this small staff of chaplains into a large, rich and important collegiate foundation serving the chapel of his Most Noble Order of the Garter. To the existing eight chaplains a warden and fifteen more were to be added, making twenty-four in all, and also twenty-four poor knights and other ministers, with a generous grant for their support from the exchequer, which was to make up the value of present and future endowments to a grand total of £1000 yearly.

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

1 Harwood, op. cit., pp. 171-2. The initial reduction was to 100s. each, but the four, in a petition, reminded the king that he had promised them £10 each when they came to the park, with which they had been "feebly served and still were". It was in answer to this that 10 marks each was granted in March 1331 (P.R.O., Ancient Petitions, File 239, No. 11946).


3 Ibid., p. 125.


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

6 Harwood states that the park chaplains later received an increased sum of 20 marks yearly (op. cit., p. 172), but I have been unable to find his authority for this.


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

9 The four original castle chaplains shared a hall, cellar and kitchen of a house near the great gate of the castle, and their two clerks occupied three small chambers near the close of the gatekeeper. New chambers had recently been built for the four park chaplains in a close on the south side of the chapel (Cal. Close Rolls, 1337-39, p. 179). St. John Hope has identified these lodgings as lying against the south wall of the lower ward, where the houses of the military knights now stand. The lodgings were built in 1339, but no account roll of these building works has survived (Windsor Castle, 1, 109).
consequently it was not until April 1350 that work could begin on the refurnishing and adornment of the chapel, and the construction of lodgings and other buildings for the use of the canons. Moreover, papal approval had to be obtained before the royal foundation could be set in working order. The required papal letters,\(^1\) commending Edward III's design and granting power to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester to ordain and institute the college, were not despatched until 30 November 1350, and it was not until 30 November 1352 that the statutes\(^2\) and ordinances of the college were completed.

The composition of the new college as set forth in the statutes differed slightly from that proposed by the king in 1348. The number of priests and poor knights was now to be twenty-six, not twenty-four, and the clerical side of the establishment consisted of a warden (\textit{custos}) and twelve other secular canons, thirteen priest vicars (making up the twenty-six) and four clerks. Six choristers with twenty-six poor knights and a verger were to complete the college. From the earliest times the title of dean (\textit{decanus}) was used interchangeably with that of warden (\textit{custos}) for the head of the college. In the letters patent of foundation and in the college statutes the style is \textit{custos}. Richard Kingstone in 1412, and after him John Arundel in 1417, were, however, appointed as deans, not wardens, by the king. Kingstone made no comment, but Arundel became anxious concerning the validity of his title. In 1429 he petitioned parliament for legal recognition of both styles, stating that the title \textit{decanus} was used in the statutes of the Order of the Garter\(^3\) (of 1349). His petition was granted; he and his

---

1. Cat. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1342-62, p. 395. The Latin text was printed by Ashmole in an appendix to his \textit{Institution of the Order of the Garter}, and also by Dugdale (\textit{Monasticon Anglicanum}, vi, 1355). The original papal bull is preserved in the aerary (the muniment room of the dean and chapter of Windsor) at Windsor Castle, and there is a transcript of it in the Arundel White Book, f. 66.

2. The statutes of the college have not survived in their original form, and no copy of them has been preserved of earlier date than a roll of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, which is incomplete (W.R., xi.d.20). There is a complete copy in the fifteenth-century Arundel White Book (ff. 74-84), which differs slightly from the earlier one, and others are in Dr. Brough's Book (which belongs to the minor canons of Windsor) and Peter Scott's Book, both of the seventeenth century. Canon Dalton prepared a text of the statutes for publication and the corrected proof sheets are in the aerary. There are two copies of the statutes in the British Museum, one among the Harleian MSS. (No. 564) and the other in the collection of matter relating to the colleges of Windsor and Eton made by the Rev. Roger Huggett and bequeathed by him to the British Museum in 1769 (Add. MSS. No. 4843).

3. "... in the statutiz of the honourable Orde of the Gortier founded and ordened in the saide Chapelle the said Wardein is named and wretyn Dean..." (Rolls of Parliament, iv, 346). The exemplars of the Garter Statutes printed by
successors were confirmed as *custodes sive decani* and all grants of land and liberties made to the college by name of dean and canons or warden and canons were ratified.¹

Canonries at Windsor were profitable only for priests who could reside constantly.² Each canon, including the warden, received as his prebend 40s. a year, to which he was entitled whether he resided or not, but, if he kept residence, he could increase this sum to a yearly total of £20 5s.³ out of the daily distributions (*cotidianae*)⁴ of 12d. to canons present at service in chapel.⁵ The statutes allowed the warden alone sixty days non-residence in the year, fifteen to be taken in each term, and if he were absent longer than the permitted period, he not only forfeited his quotidianus, but also incurred a fine.

Ashmole in the appendix to his history of the Order (see below, p. 12, n. 2), of which none is earlier than Henry V's reign, have *custos* or *gardianus sive custos* and never *decanus*. But G. T. Beltz (Memorials of the Garter, p. xlviii, n. 1) has pointed out that as early as 1352 William Mudge was called dean in the Black Prince's Register (*The Black Prince's Register*, Pt. IV, p. 108). In the college rolls of account, *decanus* and *custos* were used before 1400 in the same document, and the report of the visitation of St. George's in 1378 (*Foedera* (1869), IV, 50) has *decanus* throughout. Dr. J. C. Cox has commented on this use of the title of dean in 1378, but stated that it referred to Walter Almaly (Almeley), who was actually not appointed until 1381 (*V.C.H., Berks.*, II, 107).


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

³ John Blockeleye, one of the canons of St. Stephen's, Westminster (where the same arrangement prevailed), certified that the value of his prebend if he kept residence was £20 5s. (Register of Simon of Sudbury (Canterbury and York Society), II, 172, quoted by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson in "Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England", Archaeological Journal (1917), p. 197 n., from the 1366 Plurality Returns). It is interesting to notice that the three canons of Windsor whose returns are printed in *Sudbury's Register* (II, 152, 165, 178) gave the value of their prebends there as only 40s., and did not mention possible quotidianus.

⁴ Henceforth called quotidianus.

⁵ The canons were required to attend once a day in choir, either at Mattins or High Mass, or Vespers and Compline. St. George's Chapel followed the Sarum Use, which divided the day's services into four groups:

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

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

3. Terce, High Mass, Sext and None.

4. Vespers and Compline.

(College Statutes, Articles ii, xi, xxi-xxvi; A. Hamilton Thompson, Cathedral Churches of England, pp. 199, 202, 205, 209).
fine of half a mark for each extra day, the fines being divided between the canons who had kept residence. From the annual totals of money paid out in quotidiens to the canons in the early treasurers' accounts, and from the existing Chapel Attendance Registers, it appears that most of the canons at Windsor were constantly resident. All non-residence, except the warden's, continued to be penalized until 1478, when, in answer to a petition from the canons, Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, then also dean of Windsor, was empowered by the pope to dispense with the ancient statutes in this particular and to allow the canons fourteen days non-residence in each term (56 in all in the year) either continuous or intermittent, without loss of quotidiens, provided that they kept the great annual residence of twenty-one days continuously. This residence, as we know from a chapter act of 1430, involved attendance daily for three weeks at the three principal canonical services (Mattins, High Mass, and Vespers and Compline) in the chapel, with some obligations in alms and hospitality. A century later the canons of Windsor were allowed a much greater indulgence, for the Lord Chancellor Christopher Hatton, in a letter dated 26 November 1590, stated that, in order to enable canons with cures to reside on their benefices without loss, the chapter should arrange for canons to be absent from the college for half the year. The chancellor would ratify this, provided that it was so ordained that a competent number of priests was always resident at Windsor and that the majority of canons was

1 From these amounts it appears that between eight and twelve canons were resident in each year.
2 Monthly attendance sheets exist for sixteen months between October 1384 and May 1386. In these months the number of residentiaries varied between five and twelve, but in ten out of the sixteen months, eight or more canons resided.
3 This is borne out by the 1366 plurality returns. Eight of the canons sent their returns to the bishop of Salisbury by their proctor from Windsor, where they were apparently in residence (A. Hamilton Thompson in Archaeological Journal (1917), p. 192 n.).
4 Ashmole MSS. No. 1124, f. 44. A minimum residence of three weeks was required by the statutes (article xx) before a canon could share in the division of surplus income at the end of the year.
5 No chapter act book has survived earlier than 1596, but this act was transcribed by Frith in his Old Register, p. 90.
6 On the first day of this residence, 40s. in money or vestments (a sum as large as his whole prebend) was to be offered on the altar by the canon. During the three weeks he was to keep continual hospitality in his own house, inviting three poor persons daily to supper, each of whom was to say a psalter for the souls of the Knights of the Garter, past and present, and afterwards be served personally by the canon and given one penny. Within his time of residence the canon was obliged to have all the ministers of the college to dine with him, either separately or together.
7 Frith's Old Register, p. 75 and Frere, Visitation Articles, III, 248.
present when the sovereign was at Windsor or any Knight of the Garter installed. A chapter act of 3 November 1592, made the necessary provisions, and from this time canons who kept the great residence of twenty-one days and a further four days in each quarter were allowed to be absent for six whole months and twenty-three days without losing any save a few specially excepted profits of residence. The profits were considerable, for besides quotidiens, the income of residentiaries was supplemented from three other sources. These were (1) the division of surplus income at the end of the year; (2) the chapel offerings; and (3) obit distributions. Of the money remaining after all the year's expenses had been paid, one-third had to be deposited in the aeryary as a common fund to be used in time of need or for the improvement of the property of the college. The remaining two-thirds, however, were to be divided between the residentiaries, in proportion to the residence they had kept; for this purpose no residence of less than three weeks was to count at all. The chapel offerings until 1393 were paid by the precentor to the treasurer to swell the common revenues; in that year, however, Richard II granted that the offerings (together with an annual gift of herrings from Yarmouth and the produce of the college garden) should be the perquisite of the residentiaries. From this time all offerings were divided among the canons who had resided. Obit money was paid to all those members of the college who were present at the required services. Most obit distributions were paid at the same rate as quotidiens, but some few were endowed with the incomes of certain properties, and varied in value with the rents.

The warden, besides his prebend of 40s., possible quotidiens of £18 5s. and share of the dividends and obit moneys in the year, received a stipend of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.). It was from this sum that his fines for non-residence (mutiae) were deducted, if incurred. In addition to this, the warden might augment his income from the fruits of other benefices which he was permitted by papal licence to hold and enjoy while resident at Windsor. To

1 Frere, Visitation Articles, III, 250.
2 Installation fees and offerings of the Knights of the Garter were reserved to canons personally resident at the time, and a share in three dues in kind (wheat from Datchet, rabbits from Kingsclere and herrings from Yarmouth) was to be given only to canons resident at Windsor at Christmas.
3 Cal. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1342-62, pp. 381, 399. This licence was necessary since the deanery of a college of secular canons, unlike the canonries, was not usually a sinecure.
one of the early wardens, Thomas Butler, Pope Boniface IX, at the instance of Richard II, granted leave to be absent from Windsor and farm the fruits of his wardenship.¹

The priest vicars, on the other hand, were bound to be always in residence and to attend every service.² For this they received £8 a year, paid in instalments of 8s. each month for their daily table with the balance quarterly. They also shared in the obit distributions, and one of them received an extra 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.) a year for teaching the choristers. Their absences from the chapel services were punishable by mulcts of 2d. for Mattins and High Mass and 1d. for the other services, these fines being divided among the vicars who had attended. All members of the college below the rank of canon were liable to expulsion if absent for more than twenty days without leave.

Of the clerks, two, who were to be a deacon and a sub-deacon, received 8 marks (£5 6s. 8d.) a year, and the other two, in minor orders, 6 marks (£4). Like the vicars, they were paid a monthly allowance for their table (4s. each) and the balance at the end of each quarter. Their absences from divine service were punished by similar mulcts. Each of the six choristers was allowed 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) a year, which was received and managed for them by the precentor or by the vicar who taught them singing and grammar. Whatever was left over after their daily needs had been provided was paid to them at the end of the year.

In including poor knights in the college of St. George, Edward III intended both to provide for some of those who after fighting with him in France had been brought to poverty³ through adverse fortune, and also to strengthen the connexion of the college with the Order of the Garter by maintaining in the persons of the poor knights deputies in prayer for the Knights-Companion. The poor knights enjoyed an income equal to that of the canons, 40s. a year and a daily allowance of 12d. In return, as bedesmen, they were

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1362-1404, p. 395 (21 August 1391). Butler, however, held the offices of both treasurer and steward of St. George's from Michaelmas 1303 to Michaelmas 1304, accounting for all the revenues. Since he received the full salary for both offices (£5 each), presumably he performed all the duties attached to them and resided at Windsor during the year (W.R., xv, 34.16).

² Besides this, each vicar had to say mass daily, and except on certain specified days one of them was also to say a mass for the dead.

³ Poverty was one of the conditions of tenure of a poor knight's place at Windsor. If a poor knight subsequently acquired an income of £20 a year, he had to leave the college (Statutes of the College, article vi).
required to attend three times a day in choir, at High Mass, the Lady Mass and Vespers and Compline, and to say 150 *Aves* and fifteen *Pater Nosters* at these services.

The statutes allowed the college to have one verger, who was to be appointed and removed at the discretion of the chapter. He received 6d. a day and a robe worth 20s. once a year. In addition there were one or two bellringers attached to the college, who were paid an allowance of 2d. a day, with some extra reward for additional ringing on special festivals or when the king came to Windsor. Although not included in the original statutes, the bellringers were counted among the ministers of the college, receiving their daily pay from the treasurer like the others, and not from the precentor who paid for extra ringing. They also benefited from obit distributions, when, like the other members of the college, they received double their usual quotidiens.

(c) **Connexion with the Order of the Garter**

As the chapel of the Order of the Garter, St. George’s was richly decorated and furnished as soon as workmen in sufficient numbers could be assembled at Windsor. Between 1350 and 1353 the chapel which Henry III had built in honour of St. Edward the Confessor was fitted with a new roof, new painted glass windows, and elaborate canopied stalls. Enamelled plates of arms of the Knights of the Garter were fixed to the stalls, and above them hung their helms and swords. Each of the original Knights-Companion had the right to present one of the first canons or vicars of the college and one poor knight to pray in his stead daily in the chapel. Although places were thus provided for twenty-six poor knights, surprisingly few presentations were made. Actually there were never more than three in the college throughout the whole mediæval period. All subsequent presentations were reserved to the sovereign who perhaps refrained from filling up the vacant places because the college was insufficiently endowed and could not have supported more poor knights.

The Garter Statutes² include the twenty-six priests and the poor knights of Windsor as part of the Order. On feast days and at

---

2 The original statutes of 1349 had already perished when Ashmole wrote his history of the Order of the Garter. In the appendix to his published work he printed four texts of the statutes. The oldest of these Ashmole transcribed from a manuscript of Henry V’s reign, entitled *Registrum ordinis chartaceum*, which in his time was preserved in the Paper Office at Whitehall, but is not now known to exist. A digest of the statutes has been made by G. F. Beltz (*Memorials of the Garter*, p. xlviii).
cereonies of the Order, the priests were to wear murrey mantles and the poor knights red, with the arms of St. George on the shoulder. The original Garter Statutes were to be kept in the treasury of the college of Windsor, and the copies which each Knight-Companion received at his installation were to be returned on his decease to the warden of the college. Installation fees, which each new Knight-Companion had to pay, were to be divided between the canons in residence and the poor knights. Similarly, the canons and poor knights were to share the fines paid by the Knights-Companion for such offences as appearing in public without the Garter, or not attending an election. From an early date, when the helm and sword of a Knight-Companion were removed from above his stall after his death, they were offered on the altar; after this they became the property of the dean and canons, who enjoyed the proceeds of their sale.

Within the Castle lived the verger (virgarius) or usher (ostiarius) of the Order of the Garter, an esquire appointed by the king, who received a wage of 12d. a day at the exchequer for this office. Walter Whitehorse was the first verger, and although the patent of his appointment was dated 1361, he must have held the office at least by 1352 when a lodging was built for him in the castle. Probably his appointment dated from the foundation of the Order. He had charge of the mantles of the company, and it was his duty to bear the rod before the college of St. George in procession on feast days.

1 Statutes of the Garter, articles 4-7.
2 The donations made to the college by the Knights of the Garter at their installation varied with the rank of the Knight. The sovereign’s fee was £20 13s. 4d., a stranger king’s £20, the prince of Wales’ £13 6s. 8d., a duke’s £10, an earl’s £6 13s. 4d., a baron’s £5 and a knight-bachelor’s £3 6s. 8d. (Statutes of the Garter, article 22).
3 A particularly large number was sold in 1377-78, when the precentor received £9 3s. 10d. for fifteen swords, thirty-four helms and a silver sword-belt (W.R., xv, 56.4). Receipts for such sales appear regularly in the precentors’ accounts, and the helms and swords were often bought by the warden or by canons (see below, pp. 133-5). A collection of instances of the receipt by the college of St. George of mantles, helms and crests of deceased Knights of the Garter was made from the precentors’ and treasurers’ rolls by Thomas Frith (canon of Windsor 1610-31) to be cited as precedents (Frith’s Old Register, pp. 66, 67).
5 St. John Hope conjectures that Whitehorse’s house stood in the south part of the middle ward of the castle, the site of the later Black Rod’s lodging (op. cit., II, 151), thinking it probable that the house did not stand in the lower Bailey, within the jurisdiction of the college, since the constable of the castle was responsible for its repair in 1393-94 (ibid., p. 223).
when the king was present, when the king was present, an office now performed by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Although the Garter verger was frequently styled the verger or usher of the free chapel of Windsor, he is distinct from the verger of the college of St. George, who was both appointed and paid by the college.

B. THE REVENUES

(a) CHURCHES

The main part of the revenues of the college of St. George was provided by the incomes of churches appropriated to its use. Among these by far the most important for the present survey were eleven churches alienated in mortmain to the college between August 1348 and May 1351. Of these, six were gifts of the king. Of the remaining five, four were given by Companions of the Order of the Garter, the prince of Wales and the earls of Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton, and one by Queen Philippa, the first lady to wear the robes of the Order. The churches were acquired by the college in four groups:

(1) Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter (1348).
(2) Deddington and Datchet (1350).
(3) Iver, Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton (1351).
(4) Simonburn and Saltash (1351).

(1) Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter.

These three churches appear in the patent of foundation of St. George’s (dated 6 August 1348) as the original endowment of the college, given by the king. Actually, of the three, Wraysbury alone was in the king’s possession to give. The advowson of South Tawton belonged to Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and that of Uttoxeter to Henry, earl of Lancaster. Royal licence for the

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, p. 23.
2 One of the Garter vergers, Thomas Sy, had held the office of verger to the college (W.R., xv.34.16) some years before he was appointed to be verger of the Garter in 1399 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401, pp. 63, 142. There is a seventeenth-century transcript of a patent of 30 November 1402 confirming this appointment in the aery, W.R., xi.B.19).
3 See above, p. 12.
4 The ladies of the livery of the Garter (dominae de secta et liberature Garterii) wore the robes of the Order at the feasts of St. George, and the garter on the left arm below the elbow. Edward III granted Garter livery to two ladies only, his queen Philippa, and his daughter Isabella, countess of Bedford (E. H. Fellowes, The Knights of the Garter, 1348-1939, p. 102).
alienation of these two churches was granted in the following year to the two earls, and their subsequent grants to the college bear date 1349.

The advowson of Wraysbury with the chapel of Langley Marish in Buckinghamshire had been obtained by the king from the convent of St. Peter, Gloucester, in 1345 in exchange for the royal manor of Burton by Gloucester and other property in Gloucestershire. By letters patent dated 16 November 1348 the king conferred the advowson upon the warden and college of Windsor, and subsequently petitioned the bishop of Lincoln to allow the appropriation of the church to the college. The bishop, when granting this permission in October 1349 recited among the reasons which led him to do so that, owing to the nearness of Wraysbury to Windsor, the needs of the poor of that parish would be evident to the canons, and would be the more relieved. A portion consisting of the small tithes and offerings, valued at 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.), was reserved for the vicar, and annual payments to the bishop and chapter of Lincoln, compensating them for the loss of sequestrations, were fixed at 2 marks (£1 3s. 4d.) and half a mark (6s. 8d.) respectively. An

1 Arundel White Book, ff. 31v, 35.
2 Ashmole erroneously included the chapel of Langley Marish in his list of endowments not given by the king, and Tighe and Davis, following Ashmole, state that Langley was among the grants made by private individuals to the college (Annals of Windsor, p. 162).
3 W.R., xv.47.1 (original deed) and Arundel White Book, f. 2v (transcript;)
5 W.R., xiv.47.3 (and transcript in Arundel White Book, f. 3).
6 The neglect of almsgiving by absentee rectors provoked a royal declaration in 1301, desiring that the diocesan when making an appropriation should ordain a certain sum of money to be distributed yearly to the poor of the parish (Rolls of Parliament, III, 408, a, quoted by Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages, p. 157).
7 The first vicar, William Ashby, attempted to keep the mortuary fees as well, but was obliged to read aloud in the presence of witnesses in the deanery at Windsor a document asserting the right of the college to the fees and declaring his own claim null and void. In return for the fees which he had unjustly kept up to this time (24 April 1335), the vicar agreed to build himself a suitable house at his own cost, not troubling the college to provide one for him as they were bound, and he also promised to give up the mortuary fees in the future (W.R., xi.a.2 and transcribed in Arundel White Book, f. 4).
8 When a rectory fell vacant the bishop of the diocese laid his sequestration on it and enjoyed its income during the vacancy. The rectory of an appropriated church never became vacant, consequently the bishop, when making the appropriation, usually reserved for himself a pension from the rector as compensation for this loss. Such a pension was "for sequestrations" (Hartridge, Vicarages, p. 128).
9 The deed of appropriation fixed the sum to be paid annually to the bishop at 2 marks, but the treasurers' accounts consistently recorded a payment of 20s. to the bishop for Wraysbury.

15
addition to the college holding in Wraysbury was made by Richard of Gloucester, heir of Isabel of Dytton, who, after granting a messuage in the township to the college direct in November 1349, apparently without royal permission, gave it to the king, who in turn presented it to the college in frankalmoin in January 1350. For a short period, the rectory of Wraysbury was administered by officials of the college; from at least 1361, however, it was let out to farm, bringing in for the most part £24 a year. The chapelry at Langley was farmed independently of Wraysbury and was worth from £26 13s. 4d. to £33 6s. 8d. a year, besides a rent of 9s. yearly paid by the priory of Ankerwyke for farming the tithe of an assart called Prestwick in their manor of Alderbourne, which fell within the chapelry of Langley.

The parish church of South Tawton, Devon, was valued at £20 a year in the bishop of Exeter’s deed appropriating it to the college of Windsor in August 1349. Of this an annual portion of £10 was to be paid to the vicar, and one mark annually to the bishop. In July 1351, royal licence was given to the warden and canons of Windsor to exchange this church with the rector and scholars of Exeter College, Oxford, for the church of Long Wittenham in Berkshire. The exchange, however, never took place; the dean and canons of Windsor have retained the patronage of South Tawton, and Exeter College that of Long Wittenham, ever since. South Tawton was usually farmed at £24, except for a period between 1386 and 1406, when the farm was £20 a year only.

Before the church of Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, came into the possession of the college of St. George, a vicarage had been ordained in it by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The arrangements then made were now retained, the vicar’s portion being the small

1 W.R., xv.47.5 (and Arundel White Book, f. 4v). The property consisted of a messuage with 18 acres of arable land, one acre of meadow and 4s. annual and quit rent. Richard of Gloucester appointed attorneys on the same day, to give seisin of the property to the college (W.R., xv.47.6 and Arundel White Book, f. 2v).
2 W.R., xv.47.7 (and Arundel White Book, f. 2v). When granted to the king, the messuage was said to consist of 17 acres of arable, 1 acre of meadow, and 3s. rent, and was given thus to the college by the king (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p. 466 and Arundel White Book, f. 3).
3 A piece of land newly reclaimed from the waste and brought under cultivation.
4 The tithes of Prestwick were granted to Ankerwyke Priory in September 1350 (Arundel White Book, f. 4v), and the priory continued to pay 9s. a year for them until 1447, when the amount was reduced to 6s. 8d. (Frith’s Old Register, p. 217).
5 Arundel White Book, f. 35v.
7 4 February 1331 (W.R., xv.28.1 and Arundel White Book, f. 30).
tithes and a suitable manse, while the college, as rector, kept the great tithes and the offerings,\(^1\) out of which 10s. yearly was paid to the bishop.\(^2\) The rectory was a rich one and its value at farm increased steadily throughout the reign of Edward III from £43 6s. 8d. to £50 a year. Subsequently its value decreased, but never fell below £35 in the period surveyed, and from 1406 to 1416 remained at £40.

(2) Deddington and Datchet.

Arrangements for the appropriation of the churches of Deddington, in Oxfordshire, and Datchet\(^3\) in Buckinghamshire, began early in 1350. Letters patent, dated 26 January 1350,\(^4\) granted leave to William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, to alienate Deddington to the college of St. George; the earl’s charter\(^5\) making the grant was dated 4 May. Edward III obtained Datchet from the abbot and convent of St. Albans, who had held it since the middle of the twelfth century. In return, the king gave up the right he had, on the election of a new abbot, of nominating a clerk who was to receive a pension of 100s. until the abbey provided him with a benefice.\(^6\) The advowson of Datchet passed to the king on 13 May; on the 22nd the king granted it to the college of Windsor.

Pope Clement VI, by letters dated 31 January 1351, authorized the appropriation to the college of St. George of six benefices, worth in all not more than £200.\(^7\) The warden of Windsor, William Mudge, presented these letters to the papal delegate, the bishop of Winchester, when, as the king’s proxy, he asked in June 1352 for Deddington and in July for Datchet to be appropriated to the college. According to the last taxation of the tithe\(^8\) Deddington was worth £40 and Datchet 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year.

1 Among the revenues of the church of Uttoxeter was an annual pension of 6s. 8d. owed by the rector of the church of Leigh. This was withheld from the warden and canons for fourteen years and finally recovered after an appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury, who ordered the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to see that the pension was paid, with the arrears, by the rector of Leigh, 23 October 1404 (W.R., xv.28.15 and Arundel White Book, f. 32v).

2 Arundel White Book, f. 32.

3 Including the chapel of Fulmer.


5 Arundel White Book, f. 20.


8 Assessments for taxation were made at a level lower than the actual worth of the benefice. An “unofficial income-tax abatement” was allowed, and the church assessed at the lowest estimate for which it could be farmed (Hartridge, Viceavages, p. 79).
making the appropriations,¹ the bishop of Winchester reserved portions of 25 marks (£16 13s. 4d.) for the vicar of Deddington and £11 for the vicar of Datchet. Vicarages were ordained in both churches on 17 January 1353² by the same prelate, who fixed the pensions to be received by the bishop and chapter of Lincoln at 24s. and 3s. 4d. respectively for Deddington, and 3s. 4d. and 12d. for Datchet. In addition, the archdeacon of Buckingham was to receive 6s. 8d. yearly as procuration fee³ from Datchet. Since July 1352, when Datchet was united to it, the college had acquired by purchase from Robert Amaunt of Datchet a messuage and 2s. 6d. rent in the township,⁴ and these were now added to the vicar’s portion.

At farm, the church of Deddington was worth £50 a year to the college for one half of the sixty-eight years under review. The farm increased steadily through Edward III’s reign from £45 to £50, and then remained at £50 for thirty-four years from 1369 to 1403. After a drop in value, it rose, this time to £52, from 1406-11, but had dropped again to £42 by 1415. The value of Datchet remained at £29 6s. 8d. for most of Edward III’s reign, then fluctuated between £23 and £30 for a few years, finally reaching a level of £26 13s. 4d., which was maintained from 1402 to 1416.

(3) **Iver, Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton.**

In February 1351 the prior and convent of the Cluniac priory of Lewes felt it advisable to seek denization and consequent quittance of all levies and confiscations made from aliens as such by a timely grant to the king of five churches, Fishlake, Sandal Magna, Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton, together worth 200 marks.⁵ Of these the king exchanged Fishlake with Ralph Neville for the church of Iver,⁶ in the county of Buckingham. He then on 1 March⁷ granted its advowson, and those of Ryston,⁸ Whaddon and Caxton⁹ to the warden and college of St. George.

¹ Arundel White Book, ff. 5v, 10v. Since the appropriation was in accordance with papal command, the licence of the diocesan, the bishop of Lincoln, was not required.
² Ibid., ff. 6v, 10v.
³ Procurements were payments originally made in kind (the provision of hospitality for a bishop or archdeacon making a visitation of a parish or religious house); they were later commuted for money.
⁴ W.R., xv.58.B.3 (and Arundel White Book, f. 7v).
⁵ Arundel White Book, f. 25v; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 47.
⁷ Ibid., 1350-54, p. 51.
⁸ In Norfolk.
⁹ Whaddon and Caxton are in Cambridgeshire.
Their appropriation was completed without delay. At the beginning of May 1351 John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, ordained the vicarage of Iver, fixing the vicar’s portion at 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.), his own annual pension at 20s., and that of his chapter at 5s. The vicarage of Ryston was ordained at the beginning of June; the vicar’s portion being 20 marks. After one set of first-fruits had been paid to the bishop of Norwich, on the first institution of a vicar at Ryston, the rector was to pay 4 marks (£2 13s. 4d.) and the vicar 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.) a year to the bishop, and a pension of 20s. from the rector was reserved for the chapter of Norwich. Whaddon and Caxton were appropriated to the college by the bishop of Ely on 7 June. Portions for the vicar were fixed at 2 marks for Whaddon and 11 marks (£7 6s. 8d.) for Caxton, and the pensions of the bishop and chapter of Ely at 20s. and 3s. 4d. for Whaddon, and 5s. and 1s. 8d. for Caxton.

Of these four churches, Iver and Ryston were particularly rich, both commanding the large annual sum of £53 6s. 8d. at farm during the reign of Edward III. By 1385, however, the value of Iver had dropped to £48, from 1393 to 1403 it was farmed at £46, and from 1404 to 1416 at £44. Similarly Ryston suffered a steady decline. From 1375 its farm began to decrease, and by 1415 had sunk as low as £27 16s. 8d. Whaddon and Caxton were not as valuable, but their rents did not go down with such rapidity. Throughout the period, Whaddon was farmed for sums varying between £32 and £35. The farm of Caxton sank from £18 to £11 6s. 8d., but rose to £12 in 1415.

(4) Simonburn and Saltash.

Queen Philippa and Edward prince of Wales each made a gift of a church to the college through the king. The advowson of Simonburn was stated to belong to the queen by grant from the late Sir John Darcy, while the prince, as duke of Cornwall, was lord of Saltash. A nominal grant of Simonburn and Saltash was made to the king in order that they might pass to the college with the full authority of a royal grant. This was done by letters patent dated 9 May 1351.
Possession of the advowson of Simonburn had long been a subject of dispute between the king and the bishop of Durham. The king’s claim to the church was two-fold. First, Simonburn was situated in the liberty of Tynedale, long associated with the Scottish throne till it was annexed by Edward I in his war against King John (Balliol) in 1296.2 Secondly, on the death of Adam of East Swinburn in 1318, the jurors stated that he had held the manor and the advowson of Simonburn in free marriage from Sir John de Graham.3 Adam received the manor, undoubtedly, when he married Idonea, sister of Henry Graham its lord, for it was confirmed to him by an assize of novel disseisin in October 1291.4 In this confirmation no mention was made of the advowson, and it is doubtful whether Adam ever actually enjoyed the patronage, for in 1310 the benefice was held by a royal nominee and in 1314 by another king’s clerk, while in 1316 the king presented to the church.5 At any rate, whether by confiscation from King John, or by escheat from Adam, the king of England claimed the right to present to Simonburn, and did so in 1320 and 1333.

The bishop of Durham’s claim was based on a grant of the advowson made in 1294 by John Balliol, then king of Scotland, to Anthony Bek, then bishop. This grant was confirmed6 by Edward I in the same year, and three years later Bek obtained papal licence to appropriate the church.7 In 1306, however, Edward I accused the bishop of having obtained the grant from Balliol after his surrender, and of having secured his own confirmation of it by misrepresentation.8

1 The advowson belonged to the king of Scots, Alexander II, in 1229. This is the earliest known mention of the benefice (Northumberland County History, XV, 167, citing Archbishop Gray’s Register (Surtees Society, vol. 56), p. 29).
3 Cal. Inq., VI, 95, no. 164.
7 Ibid., p. 555.
8 By a writ dated 17 April 1319, the king’s escheator on this side Trent was ordered to deliver Adam’s lands to his son and heir, Henry of Swinburn, a recently pardoned adherent of the Earl of Lancaster (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p. 231), who had now done fealty to the king (Cal. Fine Rolls, 1307-10, p. 306). The lands were either never given up to Henry or else subsequently confiscated, for in 1324 Henry petitioned for the return of some of them (N.C.H., IV, 306, citing Inq. p.m. 17 Edward II, no. 98). A writ dated 12 December 1326 again ordered the escheator to seize Adam’s lands, and an inquisition ordered on the same day subsequently found that Adam’s daughter Barnaba and two of his grandsons were heirs (Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-27, p. 426; Cal. Inq., VI, pp. 473-4, no. 751).
The case was tried before parliament at Carlisle while Bek was in Rome, and judgment was given against the bishop by default.¹ In 1329 the case was brought up again on the petition of Louis of Beaumont, then bishop of Durham.² Edward III ordered a commission to inquire into the matter, and the subsequent inquest reported that the advowson of Simonburn belonged to the holder of the manor of Wark in Tynedale, Sir John Darcy.³ Beaumont then entered a plea against Darcy, but died before any decision was reached.⁴ In 1337 the case was still dragging on, this time with Bishop Richard of Bury as plaintiff and the king replacing Darcy as defendant.⁵ The matter was settled temporarily when, in 1338, Edward III, ignoring Darcy’s claim, gave up to the bishop of Durham his own claim to Simonburn, in fulfilment of a vow he had made before the battle of Halidon Hill.⁶ In return, Bishop Bury agreed to set up a monastic house near Oxford, to which he was to give the advowson and the king was to give licence to appropriate the church.

But the dispute did not end here, for this grant introduced another claimant to the advowson of Simonburn, the prior and convent of Durham, to whom the new Durham House at Oxford belonged. Neither the bishop nor Darcy relinquished his claim, and the king’s passed to Queen Philippa, to whom he had given his liberty of Tynedale.⁷ The queen presented to Simonburn in 1342,⁸ ignoring all claims. Then Bishop Bury renewed his own claim to the church, based, as before, on Balliol’s grant,⁹ while Sir John Darcy continued to press his right to it. The bishop of Durham’s

⁶ Reg. Pal. Dun., III, 219. In the Northumberland County History (vol. xv, p. 168) the date of this grant is given in error as 1358. This has involved the author of the article in attempts (1) to explain why Simonburn was given to Bishop Bury in 1338, and (2) to reconcile this grant with that made to St. George’s in 1351. A supposed verdict in Bishop Bury’s favour is given as the reason for the king’s release of claim to Simonburn in 1338, while the grant to Durham House, Oxford (supposed to have been made seven years after the grant to the warden and canons of Windsor and despite their claim), is curiously disposed of by a reference to the surrender of Simonburn made by the prior and convent in return for the advowson of Hemingburgh in 1350, two years before they are said to have received it.
⁷ Letters patent of 1343 refer to Tynedale as “Queen Philippa’s liberty” (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1343-45, pp. 87, 88).
⁹ Ibid., IV, 208.
claim was successfully ignored. Darcy’s was disproved by a decision in the king’s court in 1347 that the advowson of Simonburn was not part of the manor of Wark but still belonged to the crown. Some compromise, however, was arranged between the queen and Darcy, for when in 1351 Queen Philippa gave Simonburn to the king to give to the college of Windsor, her title to it was by grant of Sir John Darcy, who by that time was dead.

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

It was not until 18 June 1360 that the bishop of Durham, whose own right to the church of Simonburn had been so unjustly overruled, made the appropriation of the church to the college, reserving to himself a pension of 40s. yearly for sequestrations. The church was valued by inquest later in the year. The rector’s obligations were found to include the provision of full-time priests to serve the church of Simonburn and the chapel of Bellingham, and priests to serve the chapels of Wark and Haughton each for three days a week. Five shillings a year was to be paid to the archdeacon of Northumberland for synodals, and 1s. 6d. to the church of Durham, of which 12d. was for chrism fees and 6d. for a procession at Whitsuntide.

1 Bishop Bury died before his right to the church could be proved.
2 N.C.H., XV, 168, citing Year Books II, Hil. an. 20 Edw. II, p. 5, no. II.
4 Hodgson makes the curious statement that it was owing to Bishop Beaumont’s death, which he puts on 28 September 1338, that the church of Durham lost the advantages which the king intended to confer by his grant after the battle of Halidon Hill, 25 June 1338 (History of Northumberland, III, ii, 105, n.). Bishop Beaumont died 24 September 1333, and Bishop Bury, his successor, died 14 April 1345.
6 W.R., xi.K.1; Ashm. MSS. No. 1115, f. 88; and printed by Hodgson, History of Northumberland, III, ii, 101, n.
7 In 1378 Bishop Hatfield included this pension of 40s. from Simonburn among the endowments of a chantry in Durham Cathedral (N.C.H., XV, 168, citing Hist. Dun. Scrip. Tres, p. cxlv). The writer on Simonburn in the Northumberland County History, apparently ignorant of this pension from St. George’s although the deed of appropriation was printed from Bishop Hatfield’s Register by Hodgson, presumed that the annual payment of 40s. was the result of a compromise with the king, who thus compensated the bishop of Durham for the loss of Simonburn.
8 N.C.H., XV, 170, citing Hodgson (op. cit., III, ii, 102-3, n.), who printed the valuation from Bishop Hatfield’s Register.
9 Dues payable by parochial clergy at the diocesan synod.
Procuration fees were estimated at 37s. 6d. for the bishop and 7s. 6d. for the archdeacon.

This living of Simonburn was, at the beginning of Edward III's reign, very wealthy. In 1291 it had been valued at £136 4s. 2d., and in 1309 it was worth £136 5s.¹ The church, however, was in a lonely situation, within easy reach of burning and plundering by the Scots. In 1340 the crops and goods of the parish were destroyed by fire, and the livestock carried off.² Nor were the Scots the only plunderers, for in 1343 Englishmen from the neighbouring liberties of the earl of Angus and of the bishop of Durham joined in the looting of Tynedale, feigning to be Scots like their confederates.³ Consequently by 1360, when Simonburn was appropriated to the college of Windsor, it was worth only £106 os. 4d. at Bishop Hatfield's valuation.⁴ This diminished value was still considerable, but the college did not long enjoy it. The value of Simonburn decreased even more rapidly as the Scottish wars continued. In 1374 it was worth only £73 6s. 8d. at farm, and by 1393 less than one-fifth of this sum, £17 6s. 8d.⁵ For three years, 1398 to 1401, it was farmed at £20, but after 1402 was worth nothing at all. From this time Simonburn was useless as a source of revenue to the college of Windsor, and in 1482 the bishop was asked to disappropriate the church since the maintenance of it was a dead loss.⁶

The appropriation of Saltash, on the other hand, was secured without delay from Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, and the church remained a good and steady source of income for the college through—

¹ N.C.H., XV, 168, citing Hist. Dun. Scrip. Tres, p. cvii. The tax of one-tenth on the church was assessed at £13 12s. 6d.
³ Ibid., pp. 67, 88.
⁴ 8 July 1360.
⁵ Simonburn had been farmed for this amount in 1392-93. In 1393 the lease was renewed for two years, but it was so uncertain that the church would be worth even this reduced sum in the second year that the following clause was inserted in the agreement: Et si contingat infra annum secundum termini supra predicti guerram communem inter reges Angliae et Scotiae fieri aut moveri quominus predicti Willelminus et Willelminus plenius commodum et proficuum de fructibus et providentibus dicte ecclesie levare et percipiere potuerint eis fiat mitigatio rationabilis de porcione firme anni illius solvende secundum quod probi et fide digni vivi de patria super conscientia sua et bona fide operati decreverint faciendum. The two leases were printed by Hodgson (op. cit., III, ii. 35) from the Swinburne Manuscripts (vol. I, pp. 32, 33).
⁶ N.C.H., XV, 170, citing Register Dunelm., IV, 221. The king by letters patent dated 2 March 1482 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-85, p. 260) gave the college licence to grant the advowson and patronage of Simonburn to Richard, duke of Gloucester. It was to be used as part of the endowment of the new college at Barnard Castle.
out the period treated. The bishop’s deed of appropriation was dated 18 June 1351, and on the same day the warden and college bound themselves to pay the bishop a pension of 2 marks a year for the church. A vicarage was ordained on 4 August. The vicar’s portion, consisting of the small tithes, the mortuary fees and offerings both in the church of St. Stephen, Saltash, and in the dependent chapel of St. Nicholas of Ash, was valued at £20 a year.

On 18 February 1361, at the request of the king, who stated that he wished to secure the position both of the rector and of the vicar of the church, lest by chance the vicar’s portion might become too small to support him or on the other hand might increase to such an extent that it exceeded that of the college, the bishop of Exeter agreed to fix the vicar’s portion at £20 a year, to be paid him by the college or their proxies at the four terms of the year.

Saltash was farmed at a consistently high rent. It increased from £40 to £48 6s. 8d. in 1370, and did not diminish appreciably until 1399, when it dropped first to £42 and then in 1402 back to its original £40. By 1410 its farm was higher than before, £54, and in 1415-16 it was £52.

The only other grant of an advowson made within the period surveyed was that of North Molton in North Devon, a gift of the king which did not result in an appropriation. In 1333 this advowson had been given to the Augustinian abbey of Lilleshall in Shropshire by Alan of Charleton and Ellen his wife. The king had given licence for the abbey to appropriate the church (26 April 1333), and in 1337 Bishop Grandisson of Exeter made the appropriation. A vicarage was instituted subsequently, the vicar’s portion being fixed at 26 marks (£17 6s. 8d.) a year, and in 1355 the abbot and convent obtained the bishop’s permission to let the church out to

---

1 W.R., xi, K.3 (the original), and Arundel White Book, f. 37. It is also printed in full in the Register of John de Grandisson (Exeter Series of Episcopal Registers, edtd. by Hingeston-Randolph), II, 1102.
2 Reg. of Grandisson, II, 1104.
3 Ibid., p. 1104-5, and Arundel White Book, f. 37v.
4 Reg. of Grandisson, II, 1236, and Arundel White Book, f. 38. The change was doubtless to the advantage of the college, for while tithes tended to increase, money was steadily decreasing in value (cf. Hartridge, Vicarages, p. 55). Treasurers’ Accounts reveal that the revenues of Saltash did not fall below their level of 1361 and often rose above it, and that it was at the instance of the college that the alteration was made, for the account of 1361-62 included expenses of negotiations with the king and the bishop of Exeter concerning Saltash which presumably were in connexion with the change (W.R. xv, 34.1).
6 Reg. Grand., II, 842.
7 Ibid, III, 1327.
farm for four years. Lilleshall’s possession of North Molton was, however, soon disturbed. When Alan of Charleton died in 1360, his possessions reverted to Nicholas Seymour, his wife’s son by a former marriage. Nicholas died in the following year, leaving as his heir his son Richard, a minor, aged nine. Despite the inquest taken after Alan’s death, when it was stated that he died seised of the manor of North Molton excepting the advowson of the church, the king included among his rights as guardian of the heir that of presenting to the living, and in 1366 presented Walter Almeley to it. Almeley was instituted on 24 September 1366 and held the rectory until 1374, when the king gave him the church of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight and presented Richard Raunds to succeed him at North Molton. In 1378 Richard Seymour had come into possession of his lands, including the advowson of North Molton, but, ignoring both Seymour and Lilleshall, the king granted the advowson to the college of St. George in 1390, with licence to appropriate. Bishop Brantingham summoned the dean and chapter of Exeter, and Raunds as rector of North Molton, to consult with him concerning this appropriation. The appropriation was not made; presumably there was some dispute about the advowson. When Raunds died in 1400 the bishop collated to the benefice by lapse. Richard Seymour died in 1401; his widow Ella succeeded to his possessions, and royal letters close included the advowson among them. Nevertheless, in 1404 the king again

1 Reg. Grand., II, 1162.  
3 Ibid., XI, 168, no. 187.  
4 Ibid., X, 472, no. 606.  
5 Afterwards canon of Windsor (appointed 26 November 1380) and later warden (24 February 1381).  
6 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1364-67, p. 246. The king presented Henry Ruddock to the church of North Molton by patent dated 21 December 1369 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1367-70, p. 340), but this was apparently in error, since Almeley’s estate as parson of North Molton was ratified in 1371 by patent dated 7 April (ibid., 1370-74, p. 82).  
8 Canon of Windsor from 1377 to his death in 1400. Raunds was constantly at Windsor, and in January 1384 was admonished by Bishop Brantingham to reside in his benefice (Reg. Brant., I, 508). From registers of monthly chapel attendance (1384-86) preserved among the archives of St. George’s, it appears that Raunds did not cease to reside at Windsor after the admonition. In 1396, at the instance of the duke of Gloucester, Raunds secured permission for three years’ absence from North Molton (Stafford’s Reg., p. 264).  
10 Ibid., 1377-81, p. 215.  
11 Ibid., 1388-92, p. 190.  
13 Ibid., II, 701, n.  
presented to the church. This presentation, however, did not take effect. The bishop's nominee continued to hold North Molton until 1406, when he exchanged benefices with his nephew, Richard More, who was admitted and instituted on the presentation of the warden and canons of Windsor. But the triumph of the college was shortlived. Lilleshall abbey pressed its neglected claim and secured a royal writ dated 28 June 1419, which ordered that the abbot was to be given quiet possession of the church. If Lilleshall regained the appropriation, however, the king retained the advowson, presenting to the vicarage of North Molton in October 1419 and March 1420. In 1442 the abbot and convent of Lilleshall obtained an inspeximus and confirmation of a number of royal grants, among them that which had authorized the alienation of the advowson of North Molton to them, and given them licence to appropriate the church. When the vicarage next fell vacant (in 1452) the bishop collated to it. Lilleshall, however, retained the appropriation until the abbey was dissolved. Thus it can be seen how empty had been the king's grant of this church to the college of Windsor.

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

It is clear, then, that the eleven churches granted between 1348 and 1351, and subsequently appropriated, formed a notable and constant source of revenue, producing in a good year about £450 in all. In an appended table, an attempt has been made to show in parallel columns the income derivable from this source in each of twenty-five years between 1361-62 and

2 Stafford's Reg., p. 190.
3 Ibid., p. 264.
5 Ibid., 1441-46, p. 149.
6 Lacy's Reg., I, 372.
7 Dugdale, Monasticon, VI, 265.
8 This was a substantial gift of spiritualities formerly belonging to the abbey of Bec, including the two churches and rectory manors of Ogbourne, St. Andrew and St. George, in Wiltshire, a prebend at Salisbury, the rectories of Ruislip and Glynde, and portions of tithes in forty-eight parishes. The original deed of grant (W.R., x.4.1) from Henry V's brother, the duke of Bedford, was dated 3 December 1421, and the patent of grant dated 21 July 1422 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1416-22, p. 441). Ashmole was in error when he included the appurtenances of Ogbourne as part of the original endowment of the college. A study of the fate of the English lands of the abbey of Bec (including Ogbourne), by Miss M. Morgan, D.Phil., has just been published in the Oxford Historical Series, The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec (1949).
1415-16, for which evidence is available. These sums may be compared with the figures in the first column, which are drawn from a list made in the sixteenth century showing the income of the college in the reign of Edward III (for comparison with that in the reign of Henry VIII). The figures given in the table are the amounts which were due, not those actually received in each given year. Since payments were not always made in the year for which they were due, and some few, for various reasons, were forgiven to the debtor by the college, totals for each year have not been given, for they would not correspond with the year's actual receipts.

(b) MANORS

The second category of royal endowment took the form of a substantial grant dated 1 July 1352, comprising the manors of Iver and Craswell in Bray, both near Windsor, a weir in the Thames called Braybrook and other lands in the parish of Bray. The properties had been purchased by the king for this purpose. Iver was bought from Ralph Neville in exchange for rents of equivalent annual value, £90, and Craswell with its appurtenances (including Braybrook) from John of St. Philibert for a lump sum of 700 marks (£466 13s. 4d.). When giving seisin to the college of these lands, the king included with them a wood called Templewood in Stoke Poges which he had recently acquired by grant from John de Molyns.

The evidence available is:

1. Treasurer's rolls for the years 1361-62, 1362-63, 1366-67, 1367-68, 1370-71, 1371-72, 1374-75, 1375-76, 1376-77, 1377-78, 1385-86, 1393-94, 1394-95, 1395-96, 1398-99, 1399-1400, 1400-01, 1402-03, 1404-05, 1405-06, 1410-11, 1415-16 (W.R., xv.34.1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, 12 and 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26, 27, 28).

2. Steward's roll for the year 1369-70 (W.R., xv.48.1).

3. Digest of a treasurer's roll for the year 1382-83 (W.R., xv.53.64, catalogued among the bailiffs' rolls because it also records losses of cattle on the manors of Iver and Craswell during four years of murrain, 1364-67).


5. In Buckinghamshire. The manor of Craswell was also called Bray St. Philibert or Philiberts. Both names were taken from those of successive owners of the manor, the Cressewells and the St. Philiberts (Kerry, History of Bray, p. 87).

6. Possession of Braybrook included the right to levy toll on goods passing the weir on their way down the river. A rent of 5 marks a year was payable at the exchequer for this privilege from 1206, when King John granted Braybrook to Jordan of London, until 1352 when Edward III bought it from John of St. Philibert and gave it in free alms to the college of Windsor. The St. Philiberts acquired Braybrook in or before 1328 from Richard atte Lok of Bray whose family had held it since the reign of Henry III (Arundel White Book, f. 16; W.R., xi.4.1).


9. Ibid., p. 517. 

10. Ibid., p. 532.

27
The annual value of these two manors is not apparent from the entries of receipts in the treasurers' and stewards' accounts, since these record only money actually delivered to the central treasury, which varied largely from year to year. Equally obscure on this point are the three extant rolls of account of the two manors, since, like all other manorial accounts, they were drawn up to show the liability of the accounting official, and not the year's profit or loss. There exist, however, four lists of the revenues derived by the college of St. George from its properties in this period. One of these, in the Arundel White Book, showing the college rents in the year 1360, gives the value of Iver as £116 9s. 9d. and that of Craswell as £33 13s. 2½d. These amounts are higher than the values quoted in the three other lists. In one, which gives average values for the time of Edward III, Iver is worth £67 3s. 6d. and Craswell £20; the second, for 1382-83, values Iver at £70 12s. 7d. and Craswell at £20 13s. 4d., both with stock; and the last, a summary of the treasurer's roll of 1410-11 has £75 6s. 10½d. for Iver, and gives the usual value of Craswell as £19. It is interesting to notice that, except in the list of 1360, the value of Iver was less than the £90 a year given by Edward III in exchange for it.

In addition to these two manors, one-third of the manor of Deddington Castle was acquired by the college, by purchase.

1 The three earliest treasurers' accounts have entries of receipts of money from the manor of Iver amounting to £108 4s. 1½d. in 1361-62, £63 4s. 10d. in 1362-63, and £26 3s. 4d. in 1366-67 (W.R., xv. 34.1, 2, 4).
2 F. 155. The figures given for the rents of the college rectories either correspond to or are very near the rents recorded for 1361-62 in the treasurer's account, W.R., xv. 34.1, except for that of Saltash which is given as £50 in the Arundel White Book and only £40 from 1361-70 in the college accounts.
3 W.R., xv. 34.3.
4 W.R., xv. 34.27.
5 W.R., xv. 34.27.
6 In this year Craswell was worth only 27s. 9d. owing to the expense of repairing the mill, but its value in ordinary years was added in the margin.
7 Except two messuages, one toft, one and a half virgates of land and ten acres of meadow. These lands were called "Bomynye" and belonged to the dower of Joan Dyne (later Joan Breton), wife of John Dyne, and were subsequently granted to Nicholas Somerton by Joan and John's heir, Thomas Dyne (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-85, p. 465; 4 October 1384).
8 In Oxfordshire.
9 The summary given in the Catalogue of the Arrlary of the contents of the Arundel White Book includes this third of the manor of Deddington with the gift of the advowson of Deddington given to the college by William Bohun, earl of Northampton in 1350. A block of properties, including Deddington Castle, was granted by Edward III to William Bohun, 9 September 1332 (Arundel White Book, f. 21), and followed by a further grant of knights' fees, advowsons and reversions on them dated 12 July 1346 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-48, p. 143), but William Bohun died in September 1360 and there is no evidence to connect him or his heir, Humphrey, with the acquisition of the manor by the college.

28
Negotiations for the transference were begun in 1363 and not completed until 1386. The property was bought from Thomas Dyne. In 1364, by a final concord in the king’s court at Westminster, William Mudge, warden of Windsor, was recognized as owner of the reversion in return for 100 marks paid to Dyne. A third part of the property belonged to Joan Breton, formerly wife of John Dyne, for her life, and Elizabeth Twyford had a life-interest in the remaining two-thirds and in Joan Breton’s third, should she survive her. A summary of expenses made in the years 1365-67 by the college included £86 12s.  Solutum Thome Dyne recto habendi tercie partes manerii de Dadygto ne pro eadem tercia parte et nichil habebimus de dicta tercia parte quousque Elizabeth que fuit uxor Edwardi de Twyford mortua fuerit. In 1368 William Mudge obtained permission to grant these reversions to John Rouceby and John Prust, clerk and chaplain respectively of Windsor, in order that they might grant them in frankalmoin to the college of St. George. By agreement in May 1373 Rouceby and Prust paid Mudge 200 marks for them. In the following year they were granted to the warden and canons, who, after waiting another twelve years to realize possession of the lands, secured them at last from the surviving Joan Breton in return for a life pension of £10 a year.

Deddington Castle was not retained in the hands of the college to be managed by its officials, perhaps owing to its distance from

1 From 1363 to 1367 (or perhaps later) a yearly pension of £10 was paid to Thomas Dyne, no doubt in part payment for the reversions (Treasurers’ Accounts, W.R., xv.34.2 and 4).
3 W.R., xv.53.64.
4 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1367-70, p. 95; 14 March 1368.
6 This increase in the amount paid for the reversions is perhaps explicable by the fact that expectation of enjoying the lands was now nine years nearer than when Mudge bought them, but the amount, like the transaction it represents, may be fictitious.
7 Arundel White Book, f. 22. The college paid a further £12 7s. 10d. for the manor in a year between 1381 and 1385: in prosecuzione circa terciam partem manerii de Dadyngton ultra perquisicionem primo solutam (Treasurer’s Account (summary), W.R., xv.53.64).
8 25 March 1386. The indenture of agreement is copied in the Arundel White Book (f. 23). In the treasurer’s account of 1385-86 were entered the payment of £10 to Joan Breton and the travelling expenses of John Prust going to seal the agreement (W.R., xv.34.15). Prust became a canon of Windsor 26 May 1379 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, p. 349), and was steward in this year. No further entry of Joan Breton’s pension occurs in the existing treasurers’ rolls, of which the next is for 1393-94.
the centre. From the first it was let out to farm, bringing in a steady income which increased from £26 to £26 13s. 4d. in 1405 and was still at that level in 1416.

(c) OBIT ENDOWMENTS AND OTHER PROPERTIES IN WINDSOR

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

Burnham's

Robert Burnham, one of the first canons of Windsor, and the earliest known steward of the college, endowed his obit with two messuages in Grape Count Lane. These are easily found in the rolls since entries relating to them were headed with Burnham's name. One of them consisted of a piece of land with a dovecot built on it, the other included a curtilage with appurtenances, and lay alongside the king's garden. On 6 August 1361 Burnham

1 Burnham was holding the office of steward in December 1351 (Household Roll, W.R., xv.3.1). He died 10 August 1362.
2 Harwood identified Grape Count Lane with the part of the present Church Lane which connects Church Street with St. Albans Street in New Windsor. The king's garden was used for growing grapes, and the ancient Priest Street (now part of St. Albans Street) was mentioned in 1443 as adjoining the vineyard (Windsor Old and New, p. 102). In the Catalogue of the Aery in the descriptions of manuscript deeds relating to Windsor properties, Grape Count Lane was identified by Dr. Dalton with "Love Lane". The reason for this is not apparent, and the only Love Lane which I have been able to discover lay some distance from the site of Grape Count Lane as identified by Harwood.
3 This messuage was obtained by Burnham, 11 September 1356, from John of Croxton, who had it of the gift of William Mudge. It had formerly belonged to Robert Shulington, a canon of Windsor who died in 1353 and left it to William Mudge in his will. Shulington originally acquired the messuage by grant from John Drake, citizen of London, and his wife Agnes Plonte, 8 November 1339 (Deeds concerning properties in Windsor, W.R., xv.44.76, 116, 125).
4 Burnham acquired this messuage by grant from John of Windsor and Felicia his wife, 3 February 1355 (ibid., xv.44.117).
5 The king's garden was in the possession of the warden and canons from 23 February 1351, when the king granted it to them (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 32) until 2 April 1365, when the college surrendered it in exchange for other property in New Windsor (ibid., 1304-7, p. 101). The messuage was described in Burnham's deed of grant as lying against the garden "of the warden and canons" (W.R., xv.44.104).
6 W.R., xv.44.104. The date of this deed is given in error as 1351 in the Catalogue of the Aery.
made over the property to Stephen Shalford, a fellow-canon of Windsor, who obtained royal licence to grant the two messuages in frankalmoin to the college of Windsor. In return for this grant the warden and canons undertook to distribute 20s. annually, or more if the property should be worth more, to members of the college who attended the vigil and the mass for the dead on the anniversary of Burnham’s death. The rate of distribution was fixed by Shalford’s deed of grant, and if 12d. should happen to be left over, one penny was to be given to each of twelve poor persons. Any further surplus was to be divided between the canons who were present at the obit services.

From the first the rent of these two tenements exceeded 20s. a year. In 1363, when the obit was first celebrated, 26s. 8d. was distributed, since the warden hired Burnham’s from the college for that sum. From 1386 or earlier the bigger of the two messuages alone brought in 26s. 8d., and the smaller with the dovecot on it a further 10s. The increased amount of 36s. 8d. was faithfully distributed each 10 August except once, in 1399, when Burnham’s obit distributions were paid like the others at the same rate as quotidiens, and amounted only to 17s. 2d. Burnham’s two messuages were apparently used as stables. Until 1400 the warden held the bigger, but in that year he began to rent another, opposite the east end of Windsor church, at the same rent, 26s. 8d. a year, and released this one for the use of any of the other canons who cared to hire it. The smaller, with the dovecot, was usually held by one of the canons, and for a rent of 10s. a year. Endorsements

---

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

2 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, p. 107. Although licence was granted for this alienation in mortmain, it appears to have been brought in question later, for in 1382 pardon of forfeiture was granted to the warden and canons for acquiring the messuages without licence (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-85, p. 107).

3 Deed, W.R., xv.44.131; 13 January 1362.

4 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.2.

5 No treasurers’ rolls exist for the years between 1378 and 1385, consequently the rent may have increased at any date between these two.

6 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.19.

7 Ibid., xv.34.23. Under the heading “Burnham” the two rents of 26s. 8d. and 10s. were entered each as pro stabulo.

8 This stable formed the endowment of the obit of Richard Raunds, canon of Windsor from 1377 to his death in January 1400.
dated 1426 on two of the early deeds concerning the bigger of these properties state that this messuage was called Bernham's place.

**Mudge's**

William Mudge, warden of Windsor from 1349 to 1381, endowed his obit with the rent of a house by the Thames. The documents dealing with this grant were copied in the Arundel White Book and still appear in the index, but the folios upon which they were written are now missing. It is not possible to discover the date of Mudge's grant. In March 1356 he obtained royal licence to alienate in mortmain to the college of St. George three messuages, two acres of land and 2s. 6d. rent in New Windsor and Datchet. Of these properties two messuages, one acre and the rent were certainly in Datchet. This left one messuage and one acre in New Windsor, and this was probably the messuage by the Thames bridge which was granted to Mudge by Simon Merston and then given by Mudge's charter to the college (cf. the index to the Arundel White Book). Probably the date of this charter was March 1356, when Mudge granted the Datchet lands. Certainly it was before 1366-67, when preparations were made for building on the land. In this year an old tiled house was bought for 22s. 6d. for the sake of its tiles which were intended for use on the new buildings by the Thames. A carter named Robert Whetebrech was hired, and three pairs of traces bought for his cart-horses. In 1368 John the tiler was employed to use the tiles so thriftily purchased the year before,

---

1 W.R., xv.44.117 and 118. They are the grant and the release from John of Windsor to Robert Burnham of the messuage, in February and April 1355.
2 The treasurer's roll of 1415-16 records a receipt of 6s. 8d., and 13s. 4d. not yet paid, of the rent pro domo iuxta Thamesiam data collegio pro obitu Willelmi Mugge prius decani istius collegii (W.R., xv.34.28). John of the Chamber, appointed 14 November 1348, was actually the first warden of Windsor, but he died before 18 June 1349 when Mudge was appointed in his place. When the college was instituted on 30 November 1352 with papal authority, Mudge was counted as the first warden.
3 Arundel White Book, f. 159v.
5 By charter dated 20 March 1356 (W.R., x.1.3) William Mudge granted to the college a messuage with curtilage, one acre of land and 2s. 6d. rent, which he had bought as proxy for the chapter from Robert Amaunt of Datchet for 100g. on 30 September 1352 (W.R., xv.58.b.3 (original deed) and transcript in Arundel White Book, f. 7v.), and one messuage with a grange which he had from Geoffrey Lodelawe of Datchet on 12 November 1352 (W.R., xv.58.b.2 and Arundel White Book, f. 8). The properties bought from Amaunt were used to form part of the endowment of the vicarage of Datchet (Arundel White Book, f. 6v.).
6 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.4.
and just over a year later, in 1369-70, the first rents were received from buildings by the Thames.

On this land by the Thames a row of seven stables and a house were built. It seems probable that the college reserved the rent of the house to pay for Mudge's obit, while the rent of the stables went into the common fund which had paid for the building of them and also paid 1s. 7d. a year to the abbot of Reading in whose fee the land lay. In 1369-70 10s. 8d. rent was received, probably for two stables. Building works proceeded until 1376, when seven stables were completed. Six of them were leased to the canons or their servants at a rent of 6s. 8d. each a year, and the other was usually retained by the college as a store-house for the common straw.¹ The last entry of receipt of rents from these stables is in the treasurer’s roll of 1407-8. No accounts survive for the period 1408-15, and in the steward’s roll of 1415-16 under the heading “Rents and farms in Windsor” is a note that no more rents would be received from the buildings and stables by the Thames (except the house) since they had been pulled down and the materials used in the construction of new houses for the vicars² in the castle. The land remained college property, and from the steward’s record of payment of the obbot of Reading’s rent it appears that a certain William Rooke was occupying it.³

The house on the Thames bank was called Glory’s in the rolls, since it was occupied from 1376 to 1386 or later by a John Glory. While Glory held it, the house brought in a rent of 30s., but in 1398 when John Burdon held it, the rent was 24s. a year, and this sum was paid by subsequent tenants until 1408 or later.⁴ The steward in his account of 1415-16 noted that the house charged with Mudge’s obit rent used to be let for 24s. a year. Thus the

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

² Henry IV granted to the college a vacant plot called “Woodhaw” in Windsor Castle (the site of the present chapter library and the space to the east of it) on which to build houses and chambers for the vicars of the chapel who had not sufficient accommodation in the castle (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1408-13, p. 90; 20 May 1409). Since the warden and canons used the materials of the Thames stables for these new houses they perhaps used the old vicars’ houses for stables.

³ Et in solutione facta Abbati et Conventui de Redynge pro resolucione redditus unius tenementi in Wymesore nova iuxta Thamisiam in quo Willelmus Rooke manebat hoc anno xix. d. (Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.4).

⁴ There is a gap in the rolls from 1386 to 1393, and another from 1408-15.
available evidence supports the identification of Glory’s with the rent which endowed Mudge’s obit.

Glory’s house was not built until the seven stables were finished. Two leases survive, each granting to John Glory, dyer and fuller, his house next to the bridge over the Thames, with a garden adjoining, at a rent of 30s. a year for five years. The earlier, dated 11 December 1376, describes the house as newly built and makes special mention of the row of stables along the side of the river which were not included in Glory’s lease. The later was dated 25 March 1381 and expired in 1386. Owing to an unfortunate gap in the rolls from 1386 to 1393 it is not possible to discover whether Glory renewed his lease in 1386. William Page was holding Glory’s in 1393 and occupied it until 1395, apparently at a rent of 20s. a year. After Page, three members of the Burdon family held it in turn, William in 1395-96 for 20s., John in 1398-99 and Cecilia in 1400-1 for 24s. a year. In 1415-16 Glory’s had two tenants, each for half the year; John Shrewsbury for the first half and Peter Tybaut for the second half, each paying 10s. rent.

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

Tenement opposite the Garden

In April 1365 the warden and canons of St. George acquired from the king a piece of ground with a house on it in New Windsor and a garden opposite on the other side of the road. This property

1 W.R., xv.44.163.

2 Despite the newness of the house, the college had to expend 5s. 7d. on repairs in the next year 1377-78 (Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.14).

3 W.R., xv.44.169.

4 Page paid only 13s. 4d. in 1393-94, but this was not the full rent. In 1394-95 he paid 20s. (Treasurers’ Accounts, W.R., xv.34.16 and 17).

5 This sum must have been fixed before Glory’s house was built, and any surplus rent would compensate the college for the cost of building, on which £77 19s. was spent up to December 1367 (ibid., xv.53.64), but this included the cost of building the stables also.
was given in return for their surrender of the king's great garden on the south side of the castle (granted to them in February 1351), and formerly had belonged to John of London.

It is identified by Harwood as lying on both sides of Peascod Street. The garden was earmarked by the king for the use of the members of the college below the rank of canon; the piece of ground opposite was for the warden and chapter. It seems possible that this piece of ground with the house on it in Peascod Street was the tenement in the town of New Windsor which was called Baker's or Kymbell's in the rolls, and produced a rent of 6s. 6d. a year. The earliest mention of this rent occurs in the treasurer's roll of 1374-75, where it was noted as being accountable by the steward and not by the treasurer. Earlier receipts may, therefore, have figured in stewards' rolls which have not survived. Nicholas Baker rented the tenement in 1374 and continued to do so until 1378 or perhaps longer. After him it was held by his heir William Kymbell, who died before Michaelmas 1395, since in the year 1395-96 his executors paid the college eight years' arrears of rent for the holding. From this year the rolls describe this rent as de domo quondam Kymbell or de domo quondam Nicholai Bakere and the amount remained 6s. 6d.

Three other tenements in New Windsor were granted to the dean and canons before 1415. All three were obit endowments, and receipts from them were headed with the donor's name in the college accounts.

1 W.R., x.4.8 (the original) and cf. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1364-67, p. 101. The king's garden stretched from Priest Street (now St. Albans Street) to beyond the east end of the castle (Harwood, Windsor Old and New, p. 111).
2 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 32.
4 The king's wishes were apparently ignored in this matter (see below, p. 42). Another messuage with garden in Peascod Street was granted to the vicars, 25 January 1372, by John Attlee and Thomas Horn (chaplains of St. George's), as executors of the will of Henry Blount, late canon, to provide for Blount's obit to be observed by the vicars on St. Faith's day (6 October) every year (Ashm. MSS., No. 1544.B.). Royal licence for this alienation had previously been obtained (23 April 1371: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1370-74, p. 88).
5 W.R., xv.34.9: nichil hic quia in compoto senescalli eiusdem anni.
6 In 1368 it seems to have been rented by the gardener (see below, p. 42 and n. 6).
7 The treasurer's account of 1375-76 (W.R., xv.34.11) includes Baker's rent both for the current year and the preceding year.
8 There is a gap in the rolls from 1378 to 1385. Baker may have died and been succeeded in the holding at any point between the two dates.
9 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.18.
Raunds'

The rent endowing the obit of Richard Raunds, canon of Windsor from March 1377 to his death in January 1400, was charged upon a messuage with garden opposite the east end of Windsor parish church. Thomas Ayno, a priest-vicar of St. George's Chapel and the former owner, had granted this holding for his life to Richard Raunds. After Ayno's death it came to his heirs, Thomas Lawrence, John Chislet and John Hulk, who quit-claimed their rights in it to Raunds on 3 December 1399, probably in exchange for a tenement in Peascod Street which Raunds gave to Thomas Lawrence in January 1400. The messuage was let by the college as a stable at a rent of 26s. 8d., which sum was distributed annually at Raunds' obit services, despite the fact that up to 1407 1s. 6d., and after 1407 1s. od. was paid annually by the college to the bailiffs of Windsor for the tenement. However, this rent was not paid until 1404, and the college had held Raunds' place from 1400. It seems possible that the rent was for the hire of a further piece of land behind the garden of Raunds' place in "Old Hawes", for which a lease survives, dated 24 November 1431, from the bailiffs of Windsor to the dean of St. George's Chapel, now at a rent of 6d., and which was subsequently given to the dean and canons on 14 January 1449. From the first the warden hired Raunds' stable, giving up Burnham's which he had held until 1400, and Raunds' remained the warden's for a long time, since an endorsement on a deed concerning it states that the tenement was still the warden's stable in 1426-27.

Ravendale's

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

1 Deeds of Windsor properties, W.R., xv.44.233.
2 Ibid., xv.44.234.
3 W.R., xv.45.110.
4 W.R., xv.45.170.
5 Ibid., xv.44.233.
6 The rent for Ravendale's was not included in the summary of the treasurer's roll of 1410-11 (W.R., xv.34.27), and no evidences exist for the period 1411-15. The obits were not given in detail in this summary, but distributions were certainly not made for Ravendale's obit as late as 1408 (W.R., xv.34.26).
yearly rent of 10s. Two of them stood side by side in the market place, one by the "bull stake" and the other, called Stede's after a former tenant, adjoined it. The third probably stood near by. Money for Ravendale's obit was paid at the same rate as the usual quotidiens, the total sum distributed depending upon the number of members of the college who attended the services. In 1416 it amounted to £5s. 9d.

**Chapman's**

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

**Obit Endowments Outside Windsor**

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

**Queen Anne's**

Frith and Ashcroft were granted to the college of St. George on 6 January 1396 by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, and
Edward, earl of Rutland, who held all the lands which had belonged to the late queen. In the first instance the grant was for the lives of the grantors or surviving grantor, but was extended later in the year to a grant in perpetuity. The college of St. George was in possession of these pastures in the year before the formal grant was made, but had to pay £2 10s. for them to the collector of revenues of the king's manor of Bray. It was not until 10 January 1397 that letters of Arundel, now archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Rutland directed their attorneys to give seisin to the college of the two pastures, but a letter from Archbishop Thomas dated 2 March 1397 ordered that the warden and canons should be allowed the revenues of Frith and Ashcroft as from 6 January 1396 when the grant was made. Queen Anne's obit was first observed at Windsor on 7 June 1399, five years after her death, with the ordinary extra quotidiem distributions, amounting on that occasion to 16s. 9d. Until 1402-3 no receipts were recorded from the rent of the pastures, and Anne's obit continued to be observed with extra quotidiens. From 1402 until 1415, however, Frith and Ashcroft were farmed out at £2 10s. a year, and the whole of this sum was distributed yearly on 7 June. This munificent endowment increased still further when on 29 September 1415 the pastures were leased to John Wynch of Bray at a rent of 60s. a year for five years, and the 7 June obit was enriched by another 10s.

Ralph of Windsor's

The reversion of Merriesgrove was granted to the dean and canons by Ralph of Windsor in December 1361, in return for their prayers for his own soul and that of his sister Matilda Merry after their deaths. Matilda Merry had a life interest in the wood. On 3 December 1340 Ralph of Windsor's obit was first celebrated in St. George's Chapel and extra quotidiens were distributed. No

1 This extended grant was not enrolled until 8 September 1396 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99, p. 26), but the treasurer's account of 1395-96 records that the warden went to London for the sealing of it on 19 April 1396 (W.R., xv.34.18).
2 The treasurer's roll of 1394-95 includes an entry of 8d. for the expenses of taking possession of Frith and Ashcroft, and also 14s. 6d. received for the rent of Frith (W.R., xv.34.17).
4 Arundel White Book, f. 17v. Written in French.
6 Arundel White Book, f. 9.
receipts from Merriesgrove\textsuperscript{1} appear in the accounts, and it seems unlikely that the college ever obtained possession of the wood. The obit was no longer observed after 1416.

\textit{Aston's}

The property in Uxbridge\textsuperscript{2} presented by Geoffrey and Isabella Aston included two inns, the George and the Saracen’s Head, three shops by the chapel there, and three other holdings adjoining the Saracen’s Head. In return for them, a vicar was maintained to say mass for the souls of the donors, and the college observed their obit. From 14 January 1405 Aston’s obit was celebrated yearly, but since his lands were let out to farm, until 1408 or later, to the warden who both made the distributions and paid the vicar’s stipend, the treasurer contented himself with a note to the effect that he received nothing and expended nothing because Uxbridge was at farm. It is not clear whether this arrangement still held in 1415-16. Under the heading “Uxbridge” the treasurer, William Gillot, recorded no receipt, since all had been spent on repairs and building there and the maintenance of a priest to pray for Aston. Included under the heading \textit{Stipendia officiariorum cum rewardis} was an item of £2 13s. 4d. paid to Aston’s priest for the half-year from Michaelmas 1415 to the feast of Annunciation following, but this was crossed out since Gillot had accounted for no receipts from the Uxbridge rents. The steward in his roll of the same year recorded a receipt of 40s. offered to the college by William Gillot for the farm of Uxbridge annually, clear, besides the payment of the chaplain, the obit and repairs. Apparently Gillot repented of his offer as too generous, for although he continued to farm the Uxbridge property in the following year, 1416-17, he did not pay Aston’s chaplain his stipend of £8. Instead he added £3 to the £2 he had offered the college. By 1421 the various Uxbridge holdings had been let separately, bringing in about £10 a year; Aston’s chaplain was

\textsuperscript{1} In the margin of the Arundel White Book beside Ralph of Windsor’s grant of Merriesgrove there is a note apparently in a later hand (it is cursive and the Arundel White Book is written in book hand): \textit{vocatur Tempeylwode}. It is possible that if Merriesgrove adjoined Templewood in Stoke Poges, receipts from it may have been included with those from Templewood in the college accounts. Templewood was given by the king, with the manor of Craswell, 23 February 1353.

\textsuperscript{2} The lands in Uxbridge were promised to the canons of Windsor between 1365 and 1367 and the college expected them to be worth £13 6s. 8d. a year: \textit{In impetracione terrarum et tenementorum Galfridi de Astone in Woxebrugge nichil recipiendum quousque Isabella uxor eius mortua fuerit et tunc valebit viii li. vi.s.viii.d.} (W.R., xv.53.64, a list of extracts from the treasurers’ rolls of 1365, 1366, 1367).
receiving £2 “as reward”, and distributions for Aston’s obit were made at the quotidian rate.

(e) Revenues in Kind

Herrings

A welcome and unusual rent came yearly from the bailiffs and commonalty of the town of Great Yarmouth. This consisted of a last of red herrings well dried and cleansed, payable at Yarmouth on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (30 November). According to the deed of grant, this gift was made at the instance of the king, and on account of the sincere devotion which the town of Yarmouth bore towards the warden and college of Windsor, for the better maintenance of the chapel wherein the king was baptised and that the college might remember Yarmouth in their prayers. It appears, however, that there was some doubt about the sincerity of this declaration, for in a summary of the deed of grant made by Dr. Evans, canon of Windsor 1660-1702, he added that some said that this payment of herrings was imposed upon the town as a penance for murdering one of their magistrates. Before 1385 no receipt was recorded for the herrings, since they were divided each year among the canons, but the expense of fetching them from Yarmouth was borne out of the common funds. Occasional mishaps befell them on their journey. In 1362 the messenger was despoiled by robbers on the way, for which unfortunate accident the college paid him 3s. 4d. compensation, and in 1382 most of the precious cargo was lost in the sea as it came by boat from Yarmouth to London. An estimate of 1382 valued the last of herrings at £4 13s. 4d.

¹ A last of herrings now contains one hundred “long hundreds”, i.e. 13,200 fish since each “long hundred” consists of 132 fish. It is measured by twenty wicker baskets-full, and weighs roughly 35 cwt. It seems to have varied in the past between 10,000 and 13,200 fish.

² In his book of notes and memoranda compiled for purposes of reference in 1701 (Dr. Evans’ Book A., W.R., iv.16, f. 157v.).

³ In 1377 a new canon, William Dole, appointed 2 March 1377 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1374-77, p. 430), was forgotten in the division of the herrings, and 7s. were paid for some more which had to be bought to give him: Et solutum pro i cada allociarum empia pro domino Willelmo Dole quia tradebatur oblivioni in divisione allociarum vii.s. (Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34-14).

⁴ Et solutum Ricardo Taillour pro expensis suis versus Iernemutam pro allociis querendis in rewaro quia spoliatus fuit per latrones per viam in redeundo . . . xl. d. (ibid., xv.34-2).

⁵ Una lasta allociarum rubearum de Jernemuthe valet communibus annis iii.i.i, viii.s. iii.i.d. valuit hoc anno xl.s. et non plus quia submersum fuit in mari (ibid., xv.53.64).
but in 1385, the first year in which a sale of them was recorded, the college obtained £5 13s. 4d. for them. A royal grant of 16 October 1393 reserved the herrings, together with the chapel offerings and the profits of the garden, to the canons resident, expressly shutting out the non-resident canons from a share in the distribution. From this time the herrings ceased to be accounted for by the treasurer (except in a note that they belonged to the resident canons) and their value no longer went into the common fund, although they were still sometimes sold. All expenses of collecting and bringing the herrings to Windsor, or of selling them in London, were still paid out of the general revenues, but the proceeds of such sales were divided privately among the canons who resided.

Swans

On 20 June 1356, Edward III gave another revenue in kind, a grant of all swans flying unmarked on the Thames between Oxford and London, for seven years. The duration of this grant was apparently extended, for the canons of Windsor were still enjoying the proceeds of the sale of swans in 1386, and in 1398 Richard II made a further grant, permitting the dean and college to search whenever they pleased for swans, throughout the river Thames and all streams flowing to and from it between Gravesend and the bridge at Oxford. Until 1376 these swans brought only a meagre revenue to the college. In 1368 three were caught, but with the help of the keepers of swans on the Thames and of some fishermen there who were given 8d. for their trouble. Swans were sold at 3s. 4d. each, and the college accounts record the sale only of one in 1369-70 and two in 1374-75. From 1376, however, the expectation of them was farmed to one of the canons, John Loring; perhaps unmarked swans had become more numerous, or Loring made

1 W.R., xv. 34.15.
3 These expenses varied largely from year to year, sometimes amounting to 7s. only (1407) and often 10s. (1369, 1370, 1376, 1377), but occasionally rising to over 1l (1360, 1393). In 1415 the steward’s roll shows signs of attempts by the auditors to cut down the total of 18s. 6d. to 8s., apparently in accordance with the allowance made in the six preceding years, but the 18s. 6d. was allowed to stand in the end, and a further grant of 32s. made to William Gillot (steward in the preceding year) to cover part of the money spent on fetching the herrings in these six years in excess of the 8s. which had been allowed in his accounts (W.R., xv. 48.4).
5 Ibid., 1396-99, p. 380.
6 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv. 34.6.
more determined efforts to catch them, for he paid 26s. 8d. a year for them for ten years or more. But after 1386, despite Richard II’s leave for wide and frequent search, no further receipt or mention of the swans appeared in the rolls, and presumably the grant was allowed to lapse.

Garden

For the period of fourteen years (1351-65) during which the college of St. George was in possession of the king’s garden on the south side of the castle, only two treasurers’ accounts survive. In them the sole receipts recorded were from the sale of trees from the garden, 10s. in 1361-62, and 25s. 4d. in 1362-63. Expenses included the gardener’s wage (2d. a day), the cost of carting manure and of buying garlic and onion seeds for planting. Since the king’s garden had long been given over to the cultivation of vines, these seeds were perhaps for sowing in the old herb garden which lay within the castle on the north side of St. George’s Chapel between the aerary porch and Henry III’s great hall. When, in April 1365, the canons gave up the royal garden, they received in exchange a house with a piece of ground on one side of Peascod Street and a garden on the other. Edward III specified that the new garden was for “the use of the poor knights, vicars, clergers, boys and other ministers of the college,” but this the canons seem to have overlooked; in 1366 they received 1s. 8d. from the sale of trees from it. The house opposite was let in 1368 for 1d. a week, presumably to the gardener, since when in 1369-70 and 1370-71 nothing was received from the rent of the house, the reason given was that Henry Gardiner would not come to an agreement with the college concerning it. An increased wage of 3d. a day (£4 11s. 3d. a year) was now paid to him, and the new plot was prepared for vine-growing. The last receipt for the sale of trees cleared from it was in 1369-70, and in the same year vines were planted. This entailed

1 See above, p. 30, n. 5.
2 W.R., xv.34.1, 2.
3 Hope, Windsor Castle, I, 92.
5 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.4.
6 Henry Gardiner had tended the garden of the warden and canons since 1362; after 1366 he never leased the garden-house again, and I have identified it tentatively with the house rented by Nicholas Baker, and afterwards by William Kymbell, for 1s. 6d. a year (see above, p. 35).
7 De herbago dicti gardini nichil quia plantatum cum vineis hoc anno (Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.1).
extra labour. The gardener's wife, Alice, earned 2¼d. a day for 123 days and 3d. a day for twenty-three days in August helping her husband, and two other gardeners besides two carters for manure were employed from time to time during 1370-71. In the next year the produce of the garden may have been small; at any rate the needs of the household consumed all there was and nothing was sold. The first recorded sale of wine occurred in 1375-76 when one pipe of muscatine (unfermented) wine was sold to a taverner of Reading for £2 13s. 4d. Two casks of wine were sold in the next year, and three in the year after that, besides various small items of herbs and seeds. Wine and seeds from the garden continued to be sold until the king's grant of 1393 reserved all its produce to be shared among the canons resident. After this the only receipt accounted for was 8s. for sixteen gallons of red wine sold to the precentor in 1406-7. All garden costs, including wages, seeds, plants and tools were paid from the general revenues and amounted to about £5 or £5 10s. yearly.

(f) Money Grants and Offerings

In the early years of the foundation, Edward III made generous grants of money to cover current expenses until the college was adequately endowed. The first of these was made in the patent of foundation, 6 August 1348, and was a liberal grant of money from the royal treasury to make up the income of the new college to £1000 a year. Probably this grant never took effect, for unlike the others made in the same patent it was not afterwards confirmed, nor was any mention made of it when in June 1354 a fixed sum of

---

1 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.7.
2 Ibid., xv.34.8. Exitus Gardini: Nihil quia servatur ad communes dietas Collegii. The canons did not rely upon the garden as their sole source of wine. In a list of gifts made to the college by the founder Knights of the Garter, Denton included thirteen tuns of wine (Denton's Black Book, I, f. 71), and evidence of other such gifts has survived: e.g. Prince Edward's treasurer accounted for a tun of wine sent to the dean of Windsor 18 December 1352 (The Black Prince's Register, Pt. IV, p. 108); the king ordered his butler to deliver a similar gift on 10 July 1388 (Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-89, p. 509); and in 1415-16 a present of wine was received from the Duke of Bourbon, then in confinement in Windsor Castle (Steward's Account, W.R., xv.48.4).
3 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.11.
4 Ibid., xv.34.24.
6 The advowsons of the churches of Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter were granted again by other letters patent of the same year (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, pp. 207, 272).
£100 per annum from the exchequer was granted presumably in its stead. This was cancelled in May 1360 by other letters patent diverting to the college confiscated property of alien religious worth £101 11s. a year, of which £100 replaced the sum previously paid at the exchequer, and the remaining 31s. was in part satisfaction of other lands and possessions promised by the king. St. George's did not keep this revenue long; the patent of grant was surrendered, probably in exchange for another of 1 June 1361 giving the college £90 a year at the exchequer. Of this money no receipt was recorded in existing treasurers' rolls, and the only mention occurs in the roll of 1362-63: De scaccario nihil receptum hoc anno.

When in May 1360 Edward III gave lands of alien priories worth £101 11s., he also made a further gift of £51 9s. 9d. out of the farm paid yearly for the duration of the war with France by the prior of Takeley, reducing his former grandiose project of endowing the college with an income of £1000 in the statement that this £51 9s. 9d. represented the difference between its actual income (given as £604 55. 3d.) and that he intended it to enjoy (£655 15s.). In 1361-62 the prior of Takeley paid £14 0s. 8d., but despite a clause in the patent of grant assuring the £51 9s. 9d. to the college at the exchequer, should the priory be put out of the king's hand by treaty of peace or any other means, no money was received subsequently either from the prior or the treasury. Royal grants of money to the canons of Windsor were all terminable when the king provided them with an equivalent of lands or rent. After

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-58, p. 76. The money was paid in four sums of £25. John Attlee went to fetch one such payment in 1355 (Household Roll, W.R., xv.3.1).
2 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-58, p. 77; 1358-61, p. 362. The grant included the keeping of the priory of Wangeford, Suffolk, the Sussex and Dorset lands of St. Mary's priory, Mortain, the manor of Charleton, Wilts., and the advowson of Upchurch, Kent. Although the college held them only for a short time, if at all, Denton listed these lands in detail in his account of the endowment of the college, and Ashmole copied the list (Denton's Black Book, f. 71v; Ashmole MSS., No. 1124, f. 53v). There is no trace of their being in the possession of the college in the treasurers' rolls of 1361-62 and 1362-63 or subsequently.
3 Ibid., 1361-64, p. 24.
4 W.R., xv.34.2.
5 In Essex, near Bishop's Stortford.
6 12 May 1360 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, pp. 350, 364). On this same day the king also bound himself to pay the college debts, amounting to £168.
7 In 1391 the priory and all its possessions in England were sold to William of Wykeham who used them to endow his new colleges at Winchester and Oxford. Richard II granted licence for this alienation and exempted Wykeham's colleges from the farm formerly payable from the priory (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1388-92, p. 417; to March 1391).
1352 the canons received no such gift from Edward III, and the two pensions of £90 and £51 9s. 9d. apparently continued in name to belong to them. In practice, however, they were not paid; no doubt the state of Edward III's finances made it impossible for them to be maintained.

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

The new Knights of the Garter were not slow to follow their sovereign's example of generosity to the chapel of St. George; in Denton's book is a list of their benefactions, but the gifts there enumerated were single and not annual. Included among them is £200 given by Bishop Edington to endow his obit. The £200 was received in 1361-62 and placed in the aery by the treasurer together with other money gifts. What became of it later is not apparent; it seems to have disappeared, for during the visitation of 1378 the chancellor inquired after it and directed the warden to account for it. From 1366 the bishop's obit was celebrated yearly in St. George's Chapel, but if, like Wykeham after him, Edington intended his £200 to be used to purchase lands for its endowment, his purpose was not carried into execution and presumably the money was swallowed up in ordinary expenses. In 1402 William of Wykeham presented a similar £200 for his obit. The indenture of grant was copied into the Arundel White book, and in it Wykeham had specified that with the money the chapter should acquire a perpetual rent of 20 marks a year to support an additional chaplain to pray for him continually in the chapel, and

1 W.R., xi.p.6 (the original) and cf. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 174. The king had bought back this rent for 800 marks from Roger of Beauchamp to whom he had previously granted it.
2 Part I, f. 71.
3 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.1.
4 Fin de (1816), IV, 51.
5 Tighe and Davis confused Wykeham's £200 with Edington's earlier gift, conjecturing that Wykeham's grant was made earlier, in order that the chancellor's inquiry in 1378 might be possible, and that a new deed was prepared in 1402 (Annals of Windsor, p. 176).
6 F. 63. 29 May 1402.
to pay for annual distributions at his obit services. Any surplus remaining after discharging these two obligations was to go into the common treasury. Wykeham’s obit was observed from 1405, but in 1407 the rent had still not been bought and £15 16s. 2d. was borrowed from the £200 by the treasurer to meet the year’s usual obligations for which the college revenue was then not sufficient.\(^1\) The loan was faithfully repaid in the following year, but the chapter still delayed to purchase a permanent rent, paying Wykeham’s vicar his £2 13s. 4d. and the distributions for the bishop’s obit out of the general funds.

For a chapel as rich in relics as St. George’s the offerings of the faithful provided a steady revenue. Until 1393 when the oblations were diverted by the king from the common funds to the resident canons, the precentor paid over annually to the treasurer what was left after all the chapel expenses had been paid. Foremost among the treasures of the chapel was the Cross Gneyth or Neit given by Edward III. The cross, which was believed to contain a piece of the true cross, had belonged to the princes of North Wales and came into the possession of Edward I in 1283 after his final conquest of Wales.\(^2\) This famous and precious relic was recognized by the canons to be the principal attraction of the chapel; in some of the early accounts the receipts of all oblations were entered as Oblaciones Capelle de Croisnet\(^3\). The flow of offerings was encouraged by two papal grants\(^4\) of relaxation of enjoined penance to penitents who visited the royal chapel at Windsor on the principal feasts and those of St. George, the Exaltation of the Cross, St. Stephen and St. Edward. The first of these grants, dated 30 November 1354, made special mention of the Cross Gneyth, describing it as “a cross of great length of the wood of the true cross brought by St. Helen.”

\(^1\) Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv, 34, 24.

\(^2\) Cal. Chancery Rolls, Various, 1277-1326, p. 274. This cross is sometimes called the Cross of Neath, but there seems to be no evidence to support a connexion with Neath in South Wales. For what is known of the history of this cross and the legends connected with it, see Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatris Garderobae, 1299-1300, p. 365; Hope, op. cit., II, 466, n. 13; D. Rhys Phillips, History of the Vale of Neath, p. 63; G. Hartwell Jones, Celtic Britain, pp. 100-03; and Mrs. Coombe Tennant’s comprehensive article “Croses Naid”, Report of the Friends of St. George’s, December 1943, pp. 5-14.

\(^3\) Treasurers’ Accounts, W.R., xv, 34, 6, 7; Steward’s Account, W.R., xv, 48, 1.

\(^4\) 30 November 1354 (Cal. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1342-62, p. 523; Petitions, i, 265); 13 December 1354 (Letters, 1342-62, p. 524, and Petitions, i, 266). The first allowed relaxation of two years and two periods of forty days, and the second three years and three periods of forty days.
(a) TEMPORAL

The value of the property of the canons of Windsor was increased by royal grants of various profits and exemption from numerous dues.

(1) Exemption from Payment of Ecclesiastical Tenth for Appropriated Churches

Grant of this exemption was made by letters patent dated 13 August 1351, and royal writs of supersedeas issued in December of the following year stopped the collection of the tenth of 1352 from churches belonging to the college. But this exemption, though confirmed in theory in 1353, broke down later in practice. Despite the efforts of the warden, who spent four days at Winchester and four at Salisbury trying to secure exoneration from the subsidy of 1371, the college had to pay this tenth for each of its churches. An attempt to avoid the burden falling exclusively upon St. George’s was then made by the warden, who went again to the king, this time in London, to ask that the vicars of these churches might bear a share of the tax. Apparently this petition was granted, for though the college again failed to secure exemption in 1377-78 from the double tenth, the vicars of Iver and Wraysbury, at least, contributed. In 1383 the canons secured exemption; a writ to this effect was issued, relieving them of the obligation to pay that year’s tenth and fifteenth. However, the tenth granted by the province of Canterbury in 1406 had to be paid non obstante quocumque privilegio. Henry V’s recognition of the exemption was sought and gained in 1415-16 when the steward travelled to London to secure it, but the validity of this royal grant was mainly dependent upon circumstances and by no means assured.

(2) Charter of Liberties

The most important and comprehensive grant of privileges (including a re-affirmation of the quittance from tenths) was made

4 Treasurers’ Accounts, W.R., xv.34.7, 8.
5 Ibid., xv.34.14.
7 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.24.
8 Ibid., xv.34.28; Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.4.
by Edward III in a charter dated 6 March 1353,¹ and many times confirmed.² By the provisions of this charter, the dean and canons were given freedom from royal taxation, both direct and indirect, numerous legal exemptions, and profits and privileges on their lands.

Direct money taxes from which they were exempt included aids, subsidies and tallages, tenths and fifteenths both spiritual and temporal, scutage, and fines for coastal defence, for bridge- and castle-building and for enclosing. Among the indirect taxes, besides tolls and customs of every kind, they were freed of purveyance and of obligation to lodge magnates or royal officials or to find pensions or corrodies. Their franchises rendered them quit of sheriffs and hundreds, since they had the right to a private hundred court, view of frankpledge and other business of courts leet, interfangenthef and outfangenthef, thew, pillory, tumbril and gallows, assize of bread and ale, and return of writs. In addition, they were quit of all forest pleas and charges. Besides the profits from these special jurisdictions, and the grant of all forfeitures of their tenants and tenements, the dean and chapter of Windsor also had the right to wrecks, waif and stray, and all feudal incidents, profits and issues on their lands. They were allowed free warren in all demesne lands (even within the king’s forest) and one weekly market and two yearly fairs for four days on their manor of Iver.

(3) **Fairs at Deddington**

Two yearly fairs, each for four days, were granted by the king in 1393 at the manor of Deddington Castle³ which the college had bought in 1386. This privilege was subsequently given up, for a note was made beside the entry of it in Edward III’s charter roll: “vacated because restored”.

(4) **Quittance of Fees**

The college in 1351 was given the substantial privilege of quittance of fees due in the king’s chancery and other departments. This grant was made by patent dated 1 March 1361⁴ and confirmed in 1393 and 1400.⁵

---

⁴ Arundel White Book, f. 2; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64*, p. 22.
As a royal free chapel, St. George's was exempt from jurisdiction of the diocesan and subject only to the king or his deputy. This privilege was assured when, on the petition of King Edward III, Clement VI in a bull dated 12 February 1351 granted exemption from ordinary jurisdiction to all the members of the college of Windsor and took them into the papal protection. In return, the college was to pay one mark annually on St. George's day into the papal camera. Supervision of the king's free chapels was delegated to the chancellor of England. The statutes of St. George's Chapel reserved to the chancellor the right of visitation, and appellate and other jurisdictions as ordinarily exercised in royal free chapels. Primary ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged to the warden, who also instituted and installed new canons. A new warden was instituted, invested and installed by one of the resident canons of the college, whom the king had previously notified.

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

2 Statutes of the College, article ix.
3 The warden seems to have delegated this duty to his vicar who was known as curator animarum.
4 College Statutes, article xviii.
2. Central Officials

A. THE THREE CHIEF OFFICIALS

By statute, the treasurer, steward and precentor were to be elected from among the residentiaries by the warden and canons in chapter, on the morrow of Michaelmas, to hold office for the next twelve months. Retiring officers were eligible for re-election and were often returned, but there is no evidence that any one canon served for more than three consecutive years in the same office. The record evidence which is available but not continuous between 1361 and 1416, relating in all to 104 periods of office, reveals the following facts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>No. of periods</th>
<th>No. of canons in office</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treasurership</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardship</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precentorship</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus it will be seen that two or three years (not necessarily consecutive) was the average for one canon in any one of these offices. On the other hand, canons might and did serve the college in turn in two or all three capacities. Six canons held at various times all three offices, and a further seven held two of them. Allowing for these facts, it seems that twenty-nine canons in all held these offices in the years illustrated, which themselves cover less than two-thirds of the period 1361-1416. Though between those dates sixty-three canons held prebends, eight retained them for a year or less, so would be ineligible for election. The proportion, therefore, is twenty-nine out of a possible fifty-five, even on the limited evidence available. Thus it seems that a substantial number of the canons had opportunity to serve in one or more than one of these major administrative offices with their important responsibilities.

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

---

1 For details see table of officials, Appendix II.
2 College Statutes, article 47.
A yearly salary of £5 was attached to each of the three offices, and 2s. 4d. a day was allowed for expenses of travelling on the business of the college. Absences for this purpose were not penalized by loss of any of the profits of residence and the absent officer was counted as if present in chapel.

(a) TREASURER

Although the treasurer was ultimately responsible for all the finances of the college, his main concern was with expenditure rather than receipt. In the receipt section of his annual account, money received from every source was entered in detail, but the bulk of this had been actually received by the steward and figured rather more fully in the steward's account. Unlike the precentor, who accounted independently from the first, the steward was expected to deliver all revenues in full to the treasurer, who was to make the necessary disbursements. In practice, however, although the steward paid money over at frequent intervals during the year, he did himself expend some of it, where necessary, on the estates. It was not until the treasurership of William Gillot, 1415-16, that these facts were recognized in the method of accounting; thenceforth the accounts of treasurer and steward became complementary and no longer overlapped.

Receipt

The statutory requirement that the steward should pay over to the treasurer all the money he collected was met in more than one way. It is possible that sometimes he paid in large sums at intervals during the year, but it appears that, most frequently, every receipt, however small, was paid over almost as soon as the steward received it, with full details of its provenance. An indenture, covering a complete year, was made annually between the two officers, and upon it a fresh entry was made each time money passed between them. This indenture was mentioned in the earliest surviving steward's roll (Michaelmas 1369—Michaelmas 1370), in which under the title Denariorum liberacio the steward noted that he had paid £420 to the treasurer by indenture, for the business of the college. Although this indenture system may probably...
have been in use between the treasurer and the steward from the first, no mention of it occurs in surviving treasurers’ accounts before the year 1368, when all money received between 31 May and Michaelmas (except the rent of the gardener’s house and a few late payments) was entered as “through the steward by indenture”. In a large proportion of the treasurers’ accounts up to 1415-16, the indenture was not mentioned at all, nor were the receipts (with a few exceptions) entered as received through the steward, though this was almost certainly the case. Occasionally the warden received revenues, when he happened to be in London at the time payments fell due, but the money had to be delivered by him to the steward who paid it over in turn to the treasurer. For the year 1415-16 two treasurer’s accounts exist, one drawn up in the traditional way with full details of every receipt and including all payments actually made by the steward, and the other drawn up for the first time in a new way. In the latter, the receipt section was compressed into three items: arrears, money received from the steward by indenture, and chapel offerings received from the precentor. For this same year a steward’s account has also survived, and it is interesting to note that details of money received by the steward and accounted for by him were duplicated or slightly shortened in the parallel treasurer’s account, old style, sometimes with and sometimes without mention that the receipt was through the steward. Evidently no significance can be attached to the inclusion or not of per manus senescalli (per indenturam) after entries of receipts in the treasurers’ accounts, though it is possible that money received from the sale of garden produce and rents of Windsor properties hired by canons sometimes may have been paid directly to the treasurer.

Of the indentures between the treasurer and steward drawn up before 1500 only two have survived. These were dated 18 January 1447 and 5 October 1458. The earlier was made apparently for reference purposes. It was drawn up in tabular form, showing in vertical columns years from 1439 to 1449, and horizontally each of

1 W.R., xv.34.6.
2 E.g. in 1369-70 the warden received £20 of arrears from the farmer of Ryston, and delivered it to the steward (W.R., xv.48.1).
3 W.R., xv.34.28.
4 W.R., xv.34.29.
5 There are four more between 1500 and 1600 (W.R., i.b.3-6), and ten between 1600 and 1700 (W.R., i.b.7-16).
6 W.R., i.b.1.
the college estates. Since this indenture shows only the total sum paid by the steward in respect of each of the properties for one year, it is not so informative as the later one, which gives the date and amount of each payment made. This later indenture, of 5 October 1456,1 was apparently prepared on that date with marginal headings, one for each of the sources of revenue, written at distances of about two inches down the left-hand side of the membrane. During the year following, sums paid to the treasurer by the steward were entered with the date beside their place of origin. The following may serve as an example:

Dachet : Item idem senescallus liberavit eadem Thesaurario vii die Decembris pro Johanne Lyncole firmario ibidem—vii.ii. Item idem Senescallus liberavit eadem Thesaurario iii die Januarii—xx.s. Item idem Senescallus liberavit eadem Thesaurario ii die Marci—xl.s. Item liberavit eadem Thesaurario xxii die Julii pro Johanne Lyncole firmario ibidem—viiii.li. Item recepit per manus senescalli de Thoma Knolle vicario ibidem—cxiii.s.iii.id.

The difference in the colour of the ink, in spacing and in the size of the writing shows that each of the items in the various groups was inscribed at a different time, presumably the actual day on which the payment was made. In the group of items relating to the manor of Iver are entries of payments on twelve occasions—27 October, 7 and 19 December, 15 January, 3 and 6 February, 1 March, 11 April, 8 May, 1 and 3 June, and 31 July. In all, payments were made to the treasurer on forty-four different days during this year.2

The two parts of the indenture had, for obvious reasons, to be drawn up with slight difference of wording. On one part, retained by the steward, the treasurer acknowledged receipt (with his

1 W.R., 1.b.2.
2 It is interesting to see how close these days were to each other. They were 4, 13, 18, 27 and 29 October, 24 November, 7, 18, 19, 23 and 31 December, 3, 15, 18 and 22 January, 3, 10, 12 and 16 February, 1, 2 and 20 March, 11, 14 and 28 April, 2, 7, 8 and 20 May, 1, 10, 17 and 27 June, 1, 3, 5, 6, 22, 26 and 31 July, 2, 11 and 20 August, and 7 September. The earliest of the sixteenth-century indentures, dated 1 October 1520, similarly shows a large number of payments (twenty-three), some made within a few days of each other. This suggests that the steward still paid over the money as soon as he received it. Except in the first entry, no indication of the source of the money is given and there are no marginal headings. The later indentures (1586 to 1673) record only the bare fact of payment of large sums to the treasurer for the use of the college, and the number of payments in a year varies from four (1586) to sixteen (1637).

53
signature after each entry on later indentures). On the part retained by the treasurer, the steward declared what he had paid (signing each entry, from the sixteenth century on). Both of the fifteenth-century indentures were halves retained by the treasurer and used the formula . . . senescallus liberavit thesaurario, but the earliest surviving specimen for the sixteenth century was for the steward to keep, each item beginning idem (thesaurarius) receipt de eodem . . . senescallo, and marked at the foot Pars Magistri Thesaurarii In custodia magistri Senescalli. The new method of entering receipts in the treasurer's account accurately reflected the nature of these transactions. Instead of re-stating the origin and payer of every sum, only the total of all the entries on the indenture was included.

Occasionally the treasurer received money directly at the source. In 1371-72, 1376 and 1415-16, for example, the travelling expenses of the treasurer included the cost of going to London to collect some of the revenues. On all three occasions he received the 100 marks due from the farm of Northampton, and on the first two other sums as well. But the steward in his account of 1415-16 included this receipt from Northampton. Thus, for accounting purposes at least, the 100 marks had to pass, in fiction if not in fact, from the treasurer to the steward and back again to the treasurer in order that the transaction might be properly recorded.

**Expenditure**

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

1 Of the sixteen indentures in all which survive, eleven were the treasurer's (nine of them were signed by the steward), and the other five the steward's (of which four were signed by the treasurer).
In the Arundel White Book two folios (ff. 154-56) are devoted to tables of payments and other lists helpful to the treasurer in his calculations of money due and the drawing up of his account. Such aids to quick reckoning no doubt existed long before Dean Arundel\(^1\) decided to have them copied into his reference book, and the treasurers' accounts themselves show how useful they were. Prebends, which were paid to residents and non-residents alike, were due to the canons and poor knights from the day on which they were admitted to the college and had to be calculated accurately. The treasurer had a ready reckoner\(^2\) entitled *Recipiens per annum x.s./xx.s./xxx.s/ aut huiusmodi summam quid et quantum per dimidium annum/ per quarterum anni/ per septimanam/ et per diem recti pi et declaratur*.\(^3\) It consisted of five columns, of which the first, headed *Per annum*, began with 10s. and rose to £1000. The other columns divided these yearly sums into half-yearly, quarterly, weekly and daily payments. Weekly payments were arrived at by dividing the quarterly sum by thirteen, and the result was again divided by seven for the daily payment. Indivisible remainders where they occurred, were stated in these weekly and daily columns. For the calculation *pro rata temporis* of the amount of prebend due to a canon or poor knight who entered or left the college in the course of a financial year, the time was reckoned to the nearest quarter and after that at 1½d. a day, usually with an extra penny or more added to the total to make up for the indivisible remainder.\(^4\)

The money was paid usually at the end of the Easter and Michaelmas terms to each canon in person, but on one occasion (Easter 1368) all the prebend money was paid to the warden for distribution.\(^5\) Six late fifteenth-century receipts for money delivered by the treasurer to individual canons have survived. These were drawn up as indentures, covering one whole year, upon which each payment was entered with the date. The earliest is very faded and belongs

\(^1\) Dean 1419-52.

\(^2\) Arundel White Book. ff. 155v, 156.

\(^3\) *Ibid.*, Table of Contents, f. 162.

\(^4\) E.g. *Et domino Ricardo Bokelli a feste Sancti Michaelis usque xi diem Januarii per i quarterum anni et xii dies—xi.s.iii.d.* (W.R., xv.34.11, Treasurer's Account for year ending Michaelmas 1376). Richard Bokelly vacated his stall at Windsor in exchange for one in St. Stephen's, Westminster, but was at once presented to another stall at Windsor and installed 3 March 1376 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1374-77, pp. 206, 212, 209; W.R., xv.34.11).

\(^5\) Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.5.
to 1477-78,¹ the other five are all of 1479-80.² In the earliest, payment of prebend was made on 24 October for the term ending Michaelmas 1477 and on 4 April for the following Easter term. On the other five, the first payment of prebend was 19 October 1479, but only two of these record the Easter payment and those on different days, 10 April and 2 June. These records of dates show that prebendal payments were (doubtless for convenience) at quite different dates from those prescribed by statute.

Payments of quotidians were also entered on these indentures. Although this system of acknowledging receipt by written indentures was not in use before 1416, the actual payments in the earlier period were made at similar intervals, and it is of interest to notice the variations in dates upon which the monthly payments were made. To one of the canons, William Towers, who was constantly in residence and did not miss a single day’s attendance in chapel in the year 1479-80, quotidians were paid early each month in respect of the preceding month.³ The other four, less constant in residence in this year, were paid less regularly. One of them, Thomas Danet, who attended chapel only 140 days of a possible 273 from 1 January to 30 September 1480, was paid the £7 due to him for these nine months in one sum on 6 October. These five indentures, however, are for a year following the new dispensation which allowed canons of Windsor fifty-six days’ non-residence in the year.⁴ Before this time, all non-residence was penalized by loss of income, and canons, residing most of the year, could be and were paid their quotidians each month.

The college muniments throw light upon many aspects and details of this matter of quotidians. For example, in 1363, the audit of the treasurer’s account being almost completed in early October, a further allowance had to be made to the retiring treasurer to pay quotidians due to the college in respect of the last month of his financial year.⁵ Record of attendance in chapel, on which,

¹ W.R., xv.57.10. This indenture, which witnessed that David Hopton had received his prebend, quotidians, and fee as steward from Thomas Passch, the treasurer, is described inaccurately in the Catalogue, p. 130, as a bill of payments made by Hopton and Passch, who is wrongly called steward.
² W.R., xv.57.12.
³ Except that he received no payment in May, but had the full amount for April and May on 2 June. He was paid on 3 November for October, 2 December for November, 10 January for December, 4 February for January, 13 March for February, 8 April for March, 2 June for April and May, 6 July for June, 5 August for July, 10 September for August, and 5 October for September.
⁴ 5 March 1478. See above, p. 9.
⁵ W.R., xv.34.2.
1. Register of attendance in St. George's Chapel in December 1384 (Windsor Records, V.B.1, f.2).
of course, the claim to quotidian depended, was kept for the treasurer on large sheets of paper (each described in the accounts as **magnus papirum**) which were afterwards bound up for reference.¹

Eight such sheets have survived, each written on both sides, for sixteen months between October 1384 and May 1386.² At the head of each month’s record were written the name of the canon who was treasurer at the time, the name of the month, the number of days in it and the regnal year, e.g. *Postell October xxxi dies Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi viii* (October 1384). The names of the members of the college were written in groups in the left-hand margin, first the warden and canons, then poor knights, vicars and clerks; choristers and bellringers were mentioned collectively, not by name, and last in the list came the verger. The page beside the names of canons and poor knights was divided into twenty-eight, thirty or thirty-one columns, according to the number of days in the month, each column being marked with o for a canon’s attendance or with three o’s for a poor knight’s, since the knights were obliged to be present at three services a day, and the canons at only one. The total sum due to each canon and poor knight was entered at the end of each line of o’s. This was the treasurer’s guarantee that the sum was due. Each recipient of a sum of money for quotidian made a cross beside his name as a mark of receipt. This system was in vogue until the introduction of the indenture system.³

Quotidians of absent canons remained in the common fund, sometimes to the relief of the college, when the annual income was insufficient to support all its burdens. This may be illustrated by a petition which was addressed to King Henry VI about the year 1430. It quoted the income and expenses of the college in the...

---

¹ E.g. *In uno magni papir pro cotidianis et aliis papiris—viii.s.* (W.R., xiv.34.23).

² Now bound up together, W.R., v.b.1. Others survive for months between June 1468 and July 1479 (W.R., v.b.2), from 1667 to 1711 (W.R., v.b.3), from 1762 to 1900 (W.R., v.b.4-11), and so on up to the present day. A facsimile of the sheet for December 1384, with a transcript and description by Canon Ollard, has been published in the *Annual Report of the Society of Friends of St. George’s, Windsor* (1937); and there is a facsimile of the sheet for March 1477, with a note by Dr. E. H. Fellowes, in *Windsor Organists*, i. p. 10 and pp. 101-3.

³ When the treasurer was using indentures as records of receipt, the attendance register ceased to have any totals of money due or any marks of receipt by the names of recipients. It became a mere record of attendance with no further part in the system of accounting as evidence of the treasurer’s payments, and was no longer headed with the treasurer’s name, but with the precentor’s, and it was kept by the succentor (see W.R., v.b.2, June 1468 to July 1479).
year 1410–11, and concluded with the following statement: 

Notandum quod hoc anno erant residentes Custos Spigurnell Lacy Exton Spicer Eston Glyoth Mellon per dimidium annum. Et sic erant absentes quinque per totum annum et unus per dimidium annum. Et sic clare liquet quod si omnes canonici essent residentes bona collegii non sufficerent pro cotidianis suis per \( \frac{2}{3} \) xiii.li. Quotidiani forfeited by absent poor knights, on the other hand, were by statute to be divided among those who had attended. When the chancellor visited the college in 1378, the poor knights complained that this had not been done. The result was that in his injunctions after the visitation, the chancellor ordered the dean not only to allow the poor knights to have these mulcts in the future, but also to pay up the arrears. Consequently, after the balance of the treasurer’s account of the year ending Michaelmas 1378 had been struck, a further expense was included, of £5 12s. 4d. given to the poor knights for absences of their colleagues during the year.

No mention, however, was made of the arrears.

Although the canons had thus no share in the forfeited quotidianis of absent colleagues, the fines (half-a-mark a day) imposed on the warden for absences above the number of days allowed him were their perquisite. To make reference easy on this point, the warden’s absences were marked on the attendance sheet by a cross in the square for each day, whereas the squares of other absentees were left blank. For the sixty days’ non-residence which he was allowed, the warden lost only his quotidianis; but for every day’s absence after that he lost half-a-mark from his wardenship money as well. This was duly noted in the treasurer’s account, e.g. Custodia—Et solutum Custodi pro sua custodia per annum lxiii.li.s.viii.d. Et non plus quia absentavit se per x dies ultra suos lx dies et propter hoc incurrit multum V marcarum videlicet per diem dimidiam marce. These mulcts probably were included with the dividend which was shared between the residentiaries, for usually they were not mentioned separately by the treasurer. In the account which was drawn up immediately after the chancellor’s visitation in 1378, however, the mulcts were noted separately at the end: Postea recept de absencia Willelmi Mugge Custodis xii libras que dividit inter canonicos residentes.

---

1 W.R., xv.34.27.  
2 **Footera, IV, 50.**  
3 W.R., xv.34.14.  
4 W.R., xv.34.4.  
5 W.R., xv.34.14.
The warden’s salary was, apparently, not always paid at the four terms as required by the statutes, but at the end of a period of account. Normally a period of account would cover a whole financial year, ending at Michaelmas, but on various occasions for various reasons there was a change of treasurer during the year, and accounts were made to the date of retirement of each treasurer. Thus, for example, the financial year 1367-68 was shared between two treasurers, Stephen Shalford and Edmund Cloville, Shalford holding office from Michaelmas 1367 to 31 May 1368, and Cloville from 31 May to the following Michaelmas. Each of them paid the warden’s money for the duration of his own account, Shalford for 241 days and Cloville for 122. On these occasions the amount due was calculated *pro rata temporis*, by reference to the treasurer’s table of reckoning, at 3s. 7½d. a day.

By 1366-67 the heading *Cotidiane* in the treasurers’ accounts had come to include not only the quotidiens of canons and poor knights, but also the salaries of the other five groups in the college (vicars, clerks, choristers, bellringers and verger), who appeared in the chapel attendance register. Their salaries were paid in monthly sums, like quotidiens, but deduction was not made here for absence from chapel, since they were expected to attend all services. Instead, the absence of vicars was punished by fines, which were noted at the foot of the pages of the attendance register. At this time these pages were used by the treasurer for a record of the money he paid out to the college. Consequently no attendance columns were inserted except with respect to the canons and poor knights, since the treasurer in the other cases had not to take attendance into account in calculating the sum. The dates of their entering and leaving the college were noted beside their names, since if this happened in mid-month or mid-quarter, their salaries had to be calculated *pro rata*.

Vicars received 8s. a month, with an extra 16s. in the months in which quarter-days fell (December, March, June, September), 1

1 By this method the warden lost two days altogether, but eight days’ pay which had to be deducted was also calculated *pro rata* (this time at 3s. 7½d. a day), so that the total money paid him was £64 11s. 5½d. Had he been mulcted the usual 6s. 8d. a day, his total would have been £61 6s. 8d. This method of calculation was a clear gain to the warden (W.R., xv.34.5 and 6).

2 In the rolls of 1361-62 and 1362-63 they were separated from the quotidiens under the heading *Vadia*.

3 When the attendance register ceased to be the treasurer’s receipt, and became instead the precentor’s record of attendance, attendance marks became necessary for all members of the college (W.R., v.3.2).
bringing up the total to 24s., so as to complete the full salary of £8 a year. If a vicar entered or left the college in the middle of a quarter, he was paid for the days he was there at the full rate of £2 a quarter (i.e. according to the treasurer’s reckoner, 5½d. a day). Since normally the vicars received uniform amounts of 8s. or 24s. each month, it was in such circumstances necessary to note the exception by the name of the vicar concerned. In 1385, for instance, a new vicar named Wyther was admitted on 13 August. He was paid for the rest of August at the full rate receiving 8s. 3½d., but in September, when the others were having 24s. each, had only 13s. 1½d., beside which sum was written pro rata temporis. Receipt of their money was acknowledged by a cross beside the name of each man, like those made by the canons and poor knights. Vicars’ fines for absence were paid to those who had attended, and were marked at the foot of the page of the register Vicariis soluta.

During the visitation of 1378, the vicars had two complaints to make to the chancellor. First, they alleged that the dean delayed to pay them their salaries, keeping the money back for a long time in his own hands, and, secondly, that the salary belonging to vacant vicarships was received and appropriated by the dean to his own uses. The chancellor threatened instant suspension if the dean in future delayed payment of the vicars’ salaries, and ordered that all money belonging to vacant stalls was to be divided between the other vicars. From this time salaries were apparently paid regularly, but the vicars were still treated unjustly with regard to vacant stalls. During a vacancy they received 2s. a week for the stall. This was adequate if the vacancy lasted only a short time, as the statutes intended. Canons presented in turn to vacant vicarships, but this right was forfeited to the chapter if the vacancy lasted one month, and to the warden if there was a second month’s delay. If the stall was vacant at longest for two months, 2s. a

1 After 1416, receipt was acknowledged in writing by the vicars as well as by the canons. Eleven such monthly receipts have survived. Eight of them form a continuous series from October 1476 to May 1477; the other three are of August and September 1477 and January 1483. On each month’s receipt the amount due to each vicar was written, in order of their stalls, with the total at the foot and Recepcion per manus domini . . . followed by the autograph of one of the vicars. They took it in turn to receive the whole amount on behalf of their colleagues (W.R., xi.b.22, 23, 24 and 25). See below, p. 61, n. 3.

2 Foedera, IV, 51.

3 E.g. Et solutum vicarius pro vacacione vicarie domini Ricardi Schawe a xxiii die Januarii usque iiim diem Julii non computatum per xxii septimanas ii dies pro septima iis.—xliliis.viiid. (W.R., xv.34.11, 1376).
week (8s. a month) was the ordinary payment, but if it lasted three months or more, the vicars were entitled to the extra 16s. each quarter, and this was not paid them. At length the vicars again complained to the chancellor, and an agreement was reached to which the vicars, the canons and the chancellor appended their seals in February 1416. This stipulated that for every week after the dean and chapter had been notified of the death of a vicar, 2s. was to be paid by the treasurer to be shared among the vicars, for a period up to two months. If the vacancy lasted more than two months, the vicars were then to receive the full salary of the vicarship, as if it were held by one of them. In return for this concession, the vicars agreed not to complain to the king, the chancellor, or to any Knight-Companion of the Order of the Garter concerning non-payment of vacant stall money previous to the date of the agreement.

The survival of later written receipts for vicars’ salaries, of dates between October 1476 and January 1483, makes it possible to see how this agreement worked out in practice. Thomas Dixon vacated his stall on 19 October 1476. For the first eighteen days of October he was paid the full rate of 5½d. a day (that is, including the proper proportion of his quarter-money). For the eight weeks immediately following 19 October, the vicars were paid 25. a week in respect of his vacant stall, and after that the full rate (which amounted to 3s. 0½d. a week) until the stall was filled by William Pese on 15 September 1477. It is easy to see how keeping vicarships vacant had previously profited the chapter; even with the new arrangement only 31s. 9d. was paid altogether for the quarter October to December 1476 for this stall, instead of the £2 normally due for it. On the other hand, vicars who left the college in the

1 For instance in 1377-78 a stall to which John Loring was entitled to present was kept vacant for forty-six weeks and five days, and only £4 13s. 6d. was paid to the vicars for it, that is 28. a week, without quarter-money (W.R., xv.34.14).
2 W.R., xi.B.1 and 2. Of these two copies, xi.B.2 is in Latin and much mutilated, xi.B.1 is an English translation.
3 This money, like their salaries, was paid to one of the vicars on behalf of the rest. It seems probable that they chose one of their number to be steward for the month and to represent them. Cf. Et solutum Roberto Veale senesallo vicario nomium sociorum suorum pro vacacione vicariarum—vi.s. (W.R., xv.34.28, 1415-16).
4 See above, p. 60, n. 1.
5 W.R., v.B.2, f. 51 (Attendance Sheet for October 1476) xii° die huius mensis dominus Thomas Dyxson dimisit stallum suum in isto collegio ante altam missam.
6 Vicars’ Receipts, W.R., xi.B.22.1, 2, 3.
7 Attendance Register, W.R., v.B.2, f. 56d.
middle of a quarter were paid the right amount of quarter-money even for past months. William Ledys, who gave up his stall on 1 September 1477,\(^1\) had been paid the usual 8s. for July, the first month of the quarter. When he was paid for August, after which his stall was vacant, at the full rate of \(5\frac{1}{2}\)d. a day, he was also given an extra 5s. 6\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. to bring his July money up to the full rate.

From at least as early as 1393-94, the vicars had been given £2 a year (10s. a term) for reading the Gospel, in the absence of a deacon.\(^2\) At first this payment was entered in the section *Dona* in the treasurers' accounts, but by 1402-03 it was transferred to *Stipendia*, the payments due to officers of the college. This points to the fact that the £2 had now come to be regarded as a regular payment to the vicars, and not as an honorarium given for filling a gap in the temporary lack of a deacon.\(^3\) When the agreement of February 1416 already described was made concerning vacant stalls, the vicars took this opportunity to define their position also with regard to the Gospel money, and the canons agreed to pay this 40s. to them yearly, until a deacon should be appointed to read the Gospel.

Of the four clerks who ministered in St. George's Chapel, the College Statutes required one to be a deacon,\(^4\) another a sub-deacon, and the other two in minor orders. The annual salary was eight marks (£5 6s. 8d.) for the deacon and sub-deacon, six marks (£4) for each of the other two. Payment was made at the rate of 4s. a month with the balance each quarter. Thus, in December, March, June and September, two clerks were to receive 18s. 8d. (4s. plus 14s. 8d. quarter-money) and two 12s. (4s. plus 8s. quarter-money). When clerks were admitted to or left the college in mid-quarter their salary was, like the vicars', calculated *pro rata* at \(3\frac{1}{2}\)d. a day for the deacon and sub-deacon and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. a day for the others, with a little extra to compensate for the impossibility of dividing the sum of money exactly. The treasurer had a list of amounts due

---

1 W.R., v.B.2, f. 56d.

2 *Et solutum vicariis collegii pro lectura evangeliorum hoc eodem anno ex rewarдо pro defectu unius diaconi ad hoc constituti—xl.s.* (W.R., xv.34.28, 1415-16).

3 When in 1362-63 there was no deacon for the whole financial year, the vicars received £4 14s. 8\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for reading the Gospel (W.R., xv.34.2).

4 It is clear from the fact that the vicars read the Gospel that no deacon was among the clerks from 1393 to 1416. There were a deacon and a sub-deacon in May 1386 (W.R., v.B.1, f. 8), but after that date there is no evidence of either. The clerks received 26s. 8d. each year for reading the Epistle in the absence of a sub-deacon.
to all the members of the college, on two scales of pay. One of them read as follows:

### Distribuciones cotidiane—Canonicus
- Per diem: xii.d.
- Plus per annum: dividendum

### Vicarius
- Per diem: v.d.q.
- Plus per annum: iii.d.q.

### Diaconus et subdiaconus
- Per diem: iii.d.ob.
- Plus per annum: i.i.d.ob.

### Clericus
- Per diem: ii.d.ob.
- Plus per annum: iii.s.xi.d.ob.

### Chorista
- Per diem: ii.d.
- Plus per annum: viii.i.d.

### Hostiarius
- Per diem: vi.d.
- Plus per annum: nichil

### Garciones
- Per diem: ii.d.
- Plus per annum: nichil

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

### Omnia praedicta sunt vera ubi—
- **Canonicus recipit per annum**: xviii.li.v.s.
- **Vicarius**: viii.li.
- **Diaconus et subdiaconus**: cvi.s.xiii.d.
- **Clericus**: iii.li.
- **Chorista**: lxvi.s.xii.d.
- **Hostiarus**: ix.li.ii.s.vi.d.
- **Garciones**: xlix.s.x.d.

This was particularly useful to the treasurer when calculating the amount payable when the yearly salary was not a multiple of 10s. and did not figure on his "reckoner". An example of the way the system worked is the case of a clerk in minor orders admitted to the college on 1 September 1385. He was paid *pro rata temporis* for September, receiving 6s. 3d., i.e. thirty days' pay at 2½d. Since September was the last month of the quarter, he was paid the usual 4s., 4s. and 12s. in the following months. Again, at the end of November 1385, the deacon or sub-deacon left the college. He had been paid 4s. for October, and in November was paid 13s. 9½d., to make the total sum received in the two months up to 17s. 9½d., the full pay for that time. Receipt was acknowledged by the clerks by making a cross beside their names on the attendance sheet.

---

2. *Garciones* here obviously refers to the bellringers, whose salary was 2d. a day.
The choristers' salaries were paid in a lump sum each month, when the attendance register was marked with a cross beside the title *Choriste*. When all six choristers were present for the whole month, 33s. 4d. was allowed for them (5s. 6½d. each). In December 1384 there were five choristers, of whom one was admitted on the 10th of the month. The total sum paid for them was 25s. 10d., that is 5s. 6½d. each for four (22s. 2d.), and 3s. 8d. for the other for twenty-one days at 2d. a day.¹ The full year's salary was 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) for each chorister.

The bellringers also received 2d. a day, but their full year's salary amounted only to £3 os. 10d., since their wages were daily wages and not annual sums divided as nearly as possible for odd days. Throughout the months for which attendance sheets exist (between October 1384 and May 1386) there were three ringers, not mentioned by name in the register, whose money was paid in a lump sum, usually 15s. or 15s. 6d. (for months of thirty or thirty-one days) and for which sometimes one cross was marked as receipt and sometimes a triple cross, i.e. one horizontal stroke running through three verticals.

The verger or usher received a uniform wage of 6d. a day. This was paid him every month and he receipted the treasurer's attendance sheet, beside the word *Hostiarius* without explicit mention of his name. He received 15s. or 15s. 6d. a month, amounting to £9 2s. 6d. in the year.

From an early date there were two chaplains, not included in the statutory composition of the college, but placed there by the king and maintained by the college in deference to the king's wishes. Thus to Thomas of Aston and John Attlee (*atte Lee*) by letters patent dated 22 March 1361² the king granted £10 yearly of the fruits and profits of St. George's Chapel, to be paid by the hands of the treasurer of the chapel for such time as they remained there. On the patent roll these letters were subsequently annulled, since they were returned "because the king does not wish nor has he power to charge the chapel, but wishes that the dean and chapter ordain the sustenance of chaplains". Aston and Attlee duly appeared as receiving wages in the treasurers' accounts of 1361-62 and sub-

¹ W.R., v.B.1, f. 2.
² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1358-61, p. 569. John Attlee was at St. George's in 1354-55 (W.K., xv.53.43); Thomas Aston was first mentioned in the earliest surviving treasurer's roll, 1361-62 (W.R., xv.34.1).
sequently. Evidently the chapter acceded to the king’s request and maintained the chaplains, once their right to refuse to do so was recognized. Indeed, according to one of the treasurer’s tables in the Arundel White Book already referred to, Aston and Attlee were given a higher salary than that originally granted them by the king. It was noted as follows:

Johannes atte Lee et Thomas de Aston
recipient—Per diem .. viii.d. ob.q. vi.d.q. plus
Per mensem .. xxii. s. ii. d. ob. ii.d. plus
Per annum .. xx marce Nichil

On 15 August 1369 Thomas Aston was presented to a canonry at Windsor by the king, but John Attlee was still receiving his 20 marks (\£13 6s. 8d.) in 1377-78, when this was included in a summary of the liabilities of the college in that year. The treasurer also paid to residentiaries their share of the dividend, that is the two-thirds of the surplus income remaining after all expenses had been paid. The remaining third was deposited in the aery to form a fund for use when necessity should arise.

Obit payments were distributed by the treasurer to all members of the college who attended both the vigil and the mass for the dead on the anniversaries of the deaths of the king, the queen, their eldest son, the bishop of Winchester and benefactors. By 1416 nineteen such obits were celebrated. Of these ten are known to have been endowed, either with the rent of properties, or with a sum of money to provide such rent. The remaining nine commemorated Edward III, Queen Philippa, Prince Edward and four other Companions of the Order of the Garter, and two wardens of the chapel. If these were endowed, it was with a sum of money and not a rent, for no annual receipts for them appear in the college

1 Arundel White Book, f. 154v.
3 W.R., xv. 53. 64.
4 See below, pp. 181-85.
5 Two of them were kept only for a number of years. The obit of John of the Chamber (first warden) was celebrated only until the death of William Mudge, when Mudge’s obit replaced it; the obit of Thomas Butler (third warden) was observed from 1402 to 1408. See below, Appendix III.
6 The obits of Robert Burnham, William Mudge, Queen Anne, Ralph of Windsor, Richard Raunds, Geoffrey Aston, Robert Ravendale and John Chapman were endowed with rents; those of Bishop Edington and Bishop William of Wykeham each with £200.
7 The earls of Warwick, Northampton and Oxford, and the duke of Lancaster.
8 John of the Chamber and Thomas Butler (see above, n. 5.).

65
accounts. Five obits were endowed with specific sums of money or rents with directions regulating their distribution. The other fourteen were paid at a uniform rate, that is as much as the usual daily wage, to every one who attended.  

Residentiaries and others below the rank of canon were to be fined for non-attendance. By statute, the warden’s fine was to be 10s., a canon’s 5s., a vicar’s 2s., and the fines were to be placed in the aerary in the common fund. There is no evidence that this was ever done, perhaps because loss of a share in the obit distributions was considered sufficient penalty for failure to attend.

Canons who were absent upon the business of the college were treated with regard to obit distributions in the same way as with regard to their quotidians, that is to say they were counted as if actually present in chapel on these days.  

Those who attended only the mass and not the vigil for the dead received half of the full amount.  

For obits which were paid at the same rate as quotidians, each canon received 1s., each vicar 5½d., the deacon and sub-deacon 3½d., the clerks 2½d., and the choristers and bellringers 2d. each. Aston and Attlee received 8d. when they attended. Obits endowed with special sums to be distributed were usually more profitable to the canons. Robert Burnham’s obit was endowed, in the first instance, with a rent of 20s. which was to be distributed in the following manner: 6d. to each canon, 2d. to each vicar, 1½d. to the deacon and sub-deacon, 1d. to the clerks and ½d. to the choristers and bellringers at each of the two services, the vigil and the mass. Thus in the first instance the canons received their full shilling for the two services, although the others were given rather less than the quotidian rate. Any money left over from the 20s. was first to go to provide twelve poor people with a penny each, and after that to be divided among the canons who had attended the obit services.  

Since from the first the property with which Burnham endowed his obit brought in 26s. 8d. rent, and by 1385 36s. 8d., the canons received much larger sums than the usual shilling. In

---

1 In 1370-71, however, distributions of 8d. to each canon, 4d. to each vicar, 3d. to the deacons, 2d. to the clerks and 1d. to the choristers and bellringers were made at the obits of the earls of Northampton and Warwick and the duke of Lancaster. This is the first year in which these obits were mentioned in the accounts, and subsequently these three, like the others, were paid at the same rate as quotidians.

2 E.g. Obit of Queen Philippa, 6 August 1395... in quo fuerunt presentes et in negociis collegii v canones... (W.R., xv.34.17).

3 E.g. Obit of the earl of Northampton, 16 September 1395... in quo fuerunt presentes vii canones et Feile ad missam tantummodo... (W.R., xv.34.17).

4 W.R., xv.44.131 (13 January 1362).
1395 the seven canons who were present at both services received 4s. 0½d. each, and another who attended only the mass had 2s.¹ Queen Anne’s obit, which was endowed with the rent of two pastures in Bray called Frith and Ashcroft, was even richer, since in 1402-03 the rent was £2 10s., and it rose to £3 in 1415-16.

Thirty-three original tickets recording the payment of obit distributions to the college of Windsor in 1477-78 are preserved among the Ashmole manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.² They vary in size, but most are 4¾ inches long and 3¾ inches wide. The ticket for Burnham’s obit, 10 August 1478, was written as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decimo</th>
<th>Obitus Roberti Bernham canonici tentus ibidem anno</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>regni regis Edwardi quarti xviii in quo presentes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensis</td>
<td>fuerunt canonici vi cuique xii.d. videlicet Downe Danet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustis</td>
<td>Passch Hopton Toures et Vahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarii</td>
<td>x cuique iii.d. Halle ad missam tantummodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerici</td>
<td>x cuique ii.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choriste</td>
<td>vii cuique i.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campanistri</td>
<td>iii cuique i.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa totalis xii.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(On the dorse) Item xii pampier xii.d.
Residuum de xx.s. inter canonicos infrascriptos est divisum.

It is possible that the treasurer used this method of recording payment for obits in the period before 1416 also, but, in view of the fact that other written receipts were, apparently, not in use before 1416, it seems more probable that a register similar to that of ordinary chapel attendances was kept for obits and was used by the treasurer both as an authority for payment and as a receipted record.

Travelling expenses of those engaged upon the business of the college were allowed at fixed rates, with some exceptions in the early years.³ The normal allowances were 4s. 8d. a day for the warden, 2s. 4d. for a canon, 1s. for a vicar, and 6d. for a clerk, with sometimes 2d. or 3d. a day extra if a horse had to be hired. Most of the

¹ Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xvi. 34.17.
² Ashm. MSS. No. 1296 (previously fastened together with a parchment thong, but now pasted in Ashm. MS. No. 1763, ff. 41, 42). The tickets are cut through as having been cancelled.
³ The warden was allowed as much as £13 for twenty-six days’ absence, visiting Simonburn in 1366-67 (i.e. 10s. a day), and from 1362 to 1371 the ordinary allowance for the warden was 5s. 8d. a day, but perhaps this included his quotidian.
travelling connected with supervising and receiving money from the estates was done by the steward, and paid for by the treasurer after the steward’s bills for his expenses had been passed in chapter. These bills were mentioned in only two of the surviving treasurers’ rolls before 1416 namely, those of 1406-07 and 1407-08. In 1406-07 the steward, William Gillot, presented six bills to the chapter for his travelling expenses when busy about the estates, and a further three bills for expenses incurred in travelling to London to litigate concerning the church of Saltash. Further bills for travelling and other expenses were presented by William Young (a vicar who frequently assisted the steward at this time), by the farmer of Saltash, Thomas Ebrelle, and by Henry Hethe, legal adviser to the college and steward of their courts. These bills were approved in chapter on the following dates: 18 December 1406, 22 January, 27 August, and 22 October 1407 (within the period of this account) and 10 and 13 March 1408 (after the close of the account). Similar bills were prepared and presented by the warden, the treasurer, the precentor and others who were sent out on college affairs, and by clerks who wrote letters and other documents for the chapter. The earliest bill which has survived was presented by John Arundel, warden, for expenses incurred in visiting the duke of Bedford in December 1430 concerning the spiritualities of the priory of Ogbourne which the duke had given to the college. Arundel was away for eight days. For this he was allowed 4s. 8d. a day and 1s. 10d. for hire of a boat for his journey, making £1 19s. 2d. in all. The bill was approved in chapter on 4 January 1431. Later bills were signed at the foot by each canon present in chapter when they were passed. The earliest of those bearing signatures of the chapter is a bill for 2s., the wages of a messenger, Thomas Assheley, for two days in December 1446 when he was sent by the dean and chapter to Chalfont to collect the farm of one of the properties belonging to the priory of Ogbourne. At the foot of the bill was written *Allocatur per capitulum per decanum et auditores collegii Mychelle Depedene Hanslape Howden Burghull Bury*. The names of the canons are autographs.

1 W.R., xv.57.1.
2 Five bills of William Mitchell, treasurer, exist for the year 1446-67, (W.R., xv.57.7), four of Thomas Passch, steward, 1464 (W.R., xv.57.8 and 9), two of clerks for various writings, 1446-47 (W.R., xv.57.4 and 5). These bills were marked when discharged; those of 1446-47 have a cross made at the foot, and those of 1464-65 have chevron-shaped cuts and marks of similar shape on the back.
3 W.R., xv.57.3.
As paymaster of the college, the treasurer was responsible for and included in his account all the money expended either by himself personally or by officials accountable to him to whom he had to allow or refund the amount. Consequently the expense section of his account included all the money spent about the affairs of the college, as it included all the money received, with the one exception of chapel expenses, which were, until 1393, met by the precentor out of the chapel offerings and accounted for independently. After 1393, when the offerings became one of the perquisites of residentiaries, the treasurer accounted for chapel expenses also, handing over to the precentor at the beginning of each month the amount expended in the preceding month. Only the total of these payments was entered on the treasurer's final account, but an indenture drawn up between the treasurer and the precentor for the year recorded each payment as it was made. One such indenture,1 dated 18 October 1456, and covering the financial year 1456-57, has survived. It records twelve monthly payments made by William Mitchell, treasurer, to Roger Misterton, precentor, in respect of chapel expenses.

This same indenture is of interest because it records the treasurer's payment of the precentor's stipend for the year. In the months of April and October the precentor received £2 10s. as his wages for the preceding half-year. By this date (1456) salaries of officials were, apparently, sometimes paid only twice a year, but till 1416, four payments of 25s. each were made to the three chief officials, one at the end of each quarter.2 When these offices were not held for a whole year by one canon, payment was made pro rata at 3d. a day. The minor officials were also paid at the four quarters, the succentor and the master of the choristers (both vicars) receiving £1 6s. 8d. each in the year (half-a-mark each term), the keeper of the clock 13s. 4d. a year (3s. 4d. a term), and the chapter clerk £2 a year (10s. a term).

During the period before 1416 the whole revenues and all the expenditure of the college of St. George appeared on the treasurer's account. Thus it is possible to see how the annual income of the college sufficed for its liabilities and whether there was a reasonable

1 This is attached by a parchment thong to an indenture between the treasurer and the steward for the same year (W.R., I.B.2).
2 This practice was re-adopted later, also, for an indenture of 1477-78 recording payments to David Hopton includes, besides prebend and quotidiens, four payments of 25s. for his salary as steward (W.R., xv.57.10).
surplus to divide among the residentiaries. From 1361 to 1405 the actual income received varied between about £520 and £673, this large variation being partly due to irregularity of payment of revenue. The average income may be said to be about £600. Expenditure varied even more widely, between £466 and £601. The number of residentiaries made a difference to the amount of quotidiens paid, which sank as low as £255 13s. 9½d. for the whole college in 1385-86, as compared with £360 11s. 8½d. in 1377-78. Cost of repairs and of litigation were among other variable expenditure. The surplus (not counting chapel offerings) was sometimes over £100; in 1367-68 it was as high as £142 15s. 1d., and once it fell as low as 4s. 5½d. (1400-01). In 1406-07 both the chapel offerings and a loan of £15 16s. 2d. were necessary to balance the account. The loan was repaid in the following year, but again the chapel offerings were absorbed to eke out inadequate revenues. From this time until 1416 it is evident that the income of the college barely sufficed for the year’s necessities. In 1415-16, as already explained, a reorganization of the methods of account caused a change in the character of treasurers’ and stewards’ accounts, and written receipts were probably introduced at the same date. The treasurership of William Gillot was notable because of these administrative changes. Probably they were an attempt to cope with insufficient income and prevent unnecessary expenditure. Conditions continued to be difficult for a number of years after the close of this survey, but the grant by the duke of Bedford of the spiritualities of the priory of Ogbourne in 1422 no doubt helped considerably towards financial rehabilitation.

(b) STEWARD (CENTRAL ACTIVITIES)

Senescallus autem predictus directioni et gubernacioni omnium honorum presertim externorum dicte capelle iuxta discretionem sibi a deo datam pro viribus intendens pecuniam quam et prout commode poterit inde levari faciet, et Thesaurario huiusmodi liberari. This was the definition of the steward’s functions in the foundation statutes. His duty was to collect revenues, not to retain or expend them. A chapter act of 1430 reiterated this principle. By this, the steward was to receive all the income of the college, with the arrears of preceding years, but was not to make any payments either within or outside the college without the special consent or command of the dean and canons, nor was he to keep any money in his own

— See table of income and expenditure below, Appendix IV. 70
hands for more than three days after receiving it or after his return from journeys abroad, but to pay it at once to the treasurer.¹ That it was necessary in 1430 to pass a chapter act on this matter suggests that, meanwhile, stewards had strayed outside the statutory province of their office. Yet this may not have occurred till late in the history of the period. No indentures of money delivered by the steward to the treasurer before 1430 have survived, it is true, but the detail with which all receipts were entered in the treasurers’ rolls up to 1415-16, often without mention of the steward as intermediary, show that at least until that date the treasurer received all revenues² as they were paid, making himself accountable for them. If divergencies from this practice provoked the chapter act of 1430, it seems probable that they occurred after 1416, when the steward began to account independently.

Receipt

The steward, therefore, was pre-eminently a receiver. In the heading of his accounts he styled himself “steward and receiver of money” or “steward and receiver general”. His responsibility for the collection of revenues was, in some ways, unenviable. It was his business to find lessees to farm the college properties, and if he could not manage to secure a rent which the chapter thought reasonable, he had to make up the deficiency out of his own pocket. For example, from 1406 to 1415 the church of Deddington had been farmed out at £52. During the last year of this lease (1414-15), the steward, William Gillot, was unable to secure a renewal on the same terms. Consequently he let it, for one year only, at £42, and had to pay an additional £10 himself. His successor as steward, John Exton, was more fortunate; he leased the church for five years at £50 a year, with the consent of the chapter. Exton himself narrowly escaped having to pay £20 13s.4d. towards the revenue of the church of Whaddon. In 1415-16 the church was in the hands of the college, for want of a lessee, and Exton sold the fruits and produce of the place for only £13 6s. 8d. Since in normal times the church was farmed at £34, Exton was liable for the remaining £20 13s. 4d., and acknowledged this in his account. Subsequently the chapter relented. It was found at the audit that the terms of this sale had been known to the chapter and that the steward

¹ Frith’s Old Register, pp. 90-91.
² Some of the receipts were fictitious, i.e. the steward retained the money for current expenses, and the treasurer accounted for it as if received and afterwards spent. See below, p. 74.
concluded the deal with its consent. The steward was exonerated; and in the meanwhile he had contrived to lease the church for five years at £30, with the chapter's approval.¹

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

Among the rents always paid in London was an annual sum of 100 marks due from the town of Northampton. The town bailiffs brought the money to London each year soon after Michaelmas, and there it was delivered to a representative of the college, usually the steward. As far as can be seen from the available treasurers' rolls, this rent was paid regularly. One exception occurred in 1377 when the warden and the steward went to London to ask for a writ ordering the bailiffs to pay. This was issued, dated 1 June 1377, the money was subsequently paid and, for its safe custody, the steward hired a man with a horse to escort himself and the money back to Windsor. The bailiff who brought the money to London was rewarded with 3s. 4d. Thenceforward the expenses of collecting the 100 marks each year began to increase. First, the gift to the bailiffs for their trouble in bringing the money became inevitable and increased in value,⁶ and secondly, the steward began to entertain them to breakfast at Westminster. Whereas formerly 4s. 8d. (the

¹ Both these examples occur in the steward's roll of 1415-16 (W.R., xv.48.4).
² For instance, in the year Michaelmas 1377 to Michaelmas 1378 the steward was absent from Windsor for 63½ days; of these 59½ were spent in journeys to London (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.14).
³ The treasurer accounted for these expenses in his roll, e.g. Et solutum Ricardo Shaw senescallo per diversas parcellas militia per cunctem traditas sigilloque suo signalis (ibid., xv.34.13).
⁴ Marginal note beside these entries in the steward's roll: tantum quia victualia juit cara hoc anno (W.R., xv.48.1). This is an interesting sidelight on economic conditions; 1369 was a year of plague with its consequent scarcity of labour and high prices.
⁵ Cal. Close Rolls, 1377-81, p. 74.
⁶ This gift was an inducement to the bailiffs to pay their rent in good money: Et datum ballivis Northamtoni pro bono auro ab eis habendo hoc anno in solucion eorumdem—xiii.s.xiiii.d. (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.32, 1422-23). In 1421-22 the college had lost 268. 8d. in bad gold paid them from the farmers of their properties.
steward’s allowance for two days’ travelling) had covered the cost of collecting this 100 marks, in 1406-7 a claim for 28s. 4¾d. was allowed by the auditors. This included three days’ expenses for the steward, 13s. 4d. given to the bailiffs, 1s. 8d. to their clerk, 8½d. for a bottle of malmsey presented to the mayor of Northampton and his companions, and 5s. 8d. for their entertainment at breakfast. Some years before this, in 1395-96, the auditors had refused to allow 1s. 4d. asked again by the steward for the hire of a man to escort him on his return journey for fear of robbers, otherwise this item would have swollen the cost still further. Besides the yearly breakfast provided for the bailiffs, they were given beverages after dinner, the cost increased steadily. At last in 1459-60 the steward presented a bill of 46s. 8d. spent in rewarding and feasting the bailiffs. This time the auditors demurred; at length they consented to allow it, but declared that it was not to create a precedent.

As a record of receipt the steward used either indented quittances or tallies. The earliest specimen of such an indenture which has survived relates to a transaction on 4 August 1498 between the steward and Richard Unde, farmer of the rectory of South Tawton. It is certain that these indentures and tallies were used by the steward from the beginning, for although in treasurers’ rolls mention of them is rare, one reference occurs in the earliest of the existing rolls, and in the stewards’ rolls such references occur constantly. For example, a subsidiary steward’s account attached to the treasurer’s roll of 1367-68 records the receipt of £8 10s. 6d. from the reeves of the manor of Craswell, and cites as vouchers tallies made between the steward and the reeves. Apparently when the steward was dealing with local officials of the manors of the college, he gave tallies of receipt; to others, who paid fixed rents, he gave written quittances. Probably these quittances were written out at Windsor before the steward left on his journeys. At any rate, in the treasurer’s account of May to Michaelmas 1368, the steward was described as “going to London on the morrow of Michaelmas to carry a quittance of the 100 marks from Northampton and to do other business of the college, for two days”.

1 In expensis maioris ballivorum et aliorum ministeriorum eiusdem ville Northamton apud Westmonasterium ut in i tantaculo eiusdem dato et potacionibus post prandium eiusdem datis in recepconie dictorum denariorum vi.s.i.d. (ibid., xv.34-35, 1425-26).
2 Auditors’ note: probatur sed non trahatur in exemplum (Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.25).
3 W.R., xi.J.34.
While on his journeys, the steward made himself useful in many ways. He procured writs and copies of documents when required, consulted lawyers and sought advice, and represented the college in lawsuits, besides doing necessary shopping.

**Expenditure**

Expenditure of revenue, apart from his own reasonable expenses, was forbidden to the steward by the statutes. Nevertheless, it was impossible that he should fulfil his duties without some money in hand, and consequently he spent a certain amount of money, though never a large sum. For this he accounted to the treasurer, who made himself answerable for it to the auditors. Such payments were for outside expenses; all money spent inside the college naturally came from the treasurer.¹

For the period before 1416, besides two stewards' rolls (of 1369-70 and 1415-16) we possess a steward’s account attached to the treasurer’s roll of 1367-68.² This shows that the steward, Edmund Cloville, had retained in his own hands a sum amounting to £8 10s. 6d. He had received this from the reeves of Craswell in two payments of £3 10s. and £5 os. 6d., for which he gave them tallies. Out of it he spent £7 1s. 9d. as follows: (1) Two purchases of tiles, £1 11s. 9d.; (2) Garlic and onion plants for the garden, 11s. 7d.; (3) Wages of a supervisor of wheat-threshing at Craswell, £2 2s. 6d.; (4) Wages of a smith making iron supports³ for a new building, 3s. 14d.; (5) His own travelling expenses on three occasions to London, 14s.; (6) Three years’ pensions to the chapter of Lincoln for churches in that diocese appropriated to the college, £2 8s. The remaining £1 8s. 9d. he paid to the treasurer. Among his expenses Cloville had attempted to include his own prebend (£2) and his stipend as steward (£5), but these items were crossed out, the treasurer no doubt preferring to pay these amounts himself. The total receipts of the college for this year, as shown on the treasurer’s roll, were £336 19s. 6¾d., and among them appeared the £8 10s. 6d. which had actually remained in the hands of the steward. It was entered as two separate amounts, of £3 10s. and £5 os. 6d., and of these only the first was stated to have been paid to the

¹ The only exception found to this general rule occurred in 1415-16 when the steward paid John Plumber for repairing the well in the cloister, and this was owing to the temporary absence of the treasurer: *Et solutum Johanni Plumere in absencia Thesaurarii per manus Johannis Exton senescalli pro opere suo in claustro xii.d.* (Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34-28).
³ Literally “iron horses” : . . . *pro factura xxi ferri equorum pro novo edificio*. . .
treasurer via the steward. With the exception of the farm of South Tawton (£36) which was stated as received by the warden, Cloville had doubtless received all the revenues, but of this total of £300 19s. 6½d. paid into his hands, he kept only £8 10s. 6d., and of that spent only £7 1s. 9d. Unlike the receipts, Cloville’s expenses were included in a single entry in the treasurer’s account to which they were attached: In expensis factis per dominum Edmundum senescalum ut patet in compoto dicti domini Edmundi de hoc anno xliii unde dictus comptus huic annexatur vii.li.xxi.d. A similar steward’s account, which has not survived, was attached to the treasurer’s roll for four months ending Michaelmas 1368. Among his expenses the treasurer included £9 8s. 6d. “paid” to the steward for certain repairs on the manors and rectories of the college, citing the appended steward’s account for details of its expenditure. Similarly, for repair of a wall in 1366-67, the steward was allowed £14 5s. 4d. Of this £6 was borrowed from the emergency fund in the aerary, and £3 6s. 8d. was kept by the steward out of the proceeds of the sale of wool at Iver and Craswell. The provenance of the remaining £4 18s. 8d. was not stated.

In 1369-70 the steward received in all £826 7s. 2d.¹ Of this he himself spent only £179 5s. 6½d.,² and this included a lump sum of £66 13s. 4d. delivered to the warden for his salary, and an allowance of £65 17s. 0½d. made to the farmer of Simonburn for his arrears, i.e. a fictitious repayment of arrears which the steward had never received. Thus, in actual fact, only £46 15s. 1½d. was spent by the steward, as follows: (1) Pensions to the bishop of Lincoln for churches appropriated to the college, £3 7s. 4d.; (2) Fees to the college attorneys, £3; (3) Cost of a new mill at Bray, £8 7s. 1d., of repairs at Ryston, £6 3s. 8d., of straw for the barn at Uttoxeter, 15s.; (4) Wages of a supervisor of threshing and winnowing at Craswell, 3s. 2d.; (5) Cost of new stock for Craswell (seven oxen, £6 5s.) and garden expenses (18s. 8d.), £7 3s. 8d.; (6) Travelling expenses of himself and servants, £14 1s. 8d.; (7) Expenses of auditing local accounts, £2 9s. 4d.; (8) Sundries, such as paper, wax, parchment and the clerk’s fee, £1 4s. 3d.³

¹ This sum is reached by adding to the total of £826 os. 6d. given in the roll (W.R., xv.48.1) a further 68. 8d. received later and noted in the balance of the account.
² From the total expenses (£722 13s. 6½d.) given in the roll, £546 8s. paid over to the treasurer and into the aerary have been deducted, and a further £3 spent later and noted in the balance of the account have been added.
³ The actual total of these expenses is £46 15s. 2d.
During the year 1415-16, the steward received in all £923 3s. 9d.\(^1\) Of this he delivered only £484 7s. 11\(^{1/2}\)d. to the treasurer, keeping the rest in his own hands, while giving the treasurer every detail of when and from whom it came.\(^2\) He spent only £111 7s. 11\(^{1/2}\)d., however, the balance being paid over at Michaelmas at the audit. His expenses were these: (1) Pensions for appropriated churches, £35 10s.; (2) Fees to the steward of the courts (£2), the college attorneys in the courts of the exchequer and common pleas (13s. 4d.), the clerk and auditors of the accounts (£3) and himself (£5), £10 13s. 4d.; (3) Robes and furs for the servants of the college, £4 8s. 2d.; (4) Travelling expenses (his own, the warden’s and the servants’), £15 14s. 3\(^{1/2}\)d.; (5) Gardener’s wages, and cost of tools and plants, £5 4s. 10d.; (6) Repairs at Uttoxeter, Deddington Castle, Wraysbury, Iver and Windsor, £14 4s. 9d.; (7) Rents in Windsor, 2s. 7d.; (8) Gifts and costs of litigation, £26 10s.

It will be seen from the examples given above that the steward’s expenditure was in two directions only, that is to say upon the estates of the college (in wages, stock, labour, repairs, etc.), and upon travelling expenses, with payments made on behalf of the chapter when in London, and expenses incurred in the transaction of legal and other business on behalf of the chapter.

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

It is particularly interesting to notice that, after the change in accounting in 1416 which put an end to the overlapping of the receipt section of the treasurer’s and steward’s accounts, a similar change gradually came in the expenses section. One by one the payments usually made by the steward were recognized as his responsibility and appeared only in his account. By 1438-39 the steward alone accounted for the following: fees and robes, all travelling expenses, gifts, and costs of litigation. Payment of

---

\(^1\) From the steward’s total, £964 9s. 5\(^{1/2}\)d., have been deducted £30 16s. 8d. of “allowances” made to various payers, i.e. forgiveness of their debts, which were entered on both the credit and the debit side of this account (W.R., xv.48.4).

\(^2\) This is apparent from the detail of the parallel treasurer’s account (W.R., xv.34.28), in which there is more of this sort of information than in the steward’s.
pensions, on the other hand, was taken over by the treasurer, and the scope of expenditure allowed to the steward did not in any way increase.

Household

The steward was also in charge of the household. At the time of audit, when an outside auditor, the clerk of the accounts, and the local officials of Iver and Craswell had to stay in Windsor, the steward was given an allowance for each of them for their table. Canons acting as auditors and canon accountants were not catered for by the steward, but dined as usual in their own chambers and were allowed an extra shilling a day for their food.

Sixteen rolls of household expenses, for which the steward was responsible, survive covering months between December 1351 and August 1355.¹ No others have survived. In these years, the administration of the new college was hardly normal. Building works were in progress, under the supervision of Robert Burnham, one of the first canons, and it was not until early in 1355 that the canons' and vicars' lodgings were completed. A new roasting-house, bakery and brewery and a mill were built for the college in 1353-54. Meanwhile the college seems to have used the great hall of the lower ward (rebuilt by Henry III, 1222-23) and its kitchens (1313-14) for meals.² Consequently it was necessary for the stewards (there were two of them at this time) to keep the usual daily accounts of household expenditure. Produce was supplied from Wraysbury, Datchet, Iver and Craswell. Among the guests entertained were the master mason, John Sponley, and his wife. The warden's lodgings were finished first. In the margin beside the entry in the household roll for Sunday, 27 January 1353, is a note per custodem in camera sua nova, which may mean that the warden entertained the college, since out of fifty-one meals only six were served that day from the common kitchen. In January 1355 Burnham's own chamber was finished; on the first of the month the household served only five meals and non plus quia omnes in prandio et in cena cum R. Bernham. Food was supplied from the household for

¹ W.R., xv.3.1. These rolls are in two bundles, one containing twelve and the other four. In the Catalogue (p. 98) they are ascribed in error to 1353-55, but the earlier date is made certain by a heading on the back of one of them: contentum x rotulorum expensarium hospicii collegii de Wyndesore ab ultimo die Octobris anni xxvii usque ultimo diem Septembris anno xxvi. 
² The great hall stood on the north side of the present St. George's Chapel, with a herb garden to the east of it (Hope, Windsor Castle, 1, 51-57, 86-87, 90, 92, 151).
Burnham’s table. On 20th of the month food was supplied similarly to the chamber of Henry Blount. In February ale also was delivered to the canons’ chambers.

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

The complete absence of any later household rolls, or of any reference to them in existing treasurers’ and stewards’ accounts, points to the fact that when the building of the college was finished, there was no longer any need for communal provision of food. The neighbouring rectories (Wrayshbury, Iver and Datchet), formerly retained under the management of the college for supplies, were afterwards let out to farm. Canons bought their own stores privately and fed in their own chambers. We know that the canons’ chambers included kitchens, for Nicholas Sturgeon in 1443-44 attempted to claim from the common fund the cost of repairing his kitchen chimney. The vicars received part of their salaries monthly for food, and either catered for themselves or ate with their canons. St. John Hope has conjectured that the vicars lived in ground floor rooms beneath the chambers of their canons. The twenty-six chambers erected on the site of the old royal lodgings of Henry III were described in Robert Burnham’s building account of 1353 as for the canons, with no mention of the vicars. From 1355 when these chambers were completed until 1371-72 the vicars may have lived beneath their canons, but by royal letters dated 18 July 1367 an old tiled house formerly the masons’ lodge or workshop in the castle was provided as a dwelling for all the vicars.

1 A bailiff’s account for the manor of Iver exists for 1381-82, and records the sale of wheat and oats to various individual canons (W.R., xv.53.05).
2 Custus camini in coquina domini Nicholas Sturgeon. The whole entry was crossed out and over it was written: Disallocatus hic per decretum Domini Custodis sive Decani et Auditorum eo quod non erit in exemplum aliis canonicis (Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.41).
3 Windsor Castle, II, 501.
This house was delivered by Adam of Hartington in 1371-72 to three of the vicars, William Stanlake, Walter Ashbury and John Dyer (? Drere). 1

St. John Hope has shown that the clerks lived in chambers built along the south side of the lower ward, stretching eastward from the old bell tower. 2 Where they had meals is not known, but since they, like the vicars, received part of their wages each month for their food, it appears that they catered for themselves. The choristers had a lodging over the college storehouse, against the north wall of the castle. 3 Their master, who received their wages for them, provided their food from the money.

It is apparent that the great hall was not in general use as a dining-hall, although it may have been used occasionally for feasts, for in 1390 when St. George’s Chapel was undergoing drastic repairs under the supervision of Geoffrey Chaucer and William Hannay, the great hall was temporarily arranged as a chapel with an altar and choir stalls. 4 It was not until after the close of the period here surveyed that common dining-halls were provided, first for the vicars, and a century later for the choristers and chantry priests. A vacant plot within the lower ward, to the west of the great hall, was given by Henry IV in 1409 for the use of the vicars, clerks and choristers. 5 Building upon this plot was not begun until 1415-16. It was called “Woodhaw”, and among the buildings erected on it were a vicars’ hall, possibly the present chapter library, 6 or, as Dr. Fellowes suggests, the half-timbered hall now forming part of the house to the east of it. A common hall for the choristers and chantry priests were given in 1520 by Dr. James Denton, one of

1 El Willelmo Stanlaks, Waltero Assehbury et Johanni Drere vicariis libere capelle Regis de Wyndesore unam veterem domum tegulis coopertam vocatam le logg pro cemen-
tariis infra Castrum predictum pro habitacione omnium vicariorum ibidem per breve
Regis datum xviii die Julii Anno xi per quod Rex mandavit prefato Ade ad predictum
domum predictis vicariis pro dicta habitacione sue liberare pacifice (quoted from
Foreign Account, 45 Edward III, m.F., by St. John Hope, op. cit., I, 203, 212
Probably Drere is a misreading for Dyer, who was master of the choristers in 1367-8).

2 Ibid., II, 532. These chambers were converted in 1557-58 into lodgings for the use of the poor knights.

3 Ibid., I, 222.

4 Ibid., I, 222. William Hannay’s accounts of Michaelmas 1392-October 1393 included £10 6s. for carpentry work (the making of stalls, an altar, a vestry and a gap window), and 20s. 5d. for ironwork on the stalls in the great hall (F.R.O. Accounts, Exchequer K. R., Bundle 495/17, quoted by Hope, op. cit., I, 225, n. 24). The account of the precentor of the college of St. George for the following year (1393-94) included further items in this connexion: the ironwork of the gap window, the carpentry of a small altar and an ambry before the dean’s stall, and 40 ft. of glass and iron shutters for a window in the great hall (W.R., xv.56.13).


6 St. John Hope, op. cit., II, 517, 520.
the canons. This was called Denton’s Commons and stood to the east of the site of the old great hall, which by then had been pulled down.¹

The steward’s household duties for the most part of this period were light. Although no doubt guests of the college were in his charge, like visiting auditors and bailiffs, it seems possible that he entertained them in his own chambers and took the allowance made for their food as his own refund.

(c) PRECENTOR

All that concerned the chapel and its services was committed to the charge of the precentor. The singing in choir and arrangement of the daily offices were his responsibilities; moreover, his duties as prescribed by statute included care of all the furniture of the chapel and the provision of everything necessary for the services. He received and accounted for all offerings made in the chapel, using this income to cover his expenditure. Until the financial year 1393-94 the chapel, as far as possible, lived of its own. After October 1393, when the chapel offerings were granted by Richard II to the residentiaries because they bore an extra burden of hospitality when the king and his court came to Windsor, although the precentor continued to use the offerings as money in hand to spend on what was necessary, all such expenditure was refunded by the treasurer. Thus the full sum of the year’s offerings could be divided among the residentiaries.

Receipt

By statute, the precentor was required to account for chapel offerings either weekly or monthly. Apparently monthly accounting was found more convenient. Only the total sum collected in each month was recorded on the precentor’s account roll for the year, but subsidiary accounts, containing details of every collection, were kept on paper. None of these paper accounts has survived, but we know that paper was bought for this purpose,² besides parchment for the year’s roll.³ Although no details of daily collections are

¹ When Edward IV’s new chapel was built (1485) the great hall was largely demolished to clear a site for it. Denton’s Commons was pulled down in 1859 (St. John Hope, op. cit., II, 512).
² Et pro papiro ad scribendum parceliam oblacionum—ob. (September 1414, Precentor’s Account, W.R., xv.56.21); In papiro empto pro parcelis superscribendis—ob. (October 1415, ibid., xv.56.22).
³ Et pro pergamenō ad scribendum computum (September 1414, ibid., xv.56.21).
available, the monthly totals show how receipts fluctuated. As much as one-quarter or even one-third of the whole year’s offerings was regularly recorded for either April or May. Doubtless these generous amounts were contributed on the feast of St. George, when all the Knights of the Garter were expected to assemble at Windsor. The feast was held on St. George’s day, 23 April, unless that day fell within fifteen days after Easter. When this happened it was observed on the second Sunday after Easter, so that the Knights-Companion might have time to reach Windsor without having to travel on holy days (Garter Statute No. 9). In some years when St. George’s day was observed in April, recorded receipts for that month were small, while those for May were large: it seems that the precentor sometimes did not count the money collected on the feast and during the octave of St. George in time to include it with the April receipts, and it was left over into May. Similarly, Christmas collections seem to have been counted sometimes in December and sometimes in January, making the total for one or other of these months comparatively large. The feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June), when it appears that the relics were exposed, was sometimes particularly remunerative. Offerings made on this day in 1378 were paid over separately to the treasurer and amounted to 26s. 3½d. In 1388 one of the vicars was paid 12d. for helping collect the money on St. John the Baptist’s day, and in 1389 three vicars helped. A collecting box stood in the chapel at the foot of a statue of St. George. In 1417 and 1418 oblations from this box were counted separately, when sums of £1 4s. 7d. and 10s. were taken from it. It is interesting to notice that on two recorded occasions, in December 1415 and June 1416, bad money was put in the collections.

The income for which the precentor accounted included other items besides money offerings. All profits arising from the connexion of the chapel with the Order of the Garter were in his province. These included installation fees, gifts, and the insignia of deceased Knights. By Garter Statute (No. 22), installation fees were intended

1 For example in 1409, when Easter day was 7 April and there was no need to postpone the feast of St. George, the total receipts for April amounted only to 2s., while those for May were £3 7s. 3d. (Precentor’s Account, W.R., xv.56.20).

2 Totals for June in both these years were high: in 1388, £4 16s. 1d. (the year’s total was £21 9s. 7½d.), and in 1389 £3 9s. 6½d., when the year’s total was £24 0s. 8½d. (ibid., xv.56.10, 11).

3 Item computans petit allocari pro falso auro ad oblaciones missarum mensibus Decembris et Junii videlicet quolibet mense xx.d. . . . iii.s.iii.d. (ibid., xv.56.22).
as a contribution towards the support of the canons and poor knights of Windsor, and also to augment the alms which were always to be given there. Consequently these fees were shared out separately from the other oblations. When in 1388 Richard Fitzalan, fourth earl of Arundel, and Sir Henry Percy ("Hotspur") were installed, their fees of £10 and £5 respectively were shared between the canons and vicars, eight residentiaries receiving 25s. each, while the vicars divided the remaining £5 between them.¹ The legitimate claim of the poor knights to a share was apparently overlooked. Two gifts of gold rings were made to the chapel in this period, one in 1377–78 from Thomas of Woodstock and the other in 1379–80, donor unnamed. The precentor sold these rings for 6s. 8d. and 26s. 8d. respectively, and added the proceeds to the chapel offerings. No statutory grant of the insignia (helms, crests and swords) of deceased Knights of the Garter was made to the canons, whose claim to them was based upon an extension of Garter Statute No. 19. This statute ordained that each Knight-elect was to send to Windsor a helm, crest and sword in preparation for his installation. Should the election fall through, these insignia then became the property of the dean and chapter. From an early date the canons claimed the insignia of all Knights who died, as well as of Knights-elect who were never installed.² The number of elections which fell through must have been limited, but already by Michaelmas 1377 the canons had fifteen swords and thirty-four helms left over to be sold. King Henry V instituted a ceremony for offering the insignia of dead Knights at the high altar in St. George's Chapel.³ It is probable that some such ceremony existed before Henry V regularized it; thus helms, crests and swords, after being offered at the altar, became part of the chapel collections and the property of the canons. The precentor sold them as he sold any other gifts among the offerings. Sometimes they were sold locally (often to canons or vicars of the chapel), but more often were sent by water to London where they were sold to goldsmiths. Helms and swords intended for hanging in the chapel were made larger than usual.⁴ Since they were suitable only for this purpose, it seems probable that they were bought back from

¹ W.R., xv.56.10.  
² Frith (in his Old Register, p. 67) quoted Garter Statute 19 as authority for the canons' claim.  
⁴ Ashmole, p. 635.
the canons to be used again, but no evidence that this was done
exists earlier than 1606, when William Segar, then Garter King
of Arms (whose duty it was to provide new Knights with helms
and swords) agreed to purchase them regularly from the canons,
paying 20. for those of knights, barons, earls and dukes, and £3
for those of kings and princes.¹ The huge two-handed sword which
hung over the founder's stall was kept by the chapter. In May
1388 the precentor had it repaired in London; and in April 1394
and August 1408 paid for it to be polished. Inventories of the
chapel furniture drawn up in 1384² and 1409-10³ included (among
others) this sword of Edward III, and in May 1615 the treasurer
accounted for making clean the Twoe hand sward which hangeth
by King Edward's the 3 picture 2s. 6d.⁴ The sword now hangs in
the retro-choir. In addition to helms and swords, the college of
Windsor claimed the Garter mantles of Knights who died. A
pretext for this was provided by Garter Statute No. 15⁵ which
ordered all Knights-Companion to keep their mantles at Windsor
in case they arrived unexpectedly. Since the mantles were at
Windsor, no doubt the canons kept them when their owners died.⁶
The inventory of 1384 included six among the goods of the chapel,
and in 1408 one was used to repair some copes. In 1415-16 the
college claimed Sir John D'Abricheckcourt's mantle, which was not
at Windsor. A messenger sent to the Knight's executors to demand
it had some difficulty in securing it. After much negotiation the
college was victorious and the mantle was delivered to Windsor.

¹ Memorandum of agreement made 20 May 1606 (W.R., xi.d.2). In the
Catalogue of the Aerary (p. 66) the date is given in error as 30 May.
² Ashm. Rolls (Bodleian Lib.), No. 47. Printed by Dugdale, Monasticon
Anglicanum (1673), III, App., pp. 79-87; (1817-30), VI, 1362-67. This printed
version contains numerous mistakes. The cost of writing this inventory was
included in the precentor's accounts of 1383-84: . . . et pro scriptura i rotuli
continentis nomina Reliquiorum et vestimentorum diversorum dicte capelle. . . .
(W.R., xv.56.7).
³ Ashm. Rolls (Bodl. Lib.), No. 36. Rotographs of this and the inventory of
1384 are in the aerary (W.R., iv.b.23), also a typed transcript.
⁴ Richard II's sword was included in the inventory of 1409-10.
⁵ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.59.32. This entry is quoted in the Catalogue
of the Aerary, p. 111.
⁶ See Frith's Old Register, p. 66.
⁷ The canons presumed to sell the Emperor Sigismund's mantle while its owner
was still alive. This was discovered by the chancellor in 1431 and the culprits
reaped no benefit from their anticipation of the emperor's death, for, besides for-
bidding such an action in the future, the chancellor ordered the price received to
be kept entire until the emperor should die, when it was to be shared only between
the then dean and canons (Injunctions of 1431, No. 19, quoted by Frith, Old Register,
p. 66).
Expenses of this negotiation were paid by the treasurer (that is, out of the common fund), although the mantles were always sold by the precentor and the profits included in the chapel income which was exclusive to residentiaries.

Since all money received by the precentor was reserved for the resident canons, it was convenient for home-produced wine (granted with all other garden produce to the residentiaries in 1393) to be sold and accounted for by him. This wine was sold to outside buyers or kept for use in the chapel, when the ordinary market price was paid for it and also the cost of carting it from the garden to the precentor's storeroom in the vestry. Other wine besides this from the garden was sold by the precentor from his store. For instance in 1394-95 he sold 8s. worth of Gascon wine. Presumably such wine had been given to the chapel and was sold in order that the residentiaries might enjoy the value of it, since wine for the chapel was chargeable to the common fund. It is possible that sometimes these sales may have been fictitious, the wine being used in the chapel while the treasurer paid for it, and the price was credited to the precentor's receipts.

In the same way, the precentor's receipts often included money for wax sold. Even when the wax had been given for some specific purpose, it was "sold" and its value credited to the chapel income. In June 1394 the precentor sold 1s. 8d. worth which had been given on behalf of William Goodrich, knight, and in 1397 sold wax intended for the funeral of Robert Bitterley, one of the poor knights. Sometimes the wax was bought by individual members of the college, perhaps for their private use. Since from 1393 wax and wine for the chapel were paid for by the treasurer, the common fund would have benefited from any gift of them. This practice of selling offerings in kind and crediting their value to the precentor's account ensured that the residentiaries had full benefit of them, as Richard II's grant intended.

Expenditure

From the income set out above, the precentor spent month by month what was needed for the proper conducting of the services

---

1 Sixpence a gallon was paid for twenty-eight gallons of wine from the garden used in the chapel between 1 October 1383 and 6 April 1384. For the rest of the year wine was bought from outside at the same price (Precentor's Account, W.R., xv.56.7).
and the upkeep of the chapel. His expenditure was, therefore, limited to the following items:

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

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

1. Breads, wine, incense and wax

These standard necessities for service figured in the accounts every month. Altar breads usually cost 1/4d. or 2d. the hundred, but once, in December 1369, went up to 12d. for 500 quia blada cara extilerant. When the breads were bought in London, the travelling expenses of those who brought them added 4s. to the cost. Wine varied in price between 6d. and 12d. a gallon, according to the year and the quality. The chapel used fifty to sixty gallons each year, of which only a small proportion was supplied from the college garden. Incense was, apparently, sold in many grades, for it cost anything between 1s. 4d. and 3s. 4d. a pound. Wax was bought in London and, since transport by water was cheap, came by barge along the Thames to Windsor, except when the river was in flood, when it had to come by road. Sometimes it was made into candles, tapers and torches before leaving London, but a certain amount of candle-making was done at Windsor. In October 1377 the precentor bought a mould and two iron tools for making candles and paid out drink-money for the men who used them, while in 1415-16 John Gardiner (who did odd jobs about the chapel) regularly earned a half-penny a pound for making up the wax. Accidents occasionally befell the wax on its journey from London to Windsor. In 1364 112 lb. of wax bought for Candlemas

---

1. All but two of the precentors’ rolls of this period were drawn up thus in sections headed by the name of each month; in the two exceptions, of 1363-64 and 1383-84 (W.R., xv.56.1 and 7), expenditure was entered under subject headings, Breads, Wine, Incense, Wax and so on.

2. See above, p. 69.

3. Precentor’s Account, W.R., xv.56.2. Cf. the steward’s plea for a higher allowance for travelling expenses because food was dear in this year of plague (above, p. 72).
(2 February) was fashioned into candles at a chandler's in London and then put on a barge for Windsor. The river froze while it was on its way and the barge stuck fast. Adam Pentrich, who later became one of the vicars, was sent from Windsor with a hired horse and cart to unload the candles from the immobile barge, taking with him hay to pack them in and nails to keep them secure on their jolting journey. During the year 1388-89 some candles were stolen on the river; the precentor was held personally responsible and had to make good their loss by paying 5s. 3d. at the end of the year for them. From about 1388 the king made a habit of presenting a quantity of wax to be burned on St. George's day. This was usually enough to make at least four torches and a number of candles besides. The king's chandler made up the wax and sent it by one of his servants to Windsor. In return, the college made him an annual gift of 3s. 4d., and often gave the servant a further 4d. for himself.

(2) Provision and repair of service-books, vessels and vestments

At the beginning of the inventory of 1384 is a list of books. Of these, the first section consists of service-books, described briefly but with mention of donors and of silver covers where applicable. Two new books, of the music and lessons for Corpus Christi and Saint Anne, were made at the same time as the inventory; the precentor paid 4s. in 1384 for the writing of all three. Books on various subjects were chained in the chapel and a collection of law books was kept in a chest. Further references to these books and to others as the college acquired them may be found among the entries in the account-rolls of the precentor, whose duty it was to have them repaired and corrected. By College Statute (No. 51) service-books were to be examined and made to accord every three years. Usually the precentor was accountable for money spent on books, but in 1362-63 it was the treasurer who disbursed £15 3s. 4d. for the correcting at Salisbury of the chapel service-books. John

---

1 A torch seems to have weighed from 7 to 11 lb. (Precentor's Accounts, W.R., xv,56.8, 22). In 1408 and 1409 there were forty-seven candles besides the four torches (ibid., xv,56.19, 20).

2 These were festivals of recent introduction (nova festa). The feast of Corpus Christi was established about 1318, and that of St. Anne not until 1383.

3 Item in ii quaternis de novo scriptis et notatis continentibus historias corporis Christi et Sancte Anne et pro scriptuara i rotuli continentis nominum Reliquiorum et vestimentorum diversorum dicte capelle iii.s. (ibid., xv,56.7).

4 A list of these non-liturgical books with notes by Dr. M. R. James was printed for the Bibliographical Society in 1932 entitled The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.
2. Bill for making books for St. George's Chapel, 1487-89 (Windsor Records xlv.3.3).
Aleyn (canon 1362-73) and Adam Pentrich travelled to Salisbury and spent eighty-six days there at this task; the books were carried by two hired horses, accompanied by a clerk. Most subsequent expenditure on books appeared in the precentors’ accounts. It included rebinding and the repair of silver clasps and rings, besides correction of the text and the making of new books. A unique and interesting bill has survived which gives in detail the cost of making six books: an antiphoner, a text of the Gospels (i.e. the Gospels not arranged liturgically), a martyrology and three processions. John Prust (canon 1379-1403) had commissioned the work and submitted the bill which amounted to £14 9s. 3d. Of this, £13 16s. 8d. had already been advanced to him, leaving an unpaid balance of only 12s. 7d. The bill was undated, but payment both of the advance and the balance was recorded in precentors’ rolls which have survived. Prust received £13 16s. 8d. from the executors of Edmund Clovile (lately precentor) in September 1387, and the remaining 12s. 7d. from Richard Shaw in May 1389.

The most costly of the six books was the antiphoner, owing to its great bulk and the expense of scoring music. The book required forty-six quires of vellum, of which thirty-four were bought at 1s. 3d. a quire for £2 2s. 6d., and the remaining twelve were supplied from stock. Writing the forty-six quires cost £3 3s., and the notation a further 20s. 6d. 15s. 11d. was paid for illumination plus 12d. for blue capital letters, and the binding cost 5s., which brought the total cost to £7 7s. 11d. Considering its size, the antiphoner was not as expensive to produce as the Gospel-book, which covered only nineteen quires of vellum of a cheaper quality than that used for the antiphoner, but cost £3 15s. 8d. This total included 20s. for goldsmith’s work on the binding, besides 1s. 7d. for the expenses of Peter Jon who carried the book to and from London for this purpose. Among the other items were 1s. 2d. for ink, 1od. for an ink-bottle and 9d. for vermilion. The scribe apparently worked at Windsor, for Prust claimed 1od. a week for his commons, as well as his total wage of 13s. 4d. for the eighteen weeks spent on this book.

1 W.R., xv.3-3.
2 The music-book for the canonical hours.
3 Service-books used in processions, containing rubrics, texts and music.
4 Precentor’s Accounts., W.R., xv.56-9, 11.
Early in 1416 eleven books were presented to St. George's Chapel by King Henry V. They formed part of the library of Lord Scrope which had been confiscated with all his goods after his condemnation for treason in the preceding August. In Lord Scrope's will dated 1415, which was of course invalid, he had bequeathed to St. George's Chapel a noble set of white vestments embroidered with his arms, and ten marks; his many books he had assigned to various persons, most to his heir. In order to secure some of them for the college, the warden, Richard Kingstone, and William Lochard, one of the canons, went to London where they spent £5 13s. 6d. of the chapel's money. Part of this covered the expenses of their journey, but no doubt the greater part was employed in gifts to ease the transfer of the books. They returned with four antiphoners, four graduals, an ordinal and a *Legenda* (or book of lessons for matins) in two volumes.

About this time the books for the organ were painted with vermilion bought in April 1416 for 2d., and fifteen sheets of vellum were bought for a book called *"Organboke"* which was to contain five gatherings of three sheets each, "namely 12 folios". From this it appears that three sheets were to be left blank for end papers.

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

Of the vessels and ornaments necessary for services St. George's Chapel possessed a large and rich stock. Consequently the precentor made few purchases of them in this early period, and most of these before the earliest inventory was drawn up in 1384. Among them were ten cruets bought between 1370 and 1384: a pair for the second altar costing 5d., six bought together for 1s. 6d., and a bronze pair for 8d. His only considerable purchase was a silver candelabrum to hold blessed candles on the feast of Purification;

1 Henry, third Lord Scrope of Masham, 1406-15.
3 Music-books for the liturgy of the mass.
4 The book of directions or rubrics for conducting divine service throughout the year. On ancient service-books see W. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, I, iii—cxcvi.
5 Precentor's Account, W.R., xv.62.22d.
6 Besides the high altar, the chapel contained two lesser altars, one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; of the other altar, called the second or little altar, the dedication is unknown. Possibly it was dedicated to St. George, since its wooden reredos plated with copper-gilt contained St. George's passion (Rotograph of the Inventory of 1384, W.R., iv.23, p. 4: *Item i tabula lignea slans super parvum altare in parte boriali ex opposto summo altari cum platis et ymaginibus cupreis deauratis continens passionem Sancti Georgii*).
it cost 45s. and was bought in January 1378. After 1384 his recorded purchases were three aspersgilla (holywaterstykkes), two candlesticks and a stone candle-snuffer. Far more numerous were his payments for repairs. Censers were constantly in need of mending, perhaps because they were handled by the choristers, who were certainly responsible for the damage on one occasion. Usually only small sums were spent on repairs and renovations, but in 1408 two censers and four chalices were regilded at a cost of 20s. It is of interest to notice that a chalice mended in October 1376 was called Sponle in the precentor's account: presumably its donor was John Sponley, the master mason in charge of building works in the castle.

It was not necessary for the precentor to buy any of the more expensive vestments, for the college possessed numerous very lovely sets, and the generosity of benefactors provided additions to them from time to time. New sets of vestments were blessed in August 1380 (two sets "with stars") and in May 1382; since the cost of materials was in neither case recorded, they were probably gifts. Again, in April and July 1416 John Charles, a vestment-maker, earned 20s. and 26s. 8d. from the precentor, but no materials were purchased. In December 1377 the precentor expended 26s. 11d. on two blue tartarin² curtains "for a new set of vestments with eagles". Probably these curtains were to go with the vestments described in the inventory as of blue velvet embroidered with golden eagles. By February 1417, when the tartarin hangings appeared again in the accounts, they were badly worn having been "gnawed by rats and mice for many years past"; repairs by John Tailor of Windsor cost 8d.

Although little was spent on buying elaborate vestments, constant care and expense was necessary to keep them in good repair. A supply of thread of various colours (black, white, blue and red) was bought regularly for mending, besides pieces of ribbon and silk for patching. Vestments being repaired were tacked down with nails to hold them taut. The magnificent copes of which in 1384

---

1 Item aurisfabro pro reparacione magni senseri fracti per choristas xii.id. (Precentor's Account, W.R., xv.56.19).
2 A rich oriental fabric imported probably through Tartary (O.E.D.).
3 In emendacione unius veteris panvi de tartaryn cum aquilis de auro verberati pendentis coram tabula de alabaustro supra summum altare rodati a ratonibus et muribus per multis annos elapsos . . . (Precentor's Account, W.R., xv.56.23).
4 In elavis emptis pro vestimentis tactandis tempore reparacionis eorundem i.d. (February 1416, ibid., xv.56.22).
there were twenty-three, besides those belonging to sets, were given special attention, for some were rather worn. In 1408 it cost 30s. to repair them, besides one of the Garter mantles which was sacrificed, probably to patch the copes of blue velvet. A cope-chest was made for them in October 1376 when a carpenter spent twenty-seven days at the job, aided by a boy for twenty-two of them. Copes stored in the aerary were covered over with canvas.¹

The simpler vestments and cloths, such as surplices, albs, amices, towels, and covers for crosses and chalices, were frequently replaced, as well as repaired. Plain linen or sometimes Flanders cloth was bought for making these new things, and the making was done by a sewing-woman locally. The choristers' clothing particularly needed much mending and renewing. Up to 1416 only one sewing-woman was mentioned in the accounts by name: she was Isabella Chamber, who in August 1370 received 5d. as a joint fee for mending the boys' clothes and for cutting nettles in the cemetery before the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August). From 1416 the widow of a poor knight, Sir John Grimsby, did fine sewing for the chapel, making elaborate frontals and mending pearl fringes for the altar, while Isabella Croft did plain sewing and mending.

Every quarter a laundress received 12d. for washing vestments. This payment apparently included only the laundering of plain linen albs, amices, towels and cloths;² vestments of silk, corporals and precious things were washed and paid for separately. In April 1388 Richard Fissely's wife earned 5d. for washing a towel and an alb of silk and the corporals "with soap", while in the following July she was entrusted with washing a prized relic, the shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury.³

(3) Seasonal expenses in the chapel

A study of the precentor's accounts reveals some details of preparations made in the chapel for the observance of festivals and seasons in the church's year. First of such expenses to figure in his accounts (which began after Michaelmas) was the erection in December of a throne for the bishop of the boys, which was used from the eve of St. Nicholas (5 December) until Holy Innocents' ¹

² In July 1389 the precentor bought 6½ ells of canvas to cover the copes in the treasury (W.R., xv.56.11).
³ The precentor's account for December 1407 mentioned the laundress's 12d. as primarily for washing albs and towels: Et solutum lotrici albarum et manutergiorum et ceteris capelle necessariss . . . xii.d. (ibid., xv.56.19).
Day (28 December). The choristers of St. George's Chapel, like the boys in some other chapels, parish churches and cathedrals, elected from among themselves a bishop who wore episcopal vestments and was enthroned in the choir during the services on the children's day. His throne was put up for him every year with nails, tacks and packthread bought by the precentor for the purpose. A set of episcopal vestments was kept for him and overhauled when the day drew near. They included, as the inventories tell us, two mitres, one ornamented with pearls and the other with precious stones of which three were missing, two pairs of gloves, one without embroidery and the other with two gold buttons studded with pearls, two pairs of shoes and one of sandals, a pastoral staff, two rochet and an alb and amice of the set "with archangels". The alb and amice no doubt belonged to the vestments described elsewhere in the inventory as of red cloth of gold embroidered with archangels.

The approach of the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (Candlemas, 2 February) was marked by a particularly large purchase of candles. In 1378 a special candelabrum of silver was bought to hold them; it was made in the form of a cross and by 1384 one of its arms had been broken.

In Lent, the first of the precentor's responsibilities was to provide cord and wire for hanging the veil. This was a singularly beautiful one made of blue and white material powdered with garters and golden eagles, with a matching curtain to hang over the reredos. When Holy Week drew near, his duties multiplied. In preparation for Palm Sunday he bought ale to give to the choristers who sang the Gloria laus (All glory, land and honour), and he paid for the collection of pieces of palm and flowers. Before Maundy Thursday he went himself to London or sent a messenger to buy spices, sweetmeats and wine for the supper (cena domini). These always included cloves and madrean ginger, anise and ginger comfits, dragées and gobbets-royal, besides red and white wine. Also he

1 Item i velum quadragesimale palliatum blodii et albi coloris cum Gartheres et aquilis aureis poudratis. Item i Ridelium etusdem secto per totum pro fronte super summum altare cum cordulis de file albo pro cidadem (Rotograph of the Inventory of 1384, W.R., iv.b.23, p. 6).  
2 Similar meals were provided for the chapter at Salisbury and Lincoln (see C. Wordsworth, Notes on Mediaeval Services in England, pp. 184-5).  
3 W. E. Mead (in The English Medieval Feast, p. 165) notes that confectionery was almost unknown in the Middle Ages; at most dragées or sugar plums were served with sweet spiced wine after a feast. According to Larousse in Grand Dictionnaire Universel (referred to by Mead, op. cit., p. 251, n. 103), before the discovery of the Indies dragées were spiced instead of sugared and known in France as épices.
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348-1416

bought a stock of candles for the last three days of Holy Week (for *tenebrae*) and for Easter day itself.

For Easter, the chapel was cleaned thoroughly "inside and out" and strewn with fresh rushes; cloister and chapter-house were swept and scrubbed. The bell-ringers, who acted as the precentor's handy-men, usually did the cleaning and earned drink-money as a reward. An Easter sepulchre and a Judas were set up in the chapel. The sepulchre was put together with nails, tacks and packthread and had two angels on it secured with iron pins. This temporary structure was erected to enshrine the pyx in which the host was reserved from Maundy Thursday until Easter morning. The *Judas of the Paschal* (or Lenten hearse) was a framework of wood and iron which held candles (usually twenty-four) at *tenebrae* and again on Easter day. Extra men were hired to help ring the Easter bells; in 1378 ten men rang for three days at 4d. each a day, and when the king was at Windsor for Easter there was more ringing in his honour.

Close upon Easter came St. George's day. The chapel bells rang on the eve, feast and morrow of the patron saint. Again chapel and cloisters were cleaned and fresh rushes strewn. Every effort was made to have all things at their best for this day; in 1380 the clock was repaired and in 1384 the reredos was cleaned specifically for this feast. For St. George's day in 1397 the precentor bought new carpet decorated with nine designs of *a garter with a hart* and in 1416 new red covers with the arms of St. George, for the benches in the choir.

For the processions on Rogation days and Ascensiontide St. George's Chapel possessed a *lion* and a *dragon* and six other banners, two embroidered with the arms of the king and four with figures pounced upon them. The bearers of these banners usually had 3s. from the precentor each year.

1 Anticipated matins of Thursday, Friday and Saturday in Holy Week, said overnight on the preceding evenings, when the candles burning on the Lenten hearse were extinguished one by one after each psalm in memory of the darkness at the time of the Crucifixion.

2 23 April, but observed on the second Sunday after Easter if it fell within fifteen days after Easter day (see above, p. 81).

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

4 The design was transferred on to the banners by dusting a perforated pattern with pounce (a fine powder made from gum sandarac, pipeclay or charcoal).
The relics belonging to St. George's Chapel were especially venerated on St. John the Baptist's day (24 June) as well as on the third Sunday following, which was the feast of Relics. On St. John the Baptist's day in 1386 Thomas Gerneys earned 2d. for guarding the relics (apparently they were exposed on this day), and in the following year he earned 2d. for guarding the cross. Since the Cross Gneyth always bore its full title in the college accounts, perhaps this cross was the very elaborate one containing, like the Cross Gneyth, wood from the true cross, but set with sapphires and with three ivory figures standing on a gold base, and at its foot a beryl and a representation of the Resurrection. On Relic Sunday, the precentor provided one gallon of wine for washing the relics, but no payments for guarding them this day have been recorded.

(4) Cleaning and Repairs

The chapel and its dependent buildings (cloister, chapter-house, aerary and belfry) were in the charge of the precentor who supervised their cleaning and repair. Also for some years while the chapel was undergoing serious repair at royal expense (from 1390 onwards), the great hall which was fitted up to take its place became temporarily his responsibility.

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

This reredos was the king's gift; it has been made in Nottingham, a place famous (as St. John Hope has shown) for the carving of alabaster, by Peter Mason who charged 300 marks (£200) for it. By October 1367 it was finished, and was to be delivered at Windsor before All Hallows (1 November). Since ten carts, each drawn by eight horses and attended by two men, were necessary to carry it, it must have been of great size and weight. When erected

1 "On the early working of alabaster in England", Archaeological Journal, lxi (1904), 221-40.
3 St. John Hope, Windsor Castle, I, 201, quoting Pipe Roll, 41 Edw. III, m. 41.
over the high altar in the chapel it seems to have had doors which could be locked, and thus it was able to serve as a cupboard for jewels and relics, among them the Cross Gneyth. The inventories describe this "noble cross" as cased in gold, ornamented with rubies, sapphires, emeralds and gold roses. Its foot stood on gold lions set with pearls. Already by 1384 seven stones were missing from this cross, of which six were replaceable and the seventh was lost. Moreover, from the foot eleven pearls were gone, besides three small emeralds from the edges and the tops of three pinnacles. Despite minor repairs to the cross in June 1388 and September 1394, by 1409 two more of the pinnacles were broken.

Besides the reredos there was another smaller reliquary "table" (or cupboard in which relics were kept and displayed) which could be raised and lowered by a rope. The polishing of this table was committed by the precentor to one of the clerks.

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

By the high altar stood a statue of St. George clad in armour. Apparently it was made at Windsor, for Richard Rothley, clerk of the works there, included the cost of making it (4s.) in his accounts of February 1351. Since it was made on the spot, St. John Hope

1 *Et in i cera pendent t emplt pro clausura tabule retro magnum altare iiiii.d.* (Precentor's Account, W.R., xv.56.23).

2 A carved roof boss in the south aisle of the choir of St. George's Chapel shows Edward IV and Bishop Beauchamp kneeling on either side of the Cross Gneyth.

3 See J. C. Wall, *Shrines of British Saints* (Antiquary's Books), p. 13, for an illustration of a "table of relics".

94
considers that it was probably carved in wood. The arms of the statue were mended by a goldsmith in October 1388, and in November 1416 all its armour was repaired and cleaned by John Furbisher of Gascony for 20s. A statue of the Blessed Virgin which was sent from the chapel to London to be repaired at royal expense in 1418-19 was probably that given by Henry IV, a big silver and gilt statue of Mary holding in her right arm the Child playing with a bird. Another big statue of Our Lady was the gift of Henry V. It is described in a later inventory, of 1534, as “very massy sylver and gilt standing alwayse apon the hyghe altar”.

Other disbursements upon chapel furnishings were varied: things repaired included a basin hanging in the choir (perhaps containing a wick floating in oil), a candelabrum which hung before the high altar, a processional cross and a latten cross; purchases included two pokers, hooks and chains for books chained in the chapel, sixteen tassels for four cushions and some hooks for hanging silk curtains round the high altar (autenticum altare). In October 1376 the succentor paid 6d. for the making of a stone basin for washing hands behind the high altar.

The organ required attention in 1395 and 1416. One pennyworth of wire served temporarily to repair its deficiencies in January 1395 until Nicholas, one of the king’s clerks, mended it in the following July at a cost of 6s. 8d. In April 1416 the trouble was more serious. The precentor was obliged to summon two men from London for the repair. Their initial charge of 40s. was refused by the chapter when the precentor submitted it, and cut down to 26s. 8d. The precentor’s own travelling expenses to and from London amounted to a further 7s.

Repairs to the fabric as well as to the furniture of the chapel and its buildings were directed by the precentor. Apart from the extensive works done by the king when in 1390 the chapel threatened

1 Windsor Castle, II, 374.
2 P.R.O., Exch., Treasury of the Receipt Books, i13, ii. There is a typed transcript of this inventory in the aerary at Windsor, W.R., iv.B.25.
3 Item in ii ferris ad ignem percutiendum iiiid. (Precentor’s Account, W.R., xv.56.5).
4 In xvi tassellz pro iii Quisssons viiiid. (ibid., xv.56.6).
5 Ibid., xv.56.3. Du Cange quotes the Salisbury Breviary of 1556 where autenticum altare is similarly used. Cf. also Byz. Gk. authentes which in Turkish becomes efsendi; and the French maître autel. My attention was drawn to these analogies by Mr. W. D. Peckham.
6 St. John Hope has conjectured that the organ stood in the loft over the choir-screen (op. cit., II, 375).
to fall in ruin, everything from gutters and leads to worn pavements was in his care to repair or renew. His disbursements for repairs included 2d. in November 1369 for restoring the floor of the chancel where the pavement had been broken for Queen Philippa's burial, and 14d. in November 1407 "for expenses concerning the pavement of St. Thomas's stone in the cloister". Broken windows were sometimes reglazed; but sometimes, as in January and June 1388, they were filled in with laths and plaster or merely stopped up. In January 1389 the precentor bought one ell of canvas for the west window of the chapel, perhaps for such a purpose. Charges for new locks and hinges appeared often in the precentor's accounts; besides those for the doors of the chapel, choir-screen, vestry (and its inner wine-store), chapter-house and belfry, the precentor provided locks for a chest in the aery which contained the muniments of the college and a new hasp and staples for the cemetery gate.

The precentor's brief descriptions of repairs to the clock belonging to the college throw little or no light on its mechanism or appearance. In February 1377 he bought a hammer for it, doubtless for the bell which struck the hours, and in December 1385 a little rope. Perhaps this clock was similar to the one made in 1351-52 for erection in the Round Tower in the upper ward, which had a train of wheels set in motion by a weight, and probably no dial. The precentor had the college clock repaired three times before 1416. In 1383 Nicholas Smith, and in 1387 John Gloucester mended it for 5s. About the third occasion the precentor was more detailed. On 24 September 1409 he visited Thomas Clockmaker in London, returning to Windsor the next day. Thomas followed with a servant on the 26th, took down the clock and rode back to London on the 27th. He mended it at his own workshop and sent it back to Windsor by water, while he and his servant came by road to replace it, spending from 4 to 7 November on the journey and the job. The whole business cost the chapter £1 17s. 6d.

2 Except in 1395-96 when the cloister needed extensive repaving. On this occasion the treasurer paid for the labour and the materials, which included 500 new tiles for the pavement (*Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.18*).
3 *In refectione area cancelli in pavimento fracto pro sepultura Regineii.d.* (*Precentor's Account, W.R., xv.56.2*). Perhaps the paving was broken where the queen's hearse stood in the chapel. Although Queen Philippa died at Windsor, she was not buried there, but in Westminster Abbey.
4 *Et in expensis contra pavimentum lapidis Sancti Thome in claustro uiu.d.* (*ibid. xv.56.19*). I have found no other mention of St Thomas's stone to explain this obscure entry.
The clock bell was called Edward, perhaps after the king whose gift it was. In Adam of Hartington’s account of his expenditure, made as clerk of the works at Windsor from 29 October 1375 to 13 April 1377, he included the cost of this bell which he described as “a certain great bell called Edward bought for a certain horiloge called Clokke within the Castle of Windsor”.1 In payment for this bell £50 was delivered to Adam at the exchequer.2

Up to this time (1375-77) there had been, apparently, only one bell in the belfry. This was called Wyrun3 and the first mention of it occurred in the precentor’s account roll for 1369-70, when a new rope was bought for it. An addition was made by the king who, when he provided the bell Edward for the clock, also had four other bells (said by St. John Hope to have been for some years in store4) delivered for the chapel. From the evidence of the precentors’ accounts of 1400-01 and 1407-08 it appears that the names of these four bells were Jesu, Mary, John and St. George. In February 1377 the precentor bought three great hooks for the bell-ropes, and in October 1382 ropes for two middle-size bells, besides a small rope for Wyrun. There were now six bells5 in the belfry, although Edward was probably used only for the clock. Each year the precentor bought oil for greasing the bearings of the bells.

These bells and the clock were housed in a square stone tower on the south side of the lower ward.6 The wooden belfry in the tower

---

1 P.R.O., Foreign Account, 50 Edw. III, m.E., quoted by St. John Hope, op. cit., I, 204, 212.
3 Mr. F. M. Underhill (of the Berks. Arch. Soc.) suggests that this name may be connected with the Old German Weran, meaning the growling or whirring one, and would thus be a suitable name for a warning bell. From weran come warren and warren, and O.E.D. gives examples of the use of warn (“to warn for the hour”, “the clock is warning ten”) referring to the clicking or whirring noise made by a clock before it strikes.
5 The earliest mention of another bell (Aston) which I have found is in the precentor’s account of 1426-27, when a new rope was bought for it (Et in i corda canabium empta de predicio cordario pro campana vocata Aston . . . vidi. W.R., xv.56.27). St. John Hope’s reference (op. cit., II, 337, n.26) to entries concerning repairs to John, George, Aston, Edward, Jesu and Mary in 1417-18 is perhaps a misprint. The document he quotes (W.R., xv.56.24) does not include the entries. In March 1388 a wheel was bought for “le Baron” (ibid., xv.56.10). Perhaps this was the name of a bell, but no other mention of it has been found.
6 A belfry was erected on the roof of the chapel between October 1352 and January 1353 (St. John Hope, op. cit., I, 139), but how long it was in use does not appear. By 1375-77 clock and bells were in the bell tower. This tower is now the home of the governor of the military knights, in the middle of the range of houses stretching eastwards from the Henry VIII gateway.
was repaired in March 1394 by John Wolf and other carpenters for £3 12s. 7d., including the cost of timber. Early in 1397 the precentor expended a further £10 17s. 3¼d. for various repairs and the rehanging of some of the bells. On top of the belfry stood a cross and a weather-vane; in May 1414 the cross was taken down for repair by John Gardiner, who gave a coat of paint to the vane at the same time.

(5) Travelling Expenses

When the precentor travelled on the business of the chapel, his allowance was the normal one for a canon, that is, 2s. 4d. a day. If he sent a vicar in his place, the vicar had 1s. a day, but if some other messenger were sent, his actual expenses were reckoned and accounted for. For instance, when the precentor went to London to buy wax or breads or spices for the Maundy supper, he usually spent 1½ days on the journey and claimed 3s. 6d. When a less important person went, he might do the journey for as little as 8¼d. (as in March 1394), including the hire of a horse.

On special business the precentor usually travelled in person. He spent ten days in London when the reliquaries were being repaired in 1408, and 1½ days when the founder’s sword was mended in 1388. He made it his responsibility to summon London workmen when required for repairing the organ or the clock; no doubt this was in order that he might settle the price in advance. When the organ needed repairing in April 1416, it appears that the precentor sent John Bowyer to bring two men from London to repair it. Besides the precentor’s own travelling expenses of 7s. (for three days) he asked for 7s. for Bowyer’s expenses to and from London, 1od. for the cost of the two men’s return from Windsor to London, and 5d. “paid to wife Curreys for their beds”. These expenses were drastically cut down by the chapter. The precentor’s own 7s. were allowed, but Bowyer was to have only 2s. 6d. (this including the hire of a horse), and the two workmen nothing for their journey or their beds. Their fee was also reduced by the chapter from 40s. to 26s. 8d., and their charge of 2s. 6d. for fuel used for the repair cut down to 6d.

Although the precentor’s province was large and his accounting independent, this one example shows how carefully his accounts were audited.
B. MINOR OFFICIALS

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

(a) MASTER OF THE CHORISTERS

The instruction of the choristers both in grammar and singing was by statute entrusted to one of the vicars. Every vicar before being admitted to the college had to satisfy the chapter that he possessed a good voice and knowledge of music, and a vicar who was to teach the choristers had to submit to an examination in reading and singing before the warden and canons and the other vicars. As his salary he was to receive two marks (26s. 8d.) a year, in two equal sums of 13s. 4d. on the feast of the Annunciation and Michaelmas. The earliest known master of the choristers, whose name was Adam, received only 13s. 4d. as his wage for the year 1361-62. Probably this was Adam Hull, who was mentioned earlier in the same record as newly a vicar; why he was paid half the statutory wage for the year does not appear. After this year, masters of the choristers received the full annual wage of 26s. 8d. until 1370-72, when Roger Brancote was master. A much enlarged sum of 40s. was paid to him for each of his two years of office. But this failed to create a precedent, and for the rest of this period the master of the choristers received 26s. 8d. a year.

From the evidence available it appears that this office changed hands frequently, often in mid-year. For at least 2½ years, how-

1 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv. 34.1.
2 A list of the names of masters of the choristers, as far as these can be ascertained, is on p. 106.
ever, and possibly longer, Walter Cumberton was master (1393-96). His was the longest recorded term of office before 1416.

Under the precentor, who was ultimately responsible for all that concerned the music for the chapel services, the master had full charge of the choristers. If he thought it necessary for their education, he could obtain from the warden leave for one or more of the choristers to be absent from the daily services. Excuses presented by choristers to the precentor for their absences from chapel without leave, had to be vouched for by their master. The salaries of the choristers were delivered to him and he disbursed money as needed for their food and other requirements. Only what was left at the end of the year was given to the choristers themselves: their master had statutory authority to manage their income for them.

(b) Keeper of the Clock

From references in treasurers’ accounts it is apparent that there was a clock in the lower ward from 1361, if not earlier. The date of its erection is not recorded: the earliest mention of it in surviving builders’ accounts occurred in Adam of Hartington’s account of 1375-77, in which he entered the cost of a bell for the clock. But in the first of the surviving treasurers’ rolls, of 1361-62, was recorded the payment of 6s. 8d. to John Aylmer pro custodia orlogii. The same account included a payment of 3s. 4d. to John Aylmer for his expenses ad ordines. This must refer to his ordination as sub-deacon by Simon of Sudbury, bishop of London, on 24 September 1362. Since Aylmer was not in priest’s orders he could not then have been a vicar, but was probably one of the clerks of the chapel. In the following year (1362-63) he received a further 6s. 8d. as keeper of the clock, but by 1370-71 the salary attached to this office had been raised to 13s. 4d. and it was held by William More, then a clerk, but by 1377 a vicar. More retained his office of

---

1 College Statutes, No. 11.
2 See above, p. 97.
3 Registrum Simonis de Sudburia (Canterbury and York Society), V, App. II, 11.
4 By statute, all vicars had to be in priest’s orders on their admission, or at least in deacon’s orders and about to be ordained priest at the next Ember season (College Statutes, No. 3). If the clerks proceeded to priest’s orders on the title of the college, they were to be promoted (if fit) to vicarships as they fell vacant (ibid., No. 17).
5 Possibly there were two William Mores at Windsor about this time, since in 1366-67 a William More was already a vicar (Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.4). More, the clock-keeper, was named a clerk in the treasurer’s account of 1371-72 (ibid., xv.34.8), but by 1377 he was a vicar and was succentor in 1378.
3. Account of Robert Whitchurch, Succentor of St. George's Chapel, 10 August 1376—1 March 1377 (Windsor Records, xv.36-3). To face p. 101
keeper until 1386 or later. The duties of the keeper probably included winding the clock and oiling its works; no doubt the mechanism needed careful handling, since the office was considered important enough to be held for these years by a vicar.

Only one other keeper besides Aylmer and More was named in the rolls. This was Robert Bellringer, who held office in 1395-96. Robert, like the other bellringers, did numerous jobs in the chapel and belfry; his name appeared in the precentors’ accounts in this connexion. Possibly he was entrusted with the care of the clock because of his knowledge of bells.

(c) Succentor

No provision was made in the statutes for an assistant to the precentor. In his capacity as ruler of the choir, the precentor had an obvious deputy in the master of the choristers; in his financial capacity, as receiver, spender and accountant of the chapel income, there was no such helper at hand. By 1370 the need had been felt and the gap filled. A vicar was appointed to assist the precentor; he bore the title of succentor and was paid 26s. 8d. a year. In 1370-71, the first year of the succentor’s recorded existence, this wage was divided between two vicars, Thomas Horn and John Marreys, who each held office for six months. Marreys continued as succentor throughout the following year.

Whatever the succentor’s function at first, within a few years he became a very responsible official, capable of taking the precentor’s place for months at a time.

From Christmas 1375 to 1 March 1377 Robert Whitchurch was succentor. He received 20s. as his wage for three terms of the year 1375-76 (Christmas 1375 to Michaelmas 1376), and 10s. for 1½ terms of the year 1376-77 (Michaelmas 1376 to 1 March 1377). For a period beginning on 19 August 1376 and ending on 1 March 1377 Whitchurch accounted for the income and expenditure of the chapel, in place of the precentor. It appears that there was no precentor for the time, for Thomas Aston, who became precentor at Michaelmas 1375, laid down his office on 18 August 1376, and the treasurer made no further payment for the office of precentor until Richard Launceston took it up on 24 March 1377. Whitchurch’s account differed in no way from the accounts of precentors; he travelled, and bought, repaired and replaced things

1 Precentor’s Account, W.R., xv.56.3.
exactly as precentors did. During his months of account, among other more ordinary items, new curtains were hung at the high altar, a cope-chest was made and a set of vestments sent to London to be blessed. Unfortunately the precentors' accounts immediately preceding and following Whitchurch's have not survived.

In the following year, 1377-78, the succentor again seems to have acted independently in place of the precentor. For the first half-year (29 September 1377 to 25 March 1378) there was nothing unusual; Richard Launceston was precentor, and Robert Busch, a vicar, succentor. From 25 March to 30 April there was no succentor, but Launceston continued as precentor; his account covered seven months, from 1 October 1377 to 30 April 1378 when he relinquished office. No canon was appointed precentor for the rest of the financial year. However, Robert Busch was re-appointed succentor, holding office from 1 May to 6 July, for which period we know he accounted, although his account has not survived, for among the receipts in the treasurer's roll of 1377-78 was an item: £3 5s. 5d. of chapel offerings from Robert Busch ut patet per compotum suum. It is interesting to notice that for this period of just over two months Busch was paid a wage of 10s. This was more than a succentor's wage, which would have been about 4s. 6d., and less than a precentor's wage, which would have been about 18s.

For the remaining three months of the year (6 July-29 September) William More, a vicar who was also keeper of the clock, filled the office of precentor. According to the treasurer's account More was paid pro officio precentoris. There is no doubt that More did the precentor's work, and for that reason was described thus in the account, but since More was a vicar and not a canon, he received as his wage for the quarter 6s. 8d., a succentor's pay.

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

(d) **Chapter Clerk**

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

An early and isolated reference to a chapter clerk occurs in the treasurer’s account of 1377-78, where among the payments of wages to officers of the college the treasurer included 40s. paid to John the chapter clerk for the year. From 1362 up to and including this year (1377-78) a clerk named John Rowe had drawn up the treasurers’ and stewards’ account rolls and acted as clerk to the auditors. His fee for drawing up an account (usually 6s. 8d. up to 1370 and after that 10s.) was included in the expenses or under the balance of the account concerned, and his wage as auditing clerk among the costs of audit. The names of clerks who received fees for writing indentures and other documents for the chapter during these years were not mentioned in the treasurers’ entries. It seems possible that by 1377-78 John Rowe was doing all writing for the chapter and was the John who received 40s. as chapter clerk for the year.

If the office of chapter clerk was continuous from this date it has left no trace in the rolls of the college until 1402-03. After 1378 there is a gap of seven years in the series of treasurers’ rolls; during this time it is probable that John Rowe died, for he appeared no more in the records. His business of writing accounts and assisting at the audit was by 1385-86 the province of a new official (whose office was continuous from this time), the clerk of the courts and accounts of the college: when letters, indentures and other documents were required a number of clerks earned small sums for

---

1 Frith in his *Old Register* (pp. 90-91) copied a chapter act of 1430 concerning the functions of the steward. See above, pp. 70-71.
writing them. However, in the treasurer’s account of 1402-03 the chapter clerk appeared again. In this year he had a robe from the college costing 13s. 4d., and was paid 1s. a day for his expenses when travelling on the business of the chapter. Entries in the next surviving treasurer’s account, of 1404-05, show the chapter clerk again travelling on behalf of the chapter, and receiving this year a fur with his robe.

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

After 1405 no further mention of the chapter clerk occurs until 1415-16. In this year’s treasurer’s rolls the chapter clerk’s full name was given: he was Master John Okeburn, and he received 46s. as his wage for the months of July, August and September at 6d. a day. Okeburn apparently was newly appointed in July 1416, for he received 20d. earlier in the same year for writing two letters because he was not then chapter clerk. In the following year Okeburn was paid £5 3s. 6d. for his wages as chapter clerk; he received a quotiduum of sixpence for each day that he was present in the chapel, his attendances being recorded in the attendance register.

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

Among the clerks named in treasurers’ accounts in this connexion were John Loderay and Henry Clerk (1385-86), Walter the warden’s clerk and John Rolfe (1394-96), Richard Shaw’s clerk, Walter Cod and John Page (1400-01). In 1385-86 most writing was done by Master Ralph Canon.

Canon of Windsor, 1394-1425.

Item magistro J. Okeburne clericò capituli pro vadiis suis hoc anno pro mensibus et diebus quibus presens erat ut patet per librum cotidianarum videlicet per diem vi.d. vi.ii.iii.s.vi.d. (Digest of the accounts of the treasurer, 1416-17, W.R., xv.48.5).
Since there was an organ in St. George's Chapel before 1395, when the precentor had it repaired, it is remarkable that no mention of an organist has been found prior to 1406. The organ must have been in use, for it was twice repaired in 1395. But Dr. Fellowes has pointed out that to play the organ for divine service in the fourteenth century required no great skill, for the music was of the simplest character. In St. George's Chapel it seems that the organist was one of the clerks of the college.

The first clerk to be named in this connexion was Walter Whitby who was paid 13s. 4d. at the instance of the warden for accompanying the services at Christmas-time 1406. It is probable that playing the organ was regarded as an unpaid duty of the clerks; this payment to Whitby, which was more a reward than a wage, was possibly for particularly strenuous work at Christmas tide. The next of the clerks to be paid for organ-playing was Laurence Dreweryn who received 5s. as a gift of the warden and college for playing at divine service in the Christmas term 1415. In 1417-18 Dreweryn was paid a further 5s. for playing the organ, and 26s. 8d. as master of the choristers. Since Dreweryn was a clerk and not a vicar, his holding the office of master of the choristers was unstatutory. However, for part of the year 1407-08 a clerk had held this office, and, no doubt, it was found convenient for the organist to have charge of the musical instruction of the choristers. From this date until the end of the fifteenth century the mastership of the choristers was usually held by a clerk although the clerk was not, except for three terms of the year 1461-62, organist as well.

---

1 Organists and Masters of the Choristers, Introduction, p. xiii.
2 Item Waltero Whitby clerico existenti ibidem iempore Natalis domini ad instantiam Custodiis pro divinis in Organis exequendis ex rewaro xiii.s.iiiid. (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.24).
3 See Fellowes, op. cit., pp. 6-10.
4 Thomas Rolfe was organist for the whole of 1461-62 and master of the choristers for three terms of the year. The remaining term of office in that year was held by Adam Coke who continued as master of the choristers for the following year.
Masters of the Choristers 1361-1417

1361-62—Adam [Hull]
1366-67—Adam Pentrich (six months); John Dyer (six months)
1367-68—John Dyer (six months); Thomas Horn (six months)
1370-72—Roger Brancote
1375-76—Thomas Wybourne (nine months)
1376-77—Nicholas Chandel (three months); Nicholas Mason (six months)
1377-78—Thomas Grys (three months); Richard Gedding (three months)
1385-86—John Gloucester and John Perye
1393-95—Walter Cumberton
1395-96—Walter Cumberton (six months); Roger Gernys (4½ months)
1407-08—John Kelly, William Pounger and Thomas Clerk
1416-17—Laurence Dreweryn (a clerk)

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

Sources: Treasurers’ Accounts, W.R., xv.34.1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 26.
3. The Chapter and its personnel

A. EMOLUMENTS

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

Full conclusions on the scale of wages at Windsor can hardly be made until it has been possible to examine this side by side with those of a number of similar foundations. There is at any rate one case in which this is already possible, by use of the translation of the statutes of the college of St. Mary in the Newarke at Leicester, printed by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson in his History of the Hospital and New College of the Annunciation of St. Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, 1339-1539. This college was founded and endowed by Henry, duke of Lancaster, in 1354-56. Its statutes, ordained by the diocesan, John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, were sealed on 24 March 1356.

The endowment of the college in the Newarke amounted to £602 2s. 9d. a year, a sum very like that which the college of Windsor received yearly, on the average, from its possessions. But from this amount were maintained not only a clerical establishment almost identical with that of St. George's, namely, a dean, twelve canons, thirteen vicars, three clerks (there were four at Windsor) and six choristers, but also 100 poor men and ten serving women to look after them. Of the £602 2s. 9d., only £283 16s. was distributed to the dean, canons, vicars, clerks and choristers, while

1 It was a change of foundation from the hospital of St. Mary founded by his father in 1330 with an endowment of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.).
£260 2s. rd. was reserved for the poor, to be divided among them whether or not the full number was in the college. At Windsor, on the other hand, although wages were fixed for twenty-six poor knights who might each receive £20 5s. in a year, there were never during the middle ages more than three in one year, whose distributions could amount only to £60 15s. £490 8s. 4d. was available yearly for the warden and canons (if they resided) and the vicars, clerks and choristers, a sum almost double that allowed at the college in the Newarke.

Particularly dissimilar were the wages allotted to the deans of the two colleges. The warden of Windsor, as we have seen, had a portion of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), a prebend of £2, and one shilling a day if he were present in chapel. Thus his income could amount to £86 18s. 4d., plus his share in the chapel offerings and the division of surplus income at the end of the year. The dean of St. Mary in the Newarke received as his portion only forty marks (£26 13s. 4d.), to which was added a further twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) for his prebend. No profits were available for keeping residence, but if the dean exceeded the two months' non-residence allowed him he lost a sum from his wages proportionate to the length of his absence. His income, if he were continually resident, could be only £40, less than half that of the warden of Windsor.

For the canons of St. Mary in the Newarke prebends of twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) each were provided. They could not augment their income by residence, nor from offerings in the chapel, which were set aside for repairs and for the acquisition of properties. Their absence from services was punished by fines of one penny for mattins and ½d. for other services. Two months' non-residence in a year were allowed them, further absence meaning loss of income and, after fifteen days, possible expulsion. Houses were provided, but the dean and canons had to repair them at their own charges.

Although the prebends of the canons of St. George were only £2, their annual income could amount to well over £20 if they kept residence. As we have seen, a daily distribution of one shilling was payable to canons who attended mattins or high mass, or vespers and compline, or whose absence was excused since they were travelling on the business of the college. These were statutory qualifications, but in 1386 another may have been made, for Richard Shaw, who had been marked absent in the chapel attendance register on three days in June, received his quotidiens just the
same since he had been away ill pro medicino habendo. Perhaps
this created a precedent. A further condition had been added by
Richard II when he visited the college in October 1384 or 5, namely,
that no canon was to receive quotidian unless he had kept residence
for at least three weeks.1 This was the first mention of quotidian
being dependent upon the great residence of twenty-one days which
had to be kept in each year before a canon could share in the dividend
of surplus income.

This dividend was by statute limited to two-thirds of the money
left from the common income when all expenses had been paid.
The amount to be divided fluctuated considerably from year to
year, nor was it always confined to two-thirds of the surplus income.
An emergency fund in the aerary should have received the remaining
third; but in 1363, for instance, when the treasurer's account
showed a balance in hand of £70 16s. 6½d., £66 of it was shared
between the residentiaries, leaving only £4 16s. 6½d. for the aerary.
Again in 1377 £34 13s. 0½d. was taken for dividend when the surplus
for the year was only £35 5s. 8½d. However, it appears that
repayment was made later when the statutory third had not been
delivered to the aerary fund, for in 1378 £11 13s. 4½d. out of a surplus
of £18 10s. 10½d. was placed in the aerary pro tercia parte dividende
anni precedentis quia nihil repositum illo anno fui. In most years
the surplus was faithfully divided. One of the largest sums to be
allocated to aerary and residentiaries was £141 1s. 8d. in 1376.
This sum exceeded the actual balance of the treasurer's account
by £27 13s. 8½d. The accountant explained his over-estimate by
stating that he had expected to have from the church of Simonburn
£20 more than he had received. This was because the farmer of
Simonburn had paid only half of the £40 he owed. No explanation
was offered concerning the remaining £7 13s. 8½d. included as
surplus, but a marginal note beside the entries of receipts from the
manor of Iver recorded that John Hunt, reeve, owed £7 13s. 9d.,
besides what was included in the account, and that he had paid it
subsequently. Of the £141 1s. 8d., two-thirds (£94 1s. 14½d.) were
divided among the residentiaries; the rest was put in the aerary.
On behalf of the residentiaries the treasurer had anticipated the
payment from the reeve of Iver as well as that from the farmer of
Simonburn, for doubtless it was the aerary fund which had to wait
for the late payments.

1 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.15.
Although only thirteen canonries were provided at Windsor, seventeen canons shared in a dividend of £28 8s. 9½d. on 14 May 1362. All seventeen canons were named by the treasurer in his account. Other entries in the same roll show that only thirteen canons received payment of prebend or distribution of quotidiens in the year. Apparently, therefore, the king had presented a number of his clerks to canonries at Windsor before prebends were vacant for them. Expectant canons were admitted to the college, given stalls in choir and allowed a voice in chapter, but could not receive payment of prebend or daily distributions. But they did, as this record testifies, share in the dividend; presumably they had kept residence. Dividend was shared out on two occasions in this year, on 14 May, rather belatedly for the Easter term, and again at Michaelmas. To one of the canons, Hugh Bridham, £4 was advanced in part payment of his Michaelmas dividend “because he has gone abroad with the prince”. Bridham was one of the clerks of the prince of Wales: probably he had already kept residence for a time sufficient to qualify him for a share in the dividend, but had been obliged to leave Windsor to accompany Prince Edward before the regular day for payment.

The two general chapter meetings of the year, to be held on the morrows of the first Sunday after Easter and of All Souls’ Day (2 November) unless that day were a Sunday, would be the natural occasions for sharing out the dividend. Certainly they were so kept at a later date. A declaration of the customs of the college of Windsor in the matter of dividend was made to the Lord Chancellor Hyde in 1666 by the four senior canons who held that these customs were of near 300 yeares standing. This declaration was necessary since complaints had been made to the chancellor, and since the muniments which proved usual practice had been lost. Probably the lost documents were early registers of chapter proceedings. By then it was the custom of the college to share dividend at the two general chapters. At the winter chapter (held 3 November to mid-December as was convenient) dividend of rents was shared, in proportion to the time of residence kept by each canon during twelve months ending on the Michaelmas immediately preceding...
the general chapter. At the summer chapter (held eight days after Easter) dividend of fines for leases, corn-money and the rents of new lands was made, to each canon in proportion to the residence he had kept during twelve months ending on 24 March before the chapter meeting. These customary practices were approved by the chancellor in his subsequent injunctions.

It is not possible to calculate the sums received by each canon in respect of dividend, for the number of residentiaries was rarely mentioned in the treasurers’ accounts, and never the proportion of their residence. In the half-year ending 14 May 1362, when seventeen canons shared £28 8s. 9½d., they divided it equally, each receiving 33s. 5½d. The number of canons who received dividend in a full year was recorded for 1362-63, 1396-97 and 1410-11. In 1362-63 £66 was shared between eleven residentiaries, in 1396-97 £31 16s. 7½d. between six,¹ and in 1410-11 £9 10s. 3d. and a half-farthing between eight. If in each of these instances the canons received equal shares, their dividend would have amounted to £6 in 1363, £5 6s. 1½d. in 1397, and £1 3s. 9½d. in 1411. The sums available for dividend were of course dependent upon the income and expenditure of each year: the list given² shows how these varied. In 1406-07 and 1407-08 there was no dividend at all.

Since chapel offerings were not included in the treasurer’s receipts, these were (from 1393) an additional dividend, above that of surplus income. Between 1393 and 1402 the recorded sums of offerings twice exceeded £20 and did not fall below £13. In 1402-03 the total was £13 13s. 11½d., but from this the precentor was obliged to meet the cost of chapel necessities, which amounted to £8 7s. 1⅞d., since the common income was insufficient to cover them. Consequently only £5 6s. was left, of which 6s. was paid to the clerk who wrote the account and the remaining £5 allocated to the residentiaries. The precentor noted that the residents for the time of his account were the dean, the precentor, the steward, the treasurer and William Spigurnell, five in all. The office of treasurer was held in 1402-03 by two canons in turn, Edmund Lacy (1 October

¹ Memorandum quod anno Regis Ricardi xxi° in festo Michaelis fuerunt residentes in anno pretorio Custos Bowland Massyngham Spigurnell Shawhe Prust inter quos dividitur ista summa xxi li. xvi.s viii.d. ob. This note was written on the back of the precentor’s account of 1396-97 (W.R., xv.56.15), but cannot refer to the dividend of chapel offerings, since they amounted only to £26 15s. 2½d. in this year. It is possible that the sum of £31 16s. 7½d. may represent both the dividend of surplus income and the chapel offerings for the year.

² Below, Appendix IV.
1402 to 29 January 1403) and Robert Ravendale (1 February to 1 October 1403). If each of them resided while in office, it is difficult to see how the year's residentiaries could number only five. Moreover, a note added in a different hand claimed that the precentor's memorandum of residentiaries evidentri falsum erat quia Spicer erat residenciarius eodem anno secundum statuta Collegii ut patet in libro eiusdem precentoris. Whatever the precentor's mistake in naming the residentiaries, it seems unlikely that any canon who had kept residence was backward in claiming his due share of profits. In 1406-07 and 1407-08 residentiaries received no dividend even of offerings, which went to meet ordinary expenses. In the last year covered by this survey, receipts in the chapel amounted to £28 15s. 1d. Of this 14s. 4d. was allowed to the precentor de gratia Custodi et Capituli speciali, leaving £28 os. 9d. for the residentiaries.

The canons' houses at Windsor, unlike those at the Newarke college, were repaired at the common charge for nearly a century. It was the practice of the canons of St. George to have a general change of houses whenever a new canon was admitted to the college. To the new canon was assigned the least attractive house, and all the other canons moved into a better house in order of seniority. Royal letters patent were occasionally granted in favour of a new canon, commanding that he should have a specific house, usually that occupied by his predecessor. Richard Medford, who had been a canon of Windsor from 1375, exchanged his prebend in October 1381 with William Pakington for the church of Ivinghoe. Pakington resigned his new prebend almost at once and Medford was re-appointed to it, but since he was now a newly presented canon he had forfeited his house. In consequence, Richard II by letters patent dated 2 December 1381 granted to him the house which Walter Almeley had vacated earlier in the year when he was promoted to the deanery. When the king presented Nicholas Slake (1382), Thomas Butler (1387), John Drake (1387) and John Boor (1389) to prebends at Windsor he granted to them also the houses which their predecessors had. One of the canons' houses had a garden.

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

2 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1374-77, p. 165; 1381-85, pp. 48, 54, 62. At Salisbury the question was raised in chapter whether a canon collated by the bishop to another prebend was bound to begin again in a junior house of residence.

3 Ibid., pp. 123, 132; 1385-89, pp. 297, 299, 365, 368; 1388-93, p. 106.
gate "by the poultry" through which the occupant was wont to bring in his victuals. In 1412 when this house was occupied by Simon Marcheford, the king's officers of the poultry closed the gate, but in reply to Marcheford's petition Henry IV granted the gate to him with free entrance and exit.¹

At some period after 1416, probably about 1443-44 when a bill for mending the chimney of one of the canons was refused by the chapter,² the houses of the canons ceased to be repaired at the common charge. Since each canon hoped to move into a house more to his liking as soon as one of his seniors vacated it, there was no inducement for him to improve or even to keep in good repair the worse houses. For this reason King Henry VIII ordered the college to change its custom and to assign to each new canon the house which his predecessor had, as was the practice in the king's college of St. Stephen at Westminster.³ The canons regarded their ancient practice as being "more reasonable, for otherwise it might bee the Lott of the junior to live as it were in a palace, and the senior of all to be shutt up in a box his whole life time which is very incongruous".⁴

The chief officials of the college in the Newarke were elected, like those at Windsor, from among the canons. But in every way the position of the treasurer, steward and precentor of St. George compared favourably with that of the provost, sacrist and almoner of St. Mary. The remuneration of the Windsor officials was large (£5 a year) and unburdened with any expenses. All necessary costs incurred in the fulfilment of their duties were borne out of the common fund and a very adequate allowance was made to them, in addition to the profits they would have had if in residence, when they travelled on chapter business. At St. Mary in the Newarke the provost, who combined the duties of treasurer and steward, received a wage of £6 13s. 4d., the sacrist (precentor) 20s., and the almoner, who supervised the poor folk, 20s. Although the provost's wage was high, his duties were onerous. Not only had he to account for all the revenues of the college and pay out all distributions, but also to supervise and visit the college properties. Moreover,

² See above, p. 78, n. 2.
³ Denton's Black Book, f. 177.
⁴ Note made by Ashmole in one of his notebooks (Bodleian Library, Ashm. MSS., No. 1124, f. 150v.) following a summary from Denton's Book of Henry VIII's letter concerning houses.
when local officials came to Leicester he had to entertain them at his own expense, and when he travelled to the manors he might have only fuel and hay from them for his stay. The sacrist, in return for his nominal wage of 20s. a year, had to provide at his own cost wax and salt for the chapel, and on obit days bread and wine as well, to pay for the chapel to be cleaned and for repairs to the vessels and ornaments. There can have been little inducement to undertake either of these offices. It was, however, compulsory to accept if elected.

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

Although the college of St. George was of the same type as that of St. Mary in the Newarke in that the dean and canons were expected to keep residence and lost their profits if they did not, there was a distinct difference in the character of the foundations which was reflected in the amount of emoluments provided. Among the dean and canons of St. Mary were no royal clerks, nor were the benefices in that college used to reward distinguished officials for their services to the crown. The canons of St. George, on the other hand, were drawn largely from clerks in the royal service who expected rich benefices in return for their labours in government departments. To keep residence at Windsor was not difficult since it was no great journey from London and often near the king, and the canons frequently held other benefices from which they obtained licence to be absent. After 1435 it was no longer necessary for canons of Windsor to seek individual permission to be absent from their other benefices, for by papal bull dated 18 August 1435 general licence was granted to the warden and all the canons present and future to absent themselves from their benefices with and without cure, if resident at Windsor, and to farm them to any persons even laymen.¹

**B. PERSONNEL**

Benefices in the king’s free chapels, like others in royal patronage, were regularly utilized by the crown to provide or supplement the

wages of its public servants. In the college of St. George, although the presentation of the first canons was allowed to the founder-Knights of the Garter, the king presented to the wardenship and to all other prebends as they fell vacant. Consequently the warden and canons were largely royal clerks, past or present officials in the administrative service of the king or another member of the royal family. Many of their names appeared frequently in the public records, both in the course of their duties and when they received their reward in ecclesiastical preferment.

Administrative clerks in the service of the king might hold office in the exchequer, the chancery, or the household departments of wardrobe and chamber which still combined public with domestic administration. From the records of these central offices Professor Tout has revealed details of the careers of many king’s clerks, among them some who benefited from the emoluments of the college of Windsor. It is quite likely that others who held prebends of Windsor had earned their reward by service in subordinate royal households, those of queen or prince, but the personnel of such households has not as yet been examined from this point of view.¹

(a) Wardens.

The wardenship of Windsor, with its potential emoluments of at least £86 18s. 4d., was no small prize. To it were presented men who merited substantial returns for the length or distinction of their service. Between 1348 and 1419 five wardens held office, and all were king’s clerks:

John of the Chamber.. Appointed 14 November 1348; died 1 June 1349.

William Mudge... Appointed 18 June 1349; died 20 February 1381.

Walter Almeley .. Appointed 24 February 1381; died before 9 September 1389.

Thomas Butler.. Appointed 9 September 1389; died 11 June 1402.

Richard Kingstone .. Appointed 25 July 1402; died by end of 1418.

¹ For the organization of the queen’s household see Dr. H. Johnstone in Tout, Chapters, V, 231-289, and in The English Government at Work, 1327-1336, I, 250-299; for that of the Black Prince’s household see Dr. M. Sharp in Tout, ibid., pp. 289-440.
The creation of the college came at a time when John of the Chamber (de la Chambre or de Camera) was reaping the harvest of more than twenty years in royal service. Between April 1347 and May 1349 four benefices were added to his already considerable collection, one of them being the wardenship of the new college of Windsor. John’s possession of these rewards of his long labours was brief. His death in June 1349 (perhaps due to the Black Death) put an end both to his enjoyment of the benefices he held and to the possibility of increasing their number.

John of the Chamber’s administrative career seems to have been chiefly in the service of Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa in succession. It was at Queen Isabella’s request in 1329 that Pope John XXII allowed him to retain a provision of a canonry at Hereford although he had since obtained another benefice. The resulting papal letters described John as “their majesties’ clerk”. Other papal letters of 19 July 1330 reserved a benefice for him at the request of Queen Philippa, “whose clerk he is”.

From John’s name it appears that the chamber was the department with which he was particularly associated. Dr. Hilda Johnstone has pointed out how personal and private a financial office the queen’s chamber was. What happened to the money paid into it was the queen’s concern alone. Its organization and staff are wrapped in obscurity: its accounts for both queens have all perished. If it resembled the king’s chamber it would have been staffed by a number of clerks and laymen without any one outstanding official at its head.

John probably entered Queen Isabella’s household on the recommendation of Roger Mortimer, with whose interests and service he had been connected for some years. In 1321 he was one of the followers of the Gloucestershire magnate, John Giffard of Brimpsfield, who with the Mortimers and other marchers took up arms against the Despensers. John of the Chamber was pardoned with the rest by the July parliament, and in January 1322 royal letters of simple protection were issued to him, though by that time his patron was again at war and in March was attainted and executed. In 1324 John was employed in Edward II’s service. He was one of
the staff of clerks taken to Gascony in August by John of Shoreditch whose business was perhaps to assist in the renewed negotiations with France over the affair of Saint Sardos, which followed the truce made at La Rèole by Edmund, earl of Kent.

When Queen Isabella and Mortimer came to power in 1327 John gained his first benefice by royal grant, the prebend of Wartling, Ninfield and Hooe in the royal free chapel in Hastings Castle. Others followed thick and fast. Mortimer interceded personally for him with Bishop Grandisson of Exeter (his kinsman, since the bishop’s brother Peter married Mortimer’s daughter Blanche), asking for John’s advancement to the first good church or prebend which might fall vacant in the diocese. Bishop Grandisson was unable to oblige, for papal and royal demands for benefices already exceeded the capacity of his diocese, but while Mortimer’s influence was paramount, John of the Chamber obtained a steady succession of preferments. In 1328 advantage was taken of a vacancy in the bishopric of St. David’s to present him to a prebend of that church. In the same year he was also granted the deanery of Wolverhampton, and was chosen to receive the pension due to one of the king’s clerks from the newly-created bishop of Bangor. John resigned his canonry at Hastings in 1329, but gained instead the rectory of Llanbadarn Fawr in Cardiganshire and canonries of Hereford and Abergwili, and secured papal provision to a canonry at York. By 1330 he held prebends in St. Martins-le-Grand and St. Chad’s, Shrewsbury, was chaplain of the king’s free chapel of St. Michael in Shrewsbury Castle, and rector of St. Mary’s, Burwell.

After Mortimer’s fall in 1330 John did not lose royal favour. He was actually one of the three commissioners appointed in 1330 to act for Edward III in surveying and taking into the king’s hand the vast possessions forfeited by the fallen earl. However, no account had been rendered for this property by February 1334 when the king commanded the bishop of Hereford to cause John to appear at

2 Ibid., 1327-30, pp. 24, 98. 6 Ibid., p. 325.
8 Ibid., pp. 334, 505. The parish of Llanbadarn Fawr included Aberystwyth. Llanbadarn Fawr was the ancient village of Aberystwyth, the town of Aberystwyth grew up 1½ miles west of it round the castle built there by Edward I.
11 Ibid., pp. 323; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1327-30, pp. 24, 98; ibid., 1330-34, p. 331; ibid., 1334-37, p. 431.
York to do so by distraining upon his benefices. The bishop replied that John had no benefice in the diocese. John was a canon of Hereford but had not as yet secured an accompanying prebend; also he had been in possession of the treasurership of Hereford but in April 1331 his right to it was contested. Perhaps as a result of this he was required by papal letters dated 23 June 1331 to resign it and the canonry. The treasurership was resigned by December 1335, but the canonry was apparently retained until 1339, when John exchanged it for the church of Martley in Worcestershire. He made other changes and improvements in his collection of benefices. In 1334 Llanbadarn Fawr was exchanged for Haddenham in Cambridgeshire. In 1340 he held the rectory of Eaton Meysey, but exchanged it and his prebend of Hereford in 1345 for the rectory of Mapledurham. He became a canon of Salisbury in 1340 and precentor there in 1347.

In 1339 John was again employed in Edward III's service, this time in the Isle of Wight. Letters of protection dated 16 August were issued to him and to others who were to assist the keeper of the island to defend it against attacks by foreign foes. This precaution was taken before in the next month Edward III assembled his army against the French king. In 1345 John was appointed to a commission which was to visit the king's free chapel of Hastings. The four preferments granted in 1347-49 were perhaps intended to enable him to retire very comfortably after his long service. They included three wardships (of the hospitals of St. Leonard in Newark, Nottinghamshire, and West Newton in Holderness, and of the college of Windsor) and the sub-deanery of St. Peter's, York. At the time of his death on 1 June 1349, John was the king's almoner.

His successor in the wardenship of Windsor was William Mugge, a west country man whose name is still to be found in the west country, now spelt Mudge, as it was probably pronounced. Mudge was one of Edward III's household clerks, and already held two

1 The Register of Thomas of Charlton, Bishop of Hereford 1327-44, p. 54.
2 Ibid., p. 7.
6 Ibid., 1339-34, p. 506.
8 Ibid., pp. 329, 402; Le Neve, Fasti, II, 642.
10 Ibid., 1343-45, p. 501.
11 Ibid., 1345-48, pp. 102, 120, 267; 1348-50, pp. 210, 275.
12 Ibid., 1348-50, p. 349.
13 He was so described in 1348 (Cal. Pap. Reg., Petitions, 1342-1419, p. 139).
livings of the king’s gift, the rectories of Hartfield in Sussex and Weston Longville in Norfolk. His patent of appointment to the wardenship of Windsor was dated 18 June 1349.

With the exception of a canonry at Lichfield, to which he was provided in 1348 and 1357 with expectation of a prebend, all Mudge’s subsequent preferment was in the west country, most of it within the diocese of Exeter. In July 1351 he obtained a canonry and prebend in the cathedral church of Exeter, and in 1359 exchanged his church of Weston Longville for the archdeaconry of Barnstaple. As archdeacon he soon showed himself independent and defiant of the bishop’s authority. In August 1360 Bishop Grandisson notified Mudge of his intention to visit the archdeaconry and, as was customary, suspended the exercise of archidiaconal jurisdiction until the visitation was over. To the bishop’s astonishment and anger, Mudge not only ignored his letters, but presumed himself to visit churches in his archdeaconry and to excommunicate a number of clerks and laymen without sufficient cause. Grandisson cited his rebellious officer to answer on 2 October for his disobedience, but Mudge did not appear, although the commissioners appointed to hear his cause waited all day. For his “manifest contumacy, disobedience and diabolical pride” the bishop forthwith declared him excommunicated. Mudge appealed to Rome and to the court of Canterbury both against the inhibition of his jurisdiction and against the sentence, but in vain. The dean of the Arches returned the whole matter to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Exeter, for him to deal with his peccant archdeacon as he saw fit. Presumably Mudge made his peace with Grandisson, for he retained his archdeaconry and prebend of Exeter, but although he added to his benefices in the west country, further preferments in the diocese of Exeter were obtained only when the temporalities of the see were in the king’s hand. In 1367 Edward III granted him the treasurer-
ship of Exeter,\(^1\) and in 1377, during the voidance of the see, presented him to a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Crantock in Cornwall.\(^2\) The treasurership of Exeter Mudge exchanged in 1377 for the rectory of Crewkerne in Somerset.\(^3\)

With four benefices in the west country, Mudge probably spent part of his time there. It had other attractions for him since he possessed the privilege, granted by Edward III in 1355, of hunting with his own hounds “the fox, hare, wolf and cat” in the woods of Hembury and Ashburton in Devon, as long as he did not “take the king’s great deer or course in warrens”.\(^4\) Perhaps it was the joys of hunting which kept him away from Windsor in 1366—67 for ten days and in 1377—78 for thirty-six more than the permitted sixty, rendering him liable to mulcts of 5 and 18 marks.\(^5\) Two at least of his fellow-canon's of Windsor shared his love of the chase and absented themselves from the chapel to indulge it.\(^6\)

Like his successors at Windsor, Mudge spent a good deal of time travelling on the business of the college. But although vigorous in promoting and defending its interests while in his prime,\(^7\) towards the end of his life he seemed to lose his grip of affairs. In 1378 the chancellor had to call him severely to account for neglect of business and of discipline.\(^8\) He died on 20 February 1381 and was buried in the chapel under a memorial brass. The brass itself has gone, but its empty matrix was found in the early nineteenth century under the paving of the dean’s cloister, and was transferred to Bishop Oliver King’s chapel in the present St. George’s Chapel.

To succeed Mudge, Richard II appointed Walter of Almeley (Almaly)\(^9\), already a canon of Windsor and the first to move up to the position of dean. Almeley was named king’s clerk in patents granting him preferment from 1368 on, but of his career in the king’s service no details appear. The number of his benefices is evidence that he was successful in earning royal favour both under Edward III and Richard II.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 290.
\(^3\) Ibid., 1374-77, p. 476.
\(^4\) Ibid., 1354-58, p. 238.
\(^5\) Treasurers’ Accounts, W.R., xv.34.4, 14.
\(^6\) See below, p. 149 and n. 2.
\(^7\) For instance, in 1371 when Mudge made great efforts to free the college from the obligation to contribute to the subsidy levied by Edward III. See above, p. 47.
\(^8\) Foedera, IV, 50. See below, pp. 149-50.
\(^9\) Almaly is Almeley in the county of Hereford.
In 1366 Almeley was chaplain of John of Cusak, at whose instance perhaps it was that he secured presentation to a rich living in the king's gift, the church of North Molton in the diocese of Exeter, taxed at £33 6s. 8d. Almeley also held the church of Rhossili in Glamorgan, and although including both benefices in his return of 1366, declared that he intended to give up Rhossili (taxed at £4 6s. 8d.) as soon as he received peaceful possession of North Molton. In 1368 he obtained from the king another benefice, but without cure and therefore compatible, a prebend in the collegiate church of Tamworth in Staffordshire. In the following year Almeley secured preferment in his native county. Edward III presented him to a prebend in the cathedral of his own diocese of Hereford, and to the church of Ross, also in Hereford. North Molton was exchanged in 1374 for the church of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight. By subsequent royal grants Almeley obtained a canonry of Chichester in 1379, the church of Byfield in Northamptonshire in 1380, and a prebend at Windsor, also in 1380. His promotion to the wardenship of Windsor was by letters patent dated 24 February 1381.

Almeley was an unpopular warden. The chancellor's visitation of 1378 revealed that in his predecessor's last years discipline had been lax. A new and more energetic warden might well attempt to exercise a stricter control, and it seems probable that such an attempt provoked the complaint made by nine of the canons in 1384 that their warden was presuming to usurp the chancellor's jurisdiction by summoning them to appear before him and submit to a visitation made by himself. Both the hunting canons were among those who complained. Since the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, was too busy to deal personally with this matter, Richard II appointed Master Thomas Backeton to hear the canons' appeal

---

and to decide the case. In October of the same year a visitation of the college was made by the king’s authority, and was to be continued until 2 November. The findings of the visitors were not recorded on the patent roll. It would be interesting to know whether the warden or the complainants were found to be at fault.

A further prebend, that of Carfai in St. David’s, was granted to Almeley in February 1389, and when he died, before 9 September 1389, he was still in possession of prebends of Hereford, Chichester and Tamworth, as well as the wardenship of Windsor.

The wardenship passed to Thomas Butler (Boteler, Botiller or Butiller), who had already held a prebend at Windsor since 1387 and was the second to be promoted from canon to warden. As early as 1367 Butler held a prebend of Salisbury, and by 1371 was parson of Belton in the diocese of Lincoln. He was first described as king’s clerk in September 1383, in a patent presenting him to the free chapel of Willey in Shropshire, in Richard II’s gift as part of the property of the alien priory of Wenlock confiscated during the war with France. Five months later the king changed his mind about Willey, granting it to someone else, and Butler had to wait another year for further royal favour. When it came, it was in abundance. In 1385 Butler obtained two rectories, Winwick in Lancashire and Tunstall in Kent, and a prebend of Chichester by exchange for the church of Lyminge. By the end of 1389 he had also secured grants of the archdeaconry of Northampton (1386), prebends of Westbury-on-Trym (before 1387), Lincoln (1387), Windsor (1387) and Wilton (1389), and the wardenship of Windsor (9 September 1389).

4 Ibid., pp. 103, 107.
5 Jones, Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis, p. 361. Butler held this prebend from 1367 to his death in 1402, and was also archdeacon of Salisbury from a date after 1379 to 1384 (ibid., p. 160).
6 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1370-74, p. 145. He had previously held the church of Claydon in Suffolk (ibid., 1364-67, P. 7).
7 Ibid., 1381-85, p. 311.
8 Ibid., p. 374.
9 Ibid., p. 528.
10 Ibid., 1385-89, pp. 18, 35.
11 Ibid., p. 20 (prebend of Sidlesham).
12 Ibid., pp. 124, 286, 297, 367; 1388-92, pp. 10, 18, 28, 110. A grant made to him in August 1390 of the archdeaconry of Canterbury was cancelled in the following November (ibid., pp. 293, 315, 318).
Two years after his presentation to the wardenship of Windsor this well-beneficed king's clerk was granted licence by papal letters dated 22 August 1391 to farm the profits of his wardenship and to absent himself from it. But Butler seems to have been actively interested in the administrative affairs of the college, and perhaps did not take full advantage of the pope's permission. At any rate during the financial year 1393-94 he acted as both treasurer and steward of the college, which must have entailed more knowledge of its business than an absentee could have acquired. No doubt the papal licence was valuable in freeing him for the king's service. Only two incidents in his work in this direction have left a trace on the patent rolls. In November 1391 he and Thomas de Quynton were appointed to sell timber in the king's park of Cheylesmore in Warwickshire to raise a sum of 20 marks which was needed for repairs to the bridge, hall and park fence of the king's manor there; and in June 1396 Butler was commissioned, together with the under-constable of Windsor Castle, to visit St. Peter's Chapel called le Spitell near Windsor to inquire into the loss of the chapel's property and whether the holder of the chapel were usually a clerk or a layman.

Presumably Butler served Richard II well, for before 1399 he obtained further royal grants of prebends of Hastings (1394, exchanged in 1395 for prebends of Llanddewi Brefi and Abergwili), of Hereford (1396), and of Bridgenorth (1398). In 1389 and again in 1396 he was granted different prebends at Chichester. Thus he held three prebends there in succession, Sidlesham from 1385, Colworth from 1389, and West Wittering from 1396. The changes were probably made in order to secure a more remunerative prebend than the one he already held. Like other permanent clerks in the administrative service, Butler lost nothing by the accession of Henry of Lancaster. He was one of the many king's clerks ratified by Henry IV in their benefices, and in 1401 was presented by the new king to a prebend in the royal free chapel of Hastings.

3 Ibid., 1391-96, p. 732.
6 Ibid., 1399-1401, pp. 25, 136.
7 Ibid., p. 439.
Upon Butler's death in July 1402, Henry IV preferred Richard Kingstone (Kyngeston),¹ again already a canon of Windsor, to the wardenship.² Kingstone came from Hereford and maintained a close connexion with this district all his life. Besides securing preferment in his own diocese of Hereford (like Almeley before him), he was often employed in Henry IV's service in the northern March. Accustomed as he was to the use of Hereford, which he had followed in saying the canonical hours for most of his life, Kingstone was unwilling to change to the Salisbury use which was by statute observed at Windsor. In 1413 he obtained licence from Pope John XXIII to continue to observe the Hereford use, and not to be obliged to observe the use of Salisbury, even though by then he held a prebend in that cathedral church.³

Under Richard II Kingstone had been granted five benefices, among them the archdeaconry of Hereford (1389) and a prebend in Hereford cathedral (1391).⁴ The other three were outside the diocese of Hereford; they were the chancellorship of Abergwili (1392) and the churches of Pertenhall (before 1397) and Yeovil (1397).⁵ Kingstone was one of the king's household clerks who accompanied Richard on his ill-fated expedition to Ireland in 1399.⁶

Under the new king Kingstone gained both office and preferment. By 1400 he was dean of the royal chapel within the household and a canon of Windsor.⁷ With William Loveney, keeper of the great wardrobe, he shared a grant for ten years of unmarked swans flying on the Thames between Gravesend and the bridge at Oxford.⁸ In 1402, when the wardenship of Windsor fell vacant, Kingstone was in Hereford, acting as clerk of the works in Hereford Castle.⁹ He was appointed to the wardenship, but continued to be employed at Hereford, where he was one of those appointed to inquire into the loss of building materials there owing to the depredations of

---

¹ In view of his Hereford connexions it seems safe to identify Kyngeston with Kingstone in that county, a royal manor 6½ miles south-west of the city of Hereford.
³ Cal. Pap. Reg., Letters, 1404-15, p. 377. This instance was quoted by Dr. W. H. Frere, The Hereford Breviary (Henry Bradshaw Society), III, Introd., p. xlviii, as an illustration of the hold the use of Hereford had over those who were accustomed to it.
⁵ Ibid., 1391-95, p. 67; 1396-99, pp. 191, 199.
⁶ Ibid., pp. 520, 540.
⁷ Ibid., 1399-1401, pp. 187, 381.
⁸ Ibid., p. 276.
⁹ Ibid., 1401-5, p. 91.

124
inhabitants of the district.\(^1\) Having begun his wardenship as an absentee, Kingstone continued to be given work which kept him away from Windsor for long periods. At the time of Henry IV’s Welsh expedition in 1403–4 he was occupied first in raising a loan of 2000 marks on the security of customs dues or of the subsidy or tenth and fifteenth just granted to the king, and later in collecting the subsidy in Gloucestershire, Hereford and Worcestershire to pay the men-at-arms and archers.\(^2\) He was empowered to receive repentant Welsh rebels into the king’s peace, though reserving to the king forfeiture of their lands and goods.\(^3\) Between 1405 and 1407 he was treasurer of the household\(^4\), and while holding this important office was the recipient of a number of benefices in the king’s gift. These included the church of Croston in Lancashire, prebends at Beverley, at St. Paul’s Cathedral, and at Salisbury (the “golden prebend” of Cherminster and Bere), and the archdeaconry of Colchester.\(^5\) Henry IV obtained from Innocent VIII permission for Kingstone to visit his archdeaconry of Colchester by deputy\(^6\): his archdeaconry of Hereford he had resigned in 1404. He held the wardenship of Windsor until his death at the end of 1418. His successor, John Arundel, was appointed by patent dated 6 January 1419.\(^7\)

(b) Some Canons

Other canons of Windsor, besides the wardens, were prominent in royal service and well beneficed in return. For instance, among the first canons were four who at different times served Edward III as surveyor or clerk of his works in Windsor Castle: prebends in the new college formed part of their remuneration as king’s clerks, augmenting the specific wage of one shilling a day paid them for surveying these works. Success in supervising building operations might mark out an able clerk for promotion. His business as clerk of the works was purely administrative and financial: he looked

---

7. Calendar of Norman Patent Rolls in *P.R.O. Deputy Keeper’s Report*, xli, App., p. 706. Given before Rouen. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Ollard. Kingstone’s will, in which he described himself as “an unworthy chaplain of St. George’s”, was dated 1418 (Harwood, *Windsor Old and New*, p. 365).
after materials and labour and was responsible for the progress of the work, but was in no way concerned with the planning of the architecture. This was the work of the master mason in charge of the building; at Windsor it was John Sponley, whose importance was reflected in the amount of his wage, one shilling a day, as much as the surveyor's.

Richard Rothley (Rothele or Rotheler), the first canon to hold this office of surveyor of the works at Windsor, was appointed to it by letters patent dated 26 April 1350. When he obtained his canonry at Windsor is not known, but he was named in the foundation statutes of 30 November 1352 as one of the original canons of the college. Possibly he, like Robert Shuttingdon, was one of the existing castle chaplains who became canons of St. George in 1348 when Edward III changed the foundation and dedication of the chapel of St. Edward. If so, when in 1350 Rothley was appointed to supervise building operations at Windsor, he was already a member of the college for whose benefit these works were intended.

St. John Hope has described in detail the progress of operations under Rothley. During his period of office (26 April 1350-6 August 1351) the building of a chapter-house and adjoining revestry was begun; carpenters were set to work on new stalls for the chapel; and the big statue of St. George was made. Rothley’s accounts of the cost of these works have survived both in the long roll in which he presented to the exchequer details of his expenditure set out week by week, and in the summary compiled from it, enrolled among the foreign accounts on the Pipe Roll. His own wages amounted to £26 10s. od.; one shilling for each day spent on the job at Windsor, and two shillings a day for 61 days spent travelling to London to fetch money and to Beams Park to pay

1 Knop and Jones, The Mediaeval Mason, p. 17.
2 Richard seems to have taken his name from Rothley in Leicestershire, where in 1351 he obtained royal permission to buy lands to endow a chantry (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 66).
3 Ibid., 1348-50, p. 486.
4 See above, p. 6.
5 In 1349 Rothley held the church of Cyl-y-cwm in Carmarthen, and was presented to the vicarage of Luton in Bedfordshire (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, pp. 253, 315, 333). In Frith's list of canons he is described as rector of Duntun Waylett in Essex (Peter Scott's Book, W.R., iv.b.21, p. 41).
7 Now a room in the deanery.
8 See above, pp. 94-5.
10 Pipe Roll, 28 Edward III, m. 35, printed in full by Hope, I, 168-9.
the wages of men felling timber for the Windsor works. He was assisted by a clerk who received 3s. a week. Experience in the king's service made canons like Rothley valuable as administrators of the affairs of their college. Of the officials of the college in the first twelve years of its existence few are known by name, for the available records are scanty. But they reveal that at least in the financial year 1354-55 Rothley's ability for business was employed in its service. His office was that of steward of the household, with responsibility both for communal catering at Windsor and for supervising the management of the college's estates.

As surveyor of the king's works at Windsor, Rothley was succeeded by a fellow canon, Robert Burnham (Bernham), appointed by patent dated 1 August 1351. Burnham was surveyor for five years. During the first of these, 1351-52, he managed to discharge the duties of steward of the college concurrently with those of royal official. His accounts as surveyor are recorded in summary on the Pipe Roll; some, like Rothley's, also survive in detailed form. From them St. John Hope has revealed the extent of the works in the lower ward of the castle undertaken for the new royal foundation. Besides the completion of work begun under Rothley, Burnham supervised the erection of lodgings and domestic buildings for the canons and vicars, the re-roofing and re-glazing of the chapel, and the building of the dean's cloister and the aerary. When his term of office ended on 31 October 1356 all the buildings for the college of St. George were finished. Meanwhile Edward III had rewarded him with another benefice, the church of Middleton Cheney in Northamptonshire.

Works went on in other parts of the castle, particularly in the upper ward, where the existing royal lodgings were pulled down to make way for more splendid buildings suggested, according to a
contemporary chronicler,\(^1\) by William of Wykeham, who succeeded Burnham as surveyor of the works at Windsor. Wykeham was not a canon of Windsor and could not have spent as much time there as his predecessors in office, since he was at the same time directing building operations at four other royal castles and eleven of the king’s manors.\(^2\)

From the end of April 1359 another of the canons was associated with building at Windsor, acting as controller under Wykeham. This was William Moulsoe (\(Muls\) or \(Mulsho\)),\(^3\) who earned sixpence a day as controller until 1 November 1361, when he succeeded Wykeham as clerk of the works, with a wage of one shilling a day and John of Rouceby as controller under him. Moulsoe was first described as canon of Windsor in letters close dated 19 March 1361,\(^4\) but it is possible that he was already a canon in 1359, when he was appointed controller of the works.\(^5\) He was holding office as steward of the college in 1361\(^6\) when he became clerk of the works.\(^7\) It was a difficult time to take over full responsibility for building: the second visitation of the Black Death carried off most of the masons and workmen already at Windsor, and those who survived were loth to remain;\(^8\) but he did his work well.\(^9\) At the same time he supervised the king’s works in Windsor Park, at Wychemere, Folly John, Easthampstead and Kempton.\(^10\) This was the beginning of a successful administrative career. Tout has traced Moulsoe’s

\(^1\) John Malverne, monk of Worcester, continuator of Ranulf Higden’s Polychronicon (Rolls Series, VIII, 359), quoted by Hope, I, 182, 205.
\(^2\) Between 1356 and 1361 Wykeham accounted for works at the royal castles of Windsor, Hadleigh, Sheppey, Leeds and Dover, and at the manors of Henley, Easthampstead, Windsor, Folly John, Wychemere, Hampstead Marshall, Sheen, King’s Langley, Rotherhithe, Thundersley and Baynard’s Castle (Pipe Roll, 35 Edw. III, m. 42. See P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, XI, 123).
\(^3\) Tout has identified Muls with Moulsoe, a Buckinghamshire manor near Newport Pagnell, of which William was later the lord (Chapters, IV, 155).
\(^4\) Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 255.
\(^5\) Moulsoe was appointed to supervise the works at Windsor by patent dated 25 December 1358, but did not take up his duties as controller until 28 April 1359, when the appointment was renewed by letters patent of that date (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, pp. 146, 194).
\(^6\) Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv, 341.
\(^7\) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, pp. 108, 112.
\(^8\) Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, pp. 391, 397.
\(^9\) His accounts survive in summary on Pipe Rolls, 36 Edw. III, m. 45; 37 Edw. III, m. 45; 40 Edw. III, m. 46; and in detail in folio books, P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, K.R., 493/10, 11, 16. St. John Hope quotes extensively from these accounts, op. cit., I, 184-95, 205-9, and they were used by Knoop and Jones, “The Impressment of masons for Windsor Castle, 1360-63”, Economic History, III, 359-361.
\(^10\) Moulsoe’s accounts for these works are recorded on the Pipe Rolls, as above. See P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, XI, 123.
rapid rise to prominence,¹ following at first in the footsteps of his friend, William of Wykeham, both as clerk of the works at Windsor and in 1364 as dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand.² By this time Wykeham's genius for organizing, shown in his efficient direction of building, had won for him the office of keeper of the Privy Seal (in 1363), besides enormous influence with the king and an unparalleled collection of benefices. Perhaps it was due to so powerful a friend that Moulsoe's ability gained speedy recognition and reward. Already in February 1365, before he laid down his office of clerk of the works at Windsor in the following April, Moulsoe was appointed to an important position in the exchequer, that of king's chamberlain of the receipt.³ Meanwhile Edward III had lavished benefices upon him. By October 1366, when Moulsoe sent in to the bishop of London his return of benefices held in plurality,⁴ he had in addition to his prebend of Windsor and the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, prebends of Abergwili, Lincoln, Dublin, St. Stephen, Westminster and Hastings, besides the office of repairer and binder of books in St. Paul's Cathedral, London (which was worth 60s. a year in money and a further 60s. in bread and beer).⁵ Altogether his benefices were worth £88 13s. 4d. a year. Subsequently he was required to resign the prebends of Windsor, Westminster and Hastings, and did so in 1368.⁶ While chamberlain, his energies were not confined to the exchequer; in 1370 he was commissioned to inquire into the forecasting of wheat in four south-eastern counties.⁷ When next year the Commons, angered by continual disasters in the French war, demanded the resignation of clerical administrators from the highest positions in the state, Wykeham was obliged to give up his post as chancellor; but the clerical chamberlains of the exchequer, though included in parliament's list, were not changed. Moulsoe retained his chamberlainship until 1375, when, after ten years in the exchequer, he was promoted to the wardrobe. Tout has pointed out a "special intimacy" between the king's wardrobe and St. Martin's-le-Grand.⁸ Moulsoe was one of the many canons of St.

¹ Chapters, IV, 153, 155-6, 163-4.
³ Ibid., p. 93; Tout, Chapters, III, 250.
⁴ Registrum Simonis de Sudbury (Canterbury and York Soc.), II, 178.
⁵ These benefices (and the church of Amershain in Buckingham) were all acquired between 1361 and 1366 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, pp. 74, 78, 85, 242, 331; 1364-67, pp. 100, 232).
⁶ Ibid., 1367-70, pp. 103, 110, 151.
⁷ Ibid., p. 475.
⁸ Chapters, II, 15, n. 1.
Martin's to become an officer of the wardrobe; he held its highest office, that of keeper, from 13 October 1375 until he died on 24 October 1376.¹

As clerk of the works at Windsor, Moulsoe had been succeeded by Adam Hartington (Hertingdon), ² who was appointed by letters patent dated 13 April 1365 ³ and held office until Edward III's death. Hartington also succeeded Moulsoe in his canonry of Windsor, in May 1368.⁴ Within a month he had been elected to administrative office in his new college, for he was well practised in administration. Besides his extensive experience as clerk of royal works (at the castles of Windsor, Moorend and Rochester and the manors of Henley, Easthampstead, Windsor Park, Wychemere, Folly John and Kempton), ⁵ he had since 1362 been associated with ecclesiastical administration, as archdeacon of London.⁶ On 31 May 1368, in mid-year, he took over the office of steward of the college of Windsor from Edmund Cloville, who in his turn took up the treasurership.⁷ They worked together until the end of the financial year, when for some reason Hartington resigned his canonry. He was at once appointed to another which he held until early in 1376, when he resigned it. His successor, Robert More, was appointed in February 1376, but the stall was again vacant in December, when Adam regained it, holding it until his death.⁸ The reason for this change of stalls is obscure. In churches where prebends varied in value, stalls might be exchanged when a more profitable one fell vacant, but those at Windsor were of uniform value. Predilection for a particular house might explain an exchange where houses were attached to stalls, but at Windsor this seems not to have obtained.⁹ Perhaps Hartington was juggling with benefices: his second resignation of a Windsor prebend (in 1376) seems to have been a tacit

¹ Tout, op. cit., VI, 27.
² Hertingdon is Hartington (in Derbyshire), thus identified by Tout, III, 273.
³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1364-67, p. 98. St. John Hope (I, 196-204, 209-12) cites and quotes from Hartington's accounts, of which there are brief summaries for each of his twelve years of office (Pipe Roll, 40 Edw. III, mm. 37, 47; Foreign Rolls, 42 Edw. III, m. B; 43 Edw. III, m. D; 45 Edw. III, m. F; 49 Edw. III, m. G; 50 Edw. III, m. E; 1 Richard II, m. G); and detailed accounts for his first and third years (1365-66 and 1367-68), including John of Rouceby's counter rolls (P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, K.R., 493/21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28; 494/1, 4, 5).
⁴ Ibid., 1367-70, p. 103.
⁵ Ibid., 1364-67, pp. 81, 98; 1367-70, pp. 87, 88, 102.
⁶ Ibid., 1361-64, p. 181. He vacated the archdeaconry in 1368 (Hennessy, Repertorium, p. 7).
⁷ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv, 34.6.
⁹ See above, p. 112.
exchange of benefices, for he was appointed to the deanery of Stafford, vacated by the resignation of Robert More, by letters patent of the same date as those which presented More to Hartington's vacated canonry of Windsor.

Hartington's career closely resembled that of Moulsoe. Having made his mark as clerk for building, he, too, was appointed to the exchequer, where he became Warwick chamberlain in 1369, on Edward III's nomination since the Beauchamp property was in the king's hands. Here he was Moulsoe's colleague. With him he served on the commission of 1370 to prevent and punish those causing famine by forestalling grain, and, like him, kept his exchequer office through the crisis of 1371. Hartington continued as chamberlain until 1376. Meanwhile he also served the king both as clerk of works and on various commissions. Between 1369 and Edward III's death he supervised building at Windsor, Odiham and Porchester Castles and on the manors of Isleworth, Odiham, Windsor, Henley, Worldham, Wheatley and all other royal manors in the New Forest, Langley Marish, Clarendon, King's Langley, Wychemere, Folly John, Easthampstead and Kempton. His most notable commission was from Richard II, who appointed him in 1378-79, together with Richard Filongley, to survey all royal lands on this side Trent. One result of the activity of the two commissioners has left a trace on the patent roll; they found the Oxfordshire manor of Woodstock to be worth much more than the rent paid to the king for it, and the holder hastened to secure confirmation of his tenancy at the old rent.

The rewards of Hartington's busy professional career included both benefices and lands. As early as 1362 Edward III gave him a prebend of Hastings and the archdeaconry of London, which he resigned in 1363 and 1368 respectively. Between 1367 and 1376 he secured royal presentation to prebends of Wells, Windsor, Exeter,
Salisbury, Romsey and London and the deanery of Stafford,\(^1\) and in 1375 shared with William of Wykeham and three others grants of the manor of Hitchin and of the reversions of six other manors.\(^2\) He died in 1380.

With the death of Edward III, Hartington’s appointments as clerk of works had come to an end, and with them, for the time being, the connexion between canons of St. George and works in Windsor Castle. Under Richard II, supervision of building was one of the duties of the constables of the castle, except from 1390 to 1393 when Geoffrey Chaucer was appointed to arrange for the repair of the chapel of St. George, then “ready to fall into ruin”.\(^3\) St. George’s Chapel and other buildings of the college again needed repair in 1410, when the Knights of the Garter undertook to provide the necessary funds. This time the king’s clerk to whom was entrusted financial and administrative responsibility for the work was William Gilott (or Gyloth), canon of Windsor since 1401.\(^4\) He was obviously a useful man. In December 1403 he had been chosen to accompany Edward duke of York, the royal lieutenant, into South Wales insurgent in support of Owain Glyn Dwr (“Glen-dower”).\(^5\) In October 1406 he was to have gone with another royal lieutenant, Henry IV’s son, Thomas of Lancaster, to Ireland, where conditions were almost as difficult;\(^6\) but this Irish journey was cancelled and Gilott employed his energies instead as steward of the college of St. George for the financial year 1406-07.\(^7\) His duties in connexion with the building repairs at Windsor in 1410-II were first to collect the money promised by the assembly of the Order of the Garter at their meeting on St. George’s day 1410, and then to find the necessary masons, carpenters and other workmen and labourers. Stone for the work might, by royal grant, be taken from le chief of Windsor.\(^8\) Gilott’s ability was apparently appreciated.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 170, 180.
\(^4\) Ibid., 1399-1400, p. 472. He retained his prebend until his death in 1427 (ibid., 1422-29, p. 476; Hennessy, Repertorium, p. cxxxii). In 1398 he was warden of Doges chantry outside Canterbury (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99, p. 387), and in 1421 exchanged the church of St. Nicholas, Chislehurst, for that of St. Andrew, Hubbard or Eastcheap (Hennessy, op. cit., p. 306).
\(^5\) Ibid., 1401-05, p. 329.
\(^6\) Ibid., 1405-08, p. 262.
\(^7\) Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.24.

132
by the college. For four years, from 1413 to 1417, he was continuously in administrative office, first as steward, then treasurer and again as steward, and the reforms in accounting methods which occurred during his treasurership may well have been due to his initiative.¹

Besides these canons who at some time in their career were connected with the king’s building works, the chapter of Windsor included other distinguished clerks of royal households. Among them was John of Newbury (de Neubury), who held a prebend at least from 1353 to 1355, when he was from time to time active in the affairs of the college.² Tout has told us the course of his career in royal service. He was one of Queen Isabella’s household clerks and long held office as treasurer of her wardrobe.³ Dr. Johnstone has drawn attention to a series which has survived of the letters patent he issued in this capacity.⁴ He was still in office when Isabella died in August 1358 and was later commissioned to audit her accounts.⁵ Meanwhile he had been promoted to the king’s great wardrobe, where he held the office of keeper from 2 January 1359 to 29 June 1361, when he died.⁶ As keeper of the great wardrobe, he supervised the purchase, storage, transport and distribution of such bulky supplies as cloth, furs and groceries of all descriptions, including spices. It was his business in the autumn of 1359, when Edward III prepared the expedition against France which was to reach Paris and secure the Treaty of Béthigny, to see that the king’s spicery was supplied with all necessary drugs for the campaign.⁷ One of the founder-Knights of the Garter, Roger Mortimer, 2nd earl of March, was killed on this expedition, and it was John of Newbury, as keeper of the great wardrobe, who saw to the delivery to the college of Windsor of the cloth of gold which Edward III presented for the funeral.⁸

One of John of Newbury’s contemporaries at Windsor was Reginald of the Wardrobe (Garderobe)⁹ whose name again suggests

¹ See below, p. 226.
² Household Accounts, 1353-55, W.R., xv.3.1; Manorial Account (Wraysbury), 1353-54, W.R., xv.53-42.
³ Tout, op. cit., IV, 157, 383.
⁴ Ibid., V, 286. Eight of these letters are preserved in P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, K.R., 393/3, one bearing a particularly fine impression of his seal.
⁶ Tout, op. cit., VI, 36.
⁸ Ibid., 1360-64, p. 24.
⁹ Canon in 1353-54 (W.R., xv.53.42).
the administrative department he worked in, though no details of his career have so far come to light.

Richard Medford (or Metford), favoured clerk of Richard II, held a canonry of Windsor from 1375 to 1390. A trusted household chaplain, he became conspicuous when Richard II was seeking to evade baronial control by strengthening domestic departments staffed by his intimates. Tout has shown this to be the traditional curialist policy: since great and privy seals had in turn passed out of the king's control, Richard II began to use his secret seal or signet to express his personal wishes. This instrument of autocracy came into the custody of Richard Medford when in January 1385 he became the king's secretary. Together with this promotion came presentations to a number of benefices. The deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the archdeaconry of Norfolk, and prebends of Chichester and Wilton were given him in 1385, and prebends of York and Wells in 1386. His activities as secretary were curtailed from 18 October 1386, when parliament's dislike of the unconstitutional power of the signet resulted in the chancellor's refusal to accept signet letters as warrants for the great seal; but Medford remained in close personal contact with the king. With other hated curialists he was arrested and imprisoned by the lords appellant in December 1387, but the Merciless Parliament had slaked its thirst for blood before his case came up for trial. He was released on 4 June 1388 after promising not to communicate with the king on affairs of state. When Richard II returned to power in the spring of 1389, Medford resumed his connexion with the king's household and his promising ecclesiastical career. By 1390 the king had secured for him the bishopric of Chichester, and in 1395 his translation to the more valuable see of Salisbury. Meanwhile Medford maintained his association with the revived signet office. When Richard II set out for Ireland in August 1394 Medford accompanied him to lend assistance to the new secretary, Roger Walden. In October 1394 he was made treasurer of the Irish exchequer, and in 1399 went

2 For the history of the signet under Richard II see Tout, Chapters, III, 404-5, 497, 441; V, 195-230.
3 For Medford's career see Tout, III, 399, 429, 435, 453, 457, 490; IV, 9, 54; V, 216-21, 223, 225.
5 Ibid., 1391-96, p. 584.
again to Ireland in the king's company. Richard II's fall seems to have brought Medford's administrative career to a close, but he retained his bishopric. He died in 1407.

Another of Richard II's curialist chaplains, Nicholas Slake, held a Windsor prebend from 6 May 1382 to 9 August 1394. Like Medford, Slake was sufficiently prominent as a household official to incur the hostility of the baronial party in 1386 and 1387. He was among the royal clerks imprisoned by the appellants, but was released with Medford in June 1388 on similar surety. Slake was dean of the king's private chapel and had secured extensive preferment. He came back to court in 1389, when Richard II began his personal rule, and enjoyed royal favour until the end of the reign.

Although arrested and thrown into the Tower by Henry IV in January 1400, Slake apparently made his peace with the new king who in June ratified him in two of his benefices, the deaneries of St. Stephen, Westminster, and St. Buryan in Cornwall, and next year granted him two more.

For one month only, 25 October-24 November 1381, a prebend of Windsor was held by William Pakington well known both for his long administrative career in the service of the Black Prince, his widow and their son, Richard II, and as the alleged writer of a chronicle. Tout has told us how Pakington, like other members of the household of the Black Prince, moved into the service of the reigning sovereign when Richard II became king. On 1 July 1377 Pakington became keeper of the king's wardrobe. To this important household office was added a post of consequence in a state department when in January 1381 Richard made him chancellor of the exchequer. This appointment was for life. The benefices with

7 Tout pointed out his Leicester connexions and suggested that he took his name from the village of Packington on the border of Leicestershire, but retained the familiar spelling Pakington (*op. cit.*, IV, 194).
8 See his life by W. Hunt, *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLII, 95.
9 Tout, IV, 194-5.

135
which the king delighted to honour him included the churches of Ivinghoe in Buckinghamshire and Wearmouth in Durham, the archdeaconry of Canterbury, the deaneries of Lichfield, Stafford and St. Martin's-le-Grand, and prebends of York, Lincoln, Tamworth and London. Pakington's supposed chronicle, which has survived only in the extracts translated by Leland from a French epitome,\(^1\) began in the ninth year of King John and included the reigns of five kings. It is said also to have described the achievements of the Black Prince,\(^2\) to whom the chronicle was dedicated.

Pakington's successor as chancellor of the exchequer had also held a canonry of Windsor. John Nottingham was a treasury clerk who began to collect grants and benefices under Richard II's rule. When he was presented to a prebend of Windsor in November 1387\(^3\) he had already been granted seven benefices\(^4\) besides two royal pensions of £10 marks and £40 respectively.\(^5\) In the following years he made a number of changes in his livings,\(^6\) among them the resignation of his stall at Windsor in January 1389 in return for the church of Cottingham.\(^7\) He was appointed chancellor of the exchequer on 26 July 1390,\(^8\) and held the office after Richard II's deposition. Henry IV made few changes in the permanent staff of government departments, and Nottingham was among those whose appointments were confirmed by a re-grant.\(^9\) Subsequently Henry IV also confirmed him in the two pensions given by Richard II.\(^10\)

Of the clerks of the Black Prince's household, two others besides Pakington were canons of Windsor. They were Hugh Bridham and Thomas Madefray, both mentioned in the earliest surviving full list of canons, dating from 1362.\(^11\) In that year Hugh Bridham secured an advance payment of his dividend\(^12\) before accompanying

---

\(^1\) *Collectanea*, I, 455 ff. The evidence for this attribution is fully discussed by Tout (op. cit., IV, 194, n. 3), who considers it doubtful.

\(^2\) Fuller, *Worthies*, II, 475.


\(^11\) Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.1.

\(^12\) See above, p. 110.
the prince when in 1363 he went to govern the domains in South France restored to Edward III by the Treaty of Brétigny. Bridham already held the church of Sutton, the hospital of St. John at Wycombe and prebends of Exeter and Chulmleigh as well as his Windsor prebend, but in 1363 Prince Edward petitioned Urban V on his behalf for a canonry and prebend of St. David’s. This was granted, but the recipient was to resign all his other benefices save Sutton. However, Bridham was still in possession of his prebend of Windsor in 1377 when he exchanged it for a prebend of Chichester.

Thomas Madefray was a canon of Windsor as early as 1355, when papal provision to another benefice was sought for him. Innocent VI was complaisant and granted the desired prebend of Lincoln, forgetting that he had on the previous day agreed at the request of Henry duke of Lancaster to provide his secretary, Roger of Burton, to it. Burton secured the prebend and was ratified in possession of it by Edward III some months later. Meanwhile the duke of Lancaster made amends by petitioning the pope on Madefray’s behalf for a benefice in the gift of the archbishop of Canterbury, which was duly granted. Madefray already held the church of Bradninch in Devon, and by 1363 when the Black Prince asked Urban V for a canonry of Exeter for him, had prebends of Wells, Glasney and Windsor as well. Apparently he did not get the prebend of Exeter, for his return of benefices of 1366 includes only the four he held in 1363. Together they were worth £24 a year. Although it seems likely that Madefray’s position as household chaplain to the Black Prince often involved non-residence at Windsor, after the prince’s return from Aquitaine in 1371 he certainly resided, for he held the office of precentor of the college for the financial year 1371-72. He died in possession of his prebend in 1375.

2 Ibid., 1342-1419, p. 270.
3 Ibid., p. 275.
4 Ibid., 1354-58, p. 299.
5 Ibid., 1342-1419, p. 286.
6 Ibid., p. 455.
7 Grandisson’s Register, III, 1248.
8 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv, 34-8.
Of Queen Philippa's household chaplains a notable and successful one, William of Polmorva,\(^1\) was from before 1352 until his death in 1362 a canon of Windsor.\(^2\) From small beginnings this poor Cornish scholar, the recipient in 1326 of a bequest of half a mark of his late bishop's charity,\(^3\) made his way to the position of Queen Philippa's confessor with its accompanying profits in royal grants and gifts. William was a master of arts of Oxford. He went up to the university in or before 1333 as a scholar of Exeter College, Bishop Stapeldon's foundation for poor clerks of his diocese.\(^4\) From this time his fortunes never looked back. He was rector of Exeter College in 1336-37 and became fellow of University College in 1341. By 1341 he had attracted the notice of Queen Philippa, who presented him to a fellowship of her own foundation at Oxford, Queen's College,\(^5\) where he remained until 1348, when the queen gave him the church of Witley in Surrey, of which she was patron.\(^6\) Next year he became sub-dean of Exeter, and in the following year, 1350, chancellor of his university.\(^7\) In 1350 he exchanged Witley for a prebend of Hastings.\(^8\) Already a canon of St. George in 1352, he obtained further a grant of £20 a year at the exchequer for as long as he stayed at Windsor.\(^9\) By 1355 he held the churches of Sutton Veney and All Saints', Barnwell.\(^10\) In September 1361, during a vacancy of the see of London, Edward III presented him to the archdeaconry of Middlesex.\(^11\) By the end of the year, when Innocent VI granted Queen Philippa's request for a canonry of Lincoln for her favoured confessor, Polmorva was holding three prebends, of Hastings, Crantock and Windsor, as well as the archdeaconry:\(^12\) nevertheless he was in residence at Windsor, where he held the office of treasurer from 1 December 1361 until his death in the following September.\(^13\) A short time before he died, Polmorva

---

\(^1\) William came from Polmorva in St. Breock, Cornwall. His name has sometimes been misread as Palmorna (see Boase, Reg. of Exeter Coll., Oxford (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 3).

\(^2\) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p. 360; 1361-64, p. 248.

\(^3\) Reg. of Bishop Stapeldon of Exeter, pp. 576-7.

\(^4\) Boase, Reg. of Exeter College, p. 3.


\(^6\) From a list of incumbents in Witley church, compiled from the registers at Winchester.

\(^7\) Le Neve, Fasti, I, 380; III, 465.


\(^9\) Ibid., 1350-54, p. 360.


\(^12\) Cal. Pap. Reg., Petitions, 1342-1419, p. 381.

\(^13\) Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv, 34.1.
St. George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1348-1416

gave up to Edward III lands which he held at Shaw in New Windsor in return for an annuity of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) at the exchequer to be replaced later by a benefice worth £20 a year. It was a belated arrangement from Polmorva’s point of view; grant of the annuity was made by letters patent dated 17 September 1362, and by patent dated eight days later Edward III was filling the vacancy at Windsor caused by his death.

Many other members of the Windsor chapter were royal clerks, briefly so described in their patents of appointments, of whose professional careers little or nothing so far is known. But although a large proportion of the canons were king’s clerks, the statutes of the college required that in order to enjoy its emoluments they should be for the greater part of the year resident at Windsor. Unlike other colleges of secular canons where king’s clerks held prebends but never resided, leaving the business of the chapter to be controlled by a few residents, the college of St. George could and did benefit in its own administration from the capabilities and energies which had marked out its canons for promotion in the king’s service. The offices of treasurer, steward and precentor changed hands almost yearly, yet there was no lack of continuity or ability in the practical running of the college’s affairs. On an average two-thirds of the chapter was constantly resident. Even the busiest and most distinguished of the canons, for instance, some of those noticed above, were to be found among those who served the college in its chief administrative offices.

C. CHAPTER ACTIVITY

Final control of administrative affairs was in the hands of the whole body of canons in chapter. For the regular business of administration the chapter relied on its responsible officials, but all important matters and expenditure outside the ordinary routine had to be referred to it for a decision. The chapter met daily: prime was always finished in the chapter house and when it was over the canons were to remain behind for chapter business if any; but it seems unlikely that they dealt with administrative affairs every day. Possibly there was a weekly business meeting, perhaps on Saturday when the chapter was in any case prolonged while

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-64, pp. 245, 248.
2 College Statutes, 24.
records of chapel attendance and arrangements for the services of
the coming week were presented by the precentor to the warden.
This suggestion is to a certain extent supported by the dates given
in the treasurer's account of 1406-7 of chapter meetings at which
bills of expenses were approved. The dates were with one exception
Saturdays.

General chapters were held twice a year. Matters of particular
importance were usually reserved for these meetings, although if
ten days' notice were given such business might be transacted at
any chapter meeting. Dates were fixed by statute for the two
general chapters, eight days after Easter and 3 November, but
the canons did not adhere strictly to them. Instead they arranged
to hold general chapters on convenient days near these times:
within two or three weeks after Easter and at some time in Novem-
ber. For the Easter chapter a view of account, or half-yearly
statement of the financial position, was available, and at the
November chapter, after the annual audit, the canons could hear
a full report of income and expenditure. With this information
before them they were able to decide how best to make arrangements
for the future.

(a) Loans and the Reserve Fund

The chapter could decide to contract a loan, although not more
than 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) might be borrowed without permission
from the king. But the college was not obliged to borrow from
outside when in need of money for extraordinary expenses or for
improving its properties. There was a fund for such purposes,
built up from surplus income of which a third was set aside in the
aerary each year. The use of this fund was regulated by statute
and strictly limited. If money was taken from it unlawfully the
borrower was to repay double the sum within a month or be sus-
pended from his benefice until he did. The canons in chapter were
to control the fund and to use it only for "contingent" expenses
as distinct from "incumbent" or ordinary expenses which were
met out of the common revenue. Some "contingencies" were
mentioned in the statute: the fund might be used to cover expenses
occasioned by fire, by murraim of animals or failure of crops, to

1 College Statutes, 37.
2 W.R., xv. 34. 24. See above, p. 68. 3 College Statutes, 44.
4 College Statutes, 45-46.
defend the rights and properties of the college if it became necessary
to go to law for them, and to increase the income of the college.¹

In the period studied the canons in chapter stood by the letter
of the law when spending the money in the fund, but they also
regarded it as available in emergency as a fund for loans. Expendi-
ture from the reserve fund was legitimate if for purposes mentioned
in the statute; if the money was needed for any other purpose,
however, it could be taken as a loan and was repayable. Such a
loan of £20 was taken from the aerary in May 1367. Of it £6 was
spent by the steward on buying materials for repairing a wall;
what became of the rest was not stated.² Again, in 1411-12 a loan
from the aerary was used to pay for the repair of bells.³ The cost
of repairs was regarded as part of the ordinary running expenses
of the college for which it was not permissible to dip into the reserve
fund; therefore, although the fund was utilised to advance the
money, it had to be repaid. Legitimate expenditure from the
aerary fund was made in 1371 when £80 was taken from it. Of
this, £20 was spent on building a new mill on the manor of Craswell
in Bray, and the remaining £60 on the purchase of sheep for the
manors of Iver and Craswell.⁴ Since by this expenditure the
property of the college was improved and the stock of the manors
replenished, the statutory requirements were fulfilled. It is prob-
able that cattle disease had made the re-stocking necessary, for a
very high price was paid for the new sheep, about 2s. 4d. a head,
when an average price for the year 1371 was 1s. 8½d.⁵ In 1415-16⁶
the reserve fund supported some of the costs of a law-suit against
John Crewkerne whom the canons had tried, by every means
including violence, to dislodge from the vicarage of Saltash since

¹ Ordinis et statuim quod tercia pars illius quod de redditus et procentibus
dictae Capellae, ultra corpora prebendarum Canonicerum pecuniarumque solvendum
dictis miliibus pro eorum necessarum ac distributiones quotidianas Canonicis et Militibus
exsolvendas, portionesque vicariorum clericorum et choristarum de quibus premissitur,
neconon caetera eadem Capellae onera incumbantia debito supportanda, superesse contigit
In communi aerario dictae Capellae annuatim renonatur et custodiatur secures ad ipsius
Capellae thesaurum et usum, in utilitates seu necessitates per incrementum, moriam
animalium seu defectum bladorum vel altiude contingentes, pro ipsius defensione
irurium et pertinentiarum, si pro eis littigare opportuerit, seu in incrementum reddition
applicanda. College Statutes, article 19 as quoted in the 1605 interpretation (see
below, p. 142, n. 3).
² Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.4.
³ Ibid., xv.34.28.
⁴ Ibid., xv.34.7.
⁵ The sheep were bought at Beaconsfield on 14 May 1371, 281 for Iver at
£3 3s. 5d., and 241 for Craswell at £28 10s. The table of prices in Thorold Rogers' History of Agriculture and Prices in England (i, 354) has 1s. 8½d. as the average
and 2s. 2d. as the highest price for sheep in 1371.
⁶ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.28.
1398 when they had rashly presented him to it. It was unusual for the chapter to touch the reserve fund for costs of litigation, although the statute allowed for such a contingency where rights and properties were concerned, but this suit was particularly important, for had it been successful it would have saved the college a compensatory pension to Crewkerne of £20 a year for the rest of his life.

An interesting interpretation of the meaning of the statute concerning the fund in the aerary was made in 1605 after the dean and canons had petitioned the Lord Keeper in Chancery for a decision on two points connected with it. First, they wished to know which were “incumbent” and which “contingent” burdens, according to the intention and real meaning of the statute. Secondly, whether all contingent burdens were to be supported out of the aerary fund, and if not, which might be; for the wording of the statute limited the application of the money in the fund to “contingent payments occasioned by utility or necessity”. The answers given were clear and detailed. Incumbent burdens were the stipends allowed by statute to the various members of the college and customary payments for the properties of the college, such as pensions, portions, procurations and synodals for churches, and quit rents for lands. Contingent burdens were four-fold: (i) payments voluntarily undertaken by the dean and canons, such as fees and annuities to counsel at law or to local officials; (ii) payments which had become customary or had been allowed at a visitation, such as increases in the stipends of the members of the college, the wages of officials not named in the statutes, allowances for fuel or stables, and alms; (iii) inevitable expenses caused by decrease of rents, necessary repairs and law-suits; (iv) payments imposed by the king beyond those allowed by statute. Of these, all in the first category could be met from the aerary fund because they were for the common good. In the second category, increase in the prebends of canons was to be borne from the dividend of the

---

1 A decision was made in chapter 3 November 1603 “that a consultation should be had both by ower selles and also men Learned in the lawes what ar to be ac compted onera contingentia et onera incumbentia wherof mention is made in ower-statutes, to the end that tertia pars may be justly allotted owt agaynst the next accomptes” (Register of Chapter Acts, W.R., vi.b.2, f. 13).

2 Sir Thomas Egerton (Lord Keeper 1596-1603 ; Lord Chancellor 1603-17).

3 Interpretatio Statuti de 3a Parte, W.R., xi.b.18. Dr. Evans copied this document into his common-place book (W.R., iv.b.16, Book A, ff. 154v-155v), and Ashmole copied it from Dr. Evans into one of his notebooks now in the Bodleian Library (Ashm. MSS., No. 1124, ff. 129-130).
residentiaries, and not from the aerary fund. Extra stipends of other members of the college and of officials not named in the statutes could be paid from the aerary fund. Allowances for fuel and stables were to be paid likewise, but only if they could be shown to date from the first foundation of the college. All the rest could be met from the aerary fund. For this long list of contingencies (which amounted to £441 1s. 7d. in the year the interpretation was made) the aerary fund was found to be quite inadequate. The dean and resident canons had to give up part of their dividend to meet these expenses, and thus nothing could be put in the aerary that year, and the fund also owed £136 3s. 3½d. to the residentiaries. So broad an interpretation of the wording, although justified in the opinion of lawyers, could hardly have been intended by Bishop Edington when he drew up the statute.

(b) Farming of Properties

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

At least until 1416 and possibly until about 1450 the chapter of Windsor granted leases only for the permitted term. Evidence of the length of leases is contained in some accounts of treasurer and steward and in the chapter’s halves of original indentures of lease which have been preserved in the aerary. Only a small number of early leases has survived. There are fifteen for dates

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

2 Note made by Ashmole (Bodl. Lib., Ashm. MSS., No. 1124, f. 130).
before 1450, of which eight are earlier than 1416. All of these were for a term of five years or less. In the treasurer’s account roll of 1406-7 and the steward’s of 1415-16 the duration of all current leases of the college properties was stated. None of these was for more than five years. It is true that the chancellor after visiting the college in 1378 reproved the chapter for granting a lease of the church of Uttoxeter for more than five years, but this was presumably the only illegal one among the current leases, since no other was mentioned; so that it seems as if normally the statutory limit was observed. Leases were frequently renewed for a further term to the same lessees, but the chapter kept to the five-year limit for each lease. Consequently the periodic expiry of the lease necessitated a survey of the property, which had to be returned in as good a state as it had been received, and made possible a revision of rent at least every five years.

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

The canons of Elizabeth’s reign petitioned for legal recognition of what had been their practice for many years, supporting their request with a list of reasons. They submitted that a five years limit for leases had originally been imposed in order that the stock,

1 Wraysbury 1446 (W.R., xv.47.9); Langley Marish 1377, 1393, 1399, 1404, 1409, 1411, 1440 (W.R., xv.58. B.42, 47, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48); Uttoxeter 1385 (W.R., xv.28.12); Datchet 1448 (W.R., xv.58. B.23); Ryston 1417, 1421, 1429 (W.R., xi.7, 25, 26, 27); Saltash 1370 (W.R., xi.4); Manor of Craswell 1422 (W.R., xv.58. D.73).

2 W.R., xv.34.24.
3 Lease of Uttoxeter 1477 (W.R., xv.28.21).
4 “A brief of reasons against the statute for fvyve yeres”, W.R., xi.D.34.
which was farmed out with the land, might not be allowed to depreciate. The stock had been gone long since. Also, the canons maintained that "ther is no president to be found that this statute was ever observed since the first foundation". The evidence cited above shows the error of their statement, but doubtless they had no desire to find such a precedent. The term of five years they declared to be impracticable because, since by law a reversion was allowed three years before the expiry of a lease, the term was in effect one of only two years. Tenants could not be found willing to take up leases which were always near expiry. Moreover lessees would not spend labour or money on improving the land when their tenancy was so insecure, nor would they give large fines for the lease. In consequence, the properties of the college were falling into a ruinous state, and the dean and canons, deprived of large fines, could not keep up their accustomed hospitality. They pointed out that the usual term for leases was now twenty-one years for churches and forty years for city and town tenements.  

A final argument for the abrogation of the statute was calculated to appeal to a Tudor queen: that the statutes of the college had not actually been drawn up by a king of England, but by the bishop of Winchester, a canonist, by the authority of Pope Clement VI; Edward III had only set his seal to confirm them. Elizabeth's answer was written on the back of the dean and canons' petition:

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

The petition (which was undated) must belong to the last years of Elizabeth's reign, for when the required royal answer to it came, James I was on the throne. James, in a grant dated 9 February 1604, decreed that the chapter of Windsor might make leases to farm of town properties for not more than forty years, and of manors and rectories for not more than twenty-one years.  

By this grant the chapter was enabled lawfully to lease out the properties of the college for terms as long as those allowed by the law of the land.

---

1 "... accorinde to the statutes made in the xiiith and xiiiith yeres of your highnes raigne...." (Petition, W.R., xi.d.34).

2 Frith's Old Register, W.R., iv.b.4, p. 65.
(c) Litigation in the Central Courts

Like other ecclesiastical corporations of the time, the canons of Windsor safeguarded their interests in the king’s courts by retaining for an annual fee the services of lawyers at Westminster. From at least as early as 1353-4 they were represented in the court of the exchequer by John Bray, usher there. As attorney of the college of Windsor, Bray lent expert assistance in any cause in the exchequer court which concerned his principals. In return he received £1 a year: this was apparently a usual fee for such services. It is not difficult to suggest why the exchequer was the first royal court in which the canons of St. George felt it necessary to retain an attorney. No doubt financial causes were their most frequent concern: to maintain their privilege of immunity from the taxes from which Edward III’s charter of 1353 had freed them probably involved constant vigilance. By 1361-2, when the series of treasurers’ rolls of Windsor begins, the chapter had a representative also in the court of chancery, William Murfield, who received, like Bray in the exchequer, £1 a year.

In the exchequer John Bray continued to act for the canons until 1367 when he became for one year, 1367-8, their attorney in the chancery. His successor in the exchequer court was William Wolford, retained for the year 1367-8 at the usual fee of £1. For some years after this the chapter paid no permanent attorney in the exchequer, but by 1375-6 was again represented there, this time by no less a personage than Robert Pleasington, then chief baron of John of Gaunt’s Lancashire exchequer and his attorney also in the royal exchequer. In 1380 Pleasington became chief baron of the king’s exchequer, but continued throughout his six years in that office to act for the canons of Windsor and to receive their fee. For the services and good offices of so influential a counsellor the canons paid £2, double the sum Bray and Wolford had received. Pleasington ceased to represent them at some date between 1386 and 1393, probably before 1388 when he came into

---

1 His fee was recorded among foreign expenses on the Household Roll, W.R., xv.3.1, iii.4.
2 Attorneys retained by Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the courts of king’s bench, exchequer, common pleas and chancery in the fourteenth century each received £1 a year (R. A. L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, pp. 75-6).
3 His name was spelt in many ways: Merfeld, Mirfeld, Merefeld and Muryfeld are variants.
4 As John of Gaunt’s attorney, Pleasington received a fee of £10 a year (Tout, Chapters, III, 357).
greater prominence as spokesman of the lords appellant. The chapter’s new attorney, Henry Webb, was unfortunate in having so distinguished a predecessor; the fee was reduced for him to 13s. 4d., and was still at that level in 1416.

In the chancery, Murfield was retained as the chapter’s attorney until 1367, when for one year John Bray took his place there. By 1370 Murfield was again acting for the chapter, but now at double his former fee; he received this increased sum of £2 a year until 1372. No further fees were paid by the canons for a permanent representative in the court of chancery. From 1377, however, they paid an attorney in the court of common pleas a small fee of 6s. 8d. a year.

Such attorneys watched over the interests of the college as far as civil suits were concerned; but for matters cognizable in the courts of the church it was necessary to consult lawyers learned in ecclesiastical law. The canons did not retain the services of such men at a permanent fee, but appointed them to act in specific cases. For instance, in the years 1361–3 they paid Master Richard Hampton 10s. for representing them in affairs concerning the revenues of the church of Uttoxeter, and in 1377 appointed an ecclesiastical lawyer to act for them in a dispute with Richard Gregory concerning the ownership of the tithe of woods in Datchet. At one stage in the long dispute with John Crewkerne mentioned above,¹ when members of the college were charged with using force to eject the troublesome vicar from Saltash, the chapter paid a doctor of canon law and a doctor of civil law, besides a skilled ecclesiastical lawyer for counsel.²

Besides securing expert help, the canons themselves played an active part in the numerous law-suits in which they became involved. From about 1370, when their litigation began to increase, each year the warden and chief officers of the college spent a considerable part of their time in travelling to attend the courts. Defence of the many privileges granted to them by Edward III’s charter of liberties occasioned much of the litigation. Details of an outstanding case of this nature, belonging to the early fifteenth century, have been preserved in the aery. It concerned the right, granted by Edward III, to imprison within the precincts of the chapel any one who had committed a felony on the estates of the college, however captured. In 1422 the dean and canons had confined within the cloister of

¹ Above, p. 142. ² W.R., xv.34-24 (1406-7).
St. George's Chapel William Hicks of Kibworth in Leicestershire, whom they accused of felony on their lands. Hicks escaped from his prison and was caught by Sir Robert Babthorpe, steward of the king's household, who committed him to the king's prison called the "Coalhouse" for safe custody. The Coal House was in the lower ward of the Castle between the gate and the houses of the poor knights, and was the county prison. Babthorpe protested that he did not intend his act to be in violation of the liberty of St. George's, but merely to keep the criminal safely until the king's court of Marshalsea could decide concerning the chapter's right to his custody. The dean and canons by their attorney, Nicholas Clopton, appeared before the steward in the king's court of Marshalsea at New Windsor on the Saturday before St. Faith's Day (6 October) 1422, and exhibited Edward III's charter. This satisfied the court, which pronounced judgment for the college, and William Hicks was returned to the canons to be kept in their own prison until his case was tried on 13 October.

Another of Edward III's grants was put to test in 1455. Henry Este, of the king's wardrobe, delivered a writ to John Depeden, one of the canons, within the precincts of St. George's Chapel. The execution of all writs had been granted to the college's own bailiffs and ministers in Edward III's charter, which had been confirmed by Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI. The dean, Thomas Manning, met the canons in chapter to consider Este's offence, and they decided that he should be excommunicated for it. Este was warned to appear before the chapter to answer for his offence, under pain of excommunication. He came on the appointed day very humbly, admitted his fault and submitted himself to the correction of the dean and canons, who received him into grace because of his humility. As a public penance, they ordered him to offer a candle weighing 1½ lb in honour of Almighty God and the Virgin His Mother, and of St. George, and to say five paternosters, five aves and one credo on bended knee before the statue of St. George in St. George's Chapel. He was warned never to repeat his offence.

1 The county had complained in 1315 of the inconvenience of having the prison at the Coal hole in the Castle, but it continued to be a part of the local prison until the end of the eighteenth century (Harwood, op. cit., pp. 109-110).
2 Memorandum, W.R., xv. 58. 2 (and transcript in Bodl. Lib., Ashm. MSS., No. 1125, f. 38v).
3 Arundel White Book, W.R., iv. b. i, copy on end folio of an almost obliterated record on folio facing.
No such full accounts of chapter action to defend the rights of the college have been preserved for the period under review, but from the entries in treasurers' rolls of the costs of litigation, it is evident that the chapter was equally jealous of its liberties then. Edward III's charter of liberties was frequently copied and exhibited; the customary gifts were made to officials of the courts to secure their goodwill and ease the passage of justice, and the canons and their attorneys spared no effort or expense in defence of their privileges.

(d) VISITATIONS

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

Of only the first of these visitations has a full report been preserved.¹ This reveals culpable negligence on the part of the chapter both of their spiritual duties and of the business of the college. The dean, William Mudge, with his chapter, was found guilty of keeping back from the poor knights their shares in quotidiens forfeited by their colleagues and in gifts of money made to the college by Knights of the Garter and magnates. Mudge also neglected to pay the vicars their salaries and kept back the incomes of vacant vicarships which should have been shared among the vicars. A sum of £200 given by Bishop Edington of Winchester to endow an obit had disappeared. Other gifts had not been properly divided among the members of the college. The muniments of the college were not kept safely as they should have been, and the close had been allowed to become overgrown with weeds and nettles.

Since the dean set an example of laxity in his responsibilities, the members of the college had no respect for him and he made little attempt to correct their wrongdoings. One of the canons, John Loring, absented himself from the chapel in order to go hunting and fishing; another, Edmund Cloville,² was profligate and fre-

¹ Forêta, IV, 50; 17 September 1378.
² Cloville was also a poacher. By letters patent dated 1 June 1358 he was granted pardon for taking a young deer on Queen Philippa's land near Sunninghill when out with his greyhounds on Whitsun Eve (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, p. 53).
quently absent from chapel; when he did attend he was irreverent and joked with the laity during the service. All the canons were irregular in their chapel attendance; they remained in chapel just long enough to qualify for their daily shillings and then left at once. There were two knights in the college, Thomas Tawny and John Breton, who both behaved scandalously. They kept women in their houses, and John Breton was insolent, came rarely to chapel and, when he came, immediately fell asleep. The vicars behaved badly and ignored the dean's correction.

Probably complaints from the poor knights and vicars of the loss of part of their income had drawn the chancellor's attention to St. George's Chapel and provoked this visitation. Financial wrongs were at once put right. The dean was held responsible for moneys which had gone astray, and was commanded to pay the poor knights and vicars their full amounts both retrospectively and in the future. The conduct of members of the college was again the dean's responsibility and he was warned that he must deal severely with offenders and carry out the duties of his office more conscientiously.

The visitation of 1384 was made at the instance of nine members of the chapter, probably the residentiaries. These canons resented the authority which their warden, Walter of Almeley, tried to exercise over them, and complained of his autocratic behaviour. As a result, both warden and canons were summoned to Westminster to appear before the chancellor's commissary, and in October 1384 a visitation was begun. No report of the visitation has been preserved. It may have been conducted at Westminster and limited to an inquiry into the doings of the warden. But an entry in the treasurer's account of the following year, 1385-6, refers to a visit of the king to St. George's Chapel "in October" when he made a decision concerning the minimum residence necessary to qualify for quotidians. Perhaps the entry refers back to October 1384 and Richard II made the visitation in person.

The only evidence of a visitation of St. George's Chapel in 1408 is contained in the treasurer's account of 1407-8. Among his disbursements was a gift of 3s. 4d. to a messenger announcing a visitation, and a further gift of 6s. 8d. to another messenger who

1 "... tarde accedit et nimis delicate ad horas canonicas in dicta capella: et cum reclinaverit se ad orandum in eadem, statim dormit".
3 W.R., xv.34.15. See above, p. 109.
ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

informed the college that it had been postponed until 2 August.¹ The visitation was doubtless occasioned by the grave financial state of the college at this time. In the preceding year a loan was necessary to meet the year’s expenses, besides all the chapel offerings which normally belonged to the residentiaries. In the year of the visitation, 1407-8, the loan was repaid, but again the chapel offerings had to be used to help out the common income. An unfortunate gap in the series of accounts from 1407-8 to 1415-16 makes it impossible to see what results the visitation may have had. The drawing up of a new inventory of the treasures of the chapel in 1409-10 may represent part of an attempt to bring the college’s affairs into order after this visitation. Certainly by 1415-6 the college was managing on its income more easily, but the inclusion of a summary of the accounts of 1410-1 and of 1429-30 in a later petition to King Henry VI to demonstrate how impoverished were the revenues of the college, shows that both before and after 1415-6, the chapter found its income insufficient for its expenses.

¹ W.R., xv.34.25.
PART II

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

1. Management of the estates

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

A. ESTATES AT FARM

(a) Churches

By 1361, when the series of treasurers' accounts begins, all the eleven churches appropriated to St. George's Chapel were at farm. They included the churches of Wraysbury (with the chapel of Langley), Datchet (with the chapel of Fulmer) and Iver in the county of Buckingham, South Tawton in Devon, Saltash in Cornwall, Whaddon and Caxton in Cambridgeshire, Ryston in Norfolk, Uttoxeter in Staffordshire and Simonburn in Northumberland. A vicarage had been ordained in each of these churches, and a portion set aside by the diocesans for the support of a perpetual vicar. Such a vicar, although presented to the church by the rector, was instituted by the bishop and was in the ordinary way irremovable.

1 See above, pp. 15-24.
Two of the vicarages, Wraysbury and Uttoxeter, were endowed with part of the income of the church; the vicar of Wraysbury was to keep the small tithes and offerings (valued at £6 13s. 4d.) and the vicar of Uttoxeter the small tithes (value not given). To the vicars of the other nine churches the college, as rector, was bound to pay a fixed yearly stipend. One of them, the vicar of Deddington, had besides his stipend in money the offerings and mortuaries and the tithe of twenty acres of meadow in his parish. Another, the vicar of Saltash, had first been endowed with the small tithes, offerings and altar dues (valued at £20), but in 1361, ten years after the original ordination of the vicarage, the bishop of Exeter allowed a sum of £20 in money to be substituted for the endowment. The change was made at the instance of Edward III, probably prompted by the college which thus could benefit from any increase in the value of the small tithes.

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

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

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

Datchet to John Milcombe (vicar) from 1367 to 1378 or later.
Caxton to Bartholomew Colne (vicar) from 1370 to 1386 or later.
Uttoxeter to ——1 (vicar) from 1375 to 1378 or later.
Uttoxeter to John Rolfe (vicar) and others from at least 1415.
Simonburn to William Angram (vicar) and others for years between 1392 and 1400.
Saltash to William Young (vicar 1408-21) and others from 1402.
Ryston to William Buskyn (vicar) and others from at least 1415.

The chapel of Langley Marish was farmed independently of the church of Wraysbury to which it was attached. A series of leases of this chapel, covering years between 1377 and 1415, has been preserved2: these leases show that the groups of men who farmed Langley in those years always included a chaplain; from 1377 to 1382 Geoffrey Whitemarsh, from 1393 to 1396 Thomas Goldhop, from 1399 to 1411 Richard Franklin vicar of Iver,3 and from 1411 to 1415 John Smart vicar of Wraysbury. The other members of the groups were laymen, and it was one of these who paid the rent and was named as farmer in the treasurers' and stewards' accounts.

Some of the lay lessees received from the college an annual livery, a "robe" (that is, an outfit of clothing) or its money equivalent. Liversies provided were of two kinds, the better kind pro gentilibus and the other pro valetitias. A further distinction was made in the better livery. The best kind of all, which included a fur, was given only to the verger of St. George's Chapel, to the bailiff (when there was one) of the manor of Iver and, in 1404-5, to the chapter clerk. Its equivalent in money was usually reckoned at 20s.,4 but when given in kind the amount and price of the material varied. Always it included some striped and some coloured stuff (often it was three yards of striped and two of coloured) at about 2s. a yard. The fur usually cost 2s.; in 1406-7 it was of white lamb. No other gentiles received furs, although they often received as much and as expensive material as the verger and bailiff; occasionally the amount was slightly less. Gentlemen's livery was given to most farmers who had livery, and to the steward of the courts and, in 1395-6, to an

1 Name not given in the accounts.
2 W.R., xv.58.b.42, 47, 43, 44, 45, 46.
3 In the lease of 1399 (W.R., xv.58.b.43) Franklin was described as perpetual vicar of Iver, but in subsequent renewals of lease (1404 and 1409) as chaplain. Presumably he served the chapel of Langley.
4 In 1402-3, however, the verger and the chapter clerk received only 13s. 4d. each in lieu of livery (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.22).
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348-1416

Auditor. Recipients of servants' livery were the reeve, granger and wardenner of Iver, the reeve of Craswell, and, in 1385-6, the college carpenter. When given in kind this livery consisted of perhaps two yards striped and 1 1/2 yards coloured material of a cheaper sort than that given to the gentiles. Its money value varied. As its equivalent the granger of Iver had 13s. 4d. in 1366-7 and 10s. in 1370-1 and 1371-2, the reeve of Craswell had 6s. 8d. in 1402-3, and the wardenner of Iver 5s. in 1401-2 and 1402-3.

The first livery recorded in a treasurer's account as given to the farmer of a church was 6s. 8d. pro tunicis given to John Bayly, farmer of Uttoxeter in 1385-6. The next surviving treasurer's account, of 1393-4, recorded 20s. given to John Wheler, farmer of the church of Deddington, pro roba. Although the difference in the amounts given to Bayly and Wheler would seem to be explained by the use of the words roba (an outfit) and tunicas (one garment), these words apparently were not used strictly, for in the treasurer's account of 1377-8 when the verger of St. George's Chapel and the bailiff of Iver received identical livieres, the verger's was written roba and the bailiff's tunicas. Probably Wheler received a gentleman's livery and Bayly a servant's. Another farmer to have servant's livery was Robert Pastorel, one of the farmers of the chapel of Langley from 1399 to 1411. In the last renewal of their lease (1409) a new clause was added: Habebit Robertus unus firmariorum durante termino predicto robam de liberata dictorum Custodis et Capituli competentem pro valetto. Other farmers of this period who had livery received gentlemen's livery. John Wheler of Deddington always had his in money, 20s., but the others received theirs in kind. Livery lists in the treasurers' accounts did not always give the names of recipients. In surviving accounts only the lists of 1385-6, 1393-4, 1394-5, 1395-6, 1400-1, 1402-3 and 1406-7 included names of farmers receiving livery: they were as follows:

John Bayly (farmer of Uttoxeter) in 1385-6.

John Wheler (farmer of Deddington from at least 1393 to 1403) in 1393-4, 1394-5, 1395-6.

William Goodfellow (farmer of Whaddon from at least 1391 to 1401) in 1394-5, 1395-6, 1400-1.

Robert Coke (farmer of Ryston 1395-9) in 1395-6.

1 Servant is used here as a translation of valetus because it seems more appropriate, being more comprehensive, than the usual translation as yeoman.

2 W.R., xv.58.B.45.
Richard Maistergent (farmer of Uttoxeter from before 1393 to 1403) in 1395-6, 1400-1.

John Gonne (farmer of Caxton from at least 1393 to 1407) in 1400-1.

Richard Person (farmer of Ryston 1400-8) in 1400-1, 1402-3, 1406-7.

William Spelyng (farmer of Iver 1404-7) in 1406-7.

John Clerk (farmer of Whaddon 1402-7) in 1406-7.

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

Surviving indentures of lease which date from before 1416 relate only to the chapel of Langley (six leases) and the churches of Saltash and Uttoxeter (one of each). Further information concerning leases can, however, be gathered from treasurers' and stewards' accounts. It appears that from most lessees the college demanded a sum of money or bond as security. This was deposited in the aerary together with the indenture of lease, to be produced if the rent was not paid. Upon the expiry of a lease, the college sometimes demanded payment for dilapidations. For example, when Nicholas Carter's lease of the chapel of Langley expired in 1396, his widow, Isabella, who had continued the lease after her husband's death in the preceding year, had to pay 20s. for the deterioration of buildings at Langley during her husband's tenancy.\(^1\) Robert Smith, whose lease of the church of Iver expired in 1371-2, "bought" from the college then two cart-horses, six oxen, 25 lb of iron for a coulter and a ploughshare, a plough and harness, and an old building at Thorney mill. All this cost him £5 18s. 4d. It may have been that Smith wished to take away with him the stock and implements thus paid for, but it is perhaps more probable that the payments were for decrease in cattle and deterioration of equipment and buildings during his tenancy; he had held the lease of Iver from

\(^1\) *Et de xxs. receptis de uxorre Nicolai Cartere nuper firmarii de Langele pro defectibus in domibus apud Langele inventis in dimissione firme sue in fine termini sui* (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.18).
at least 1362. It is apparent from this reference that the stock of the rectory of Iver was leased with the land. Probably most if not all of the leases were stock and land leases.\(^1\) Henry Atwater, who took up the lease of Iver after Smith, paid £8 extra for the corn growing in the fields on his arrival, while Smith was allowed 20s. off the rent for the last term of his farm, perhaps to compensate him for the seed which he had sown there.\(^2\) The college made a similar allowance to William Ashby whose lease of Wraysbury came to an end in 1372; he was allowed £6 off his last term's rent.

Remissions of rent were occasionally made by the college on grounds of compassion or for other reasons. Outstanding among such remissions was the large sum of £48 13s. 9d. owed by William Person of the rent of Ryston over a number of years. In 1395-6 he was forgiven his debt, *custos et collegium scientes dictum Willetmum Person in paupertatem incedisse*. The college's action was, however, not purely philanthropic. Already in the preceding years much time and money had been spent in an attempt to obtain payment of Person's debt by process of law. By this time the canons were convinced of the hopelessness of further attempts. Therefore they forgave the debt and made out a quittance for it, to cancel the bond which they held from Person and his guarantors as security.\(^3\) Other remissions of rent were of smaller sums and in consideration of hardships suffered by lessees through plague or failure of crops. For some years, at least 1404-8, one of the canons, William Spigurnell, held a lease of Datchet at a rent of £26 13s. 4d. a year. During the years 1404-7 he incurred considerable losses but, despite all, he managed faithfully to pay the full rent. In view of this and since he had arranged a new lease of the chapel of Langley for five years at a rent 4 marks higher than formerly, the chapter made an allowance to Spigurnell in 1406-7 of £8, of which £2 13s. 4d. was deducted from his rent for Datchet. The remaining £5 6s. 8d. was a sum he had received on behalf of the college from the late lessees of Langley, of their arrears, and was allowed to keep. The treasurer, who had to account for it among the receipts from Langley, entered the amount again on the expense side of his account as an allowance.

1 Cf. One of the reasons advanced by canons of Windsor in Elizabeth's reign against the statute limiting leases to five years: "for that all the landes or the moste part of them, were then [in the founder's time] let with stocke and store . . . ." (See above, pp. 144-5).

2 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.8.

3 *Ibid.*, xv.34.18. See below, p. 163.
made to himself, but with an explanation of the circumstances.  

Thomas Stonehall took out a lease of Iver in 1413 for five years at £44 a year. His crops failed in 1415-16; consequently he was impoverished and could not pay all his rent. The chapter forgave him £10 which he had been unable to pay ex speciali gratia . . . ratione paupertatis et impotencie sue et quia bladum ibidem hoc eodem anno in magna parte deficiebat and allowed him to terminate his tenancy that year, relieving him of the remaining three years of his lease.  

A further example of clemency on the part of the chapter belongs to the year 1422-3, outside the period treated, but included here since it shows that although the college was itself in financial difficulties the canons were merciful to others in similar straits. In 1422-3 no payments were made of prebends or of the warden's salary: together with other liabilities they were left to be paid in the following year, for the money coming in was insufficient to meet them. Large debts were owing to the college from their estates. However to John Wise, farmer of the church of Deddington since 1416, who had suffered through the hard seasons, a debt was forgiven as a gift in relevatione firme sue pro annis molestis et duris ac contrariis eventibus . . . iii. li. vi.s. viii.d.  

Although good men of business the canons of St. George tempered justice with mercy. On the other hand the chapter could be and often was pertinacious in attempts to reclaim debts. The history of the church of Ryston at farm may serve as an example both of this and of contact between the canons and the churches appropriated to them. 

By 1361 Ryston was farmed out for £53 6s. 8d. a year. According to the ordination of the vicarage there made in June 1351, the college was responsible for (i) the vicar's stipend of £13 6s. 8d., a year, (ii) a pension of £2 13s. 4d. a year to the bishop of Norwich for sequestrations, (iii) repair of the chancel, (iv) provision of service books. In addition the college as rector was responsible for alms-
giving to the poor of the parish, and for the payment of royal taxation. No record of payment of either the vicar’s stipend or the bishop’s pension appears in any surviving treasurer’s account save that of 1377-78, when the church of Ryston was temporarily in the hands of the college for want of a lessee, and both payments were discharged by the treasurer, and in 1393-94 and 1394-95, when the bishop’s pension only was paid, doubtless because, as the treasurer noted, the lessee had failed to pay. Obviously the responsibility of both these payments was transferred with the lease. A lease of Ryston dated 11 June 1417 contained such a provision: "Et predicti firmarii solvent duurante termino predicto vicario ecclesie eiusdem portionem suam in ordinacione vicarie predicte sic limitatam . . . Et . . . de omnibus oneribus ordinariis et extraordinariis dicte rectorie et ecclesie qualitercunque incumbentiibus erga Episcopum Norwicensem et quosque alios acquietabant preter quam prefati Custos et collegium acquietabant prefatos firmarios erga dominum regem de quibuscunque taxis et tallagiis sibi concessis seu concedendis duurante termino predicto." No details of leases of Ryston prior to 1416 have been preserved, but in the treasurer’s account of 1376 an entry recording payment of the bishop of Norwich’s pension for Ryston was crossed out quia per firmarium. Since the lessee of Ryston paid both the vicar and the bishop, the sole remaining liabilities of the college with regard to Ryston, once service books had been provided, were repairs, alms and royal taxes. Of these liabilities the first two, repairs and almsgiving, were discharged by the lessee on behalf of the college. Necessary repairs both to the chancel and the farm buildings were done by him, the cost of this being credited to him against his rent. When directed by the steward, he distributed a quantity of barley to the poor of the parish as from the college of St. George. This may have been an annual alms to the poor, but only two instances of its distribution have been recorded in surviving accounts: in 1369-70 1 quarter 4 bushels (costing 15s.) were thus distributed, and in 1375-76 5 quarters (costing 20s.). These references are the only evidence of almsgiving to parishioners of churches appropriated to St. George’s Chapel which appear in the records of this period. By Edward III’s charter of liberties the estates of the college of Windsor were exempt from every form of royal tax, but this privilege was valid only when the king pleased to allow it. Only occasionally could

1 W.R., xi, J.25.  
2 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.11.  
3 Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.1; Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.10.
the king afford to allow the estates of St. George's to pass untaxed. Consequently the canons frequently found themselves, despite all appeals, liable to pay tenths and subsidies for all their properties, the church of Ryston among them. Such payments were made from Windsor.

The first lessee of Ryston to be named in the accounts was William Person. His rent of £53 6s. 8d. was payable in four equal sums of £13 6s. 8d. at the four terms of the year, Christmas, Lady Day, Midsummer Day and Michaelmas.\(^1\) Collection of rent was the steward's responsibility, but he did not always receive it personally. For instance, in 1369-70 the warden collected sums of money from various estates, keeping back £66 13s. 4d. of it for his own salary, which the steward included in his expense account as if he had paid the warden. Among the sums thus kept by the warden was £20 of William Person's rent for Ryston.\(^2\) In the following year, 1370-71, Person paid only £27 13s. 4d. of his rent, leaving a debt of £25 13s. 4d.

His payments in the next year, 1371-72, were irregular and inadequate. A messenger was sent to him in January 1372 and again in February to ask for the money due, but eventually the steward, Richard Bokelly, collected £19 1s. 8d. from him on 15 February. He paid a further £25 at Easter (of which £5 was collected by the warden) and another £3 on 13 July, but this was all. Consequently at the end of this year his arrears had risen to £31 18s. 4d.\(^3\)

Apparently Person was unable to make the lands he had rented pay. In addition the property suffered when in 1374 a band of ruffians broke in. They stole stock worth £40 besides hares, conies, pheasants and partridges from the warren, and other goods worth £100; they attacked the farm servants and beat and threatened them so severely that they were in fear of their lives and dared not stay to do their work. The stock was the property of the college; therefore William Mudge, the warden, complained of these men to the king, who appointed a commission to hear and decide the matter.\(^4\) A similar complaint was made by Hugh Burnell and William Kerdeston, two knights of Ryston, whose property had also suffered at the hands of the ruffians. Subsequently it was

\(^1\) These were the most usual terms for payment (ad festa Natalis Domini, Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis, Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste et Sancti Michaelis) and are still, of course, quarter days in England.

\(^2\) Steward's Account, W.R., xv.48.1.

\(^3\) Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.8.

discovered that the wrongdoers belonged to the manor of Sutton in Norfolk, which was part of the inheritance of a minor in the king’s wardship, heir to the late earl of Pembroke. Lest the inheritance of his ward might be in any way prejudiced by this trial, the king ordered the commission not to proceed. Mudge acquiesced, but Person was not disposed to let the matter drop, neither were Hugh Burnell and William Kerdeston, whose complaint against the Sutton men had similarly been shelved. Kerdeston sought revenge. Person was willing to join him, and with a band of followers they made a raid into the Sutton lands at Brumstead and Suffield, where they carried away turves, trampled the grass, beat the servants and so threatened them that they dared not go to their homes, much less till the lands. The manor of Sutton was then held at farm by Margaret, countess of Norfolk, who complained to the king in her turn. A commission was appointed by letters patent dated 18 September 1376 to hear and decide the case, but its findings are not recorded.

Although Person had managed by 1375 to reduce his arrears of rent to £4 13s. 4d., he soon found himself again hopelessly in debt. His rent had been lowered to £50 a year in 1375, but, despite this, by 1377 he owed the college £40 12s. 8d. Now the college took action. On 9 September 1377 Richard Raunds, treasurer of the college, rode up to Ryston. He carried with him a writ against Person which he delivered to the sheriff of Norfolk; he re-entered the Ryston estates in the name of the college, and attempted to find another lessee. Raunds was away from Windsor for thirteen days, but could arrange no new lease. Consequently the church remained temporarily under central management.

For the year 1377–78 Ryston had to be administered from Windsor, and John Massingham, one of the canons, was put in charge of it. He went there first in December, beginning his journey on the 3rd and spending twenty-four days in all away from Windsor. His next visit took only eight days and was made for the purpose of selling the crops, presumably well before harvest, for he made a third journey early in July to expedite the business, when he stayed at Ryston for three weeks. Finally Richard Packington, a trusted administrative official of the college, went there at harvest to superintend the gathering in of the sheaves. All Massingham had

been able to get for the produce of Ryston was £29 1s. 5d. Of this the college had to pay the vicar £10, the bishop of Norwich £2 13s. 4d., and to Massingham and Packington for their travelling expenses a further £9 os. 6½d. ¹ Thus from the church of Ryston St. George's gained only £7 7s. 6¾d. in the year, a poor income compared with the £50 for which William Person had been renting it.

After 1377-78 there is a gap of seven years in the series of treasurers' accounts, but from notes of arrears in subsequent accounts it is possible to trace the fortunes of Ryston.² For three more years (1378-81) the church remained in the hands of the college. If profits from it were as low as in 1377-78, the anxiety of the canons to secure any lessee, even at a rent considerably lower than formerly, is understandable. Person, who had been outlawed for not appearing to answer the college concerning his debt, was pardoned his outlawry in 1379.³ In 1381 he again took up the lease of Ryston and was holding it in 1385-86 (the date of the next surviving treasurer's account after 1377-78) at a rent of £33 6s. 8d.⁴ Doubtless the canons preferred to farm out the church rather than have much trouble and small returns from it, but they found Person no more satisfactory as lessee than formerly. By 1393-94 his rent was £45 4s. 4d. in arrears, his debts extending over the past three years. Next year Ryston was once more taken into the hands of the college. Besides owing rent, Person also owed the bishop of Norwich his pension for two years.⁵ This the college paid. The canons took out three writs against Person, and John Massingham, now steward, again took charge of Ryston, holding court there and selling the produce this time at a better price, £36 3s. 11d. Robert Steel, vicar of Ryston, acted as proxy for the college; he collected the money due and brought it to Windsor, where he received 13s. 4d. for his trouble.⁶

In the following year, 1395-96, the treasurer recorded that the warden and canons had forgiven Person his debt, which now amounted to £47 13s. 9d., on account of his poverty.⁷ Person's poverty was by now complete, for he had been outlawed and all his possessions were forfeit. The reason for his outlawry may have

¹ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.14.  
² See titulus Ryston in treasurer's account for 1406-07 (W.R., xv.34.24).  
⁴ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.15.  
⁵ Marginal note beside the titulus Ryston in the treasurer's account for 1394-95 (W.R., xv.34.17).  
⁶ Ibid., xv.34.17.  
⁷ Ibid., xv.34.18. See above, p. 158.
been his inability to meet his debts, or possibly some further friction with the men of Sutton manor, for two of his comrades in the former raid suffered a like sentence of outlawry. The warden, Thomas Butler, seized the opportunity afforded by a royal visit to Windsor Castle in July 1396 to petition the king for the goods and chattels forfeited by Person and his friends, as they were parishioners of the college. Butler’s request was granted. Since the college now had all William Person’s possessions, it was useless to pursue him further for his arrears, although his guarantors might have been called upon to pay. Probably there was little hope of recovering the debt from them, and the college was wise to withdraw before incurring further expense in attempts to do so.

John Massingham was able to arrange a lease of Ryston in August 1396. Until 1399 the lessees were Robert Coke and John Arkale, who still owed part of their rent in 1408. From at least 1400 the church was farmed out to a group of men, usually represented by Richard Person in the treasurers’ accounts, who held the lease until 1416. In 1407-08 Richard Person and his associates were 5s 18s. in arrears for back rent and owed £3 14s. 8d. of the current year’s rent. The chapter allowed to them the £3 14s. 8d. which was owing, to compensate them for losses they had sustained when the growing corn was destroyed by tempest.

Since Ryston was the nearest of the properties of the college to Yarmouth, it had been the practice of the steward to combine visits to these two places when it was necessary to make any arrangements at Yarmouth concerning the delivery of the annual last of herrings. Usually the herrings were brought from Yarmouth by a messenger sent from Windsor. In 1404-05, however, Richard Person rode to Yarmouth for them. For this the treasurer of Windsor paid him 12d. In 1407-08 the treasurer paid him 3s. 4d. for bringing his own rent to Windsor. By the terms of most leases, rents for estates were payable at Windsor Castle, but the steward and his messengers were obliged to make frequent journeys to the estates or to London to collect money which otherwise might not have been paid at all. It was in the interest of the college for the treasurer to pay farmers for bringing their rents, since it saved time and travelling expenses

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99, p. 27.
2 Arkale was one of the outlaws whose possessions were granted to the warden of Windsor in 1396. Presumably he had secured pardon.
3 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv, 34.26.
4 Ibid., xv, 34.23.
5 Ibid., xv, 34.26.
for the steward. As early as 1385-86 John Bayly, farmer of Uttoxeter, received 5s. for bringing money to Windsor on two occasions. In 1393-94 10s. was paid to the servant of Henry Kirkstead, farmer of Saltash, for his long journey from Cornwall with the rent. In 1407-08, besides Richard Person, John French, farmer of Saltash, and William Walker, one of the farmers of Uttoxeter, received gifts at the hand of the treasurer for bringing their rents to Windsor. In the same way it was useful for the college when farmers and vicars could perform small items of business in their districts. William Wintour, farmer of Whaddon, arranged the transport of the herrings from Yarmouth in 1393-94, as Richard Person of Ryston did in 1404-05. Much of the business connected with the college's long litigation against John Crewkerne, vicar of Saltash, was done by Thomas Ebrelle, one of the farmers of the church, and William Young, farmer and later vicar there.

Some of the points raised by this account of the church of Ryston and its farmers are applicable to all such churches appropriated to the college. It is particularly interesting to see how much responsibility the college had towards these churches and what payments had to be made in respect of them. Division of burdens varied according to the ordination of each vicarage, but for the most part ordinary burdens were the concern of the vicar and extraordinary burdens had to be supported by the rector. However, liability for many of the burdens of the rector could be, and frequently was, transferred with the lease of the rectory to the farmer.

Ordinary burdens were those which recurred regularly each year. These included, with regard to the church, the maintenance of chaplains (where there were dependent chapels), the provision of bread, wine, incense and wax for the services, the wages of cleaners, the cost of washing and mending vestments and of binding and repairing service-books. In addition, each church owed annual payment for visitation dues to the diocesan authorities: to the bishop "synodals" and to the archdeacon "procurations". These expenses were paid by the vicar in all the churches save that of Datchet for which the college was bound to pay 6s. 8d. procurations yearly to the archdeacon of Buckingham.

Extraordinary burdens included the provision of service books, repair of the chancel, and payments irregular in occurrence, such as procurations to the archbishop and to papal nuncios, papal subsidies and royal tenths and subsidies. These were the responsibility of
the college as rector, but were in some cases discharged by lessees as part of the conditions of their lease.

Although St. George’s was responsible for providing service books, the vicars had to keep them in repair. Consequently, once the initial cost of supplying them had been met, the college was free of further expense with regard to books for a considerable period. For the church of Wraysbury the college had to provide vestments and ornaments as well as books. One set of vestments was given to Wraysbury at some date subsequent to 1384, for in the inventory of St. George’s Chapel made in that year, beside the entry describing the set (one chasuble, two albs, one amice, one stole, one fanon and an altar apparel for the masses of the Blessed Virgin) was written in another hand: *datur ecclesie de Wyradesbury. Deficit vestimentum.*

In addition to repairing the chancels, the college provided suitable dwellings for the vicars and (except when arranged otherwise in the lease) kept farm buildings, hedges and fences in repair. All rebuilding and repairs for which the college was liable were done by the farmer of the church (who was in some cases also the vicar) under the orders of the officials of the college; the expenditure was refunded to him. When the work was extensive a detailed account of costs was sent in by the farmer. Three such accounts have been preserved, attached to treasurers’ rolls of the year in which they were presented. The earliest of them was submitted by Robert Smith, farmer of Iver, and covered the cost of a new building containing a bakery, brewery and kitchen which he had erected in the summer and autumn of 1367 in accordance with orders given him by the warden, treasurer and steward in the preceding year. Timber for the building had been provided from the college’s wood called Thorney wood in Iver, where Smith was allowed to fell oaks. The bark from some of these trees was sold by Smith for 7s. 2d., which sum he credited to the college’s account against his expenses. Other oaks had not been stripped of their bark for lack of buyers. Smith’s expenditure included the wages of a man hired for thirteen days to fell the oaks and the hire of nine carts to carry them to the site. Bread, meat and ale was bought to provide three meals a day for carpenters and other workmen at their employer’s cost. Four of the carpenters were given gloves, perhaps for their protection when

---

1 According to the ordination of the vicarage of Wraysbury, the vicar was to support all burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, but payments by the college for these extraordinary expenses were recorded consistently in treasurers’ accounts.

2 Rotograph of the Inventory, W.R., IV.B.23.
handling rough timber. The whole building works cost £16 13s. 8½d. When 7s. 2d. was deducted for the price received from oak bark, a balance of £16 6s. 6½d. was left and this the treasurer paid or allowed to Smith at Michaelmas 1367.¹ The other two accounts were both presented by John Milcombe, vicar and farmer of Datchet, in 1372 and 1376. The first referred to the cost of repairing a barn and building a new wall. Timber for the barn was again supplied from Thorney wood, and the carting to Datchet was done by boon workers who received only their food and a gift of 4d. between them from the steward. Two carpenters with one servant and two other men were hired to saw the wood; other workmen included plasterers, roofers and cement diggers. Costs for barn and wall amounted to £8 7s. 10½d. Milcombe closed this account with the statement that he then owed the treasurer 18s. 9½d., payable at Michaelmas 1372.² Presumably he owed from his rent a sum of £9 6s. 8d., of which, when this bill had been deducted, only 18s. 9½d. remained to be paid. The other account was for the building of a bakery, brewery, kitchen, granary and stable at Datchet at a cost of £11 17s. 2d. Wood for this, too, was brought from the manor of Iver.³

Although no other accounts for building work in the various churches have been preserved, some interesting details concerning them were included in the treasurers' accounts. Ten marks (£6 13s. 4½d.) was taken from the aerary in 1361-62 to pay for work on the vicar's house at Iver. In the same year a glass window was replaced in the church at Wraysbury at a cost of 16d.⁴ When the chancel of South Tawton church needed repair in 1385-86, the earl of Warwick gave twelve oaks from his estate towards the work. The steward of Windsor, John Prust, superintended the collection of the oaks, and his expenses included gifts to the keeper of the wood, so that he might have better trees.⁵ By ancient custom parishioners were expected to keep the nave of their church in repair, while the rector was responsible for repairing the chancel, but in 1393-94 the college made a gift of 26s. 8d. to the parishioners of Langley, to help them in repairing the nave.⁶

Only one example of payment of metropolitical procurations was recorded in the treasurers' accounts before 1416. Archbishop Thomas Arundel began a visitation of his province on 30 April 1397.

¹ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.4.
² Ibid., xv.34.8.
³ Ibid., xv.34.11. ⁴ Ibid., xv.34.1.
⁵ Ibid., xv.34.15.
⁶ Ibid., xv.34.16.
After visiting his diocese of Canterbury he passed on through London, Rochester and Chichester to Coventry and Lichfield, where he spent the autumn of 1400. He reached Ely in the autumn of 1401. Everywhere the archbishop or his commissaries went they were well received and due procurations were paid. 1 Procuration fees of 16s. 8d. for Uttoxeter (in Coventry and Lichfield) and 7s. 6d. for Whaddon (in Ely) were paid by the farmers of those churches, to whom the treasurer afterwards refunded the amounts. 2

St. George's paid papal procurations in 1371-72 and 1376. Two cardinals, Simon Langham 3 of St. Sixtus and John de Dormans of Sancti Quatuor Coronati, were sent by Gregory XI to England in 1371 as mediators for peace between Edward III and Charles V of France. 4 Procurations were ordered for them, to meet the expenses of their mission. 5 Payments were made to the cardinals by the treasurer of Windsor for the churches of Wraysbury, Iver, Datchet and Deddington in the diocese of Lincoln, and for South Tawton and Saltash in the diocese of Exeter at a rate of 4d. in the pound. 6 For the archbishop of Rouen, 7 who visited England to arrange the Truce of Bruges in 1375, procuration fees were paid at a rate of 1½d. in the mark. The vicar of Datchet represented the college of St. George at Aylesbury, where he discussed with the papal messengers both these fees and the subsidy then payable. He also paid over the money due, on behalf of the college, in respect of the churches of Wraysbury with Langley, Iver and Datchet. For Deddington payment was made by the farmer of the church and refunded by the treasurer of Windsor. The warden paid what was due for South Tawton and Saltash and submitted a bill to the treasurer for the amount. 8 There is no record of payment of

1 Churchill, Canterbury Administration, I, 331-7.  
2 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.20.  
3 Formerly archbishop of Canterbury, 1366-68. His acceptance of a cardinal's hat in September 1368 offended Edward III, who considered the see of Canterbury vacant in consequence. Langham resigned his archbishopric on 27 November 1368, and soon recovered royal favour. His mission of 1371-72 was not successful, but he arranged a truce between Edward III and the court of Flanders (Poedera, III, 953 and Cal. Close Rolls, 1369-74, p. 447).  
5 Ibid., p. 102.  
6 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.8. According to Lunt (Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages, I, 109), the usual rate of procurations for papal envoys from 1317 was 4d. in the mark.  
7 Philip of Alençon, cousin of Charles V of France, created cardinal by Urban VI in 1378.  
8 Treasurers' Accounts, W.R., xv.34.10, 11.
procurations to papal nuncios for the other five churches belonging to St. George's Chapel. Probably the conditions of the leases to farm of these churches rendered the farmers liable for them.

Similarly with regard to papal tenths and subsidies, payment was always made direct from Windsor for the four churches in the diocese of Lincoln (Wraysbury, Iver, Datchet and Deddington), but practice varied with the other churches. The papal tenth of 1362-63 was paid from Windsor for the Lincoln churches and for Whaddon and Uttoxeter; the tenth of 1375-76 was paid from the centre for the Lincoln churches and the two Exeter churches, South Tawton and Saltash. To Bartholomew of Bavaria, papal nuncio in 1394-95, the treasurer paid the subsidy of 3d. in the pound only for the four churches in the diocese of Lincoln.

Liability for royal taxes and subsidies was rarely undertaken by the farmer of the church, even when he took on the other extraordinary burdens. Tenths, fifteenths and subsidies due to the king had to be paid whenever the college failed to realize its grant of exemption. Since such failure was frequent, the expense involved was considerable.

Payment of the vicar's stipend (when in money) and the pension due annually to the diocesan was undertaken in most cases (as at Ryston) by the farmer of the church. Some, however, were paid from Windsor. Of the vicars, only two, the vicars of Datchet and Whaddon, were paid regularly by the college, and direct payments to the vicar of Whaddon ceased after 1368. Other vicars were paid from the centre only when their churches were temporarily without a lessee. The vicar of Datchet alone continued to receive his stipend from the treasurer of the college throughout the period surveyed. In 1353-54 Robert Amant, then vicar of Datchet, received part of his stipend in kind, 10 quarters of barley, valued at 40s., but all other recorded payments were in money. Only to the bishop and chapter of Lincoln were their pensions in lieu of sequestrations paid by the treasurer of Windsor. The total sum paid annually to the bishop of Lincoln was £3 7s. 4d., of which

1 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.2.
2 Ibid., xv.34.10 and 11.
3 Ibid., xv.34.17.
4 John Lylyc and Robert Kellum, who held a five years' lease of Caxton 1412-17.
5 Sergeant's Account, Wraysbury, W.R., xv.53.42.
20s. was for Wraysbury, 20s. for Iver, 24s. for Deddington and 3s. 4d. for Datchet. The dean and chapter of Lincoln had 16s. a year from these four churches, 6s. 8d. for Wraysbury, 5s. for Iver, 3s. 4d. for Deddington and 1s. for Datchet. A quittance of payment of these pensions to the dean and chapter of Lincoln has been preserved; it belongs to the year 1393 and payment, due on the feast of the Annunciation, was made on 28 March that year.¹ Pensions for churches in dioceses other than Lincoln were paid only occasionally from the centre. For Ryston the bishop and chapter of Norwich received payment from Windsor when the church was temporarily not farmed out (1377-78), and when William Person, already in debt, omitted to pay it (1393-94 and 1394-95). Pensions were paid for Whaddon in 1362-63, when two years' payment was owing, and in 1370-71, when three years' arrears were paid up. Similarly the treasurer paid for Caxton in 1371-72, when the bishop of Ely's pension was six years in arrears. Possibly in these instances the college was obliged to pay owing to the failure of the farmer to do so, for the bishop would hold the rectors responsible for payment. The pension due yearly to the bishop of Exeter for Saltash was 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.). This was payable by the farmer of the church. A quittance from Bishop Brantingham, dated 14 October 1374, acknowledged that he had received 8 marks, his pension for four years, by the hand of Robert Vaggescome, canon of Exeter and farmer of Saltash.² When, however, the pension was left unpaid for some years it was to the dean and canons of Windsor that an order to pay was directed,³ not to the farmer personally, for the transference of liability was a private arrangement and not recognized by the bishop.

Almsgiving by the college of St. George in their appropriated parishes was recorded only for Ryston, and on only two occasions. Of the ordination deeds of vicarages in their eleven churches only one, that of Wraysbury, made any mention of alms for the poor, and even in this instance the performance of it was left to the charity of the dean and canons. Each canon when he came into residence was expected to give alms to the poor, but this generosity in Windsor did little to relieve poor folk in distant appropriated parishes, although those from neighbouring parishes may have benefited. The farmers of the churches may have undertaken

¹ Quittance, W.R., xv.60.5.
³ Ibid., I, 533 (1384).
fixed alms to the poor, but no evidence of this has been found. The college of St. George, like other absentee rectors, perhaps looked on appropriated churches as sources of income primarily, and left spiritual duties including that of charity to the vicar, whose portion was rarely large enough to allow much almsgiving.

The liabilities of the college of Windsor in respect of appropriated churches were not heavy and were lightened considerably by the conditions of leases to farm. With some exceptions, notably the four churches in the diocese of Lincoln, for which the college paid extraordinary burdens and the bishop’s pension, the churches caused very little expense to their rector and their rents were to a large extent clear profit. Occasional repairs, occasional royal tenths and subsidies, and payments incidental upon the collection of rent were the sole expenses which the college had to meet when a church was at farm on a lease which burdened the farmer with payment of the rector’s ordinary and extraordinary dues. Sometimes even repairs and royal taxes were borne by the farmer. Default of payment of rent was the biggest of the college’s difficulties. When the farmer paid regularly appropriated churches were extremely profitable and rarely caused the canons much trouble.

(b) MANORS

The college of St. George possessed three manors. Two, Iver in Buckingham and Craswell in Bray, Berkshire, were close to Windsor; the other was in Oxfordshire some sixty miles away, and consisted of one-third of the manor of Deddington Castle which was bought by the college and finally acquired in 1386. Of these three the two neighbouring manors were administered from Windsor, Iver for the whole of the period here surveyed, and Craswell until 1415 when it was first let out to farm, but distant Deddington Castle was farmed out as soon as obtained.

The deed by which Joan Breton relinquished her claim to this third part of the manor of Deddington Castle, in return for a life pension of £10 a year, was dated 25 March 1386, but either the grant was retrospective or the college had taken possession of the manor earlier in the year, for the treasurer recorded receipt of rent both for the Easter and Michaelmas terms of the financial year 1385–6. The total receipts were £18, £9 at each of these terms.

1 As at Caxton 1412–17 (see above, p. 169, n. 4).
2 See above, pp. 28–29.
John Prust, steward of the college, held court and view of frankpledge at Deddington in Whit week, together with William Wilcote, steward of the manor. By 1393–4 the manor was farmed at a rent of £28 a year to Richard Prust who owed 28s. 3d. for the year 1392–3 and £6 6s. for the current year. In this year the college paid a fee of 20s. to John Abburbury, steward of Deddington, but subsequent records contain no further mention of such a fee.

Richard Prust died in 1395 (before 17 March), having paid off his arrears of 28s. 3d. for 1392–3, but not the larger debt of £6 6s. owing for the following year. His executors, Thomas Prust and William Hokard, paid part of the rent due for his last year (1394–5), but left the rest to swell the total of his arrears to £23 11s. 9d. Hokard discharged a further £13 6s. 8d. in 1395–6, but ten years later £8 13s. 9d. was still owing.

On 19 September 1395 John Massingham, steward of the college, left for Deddington where he held court and also arranged a lease of the manor to John Yerman at a rent of £26 a year. Yerman proved a satisfactory tenant, but he retained the lease only for one term of five years, when he retired with honour, leaving no arrears. After him John Abburbury (perhaps still steward of the manor) took up the lease at the same rent, £26, which he paid fully and faithfully for five years in his turn, after which he too retired. An allowance of 20s. was made to him in the last year of his tenancy for the expenses of a journey which he had been obliged to make to London to bring back a runaway villein.

From 29 September 1405 when a lease for five years to John Kent was arranged, the rent of Deddington was increased by one mark to £26 13s. 4d. a year, payable in two equal sums on St. George’s Day and All Saints’ Day. Kent held the lease for only two years of his term, for he died in 1407, when John Yerman agreed to take up the remaining three years of his lease on the same terms.

No details of a lease of Deddington Castle have been found save in the steward’s account of 1415–16 which recorded at some length the terms of current leases of each of the college properties. Deddington Castle was still farmed at £26 13s. 4d.; the tenants

1. Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.15.
2. Ibid., xv.34.16.
3. Ibid., xv.34.17, 18. 24.
4. Item Johanni Abburbury reducenti i nativum a London usque dominium de Dadynghone xx.s. (ibid. xv.34.23).
5. Ibid., xv.34.26.
were William Wyghthull and William Horncastle who held the manor for five years from All Saints’ Day 1414. Their rent was payable at Windsor, half at Lady Day and half at Michaelmas, and they had deposited a bond for £40 in the aerary as security. By the conditions of the lease the farmers were responsible for discharging the fees of the steward of the courts and all services and customary dues to the lords in chief and for maintaining the rights and liberties of the manor. The college did necessary repairs, although of course the farmers were bound to keep and return the manor in as good a state as they had received it.

The same steward’s account contains some of the terms of the earliest lease of the manor of Craswell which was farmed out to Thomas Bowyer of Bray for five years beginning 1 October 1415 at £21 a year. Bowyer’s rent was payable at Windsor Castle also, in two equal sums at Easter and Michaelmas, and a bond for £40 guaranteed by himself and two others had been deposited in the aerary as his security. A detailed list of the goods and chattels leased with the land was likewise kept in the aerary. Bowyer was to support all the liabilities of the demesne; to maintain its rights and liberties, pay the fees of the steward and his train when coming to hold court, and repair all the buildings of the manor including Bray mill with its bridges, floodgates and waterwheels. The college undertook to provide wood, tiles and lime for repair of the buildings, and for repair of the mill all materials considered necessary by the steward. An account was submitted by Bowyer in this year in which he claimed £5 5s. 0½d. spent on repairs. This was allowed by the college and consequently Bowyer paid only £15 14s. 11½d. of the £21 rent due from him for the year.

The earliest indenture of lease of Craswell which has been preserved in the aerary was drawn up on 31 October 1422. The lessee was still Thomas Bowyer who was to hold the manor for a further five years at the same rent as that asked in 1415, £21 a year. It is very probable that other terms of the lease were the same as in 1415, and since this document expressed them more fully than the summary made in the steward’s roll of 1415–16, an examination of it supplements our information concerning the arrangements made when Craswell was let out to farm. Together with the demesne of Craswell, with its rents, lands, fisheries and vineyards, were demised the

1 W.R., xv.58.D.73. The date of the lease was altered subsequently so that it might be used again. The altered date was either 5 Henry VI (1426) or 15 Henry VI (1436).
perquisites of view and court, namely fines, heriots and amercements made in the court leet, and the water mill called Bray mill and all other appurtenances of the manor. Expressly excepted, however, were the rights of wardship, marriage and escheat, and fines and amercements of tenants of the manor made before royal and itinerant justices. The dean and canons also reserved the right to enter and stay in the houses of the manor as often as it pleased them to come to inspect the state of the demesne. In addition the farmer was to supply at his own cost food and other necessities required by the steward of the college, the steward of the courts and their retinue, servants and horses, whenever they came to hold court at Craswell or to inspect the manor. The college undertook, in this lease, to defend the liberties of the demesne, but Bowyer was still responsible for its enclosures and customary dues, and for repairing all buildings when necessary, although the dean and canons agreed to provide, besides timber, tiles and lime, the cost of carpentry. With regard to Bray mill, the dean and canons were to supply timber and millstones and iron, to pay costs of carpentry and to keep up the wharf, but Bowyer was to keep in repair the cogges, runges, flotgates, ladeles, sterdes of the water wheels; the steward of the college was to decide when repairs were necessary. Bowyer was to have sufficient fuel for his own needs and those of his household, and the annual livery of a servant each Christmas. He was not to sub-let any of the demesne without the permission of the steward.

As a guarantee of his rent Thomas Bowyer delivered to the college a bond of £60 for which, besides himself, Henry Bowyer and John Bowyer of Bray held themselves liable. If the rent fell into arrears for twenty days, the farmer undertook to pay the college 3s. 4d. above what he owed to compensate them for the trouble caused by his lateness. After twenty days the dean and canons were free to re-enter the manor and lease it to some other person, while claiming from Bowyer both the rent owing and expenses incurred because of his default. The lease was to date from 1 October 1422, but from that date until 24 June 1423 the dean and canons reserved the right of entry and exit for themselves and their servants, in order that they might deal with and dispose of their goods and chattels in the demesne. A similar privilege was promised to Thomas Bowyer at the end of his term, so that he might remove his goods and dispose

1 Probably the iron mill-rind.
of them as he wished. Apparently this lease, unlike that of 1415, did not include goods and chattels with the land.

When manors were at farm the dean and canons were relieved of nearly all responsibility concerning them. The only expenses incurred in respect of the manor of Deddington Castle were those connected with holding court there and arranging the smooth succession of leases. Periodically the two stewards (of the college and of the courts) visited Deddington with their servants, held view of frankpledge and court, inspected the manor, and withdrew. Their travelling expenses were the sole debits on this account, and in 1395–6 a further 4d. for a bag bought to put the court rolls in.\(^1\) Costs for repairs were infrequent since the farmer was expected to maintain buildings in as good a state as he found them. With these few and usually modest exceptions, the college had little to disburse for the manor, and, since the rent was paid regularly for the most part, little trouble on that head. Craswell, which was put out to farm only at the end of the period surveyed, cost the college £5 5s. 0½d. in initial repairs, but the terms of the lease precluded much further expense, for although the dean and canons had agreed to supply materials necessary for repairs, the farmer was responsible for the far heavier burden of providing and paying for the labour.

**B. ESTATES UNDER DIRECT MANAGEMENT**

(a) **BEFORE 1361 (WRAYSBURY, DATCHET, DEDDINGTON, IVER, CRASWELL)**

For the period before 1361 no treasurers' or stewards' accounts have survived. Consequently we have no comprehensive survey of the revenues and estates of the college before that date. No such records can be expected before the year 1350, since, although Edward III's letters patent founding the college of St. George bore date 6 August 1348, the three churches (Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter) which formed the original endowment were not appropriated to the new college until the end of 1349. The income of Uttoxeter, which had been appropriated to an absentee rector before, could pass at once to the dean and canons, but they could not take possession of Wraysbury or South Tawton until the present rectors either resigned or died. Possibly arrangements were made for the college to enjoy the revenues speedily, but few receipts could have come in before 1350.

\(^1\) *Et solutum pro una bagga empte pro rotulis curie de Dadyngtone imponenda iiiid.* (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.18).
From 1350 onwards revenues grew steadily larger as the possessions of the college were augmented. Some account of receipts must have been kept, although none has survived. The first decade of the foundation is not, however, wholly lacking in central records. We have a series of monthly accounts of household expenditure for dates between December 1351 and August 1355. Although these accounts deal only with expenditure (foodstuffs consumed each day and other miscellaneous expenses), they afford some information concerning the college estates. Among the account of foodstuffs they record when supplies were sent in to the household and from which of the estates; among miscellaneous items were the expenses of the stewards, supervisors and messengers visiting the estates. It is possible to discover within narrow limits when first the estates began to supply produce to Windsor, and which of them were retained under the direct management of officials responsible to the college.

This information is supplemented by the evidence of two local account rolls. Both refer to the rectory of Wraysbury under Richard Packington, sergeant (serviens) of the dean and canons there and in other of their estates. The first covers a whole year from Michaelmas 1353 to Michaelmas 1354, but the second covers only eight months, from Michaelmas 1354 to 11 May 1355. This account was closed before the end of the financial year because arrangements had been made to let out the rectory for the first time to farm.

Before examining what these two sources (household accounts and local accounts) can reveal about the estates, it is useful to review the state of the college in the years with which they deal, 1351–5. The household accounts show that at least during these four years a common table was provided in the college. Those who ate at it each day were enumerated in the margin of the accounts as gentiles (gentlemen) so many, valetti (servants or yeomen) so many, and supervenientes (visitors) so many. A further description of the visitors was usually included. They might be friends of the college.

1 W.R., xv.3.1. Two bundles, one of twelve, the other of four rolls. Nine of the rolls are dated and internal evidence makes it possible to date the others. They appear to belong to the following months. First bundle (in the order in which the rolls are fastened): January 1355, February 1355, March 1355, April 1355, May 1355 and June 1353 sewn together, June 1355, July 1355, August 1355, October 1354, May 1353, January 1353, December 1351. Second bundle: January 1352, March 1352, August 1353, November 1354.

2 W.R., xv.53.42, 43.
dean or the canons, messengers, pilgrims, or tenants of the estates who had come on some errand. The servants or yeomen were of course those attached to the canons and the household. Less definite, however, is the meaning of the term *gentiles*. Strictly used, this term should refer only to laymen: it was employed in later treasurers’ accounts to denote those who received the better kind of college livery—the verger, farmers of estates and counsel at law, all laymen. But the number of *gentiles* who ate daily at the table of the college in 1351–5 precludes this limited interpretation of the term. There could not have been as many as from ten to twenty such gentlemen at Windsor each day. It seems probable that *gentiles* and *valetti* were used as mutually exclusive terms, that is, that everyone who was not a servant was accounted a “gentleman” whether layman or clerk. If this was the case, the category of *gentiles* must have included the canons and vicars of the college. We know from the statutes of the college that central provision of food for its members was not intended. Arrangements were made in the statutes (which were dated 30 November 1352) for each canon, vicar and clerk to receive a proportion of his wage for his keep; only the choristers were expected to eat together, and their master was to cater for them. But there is a simple explanation of the common table of 1351–5. It was a temporary expedient only. During these years lodgings for the new college were in building. There had been a delay owing to the Black Death, and when in 1350 sufficient workmen were assembled at Windsor to proceed with the necessary alterations and extensions, it was to the chapel that their attention was first turned. In 1351 they began on the canons’ chambers, but did not complete them until 1355. Without proper accommodation it was impossible for individuals to cater for themselves. Consequently two of the canons held office as stewards of the household, catering for the whole college and servants and visitors. The warden’s chambers were the first to be completed, and on 27 January 1353 he ate there for the first time. That day the household catered for fifty-one persons, twenty-five gentlemen and twenty-six servants, but of these only six ate at the common table. Food was provided for the rest from

---

3 I am indebted to Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson for this information and for his helpful discussion of this matter.

4 See above, pp. 77-78.
the kitchens of the household, but was served *per custodem in camera sua nova*. If this means, as it appears to do, that the warden entertained these persons in his lodging, the entry lends some support to the theory that *gentiles* referred to the canons and vicars, for it is most probable that the warden’s guests were his fellow-canons, their vicars and their servants. None of the other chambers was finished until 1355 when Robert Burnham’s was apparently the first to be ready, for on 1 January 1355 he gave a housewarming in his turn. This time only five persons were served by the household, although twelve loaves were sent up to Burnham’s chambers from the pantry. All the lodgings were finished in 1355 and it is very probable that common catering ceased shortly afterwards.

The first financial year for which household accounts have survived was the year 1351–2, when Robert Burnham and Reginald Lodington were stewards of the household. They held office from 31 October 1351 to 30 September 1352 and kept ten rolls of accounts. Only three of these ten now remain; two cover complete months, December 1351 and January 1352, and the other covers the last twelve days of March 1352. The accounts were drawn up in the usual way. For the most part, each roll contained the expenditure of one calendar month, written in day by day. Foodstuffs consumed each day were entered beside the name of the domestic office through which they came; bread from the pantry, ale and wine from the buttery, meat, fish and dairy produce from the kitchen. At the end of the day’s entries three totals were given, in money. The first, *Empciones*, showed the cost of foods purchased; the second, *De stauro*, showed the value of foods supplied from stock; and the last, *Exenia*, the value of gifts (if any). Supplies from “stock” included both commodities taken from the store-houses in the college and produce supplied from estates. At this date, 1351–2, the college could have had possession only of Wraysbury, South

---

1 The roll of December 1351 was endorsed as follows: *Contentum x rotulos expensarum hospicii collegii de Wyndesore videlicet ab ultimo die Octobris anno xvsto usque ultimo diem Septembris anno xxvito utroque die computato videlicet per annum annum preter xxx dies in toto per R. Burnham R. Lodington senescallos.*

2 Since there were only ten rolls for the eleven months between 31 October 1351 and 30 September 1352, one or more of the rolls must have covered a longer period than one month. The existing roll for March 1352, although covering only 12 days and without a heading, does not appear to be a fragment. At the foot of it was written: *Summa xii dierum per R. Ludyngtone.*

3 When a new cask or barrel was opened the accountant noted this with a sketch of it in the margin by the buttery entry.

178
Tawton and Uttoxeter. Of these only Wraysbury was near enough to send supplies.

It is evident from the distinction made between purchases and the produce of estates that no money passed from the stewards to the local officials at Wraysbury. When supplies were sent in, their market value was entered in the household accounts, but the stewards did not pay for them. Instead they gave the local officials a tally for the goods supplied. These tallies acknowledged receipt by the household of so much wheat, so many pigs, geese or chickens. The transaction was not regarded as a sale, consequently the tally was not made out to represent the money value of the supplies. Wheat was sent in from Wraysbury one quarter at a time on baking day. Although the cost of the whole quarter of wheat was noted in the household account for the day, only the cost of bread actually consumed was charged to the day’s expenses. The remainder of the bread went into the pantry store and was issued each day as it was needed, when the cost of it figured in the total of foods from stock. The produce of Wraysbury supplied only a very small proportion of the household’s requirements.

At this time Wraysbury was administered for the college by a reeve, John Godfrey, who was removed from office on 12 December 1352 when Richard Packington (de Pakyntone) took over management of the rectory estate in his stead. An indenture was drawn up between Godfrey and Packington in which were detailed the live-stock, carts, ploughs, tools, and other equipment of the manor as delivered by the retiring official to his successor. The live-stock included three old farm horses of which one was blind and feeble, six oxen of which one was the property of Robert Burnham, one cow (in calf), two young boars, six sows of which one had four sucklings and two had fourteen sucklings all born in December 1352, twenty-nine little pigs, twenty-one geese of which twelve were destined for the household of the college of Windsor, two yearling cattle of which one was a heifer, three capons and twenty-one cocks and hens. The carts, with their wheels, harnesses and traces, the ploughs and farm implements were enumerated and described with minute thoroughness. One cart had well-shod wheels, another (the manure-cart) had weak wheels but they were bound with good iron. One of the ploughs was old and nearly worn-out and had lost its wheels. The kitchen equipment included a tripod with one broken

1 W.R., xv.47.8.
foot, eleven dishes, a ladle, six platters and six saucers, a worn and broken bowl and a worn-out pan. There was one table fixed in the hall, a trestle-table besides, and six small benches. A gallon pitcher of earthenware was provided for fetching water. This comprehensive inventory, drawn up soon after the close of the financial year 1351–2, gives a clear picture of the stock of the rectory lands of Wraysbury when they had been in the possession of the college for less than two years.

Concerning South Tawton and Uttoxeter there is little or no evidence. Possibly South Tawton had not yet come into the possession of the college; certainly there was no mention of it in the three surviving household rolls of 1351–2. The only reference to Uttoxeter occurred in the roll for January 1352 when the stewards accounted, among their miscellaneous expenses, for 20s. delivered to Hugh Whitchurch, one of their fellow-canons, for the expenses of a journey to Uttoxeter on the business of the college. The nature of the business was not stated. Perhaps Uttoxeter was already at farm.

Of the household accounts for the next financial year (1352–3) there have survived those for January, May, part of June, and August 1353. By January 1353 Datchet and Iver had joined Wraysbury in supplying the household, but still the proportion of foods purchased far exceeded that sent in from the estates. The total cost of catering in January 1353 amounted to £23 18s. 3½d. Of this sum £18 7s. 6d. was actually expended on purchases, the canons had received gifts to the value of £5 8s. and the estates supplied produce worth £4 2s. 9½d. Produce supplied during the months for which accounts have survived included wheat, veal, pork and chicken from Wraysbury; wheat, mutton, rabbits, chicken, eels¹ and candles from Iver; wheat from Datchet; and in August 1353 a pigeon from Craswell in Bray.

By this time the college had obtained the appropriation of ten rectories and seisin of two manors. Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter were of course three of the appropriated rectories, and to them had been added in 1351 Iver, Ryston, Whaddon, Caxton and Saltash, and in 1352 Deddington and Datchet. Since the rectory of Iver fell vacant in June 1351, one month after it had been appropriated to them, the warden and canons were able to present a vicar and enjoy the income of the church without

¹ There were valuable eel fisheries in the Thames at Iver.
much delay, but they may have had to wait longer to realize their possession of Ryston, Whaddon and Caxton. There was a vacancy at Saltash in August 1351. This meant that the college could then take over the rectory. On 4 August Bishop Grandisson ordained a vicarage there and on the following day instituted the first perpetual vicar. Deddington was vacant when the appropriation was made, on 10 June 1352. The revenues thus passed to the college at once. Although Datchet was appropriated in July 1352, no vicarage was ordained there until 17 January 1353. This suggests that no vacancy occurred until then, otherwise such an ordination would have been necessary before. Since supplies were coming in from Datchet to Windsor from the beginning of January 1353, it is possible that, the rectory having become vacant before the beginning of the year, the warden and canons had taken over the estates while awaiting a formal ordination of the vicarage before presenting the first vicar. The two manors were Iver and Craswell in Bray of which, together with Temple wood, Edward III granted seisin in letters dated 23 February 1353.

From the fact that they supplied the household it is evident that Wraysbury, Datchet, Iver and Craswell were administered under the direct control of the college. We know that Richard Packington was in charge at Wraysbury, as sergeant, from December 1352. Datchet was managed by a bailiff who came to Windsor on two occasions in May 1353 when the household accountants recorded his presence at table. On 8 May when he came, one of his fellow visitors was an accounting clerk. This suggests that the bailiff came to present his accounts, perhaps his half-yearly view. On 24 May he was accompanied by two parishioners of Datchet. No distinction was made in household accounts between the rectory lands and the manor of Iver. There was a bailiff of Iver who perhaps managed both estates. Court was held there on 6 and 8 May, when, among gifts of wine received on those days, three gallons on the 6th and 2½ gallons on the 8th were for holding court. Timber from Temple wood was carried to Windsor by twenty-three tenants of Iver on 3 June; as a reward the tenants supped at Windsor at the cost of the college. Although Craswell came into the possession of the dean and canons at the same time as the manor of Iver and Temple wood (in February 1353), no produce from the estate was supplied in either May or June 1353. In August one pigeon was

---

1 Reg. Grandisson, III, 1418.
sent in, on Sunday the 25th. The local official in charge of Craswell was not mentioned.

The distant rectories received no mention in household accounts of this year save that in January 1353 a messenger was paid 12d. for carrying letters to Deddington.

For the year 1353–4 there are no household rolls, but a sergeant’s account which we have for the rectory of Wraysbury in this year throws light on both local and central management. Besides revealing administrative methods at Wraysbury, and incidentally in the neighbouring estates of the college, this account illustrates from the local standpoint the connexion between household and estate.

The official in charge at Wraysbury was still Richard Packington; this was his second year as sergeant there, for he had succeeded John Godfrey, formerly reeve, at the end of 1352. In 1353–4 Packington was also sergeant of Datchet, and although he accounted separately for each rectory, he administered them in close conjunction. For instance, when oatmeal was supplied to Windsor, the required quantity was made up from both Wraysbury and Datchet and the stewards gave Packington one tally only for it, not separate tallies for the amounts supplied from each rectory. Consequently Packington had to cite the same tally as evidence of expenditure in each of his two accounts. Where the produce of Wraysbury was insufficient for its needs, that of Datchet supplemented it; one quarter of oats, three quarters of maslin (mixed wheat and rye) and one bushel of malt were transferred from Datchet to Wraysbury during the year. Although these two estates were near enough for Packington to be able to supervise both without much difficulty, he had a deputy, Robert Hampton, to take his place at Wraysbury during his absences.

There was a similar interchange of produce between Wraysbury and the neighbouring manors of the college. When Packington needed brushwood to fence the rectory garden, he bought six cartloads of thorn from the manor of Iver. Similarly since his own crop of apples had failed completely this year, he bought a tun of cider from Iver, too. The responsible official at Iver was John atte More, the sergeant. Although in Packington’s account More was

1 Farina Auene . . . Liberatum pro expensis hospicii collegii per i tallam cum farina auene de Dacchete i qu. ii. b. (W.R., xv.53.42).
2 The two kinds of grain were sown together. Maslin (mixtillio) usually denoted a mixture of wheat and rye, dredge (dragetum) a mixture of oats and barley.
termed sergeant, this does not necessarily imply a change of official
from the bailiff of Iver of the preceding year’s household accounts.
Throughout the records examined the term bailiff was used loosely
to denote local officials other than reeves. The manor of Craswell
was managed by a reeve, Henry Frise, to whom Packington delivered
one cow with a calf from the Wraysbury stock.

At Wraysbury there were, besides the sergeant, four other paid
servants, the farm workers (*famuli*). Packington was paid a wage
of 10s. as sergeant of Wraysbury, and possibly received a similar
sum for his duties at Datchet. The farm servants, ploughman,
drover, dairymaid and swineherd, received a wage which remained
constant for the first three terms of the year but increased consider—
ably for the Michaelmas term. During the terms which ended on
Christmas Day, Lady Day and St. John the Baptist’s (Midsummer)
Day, the ploughman and drover received one shilling and the
dairymaid and swineherd 6d. each, but for the Michaelmas term
(which included the harvest) the two former were paid 4s. and the
two latter 3s. each. In addition the ploughman earned an extra
shilling for working as a carter during the harvest. These farm
servants were the permanent workers of the demesne and were
expected to turn their hands to any job that needed attention,
besides doing their specialized business. To fetch the six cartloads
of brushwood from Iver Packington had to hire five carts and ten
men, but the remaining load was carried by the cart belonging to
the demesne and was attended by two of the farm servants. The
cost of hoeing and haymaking was much lightened by the labour
of these farm servants who were able to do all the hoeing between
them, since there were few thistles in the corn this year,1 and needed
only threepennyworth of help with the haymaking. Besides their
wages the farm servants received food and gifts of money to the
value of 3d. each at Christmas and at Easter and livery of food
throughout the year. This livery consisted of chaff of corn and
maslin and salt for their pottage. Most of this was part of the
produce of the manor, but some of the mixed grain and all the salt
had to be purchased for them. One quarter of grain was due to
the ploughman every ten weeks, to the drover and to the dairymaid
every twelve weeks, and to the swineherd every fourteen weeks.
Their pottage was cooked for them by the dairymaid who also
looked after the poultry.

---

1 *De sarclicione bladi nichil hoc anno quia per famulos et quia pauci cardones
in blado hoc anno.*
Packington’s money receipts on the estate amounted to £23 9s. 7½d. Since in the preceding year his expenses had exceeded receipts he had no arrears with which to debit himself, and the sum for which he was responsible was made up in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rents of assize (fixed rents)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues of the manor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of grain</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of livestock</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perquisites of the court</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign receipts</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further sales</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most considerable item was, as might be expected, the sale of grain. Very little livestock was sold, only six geese, two yearling cattle and one old and feeble horse. Similarly in the following year few animals were sold and they were useless: one old blind horse, one pig of no value for stock and one little pig sold for fear it had the murrain. The item Further Sales (Vendiciones super compotum, literally Sales above the account) included the proceeds of sales of both grain and livestock which were transacted too late to be included in detail with the others; no particulars of these sales appeared in the money account, but they could be checked by reference to the stock accounts on the dorse of the roll. Grain and livestock together, then, brought in £16 1s. 1¾d. Rents payable in money were few: the £1 2s. 4½d. here recorded showed an increase of 3d. on the receipts of preceding years, for a curtilage had newly been leased to Geoffrey Whetebrech at 6d. a year and he had paid his first half-year’s rent at Michaelmas. Issues of the manor included payments for pasturing pigs in the lord’s wood (1s. 6½d.) and for hire of the lord’s plough for six days (4s.), sale of straw and hay (9s. 4d.) and money paid by John Godfrey, formerly reeve, for an old pan, a fork and a spade and a pair of thole-pins (1s. 1d.). Of the hay, 2s. worth had been sold to Master William Polmorva, one of the canons of Windsor. Courts had been held on 19 May and in Whit week with view of frankpledge. For details of the amercements the sergeant referred his auditors to the court roll. Packington’s foreign receipts were from the warden and canons of Windsor. He had received one sum of £3 3s. 4d., perhaps as an advance, that he might have money in hand. The remaining £1 8s. was the price of two oxen which the college had bought for
the stock of the rectory. Packington entered the money among his receipts, but balanced it with an entry on the expense side of his account of the cost of buying two oxen, £1 8s.

From the sum of his receipts, Packington's first deduction was £2 18s. 11½d. owing to him from the previous year when he had spent more than he had received. Costs of the repairs and upkeep of carts, ploughs and buildings absorbed a further £3 14s. 3½d. Mixed grain to the value of £1 10s. 4d. had been bought partly for seed and partly for livery to the farm servants, and £2 16s. 3½d. expended on buying livestock (two horses, twelve chickens, two oxen). The farm servants' wages amounted to £1 14s. Since the farm servants had done all the hoeing and most of the haymaking, costs of these, together with mowing, were only 2s. 3d. The meadow called Eldemed, containing 3 acres, was ordinarily mown by six customary tenants who received nothing from the lord for this. In the present year, however, only five turned up (possibly one of the tenements was vacant) and, since they mowed between them the whole meadow, they shared the value of the sixth work, which was 4d., and paid to them by the sergeant. The remaining meadow of La Torre (1½ acres) was mown by piece work, which cost 10d. For haymaking in Eldemed the customary tenants received ale, bread and cheese to the value of 10d. Threshing and winnowing were done by piece work at 3d. a quarter of grain for threshing and 3½d. a quarter for winnowing; the total cost was £2 3s. 10½d.

Cost of harvesting was the highest of Packington's expenses. It included the harvest dinner provided for the tenants, and wages and food for extra helpers. The bulk of the work was done by hired labour, for the rectory had but six customary tenants who owed only fifteen harvest works between them. Seven days' work was done by the farm servants and a further 107 days' labour had to be hired. The number of reapers hired was not given, but they did between them 107 days' work for 3d. a day and their food. A maker of hayricks had 5s. and his food as a wage for the whole harvesting period, 3 August to 15 September, and two collectors of the tithes of sheaves received 3s. each and their food. For the harvest dinner and the meals of all these casual workers large quantities of food were bought and more used from the stock of the rectory. Home stores furnished bread worth 9s. 9d., ale brewed from £1 5s. 2d. worth of

1 In the following year winnowing cost 1d. a quarter since the necessary wind had failed to blow (Sergeant's account of Wraysbury, 1354-5. W.R., xv.53-43).
grain, two pigs and four piglings worth 9s. 4d., five geese worth 1s. 8d., and one half of the tun of cider bought from Iver for 6s. 8d. In addition the following foodstuffs had to be purchased: two flitches of bacon, 3s. 2d.; beef and mutton, 19s.; salt fish, 3s.; herrings, 10d.; fresh fish, 10d.; cheese, 5s. 3d.; butter, 10d.; milk, 1s.; eggs, 4½d.; and more bread and ale, 2s. 3d. The bacon and fish were brought from Reading at a cost of 8d. Further harvesting expenses included the purchase of eight pairs of gloves to protect the hands of the reapers (1s. 4d.) and 7 lbs. of candles (1s. 2d.), the shoeing of two horses who drew the harvest cart (1s. 0½d.) and the hire of another cart for 5½ days while the cart belonging to the rectory was fetching foodstuffs required at Windsor (4s. 7d.). In all, Packington expended £4 3s. at harvest time, besides home produce to the value of £2 9s. 3d.

Petty expenses (Expense minute) on the demesne amounted to £1 13s. Among them were two amercements paid to the beadle of the manor of Wraysbury. One of these fines, 4d., was payable because two of the cows belonging to the rectory had strayed into the lands of the manor and pastured there. The other was more serious: the amount was 3s. 4d., and it was imposed for failure to clean out a ditch stretching along by Eldemed. If ditches became blocked all the adjacent lands suffered; fields might be water-logged and roadways impassable. Another item was parchment for the account roll, costing 4d.

All the rest of Packington’s expenditure was connected with the household. It was written under three heads: Expenses of the steward, 3s. 9½d.; Foreign expenses, 3s.; and Payment of money £6 13s. 4d. When the steward or a supervisor from Windsor visited an estate, the official in charge there provided them with the things they needed during their stay and included in his account the money value of this hospitality. They in their turn made out a bill of the foods they had consumed, which was produced as evidence by the sergeant when presenting his account. This 3s. 9½d. was vouched for by such a bill. No details were given here, but in Packington’s account for the following year he specified the foodstuffs consumed on court days. On 8 November 1354 when Roger Parker, supervisor, and Walter Nothurst, steward, came to hold court and inspect the demesne, they had 4½ gallons of ale bought at Staines for 7½d.

1 No vegetables or fruit were provided for the table, nor, indeed, with the exception of white peas and cider apples, were any grown.
When the steward came with another supervisor, John Attlee (atte Lee) on 30 April 1355 to hold court and view of frankpledge they and their retinue ate 6d. worth of bread, 10d. worth of meat, 7½d. worth of ale and one capon from stock. Under Foreign expenses were included sums not expended directly on the estate. Packington had only one, the sum of 3s., being the expenses of one cart with two carters and four horses used to fetch foodstuffs for the household at Windsor. The Wraysbury cart was used similarly in the following year to bring wood from Iver, straw from Iver and Datchet and wine from London to Windsor. Finally the sergeant accounted for money that he had paid into the treasury at Windsor. A sum of £4 13s. 4d. had been paid to Reginald of the Wardrobe, one of the canons, and Packington had a tally for it. The remaining £2 was part of the wage of the vicar of Datchet which Packington had paid on behalf of the college; actually the sum was paid to the vicar in kind,¹ 10 quarters of barley, worth 4s. a quarter, but Packington included it as a payment of money since he had entered the price of the barley among his receipts from the sale of grain.

The year’s expenses (£26 17s. 8d.) exceeded receipts by £3 8s. 9½d., but this does not, of course, indicate that the estate was being run at a loss. The money account of a manorial official bore no relation to a profit and loss account: this is evident from an examination of the items in the account. Among his receipts the accounting official included money advanced from the household and the arrears (if any) of preceding years, while his expenditure included money paid to or on behalf of the household. Supplies of produce to the household were omitted altogether from the money account. The object of the account was to show how much the accounting official ought to have in hand, or how much ought to be refunded to him that he had overspent.² At the foot of Packington’s money account, beneath the balance, was a note: Proficium huius rectorie xvii li., xi.s.vii.d.ob. This estimate of the profits of the year was probably made by the auditors, but it bears no discoverable relation to the items of the account. No amount of manipulation of the various items recorded can reveal how this sum was arrived at. However, this is not surprising, for to estimate the profits the auditors would have to take into account the value of supplies sent in to the house-

¹ Et domino Roberto Amant vicario de Dacette in partem compositionem vicarie sue predicte in precio x qu. order per litteram xi.s.
² The meaning of a manorial account has been discussed in detail by N. Denholm Young, Seignorial Administration in England, pp. 126-30.

187
hold and the value of increase of livestock, none of which was stated in this account.

Although the money value of goods supplied to the household was entered in the household accounts, no record of this was made by the sergeant in his roll. For grain or stock thus delivered the sergeant’s receipt was a tally notched to represent the quantity of wheat or the number of pigs or chickens, not their market value. Consequently no mention of household supplies appeared on the front of the account roll (that is, in the money account), but all such supplies were recorded on the dorse of the roll in the accounts of crops and livestock. Of the crops, quantities of wheat and oatmeal were sent in to Windsor, while pulse and dredge (mixed oats and barley) was consumed on the spot by pigs being fattened for the household and by the horses of the steward, the supervisors and their retinue when they came to hold court or to inspect the demesne. The amount of fodder eaten by their horses was included in the bills made by these visiting officials of the hospitality they had received. The sergeant cited such a bill as evidence of this expenditure. Besides grain, Wraysbury supplied to Windsor in the course of the year 2 sows, 16 pigs, 5 sucking pigs, 8 cockerels and 100 eggs.

What was supplied to the household was only a small part of the produce of the rectory. The sergeant recorded in his barn and stock accounts what had become of every kind of grain received and of every animal on the demesne. Besides crops grown on the demesne lands, the tithes of the parish were received into the rectory barn. Some was used as seed, some consumed by the farm servants and at harvest, some sent in to Windsor and some sold. Since wheat was supplied regularly to Windsor, only three bushels remained to be sold, but of other grains larger quantities were sold. Sales included one bushel of white peas (the whole crop), 5 quarters and 5 bushels of pulse, 42 quarters 3½ bushels of barley, 19 quarters 2 bushels 3 pecks of dredge, 7½ bushels of oats, 4 quarters 1 bushel 3 pecks of dredge malt and 2 bushels 1 peck of oatmeal. Among the receipts of livestock were two capons from William atte Ford for chevage (capilagium), a fee which entitled him though a villein to live outside the lord’s demesne, and 12 cocks paid by the customary tenants on St. Martin’s day (11 November) for cherset.1

1 Cherset or church-scot was originally a tribute of corn paid to the church on St. Martin’s Day, but the name was extended to other traditional ecclesiastical and manorial dues (see below, p. 199 and n. 1).
One pig had died of murrain this year, and the court roll was cited as evidence of this. Of the animals supplied to the college, two sows and nine pigs were for salting.

Finally the sergeant accounted for the works due from customary tenants. There were six customary tenants of the rectory who owed works of mowing, haymaking and harvesting. Each tenant owed one day of mowing and one of haymaking, but they were responsible for 15 days' harvesting between them. One tenant had to do four days' work, another three and the remaining four two days' work each. All fifteen days were spent this year in reaping and binding the crops of the demesne. For mowing the tenants received nothing, for haymaking they had bread, cheese and ale, and when harvesting they received one meal. Since the needs of the demesne far exceeded the available customary labour, none of the works due was either commuted or sold.

Richard Packington continued as sergeant of Wraysbury for eight months of the following year; the period of his account was 29 September 1354 to 11 May 1355. During this time he also managed the college estates at Datchet, Deddington and Old Windsor. The estate in Old Windsor consisted of standing fields of grain (60 acres) and meadow-land (25 acres) bought from Oliver of Bordeaux. For this, together with 6 oxen, 14 farm horses, 9 stags, 10 swans and 16 cygnets, the college paid £22 2s. in July 1355. The lands were apparently given up to the king within a few years, for in January 1359 Edward III granted them to William Trussel of Kibblestone. When Packington's account for Wraysbury was balanced in May 1355 it was found that he owed £4 3s. 9d. To this sum was added £1 15s. 2½d., which he owed from his account of Datchet, and £1 7s. 5½d. owing from his account for Deddington rectory. At Old Windsor, however, he had spent 5s. 4d. more than his receipts, and this was deducted from the sum for which he was liable, together with 6s. 8d. for his expenses when travelling on two occasions to Deddington from Windsor on the business of the college. Further allowances were made by the special grace of the chapter, one acquitting him of a receipt of 3s. 7½d. for dredge malt in his account of Wraysbury in the preceding year, and the other a condonation of £1 11s. 9½d. in consideration of his good service and the work which he had done for the college. This left a round sum of £5 still to be paid and the college allowed Packington four years
in which to discharge it at a rate of 25s. a year, payable in two equal parts on the feasts of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June) and All Souls (2 November). The first payment was not due until 24 June 1357.

Despite its distance from the other properties under Packington’s management, the rectory of Deddington was supervised personally by the sergeant. During these eight months (29 September 1354 to 11 May 1355) Packington was absent at Deddington for five weeks while Robert Hampton, his deputy, carried on at Wraysbury. Packington also made two other journeys to Deddington for which his expenses were allowed him in the balance of his Wraysbury account. Deddington shared in the interchange of produce, for capons, cocks and hens were received into Wraysbury stock from there, and on 13 October 1354 twenty pigeons from Deddington were consumed by the household at Windsor.

After Richard Packington closed his account in May 1355, the rectory of Wraysbury ceased to be administered under the control of the college, but was let out to farm to William Ashby, the vicar of Wraysbury.1 Apparently the lease was a land lease only, since all the livestock of the rectory was transferred either to Windsor or to the college’s manor of Iver before Packington closed his account. To Windsor were sent three farm horses to work the mill and draw the cart of the college and two bulls, a hog and four pigs for making salt meat, besides the usual supplies sent for the daily consumption of the household. All remaining livestock was sent to Iver, where it was received by Robert Wolward, reeve there. Together with six oxen thus delivered to Iver was sent all the equipment of the plough except the wheels. An indenture between Packington and Wolward cited in the Wraysbury account as evidence of delivery bore date 15 April. The transfer of stock must have taken place on or before this date. What grain remained in the barns was cleared out in the same way, some being given for seed to the gardener of Windsor and some sent to Datchet. From this time supplies to the household from Wraysbury must have ceased. Household rolls for the year 1354-5 record only pork received from Wraysbury after April 1355. This meat, consumed in June 1355, was probably some of that sent earlier for salting.

1 Marginal note at the foot of the barn account: *Et dimittitur vicario de Wyra-desbury qui dimittet terras in fine termini prout eas receptit.*
Besides Wraysbury, Uttoxeter and Deddington were let out to farm in this year. In February John Attlee, chaplain of the college, attended by two servants and a groom (pagus), travelled to Uttoxeter to negotiate a lease to farm. His arrangements were completed in the following May when he visited Uttoxeter again, returning with the prospective lessees, Thomas and Henry Tapley, to London where a statute-merchant was drawn up between them and sealed. This document was a bond which gave the college the right to re-enter and seize the rectory if the lessees failed to pay their farm at the appointed time. Meanwhile it appears that a lease of Deddington was being arranged. In January, Attlee had accompanied Robert Spenser, one of the canons, to Deddington to sell the crops of the rectory. An extensive sale like this suggests that a change in administration was anticipated; at least the rectory was no longer to be managed from Windsor. Attlee made another journey there in May to collect a sum of £20. Perhaps this was the proceeds of the sale negotiated in January, but it may have been the first payment of rent by a farmer of the rectory. This seems possible since various repairs to the rectory buildings were done by William Hayley who presented a schedule of particulars of the work to the college in July. One-half of what he had expended was refunded to him, £4 15s. 3d., but the other half apparently he supported himself. This is understandable if Hayley was the farmer of the rectory. The first farmer of Deddington to be named as such in the accounts occurs in the treasurer's roll of 1366–7; his name was William Hayley. This evidence is separated by more than ten years from the year with which we are dealing, 1355, but since Hayley continued to farm Deddington for a further ten years, until at least 1377, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that he entered upon his tenancy in 1355. William Ashby, vicar of Wraysbury, held the lease of Wraysbury for almost as long a term, from 1355 to 1370.

Thomas Tapley, who began to farm Uttoxeter in 1355, was apparently still in possession in September 1378 when St. George's Chapel was visited by the chancellor. It was then found that Uttoxeter had been given over to farm for longer than five years and, it was said, for Tapley's life. Although he was a layman, Thomas lived in the manse, together with his wife, children and household, in contravention of canon law and to the detriment of the dignity of the church. The chancellor's reproof is singular since, according to the treasurers' accounts, Uttoxeter had been farmed
from 1361–8 to John Harpedale and from 1370–2 to John Newbury, while between 1375 and 1378 the vicar of Uttoxeter had held the lease. A possible explanation is that the rectory had been farmed to a group of men, of whom Tapley had always been one, although others of the group had actually handed over the rent and thus been named by the treasurers in their account rolls. If Tapley occupied the manse it is easy to see why the chancellor singled him out in his complaint.

Datchet continued to send supplies to Windsor up to 1 July 1355. The latest of the surviving household rolls was for the following month, August, during which nothing was received either from Datchet or from the dependent chapel of Fulmer. It may have been purely accidental that no supplies were taken from Datchet in this month; on the other hand it may indicate a change of administration. During August, all the wheat used at Windsor had to be purchased. In the preceding months wheat had been sent in regularly from Datchet, and if the barns at Datchet still contained any, doubtless it would have been sent in as before, unless Datchet were at farm. This evidence is far from conclusive since it applies equally to the manor of Iver which had shared with Datchet in supplying wheat since Wraysbury had been put out to farm. Nevertheless, Datchet sent in its last consignment of wheat to Windsor (fifteen bushels) on 1 July. Iver continued to supply the household with wheat throughout July and with other commodities all through August as well, but of Datchet no further mention was made in the household records after 1 July. It is possible that Datchet, like Wraysbury and Deddington, was first farmed out in 1355. At any rate it is certain that by 1361 this rectory, like all the others, was at farm.

The household rolls cover ten of the twelve months between Michaelmas 1354 and Michaelmas 1355. They reveal a contrast between supplies from the estates in the first and last of the rolls. In October 1354 produce came in from Wraysbury, Datchet, Iver, Craswell and Deddington: from Wraysbury five quarters of wheat, twenty-three geese and seven little pigs; from Datchet four quarters of wheat and fifteen pigeons; from Iver one quarter of wheat and four little pigs; from Craswell one sheep, eight geese and twenty-seven pigeons; from Deddington twenty pigeons. In the following month the diet of the college was further varied by the addition of rabbits from Iver, chickens from Datchet and capons from Datchet.
and Wraysbury. By August 1355, however, only two estates were sending in produce, Iver and Craswell, which between them supplied six sheep, three geese, three capons and forty pigeons. These two estates remained in the hands of the college, although no longer supplying the household, until 1415 when Craswell in its turn was put out to farm, leaving only the manor of Iver under central control.

(b) **After 1361 (Iver and Craswell)**

On the two manors which alone of the estates were not at farm by 1361, administration continued as before by bailiff and reeve under the supervision of officials from Windsor. In central accounts notices of the manors were brief and confined to money received, occasional expenditure on stock, and the annual audit. Some further evidence is provided by local account rolls, of which there are two for Craswell (1367–8 and 1379–80) and one for Iver (1381–2) and by court rolls of Iver. Administrative methods as revealed by these records were traditional: labour services rarely defaulted although this period immediately followed the years of plague 1348–61. For the present the warden and canons of Windsor found it sufficiently profitable to keep the manors in their own hands.

At the head of the administrative hierarchy was the warden of Windsor, lord of the manors in the right of the college. In court rolls, reference to the “lord” or to the “lords” of the manor was equally frequent, the singular term presumably denoting the warden and the plural the whole college of Windsor. Although the responsibility both of supervision and of holding court was delegated to the steward, the proximity of Iver and Craswell to Windsor made it possible for the warden to appear occasionally in person on the manors. For instance, William Mudge came with the steward to hold court at Craswell on 19 January 1368 when the reeve, John Athewolf, was removed from office and John Coterele put in his place. On 18 January 1369 when John Hunt of Iver took up a new holding, the usual entry-fine was remitted to him, William Mudge and the steward, Adam Hartington, being present. Again,

1 W.R., xv.61. 28, 29; xv.53.65.
2 Rolls of 50 courts of dates between 1360 and 1408, now rolled in 17 bundles as follows: W.R., xv.55.7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Those of 1372-3 (W.R., xv.55.13) have been rendered largely illegible through damp. These records were used extensively by Mr. W. H. Ward in Chapter III of *A History of the Manor and Parish of Iver*, by W. H. Ward and K. S. Black.
3 Reeve of Craswell’s account, W.R., xv.61.28.
4 Court roll of Iver, W.R., xv.55.11.
when a difficult plea came before the steward in court at Iver on 26 September 1370, it was postponed until the coming of the lord warden. John Meneville, who held two virgates of land at Iver by military service (one-twentieth part of a knight’s fee) did homage and swore fealty to William Mudge personally in July 1369, but at Uxbridge. In 1369–70 occurred an instance of the warden’s receiving money directly from a manorial official. He collected £11 10s., the proceeds of sales of corn, from the reeve of Iver. Although Mudge kept this sum, in part payment of his salary, the steward accounted for it, entering the transaction in his accounts as if he himself had received the money and paid it to the warden. One of the four wardens of Windsor in this period, Thomas Butler, must have had particular contact with the manors, since he held the office of steward (and also of treasurer) while warden in 1393–4.

Questions of particular importance or difficulty arising in the manor court were reserved by the steward for the attention of the warden and his advisors. Before 1400, when a plea was thus delayed for consultation the phrase used was Adhuc dominus vult consulti, or Et ideo consulendum est cum dominis, as in September 1390 when advice was sought concerning Thomas Palmer of Iver who had refused to do his customary services and had threatened the beadle when he came to distrain upon his goods. Possibly the advisory committee at this time was the chapter of Windsor, but after 1400 it appears that the warden had a council to consult in such matters. Two items were referred to the lord from four successive courts in 1408. One of them concerned rent: Thomas Thorne held a tenement and a virgate of land besides 12 acres of meadow on the banks of the river, but he paid no rent at all. The other was a case of long standing and concerned three villeins who, after claiming in vain to be of free status, had left the demesne of Iver and continued to live outside it without licence. Now, however, the consultation

1 Et super hac parte partes habent diem usque adventum domini custodis (Court roll of Iver, W.R., xv.55.12). The dispute concerned land claimed in dower by the widow of the late holder. The present holder’s defence was that since he had received the land directly from the lord of the manor, he owed her no part of it.

2 Ibid., xv.55.11 (Court held 24 July 1369). Meneville’s holdings were set out in the court roll of 16 May 1370, after his death without heirs (ibid., xv.55.12). Besides these two virgates he held 1½ virgates of land by service of 1 lb. of cummin, and 5 acres by 1 lb. of pepper. Receipt of the cummin and pepper for these lands was recorded in the bailiff’s account of 1381–2 (W.R., xv.53.63).

3 Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.1.

4 Court roll, W.R., xv.55.18.
was to be *cum domino et concilio suo.* There is very little information available about this council. Mention of it is confined to court rolls, of which those for the year 1408 are the last which have survived before 1493. It is, of course, possible that the chapter constituted the warden’s council, but perhaps more probable that a body consisting of, say, the steward, the steward of the courts and some laymen skilled in law (perhaps the chapter’s attorneys in the central courts) acted as advisory council to the chapter.  

Before 1361 the steward had been assisted in his manorial duties by one or more of his fellow-canons who were appointed supervisors by the chapter. The office of supervisor or visitor of the manors was statutory, and refusal to hold it was punishable by a fine as heavy as that imposed for refusal to act as treasurer, steward or precentor. From at least 1367, however, the steward had a permanent helper, the steward of the courts, who seems to have replaced the canon-supervisors. This steward was a layman, often one of the free tenants of Iver, and was retained for an annual fee. His business was confined to the courts; in economic matters he had no authority and was never cited by bailiff or reeve as warrant for their actions or expenditure as they frequently cited the steward of the college.

Although the steward of the college exercised a general supervision over every aspect of manorial management, economic duties were left mainly to local officials resident on the manors. At Iver the administrative official was either the bailiff or the reeve. Until 1377 the reeve was responsible for managing the manor; the bailiff was rather a shadowy figure with uncertain functions. He was mentioned only twice in the records. The earlier of these references occurs in the roll of view of frankpledge held on 19 May 1362, when the chief pledges presented that the bailiff had closed a certain lane called Renetteslane, a public right of way, by means of a stile which he was ordered to remove. In the treasurer’s roll of Michaelmas 1367 to 31 May 1368 the bailiff was mentioned again, this time by

---

1 Court rolls, W.R., xv. 55. 22, 23, 24.
2 Such a council would be comparable with those which advised the abbot of Crowland and the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, on similar matters. At Crowland, too, the council became particularly active in the first half of the fifteenth century (F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey*, pp. 45-49; R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory*, pp. 73, 76, 80-81).
3 Statutes, no. 47. The fine was loss of prebend for two years and of quotidiens for two months.
name; he was Richard Packington, formerly sergeant of Wraysbury, Datchet, Deddington and Old Windsor. Packington was a tenant of Iver, but was frequently employed by the chapter of Windsor as a responsible messenger about their business. Consequently he could not have been permanently resident on the demesne, and the working of the manor was left to the reeve. There was a change of practice when in 1377 William atte Forde, another tenant of Iver, became bailiff. He was a resident official and took over the whole management of the manor until 1395 without the help of a reeve. After his retirement from office in 1395, the administration was once more assumed by a succession of reeves. There was, however, at least in 1400, a bailiff as well, but he remained in the background. The transfer of a tenement in a court held on 11 June 1400 was witnessed by him.²

Craswell was always administered by reeves. It was a small manor and perhaps for that reason did not warrant a bailiff with his high salary. The reeves held office for long periods. From at least 1362 to 1375 (save for an interval of four months from Michaelmas 1367 to 19 January 1368) John Coterel was reeve there. His successor, Ralph Chese, continued in office from 1375 to 1396, when Simon Coterel followed him and remained in charge until the manor was put out to farm in 1415.

In addition to the usual revenues, such as had been received on the Wraysbury estate, from assized rent, sale of crops and stock, small issues and profits of the court, these two manors received income from two other sources, from sheep-farming and from farming out parts of the demesne and its stock. Since we have no earlier local accounts with which to compare those for the period after 1361, it is not possible to see whether or not these revenues were the result of new financial expedients after the plague. Existing records show, however, that few holdings on these manors remained vacant for long and that customary works, with few exceptions, were performed in full. In part this was probably due to the efficiency of the college’s administrative methods, but also suggests that shortage of labour and tenantless holdings, caused wherever the Black Death came, were not lasting here. It is probable that sheep had long been kept on both manors, and certainly the leasing of appurtenances of the demesne (especially of mills and of cows) was widespread before the plague.

¹ W.R., xv.34.5. Among receipts from Iver was 30s. delivered by Richard Packington, bailiff of the liberty.
² W.R., xv.55.21.
Already by 1353-4 there were sheep at Iver and Craswell, for mutton was supplied from them to the household then. During three bad years of cattle disease, 1364-7, among livestock lost were 115 sheep at Iver and 47 sheep at Craswell.\(^1\) Probably heavy losses continued through the next four years, since in 1371 it was necessary to take £60 from the college's reserve fund to buy sheep. The two reeves, John Hunt of Iver and John Coterel of Craswell, were entrusted with selecting the animals and making the purchase. Hunt bought 281 sheep at £33 7s. 5d. and Coterel bought 241 at £28 10s. The high price paid for them (roughly 2s. 4\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. a head when an average price was about 1s. 8\(\frac{3}{4}\)d.) is an indication of the scarcity; no doubt mortality among sheep had been serious in the district. A valor of Craswell drawn up at some date subsequent to the years of plague\(^3\) recorded that the manor contained common pasture sufficient for 500 sheep. In September 1367, despite the loss of 47 sheep in the preceding years, the lord's flock there numbered 290, but by the end of the financial year had decreased to 236 since 30 had been sold, 2 killed for food and another 22 had died of murrain. Although a further 241 sheep were bought in 1371, by October 1379 the flock numbered only 77, and in the following September, despite the addition of 22 new-born lambs, the number had risen only to 86, for nine of the older animals had died of murrain, while two of the lambs were sold and two given up for tithe. At Iver, too, the murrain took a regular toll of sheep, mortui in morina non ob defectu male custodie alicui set ex infortunio as the stock-inspectors (cadaveratores) of the manor regularly testified, but the flock there was still of fair size in 1381-2; probably it was much bigger to begin with than that of Craswell. There were 207 sheep in October 1381, of which 17 died of disease during the year and 27 were sold. Of 56 new-born lambs four went in tithe, the shepherd had one and three were sold. One ewe, a heriot, brought the numbers up to 212 at the end of the year.

Each year after shearing the steward took charge of the fleeces, sometimes selling them at once and sometimes keeping them back in order to find a better market later. For instance, in 1371-2, the

---

1 Memorandum of stock lost, W.R., xv.53.64. m.2.
2 See above, p. 141, n. 5.
3 Arundel White Book, W.R., iv.B.1, f. 62. This book was drawn up during John Arundel's wardenship, 1419-52, but the valor copied here was probably of earlier date. It contains a reference to the "pestilence".
year after new flocks had been purchased for both manors, the steward sold wool from Craswell for £10 18s. 3d., but accounted for only £4 10s. for wool from Iver.¹ Since Iver had the bigger flock, a good proportion of the wool must have been kept in store. At Craswell in 1367–8 276 sheep were shorn. One of the fleeces was given, according to custom, to the shepherd and 27½ to the rectory of Bray in tithe. The remaining 247½ were delivered to Edmund Clowville, then steward, to sell. By 1379–80, when the number of sheep had so notably decreased, there were only seventy-one sheep and twenty lambs for shearing. Tithe was taken only of the sheep’s fleeces (seven) since two of the lambs had already been taken before shearing, and all the remainder were sold. At Iver in 1381–2 197 sheep and eighty-nine lambs were shorn. Tithe and the shepherd’s due accounted for twenty of the sheep’s fleeces, leaving 177, to which were added 176 kept back from the preceding year. These 353 fleeces weighed 57 stone and were sold by Richard Postell, the steward, for £5 4s. 6d. The eighty-nine lambs’ fleeces fetched only 5s. Sheep who died of murrain were not a complete loss, for if they had died before shearing their woolfells could be sold, usually for 2d. each, and if they had been shorn first their wool was sold in the usual way and their skins fetched rd. besides.

Appurtenances of the demesne which were let out to farm at Craswell included Bray mill with the adjoining fishery, the pigeon-house, the warren, and the dairy herd with poultry. From 1363–8 the lease of Bray mill (a water-mill) was held by William Bidecok. In the last year of his term, 1367–8, Bidecok paid rent only for three quarters of the year, £3; during the last quarter, 24 June to 29 September, no rent could be demanded because the mill lay idle owing to its ruinous condition. To rebuild the mill, the dean and canons withdrew a sum of £20 from the reserve fund in the aerary, and building works were completed in 1370. Ten years later the college expended a further £4 7s. 0½d. on the new construction of the lock by the mill. The mill was then at farm to John Windsor at £3 6s. 8d. a year, and his term of five years had two more years to run. In both the years for which reeves’ accounts have survived, the pigeon-house at Craswell was at farm to a canon of Windsor, in 1367–8 to John Loring for 12s. a year, and in 1379–80 to Richard Raunds for 6s. 8d. Raunds took up a five-year lease of the pigeons in 1379, and since the house was in a bad state of repair his first

¹ Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.r.
year's rent was remitted to him to compensate for his initial outlay upon it. The warren was not farmed out in 1367–8, but it brought in no revenue since no rabbits were caught there that year. By 1379 it was at farm to Edmund Cloville, then steward of Windsor, who paid 3s. 4d. for it. Cows and hens were farmed out at so much a head. In 1367–8 John Athewolf (reeve from Michaëlmas 1367 to 19 January 1368) was the farmer; he paid 5s. a head for the herd of twenty-two cows (with calves) and 6d. a head for the sixteen hens, a total of £5 18s. In 1379–80 the farmer was again the reeve, Ralph Chese, who paid 3s. 4d. a head for twenty-nine cows and 6d. a head for sixteen hens, a sum of £4 18s. in all. Part of this outlay came back to the farmer of the dairy in wage, for he was paid an annual fee of 6s. 8d. A regular supply of poultry came into the demesne each year on St. Martin's Day (11 November) when some of the customary tenants owed a poultry-rent. A married man had to give a cock and a hen, a widow a hen; an unmarried man appears to have given a cock. This brought in between fifty and sixty cocks and hens each year, for the rent was due from twenty-eight holdings, but most of them were sold.

At Iver, the mills, fisheries, cows and poultry were similarly farmed out. Of the three mills (at Iver, Thorney and Huntsmoor), one was leased by Walter Wygeyn from at least 1362 to 1382 at a rent of £5 a year. For a term of five years, 1377–82, and possibly longer, Wygeyn farmed two of the mills (both water-mills), with their fisheries, at £10 a year. In 1362 and 1369 he was fined for taking excessive toll at the mills. By 1397 the miller was John Hunt who was punished for a similar offence. A fishery on the Colne was let to John Hunt for his life at a rent of 5s. a year; he paid an entry-fine of 5s. on taking up the lease in September 1361. Apparently Hunt did not offer his fish for sale in the required way, for in July 1387 he had to bring two supporters to guarantee that he would in future carry all his catch from this fishery to the cross in the township of Iver and there sell it between the seventh and the

---

1 This rent, like the similar one at Wraysbury (see above, p. 188 and n.), grew out of the due called cherset or church-scot, originally a tribute of corn and payable to the parish priest.
2 These mills were mentioned in Domesday Book and survived until modern times. Iver and Huntsmoor mills were burnt down in 1850 and 1865 respectively, and Thorney mill lasted until 1923 (Ward and Block, A History of Iver, p. 14).
3 Bailiff's account of Iver, W.R., xv.55.65.
4 Court rolls, W.R., xv.55.9, 11 (May 1362 and April 1369).
5 Ibid., xv. 55. 20 (May 1397).
6 Ibid., xv.55.8.
eighth hour, under penalty of a fine of 6s. 8d.¹ The lord’s herd of thirty cows was farmed to Simon Leef in 1369 for three years. The rent required was 5s. 6d. a head and, in addition, Simon was to give to the college of Windsor four calves or the price he had received for the four best calves sold. By 1381–2 the herd was reduced to twenty and the rent to 5s. a head and two calves annually. When in 1369 the cows were let to Simon Leef, he began also to farm the poultry, twelve geese and two ganders at 12d. each a year, and twenty hens and three cocks at 6d. each. The dairy farmer received an annual wage of 7s. Poultry rents were due at Iver as at Craswell, but from only five cottage holdings. Since from 1364 these cottages were held at a money rent, this custom of poultry ceased to come in.

Besides the mills, fisheries and dairy, plots of demesne land were farmed out at Iver. In 1372 two such plots were leased out, both for a term of 100 years. One was a field called Thorney Ruding, containing sixty-three acres of arable, which was let at 12d. an acre to Richard Packington, William Lorimer and William by the Wood. The other plot, consisting of a pasture of eight acres called Black Thorn and a meadow of three acres called Cowenmede, was let to Richard Packington for 10s. a year.² A further plot of one acre was let to Robert Dormene at 8d. a year for a term of five years, 1377-82.³

Some customary holdings, left in the lord’s hand for lack of a tenant who would take them on the old terms, were also let for a money rent instead of the usual services. They were not numerous on these manors. At Craswell there were four; two tenements, one with six acres of land formerly Michael Bodrynghale’s and the other with twelve acres formerly Mark Coterel’s, and two cottages, each with a curtilage, which had previously belonged to Doyly and Isabella Lutte. Letting customary holdings for money rent was in practice a commutation of works. In the case of Bodrynghale’s and Coterel’s this was regarded as a temporary expedient only (although it dated from 1360), consequently the rents received from them were entered by the reeve in his accounts (1367–8 and 1379–80) as “farms”, that is, under the titulus Firme. With regard to Doyly’s and Lutte’s, however, the change was considered permanent enough for the rent to figure in the accounts not as a “farm” but as a fixed rent in the “assized rent” item,⁴ distinguished from the rents

¹ Court Roll, W.R., xv.55.17.
² Both these leases were copied into the Arundel White Book, W.R., IV.B.1, f. 15v.
³ Bailiff’s account, W.R., xv.53.65.
anciently due by the name “new rent”. The customary works formerly owed from these cottages were of course not due, but the reeve continued to enter them in his account of works as “allowances” or “defaults”, like those from the holdings at farm. Doyly’s and Lutte’s, being cottage holdings, had owed only boon-works (precaria), but Bodrynhale’s and Coterel’s owed every kind of customary work due on the manor.

Ploughing works, each of half an acre, were due from only two holdings, Mark Coterel’s and Ralph Chese’s. Mark Coterel’s of course defaulted and from 1375 to 1396 when Ralph Chese was reeve, his was forgiven him because of his office. Of hoeing works, owed from fifteen holdings, two defaulted (Bodrynhale’s and Coterel’s) and one was allowed to the reeve. The demesne meadows called le Hamme and le Cozen were to be mown by nine customary tenants receiving food worth 12d. from the lord. In 1367-8 this 12d. was spent on cheese 3½d., salt ¾d. and mutton 8d. Since Bodrynhale’s and Coterel’s should have supplied two of the mowers, two workers had to be hired to replace them at 5d. for each meadow, costing the lord 1s. 8d. in all. Haymaking in these meadows was the obligation of eighteen holdings; again two workers had to be hired to replace Bodrynhale and Coterel, this time at 2d. each, 4d. in all. Nine customary tenants owed ten days’ work each in summer, on Mondays and Fridays (except feast days) between 24 June and 1 August. The reeve’s allowance and Bodrynhale’s and Coterel’s defaults accounted for thirty of these ninety works. In 1380, since St. Peter ad Vincula fell on a Friday, the six other tenants were forgiven one day’s work. The remainder of these summer works were used in hoeing and mowing three demesne meadows, Fiveacres, Chalfgarston and Briggemed. At harvest these nine tenants owed 225 days’ work between them. Bodrynhale’s owed twenty-five and Coterel’s fifty. The works were due on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays between the Gule of August and Michaelmas, excepting feast days. In 1380 the tenants were particularly fortunate for five feasts (St. Lawrence, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, St. Bartholomew, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and St. Matthew) fell on work days. Harvest works were used in reaping and binding, four works to the acre. Further harvest service, called bedrip because it involved liability to reap at the lord’s bidding, was due from sixteen holdings, of which fifteen (Bodrynhale’s and Coterel’s

1 August. The etymology of this term is obscure (O.E.D.).
among them) owed three days each and the other two, a total of forty-seven. In addition, one boon-work was due from every holding, from the tenants who had performed other works and from the cottars as well. The workers were rewarded with ale. Of the full total of forty-five boon-works only forty were done, for Bodryng-hale’s, Coterel’s, Doyly’s and Lutte’s were each responsible for one default, and one was allowed to the reeve.

The farm servants of the manor did between them most of the agricultural work not covered by labour services. For instance in seven demesne meadows, Fiveacres, Chalfgarston, Briggemed, Cornesmead, Highmed, le Sterte and Brembulfur, they did all the haymaking with hired help costing 1s. 6d., which, at 2d. a day, meant the equivalent of one hired helper for nine days. There were at Craswell eight farm servants, a carter, four ploughmen, a shepherd, a swineherd and the dairy farmer. The swineherd’s wage was 3s. for the year and the dairy farmer’s 6s. 8d., but the others received a quarterly wage which was higher in the last term of the year when their work was heavier. In the first three terms they were paid 1s. each, but for the Michaelmas term their wage was 4s. In addition they all received the usual gifts of food and money at Christmas and Easter (to the value of 2d. each at each feast), and regular liveries of grain. In 1379-80 no salt was bought for them “because they had oats for their pottage”.

Craswell was a dependent manor of the royal manor of Bray to which it and some of its tenants owed dues. Each year at Michaelmas a rent of 18s. 4d. had to be paid to Bray, besides a further 12s. for the water-mill, and 6s. 11½d. to the bailiff of the liberty for a new purpresture or encroachment on the waste land. While Mark Coterel’s tenement was in the lord’s hand a cock and a hen was paid to the manor of Bray annually from Craswell for it. To the court of the manor of Bray the lord of Craswell had to pay fines when his ministers neglected obligations such as keeping ditches clear.

At Iver, four customary holdings remained in the lord’s hands from at least 1360. In 1381–2 two of them were at fixed rent and two at farm. Those included in “assized rents” were a toft formerly John atte Donne’s and a toft with two acres of land formerly Gilbert Norman’s. Those at farm were two tofts formerly Bartholomew Coket’s and Thomas Staunford’s. Although the new tenants of Donne’s and Norman’s were stated to hold the tenements in villeinage (native), their money rent replaced labour services. Nevertheless
the bailiff in his account of services included works due from them as "quitted" or "allowed" just as he did those from the beadle and collectors of rents whose works were remitted to them in that year because of their office. This is interesting in two ways. It shows that a permanent commutation of labour services for money in those holdings had been effected, since the works were not exacted although the lands were still held in villeinage. Secondly, it shows that the bailiff continued to account for the same number of works as before, stating a traditional total now not even due in theory, and explaining in each instance that the work was not performed because the tenement was now at money rent. Works due from holdings now at farm were still entered as "defaults".

Since Iver was a bigger manor than Craswell, services due were correspondingly more numerous. Here there was a surplus not always needed for the cultivation of the demesne which, when found to be superfluous, was "sold" to the villeins who owed it, that is, the lord accepted a sum of money instead of the labour due. Money received thus figured in the bailiff's account as "sale of works". This item in the account recorded the temporary sale of works not needed in that particular year, but was not in theory a commutation of works; it was a convenience both for the lord, who had more use in that year for the money, and for the villein who could use his labour on his own holding.

From every virgate in the township five works were due each week, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Besides these week-works, services were due at the usual busy seasons of the agricultural year for winter and spring ploughing, for hoeing, mowing, haymaking and carting, for reaping, binding and threshing. Most of the threshing was done by paid labour (as it was at Craswell), with the help of the farm servants, but 124 of the week-works were also used in threshing in 1381/2. Of the total of 2197 days of week-work due, 831 were sold. Among other sales were ploughing, carting and binding services, for this work was done by the permanent staff of the manor, the farm servants.

Labour services were occasionally withheld without licence. The earliest surviving roll of court held by the college of St. George at Iver, of 15 October 1360, contains an example of this. Robert Somerset had failed to do two hoeing services and had wilfully withheld a day's harvesting from the lord. Another villein had not done a day's hoeing, and both he and Somerset were to be dis-
In 1369 the lord’s harvest was largely destroyed owing to the defection of customary services. Nineteen villeins had not come to reap corn on the demesne but had gone off to reap elsewhere while the lord’s corn was ruined in the field. Another villein, Robert Wulward, had absented himself for three days when he should have been reaping barley, with the result that part of the lord’s crop had been lost. Yet another, Thomas Roos, was to forfeit his land and holding because he had refused to reap the lord’s corn. In 1390 Thomas Palmer would not do his labour services and threatened the beadle who was charged to distrain upon his goods.

Besides these few instances of dislike for labour services, which in 1369 at least was probably due to the pressing necessity of reaping the villeins’ own harvest before they lost it, there are some traces in the records of attempts of villeins to secure personal freedom. It had long been possible for a villein to secure permission to live outside the manor if he paid chevage, a fee usually of 5s. a year and two capons on Hock Day (the second Tuesday after Easter). At Craswell there were two chevage-paying villeins, John Coterel who lived at Henton and paid in 1367–8 and 1379–80, and Adam Loveloek who paid in 1367–8. At Iver John Welsh was required to pay a lump sum of £10 for chevage; he paid £5 of it in 1367–8. These villeins were bound still to come to View of frankpledge, for payment of chevage did not give free status. For a fee, the lord would relax the obligation of attending court also, as in the case of William Norgent by North Wood who paid 4d. on 11 May 1362 pro secta curie et lete relaxanda until the following Michaelmas. There are some examples of desperate measures to gain freedom. In 1370 the whole body of villeins was ordered to produce William Gape at the next court because he had fled from the demesne with his goods and chattels. In 1374 there were three more fugitives, among whom was John, son of Robert Wulward who had been reeve of Iver in 1354–5 and 1362–3. Of the three, John Wulward had the most to lose, for he left behind him his wife Joan, a son John, lands sown with grain, some malt, a young ox and 5s. in money. His possessions were valued at 13s. 10d. By December 1373 Gilbert Norgent had joined the runaways.

1 Court roll, W.R., xv.55.7.  
2 Ibid., xv.55.11.  
3 Ibid., xv.55.18.  
4 Reeves’ accounts, Craswell, W.R., xv.61.28, 29.  
5 Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.5.  
6 Court roll, Iver, W.R., xv.55.9.  
7 Court roll, Iver, W.R., xv.55.12.  
8 Ibid., xv.55.7 (10 August 1374).
William Gape, together with his brothers Peter and Guy, claimed to be of free status. This claim was respited from court to court until 1374. There is a gap in the rolls from 1374–84, but by 1384 Guy had joined William outside the manor and Peter was to forfeit all his possessions and lands because he had failed to produce his brothers in court to answer for their flight. The bailiff was to arrest the fugitives and bring them to the next court. Peter's forfeiture was postponed until a decision was reached concerning their status. At last in December 1388 it was found "by ancient rolls and other evidences" that the Gapes were villeins of the lord.¹ Apparently Peter accepted the decision, but William and Guy never returned. Another villein to claim free status was John Hunt, senior, who was summoned to state his case in court throughout 1385 and 1386. From 1387 to 1390 his brother was held responsible for bringing him to court to show why he considered himself free,² but in 1408 John Hunt, like William and Guy Gape, was still living with impunity outside the demesne and the advice of the lord's council was to be sought on the matter.³ Less fortunate were two villeins, Henry and William Welsh, who disclaimed their villeinage and remained on the manor. All their lands and goods were seized and they themselves were put into the stocks. Under this treatment their illusion of free status soon vanished and the miserable pair presented themselves at the next court ready to swear themselves villeins.⁴

Although the performance of villein services was essential at some seasons of the year, particularly at harvest, the steady work of the demesne did not depend upon customary labour. It has already been shown that the lord was willing to accept money in place of services which could more easily be done by his farm servants. Since the servants at Iver included two carters and six ploughmen, besides a warrenner, a shepherd, a swineherd and the dairy-farmer, it is easy to see that ploughing and carting services might readily be commuted for money. At harvest-time, too, the farm servants were particularly useful. In 1381–2 besides doing all the binding into sheaves and making of hay-cocks they furnished from their number one who acted as repereeve without extra pay and another who made the hay-ricks. At a court held in December 1370 an order was given to the farm servants that they were to sleep each night

¹ Court roll, Iver, W.R., xv.55.17.
² Ibid., xv.55.17, 18.
³ Ibid., xv.55.22, 23, 24.
⁴ Ibid., xv.55.7
in the manor with the animals in order to keep them safe.¹ The warrenner received a wage of 8s. a year and, from at least 1385, an annual livery from the college of Windsor similar to that given to the reeves of Iver and of Craswell. The dairy farmer had 6s. a year, but the other ten received, like the farm servants of Craswell, one shilling each for the first three terms and 4s. for the last term of the year, a total annual wage of 7s. They had, of course, the usual Christmas and Easter gifts, liveries of grain, and salt and oatmeal for their pottage. In 1381–2 the grinding of oats into meal for the farm servants cost nothing since it was done at the mill for toll.²

According to the auditors’ estimates at the foot of local account rolls, Craswell was worth £29 1s. 1d. in 1367–8 and £23 3s. 1d. in 1379–80; Iver was worth £77 in 1381.¹ A document which gives a list of the average values of the properties of the college in Edward III’s reign has £20 for Craswell and £67 3s. 6d. for Iver, and two later lists, of 1382–3 and 1410–11, give £20 13s. 4d. and £19 respectively for Craswell and £70 12s. 7d. and £75 6s. 10d. for Iver.³ In view of these values, it is apparent that the college lost nothing financially by letting the manors out to farm. Craswell, farmed to Thomas Bowyer of Bray from 1415, brought in a rent of £21 a year. Iver was kept under central management for a little longer, but at some date between 1417 and 1422 it, too, was farmed out, at a rent of £80 a year.

The history of the estates of the college of Windsor in this period, 1348–1416, presents some useful material for comparison with general economic tendencies of the time. It was an age of manorial disintegration; the heyday of the great estate was over. For the most part lords of estates had become mere rent-receivers, leaving the actual exploitation of the land to tenant-farmers.

Since the college was an undying corporation, with fair resources and an efficient administrative system, it is not surprising that it was slow in following altogether the general trend. The initial attempt at direct management of neighbouring rectories may be considered as a temporary measure, perhaps to secure some supplies for the common table while that existed, but after all the rectories were at farm the college continued well into the fifteenth century

¹ W.R., xv.55, 12. ² Bailiff’s Account, W.R., xv.53, 65.
³ See above, p. 28.
the direct exploitation of two manors geographically near enough to be readily accessible from Windsor. On these manors the records show no evidence of the dissolution of the bond between lord and villein: rather the exaction of labour services is shown to be dependent, as Professor Postan has demonstrated upon the needs and size of the demesne. At Craswell, where all the available labour could be used and workers had to be hired if services defaulted, there was no commutation. At Iver, where there was a surplus of labour dues and the leasing out of seventy-five acres of demesne land reduced the amount of labour required by the lord, some works were sold. Court rolls show that the college was firm in resisting and punishing the attempts of villeins to evade their customary services.

By the second decade of the fifteenth century the advantages of farming out every one of their estates had become apparent to the dean and chapter. With a satisfactory lessee (and every precaution was taken to ensure that tenant-farmers would pay their rents), the difficulties of estate management would no longer affect them and a steady income be assured. The canons of Windsor, like other landlords, became receivers of rent and broke their direct connexion with the last of their estates.

2. Local Officials

A. VISITING OFFICIALS

(a) STEWARD (LOCAL ACTIVITIES)

Some account of the general functions of the steward of Windsor has already been given showing the nature of his responsibility for the revenues of the college, and that much of his time was occupied in travelling both on business connected with the estates and on other affairs of the chapter. This section deals with one aspect of the steward's office, his activity with regard to estates under central management and his own immediate supervision. In this connexion the steward's duties were legal and economic in every respect as well as financial. Besides being responsible for collecting the income of the manors and delivering it to the treasurer, the steward presided at the college's courts and supervised bailiff and reeves, guiding them by his instructions to manage the estates to the best advantage.

2 See above, pp. 70-80, 277.
Manorial revenues for the most part were received by bailiff or reeve, collected by the steward, and passed on to the treasurer. This three-cornered transaction was in some instances simplified in practice, though not in theory. The steward might receive certain manorial issues without the reeve as intermediary, or the reeve might deliver money directly to the treasurer. Although the wording of entries in the accounts reveals what actually took place, all three officials were still accountable for the money which had thus jumped one step of its way, as if it had passed from one to the other as usual. In the treasurers’ accounts, money which had come in the ordinary way through reeve and steward to the treasurer was entered without mention of its source save occasionally for the general phrase de eexitibus. Where sums of money were entered separately, with an explanation of their provenance (such as de lana vendita or pro porcis venditis), this seems to indicate that they had been received in some other way. For instance, in the treasurer’s account of 1366-7 receipts from the manor of Craswell were entered in three items:

Crassewelle De Johanne Coterele juniores preposito per i talliam in Braye. mense Februearii anno xlii mo viii li. De eodem Johanne per manus domini Edmundi [senescal] de lana vendita ix li.iiis.iiiid. De eodem preposito per manus Johannis Loryngge pro columbellis xs.¹

The first item recorded a delivery of money in the ordinary way: the tally had of course been given by the steward, but we have already seen that the treasurer very frequently omitted to state this.² Since we know that selling wool was the steward’s business, the second item becomes clear. Profits from wool were received directly by the steward and paid by him to the treasurer, although the money remained a part of the income for which the reeve was accountable. The wording of the last item reveals a similar transaction. In this case Loring, who was a canon of Windsor and farmed the pigeon-house at Craswell, had paid the amount of his farm on the spot probably to the steward, but possibly straight to the treasurer, although of course the sum had to appear in the reeve’s account as if paid to him.

Examples of the steward’s receiving such money at the source demonstrate the close contact which he maintained with the manors

¹ W.R., xv.34.4. ² See above, p. 52.
despite his many other duties. Various sales of manorial produce were negotiated by him; besides wool he sometimes dealt with grain, livestock and eggs. John Loring, who bought 5 quarters 4 bushels of wheat from Craswell in 1367-8, paid the price of it, £2 7s. 8d., to Edmund Cloville, the steward. This payment figured in the reeve of Craswell's account first as a receipt from Loring and again as a delivery of money to Cloville through Loring. In 1368 the steward received part of a fee for chevage from John Welsh, a customary tenant of Iver, and in 1394-5 John Deye, the dairy farmer of Craswell, paid his farm to the steward directly. In 1380 occurred an example of the opposite process. During the absence of the steward in Lent the reeve of Craswell paid £3 to the treasurer of Windsor directly. Other direct payments to the treasurer were made at the time of view and audit, when the reeves were at Windsor.

The courts of the college of Windsor over which the steward presided exercised both seignorial and royal jurisdiction. Each of these jurisdictions technically had two aspects. The seignorial court, held by the lord of a manor of his own right because he had tenants, included the court baron to which free tenants owed suit and the court customary (or hallmoot) for villeins. In the royal court, held by grant of the king, the college had the right to hold view of frankpledge and to do work analogous to the sheriff's tourn. This court was called "view of frankpledge with court" or "court leet". In the courts held by the college of St. George no distinction was made between the two aspects of either jurisdiction, but the seignorial court was kept distinct from the court leet. View of frankpledge was usually followed immediately by the seignorial court, but to record these proceedings a fresh start was made on the court roll under the heading Sequitur Parva Curia or Nunc sequitur le Curia. Although according to tradition a manorial court sat every three weeks, there is no evidence of more than five such courts held in a year by the college of Windsor on any estate. At Wraysbury in 1353-4 and in 1354-5 only one court was held; in the latter year it was on 8 November. At Craswell in 1367-8 and 1379-80 the steward held four courts, one with view, and at Iver in 1381-2 five courts and one view. Among the court rolls of Iver there are not more than five for any one year. View of frankpledge should

1 W.R., xv.61.28.
2 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.5.
3 Ibid., xv.34.17.
4 Et liberatum domino Ricardo Postell Thesaurario sine tallia in absencione senescalli in quadragesima lx.s. (Reeve's account, Craswell, W.R., xv.61.29.)
have been held twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, according to the provisions of the Great Charter (1217 and 1225). Usually it was held once a year by the steward of the college, at a date which approximated to the Easter session, varying between 19 April and 5 June and bearing no relation to the actual date of Easter. On one recorded occasion the other session was held, too, on 1 December 1399.

When the steward came to hold court, he took advantage of this opportunity to inspect the estates. Since he was a busy official it is probable that he did as much supervisory work as possible on these occasions, checking the activities of bailiff or reeve, arranging sales or giving his authority for them, deciding which crops should be sold and which kept for the lord’s use, rewarding the labour of the farm servants, and collecting the revenues. Instances of all these responsible duties may be found in the records. The steward’s witness was necessary to prove that a crop had failed, as in 1381-2 at Iver when neither the apple nor the pear orchard yielded any fruit. Sales of underwood or timber and agreements for the lease of demesne land and appurtenances were arranged by him. At Craswell in 1367-8 he authorized the sale of some pastures, reserving others for the animals of the demesne, and ordered that the hay from some meadows was to be mown and carried to the manor instead of being sold in the usual way. Recognition of the good work done by officials and servants of the manor was made at his orders. To John Athewolf, reeve of Craswell from Michaelmas 1367 to 19 January 1368, the steward gave an extra quarter of wheat, besides the usual quarter which was a perquisite of his office, as a gift from the college because of his service. In 1379-80 the farm servants of Craswell shared a gift of 3d. and a further 2d. was given to four tenants of the manor who had lopped trees in the wood. A gift of 3s. made to the farm servants of Iver in 1382 at the steward’s order was for “their great labour”.

The steward’s supervision of local management was, however, closer than could have been maintained had the visits to hold court been his only appearances. Although it is probable that he arranged to combine holding court and other duties as far as possible, his

1 Beside the bailiff’s entry in his account that there were no pears nor apples an addition was made at the audit per testimonium senescalli (W.R., xv.53.65).
2 Ibid. Sale of underwood and agreement concerning lease of dairy arranged by steward at Iver.
3 Reeve’s Account, W.R., xv.61.28 (among items headed Exitus Manerii).
4 Ibid., xv.61.28d. (in Grain Account).
presence was necessary at certain times when it would have been inconvenient to hold court. Outstanding among these were shearing time and harvest. When the flocks were shorn the steward was present, both "to assist and to supervise" as the bailiff of Iver stated in his account of 1381-2, and afterwards he took charge of the fleeces to sell them. We know he visited the manors during harvest, for he fixed the amount of wages to be paid to the repereev at Craswell in 1368, paid wages to the supervisor of threshing there in 1368 and 1370, and rewarded reapers both at Iver and Craswell in 1395. Other occasions upon which he was present included the tithing of lambs at Iver in 1395, when he gave the shepherd 4d. When building works were in progress the steward was bound to be there, for he was responsible for supervising the work and paying the labourers. During the building of Bray lock in 1379-80 he twice made a gift of one penny each to the three assistant carpenters.

The steward's responsibility towards estates under his management was not limited to his visits of superintendence and holding court. When new stock or equipment was needed it was usually he who undertook to select and purchase it. Although in 1371 the reeves of Iver and Craswell were entrusted with buying new flocks, it was the steward who purchased a mare for the latter manor. He also delivered cart-horses to the two manors in 1367-8 and bought cows and oxen for Craswell in 1369-70 and 1395-6. When buying new millstones for the mills at Bray and Iver in 1386, the steward took the bailiff and the miller of Iver with him to London to select them. The stone for Bray mill cost £4 13s. 6d., including its carriage from London to Bray.

It is particularly interesting to consider the different aspects of the steward's local activity in the light of his being a temporary official. Although a canon might continue as steward for two or perhaps three years, the office remained theoretically an annual one, and in practice frequently changed hands from year to year. A knowledge of preceding years was required in legal, financial and other economic duties. Since the steward of the college was so

1 Reeve's Account, Craswell, W.R., xv.61. 28.
2 Stewards' Accounts, W.R., xv.34.5 (attached to Treasurer's Account) and xv.48.1.
3 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.17.
4 Reeve's Account, Craswell, W.R., xv.61. 29.
5 Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.15.
impermanent an officer, the value of his permanent colleague, the
steward of the courts, and of experienced manorial officials must
have been the greater.

(b) STEWARD OF THE COURTS

It may well have been to remedy a lack of permanence among
officers supervising the manors that the practice of associating with
the steward in these duties another canon, also in office only for one
year, was given up in favour of a permanent appointment of a
steward of the courts. In 1353-4 and 1354-5 canon-supervisors
accompanied the steward on his visits to hold court and inspect the
estate of Wraysbury, but they do not appear again in records of
later years. In surviving central accounts the first mention of the
steward of the courts occurs in 1385-6 when the treasurer paid him
his annual fee of 40s. From that year onwards payment of this
40s. figured regularly among the Fees in the treasurers’ accounts.
That there was a steward of the courts before 1385, however, is
apparent from local accounts which we have of Iver and Craswell.
In the earliest, of 1367-8, he was named as assisting the steward
of the college in holding court at Craswell, and he was mentioned
in the same way in the accounts of Craswell in 1379-80 and Iver
in 1381-2. His fee of 40s. was in 1381-2 paid him by the bailiff of
Iver, who accounted for the amount among payments of wages to
the farm servants of the manor. The 40s. was stated to be inclusive
of livery (the sum was *pro feodo cum roba*), although according to a
summary of the annual expenditure of the college in the time of
Edward III the steward of the courts was to receive 12s. for a robe
as well as his fee of 40s.¹ This instance of the steward of the courts
being paid out of the income of the manor of Iver provides an
explanation of the absence of his fee in treasurers’ accounts before
1385.

Since the steward of the courts was often, if not always, a tenant
of the manor of Iver, this early practice of the bailiff’s paying his
fee was a natural one. Of the five men known to hold the office in
the period surveyed, three certainly were free tenants of Iver and
possibly the other two were also. The five were Nicholas Bodewell
(1367-8), William Nafferton (1377-86), Richard Overton (1393-9),
Henry Hethe (1400-1408) and Richard Wyot (from at least 1415).²

¹ W.R., xv.34-3.
² The dates given are for the years in which surviving records mention them
in office; probably their terms of office were longer.
Incidental references in court rolls of Iver prove Nafferton, Overton and Wyot to have been tenants there. Probably the steward of the courts was always a local landholder of some importance whose influence in the district, as well as his actual services, was useful to the college.

The duties of the steward of the courts were legal only, but were not confined to assisting the steward of the college in presiding at manorial courts. Besides this he shared with the steward in the prosecution of all legal matters, travelling with him to sue out writs against debtors, co-operating with the attorneys of the college in the king's courts, and attending parliaments. The warden and canons made him a gift of 26s. 8d., above his 40s. fee, in 1404-5 for his efforts at Westminster, and a similar present in 1406-7 for his counsel. In 1393-4 the treasurer paid for one gallon of wine sent to the house of Overton, then steward of the courts, where an agreement was being made with William Spelyng, who later farmed the rectory of Iver. Like the steward and others travelling on the business of the college, the steward of the courts drew up bills of expenses thus incurred which were presented to the canons in chapter for their approval and then paid by the treasurer.

As the litigation in which the dean and canons were involved became steadily greater, the steward of the college was constrained to spend much time in London to watch the progress of the cases. In this duty the steward of the courts could and did relieve him, remaining in London while the other resumed his activities elsewhere. In January 1403, when John Massingham, steward of the college, had to make a journey to London on some matter connected with the herrings due from Yarmouth, he seized the opportunity to deliver to Henry Hethe, steward of the courts, a bond and an indemnity, which were doubtless evidences needed in a suit for recovery of debt. Hethe, apparently, was staying in London. Possibly those who became stewards of the courts already had some legal knowledge; if not, their comparatively long terms of office must have given them knowledge and experience, of use both to the

---

1 In 1377 Nafferton accompanied Richard Shaw, steward of the college, to Uttoxeter for a writ of nisi prius against Kynardesley, farmer there (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.13).
2 Henry Hethe, John Massingham, steward of the college, and Henry Webb, attorney of the college in the exchequer, worked together in 1400-1 to obtain a quietclaim of rent for the pastures of Frith and Ashcroft (ibid., xv.34.20).
3 Ibid., xv.34.23, 24.
4 In i lagena vini missa ad domum Overtone ad tractandum cum Spelyng (ibid., xv.34.16).
steward of the college and to the chapter. At any rate, Hethe's advice was considered sufficiently good for the college to reward him for it in 1406-7; probably the steward of the courts became one of the permanent advisers of the chapter.1

(c) CLERK OF THE COURTS AND ACCOUNTS

The office of clerk of the courts and accounts was established at some date between 1382 and 1385. Its province was purely local since the accounts dealt with were manorial only. The predecessor of this official had been less specialized. From at least 1362 a clerk named John Rowe had drawn up and assisted at the audit of the accounts of the college, both central and local. He received no salary from the treasurer, but was paid a fee for each account he wrote and for attending the audit. On 19 January 1368 he accompanied the warden and the steward on a visit to Craswell when John Athewolf was retiring from the office of reeve.2 Although a court was held on this day, there is no evidence that John Rowe came to write the court roll. It is more probable that his business was to draw up the account of the retiring official: he was paid 5s. at the end of the financial year for making one roll of this account of Athewolf's and of that of his successor. Rowe was not named as attending any of the other courts held at Craswell in this year. The earliest record to connect Rowe with the courts of the manors is the account of the bailiff of Iver of 1381-2. The bailiff paid to Rowe, whom he described as clerk of the accounts, a wage of 26s. 8d., which included payment for writing the rolls of court.3 In addition Rowe received 13s. 4d. from the bailiff in lieu of livery.

In the treasurer's account of 1385-6 the clerk of the courts and accounts of the manors of the college made his first appearance. His name was John Stoke and his annual fee 40s.4 Since there was no further mention of John Rowe, it seems probable that his death or retirement at some date between 1382 and 1385 was the occasion for creating a definite office when appointing his successor. By 1393 John Stoke had been succeeded by Thomas Campford (or Capmanford), who retained the position until 1416.

1 Cf. the inclusion of local influential gentry among the counsellors of Canterbury Cathedral Priory from the end of the thirteenth century (R. A. L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, pp. 70-72).
2 Reeve's Account, Craswell, W.R., xv.61.28.
3 Et in stipendio Johannis Rowe clerici compotorum maneriorum dictorum Custodis et Collegii simul cum scriptura Rotulorum Curie per annum ultra Robam suam xxvi.s. viii.d. (W.R., xv.53.65).
4 Et solutum Johanni Stoke clerico Curiarum et compotorum maneriorum Collegii pro feodo suo per annum x.s. (W.R., xv.34.15).

214
Campford appears to have made a success of his office. In 1395-6 the college made him a gift of 6s. 8d. above his fee for his work on the accounts of the reeves.\(^1\) By 1398-9 this reward had increased to 20s. It was for his efficiency at the audit that he gained this reward, and by 1400-1 Campford was holding the office of auditor of the local accounts as well as that of clerk, receiving the auditor's fee of 20s., besides the clerk's fee of 40s. He continued to combine both offices until 1416. By 1417-18, however, Campford was discharging the duties of auditor only; his former position of clerk was then held by Nicholas Clopton.

**B. MANORIAL OFFICIALS**

(a) **BAILIFF, SERGEANT AND Reeve**

Between bailiff, sergeant and reeve there was no apparent difference of function, but a difference in their remuneration indicates that there was some distinction between the three officials. The bailiff's salary was the highest. At Iver, William atte Forde (bailiff 1377-95) received an annual wage of 40s. and one bushel of wheat each week from the manor, besides a livery of the best kind with fur. The sergeant came next. Richard Packington, when sergeant of Wraysbury, had a wage of 10s.; concerning his livery there is no evidence. Last was the reeve, a villein who received for his services remittance of both labour and money rent for his holding, an allowance of wheat from the estate, and a servant's livery or its equivalent in money. From an entry in the treasurer's account of 1366-7 it appears that the reeve of Iver had a money wage of 6s. 8d. as well.\(^2\)

It is clear that from 1377-95 when there was no reeve at Iver, the bailiff, William atte Forde, did exactly the same work as was done both before and after these dates by reeves. When there were both bailiff and reeve on the manor, the reeve's duties are straightforward; he was the prominent managing official. It is the function of the bailiff at these times which is obscure.

In 1367-8, when John Hunt was reeve and obviously the responsible official at Iver, Richard Packington was named as bailiff of the liberty. Packington had an interesting career. He was a

---

\(^1\) Item datum Thome Campford clerico curiarum nostrarum ex rewardo pro labore impenso circa composos prepositorum vi.s. viii.d. (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.18).

\(^2\) Et Johanni Hunt preposito de Evre pro manus Roberti Cartere pro vadis suis vi.s. viii.d. (W.R., xv.34.4). John Coterel, reeve of Craswell, who received 10s. from the college in the same year, had it not as a wage but as a gift (ex curialitate).
tenant of Iver and held at least part of his lands in villeinage.\(^1\) In a court held on 18 January 1369 he was fined for not putting his two sons in a tithing, and later in the same year was warrener of the manor. During 1386 he was ale-taster.\(^2\) He must have been fairly prosperous, for he shared with William Lorimer and William by the Wood 63 acres of arable land at Iver leased from the college at 12d. an acre, and in addition held the lease of 8 acres of pasture and 3 acres of meadow at 10s. a year.\(^3\) He first appeared in the service of the college in 1352, when he became sergeant of Wraysbury. In 1353-4 he was sergeant of Datchet as well, and in the following year was managing the estates at Deddington and Old Windsor in addition. All the estates which he had administered were at farm by 1361, but Packington was still employed by the college in 1362, now as a responsible messenger from the centre. He travelled to Southampton for them in that year on unspecified but essential business.\(^4\) Packington continued to serve the college for many years in this capacity. In 1366-7 he relieved the steward by riding to London with the usual quittance for the herrings from Yarmouth;\(^5\) in 1376 he delivered gifts on behalf of the college to the sheriff of Staffordshire and to John Bretton's clerk; in 1377-8 he spent ten days at Uttoxeter and later went to Ryston to superintend the collection of the tithe of sheaves.\(^6\) In these duties he appears to have acted as an assistant to the steward. Possibly his title of bailiff of the liberty covered an office with duties in any direction in which the steward required assistance.

There is an instance of a reeve of Craswell's being styled bailiff, in the treasurer's account of 1402-3.\(^7\) This is remarkable since elsewhere in the same document was recorded the delivery to Simon of the usual reeve's livery. The distinction between bailiff and reeve was preserved without confusion in all other treasurers' accounts, and it is possible that this was an error on the part of the clerk writing the account. On the other hand this may be an indication of the extension of the term bailiff to include any manorial

---

1. On 16 May 1370 he took up a holding in villeinage (Court roll of Iver, W.R., xv.55.12).
2. Ibid., xv.55.11, 16.
4. In vadiis Ricardi Pakentone versus Southamton pro negociis necessariis viis. viii.d. (Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.1).
5. Ibid., xv.34.4.
6. Treasurers' Accounts, W.R., xv.34.11, 14.
7. Ibid., xv.34.22.
official, a tendency which has been found in contemporary accounts elsewhere.¹

Management of an estate was in the hands of either a bailiff or a sergeant or a reeve. Although each of these three received a different wage and had a different title, their functions were uniform. Besides the obvious similarity of responsibility which is apparent from a comparison of accounts submitted by each of these officials, entries in the court rolls of Iver show how from 1377 to 1395 the bailiff was ordered to perform duties which before and after this time were the business of the reeve. For instance, when on 21 April 1390 at a View of frankpledge the chief pledges reported that a common way was blocked and a millstream had overflowed its banks because of the lord's neglect, it was William atte Forde, the bailiff, who was ordered to put things right. But a flooded ditch in 1369 and a broken bridge in 1374, both the lord's responsibility, were referred to the reeve. Similarly, although from 1377 to 1395 the bailiff had to answer for the profits of holdings in the lord's hands and for lands and goods which fell forfeit, at other times it was the reeve who was accountable.

When there was a reeve at Iver, the bailiff appears to have had no hand in economic duties. He received no wage or livery then. His functions remain uncertain, but it is possible that he was an assistant to the steward.

(b) BEADLE AND COLLECTORS OF RENT

Mention of a beadle and of collectors of rent occurs in connexion with only one of the estates, the manor of Iver. Probably Craswell, since it was a dependant of the royal manor of Bray, needed no beadle for its own court; at any rate fines for offences against the common welfare (such as neglect of roads and water-courses) were paid to the court of Bray. Similarly, such fines were paid from the rectory of Wraysbury to the beadle of the manor of Wraysbury. Collection of rent at Craswell may have been added to the duties of the reeve. At Wraysbury, although there were no permanent collectors, two men were employed during the harvest to collect the tithe of sheaves due to the rectory. In 1353-4, when the harvesting period extended from 3 August to 15 September, they received a wage of 3s. each and their food.²

² Sergeant's Account, W.R., xv.53.42.
The beadle of Iver in 1381-2 was John Aleyne. He received a wage of 6s. for the year and a further 5s. 3d. for the six weeks of harvest, during which he was paid 14d. a day. Besides payment in money, he was granted quittance of rent in labour and kind for his holding, the rent in kind being a custom of ten eggs. Money rent was not remitted to him, according to the custom of the manor. The beadle was the executive official of the court: it was his business to seize forfeit property, levy distress, make arrests and produce persons on certain days as the court required.

There were two rent-collectors at Iver, who received no wage but, like the beadle, enjoyed quittance of labour service and rent in kind, though not money rent. They were elected and sworn officials, to whom were entrusted the rent books of the manor. On 24 September 1387 two retiring collectors handed over in the court three such rentals. These were kept in the treasury of the college of Windsor until the next court, on 26 November, when the new collectors were elected. To them only one rental was delivered, a fairly recent one, for it had been drawn up on 23 May 1374: possibly the other two were out of date. The collectors sometimes paid over rents directly to the steward instead of to the reeve or bailiff, and they were responsible for unpaid rents. In 1389 distraint was to be made to recover debts incurred by a former collector, John Wulward, during his term of office.

1 *De acquietancia redditus Bedelli et duorum collectorum redditus nichil per consuetudinem manerii* (Bailiff's Account, W.R., xv.53.65).
2 *Ad hanc Curiam venerunt Willemus Lorymer nomine suo proprio prout dictum fuit ei ad ultimam et Johannes Wulward nomine Johannis Hunte et liberaverunt in plena Curia tria redditialia que liberate eis fuerunt tempore quo fuerunt collectores redditis domini et que redditalia remanent in Thesaurario Collegii de Wyndesore* (Court Roll, W.R., xv.55.17).
3 *Willemus Foul et Henricus Walsh electi sunt et iurati in officio Collectoris redditis domini et liberatur eis quoddam rentale manerii de Eovere factum xxiii die Maii in septimana Pentecostes anno regni regis Edwardi terci post conquestum quadragesimo octavo* (ibid.).
4 *E.g. in 1371-2 and 1374-5* (Treasurers' Accounts, W.R., xv.34.8, 9).
5 *Court roll of 14 September 1389, W.R., xv.55.18.*
PART III

METHODS OF ACCOUNT

1. Apparatus of Account

A. THE AERARY

Among the many new buildings constructed in the lower ward of Windsor Castle for the use of the college of St. George was a stone chamber, called in the building accounts le tresorie. This treasury was built while Robert Burnham was surveyor of the works in the castle. Masons began work on it in April 1353, first constructing a beautiful vaulted porch on the west side of the chapel cloister, over which the new treasury was to stand. By March 1354 the walls of the stone treasury chamber had been erected, and work began on its vaulted roof. The vault, of two bays with carved double roses at the intersections of the ribs and against the walls, was completed by November, when a roof of timber and lead was laid above it. There was one window, in the south wall, set in an arched recess; iron work for it was made in September 1354.

Early in 1355 materials were bought for decorating the chamber. White lead, painter’s oil, brushes and thread to bind them were among the purchases, and in April a workman was hired to grind colours for painting the vault. Painted glass was set in the window. The floor was paved with tiles of different patterns. By September 1355 the treasury was finished.

Although in building accounts this chamber was always called the treasury, the college of St. George had a variety of names for it. In the account rolls it was called thesauria, erarium, scaccarium, domus computaria and le countynghous. Of these erarium or aerarium (for the diphthong ae was written e in Latin manuscripts from the thirteenth century) was perhaps the most frequent, and it is this name which has survived. The stone chamber is still in existence, and is known as the aerary, a name unique in the English language,

1 St. John Hope, Windsor Castle, I, 150-8; II, 504-5.
derived directly from the Latin word. The appearance of the aerary has altered little since it was first constructed, but there is now no trace of painting on the vault and the window is filled with clear glass. The present chimney seems to date back only to 1443-4, since the treasurer’s account of that year recorded costs of its building, but some chimney, possibly of similar design, existed before then, for fuel was supplied for use in the aerary in earlier years. The window was not barred until 1496-7.

The names given to this chamber reveal its two functions. As treasury or aerary, it was the strong-room. In it were kept money and muniments. Its door had a double lock and its furniture included a chest for money and a coffer for muniments, both with locks and provided with new keys in 1366-7. A cupboard, also for muniments, was made in the same year. The rolls and records accumulated by the college soon became too numerous for their containers. In 1377-8 four new deed-boxes were purchased to hold them, and in 1422-3 a new press was put up in the aerary for the same purpose, possibly, as St. John Hope suggests, the one which still stands there. Among purchases made in 1370-1 for the aerary was a linen sack to keep money in.

In its other aspect, as exchequer and counting-house, the room served as a business office for the treasurer. An exchequer table stood there, covered with green striped cloth which was renewed in

1 As Professor Deanesly has pointed out in her article, “Historical Research at the Windsor Aerary” (Report of Friends of St. George’s, December 1932, p. 6, n. 1), the word is to be found apparently only at Windsor, where it was sometimes written “erary”, a translation of erarium, which conceals the initial diphthong. The VOI'L has of course no connexion, either in meaning or in derivation, with “ewery” (a room where ewers were kept), although slightly similar in sound.

2 Et datum carectario de Bray carectanii focale pro Countynghous iiiii.d. (Treasurer’s Account, 1400-1, W.R., xv.34.20).

3 Et solutum pro refectione ii serorum ac reposicione earundem in hostio computarii vi.d. (Ibid., 1377-8, xv.34.14).

4 Et solutum Johanni Smyth pro uno clave ad seruram ciste in Thesauria cum clavis emptis ad idem xviii.d. In i clave empto ad seruram coffre munimentorum collegii iiiii.d. (Ibid., xv.34.4).

5 In uno novo armariolo facto pro munimentis collegii xiiiis. iiiii.d. (Ibid.).

6 Et solutum pro iiiii pixidibus ad monumenta imponenda vii.d. (Ibid., xv.34.14).

7 Et solutum Johanni Horstede operantere circa reposicionem i armarioli in domo computario pro rotulis et evidencis Collegii intus custodientibus per duos dies capienti per diem sine scibo vi.d. xiiid. (Ibid., xv.34.32).


9 In uno saculo lineo empto pro pecunia conservanda iiid.ob. (Treasurer’s Account-W.R., xv.34.7).
1368 and again in 1395-6. A number of benches were placed round it. Here the financial business of the college was transacted until about 1493, when a new counting-house was built. Since from that time this room ceased to be used for business transactions, it was natural that the name which clung to it was aerary rather than counting-house or exchequer. Although for the purpose of these chapters it is with its function of counting-house that we are concerned, the name aerary, by which the room is still called, has been used rather than one of the less familiar terms.

Occasional entries in account rolls throw some light on the furnishings of the aerary. A supply of parchment, paper, ink, pumice and wax for sealing was kept there. Both red and green wax was used for the common or great seal of the dean and chapter. Counters, used in making calculations on the exchequer table, were purchased in 1370-1 when five “accounting shillings” cost 12d. and in 1400-1 when two more were bought for 4d. and a bag to put them in for a halfpenny. The table itself was repaired by a carpenter in 1377-8 at a cost of 6d.

An interesting problem connected with the aerary has been raised by Sir William St. John Hope. Both as an office and a strong-room it would have been desirable for the aerary to have some direct entrance, but apparently it had no staircase from the cloister. Thus the only approach which Sir William could suggest, was by a staircase at the west end of the old chapel which had a door opening on to the roof of the cloister. By walking over the cloister leads from this doorway the entrance to the aerary could be reached. This roundabout route must have been peculiarly inconvenient in bad weather, and especially when chests and boxes had to be carried in.

1 In ii ulmis viridis panni emptis pro scaccario v.s. (ibid., xv. 34.5). Et solutum pro ii virgis et i quarterio panni viridis radiati pro computario cum tonsura eiusdem iii.s.xi.d. (ibid., xv.34.18).
2 Mended in 1370-71 (ibid., xv.34.7).
3 E.g. Idem computat in viridi et rubia cera empta papero causto et pomiseo emptis pro Thesaurarium iiiis.s. (1362-3, ibid., xv.34.2). Item pro papiro empto per Thesaurarium pro officio suo et precentoris xvi.d. pro viridi et rubia cera viii.d. pro pomiseo ii.d. . . . pro percameno x.d. (1400-1, ibid., xv.34.20).
4 In una libra viridis cera empta pro magno sigillo x.d. (1368, ibid., xv.34.6). In viridi et rubia cera empta pro sigillo communi x.d. (1371-2, ibid., xv.34.8).
5 In v solidis computariis emptis per Custodem xii.d. (ibid., xv.34.7).
6 Item . . . pro ii.s. Comptatoris iiiis.d. pro bursa pro eisdem ob. (ibid., xv.34.20).
7 Et solutum Frainceux Carpentario pro emendacione computarii collegii vi.d. (ibid., xv.34.14).
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

B. ROLLS OF TREASURER AND STEWARD

Account rolls of the college of Windsor, like other contemporary accounts, covered a period between one Michaelmas and the next, usually from 30 September in one year to 29 September in the following year. This was then, as now, the ordinary financial year, and was used by the royal exchequer in the middle ages not only as its period of account but also as a means of dating, instead of the king's regnal year, which began from the date of his accession. Exchequer years began on 30 September (the day after Michaelmas), and during the period with which this study is concerned were numbered to correspond as nearly as possible with the regnal years, a king's first exchequer year beginning at the Michaelmas nearest to his accession either before or after it.1 Thus Edward III's first regnal year ran from 25 January 1327 to 24 January 1328; his first exchequer year ran from Michaelmas 1326 to Michaelmas 1327. In the early years of the foundation, accountants of the college of Windsor seem to have followed the example of the royal exchequer by using the financial year for dating as well as for a period of account. This is evident from the headings and content of an early household roll and the first of the treasurers' rolls.

The household roll,2 labelled October anno xxix°, would if dated by Edward III's regnal years belong to 1355. But its daily entries give not only the date but the day of the week, beginning with Wednesday, 1 October. In 1355, 1 October fell on a Thursday; it fell on a Wednesday in 1354. Therefore it would seem that this roll belongs to 1354, that is to the twenty-ninth exchequer year of Edward III, which ran from 30 September 1354 to 29 September 1355. This is made certain by the heading of an entry on the dorse of the roll, Remanencia diversorum victualium pro prima die Octobris anno regni regis E. xxix° incipiente. On 1 October the regnal year of Edward III could not be described as "beginning"; but his exchequer year, which indeed had begun only the day before, might well be so described.

The earliest surviving treasurer's roll3 uses the same method of dating. This roll is ascribed in the catalogue of the contents of the aerary to 1362-3, as indeed it appears at first to be dated. Its

---

2 W.R., xv.3.1.
3 W.R., xv.34.1.
heading reads thus: *Compotus Magistri Willelmi Polmorva Thesaurarii collegii de Wyndesore a primo die Decembres Anno regni regis Edwardi terci xxvi° usque vicesimum tertium diem Septembris eiusdem anni Edwedi.* *Compotus Stephani Brankire et Johannis Loring Thesaumriorum ibidem iunct usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis ut inter se respondeant de anno integro.* Since Edward III's regnal year ran from 25 January to 24 January it is apparent that 1 December and the following 23 September could not be in the same year, as the heading states. If, however, the exchequer year was being used, the date of Polmorva's account would be 1 December 1361, to 23 September 1362, both dates being within his thirty-sixth exchequer year. That this must be so is evident from the fact that Polmorva died in September 1362. His successor as canon of Windsor was appointed by letters patent dated 25 September 1362,¹ and his executors are mentioned at the end of this account.

No further evidence has been found to indicate that the exchequer year continued to be used for dating the accounts of the college of Windsor. The next surviving treasurer's account and later ones are apparently dated by the more usual regnal years.

From at least the date of the earliest surviving account (1361-2) until the year 1415-16, the roll of the treasurer was drawn up in the same form. Under a heading which stated the name of the accountant and the period of account, came first arrears (if any) of the preceding year, then a list of receipts from the churches, manors and other properties of the college given separately and in some detail, and, until 1393, the chapel offerings. A total of these items completed the receipt section. From this amount the treasurer recorded disbursements of various sums due to the members and officials of the college, pensions payable for appropriated churches, fees and liveries of lay officers, gifts and costs of litigation, travelling allowances of canons and others on business, and the sum expended by the precentor on the maintenance of the chapel and its services. Finally came the costs of audit, followed by the sum total of expenditure and the balance of the account. Thus a typical treasurer's roll was set out in the following way (*mutatis mutandis*):

Account of Richard Shaw treasurer of the royal free chapel within the castle of Windsor from the last day of the month of September in the 19th year of the reign of King Richard the second from the

Conquest until the same day in the 20th year of the said king through one complete year.¹

Arrears
Ryston
Uttoxeter
Caxton
Datchet
Langley
Church of Deddington
Church of Iver
Wraysbury
Whaddon
Saltash
South Tawton
Simonburn
Northampton
Ankerwyke
Manor of Iver
Manor of Craswell
Deddington Castle
Rents of buildings by the Thames
Rents of Robert Burnham's buildings
Rent of Assize [Kymbell's]
Foreign Receipts

Sum of all receipt:
Quotidians
Warden's salary
Prebends
Wages of officials
Obits
Fees and Robes
Gifts and Pleas
Necessary expenses
Pensions and Subsidies [including payment of a papal subsidy this year, 1395-6]
Expenses of the warden and other canons
Costs of the garden
Repairs of churches and buildings
Purchase of stock [for Craswell this year]

¹ Treasurer's Account of 1395-6, W.R., xv.34.18.
Costs of the Chapel
Repayment of rent [to the abbot of Reading for buildings by the Thames on land in his fee]
Costs of auditing clerks
Costs of canon-auditors

Sum of all expenses:
And thus the accountant owes [so much]. Of which a third part is placed in the aerary. And thus there remains in the hands of the accountant [so much] which he pays to John Prust treasurer after him. And thus he is quit.

The form of the stewards' rolls of this period was very similar. Except that the steward included rather more detail than the treasurer concerning payment of revenues, the receipt sections of the two accounts were almost identical. In many ways, too, the items in the expense section were duplicated. Naturally the steward did not account for disbursements of quotidians, prebends and obit distributions, which were entirely the treasurer's responsibilities, but he occasionally included payments which, although in the usual way made by the treasurer, had come into his province because they had been met out of monies for which he was accountable. The steward's own expenditure upon the estates and upon travelling for business purposes appeared in both accounts; in the steward's because he had disbursed the money, and in the treasurer's because the treasurer was ultimately responsible for it. A detailed examination of the steward's expenditure has been made above. Every item of it was reproduced in the treasurer's account except the biggest item, that of sums of money delivered by the steward to the treasurer. The form in which the steward presented his account may be summarized as follows:

Arrears
Receipts from properties [list as in treasurers' rolls]
Garden produce [from 1393 none, because the perquisite of residentiaries]
Foreign receipts

Sum of all receipts:
Delivery of money [to the treasurer]
Pensions [for appropriated churches]

1 For instance, the warden's salary in 1369-70 (see above, p. 194).
2 Pp. 74-77.
St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1348–1416

Fees and Robes
Gifts and Pleas
Travelling expenses
Costs of the garden
Costs of repairs
Foreign expenses

Sum of all expenses:

And thus the accountant owes [so much] which he pays to the college over the exchequer. And thus he is quit.

This system of accounting provided a double check on all the receipts, and stressed the treasurer's responsibility for all expenditure. Although in theory it is simple enough, in practice it was a little involved. The account of the steward must have been audited first. He had delivered to the treasurer a large proportion of the money received; of what remained he had spent so much and in the presence of the auditors he handed over the rest. So far this was straightforward, except when there were unpaid arrears. Now came the more important account of the treasurer. Instead of accounting only for the sum actually delivered to him by the steward, the treasurer assumed liability for all receipts. This necessitated the inclusion in his account of all the steward's expenditure, too, and before the balance of the account could be struck, the money which the steward had owed on his account had to be credited to the treasurer. This might have worked well enough, as indeed it did until the steward accumulated a large and unrealizable debt, made up both of rents which he himself had failed to collect and an inheritance of similar arrears from his predecessors. Difficult as it was for each successive steward to account reasonably for his own arrears and for those of earlier years, some of which were paid off in small sums during his own period of office, it was far more complicated for the treasurer, who had to deal also with arrears of former treasurers.

Soon after 1400 the college began to be in financial difficulties. Until 1405 income covered expenditure, but with only a small margin. In 1406–8 there was a deficit. Between 1408 and 1415–16 the accounts of the college became increasingly involved. None of these accounts has survived; we have a summary of the treasurer's roll of 1410–11, but this included only the briefest statements of income and expenditure. It is significant, however, that although
there was a balance in hand of just over £14, the canons thought the year a sufficiently lean one to use this summary as a demonstration of the inadequacy of their income in support of a later petition to Henry VI for financial aid.\(^1\) They added a note that, had all the canons been resident in 1410-11, their income would have fallen short of the sum needed for quotidiens by £99.

In 1406-7 and from 1413 to 1415 William Gillot was steward and in 1415-16 treasurer. It may have been his experience of the difficulties for both officers of the present methods of accounting which prompted a change. In 1416 the dean and canons in chapter decided to invite outside assistance in an attempt to clarify and reform their accounts. A commission to this effect, drawn up and sealed with the common seal, was delivered to John Burton, who made two visits to Windsor in consequence. On each occasion the college sent a messenger with three horses to escort him and his servant from London, and for the eight weeks of his stay he was entertained in the deanery. For his labours during these eight weeks he received a fee of 20s. The dean was allowed 6s. 8d. a week for the maintenance of Burton and his servant.\(^2\)

Under Burton’s guidance a great deal of work was done, both in recasting and simplifying past accounts and in creating a new form for the future. Some indication of the scale of Burton’s undertaking may be found in the large sum spent on parchment, paper, ink, wax and other necessities for his use. Their cost amounted to £8 11s. 9d.\(^3\) One of his achievements was the making of a roll of arrears for which one canon, William Spigurnell, was responsible, because they were owing for years when he had been steward. This roll was compiled from numerous accounts of years between 1396 and 1409, and Richard Wyot, the steward of the courts, assisted

\(^1\) W.R., xv.34.27 (Undated but clearly after 1430).

\(^2\) Et in expansis trium equorum domini Roberti Gowe missi London ad reducendum dominum J. Burton usque Wyndesore ad assistendum audicioni et reformaciioni comptorum novorum et antiquorum iuxia tenorem cuiusdem commissionis date sub sigillo communis Collegii pro labore iii.s. iiii.d. Et secunda vice unus famulus Decani cum tribus equis missus London ad reducendum dictum dominum J. Burton xx.d. Item in mensa dicti domini Johannis Burton et unus famuli sui existentium in mensa Cum Custode pro dicta reformacione comptorum per diversa tempora ibidem sedentium videlicet per octo septimanas per septimanam vi.s. viii.d. ii.i.i. viiis.s. iii.i.d. Et in solucione facta dicto domino J. Burton pro labore suo per concensum Capituli pro huiusmodi reformacione comptorum xx.s. (Summary of Treasurer’s account of 1416-17, W.R., xv.48.5).

\(^3\) Item in pargamen, papiro, incausto, cerea rubea et viridi et aliis rebus necessariis viii.li. xi.s. ix.d. ob. (ibid., in the same group of entries).
in extracting the relevant items.¹ Such a roll has been preserved,² but unfortunately the beginning of it is missing; and since all subsequent items referred back to an explanation given in the first item, the precise reason for its compilation remains obscure. It is, however, apparent that this was a beginning of a more reasonable allocation of liability. An individual steward was to remain liable for debts contracted during his term of office, instead of passing them on to his successor, who in his turn shifted responsibility to the treasurer. Spigurnell’s debt amounted to £227 15s. 10d.

Another roll made at this time was a simplified version of the treasurer’s account of 1407-8.³ Both the earlier, fuller account⁴ and this shorter one have survived. The latter was endorsed:

*per Johannem Burton*

**terminatus**

*Compotus domini Henrici Spicer Thesaurarii ibidem Anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum nono*

It included, immediately after the balance of the treasurer’s account, a brief statement of the total receipts and expenditure of the precentor, with the balance of his account, under the titulus *Compotus Precentorishoc anno*. In this year the chapel offerings had been kept back from the residentiaries to help cover expenditure on the chapel.⁵

It is very probable that many other accounts were similarly reviewed and simplified, but no other examples have been preserved save those of the year 1415-16. Of the two treasurer’s rolls which we have of this year, one was drawn up in the form previously described, but the other was presented in a new and simpler form, to which all subsequent accounts of treasurers adhered. No longer did the treasurer account for all revenues received: his liability was confined to the sums actually delivered to him by the steward. Gradually, too, from this time, certain types of expenditure became recognized as the province of the steward.⁶ Thus the steward’s accounts became henceforward independent of the treasurer’s.

¹ *Et in quodam iantaculo Ricardi Wyot cum tribus famulis suis per ordinationem Custodis et Capituli in superexaminacione extractus arrearagitorum domini Willelmi Spigurnell facti per auditores et Burton iii.s.iii.d. (ibid., among Dona et Placita).*
² *W.R., xv.48.2. See below, Appendix II, n. 1.*
³ *W.R., xv.34.25.*
⁴ *W.R., xv.34.26.*
⁵ *See above, p. 70.*
⁶ *See above, p. 76.*
Details of rents received were to be found only in the roll of the steward; the item “Money delivered” among his expenses recorded sums passed on to the treasurer. The total of this item appeared in the roll of the treasurer as his only receipt besides arrears. There was one other heading in the treasurer’s receipt section, Chapel offerings, but this was always followed by the same statement that nothing had been received by the treasurer because the residentiaries had shared the offerings.

Burton’s reform achieved the separation of the accounts of treasurer and steward. This was valuable in dealing with arrears already owing as well as in simplifying the method of recording debts to be incurred in the future. After the balance of the treasurer’s account (new style) of 1415-16, which left the treasurer liable for £168 14s. 0½d., a new heading was written, Unde super, followed by a list of the actual debtors for whose failure to pay the treasurer was accountable. The chief debtors were the dean and residentiaries who had divided £162 7s. 11½d. between them in the past ten years instead of putting the money into the aerary or meeting the costs of necessary repairs to their properties. A similar list headed Unde super followed the balance of the stewards’ rolls of this and subsequent years, allocating the arrears both to the stewards who had failed to collect them and to the defaulters who had not paid.

2. Audit

The aerary was the scene of audit of both central and local accounts. In the boxes and cupboards with which it was furnished were kept all the rolls and evidences needed by the auditors in their careful scrutiny of the year’s returns. Calculations were performed on the exchequer table with its squared green covering, using the counters kept in a bag there for this purpose; any money left over when the accounts had been balanced could be placed at once in a sack in the locked chest. Soon after Michaelmas, at the close of the financial year, was the time of audit. Information about it has been collected from entries in the treasurer’s rolls; of fees and allowances to those hearing and presenting accounts, and from emendations and additions made in the various rolls by the auditors themselves. It appears that local accounts were audited first, then central accounts, of which the treasurer’s would be the last to be heard.
A. LOCAL ACCOUNTS

Much has been written about the process of audit of manorial accounts. We know both from contemporary theoretical treatises on husbandry and methods of accounting¹ and from studies of actual account rolls² with what minute thoroughness a manorial official was required to render his account, and how searching was the auditors’ examination of his returns. Most accounts of the properties of private persons were audited on the estate in question, by itinerant auditors who carried with them the records necessary for reference and checking, and were able to hold an inquiry on the spot if they found an accountant vague or evasive on any point. The accounts of some private estates, however, were audited in a central office,³ thus following the royal practice of summoning officials to bring their accounts to the exchequer rather than the more widespread private method of taking it to them. A central audit had its advantages, and this method was practised by the canons of Windsor. It was more convenient to hear all the accounts in one place with the materials of reference at hand, rather than to travel about laden with the contents of their strong-boxes. The nearness to Windsor of those estates for which accounts had to be rendered meant also that it was possible to clear up an unsatisfactory return by dispatching a messenger to the estate to make inquiries.

There is no evidence of holding a view of account of the estates of the college. It is possible that a view was held, although no reference to it occurs in surviving accounts. Since only five final accounts have been preserved of the many which were presented before all the estates were farmed out, it would not be surprising that of the view rolls (if any) none remains. If the view were held on the estate by the steward, no record of it would have appeared in central accounts. View of the current year could not have been combined with the audit of the preceding year’s accounts⁴, for this

³ E.g., those of the monks of Canterbury in the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries (R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory*, pp. 19-21) and those of the Lord Edward, son of Henry III and afterwards Edward I (Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, p. 11).
⁴ As on the estates of Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Devon and Aumale, 1260-93 (Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, p. 143).
took place at Windsor too early in the financial year, within a month or two of Michaelmas.

To assist the treasurer and steward in the business of hearing accounts, two others of the resident canons were by statute to be elected to serve with the warden as auditors. The election was to be made in general chapter. Since the date of the winter general chapter was 3 November or near it, audit could not have been held before then. In some rolls the date of audit was stated; it took place in the middle of November or early December. Further assistance was found to be necessary in the hearing of local accounts. For this purpose the chapter employed an outside auditor at a fee usually of 20s. and his expenses. The following list gives the names of those who are recorded as acting in this capacity between 1361 and 1416:

John, Vicar of Stanwell 1361-7
William London 1369-72
Richard Heyton 1376-8
Richard Rycheman 1393-4
Richard Thorn 1394-6
Thomas Campford Acting auditor from 1398; Auditor from 1415.

Sometimes the auditor brought with him his own clerk, who received no fee, but was usually given a shilling or two by the college "of gift". The rolls were drawn up by the clerk of the accounts who from at least 1367 combined this function with that of writing the rolls of the manor courts, and received 40s. as a joint annual fee for the two offices.

As soon as the canon-auditors had been elected, the date of audit could be arranged with the outside auditor. While at Windsor, the auditor and his clerk (when he brought one) and the clerk of the rolls were entertained at the steward's table. The steward likewise arranged for the entertainment of local officers who were obliged to stay overnight for the hearing of their accounts. Allowances made to the steward for their maintenance varied slightly until

---

1 College Statutes, no. 41. Similarly at Christ Church, Canterbury, senior monks acted as auditors in the thirteenth century (R. A. L. Smith, op. cit., p. 20).
2 One of Edward III's clerks (Tout, Chapters, V, 175.n.4).
3 Clerk of the courts and accounts 1393-1416.
4 See above, pp. 214-15.
about 1395. For the most part, one shilling a day was allowed for the auditor (with or without his clerk), and 7d. or 8d. each a day for the clerk of the rolls and for local officers. In 1394-5 nothing was expended for their table, since the warden provided for them at his own cost as a gift to the college.¹ From 1395 there was a fixed allowance of 6d. a head for each day. Extra was allowed for the provender of the auditor’s horses. Canon-auditors (including the warden, treasurer and steward) were also granted maintenance allowances; theirs were assessed from at least 1385 at 1s. each a day.

Audit of local accounts took from two to six days. At the sessions in the aery there were eight persons to hear the accounts, five canons (warden, two auditors, treasurer and steward), the auditor, his clerk, and the clerk of the rolls. The accounts of Iver were presented first. Usually there was only one accounting officer for Iver, but in 1377 there were three, William Lorimer, John Hunt and Richard Packington. Of these John Hunt and William Lorimer had served in turn as reeve during the preceding year. Richard Packington had been from 1374-5 collector of rents of the “manor of Cornwall”, an estate within the manor of Iver in the lord’s hands for lack of an heir of the Cornwalls, who had held it. Lorimer’s account took two days to hear, Hunt’s and Packington’s each took one.² In most years audit of the accounts of Iver was completed in two or three days. When the hearing was nearly finished a messenger was despatched to warn the reeve of Craswell that the auditors were ready for him.³ The reeve returned to Windsor at once with the messenger; his account was shorter and only occasionally took more than one day to hear.

The clerk of the rolls had already compiled the accounts; presumably he had visited Iver and Craswell previously for this purpose. At the audit he made any necessary alterations, added a record of receipts from sales or any costs incurred since the roll was drawn up, wrote in the final totals and struck the balance of the account. In support of each of the items, the bailiff or reeve cited a tally or a bill or the instructions of the steward. Tallies and bills had to be produced for the auditors, and the steward was present to answer for his directions. After the balance had been calculated, further

¹ Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.17.
² Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.13.
³ In vadiis unius garcionis eodem die [xix Novembris] euntis usque Crasewelle ad premunieniam prepositum ibidem venire usque Wyndesore ad reddendum compotum suum it.d. (ibid., 1371-2, xv.34.8).
deductions might be made. On behalf of the college, the warden sometimes remitted to the accountant part of his liability “of special grace” in recognition of good service rendered. The auditors might wipe out a bad debt or order some extra payment to be made (for instance, to the clerk). When the final sum was fixed, however, the reeve or bailiff had to answer for it. If he was fortunate enough to have the money in hand, he paid it at once to the treasurer and was written off. More often he paid some of it and the remainder appeared in the next account as part of the arrears. When eventually the whole amount had been paid, the roll was taken out, payment recorded and the accountant at last acquitted.

Finally it was the task of the auditors to compute the value of the manor for the year. How this was done has not been discovered, but many items besides money actually received must have been taken into consideration. Perhaps the valor maneri was based upon the grain-yield, as on the estates of Norwich priory and Beaulieu abbey, or perhaps it was an assessment of the “wainage” or all the profits of agriculture (i.e. of stock as well as grain) like the estimate made by the auditors of the accounts of Roger Bigod’s estates at the end of the thirteenth century. On each of the three accounts of manors of the college of Windsor which have been preserved (of Craswell 1367-8 and 1379-80, and of Iver 1381-2) the auditors made a note of the annual value; this suggests that such an estimate was usually made.

B. CENTRAL ACCOUNTS

For the hearing of central accounts, rendered by canons, the services of a professional auditor were not required. When all local accounts had been heard, the auditor and his clerk and the clerk of the rolls departed, leaving the canons to deal with the rest of the audit. The rolls of treasurer, steward and precentor were drawn up by another clerk (possibly one of the clerks of the chapel), except in the early years when John Rowe wrote all the accounts of the college.

---

1 Denholm-Young, op. cit., pp. 129-30. The calculation seems to have been made by deducting the running expenses of the manor from the value of corn sold and supplied to the household.

2 Op. cit., pp. 128-9. Wainage is thought to have been computed by adding up the value of the items in the stock and grain accounts.

3 Except perhaps in 1403 when Campford was paid 3s. 4d. for “coming for Ravendale’s account”. Ravendale was treasurer from 1 February to 1 October 1403. Possibly Campford came to draw up the account.
The warden and the two canon-auditors continued to preside in the aerary, assisted by the treasurer and the steward until it was their own turn to be heard. Either the steward’s or the precentor’s returns were presented first. The precentor usually took no part himself in auditing, and his roll rarely occupied the auditors for more than a day. Consequently his allowance for time spent was small. The others, whose presence was required for the whole period of audit, were occupied for seven days or more and were paid accordingly. Up to 1378 canons received as much as 2s. 4d. a day during audit, but from 1385-6 the allowance was standardised at a shilling a day. Besides this, the auditors were supplied with fuel and candles, for the winter days were short and the aerary lit only by one window. In 1400-1 they received the additional comfort of 2½ gallons of wine.¹

Until 1393 the chapel offerings, for which the precentor accounted, formed part of the common income. Thus when the precentor’s account had been heard and the balance struck, any surplus of receipts over expenditure was payable to the treasurer. On most occasions the precentor paid at once, over the exchequer, and the money was placed in the chest.² In 1370, however, the precentor paid by having the amount deducted from the dividend due to him,³ and after 1386-7, when the sum owing was £18 10s. 5d., he paid in four instalments.⁴ From 1393, when the oblations were by royal grant to be divided among the residentiaries, although the precentor still paid the balance over the exchequer, it was not put with the money in the treasurer’s chest; instead the treasurer added to it a refund of what the precentor had spent, and the whole sum was devoted “to the use to which the king had assigned it”.⁵

At least one of the central accounts, that of the steward, was viewed in mid-year. This is made evident by the heading of the roll of 1369-70,⁶ which had read, *Visus compot’ Edmundi Cloville senescalli . . .*, but by crossing out the word *Visus* and altering the closing date of the period of account had been made to serve

¹ Treasurer’s Account, W.R., xv.34.20.
² E.g., *Et sic remanent viii li. xiii.s. ii.d. quos solvit super Compositum et ponuntur in Cista Et quietus est* (Precentor’s Account, 1391-2, W.R., xv.56.12).
³ *Et sic debet iii li. iiiis. iid. ob. qu. Quos solvit Collegio in substraccionis dividende sue Et quietus est* (ibid., xv.56.2).
⁴ Ibid., xv.56.9.
⁵ *Et sic computans debet de claro v li. quos idem computans solvit Auditoribus Compositus sui super scaccarium ad convertendum in usus adquos per dominum nostrum Regem fuerunt assignati* (ibid., xv.56.18).
⁶ Steward’s Account, W.R., xv.48.1.
for the final account. It is possible to distinguish additions to almost every group of entries in the roll, and alterations to all the sums. This is the only evidence of a view being taken.

Besides the altered view-roll, there survive two other stewards' accounts, but these both belong to the year 1415-16. They are, with one small exception, exactly similar in content. Although both have apparently been audited, one was marked only with the word *exhibita* over the mention of any quittance in support of the account, while the other bears also the auditors' *probatur* beside each sum. The existence of these two rolls suggests that a counter-roll of the steward's returns may have been kept for reference purposes. Since the two are almost identical it does not seem likely that the second one was made under Burton's instructions, as in the case of the treasurer's rolls of the same year.²

Since audit did not take place until a month or more after the end of the financial year, it occasionally happened that some receipts and expenditure of the intervening weeks were included in error in the roll of the preceding year. The auditors were careful to pick out these entries and cross them through with the written explanation *quia in anno futuro*. The herrings due annually from Yarmouth seem to have been fetched usually in November. In the treasurer's roll of 1362-3 there appeared two sets of expenses in connexion with their carriage: one of these was allowed to stand, this referring to November 1362, but the other, for herrings received in November 1363, was crossed through, for it belonged to the next financial year.³ The auditors were equally careful to see that no items included in a previous account appeared again the next year. An entry of expenditure at Whaddon, on repairs to the hall, chapel, granary, grange, cattle-sheds and stables together with the cost of timber, was crossed out by the auditors in 1363 "because it is in the preceding account", as indeed it was.⁴

Besides checking entries and calculating sums, the auditors entered in the margin of treasurers' rolls a note of money owing for each estate, both unpaid dues of the year of account and debts of longer standing. When these were paid this was recorded in the

---

¹ An item of expenditure in connexion with the carriage of herrings from Yarmouth was first disallowed by the auditors, then allowed to stand. In one of the rolls (xv.48.4) the item was crossed out and afterwards marked *siet*, but in the other (xv.48.28) it remained crossed through.

² See above, pp. 228-9.

³ Treasurer's Account, W.R., xv.34.2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, W.R., xv.34.2. The items had appeared in the account of 1361-2 (xv.34.1).
roll of the last year only; the marginal entry was usually crossed through and beside was written a note that the amount had been paid (quia solutum).

Of the treasurers' rolls, that of 1406-7 bears marks of the most careful auditing. The roll itself had been drawn up very fully, mentioning in the case of each source of revenue if only part of the sum due had been paid, and if its value had depreciated. Notes of arrears added in the margin by the auditors were likewise full, going back over many years. Nearly all the receipts were stated as 'through the steward by indenture', and over each mention of the indenture the auditors wrote examinata. Each quittance cited by the treasurer was exhibita, and every sum marked probatur. The sum total of receipts amounted to £612 16s. 3½d. Beside it the auditors wrote how this sum was made up, £541 8s. 10½d. actually received, £55 11s. 3¾d. of old debts and arrears of preceding years and £15 16s. 2d. of loan. This rather cramped little note was written out more clearly on a slip of parchment which was then sewn to the side of the roll.

Calculations were of course made with counters on an exchequer board, but occasionally the clerk left some mark of the auditors' sums in the margin of a roll, a number of dots arranged in little squares.¹

A fee was granted to the clerk who wrote each roll. This was frequently assessed by the auditors who, when the balance of the account was an odd sum but of suitable size, directed the accountant to pay it to the clerk. For instance, in 1400-1 and 1407-8, when the treasurer's balance in hand was 4s. 5½d. and 6s. 6¼d. respectively, the clerk received that amount and the account then balanced exactly.² The clerk's fee was the last payment to be included by the auditors in the year's expenditure. When that was written in, the treasurer's account was closed and the business of audit over.

¹ W.R., xv.34.24.
² E.g., Precentor's Account of 1415-16, W.R., xv.56.22.
³ Treasurers' Accounts, W.R., xv.34.20, 25.
SUMMARY CONCLUSION

In the foregoing study the financial and administrative machinery of the college of Windsor has been surveyed in detail. It may be useful in conclusion to summarize the main points of interest which arise from it. It will have been seen how outstanding a feature of the system was the common responsibility and authority shared by the whole body of canons in chapter. Although naturally it was the residentiaries who were most concerned with business affairs, matters of importance and particularly the election of auditors, were reserved for the bi-annual general chapters when a larger proportion of the canons might be expected to attend. Of the residentiaries any might be chosen as treasurer, steward or precentor, and could be fined severely for refusal so to serve. Since these offices were temporary and elective, there was little opportunity for any canon to build up an independent position or to increase his own wealth and importance by occupying one of them.

The three sides of the administration, central finance, estate management and care of the chapel, were nicely balanced. The three officials responsible for them received equal wages and seem to have enjoyed equal status. Of the three, only the precentor both received and expended independently; the steward’s work of receiving was checked by the treasurer, who made himself liable also for the steward’s limited disbursements. During the course of the financial year the chapter kept in close touch with the work of its officials, directing, authorizing and afterwards approving extraordinary expenditure. At the close of the year the accounts of all three officials were subjected to a scrutiny none the less searching for its being conducted unaided by chosen delegates of the chapter.

In estate management the canons made use of outside experience. The steward’s collaborator, the steward of the courts, was a permanent officer with local knowledge; bailiffs and reeves were retained for long periods. Further, the canons did not undertake the audit of manorial accounts by themselves, but employed an outside auditor and clerk to assist them in this. Thus although the steward changed frequently, a continuity of control was preserved. This was, of course, helped by the permanency of the warden who was an active participant in all the business of the college.
The administrative methods of the college of St. George as revealed in this study had two main characteristics. First, there was a working system of common control where the authority of executive officers had well-defined limits. The outline of this system, with its checks and balances, was contained in the statutes of the college, for which Bishop Edington of Winchester was responsible. In practice, his provisions suffered only slight modifications; their wisdom is demonstrated by the smooth way in which they worked. Secondly, the work of administration was performed as far as possible by the canons themselves, helped where necessary by experts from outside. The interests of the college were doubly safeguarded, for the chief administrators were canons, and no canon had a chance to be autocratic in office.
APPENDIX I

The value at farm of church appropriated to St. George's Chapel (See above, pp. 20—27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Edward III</th>
<th>1316-24</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
<th>1325-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wreccordey</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Twornton</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haden</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deddington</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyston</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minsterham</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allhall</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
<td>£ d. s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX II

Chief central officials of the college of St. George between 1361 and 1416

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Treasurer(s)</th>
<th>Steward(s)</th>
<th>Precentor(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor Records:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.1</td>
<td>1361-62</td>
<td>(1) William Polmorva, (2) John Loring and Stephen Shalford</td>
<td>William Moulsoe</td>
<td>John Loring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.2</td>
<td>1362-63</td>
<td>John Loring and Stephen Shalford</td>
<td>William Moulsoe</td>
<td>John Loring and Edmund Cloville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.1</td>
<td>1363-64</td>
<td>Henry Blount</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>John Loring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.4</td>
<td>1365-66</td>
<td>Henry Blount</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>Hugh Bridham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.4</td>
<td>1366-67</td>
<td>Stephen Shalford</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>John Loring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.5, 6</td>
<td>1367-68</td>
<td>(1) Stephen Shalford, (2) Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>(1) Edmund Cloville, (2) Adam Hartington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.48.1</td>
<td>1369-70</td>
<td>John Loring</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>Thomas Aston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.2</td>
<td>1370-71</td>
<td>Thomas Aston</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>John Loring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.7</td>
<td>1371-72</td>
<td>Thomas Aston</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>(1) John Loring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.8</td>
<td>1370-71</td>
<td>Thomas Aston</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>(2) Thomas Madefray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.9</td>
<td>1374-75</td>
<td>Thomas Aston</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>Thomas Aston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.10, 11</td>
<td>1375-76</td>
<td>(1) John Loring, (2) Richard Shaw</td>
<td>(1) John Loring, (2) Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.12, 13</td>
<td>1376-77</td>
<td>(1) —, (2) Edmund Cloville</td>
<td>(1) —, (2) Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.14</td>
<td>1377-78</td>
<td>(3) Richard Raunds, Richard Raunds</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.5</td>
<td>1379-80</td>
<td>Richard Raunds</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.53.65</td>
<td>1381-82</td>
<td>Richard Raunds</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.6</td>
<td>1382-83</td>
<td>Richard Raunds</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.7</td>
<td>1383-84</td>
<td>Richard Postell</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.8</td>
<td>1384-85</td>
<td>Richard Shaw</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.15</td>
<td>1385-86</td>
<td>Richard Shaw</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.9</td>
<td>1386-87</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.10</td>
<td>1387-88</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.11</td>
<td>1388-89</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.55.17</td>
<td>1389-90</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.12</td>
<td>1391-92</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Edmund Cloville, Richard Postell, Richard Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.16</td>
<td>1392-93</td>
<td>Richard Raunds</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, John Massingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.17</td>
<td>1393-94</td>
<td>Thomas Butler</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, John Massingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.18</td>
<td>1394-95</td>
<td>Richard Shaw</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, John Massingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.18</td>
<td>1395-96</td>
<td>Richard Shaw</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, John Massingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.56.15</td>
<td>1396-97</td>
<td>John Prust</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, John Massingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.48.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Prust</td>
<td>Richard Shaw, John Massingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

240
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
<th>Steward</th>
<th>Precentor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor Records:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.48.2</td>
<td>1397-98</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.19</td>
<td>1398-99</td>
<td>John Prust</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>John Massingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.21</td>
<td>1399-1400</td>
<td>(1) Richard Raunds</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Robert Ravendale</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.20</td>
<td>1400-01</td>
<td>Robert Ravendale</td>
<td>John Massingham</td>
<td>Thomas Marton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.22</td>
<td>1402-03</td>
<td>(1) Edmund Lacy</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Thomas Marton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Robert Ravendale</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Thomas Marton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.23</td>
<td>1403-04</td>
<td>John Massingham</td>
<td>Spigurnell</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.24</td>
<td>1405-06</td>
<td>Roger Redburn</td>
<td>Henry Spicer</td>
<td>Thomas Marton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.25, 26</td>
<td>1406-07</td>
<td>Henry Spicer</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Thomas Marton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.27</td>
<td>1408-09</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Spigurnell</td>
<td>John Exton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.28</td>
<td>1410-11</td>
<td>Edmund Lacy</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>John Exton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.29</td>
<td>1413-14</td>
<td>William Lochard</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>John Exton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.48.4</td>
<td>1414-15</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>John Exton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.34.28</td>
<td>1415-16</td>
<td>William Gilot</td>
<td>John Exton</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 It appears from a roll of arrears (W.R., xv.48.2, probably compiled in 1416) that the stewardship was held by the same canon in the years 1396-97, 1397-98, 1398-99, 1400-01, 1401-02, 1403-04, 1405-06, 1408-09. It is known from other evidence that Spigurnell was steward in 1398-99, 1405-06 and 1408-09.

241
### APPENDIX III

#### Obits celebrated in St. George's Chapel, 1361-1416

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>First recorded obit in St. George's Chapel</th>
<th>Endowment</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John of the Chamber</td>
<td>Warden</td>
<td>1 June 1349</td>
<td>1362</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Burnham</td>
<td>Canon</td>
<td>10 August 1362</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>Grape Count Lane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Edington</td>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>7 October 1366</td>
<td>1366</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Warwick</td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>13 November 1369</td>
<td>1370</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Northampton</td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>16 September 1369</td>
<td>1371</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Lancaster</td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>24 March 1361</td>
<td>1371</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Philippa</td>
<td>15 August 1369</td>
<td>1371</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>8 June 1376</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>20 June 1377</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mudge</td>
<td>Warden</td>
<td>21 February 1381</td>
<td>1386</td>
<td>Thames-side land Frith and Ashcroft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Anne</td>
<td>7 June 1394</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph of Windsor</td>
<td>Canon</td>
<td>3 December</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1400 Messuage in New Windsor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Raunds</td>
<td>3 February 1400</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Butler</td>
<td>Warden</td>
<td>11 June 1402</td>
<td>1402</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William of Wykeham</td>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>27 September 1404</td>
<td>1405</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey Aston</td>
<td>14 January</td>
<td>1405</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Uxbridge property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Oxford</td>
<td>K.G.</td>
<td>22 November 1392</td>
<td>1406</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Ravendale</td>
<td>Canon</td>
<td>19 April 1404</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>Tenement in Windsor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Chapman</td>
<td>Ex-vicar</td>
<td>29 November</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 John of the Chamber’s obit was observed only until Mudge’s death.

2 In 1370-71 distribution at these obits was at a lower rate. See above, p. 66, n. 1.

3 From this 20s. distributions at quotidian rate were made to the college and the rest, up to 12d., was given to the poor. Any further surplus was divided among residentiaries present at the obit services.

4 Butler’s obit was observed only until 1408.
APPENDIX IV

Income and Expenditure of St. George’s Chapel in eighteen years between 1362 and 1416

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total Income</th>
<th>Amount Expended</th>
<th>Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.R., xv.34.2</td>
<td>536 13 10</td>
<td>405 17 3½</td>
<td>70 16 6½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &amp; 6</td>
<td>590 6 6½</td>
<td>580 14 10½</td>
<td>9 11 7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &amp; 8</td>
<td>673 15 3</td>
<td>531 0 2</td>
<td>142 15 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &amp; 11</td>
<td>669 10 9</td>
<td>574 12 8½</td>
<td>94 18 0½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>606 12 6</td>
<td>585 12 5½</td>
<td>21 0 0½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>619 0 4½</td>
<td>505 12 5½</td>
<td>113 7 11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>648 4 0½</td>
<td>630 2 2</td>
<td>18 1 10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>561 8 2</td>
<td>509 7 9½</td>
<td>52 0 4½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>520 4 1½</td>
<td>492 13 1</td>
<td>27 11 0½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>620 2 4½</td>
<td>600 13 7½</td>
<td>19 8 8½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>570 19 2½</td>
<td>542 9 1½</td>
<td>28 10 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>571 16 0</td>
<td>571 11 6½</td>
<td>0 4 5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>574 10 9½</td>
<td>570 5 1½</td>
<td>4 5 7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>605 13 3½</td>
<td>601 19 6</td>
<td>3 13 9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>593 6 1</td>
<td>612 16 3½</td>
<td>Deficit ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>565 0 9½</td>
<td>578 3 9</td>
<td>Deficit ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>561 11 6</td>
<td>547 6 1½</td>
<td>14 5 4½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>769 5 4</td>
<td>630 14 11</td>
<td>138 10 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ In this year, the chapel offerings were used to pay the expenses of the precentor’s account, and the balance of £3 14s. 0½d., together with £15 16s. 2d. borrowed from £200 lately given by William of Wykeham to endow his obit, just covered this deficit.

² The chapel offerings, amounting to £13 2s. 1½d., were absorbed to pay part of the chapel expenses. Repayment of the preceding year’s loan of £15 16s. 2d. is included in the expenditure, and the account just balanced.

243
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ORIGINAL SOURCES

A. UNPRINTED:

(a) Windsor Records, in the Aeryary, Windsor Castle:

1. Cartularies and other Collections:
   - Frith's Old Register, 1614 (iv.B.6).
   - Dr. Evans' Book, 2 vols., 1701 (iv.B.16-17).
   - Peter Scott's Book, 1671-86 (iv.B.21).

2. Central Accounts:
   - Treasurers' Rolls, between 1361 and 1442 (xv.34.1-2, 4-26, 28-32, 35, 41; xv.48.5).
   - Later summaries of Treasurers' Rolls (xv.53.64; xv.34.3, 27).
   - Stewards' Rolls, between 1369 and 1460 (xv.48.1, 4, 28, 25).
   - Roll of Steward's Arrears, 1390-1409 (xv.48.2).
   - Precentors' Rolls, between 1363 and 1427 (xv.56.1-27).
   - Household Rolls, between 1351 and 1355 (xv.3.1).

3. Documents subsidiary to Central Accounts:
   - Indentures between officials, 1447, 1456, 1520 (I.B.1-3).
   - Indentures of payments to canons, 1447-8, 1479-80 (xv.57.10, 12).
   - Bills of payments to vicars, between 1476 and 1483 (xi.B.22-25).
   - Bills of expenses, between 1387 and 1464 (xv.3.3; xv.57.1-9).
   - Quittances, 1393, 1498 (xv.60.5; xi.J.34).


5. Photographs of Chapel Inventories, 1384 and 1409-10 (iv.B.23).


7. Deeds of grant and purchase:
   - Concerning properties in Windsor, between 1339 and 1449
     (xv.44.76, 78, 104-6, 116-18, 124-5, 128-9, 131-3, 233-5, 239; x.4.8; xv.45.42, 139, 170).
   - Concerning Wraysbury, 1345, 1349 (xv.47.1, 5-7).
   - Concerning Datchet, 1352, 1356 (xv.58.B.2-3; x.13).
   - Miscellaneous, 1351, 1352, 1397 (xi.P.6; xv.55.59; xv.58.D.45).

8. Deeds of appropriation:
   - Wraysbury, 1349; Caxton, 1351; Whaddon, 1351; Saltash, 1351; Simonburn, 1360 (xv.47.3; xi.J.1, 13; xi.K.3, 1).

9. Local Accounts:
   - Wraysbury, 1353-55 (xv.53.42-43).
   - Craswell, 1367-8, 1379-80 (xv.61.28-29).
   - Iver, 1381-2 (xv.53.65).
   - Indenture between officials of Wraysbury, 1352 (xv.47.8).

10. Court Rolls:
    - Iver, between 1360 and 1408 (xv.55.7-24).
    - Uttoxeter, 1407, 1409, 1411 (xv.48.17).

11. Leases, between 1376 and 1448 (xv.53.25-27; xi.K.4; xv.28.12; xv.44.103, 109; xv.45.110; xv.47.9; xv.58.B.23, 42-48; xv.58. D.52, 73).

12. Miscellaneous:
    - College Statutes, late fourteenth century copy (xi.D.20).
    - Documents concerning properties, between 1331 and 1404 (x.A.2; xv.28.1, 15; xv.32.24).
    - Agreement concerning vacant stalls, 1416 (xi.B.1-2).
    - Judgment concerning the college's liberty, 1422 (xv.58.2).
    - Parliament's decision concerning the warden's title, 1429 (xi.A.6).
    - Petition and decision concerning leases, time of Elizabeth (xi.D.24).
    - Interpretatio statuti de tercia parte, 1605 (xi.D.18).
    - Agreement with Garter, 1606 (xi.D.2).
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

(b) Ancient Archives of the College of Windsor, now in the Bodleian Library:
1. Deed of grant to the vicars of St. George's Chapel, 1371 (Ashm. MS. No. 1544/B).
2. Obit bills, 1477–8, 1502 (Ashm. MSS. Nos. 1763, ff. 41-2; 1113, f. 38).
(c) Ashmolean MS., Bodleian Library:
Notebook of Elias Ashmole (No. 1124).

B. PRINTED:
(a) Chancery Records:
Calendar of Chancery Rolls, various, 1277-1326.
Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257-1516.
Close Rolls, 1242-72.
Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1416.
Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1307-68.
Calendar of Inquisitions, Vols. VI, X, XI, XII.
Rotuli Parlamentorum, Vols. III, IV.
Rotula, etc., ed. Thomas Rymer, 1816-69.
(b) Exchequer Records:
Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226-51.
Issues of the Exchequer, extracted and translated by Frederick Devon, 1837.
The Great Rolls of the Pipe, 1155-8, ed. Joseph Hunter, 1844.
The Great Rolls of the Pipe, 1190-1205 (Pipe Roll Society, New Series).
(c) Ecclesiastical:
Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters, 1198-1447.
Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions, 1342-1419.
Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of Hereford, 1327-1416 (Cantilupe Society), 1912, etc.
Registrum Simonis de Sudbury, Episcopi Londinensis, 1362-75 (Canterbury and York Society).
Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense, ed. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, 1873-8.
(d) Manorial:
Walter of Henley's Husbandry, etc., ed. E. Lamond, 1890.
Chertsey Abbey Court Rolls Abstract, Pt. I, ed. E. Toms (Surrey Record Society, No. xxxviii), 1937.
Surrey Manorial Accounts, ed. H. M. Briggs (Surrey Record Society, No. xxxviii), 1935.

II. SECONDARY AUTHORITIES
A. RELATING TO THE HISTORY OR THE COLLEGE OF WINDSOR:
Baille, A. V. . . . Windsor Castle and the Chapel of St. George, 1927.
ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

  " " Organists and Masters of the Choristers of St. George’s Chapel in Windsor Castle.
  " " The Military Knights of Windsor, 1352-1944.
  " " The Vicars or Minor Canons of St. George’s Chapel (Historical Monographs relating to St. George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle), 1939-1945.

Harwood, T. E. .. Windsor Old and New, 1929.

Pote, Joseph .. The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle, 1749.
Selden, John .. Tides of Honor, 1672.
Stoughton, John .. Notices of Windsor in the olden time, 1844.

B. GENERAL

Dalton, J. N. .. The Collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary, 1917.
  " " Ottery St. Mary and Newarke, Leicester. (Unpublished, in the Chapter Library, Windsor.)
Hodgson, John .. A History of Northumberland, Pt. ii, Vol. 2; Pt. iii, Vols. i, 2, 1827-40.
Hone, N. J. .. The Manor and Manorial Records, 1912.
Knoop, Douglas, and Jones, G. P. .. The Mediaeval Mason, 1933.
Northumberland County History, Vols. IV and XV, 1897-1940.
Snape, R. H. .. English Monastic Finances, Cambridge, 1926.
Thompson, A. H. .. The Cathedral Churches of England, 1925.
  " " The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, Surtees Society, 1929.
  " " The History of the Hospital and New College of the Annunciation of St. Mary in the Newarke, 1937.
Tout, T. F. .. Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History, 6 vols., Manchester, 1920-33.

Victoria County History, Buckingham, Vol. III, 1925.
III. ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

A. RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF WINDSOR:

B. GENERAL:
   Bennett, H. S. .. "The Reeve and the Manor in the fourteenth century", English Historical Review, XLI, 358 (1926).
   ... .. "Mediaeval Building Documents and what we learn from them", Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society, LXVI (1920).
INDEX

Abburbury, John, steward of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 172 and n. 4.
Abergwili (co. Carmarthen), cathedral church; prebends of, 123, 129; chancellorship of, 124.
Aerary, Windsor Castle, see under Windsor, college of.
Aldrich, Robert, canon of Windsor, 3 n. 1.
Alencon, Philip of, archbishop of Rouen, 168 and n. 7.
Alexander II, king of Scotland (1214-49), 20 n. 1.
Aley, John, canon of Windsor, 86-87.
Aley, John, beadle of the manor of Iver (co. Bucks), 218.
Almaly, Walter; rector of North Molten (co. Devon), 25 and n. 6; canon of Windsor, 25 n. 5; dean of Windsor, 7 n. 3, 112, 115, 120-23, 124, 150.
Almsgiving, in appropriated churches, 15 n. 6, 170-71.
Amersham (co. Bucks.), rectory of, 129 n. 5.
Angram, William, vicar of Simonburn (co. Northumberland), 155.
Ankerwyke (co. Bucks.), priory of, 16 and n. 4, 224.
Anne, queen of Richard II, obit endowment of, 37-38, 67, 244.
Appellants, see Lords appellant.
Appropriated churches, 14-27, 47, 153-71, 175-93.
Aquitaine (Gascony), 117, 137.
Arches, dean of the court of, 119 and n. 7.
Arkle, John, farmer of the rectory of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 164 and n. 2.
Arundel, earl of (Richard Fitzalan), 82.
Arundel, John, dean of Windsor, xiii and n. 3, 7, 55, 68, 125.
Arundel, Thomas; archbishop of York (1388-96), 37-38; archbishop of Canterbury (1396-97, 1399-1414), 17 n. 1, 167-68.
Ashby, William, vicar of Wraysbury (co. Bucks.), 15 n. 7, 154, 158, 190, 191.
Ashmole, Elias, xii n. 4, xviii-xix, 3 and n. 1, 12 n. 2, 15 n. 2, 20 n. 8, 44 n. 2, 67, 113 n. 4, 142 n. 3, 143 n. 2, 144.
Asheley, Thomas, 68.
Aston, Geoffrey and Isabella, obit endowment of, 37, 39-40, 244.
Aston, Thomas; chaplain of St. George's Chapel, 64 and n. 2, 65, 66; canon of Windsor, 65, 101, 242.
Atewolf, John, reeve of the manor of Craswell (co. Berks.), 193, 199, 210, 214.
Atlee (atte Lee). John, chaplain of St. George's Chapel, 44 n. 1, 64 and n. 2, 65, 66, 191.
Atwater, Henry, farmer of the rectory of Iver (co. Bucks.), 158.
Audit, 229-36; see also under Windsor, college of.
Aylesbury (co. Bucks.), 168.
Aylmer, John, clerk of St. George's Chapel, 109, 101.
Ayno, Thomas, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 36.
Babthorpe, Sir Robert, steward of the king's household, 148.
Backeton, Thomas, 121-22.
Baker, Nicholas, 35, 42 n. 6.
Balliol, John, king of Scotland (1292-96), 20.
Barnet, John, bishop of Ely (1366-73), 170.
Barnstaple (co. Devon), archdeaconry of, 119 and n. 4.

Barnwell (co. Northants.), All Saints, rectory of, 138.

Bavaria, Bartholomew of, papal nuncio, 169.

Bayly, John, farmer of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 156, 165.

Beadle, manorial, 217–18; see also under Iver, manor of; Wraysbury, manor of.

Beams Park (co. Berks.), 126.

Beanfield, John and Alicia, 37 and n. 4.


Beauchamp, Roger of, 45 n. 1.

Beauchamp, Thomas, earl of Warwick (d. 1369), 21, 22 n. 4.

Beaulieu (co. Ham's), abbey of, 233.


Bedford, John duke of, third son of Henry IV, 68, 70.

Bedrip (harvest work), 201.


Bellingham (co. Northumberland), chapelry of, 22.

Bellringer, Robert, 101.

Belton (dio. Lincoln), rectory of, 122.

Bernham, Robert, see Burnham, Robert.

Beverley (co. Yorks.), collegiate church of, prebend of, 125.

Bidecok, William, lessee of Bray mill, 198.

Bigod, Roger, earl of Norfolk (d. 1306), 233.

Bishop of the boys, 90–91.

Bitterley, Robert, poor knight of Windsor, 84.

Black Death, 6, 72 n. 4, 85 n. 3, 116, 128, 143, 153, 177, 193, 196, 197.

Black Prince, see Edward of Woodstock.

Blockleye, John, canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 8 n. 3.

Blount (or Warner), Henry, canon of Windsor, 78, 110 n. 1, 242.

Bodewell, Nicholas, steward of the courts of the college of Windsor, 212.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmolean MSS., xii n. 4, xix, 67, 113 n. 4, 142 n. 3, 143 n. 2.

Bodrynhale, Michael, customary tenement of, at Craswell (co. Berks.), 200–02.

Bohun, William de, earl of Northampton, 17, 28 n. 9, 65 n. 7, 66 nn. 1, 3, 244.


Boniface IX, pope, 11.

Boon-work, 201–02, 203.

Boor, John, canon of Windsor, 112.

Bordeaux, Oliver of, 180.


Bower, John, of Bray, 98, 174.


Bradninch (co. Devon), rectory of, 137.

Brancote, Roger, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 99, 106.

Branktre, Stephen, see Shalford, Stephen.

Brantingham, Thomas, bishop of Exeter (1370–94), 25 and n. 8, 170.

Bray (co. Berks.); Frith and Ashcroft pastures at, 37–38, 67, 213 n. 2, 244; lock, 211; mill, 173, 174, 198, 202, 211; rectory of, 198; royal manor of, 202, 217.

Bray, John, attorney of the college of Windsor, 146, 147.

Braybrook weir (co. Berks.), 27 and n. 6.

Brétigny, Treaty of (1360), 133, 137.

Breton, Joan, formerly Joan Dyne, 28 n. 7, 29 and n. 8, 171.

Breton, John, poor knight of Windsor, 150.

Bretton, John, clerk of, 216.

Bridgenorth (co. Salop.), collegiate church of, prebend of, 123.

Brimham, Hugh, canon of Windsor, 110 and n. 1, 136, 137 and n. 2, 242.

Brough, William, canon of Windsor, xix n. 3, 7 n. 2.

Bruges, Truce of (1375), 68.

Buckingham, archdeaconry of, 18, 165.

Burdon, John, William and Cecilia, 33, 34.

Burghill, John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1398–1414), 17 n. 1.

Burghill, Payn, canon of Windsor, 68.
Burnell, Hugh, knight, of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 161–62.
Burnham, Robert, canon of Windsor, 77–78, 110 n. 1, 178 and n. 1; surveyor of the
works at Windsor, 78, 127–28, 219; obit of, 30–32, 66, 67, 224, 244.
Burnham, Simon of, royal chaplain, 3 and n. 4, 4.
Burton (co. Gloucs.), manor of, 15.
Burton, Roger of, 137.
Burwell (co. Cambs.), St. Mary, rectory of, 117.
Bury, John, canon of Windsor, 68.
Bury, Richard of, bishop of Durham (1333–45), 21 and n. 6, 22 nn. 1, 4.
Busch, Robert, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 102.
Buskyn, William, vicar of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 155.
Bustlesham, Thomas of, royal chaplain, 4.
242; obit of, 65 nn. 5, 8, 244 and n. 4.
Byfield (co. Northants.), rectory of, 121.
Campford (or Capmanford), Thomas; clerk of the courts and accounts of the college
of Windsor, 214–15, 233 n. 3; auditor; 231.
Canon, Ralph, clerk, 104 n. 1.
Canterbury, archbishop of, see Arundel, Thomas.
Canterbury, archbishop’s court, 119 and n. 7.
Canterbury cathedral priory; audit of accounts, 230 n. 3, 231 n. 1; prior’s council,
195 n. 2.
Carlisle (co. Cumberland), parliament at, 21.
Carter, Nicholas and Isabella, farmers of the chapelry of Langley Marish (co.
Bucks.), 157 and n. 1.
Caxton (co. Cambs.), rectory of; appropriation to St. George’s Chapel, 14, 18–19,
170, 180–81; at farm, 153, 155, 169 n. 4, 224, 239.
Chamber, king’s, 115, 116.
Chamber, queen’s, 116.
Chamber, Isabella, sewing-woman, 90.
Chamber (de la Chaumbre or de Camera), John of the, dean of Windsor, 32 n. 2,
115–18; obit of, 34, 65 nn. 5, 8, 244 and n. 1.
Chancellor, 134, 142, 143; visitor of the college of Windsor, 45 and n. 5, 49, 58,
Chancery, king’s, 115; court of, 146–47.
Chandel, Nicholas, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 106.
Chapman, John, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, obit endowment of, 37 and n. 5,
244.
Chapman, Walter, 37 n. 4.
Charles II, xviii.
Charles V, king of France (1364–80), 168 and n. 7.
Charles, John, maker of vestments, 89.
Charleton (co. Wilts.), manor of, 44 n. 2.
Charleton, Alan and Ellen of, 24–25.
Chariton, Thomas, bishop of Hereford (1327–44), 117–18.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 79, 132.
Cherzet (or Churchscot), manorial poultry-rent, 188 and n. 1, 199 and n. 1, 200.
Chese, Ralph, reeve of the manor of Craswell (co. Berks.), 196, 199, 201.
Cheve, 188, 204, 200.
Cheylesmore (co. Warwick), king’s park at, 123.
Chichester, bishop of (Richard Medford, 1390–95), 134.
Chichester, cathedral church, prebends of, 121, 122, 123, 134, 137.
Chislehurst (co. Kent), St. Nicholas, rectory of, 132 n. 4.
Chislet, John, 36.
Chulmleigh (co. Devon), collegiate church of, prebend of, 137.
Churchscot, see Cherzet.
Cil-y-cwm (co. Carmarthen), rectory of, 126 n. 5.
Cippenham (co. Bucks.), manor of, 5.
ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

Claydon (co. Suffolk), rectory of, 122 n. 6.
Clement VI, pope, 7 and n. 1, 17, 49, 145.
Clerk, Henry, 104 n. 1.
Clerk, John, farmer of the rectory of Whaddon (co. Cambs.), 157.
Clerk, Thomas, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 106.
Clockmaker, Thomas, 96.
Clopton, Nicholas, clerk of the courts and accounts of the college of Windsor, 148, 215.
Cod, Walter, clerk, 104 n. 1.
Coke, Adam, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 105 n. 4.
Coke, Robert, farmer of the rectory of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 156, 164.
Colchester, archdeaconry of, 125.
Collectors of rent, manorial, 203, 217–18, 232.
Colne, Bartholomew, vicar of Caxton (co. Cambs.), 155.
Common Pleas, court of, 76, 146 n. 2, 147.
Commutation of manorial labour-services, 200–01, 202–03, 205, 207.
Coterel, John, villein of the manor of Craswell (co. Berks), 204; reeve, 193, 196, 197, 208, 215 n. 2.
Coterel, Mark, customary tenement of, at Craswell (co. Berks.), 200–02.
Coterel, Simon, reeve of Craswell (co. Berks.), 196, 216.
Cranbury (co. Devon), rectory of, 119 n. 4.
Court of Common Pleas, 79, 146 n. 2, 147.
Court of King’s Bench, 146 n. 2.
Court leet, 204, 209, 216.
Court, manorial, see Manorial courts.
Court of Marshalsea, 148.
Coventry and Lichfield, bishop of, see Burghill, John; Northburgh, Roger.
Cranstock (co. Cornwall), collegiate church of, prebends of, 120, 138.
Crecy, Battle of (1346), xi.
Crewkerne (co. Somerset), rectory of, 120.
Crewkerne, John, vicar of Saltash (co. Cornwall), 141–42, 147, 165.
Croft, Isabella, sewing-woman, 90.
Cross Gneyth or Neit, 46 and n. 2, 94 and n. 2.
Croston (co. Lancs.), rectory of, 125.
Crowland (co. Lincoln), abbey of, abbot’s council, 195 n. 2.
Croxton, John of, 30 n. 3.
Cumberton, Walter, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 100, 106.
Curreys, wife, 98.
Cusak, John of, 121.
Customary tenants, see Villeins.
Customary tenements, see Villein tenements.
Customary works (labour-services), 185, 196, 200–07, 215, 218.

D’Abricche-court, Sir John, Knight of the Garter, 83.
Dalton, John, canon of Windsor, xiii, 7 n. 2, 30 n. 2.
Dane, Thomas, canon of Windsor, 56, 67.
Darcy, Sir John, lord of the manor of Wark in Tynedale (co. Northumberland), 19, 21–22.

251
St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1348–1416

Deddington (co. Oxon.), rectory of, 14, 17–18, 154, 169, 170, 180–82; lands of, 189–90, 196, 216, 224, 239; at farm, 18, 71, 101, 102.


Dentons Commons, 80 and n. 1.

Depedene, John, canon of Windsor, 68, 148.

Dempseys, The (elder and younger Hugh), 116.

Deye, John, farmer of the dairy at Craswell (co. Berks.), 209.

Dendred, see under Windsor, college of.

Dixon, Thomas, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 61 and n. 5.

Doge's Chantry, Canterbury (co. Kent), wardenship of, 132 n. 4.

Dole, William, canon of Windsor, 40 n. 4.

Domesday Book, 199 n. 2.

Downe, Thomas, canon of Windsor, 67.


Dormans, John de, cardinal, 168.

Dormene, Robert, 200.

Downe, Thomas, canon of Windsor, 67.

Doyly's, customary tenement at Craswell (co. Berks.), 200–02.


Drake, John, of London, 30 n. 3.

Drere, John, see Dyer, John.

Dreweryn, Laurence, clerk of St. George's Chapel, 105, 106.

Dublin, cathedral church, prebend of, 129.

Dunton Waylett (co. Essex), rectory of, 126 n. 5.

Durham, bishop of, see Beaumont, Louis de; Bek, Anthony; Bury, Richard of; Hatfield, Thomas.

Durham, prior and convent of, 21 and n. 6, 22.

Dyer (? Drere), John, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 79 and n. 1, 106.

Dyne, Joan, see Breton, Joan.

Dyne, John, 28 n. 7, 29.

Dyne, Thomas, 28 n. 7, 29 and n. 1.

East Swinburn, Adam of, 20 and n. 8.

Easter Sepulchre, 92.

Easthampstead (co. Berks.), king's works at, 128, 131.

Eaton Moysey (co. Wilts.), rectory of, 118.

Edalle, Thomas, farmer of the rectory of Saltash (co. Cornwall), 68, 165.

Ecclesiastical courts, attorneys in, 147.

Edington, William, bishop of Winchester (1346–66), 17–18, 107, 143, 145, 238; obit of, 45 and n. 5, 65 and n. 6, 149, 244.

Edward the Confessor, chapel of, in Windsor Castle, see under Windsor Castle.

Edward I, 20, 22, 46, 230 n. 3.

Edward II, 4–5, 116.

Edward III, xi–xii, xv, 8 n. 2, 14, 21–22, 145, 154, 168, 189; founder of the Order of the Garter, xi, 12–13; founder of St. George's Chapel, xi, 1–2, 6–12, 107, 126, 175, 244; grants to St. George's Chapel, 14–19, 24–26, 27–28, 30 n. 5, 41–49, 97, 149–49, 181; sword of, in St. George's Chapel, 83; grants to chaplains of St. George's Chapel, 64–65; grants to individual canons of St. George's Chapel, 117–21, 125–33, 137–39.

Edward IV, 94 n. 2.

Edward VI, 102.

Edward, son of Henry III (later Edward I), 3, 230 n. 3.

Edward of Woodstock, son of Edward III, called the Black Prince; grants to St. George's Chapel, 14, 19, 43 n. 2; household of, 115 and n. 1, 135; household clerks of, 110, 135, 136–37; obit of, 65, 244.

Edward of York, grandson of Edward III; earl of Rutland, 38; duke of York, 132.

Elizabeth, queen, 144–45.

Ely, bishop of, see Lisle, Thomas de; Barnet, John.

Este, Henry, king's clerk, 148.

Eston, John, canon of Windsor, 58, 243.
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348-1416

Evans, George, canon of Windsor, 40.
Exchequer, kings', 44, 97, 138, 139, 222, 230; staff of, 115, 129, 131, 135-36; court of, 76, 146 and n. 2, 213 n. 2.
Exeter, bishop of, see Brantingham, Thomas; Grandisson, John; Stapeldon, Walter.
Exeter, cathedral church; prebends of, 119, 131, 137; treasurership of, 119-20.
Exton, John, canon of Windsor, 58, 71-72, 74 n. 1, 243.

Fakenham (co. Norfolk), rectory of, 125 n. 5.
Farm servants (famuli), manorial, 183, 185, 188, 202-03, 205-06, 210, 212.
Felle, Richard, canon of Windsor, 66 n. 3.
Fellowes, Dr. E. H., 79, 102, 105.
Filongley, Richard, 131.
Fissely, Richard, wife of, laundress, 90 and n. 3.
Fitzalan, Richard, 4th earl of Arundel, 82.
Folli John (co. Berks.), manor of, king's works at, 128, 131.
Ford, William atte, villein of Wraysbury (co. Bucks.), 188.
Fortibus, Isabella de, countess of Devon and Aumale, 230 n. 4.
Foul, William, collector of rents at Iver (co. Bucks.), 218 n. 3.
Franklin, Richard, vicar of Iver (co. Bucks.), 155 and n. 3.
French, John, farmer of the rectory of Saltash (co. Cornwall), 165.
Freshwater, Isle of Wight, rectory of, 25, 121.
Frisce, Henry, reeve of the manor of Craswell (co. Berks.), 183.
Frith, Thomas, canon of Windsor, xix n. 3, 13 n. 3.
Fulmer, John, of Gascony, 95.

Gape, William, Peter and Guy, villeins of Iver (co. Bucks.), 204-05.
Garderobe, Reginald, see Wardrobe, Reginald of the.
Garden of the college of Windsor, see under Windsor.
Garden, king's, at Windsor, see under Windsor.
Gardiner, Henry, gardener to the college of Windsor, 42 and n. 6, 43.
Gardiner, Alice, wife of Henry, 43.
Gardiner, John, workman at Windsor, 85, 98.
Garter, Knights of the, see under Order of the Garter.
Gascony (Aquitaine), duchy of, 117, 137.
Gaunt, John of, son of Edward III, 146 and n. 4.
Geddingle, Richard, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 106.
Gernerays, Thomas, 93.
Gerrys, Roger, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 106.
Giffard, John, of Brimpsfield (co. Gloucs.), 116.
Gillot (Gyloth), William, canon of Windsor, 39, 58, 132-33, 243; treasurer, 51, 70, 227; steward, 41 n. 3, 68, 71, 227.
Glasney (co. Cornwall), collegiate church of, prebend of, 137.
Glendower (Glyn Dwr), Owen, 132.
Glory, John, of Windsor, 33-34.
Gloucester, abbey of St. Peter, 15.
Gloucester, John, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 96, 106.
Gloucester, Richard of, 16 and n. 1.
Glyn Dwr (Glendower), Owain, 132.
Godfrey, John, of Windsor, 37 n. 3.
Godfrey, John, reeve of Wraysbury rectory lands (co. Bucks.), 179, 182, 184.
Goldhop, Thomas, chaplain of Langley Marish (co. Bucks.), 155.
Goodfellow, William, farmer of the rectory of Whaddon (co. Cambs.), 156.
Goodrich, William, knight, 81.
Gowre, Robert, canon of Windsor, 227 n. 2.
Graham, Henry, lord of the manor of Simonburn (co. Northumberland), 20.
Graham, Sir John de, of Simonburn (co. Northumberland), 20.

253
Gravesend (co. Kent), 41, 124.
Gregory XI, pope, 168.
Grimsby, Sir John, poor knight of Windsor, 90.
Grys, Thomas, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 106.
Gyloth, William, see Gillot, William.

Haddenham (co. Cambs.), rectory of, 118.
Haldon Hill, battle of (1333), 21, 22 n. 4.
Halle, John, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 67.
Hannay, William, king’s clerk, 79 and n. 4.
Hampton, Richard, lawyer, 147.
Hampton, Robert, deputy to the sergeant of Wraysbury rectory lands (co. Bucks.), 182, 190.
Hanslape, Henry, canon of Windsor, 68.
Harpedale, John, farmer of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 192.
Hartfield (co. Sussex), rectory of, 119.
Hartingdon (Hertyngdon), Adam of, canon of Windsor, 130–32, 193, 242; clerk of the works at Windsor, 79 and n. 1, 97, 100, 130–31.
Harvest dinner, manorial, 185–86.
Hastings Castle (co. Sussex), royal free chapel of, prebends of, 117, 118, 123, 129, 131, 134 n. 4. 138.
Hatfield, Thomas, bishop of Durham (1345–81), 22 and n. 7, 23.
Hatton, Christopher, lord chancellor, 9.
Haughton (co. Northumberland), chapelry of, 22.
Hembury (co. Devon), woods at, 120.
Hemingsburgh (co. Yorks.), rectory of, 21 n. 6, 22.
Henry I, 1 n. 2, 3.
Henry III, 1 n. 2, 3–4, 12, 78.
Henry V, 47, 82, 88, 95, 148.
Henry VI, 148; petition of the college of Windsor to, xv, 57, 151, 227.
Henry VIII, xi, xv, 3 n. 1, 113.
Henry, duke of Lancaster, see Lancaster.
Henton (co. Oxon.), 204.
Hereford, archdeaconry of, 124–25.
Hereford, bishop of (Thomas Charlton, 1327–44), 117–18.
Hereford Castle, king’s works at, 124.
Hereford, cathedral church; prebends of, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124; use of, 124 and n. 3.
Hetie, Henry, steward of the courts of the college of Windsor, 68, 212–14.
Heyton, Richard, auditor, 231.
Hicks, William, of Kibworth (co. Leics.), 148.
Hitchin (co. Herts.); manor of, 132.
Hokard, William, 172.
Holyhead (co. Flint.), provost or dean of, 134 n. 4.
Hopton, David, canon of Windsor, 56 n. 1, 67, 69 n. 2.
Horn, Thomas, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 101, 106.
Horncastle, William, farmer of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 173.
Horstede, John, carpenter, 220 n. 7.
Household, Black Prince’s, see under Edward of Woodstock.
Household, queen’s, 115 and n. 1, 116; clerks of, 116, 133, 138.
Howden, John, canon of Windsor, 68.
Huggett, the Rev. Roger, 7 n. 2.
Hugh XI, of Lusignan, called le Brun, 4 and n. 7.
Hulk, John, 36.
Hull, Adam, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 99, 106.
Hunt, John, senior, villein of the manor of Iver (co. Bucks.), 193, 199–200, 205, n. 2; reeve, 109, 197, 215 and n. 2, 232.
Hunt, John, junior, villein of Iver (co. Bucks.), 199.
Hyde, Edward, earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor, 110.

Idonea, see Graham, Idonea.
Innocent VI, pope, 137, 138.
Innocent VIII, pope, 125.
Ireland, 124, 132, 134; exchequer of, 134.
Isabella, queen of Edward II, 116–17, 133.
Isabella, countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III, 14 n. 4.
Iver (co. Bucks.), rectory of, 14, 18–19, 169, 170, 186; lands of, 181; at farm, 19, 78, 153, 157–58, 213, 224, 239; vicar of, 19, 47, 155.
Ivinghoe (co. Bucks.), rectory of, 112, 139.
James I, 145.
John XXII, pope, 116.
John XXIII, pope, 124.
John, royal chaplain, 4.
John, the tiler, 32.
John (Balliol), king of Scotland (1292–96), 20.
Johnstone, Dr. Hilda, 116, 133.
Jon, Peter, 87.
Judas of the Paschal, 92.

Kellum, Robert, farmer of the rectory of Caxton (co. Cambs.), 169 n. 4.
Kelly, John, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 106.
Kempe, John, archbishop of York (1425–52), xiii.
Kempton Park (co. Middx.), manor of, king’s works at, 128, 131.
Kent, John, farmer of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 172.
Kerdeston, William, knight, of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 161–62.
Kibworth (co. Leics.), 148.
King’s Bench, court of, 146 n. 2.
King’s clerks, 8 n. 2, 110, 114, 114–39.
Kirkstead, Henry, farmer of the rectory of Saltash (co. Cornwall), 165.
Knolle, Thomas, vicar of Datchet (co. Bucks), 53.
Kymbell, William, 35, 42 n. 6, 224.
Kynardesley, William, farmer of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 213.

Labour-services, manorial, see Customary works.
Lacy, Edmund, canon of Windsor, 58, 117, 243.
Lancaster, Henry, earl afterwards duke of, 14, 107, 137; obit of, 65 n. 7, 66 n. 1.
Lancaster, Thomas of, second son of Henry IV, 132.
Langham, Simon, cardinal, 168 and n. 3.
Langley Marish (co. Bucks.), chapelry of, 15 and n. 2, 167; at farm, 16, 153, 155, 157, 158–59, 224, 239.
Langley Marish (co. Bucks.), manor of, 5.
Lawrence, Thomas, 36.
Ledys, William, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 62.
Lee, John atte, see Atlee, John.
Leek, John, canon of Windsor, 110 n. 1.
Leicester, Thomas of, dean of the chapel in Windsor Park, 5 n. 6.
Leland, John, 130.
Lewes (co. Sussex), priory of, 18.
Lichfield, cathedral church; prebends of, 119 and n. 4; deanery of, 136.
Lincoln, bishop and chapter of, 15, 18, 74, 75, 91 n. 2, 169, 170.
Lisle, Thomas de, bishop of Ely (1345–61), 19.
Livery, of clothing, 104, 155–57, 206, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217.
Livery, of food, to manorial farm servants, 183, 185, 188, 202, 206.
Llanbadarn Fawr (co. Cardigan), rectory of, 117 and n. 8, 118.
Llanddewi Brefi (co. Cardigan), collegiate church, prebend of, 123.
Lochard, William, canon of Windsor, 88, 243.
Lodelawe, Geoffrey, of Datchet (co. Bucks), 32 n. 5.
Loderay, John, clerk, 104 n. 1.
Lodington (Lodyntone), Reginald, canon of Windsor, 110 n. 1, 178 and nn. 1, 2.
London, 41, 47, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 95, 96, 98, 102, 114, 126, 172 and n. 4, 187, 191, 211, 227; litigation at, 68, 76, 213; rents paid at, 52, 54, 72 and n. 2, 74, 164, 216; parliament at, 104.
London, archdeacon of, 130, 131.
London, bishop of, see Sudbury, Simon of.
St. Mary-le-bow, church of, 119 n. 7.
St. Paul's Cathedral; prebends of, 125, 132, 136; office of bookbinder of, 129.
London, William, auditor, 231.
Long Wittenham (co. Berks), rectory of, 16.
Lords appellant, 134, 135, 147.
Lovlock, Adam, villein of Craswell (co. Berks.), 204.
Loveney, William, keeper of the king's great wardrobe, 124.
Luton (co. Beds.), vicarage of, 126 n. 5.
Lutte, Isabella, customary tenement of, at Craswell (co. Berks.), 200–02.
Lylle, John, farmer of the rectory of Caxton (co. Cambs.), 169 n. 4.
Lyminge (co. Kent), rectory of, 122.
Lyncole, John, farmer of the rectory of Datchet (co. Bucks.), 53.
Lynston (co. Devon), rectory of, 119 n. 4.
Maistergent, Richard, farmer of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 157.
Malverne, John, monk of Worcester, 128 n. 1.
Manning, Thomas, dean of Windsor, 148.
Manorial accounts, xvii, 28, 214–15; audit of, 230–33; see also under Craswell, manor of; Iver, manor of; Wraysbury, rectory of.
Manorial courts, xvii, 103–05, 204–05, 207, 209–10, 212–14; see also under Craswell, manor of; Deddington Castle, manor of; Iver, manor of; Wraysbury, rectory of.
Manorial farm servants, see Farm servants.
Manorial officials, 215–18; see also Bailiff, Beadle, Collectors of rent, Reeve, Sergeant.
Mapledurham (co. Oxon.), rectory of, 118.
Marcheford, Simon, canon of Windsor, 113.
Marreys, John, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 101.
Marshalsea, king's court of, 148.
Martley (co. Worcs.), rectory of, 118.
Marton, Thomas, canon of Windsor, 243.
Mason, Nicholas, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 106.
Mason, Peter, sculptor, 93.
Massingham, John, canon of Windsor, 162–64, 172, 213 and n. 2, 242–43.
Maundy supper, 91, 98.
Medford (Metford), Richard, canon of Windsor, 112, 134–35.
Melton, Geoffrey, canon of Windsor, 58.
Melton, John of, royal chaplain, 6.
Meneville, John, of Iver (co. Bucks.), 194 and n. 2.
Meresgrove, in Stoke Poges, see Stoke Poges.
Merry, Matilda, sister of Ralph of Windsor, 38.
Merton, Simon, 32.
Middlesex, archdeaconry of, 138.
Middleton Cheney (co. Northants.), rectory of, 127.
Misterton, Roger, canon of Windsor, 69.
Molyns, John de, 27.
More, John atte, sergeant of the manor of Iver (co. Bucks.), 182.
More, Robert, canon of Windsor, 130.
More, William, clerk later vicar of St. George's Chapel, 100 and n. 5, 101, 102.
Mortain (Normandy), priory of St. Mary, 44 n. 2.
Mortimer, Roger, first earl of March, 116–17.
Mortimer, Roger, second earl of March, 133.
Mudge (Mugge), William, dean of Windsor, 7 n. 3, 17, 29 and n. 6, 30 n. 3, 58, 107, 115, 118–20, 149–50, 161–62, 193–94; obit of, 32, 34, 65 nn. 5, 6, 244 and n. 1.
Mulcts (fines for non-residence), 10, 11, 58, 108, 120.
Mulso, William, see Moulsoe, William.
Murfie, William, lawyer, 146, 147.

Nafferton, William, steward of the courts of the college of Windsor, 212–13.
Neville, Ralph, 18, 27.
Newark (co. Notts.), hospital of St. Leonard, wardenship of, 118.
Newbury, John, farmer of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 192.
Newbury, John of, canon of Windsor, 133.
Nicholas, king’s clerk, 95.
Norfolk, archdeaconry of, 134.
Norfolk, Margaret countess of, 162.
Norfolk, sheriff of, 162.
Norgent, Gilbert, villein of Iver (co. Bucks.), 204.
Norgent, William, villein of Iver (co. Bucks.), 204.
North Molton (co. Devon), rectory of, 24–26, 121.
Northampton (co. Northants.); rent to college of Windsor from, 45, 54, 72–73, 224; mayor and bailiffs of, 72 and n. 6, 73 and nn. 1, 2.
Northampton, archdeaconry of, 122.
Northampton, earl of, see Bohun, William de.
Northampton, John, canon of Windsor, 110 n. 1.
Northburgh, Roger, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1322–59), 16.
Northumberland, archdeacon of, 22.
Nothurst, Walter, canon of Windsor, 186.
Norwich, bishop and chapter of, 19, 159, 160, 163, 170.
Norwich, cathedral priory, estates of, 233.
Nottingham (co. Notts.), 93.
Nottingham, John, canon of Windsor, 136.

Odiham Castle (co. Hants.), king’s works at, 137.
Ogbourne (co. Wilts.), priory of, xxi, 26 and n. 8, 68, 70.
Okeburn, John, chapter clerk of Windsor, 104 and n. 3.
Okeford, Hugh of, royal chaplain, 4 and n. 5.
Old Windsor (co. Berks.), property of the college of Windsor at, 189, 196, 216.
Order of the Garter, xi, xviii, i, 11, 12-14, 112-13, 132; Black Rod, 13 n. 4, 14;
whip of, see Windsor Castle, St. George's Chapel; garter, 13, 91 and n. 1, 92;
Knights of, xi, xiv, xvi, 9 n. 6, 10 and n. 2, 11, 12-13, 43 n. 2, 45, 61, 65, 81-83,
88, 115, 132, 149; statutes of, 7 and n. 3, 12-13, 81-83; verger of, 13-14.
Overton, Richard, steward of the courts of the college of Windsor, 212, 213 and n. 4.
Oxford (co. Oxon.), 41, 124.
Oxford, earl of, see Vere, Robert de.
Oxford, university of; chancellor, 138; Exeter College, 16, 138; New College, 44
n. 7; Queen's College, 138; University College, 138.
Packington (Pakyntone), Richard, of Iver (co. Bucks.), 162-63, 176, 179, 181-90,
196, 200, 215, 232.
Page, John, clerk, 104 n. 1.
Page, William, 34 and n. 4.
Palmer, Thomas, villein of Iver (co. Bucks.), 194, 204.
Papal approval of foundation of college of Windsor, 7; grants to college of Windsor,
17, 46, 49; licence of non-residence, 10-11, 123; procurations, 168-69; taxation,
17 and n. 8, 165, 168-69, 224.
Parker, Roger, canon of Windsor, 186.
Parliament, 7, 21, 104, 129, 134, 213; Merciless parliament, 134.
Passch, Thomas, canon of Windsor, 56 n. 1, 67, 68 n. 2.
Pastorel, Robert, farmer of the chapel of Langley Marish (co. Bucks.), 156.
Pentrich, Adam, clerk later vicar of St. George's Chapel, 86, 87, 106.
Percy, Sir Henry ("Hotspur"), 82.
Person, Richard, farmer of the rectory of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 157, 164-65.
Person, William, farmer of the rectory of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 158, 161-64, 170.
Pertenhall (co. Beds.), rectory of, 124.
Peyre, John, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 106.
Pole, Michael de la, chancellor, 121.
Poole, Dr. R. L., xii.
Porchester Castle (co. Hants.), king's works at, 131.
Postan, Professor M., 207.
Pouranger, William, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 106.
Procurations, 18 and n. 3, 23, 49, 142, 165, 167-69.
Prust, John, chaplain later canon of Windsor, 29 and nn. 5, 8, 87, 167, 172, 225,
242-43.
Prust, Richard, farmer of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 172.
Prust, Thomas, 172.
Quynton, Thomas de, 123.
Raunds, Richard, canon of Windsor, xvi n. 4, 25 and n. 8, 137 n. 2, 162, 198, 242-43;
obit of, 37 n. 8, 36, 65 n. 6, 244.
Ravendale, Robert, canon of Windsor, 112, 233 n. 3, 243; obit of, 30-37, 65 n. 6,
244.
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

Reading (co. Berks.), 186.
Reading, abbot and convent of, 33 and n. 3, 225.
Redburn, Roger, canon of Windsor, 243.
Reeve, manorial, 156, 193, 195–96, 207–08, 210, 215–17, 232–33, 237; see also under
Craswell, manor of; Iver, manor of; Wraysbury, rectory of.
Repereeve, manorial, 205, 211.
Rhossili (co. Glamorgan), rectory of, 121.
Richard II, 11, 44 n. 7, 109, 112, 120, 121, 122–24, 131, 132, 150, 164; grants to the
college of Windsor, 10, 41, 42, 80, 84, 148; household clerks of, 134–36.
Rolfe, John, clerk, 104 n. 1.
Rolfe, John, vicar of Datchet (co. Bucks.), 155.
Rooke, John, vicar of Datchet (co. Bucks), 155.
Roos, Thomas, villein of Iver (co. Bucks), 204.
Rooke, William, 33 and n. 3.
Rowe, John, clerk, 103, 214 and n. 2, 233.
Rutland, earl of, see Edward of York.
Rycheman, Richard, auditor, 231.
Ryston (co. Norfolk), rectory of; appropriation to St. George's Chapel, 14, 18–19, 180–81; at farm, 19, 52 n. 2, 75, 153–55, 158–65, 170, 216, 224, 239.

St. Albans (co. Herts.), abbot and convent of, 17.
St. Albans, Ralph of, royal chaplain, 4.
St. Buryan (co. Cornwall), deanery of, 135.
St. David's (co. Pembrokeshire), collegiate church of, prebends of, 120, 138.
St. Davids (co. Pembrokeshire), bishopric of, 117.
St. John, John, clerk of St. George's Chapel, 105 n. 4.
St. John, vicar of Datchet (co. Bucks.), 155.
St. Stephen (Westminster), royalty free chapel, see Westminster, St. Stephen's chapel.
St. Stephen, Saltash, see Saltash, rectory of.
St. Thomas the apostle, relic of, 94.
St. Thomas of Canterbury, relic of, 90 and n. 3.
St. Thomas of Canterbury, relic of, 90 and n. 3.
St. Thomas of Canterbury, relic of, 90 and n. 3.
St. Thomas's stone, in Windsor Castle, 96 and n. 4.
Saltash (co. Cornwall), rectory of, 14, 19, 23–24, 153–54, 168–70, 180–81; at farm, 24, 28 n. 2, 68, 154–55, 157, 224, 239.
Saltash, vicar of, John Crewkerne, 141–42, 147.
Salisbury use, 8 n. 5, 124.
Scaife, Stephen, see Ryston, John, vicar of Datchet (co. Bucks.), 155.
Scotland, king of, see Alexander II; John (Balliol).

259
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348-1416

Scott, Peter, canon of Windsor, xix n. 3, 7 n. 2.
Scoope, Henry third lord, 88 and n. 1.
Segar, William, Garter king of arms, 83.
Sequestrations, pensions in lieu of, 15 and n. 8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 74, 75, 76, 159-61, 169-71, 224.
Seymour, Nicholas, 25.
Seymour, Richard, son of Nicholas, 25.
Shalford (Scaldeford) or Branktre, Stephen, canon of Windsor, 31 and n. 1, 59, 110 n. 1, 223, 242.
Shaw, in New Windsor (co. Berks), lands at, 139.
Shrewsbury (co. Salop.), St. Chad's, prebend of, 117.
Shrewsbury Castle, St. Michael's, royal free chapel in, chaplain of, 117.
Shrewsbury, John, 34.
Shutlingdon, Robert, royal chaplain later canon of Windsor, 6, 30 n. 3, 126.
Sigismund, Emperor, 83 n. 7.
Signet office, king's, 134 and n. 2.
Simonburn (co. Northumberland), rectory of, 14, 19-23; at farm, 23, 75, 109, 153, 155, 224, 239.
Slake, Nicholas, canon of Windsor, 112, 135.
Smart, John, vicar of Wraysbury (co. Bucks), 155.
Smith, John, 220 n. 4.
Smith, Nicholas, 96.
Somerset, Robert, villein of Iver (co. Bucks), 203.
South Tawton (co. Devon), rectory of, 14, 16, 43 n. 6, 167, 169, 175, 180; at farm, 16, 73, 75, 153, 224, 239.
Southampton (co. Hants.), 216.
Spelyng, William, farmer of the rectory of Iver (co. Bucks), 157, 213.
Spenser, Robert, canon of Windsor, 191.
Spicer, Henry, canon of Windsor, 58, 228, 243.
Spigurnell, William, canon of Windsor, 58, 104, 111 and n. 1, 158, 159 n. 1, 227-28, 242, 243.
Sponley, John, master mason, 77, 89, 126.
Stafford, deane of, 131, 132, 136.
Staffordshire, sheriff of, 216.
Staines (co. Middx.), 186.
Stanlake, William, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 79 and n. 1.
Stanwell (co. Middx.), John vicar of, 231.
Stapeldon, Walter, bishop of Exeter (1308-26), 138.
Statutes of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, see under Windsor, college of.
Stawell, William, of royal chaplain, 4.
Stede, John, 37 and n. 3.
Steel, Robert, vicar of Ryston (co. Norfolk), 163.
Stoke, John, clerk of the courts of the college of Windsor, 214 and n. 4.
Stoke Poges (co. Bucks); Merriesgrove, 37, 38-39, 244; Templewood, 27, 39 n. 1, 181.
Stonehall, Thomas, farmer of the rectory of Iver (co. Bucks), 159.
Sturgeon, Nicholas, canon of Windsor, 78 and n. 2.
Sudbury, Simon of, bishop of London (1362-75), 8 n. 3, 100, 129.
Sutton (dio. Salisbury), rectory of, 137.
Sutton (co. Norfolk), manor of, 162, 164.
Swans, royal grants of, 41-42, 124.
Sy, Thomas, verger of St. George's Chapel later verger of the Order of the Garter, 14 n. 2.
Synodals, 22 and n. 9, 49, 105.
Tailor, John, of Windsor, 89.
Takeley (co. Essex), priory of, 44 and n. 7.
Tallies, 73, 74, 179, 182, 188, 208, 209 n. 4, 232.
Tamworth (co. Staffs.), collegiate church of, prebends of, 121, 122, 136.
Tapley, Thomas and Henry, farmers of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 191.
Tawny, Thomas, poor knight of Windsor, 150.
Taxation, papal, see Papal taxation.
Templewood, in Stoke Poges, see under Stoke Poges.
Thames, river, swans on, 41, 124.
Thomas of Lancaster, second son of Henry IV, 132.
Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III, 82.
Thompson, Dr. A. Hamilton, 107, 177 n. 2.
Thorne, Richard, auditor, 231.
Tithes, 15, 16-17, 24, 147, 154; of lambs, 197-198, 211.
Tout, Dr. T. F., 115, 128 and n. 3, 129, 130 n. 3, 133, 134 and n. 2, 3, 135 and n. 7.
Tower, of London, 135.
Towers, William, canon of Windsor, 56 and n. 3, 67.
Trussell, William, of Kibblestone (co. Staffs.), 189.
Tunstall (co. Kent), rectory of, 122.
Twyford, Elizabeth, 29.
Tybaut, Peter, 34.
Tynedale (co. Northumberland), liberty of, 20, 21 and n. 7, 23.
Unde, Richard, farmer of the rectory of South Tawton (co. Devon), 73.
Upchurch (co. Kent), rectory of, 44 n. 2.
Urban V, pope, 137.
Urban VI, pope, 108 n. 7.
Use of Hereford, 124 and n. 3.
Use of Salisbury, 8 n. 5, 124.
Usefleet, Thomas of, dean of the chapel in Windsor Park, 5 n. 6.
Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), rectory of, 14, 16-17, 43 n. 6, 147, 153-54, 168, 169, 175, 179-80; at farm, 17, 75, 76, 144, 155, 157, 191, 213 n. 1, 216, 224, 239; court rolls of, xvii.
Uxbridge (co. Middx.), 194; property of college of Windsor at, 37, 39 and n. 1, 244.
Vaggescombe, Robert, canon of Exeter and farmer of the rectory of Saltash (co. Cornwall), 170.
Vaughan, John, canon of Windsor, 67.
Veale, Robert, vicar of St. George's Chapel, 61 n. 3.
Vere, Robert de, earl of Oxford, obit of, 65 n. 7, 244.
View of account, 230, 234-35.
Villeins (or Customary tenants), 185, 188-89, 189, 199, 200-07, 215, 216; fugitive 172, 194, 204-05.
Villein tenements, 200-03.
Visitation, of St. George's Chapel, see under Windsor, college of.
Wainage, 233 and n. 2.
Walden, Roger, secretary to Richard II, 134.
Wales, conquest of, by Edward I, 46.
Walker, William, farmer of the rectory of Uttoxeter (co. Staffs.), 165.
Walsh, Henry, villein of Iver (co. Bucks.), 218 n. 3.
Walster, clerk of the dean of Windsor, 104 n. 1.
Waltham, Henry of, royal chaplain, 4.
Wangeford (co. Suffolk), priory of, 44 n. 2.
Wardrobe, king's, 115, 129-30, 133-34, 135, 148.
Wardrobe (Garderobe), Reginald of the, canon of Windsor, 133-34, 187.
Wark (co. Northumberland); chapel of, 22; manor of, 21, 22.
Warner (or Blount), Henry, canon of Windsor, 78, 110 n. 1, 242.
St. George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1348–1416

Warwick, earl of, see Beauchamp, Thomas.
Wearmouth (co. Durham), rectory of, 136.
Webb, Henry, lawyer, 147, 213 n. 2.
Wells (co. Somerset), cathedral church of, prebends of, 125 n. 5, 131, 134, 137.
Welsh, John, villein of Iver, 204, 209.
Wenlock (co. Salop.), priory of, 122.
West Newton, in Holderness (co. Yorks.), hospital of, 118.
Westbury-on-Trym (co. Gloucs.), collegiate church of, prebend of, 122.
Westminster (London), 72, 150, 213; St. Stephen’s chapel, xi, 8 nn. 2, 3, 55 n. 4, 113, 129, 135.
Weston Longville (co. Norfolk), rectory of, 119.
Whaddon (co. Cambs.), rectory of, 14, 18–19, 153, 168, 169, 170, 180; at farm, 19, 71–72, 224, 235, 239.
Wheler, John, farmer of the rectory of Deddington (co. Oxon.), 172.
Whetebrech, Geoffrey, of Wraysbury (co. Bucks.), 184.
Whetebrech, Robert, carter, 32.
Whitby, Walter, clerk of St. George’s Chapel, 105 and n. 2.
Whitchurch, Hugh, canon of Windsor, 110 n. 1, 180.
Whitchurch, Robert, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 101.
Whitecroft, —, canon of Windsor, 110 n. 1.
Whitehorse, Walter, verger of the Order of the Garter, 13 and nn. 4, 5.
Wight, Isle of, 118.
Wilcote, William, steward of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 172.
Willey (co. Salop.), free chapel of, 122.
Wilton (co. Wilts.), conventual church of, prebends of, 122, 134.
Winchester (co. Hants.), 47.
Winchester, bishop of, see Edington, William; Wykeham, William of.
Winchester, college of, 44 n. 7.
Windsor (co. Berks.); garden of the college of Windsor, 10, 30 n. 5, 34–35, 41, 42–43, 52, 74, 76, 84, 85, 90, 224, 225, 226; king’s garden, 30 and nn. 2, 5, 35 and n. 1, 37 n. 2, 42; properties of the college of Windsor in, xiii, 39–37, 52, 76, 224, 244; St. Peter’s chapel near, 123.
Chapel in Great Tower, 3; chapel in queen’s lodgings, 3; chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, xi, 1 and n. 2, 4 and n. 3, 5, 6 and n. 5, 12, 120.
Chapel of St. George, xi, xvi, 4 n. 3, 7, 12, 40, 49, 79, 80–98, 102, 120, 127, 132, 148, 150, 177, 225; bells, 96–98, 100–01; clock, 92, 96–97, 98, 100–01; inventories of furniture, 83 and nn. 2, 3, 4, 5 and n. 3, 88, 91, 94, 95, 151, 156; obit services, 89, 90, 91, 117, 118, 119, 120; offerings, xvi, 10, 41, 40, 52, 99, 70, 80–82, 84, 108, 131–12, 151, 223, 245 nn. 1, 2; organ, 88, 95 and n. 6, 98, 105; reliques, 46, 41, 90, 92, 94, 98; reredos, 91, 92, 93–94; services, xvi, 8 and n. 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 56–57, 59, 80, 84, 91, 103, 105, 108, 140, 150; service-books, 85, 86–88; vestments, 89–90, 91, 102.
College of St. George, see Windsor, college of.
Constable, 13 n. 5, 132.
Great hall, 77 and n. 2, 79 and n. 4, 80 and n. 1; prison ("Coal House"), 148 and n. 1; Round Tower, 96.
Windsor, college of, xi–xii, xviii–xxi; foundation, xi, 1, 6–12; charter of liberties, 47–48, 149, 160; statutes, xi, xii, xiv, xix, 7 and n. 2, 8–9, 12, 49, 50, 51 and n. 1, 54–60, 62, 64, 66, 70, 74, 80, 86, 99, 101, 103, 107–09, 112, 124, 126, 139, 140–45, 158 n. 1, 177, 195, 231, 238; visitations of, xiii, 7 n. 3, 45, 49, 58, 60, 102, 142, 144, 149–51, 191.
Dean or warden, 7–8, 10–11, 13, 49 and n. 3, 52 and n. 2, 54, 55, 57, 58–59, 60, 67 n. 3, 68, 72, 75, 77, 100, 104, 108, 115–25, 147, 149–50, 161, 166, 168, 193–94, 214, 224, 231–33, 237; see also Almeley, Walter; Arundel, John; Beauchamp, Richard; Butler, Thomas; Chamber, John of the; Ringstone, Richard; Manning, Thomas; Mudge, William.

262
ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416


Chaplains, see also Aston, Thomas of; Attlee, John.

Deacon and sub-deacon, 11, 62–63, 66.


Choristers, n. 2, 12, 54, 57, 59, 63, 66, 67, 79, 89 and n. 1, 90, 91, 100, 105, 177.

Poor knights, xi, 11 and n. 3, 12, 13, 42, 54, 55, 57–58, 79 n. 2, 82, 107, 108, 149–50; see also Bitterley, Robert; Breton, John; Grimsby, Sir John; Tawny, Thomas.

Bellringers, 12, 57, 59, 63 and n. 2, 64, 66, 67, 92, 93, 101.

Verger, 12, 14 and n. 2, 57, 59, 63, 64, 155 and n. 4, 156, 177.

Chapter, 49, 60–61, 64–65, 68, 71, 79, 95, 98, 99, 103–04, 110–11, 113, 139–51, 140–44, 146–49, 158, 177, 195, 213 and n. 2; council, 104, 105, 149–50; see also Bitterley, Robert; Breton, John; Grimsby, Sir John; Tawny, Thomas.


Windsor, Old (co. Berks.), see Old Windsor.

Windsor Park, chapel of the king’s manor in, 2, 5; collegiate church of St. Mary in, 5.

263
ST. GEORGE’S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE, 1348–1416

Windsor, John, of Craswell (co. Berks.), 198.
Windsor, John and Felicia of, 30 n. 4.
Windsor, Ralph of, rector of Hanslope (co. Bucks.), 37, 38–39, 65 n. 6, 244.
Wine, 43 and n. 2, 73, 84, 85, 93, 213.
Wintour, William, farmer of the rectory of Whaddon (co. Cambs.), 165.
Winwick (co. Lancs.), rectory of, 122.
Wise, John, farmer of the rectory of Deddington (co. Oxon.), 159.
Witley (co. Surrey), rectory of, 138 and n. 6.
Wittersham (co. Kent), rectory of, 134 n. 4.
Wolf, John, 98.
Wolford, William, lawyer, 146.
Wolverhampton (co. Staffs.), royal free chapel of, deanery of, 117.
Wulward (Wulward), Robert, villein of the manor of Iver (co. Bucks.), 204; reeve, 190.
Wood, William by the, of Iver (co. Bucks.), 200, 216.
Woodstock (co. Oxon.), manor of, 131.
Woodstock, Thomas of, son of Edward III, 82.
Wraybury (co. Bucks.), manor of, beadle, 186, 217.
Wraybury (co. Bucks.), rectory of, 14–16, 43 n. 6, 47, 153–54, 166 and n. 1, 167.
169, 170, 175; lands of, 16, 77, 176, 178–90, 192–93; at farm, 16, 76, 78, 155.
224, 239; accounts of, xvii, 176, 182–90; court of, 184, 209; court rolls of, 189;
sergeant of, xvii, 176, 181–90, 196, 215–16; reeve of, 179, 182, 184.
Wulward, John, villein of Iver (co. Bucks.), 204, 218 and n. 2.
Wulward, Robert, see Wulward, Robert.
Wybourne, Thomas, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 109.
Wychemere (co. Berks.), manor of, king’s works at, 128.
Wycombe (co. Bucks.), hospital of St. John at, 137.
Wykeyn, Walter, of Iver (co. Bucks.), 190.
Wygthull, William, farmer of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 173.
Wykeham, William of, 44 n. 7, 45 and n. 5, 128–29, 132, 245 n. 1; obit of, 45–46,
65 n. 6, 244.
Wynch, John, of Bray (co. Berks.), 38.
Wyot, Richard, steward of the courts of the college of Windsor, 212–13, 227, 228
n. 1.
Wyther, John, vicar of St. George’s Chapel, 60.
Yarmouth (co. Norfolk), rent of herrings from, 10 and n. 2, 40–41, 164, 165, 213,
216, 235 and n. 1.
Yeovil (co. Somerset), rectory of, 124.
Yerman, John, farmer of the manor of Deddington Castle (co. Oxon.), 172.
York, archbishop of, see Arundel, Thomas; Kempe, John.
York, cathedral church, prebends of, 117, 134, 136.
York, St. Peter’s church, sub-deanery of, 118.
Young, William, vicar of Saltash (co. Cornwall), 68, 155, 165.