A Century of Windsor History 1858-1958

By MAURICE F. BOND

ONE hundred years ago Robert Richard Tighe and James Edward Davis published *The Annals of Windsor*. Their work rapidly achieved the reputation of being the best general treatment of the history of both Castle and Borough, and this reputation it still holds today. The centenary of its publication therefore, perhaps, affords an appropriate opportunity for an exercise in historiography, involving a consideration of the contribution to local history both of the *Annals* and also of subsequent works on Windsor, and concluding with some estimate of the present state of Windsor studies.

THE ORIGIN OF THE 'ANNALS'

"The interest attached to Windsor, arising from the Castle having been a residence of the sovereigns of England from the Norman Conquest to the present time, and its consequent connection with many events in English history, is evident." So wrote Robert Tighe in the Preface to the *Annals* in 1858. Yet, as he proceeded to demonstrate, nothing adequate in the way of a Windsor history had until then been attempted. Elias Ashmole in 1672 had devoted a meagre (though important) 50 pages of his *Order of the Garter* to an account of the history of St. George's Chapel; in 1749 an Eton bookseller, Joseph Pote, had borrowed most of Ashmole's material, adding some brief notes of his own concerning the Borough;[1] and in 1844 John Stoughton, a congregationalist minister, had published an anecdotal series of lectures given by him to the Windsor Mechanics' Institute.[2] But, as Tighe remarked, "not one of these works enumerated shows any attempt on the part of the author to lay before the reader even the most ordinary sources of information."[3] The national records had been neglected; the very existence of local records seems to have been unknown and unthought of. In fact, a hundred years ago no history of Windsor worthy of the name existed.

Yet it was no abstract spirit of historical enquiry or devotion to what was then the new science of archives which prompted the compilation of the *Annals*, but the practical concern in local affairs of the senior of the two collaborators. Robert Tighe, who was manager of the Bank and the Breweries in Windsor, had decided that the amenities of the Royal Borough were deficient and that he,

[1] J. Pote, *History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle*. Pote also made use of other notes relating to Windsor collected by Ashmole, largely concerning church monuments, which had been posthumously published, in 1719, in *Antiquities of Berkshire*, Vol. III.

[2] J. Stoughton, *Notices of Windsor in the Olden Times*; reprinted as *A History and Description of the Castle and Town* (1862).

[3] *Annals of Windsor*, Vol. I, p. x, (here and elsewhere reference is made to the octavo edition).

as a prominent local citizen, ought to stir the authorities to action. It seems that in the year 1844 three distinct ideas were forming themselves in his mind. First, as a loyal subject of the young Queen, he deplored the lack of privacy she enjoyed in the Castle. As he wrote later, "the Royal Family possess little of that seclusion which is enjoyed by those subjects who have the good fortune to possess a mansion and pleasure grounds".[1] He had seen parties "with their vehicles drawn up against the wall (of the Old Windsor Road) to enable them to lean on it, and thus gratify their curiosity with a view of the Queen when Her Majesty is walking in the enclosure."[2] Secondly, Tighe thought the Castle itself was too greatly obscured by crowded buildings and narrow streets, which gave both Castle and Borough a ragged and poverty-stricken appearance. Thirdly, he thought Windsor was isolated from London and should be brought into closer touch with it by the construction of a railway from Windsor to the main line at Slough. He had himself recently had a holiday in Ireland, and had there been impressed by a new "atmospheric" railway; he became enthusiastic for such a railway to Windsor. On "atmospheric railways" a cast-iron pipe was laid between the rails, and a piston projecting from a vehicle above fitted into this pipe and was driven along by atmospheric pressure. The great engineer, I. K. Brunel, was captivated by this novel (though technically unsound) means of propulsion for his railway, and in May, 1846, constructed a line from Teignmouth to Newton Abbot which was equipped with atmospheric plant.

Tighe's practical proposals were consequently: to build an atmospheric railway; to divert main roads away from the Castle so that its grounds were not dissected by public ways; and to replan as much of the town as possible, pulling down the ramshackle houses under the castle walls (shown in plate 1), and constructing wide straight roads through the centre of the Borough.

Tighe opened his campaign on 17th October, 1844, with a meeting at the White Hart, when a company was formed to construct an Atmospheric Railway, with himself as Honorary Secretary, and his friend, John Secker, the Town Clerk as a member of the Committee.[3] Plans were drawn up for a railway (see the drawing in Plate 3); and on 2nd November, an anonymous correspondent (certainly Tighe himself) wrote to the *Windsor and Eton Express* advocating the Atmospheric railway and also taking the opportunity to remark on the need for a plan "to render the domain round Windsor Castle as complete as it could well be." Much money had been rightly expended, as he said, on the Castle itself; no one would "begrudge the comparatively small sum which would now be required to render its approaches commensurate with its splendour."

[1]R. Tighe, *Letter to the Earl of Lincoln* (1845), p. 2.
[2]*Op. cit.*, p. 10.
[3]House of Lords Record Office, Select Committee of House of Commons on Windsor, Slough and Staines Atmospheric Bill, Evidence, Vol. 38, p. 141. Plans also survive for this Atmospheric Railway at the Lords Record Office.

Nothing came of this letter; and so on 27th May, 1845, Tighe wrote a more formidable letter, this time in his own name, and addressed to the Earl of Lincoln, First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, who in his official capacity controlled much of the land in Windsor and had just acquired for the Crown the extensive Keppel Estate in Windsor. The letter was printed at Eton for general distribution, and in large folio format in London, for presentation. In it the railway project was left out of account; but the closing of the Old Windsor road, and the substitution of another further to the south, were advocated, together with the pulling down of the Thames St. houses, and the construction of new roads in the Borough. In an appendix, Tighe printed Norden's maps of the Forest and the Little Park, Collier's map of 1742, and plans of Windsor as it was in 1845 and as it ought to be. In some brief notes he remarked that he hoped "at no distant period to complete the collection, with much additional unpublished matter relative to the Forest, and other subjects connected with Windsor."

The letter had a mixed reception. A radical London newspaper commented, "We cannot say much for Mr. Tighe's composition; for we trust a parish-boy at a national school would be soundly thrashed for writing no better than he has done." Tighe was but a brewer's clerk; it was asked with heavy irony, "Ought such a man to be employed in noting down the number of nine-gallon cases of XX sent to the Castle and elsewhere?" Appoint him Surveyor-General.[1] Tighe's letter indeed contained a strange jumble of material; but the virtue of his compilation was, in fact, that, it set him on the greater project of research which ultimately produced the *Annals*. But, before considering this important outcome, it is well worth remarking that although Tighe's atmospheric railway never got beyond the committee stage in the House of Commons, much of his town planning was in fact achieved, and, ironically, was achieved with the help of moneys arising from the construction of two railways to Windsor which were the successful rivals of Tighe's atmospheric railway. The South Western Company paid the Commissioners of Woods and Forests £60,000 "towards the expense of constructing the said roads and bridges, and of widening and improving Thames Street and High Street, Windsor,"[2] and the Great Western Company paid to the Crown £25,000 for the surrender of Crown land in Windsor and Eton.[3] The same Act, 11 & 12 Vict., c. 53, authorised the construction of three new roads[4] and two new bridges. The

[1]These comments appear in cuttings from an unnamed newspaper which are pasted in to the copy of the *Letter* in the Royal Library. I am grateful to Miss Olwen Hedley for drawing my attention to these cuttings.

[2]Windsor Approaches Act, 1847–8, 11 and 12 Vict., c. 53.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]The principal of these was a more southerly road to Old Windsor, which enabled the old road across Frogmore to be closed and the whole Frogmore estate to be integrated within the Private Park, to the much greater convenience of the court and Royal Family.

main town plan of Windsor as we know it today is the result of the works carried out by 1850 under this act, and of the removal of the Thames Street houses near the castle walls which was completed in 1850.[1] The result differed in important aspects from what Tighe had originally proposed; but the overall aims and results were the same. Tighe had certainly achieved two of these aims, for the Sovereign the greater privacy of the grounds of the Castle, and for the borough, a wider main thoroughfare, and uninterrupted views of the Castle walls.

Meanwhile, leaving the Commissioners of Works to their road-making and the Borough Corporation to the pulling down of houses, Robert Tighe concentrated on compiling a history of Windsor. As a busy Brewer and Bank manager he was unable, and, one would think, he was also insufficiently skilled, to undertake the fundamental research which he adjudged necessary before an adequate history of Windsor could be written. He therefore turned to a friend for aid, to James Davis, the son of a Welsh doctor, who had been admitted to the Middle Temple in 1839 and had been called in 1842. Davis in 1845 was still young and unknown, but within three years he was to publish his *Manual of the Law of Evidence in the Trial of Actions and other Proceedings in the New County Courts* which was the first, and for the rest of the century the principal, guide to the general practice of the County Courts established under an act of 1846. Davis went on from this triumph to write a number of other legal text books, notably one on Labour Laws in 1875, and to re-edit Stamp's *Index to the Statute Law* in 1862. Davis in addition held a series of legal appointments, described by himself as those of "Deputy-Judge in the Metropolitan District and in the Provinces."[2] (He had in fact been Stipendiary Magistrate at Sheffield and elsewhere). He was a practical man, careful, meticulous, brilliant at digesting and synthesising new material, a first-rate choice indeed by Tighe as a research-collaborator.

Tighe must have expounded to Davis in about 1845 his general conception of a history of Windsor, and there and then set him to work searching for original materials. Davis spent a considerable time in the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean at Oxford, in All Souls' Library, amongst the Public Records at the Rolls Chapel and Carlton Ride, and at the British Museum. Specific acknowledgement of the help of H. O. Coxe of the Bodleian and of Sir Francis Palgrave, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, shows that Davis sought the best guidance—as indeed the completed text also suggests. In Windsor, however, he seems to have had less success. Neither the Castle authorities, nor the Windsor Chapter, seem to have given much help—a point to be considered later—but clearly the collaborators obtained the complete freedom of the Borough and Parish

[1] *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 655.

[2] cf. his Preface to the 6th ed. of *The Practice of the County Courts*, (1887).

archives, and, perhaps of equal importance, the active help of the Clerk of the Peace and former Town Clerk, John Secker, to whose antiquarian and collector's zeal some of the value of the Borough section of the *Annals* may be attributed.[1]

THE TEXT OF THE 'ANNALS'

After what must have been about 13 years' work the *Annals of Windsor* appeared, in 1858: in two editions, the main printing in 2 thick octavo volumes, and a special edition of 25 copies in large folio size. Each edition was illustrated by a valuable series of plates, five of which were reproductions of Norden's maps and views. The folio edition had, in addition, Collier's map of 1742, and plans of Windsor as it was in 1845, and as it was after alterations made under the Act, 11 & 12 Vict., c. 53. Both editions were further decorated with many small woodcuts, mainly by Folkard, although 15 were from sketches by Davis, and another 3 from sketches by his wife, Emma Davis. The printers had done their work well, and the folio edition in particular is a handsome volume, worthy to stand by the side of the great XVIIIth century county histories.

The *Annals* open in a way that gives promise of good standards of scholarship. The old legendary material associating Windsor with King Arthur's Round Table is dismissed out of hand,[2] and the authors then proceed, with considerable acumen, to comment on the famous bronze 'Roman lamp' found in the XVIIIth century at St. Leonard's Hill, Windsor, and adopted by the Society of Antiquaries as its badge. This lamp they suggest "has not the appearance of such high antiquity". [3] Their suggestion has within recent years been officially adopted. The lamp in fact is mediaeval.[4]

Then, basing themselves firmly on chronicles and early charters, the authors narrate the recorded pre-Norman events in Windsor history, maintaining a continuously critical approach in their work, as, for instance, when they point out the conflict between Fabyan's Chronicle, which placed Earl Godwin's death by choking at Old Windsor, and the other chroniclers who agreed in assigning that dramatic event to Winchester.[5] But, to trace the detailed text of the *Annals* further is unnecessary. Instead it may be of use to draw attention to three general characteristics of the work that are of especial importance.

[1]For all the material in this paragraph see the *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. xiii–xiv.

[2]*Annals*, Vol. I, p. 2.

[3]*Ibid.*, n. 3.

[4]The lamp was even accepted by Haverfield as Roman, but I. A. Richmond conclusively demonstrated that it was late mediaeval in origin ("Stukeley's Lamp, The Badge of the Society of Antiquities", *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XXX, pp. 22–7).

[5]*Annals*, Vol. I, p. 4, n. 2.

In the first place, the basic and hitherto unknown records of the Borough are summarised, transcribed, or in some other way represented in the *Annals*. The Charters, from the first in 1277, are translated from the originals on the Patent Rolls (this was at a time when a number of the mediaeval original charters at Windsor seem to have been temporarily lost); the Chamberlains' Accounts from 1514 are given in extensive and exact transcripts; many of the orders in the Hall Books, from 1653, are printed; and the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1603 are likewise often given *in extenso*. Besides opening up the borough and parish records, Davis, as the researcher in the team, made energetic exploration amongst the mass of Ashmole's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and there discovered a wealth of Windsor material, much of which is still too little known.

Secondly, Tighe and Davis employed the considerable topographical knowledge they had acquired in order to throw light on certain aspects of literary history, notably in their best-known chapter, chapter XXIV, 'Local Illustrations of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor'. Charles Knight's conclusion that Shakespeare had a 'perfect knowledge of the localities of Windsor' is amply confirmed, and Tighe and Davis suggest that between 1593 when perhaps the first version of the 'Merry Wives' was performed, and the final version of the play in 1604, Shakespeare had continued to visit Windsor and its environs, and had been as a result able to improve the local references in the play. Tighe and Davis identify 'Mine Host' as Richard Gallys, M.P., and Mayor of Windsor, an important personage whom Sir John Neale has recently revealed to us as a leading Puritan in the later Elizabethan parliaments. The Garter Inn is identified as having stood on part of the present site of the White Hart in High Street. Mistress Ford and Mistress Page may not have been real people; but there were several Fords and Pages living in Windsor at the time; and in 1623, we are told, Anne Ford was buried in the churchyard. After considering the various references to the Windsor fields (still, alas, un-mapped), Tighe and Davis conclude by examining carefully the Herne the Hunter legend and the site of Herne's Oak. In all, this chapter is an excellent study in local topography, suggesting that Shakespeare knew Windsor, its inhabitants, its streets, fields and lanes as a native.

But, to the general reader, the most important feature of the work is not the treatment of particular subjects, but the successful narrative of the 'annals' of Borough and Castle, recording the events occurring within each. In order to breathe life into local history more is needed than topographical, architectural, or even institutional history. These are *prolegomena*. We need to see specific events happening, men living their daily lives, talking and disputing, ceremonies taking place. And this is not easy to achieve with any consistency for a given locality. Such events are often recorded only sparsely in local or national archives; they must be accumulated, piece by piece, from wide reading, incidental references being

gathered from diverse sources. It was exactly this sort of scattered reference at which Tighe and Davis excelled. They combed the chronicles and histories, the printed letters and the financial accounts of royalty, as well as varied manuscript sources, and they produced for the central period of Windsor history, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, a sequence of narratives that are vivid and compelling, and enable the reader to envisage Windsor as a principal focus of national life. Amongst them the reader finds, for example, the chronicler's account of the plot at Windsor against Henry IV, a memorable description of Philip of Castile's reception at Windsor in 1505, and another of the presentation of the golden rose by Clement VII's nuncio to Henry VIII in 1524, the well-known account of the execution of the Windsor Martyrs and Clarendon's famous description of the burial of Charles I. At points such as these local and national history intermingle; and Tighe and Davis's work becomes a useful source book for both. It is interesting to note, indeed, that the text of the wills of Edward IV and of Henry VIII is probably more generally accessible in the *Annals* than anywhere else.

The Annals of Windsor must, then, be accounted a valuable work, remarkable alike for scope and accuracy, an excellent starting point for Windsor historians ever since. But, as in the case of all pioneer works, and, in particular, of mid-nineteenth century local histories, the *Annals of Windsor* had inevitable defects, and the authors would have been the last to expect their work to become a sacred text, to be memorised, repeated, glossed, but never improved, expanded or re-written. The book had several limitations: in the first place, that the material was not, for the most part, digested, or its topics critically considered. Mr. Finberg, that distinguished exponent of modern local history, has summed up much work of this type when he complained that "The writers were content to heap up all the facts they could discover, without order, art or method, and with no criterion for distinguishing the trivial from the significant."[1] As we have seen, Tighe and Davis were far from being indiscriminate in their work; but at no point is there mature consideration of the relations of castle and dependent borough, nor of the relation of Windsor to other boroughs. The power of church, guild, corporation, is not explicitly discussed; and the 'shape' of the whole work is inevitably merely that of reigns. Indeed, in the modern sense, the *Annals* are principally a source for history, an archive publication, rather than a unified interpretation of Windsor history. And further, and most unfortunately, as a source book it suffers from additional limitations. Records are often transcribed only partially, with no indication of omissions; they are transcribed in sufficient bulk, perhaps, to deter future scholars from publishing full editions of any particular series, but in insufficient detail to save students having to resort to the originals. As Davis went on his journeys from Library

[1]H. P. R. Finberg, *The Local Historian and His Theme*, (1952), p. 15.

to Library, indeed, a new school of historical criticism was beginning to grow, that treated sources with greater respect, and transcribed in full, or indicated omissions carefully. This produced a batch of first-class source books of local history by the end of the century, that included Cox's *Derbyshire Annals* of 1890 and his *Northampton Borough Records* of 1898 and is very worthily represented in this county by Guilding's superb *Reading Records* of 1892–6. Work of this quality undoubtedly arose from the development of historical studies and the expansion of the work of the Public Record Office, and was not likely to be anticipated by authors working in the early years of Victoria's reign; but the fact remains, that Tighe and Davis were of the old rather than the new school. And, of course, when Davis was delving into the public records in London, even if he was afforded the direction of Palgrave, he still was faced with masses of unlisted and totally unknown material. The printed calendars of State Papers did not begin to appear until 1856, those of Chancery and other central records not until 1891. Admittedly the earlier Record Commissioners had published a few Patent and other rolls, together with invaluable transcripts of the Proceedings of the Privy Council; but, in the main, Davis like so many other students, must have relied on confusing office lists and on oral tradition handed down amongst Public Record Office keepers. Consequently those looking back today on his work, whilst admiring his great diligence and success, can see vast gaps; and as the calendaring of the Public Records proceeds, doubtless many more gaps will become obvious. He makes practically no use of the great series of modern State Papers in which the relations of government and localities may be traced in detail; and the immense mass of private records, which began to be opened up by the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission from 1870 onwards was likewise closed to him.

These source defects were inevitable; what was not inevitable was a certain failure to comprehend the range of available local records. It is of small importance that Davis did not know that Windsor Corporation still possessed its original charters of the XVth and early XVIth centuries; it is more serious that he did not even mention the handful of mediaeval deeds and the hundreds of XVIth–XIXth century deeds in the custody of the Town Clerk, or attempt to discuss the exact nature of the Corporation property, with the help of various books of plans and registers in the Guildhall. Again, the authors give no indication that the Dean and Canons of Windsor had in their possession a remarkable series of archives full of important material concerning Borough history as well as that of their own foundation. Admittedly, at the time, it was not likely that the Chapter records were in any better state than the national; their re-organisation did not begin until 1862; and effective calendaring did not come about until the advent of Canon Dalton and his re-organisation of the Aerary in 1891. But the documents were there and were known to be there; it might have been hoped that a

note of their existence would have appeared at some point in the *Annals*; if it had so appeared it might have served to expedite work on them by a generation at least.

Finally, it needs to be emphasised that the scope of the *Annals* suddenly contracts when 1714 is reached. No further extracts of substance are then given from local records; the choice of topic is episodic until the reforms of the 1830's and the re-planning of Windsor in 1848 are reached. For all practical purposes the *Annals* may be said to have come to a conclusion in 1714.

The *Annals*, then, although work of wide scope, of careful accuracy, and at a number of points, of unique and definitive importance, possess the inevitable limitations of their period, and reveal in addition a number of gaps and inadequacies which make some type of continuation or amplification essential. In the remainder of this essay some brief assessment will be made of the efforts of writers in the last hundred years so to revise and supplement the *Annals*.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CASTLE

The *Annals* were, as we have seen, dedicated to Queen Victoria. There is today in the Royal Library at Windsor one of the folio copies of the *Annals*, and it is most likely that the Prince Consort, if not the Queen herself, had read it. The Prince was keenly interested in the Borough as well as the Castle, and it may be that the greatest enterprise of all in Windsor historiography arose from his initiative. In about 1861 Dean Wellesley wrote to his Chapter Clerk remarking that "The Queen has taken up the matter so strongly of getting an authentic history of everything relating to Windsor". The Dean therefore bade the Clerk "give every facility in your power to the searches among our documents".[1] But it was the Prince Consort who was supervising the making of the original woodblocks in 1861 to illustrate this history,[2] and it seems possible that he had read the *Annals* when they appeared in 1858 and had then suggested the compilation of an architectural history to be based on the rapidly developing knowledge of mediaeval architecture engendered by the Oxford Movement and the new enthusiasm for all things mediaeval. It was, indeed, to two leaders of the school of mediaeval architectural history that the Queen and the Prince assigned the new work on Windsor: to John Henry Parker and George Thomas Clark. Parker's *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture* had had a great success on its publication in 1849, and Clark, by profession an engineer and industrialist, had helped to found what is now the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1843 and had made himself an expert on military architecture.

[1]St. George's Chapel, Windsor records (cited hereafter as W.R.), XVII. 33.29.
[2]W.R. XVII. 37.6.

Within a year Parker had written a general architectural history of the Castle[1] and Prince Albert had begun to assemble the illustrations. Then the Prince died; and with him, it seems, the project for a history. No one else sponsored the work, and in 1884 Parker himself died—Clark at no stage seems to have achieved anything. Then, in the next year, John Neale Dalton was appointed Canon of Windsor, where he remained, from 1885 until his death in 1931. From the antiquarian zeal and practical gifts of this vigorous and able canon a great part of subsequent work on Windsor history has resulted. In particular, in about 1890 two of Canon Dalton's most cherished projects were well under way. One of these was the re-organisation of the Chapter muniments;[2] the other, the resumption of the royal plan for a Castle history. In each case, realising his lack of antiquarian *expertise*, he selected a professional coadjutor. For his work on the Chapter records Dalton made the brilliant choice of the Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, William St. John Hope, who in his six years of office had already published some 41 antiquarian articles,[3] some of outstanding importance. Hope settled down to transcribing Chapter documents, and was in fact paid £10 in 1891 for doing so. In 1892 he published an article on the wooden busts in the Choir stalls. He then turned his attention to the unique series of stall-plates there, producing in 1901 an article on "Some palimpsest stall plates"[4] and, also, his superb and definitive edition of *The Stall plates of the Knights of the Garter.*

For the second and greater project, that of compiling an architectural history of the Castle, Dalton, on behalf of the Queen, chose John Willis Clark, superintendent of the Cambridge Museum of Zoology, and co-author with his uncle, Professor Robert Willis, of the *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (which includes an architectural history of Eton College as well). Unfortunately, Willis Clark, having been appointed Registrary of Cambridge University in 1891, then suffered, in the following year, some sort of nervous collapse. He was, as a result, unable to lecture, as had been arranged, before the Archaeological Institute on the history of the Castle. Dalton and Hope took his place with a joint lecture of their own.[5] Thereafter Clark, although he survived, and indeed flourished in his native University, left the Windsor project, so far as can be seen, severely alone. Dalton seems to have realised this, and, at some time soon after 1891, handed over Parker's original work to Hope, and encouraged him to undertake the task of

[1] *Architectural History*, p. xvii.

[2] See the Introduction to J. N. Dalton, *The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

[3] cf. *Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sir William St. John Hope, Litt.D., D.C.L.*, (1929).

[4] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 148–151.

[5] The remainder of this paragraph is based on the file of letters preserved at Windsor as W.R. XVII. 37.6.

compiling the Architectural history. This Dalton did, it appears, without royal or indeed any other form of sanction. Dalton's high-handed action was not revealed to Clark until 1901, in which year King Edward VII's approval was sought and obtained for the official transfer of the work from Clark to Hope. Subsequent attempts by Dalton to preserve a share in the work for Clark were frustrated by Hope's vigorous refusal to have 'the old gentleman' (as they called him) as a collaborator; and for a further 12 years Hope worked on at his great undertaking, in close contact with Dalton, to whom indeed he submitted all his work for correction, but himself bearing entire responsibility for what remains to this day the largest single piece of research in architectural history ever undertaken in England.

The splendid volumes, *Windsor Castle. An Architectural History*, when they appeared in 1913, were instantly acclaimed as the work of a master; they earned Hope a knighthood, many academic honours, and a reputation equal to that previously enjoyed by Robert Willis, and by J. W. Clark.

In the preface of the *Architectural History*, Hope referred especially to his forbears in Windsor research, to Ashmole and to Pote, and, most important of all, to Tighe and Davis, authors of what Hope described as the "admirable *Annals of Windsor*."[1]

What, then, is the relation between Hope's *History* and Tighe and Davis's *Annals*? There can be no doubt that within Hope's chosen field, the growth of the physical structure of Windsor Castle, he has completely and finally superseded anything on the subject in the *Annals*. Hope belonged to the new generation, the generation with a profound respect for their documents; the generation, above all, that was able to profit from the new work of listing and calendaring that was going on in the Public Record Office. Moreover, Hope proceeded to work on a vast scale. Record agents made full transcripts of whole classes of documents from which Hope was able to garner a fragment here, a note there; and he brought to this task the wide knowledge of antiquities and of the various subjects, such as heraldry, military architecture, church liturgy, needed to perfect his history. As a result, his work is definitive. Or, to be accurate, as definitive as it is possible to expect so vast an undertaking to be. Within recent years the inevitable defects and slips have begun to appear; one, quite surprising in that it suggested a failure to make elementary observations of the fabric he was describing, and, at another point, a wild jumping to conclusions that invalidates an important argument as to dating.[2] Yet this is but a minute fraction

[1] *Architectural History*, p. xix.

[2] cf. A. C. Deane, "Sir Reginald Bray", *Report of the Society of the Friends of St. George's* (1943), pp. 16–17; M. F. Bond, "The Crucifix Badges of St. George's Chapel", *ibid* (1954), pp. 8–15; and the important article by C. J. P. Cave and H. S. London, "The Roof-bosses in St. George's Chapel, Windsor", *Archaeologia*, Vol. XCV, pp. 107–122 (1953).

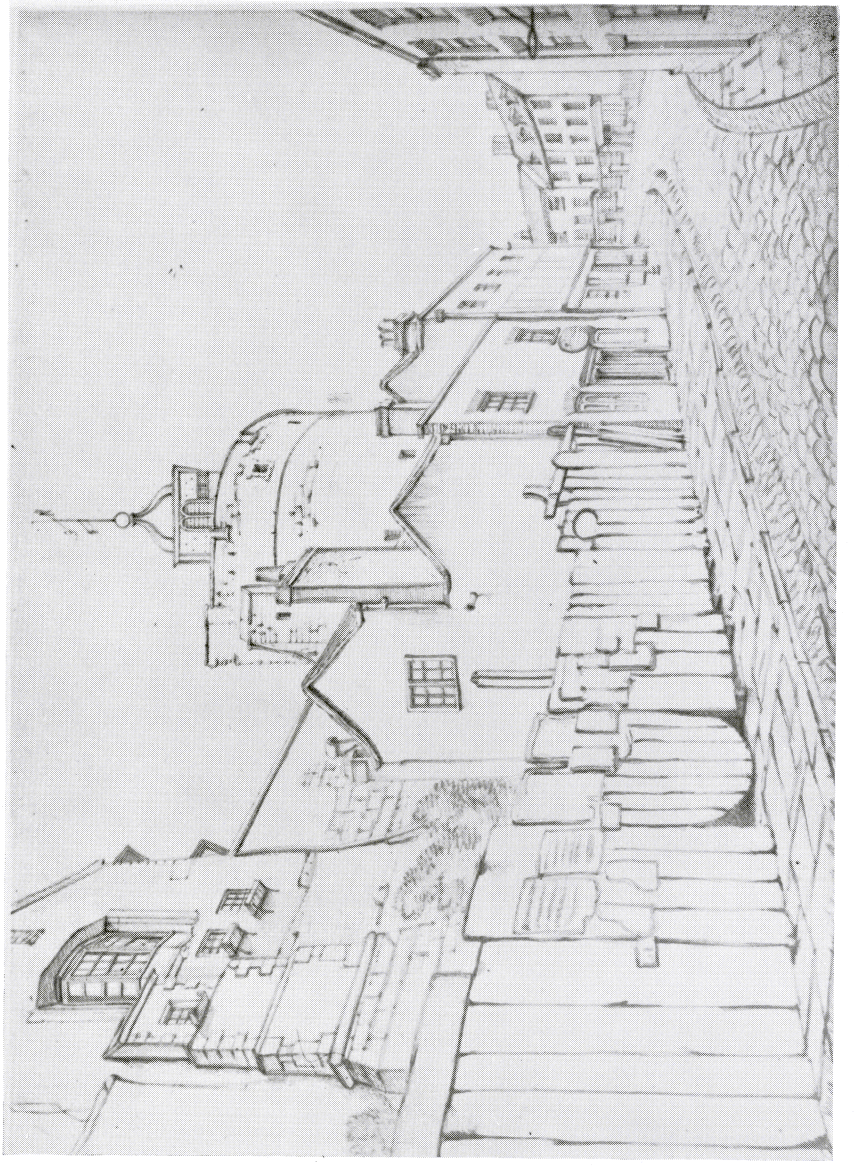

Plate 1. Thames Street, Windsor, by John Claude Nattes, *c.* 1810 (?), from the Royal Collection. Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen. The drawing shows some of the houses under the castle walls which were demolished in 1850 (see pp. 35–7).

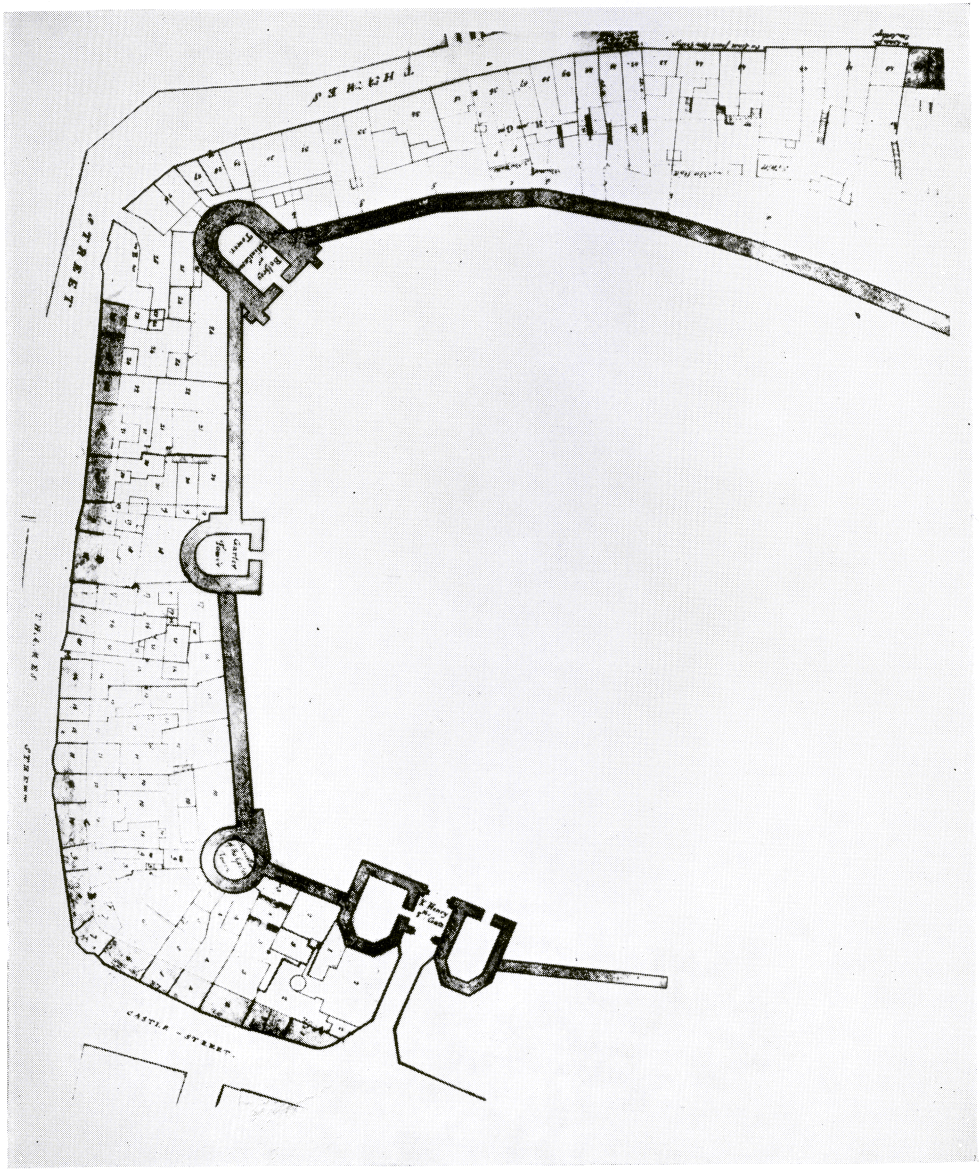

Plate 2. Plan of the houses in Thames Street and Castle Street (now Castle Hill) Windsor, under the Castle walls, which were demolished in 1850 (see pp. 35–7). Reproduced from the Book of Plans (Windsor Records AT.1), by kind permission of the Town Clerk.

Plate 3. Water-colour drawing showing the proposed Atmospheric Railway crossing the Home Park to Windsor (*c.* 1844). Reproduced from the original in the Royal Collection by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen.

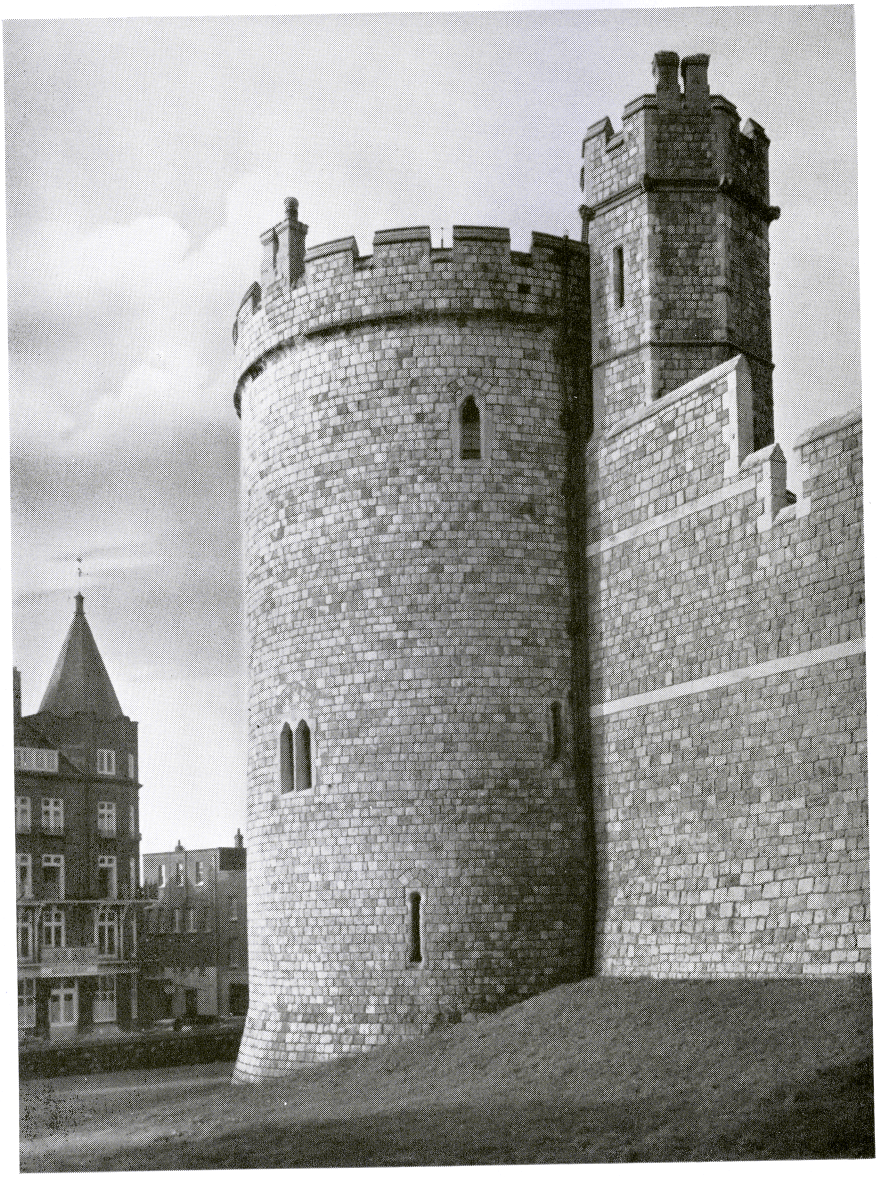

Plate 4. Chancellor's or Salisbury Tower, Windsor, with the Castle ditch from which some of the properties shown in Plate 2 were removed in 1850 (see p. 37).

of the whole, and the whole stands as the best documented and most exhaustive architectural history so far written in this country.

Since 1913, little further has been written about the architectural history of the Castle. The *Victoria County History* editor simply commissioned Hope to condense his great book into 20 pages; and apart from some important work on St. George's, to be considered below, there have been only two further contributions to the subject of Castle history; an excellent discussion of the relations between the ground plans of the Castle, New College, Oxford and Winchester College (much of which was the work of William of Wickham), contributed by Mr. Wickham Legg to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association;*[1] and certain important suggestions about Wyatville's rebuilding of the Upper Ward in Sir Owen Morshead's *Windsor Castle* (which has recently appeared in a second and revised edition). Otherwise Hope seems to have said the last word concerning a vital section of Windsor history.

DR. EUSTACE HARWOOD

Hope left untouched, of course, the entire field of Borough history, as well as that of the institutional and biographical history of the Castle community. The former of these was taken up in the volume of *The Victoria County History* devoted to Eastern Berkshire published in 1923;[2] but the extent to which the resulting article by Gladys Temperley added to Tighe and Davis is extremely limited. Much of it was indeed explicitly based on the *Annals;* additional references were given concerning early taxation, etc., but, in the main, Windsor history was left where it stood in 1858; the gaps were still those of Tighe and Davis; the professional historian had added little to the work of the gifted amateurs. Then, almost immediately another and perhaps equally gifted amateur appeared in the field, in the person of the son of a former Vicar of Old Windsor, Dr. T. E. Harwood. Dr. Harwood obviously had a passionate love of his district, and an especial affection for Old as distinct from New Windsor. He leapt into the fray, challenging the work not only of Tighe and Davis but also of St. John Hope, not hesitating, indeed, to stigmatise Hope's work on the early period (somewhat rashly) as a "manufacture of history."

Harwood's *Windsor Old and New* appeared in 1929.[3] It makes melancholy reading today. There are extremely few footnotes or

[1] In Third Series, Vol. III.

[2] Vol. III, in which pp. 1–5 deal with Borough topography, pp. 5–25 with the general history of the Castle, pp. 29–56 with its architectural history, and pp. 56–70 with the history of the Borough. Vol. I (1906) had included geological and archaeological material of far higher quality. The mediaeval history of the Chapel had been dealt with very sketchily in Vol. II (1909).

[3] In a limited edition of 400 copies, a sadly inadequate edition. The book is now extremely rare. Harwood's only other publication was a clinical study entitled *The Eyes and the Body*, a slender octavo of 30 pages, also printed in a limited edition (of 100 copies) in 1927.

other references in the work; and there is no bibliography. Harwood, it seems, deliberately withheld all references, intending (as Dr. S. L. Ollard informed the present writer) to make a separate volume of them. Harwood died; his notes were destroyed; we therefore have a work full of suggestive and indeed impressive material, but quite useless as a source. On many pages the reader is confronted with statements such as "The British Museum has a document recording . . . "; or "Among the papers formerly belonging to the Abbey of Bury S. Edmunds is an almost contemporary manuscript, which throws an interesting sidelight," etc. Sometimes intelligent guesswork leads the reader to the source; but all too frequently he is left with Dr. Harwood's *obiter dicta.*

The virtues of the book however are several. It is the first Windsor book to be written in a literary form; it is not simply 'annals' or sources; but a reasoned account of the development of forest, borough and manors, with ample mention (a special characteristic, it seems, of Windsor history) of literary sources. It is, in fact, whatever Harwood's lack of professional training, the work of one with far more historical vision than had any of his predecessors amongst Windsor historians. The work has a particularly useful account of the river—Harwood was the first to realise Windsor's character as a river port, and to make use of the specialised work of Mr. Thacker;[1] and, running through the book, is an insistence on manorial history that makes salutary reading after the failure of the *Annals* and the *Victoria County History* to disentangle this important and exceedingly complex matter. But Harwood's chief aim was to direct attention to his native village of Old Windsor, and it was Harwood's work which provided the main archival background to the recent highly successful investigation of Kingsbury by Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor and the Ministry of Works. Harwood had little to add concerning the Castle; his chapter on it is indeed perfunctory; and to the history of the Borough he contributed chiefly the first coherent account of the Ecclesiastical parish, and, as has been indicated, a helpful description of the various manors. No student can, in fact, ignore Harwood; but the task of recognising and locating his references is sadly laborious.

THE DEAN AND CANONS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL

And at that point the historiography of Windsor would stand today, but for a recent initiative of the Windsor Chapter. In 1937 there happened to live in the Castle a group who were all keenly interested in history and all zealous Windsor men, Dr. Albert Baillie, the Dean of Windsor who had just supervised the complete rebuilding of the Chapel in the decade between 1920 and 1930; Sir Owen Morshead, Royal Librarian and devoted friend of the Chapel; and Dr. Edmund Fellowes, Minor Canon of the Chapel and

[1]This is all too little known. Cf. his *The Thames Highway. A History of the Locks and Weirs* (1920), especially pp. 342–396.

perhaps the foremost historian of English Church Music of the day. This group, which was later joined by Dr. S. L. Ollard, Canon, and expert on many aspects and periods of church history, undertook to produce a series of historical monographs on the Chapel and College of St. George. In spite of war and financial stringency their aim was pursued undeviatingly, and this year, some 21 years later, the last of a series of 12 works of research has appeared. These have all primarily been devoted to Chapel and College: but Chapel and College constitute an important section of the Castle, and, for long, the College had freehold possession of about a half of the Castle, a great deal of Windsor and Eton, and many properties scattered through Berkshire and some 30 other counties in England and Wales. The monographs are, then, a contribution to church history, to local history and to national history. Even 12 such monographs have far from exhausted the archival and other sources available at the Chapel; but they have in sum provided biographical material concerning some 2000 members of the College over 600 years, and have produced definitive studies of the Monuments,[1] the Plate[2] and the Woodwork[3] of the Chapel. In addition, one volume, that by Dr. A. K. B. Roberts,[4] presents a scholarly account, complete in range, and impeccable in accuracy, of the life of the Chapel in its first 60 years—a forerunner, it is hoped, for similar studies of later periods.[5]

Not the least important of the monographs is that entitled *The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel* and published in 1958. This is indeed the work started by Canon Dalton in 1891, with the help of St. John Hope, partially printed in flat sheets in 1908, and, eventually completed and published under the authority of the Monographs Committee of the Chapel. It includes an Addendum on Modern Records, and an Introduction which outlines the administrative history of the Chapel and the many properties held by it. This work, after Hope's great volumes, is perhaps the largest single source for Windsor history, both of the Castle and the Borough, and it may not unfairly claim to be the only detailed guide of its type in the country for the archives of a single cathedral or college. In the field of local and county history it has brought to light much material concerning Windsor topography, and, as well, the entire surviving records of Sandleford Priory, Berkshire, a religious house whose property was bestowed on St. George's Chapel in 1478, and many deeds and other local records relating to Bray, Cookham, Newbury, Hungerford, West Ilsley and various other localities in Berkshire.

[1]Shelagh M. Bond, *The Monuments of St. George's Chapel*, (1959).
[2]E. Alfred Jones, *The Plate of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, (1939).
[3]M. R. James, *The Woodwork of the Choir*, (first published, 1933, re-issued, with photographic supplement, 1955).
[4]A. K. B. Roberts, *St. George's Chapel, Windsor*, 1348–1416: *A Study in Early Collegiate Administration*, (1947).
[5]All Windsor Monographs are obtainable from the publishers, Oxley and Son (Windsor) Ltd., 4 High Street, Windsor.

When one adds to his achievement in producing this calendar, Dalton's work for the Henry Bradshaw Society, his learned volume on Ottery St. Mary, published by the Cambridge University Press, and his ceaseless administrative labours on behalf of the Chapel, the result is indeed impressive.

And while these Monographs have been appearing, the *Annual Reports of the Society of the Friends of St. George's*[1] have contained at least two articles based on original material concerning the Chapel each year, to a considerable extent as a result of the learning and enthusiasm of their editor, the late Miss Margaret Curtis, whose recent death members of the Berkshire Archaeological Society so deeply lament. The *Reports*, admittedly, are ephemeral and elusive media for original research; it would be a useful achievement to collect the best of these articles in a single volume, which should certainly include the biographical studies by Dr. Ollard and Mr. Robert Birley, and the varied articles concerning the St. George's chantries.

THE NEXT HUNDRED YEARS

Much has clearly been accomplished in the century that has elapsed since the publication of Tighe and Davis's *Annals*. How then do we stand today? What scope is there for further work on Windsor history, and to what extent is such work being attempted?

In the first place, attention must be directed to the most exciting development since the publication of the *Annals*: the excavations on the original site of Windsor at Kingsbury by Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor. In the days of Tighe and Davis, in the days of St. John Hope, and indeed until 1950, it was generally assumed that, apart from an isolated Roman settlement, there was no important community in the district until the late Saxon period. Then a 'palace' or 'hunting lodge' was built two miles to the south-east of the chalk hill on which the present castle stands. The *Annals* recall Lysons' and Leland's statements that Edward the Confessor held his court at Windsor;[2] and, in fact, it was understood that Windsor history effectively began soon after 1042. Now, as a result of Mr. Hope-Taylor's extensive investigations, pursued over some eight years, it is clear that the origins of the settlement must be pushed back in time to earlier days of Saxon settlement, perhaps to the seventh or eighth century. Moreover, the village then established was large and important—its site has in fact produced a greater quantity of finds than any other domestic Saxon site in the country. Some of the first-fruits of this excavation have been already placed on display in the Windsor Guildhall Exhibition by its Honorary Curator, Mr. F. M. Underhill, to whose initiative indeed the dig itself owes a very great deal. Short reports by Mr. Hope-Taylor have appeared in

[1]Obtainable from the Honorary Secretary of the Friends, Henry III's Tower, Windsor Castle.

[2]*Annals*, Vol. I, p. 4.

this *Journal*;[1] but perhaps the greatest single contribution likely to be made to local history in the coming years will be Mr. Hope-Taylor's full report on his massive investigations into the Kingsbury site.

Further archaeological material of importance to Windsor history has been forthcoming as a result of the establishment of the Windsor Guildhall Exhibition. Now that such a centre exists for the preservation and display of archaeological finds, each year has seen the acquisition of interesting gifts and loans. A considerable range of Stone age and Bronze age objects has been secured from the Rawlins collection; and the study of the development of local industry in the modern period has been facilitated by, for example, the collection of clocks and scientific instruments made by John Davis and his family. Each year, Mr. Underhill produces a *Guide* to the Exhibition in which acquisitions of this type are recorded; and for local historians a complete collection of these *Guides* as they appear is likely, therefore, to be of considerable use. It should be added that the Guildhall Committee, set up to supervise this Exhibition, has also done much for the preservation and renovation of the 17th and 18th century houses near the castle walls on the south-west, which were spared by Tighe and the Commissioner of Woods a century ago. The Borough Corporation, indeed, may feel rightly some satisfaction at the important contribution made by their Guildhall Committee and, particularly, by their Honorary Curator, to the preservation and study of Windsor archaeology and antiquities.

Secondly, there are the new opportunities provided by archivists, no less than by archaeologists, to consider in surveying the field of Windsor research. Dr. Felix Hull and Mr. Peter Walne revealed in their useful *Guide to the Berkshire Record Office*, published in 1952, the existence in that office of important sources for Forest history from the XVIth–XVIIIth centuries among the Neville manuscripts; and no doubt the ceaseless flow of acquisitions by the county Record Office will from time to time continue to produce valuable new material for Windsor history. Moreover, the various Calendars of Public Record Office documents, as they appear, reveal further Windsor material among the Fine rolls, the Patent rolls, the Inquisitions post mortem, the Treasury books, and the other main series of national records. In local, as in other history, nothing stands still; history is constantly needing to be re-written.

Of the many *desiderata* for Windsor history, work on what is perhaps the chief, the history of the Upper Ward, has already received an impetus from Sir Owen Morshead's vast card index of Royal Household servants from 1660–1837, which he compiled for the Royal Library. Sir Owen's assistant, Miss Olwen Hedley, (to whom we already are indebted for her *Round and About Windsor*

[1] *Ante*, Vol. 54, p. 147 and Vol. 55, p. 86.

and District)[1] is now proceeding to digest Sir Owen's card-index in order to produce *fasti* of the Household; and these will then become an invaluable source when the full history of the Court at Windsor comes to be written—a great undertaking comparable to that of St. John Hope's, and certainly of equal importance. In the Lower Ward, although the Monographs series has, at any rate for the moment, come to a halt; yet, doubtless, the flow of short original articles on Collegiate history will continue to appear in the *Reports* of the Friends. Meanwhile, the present writer is attempting to gather material for a general history of St. George's and its personnel which will be biographical and institutional in character rather than architectural. Within the Borough, the documents overlooked by Tighe and Davis are being brought to light; not only the original mediaeval charters, but the Court Books of the XVth–XVIIth centuries, together with the accumulation of several hundred deeds, beginning in the XIIIth century, and coming up to date. These deeds have been catalogued by Mrs. Shelagh Bond and they afford important additional material for the study of the development and topography of the Borough.[2] The fresh approach to local studies adumbrated by such modern historians as Dr. W. G. Hoskins and Professor M. W. Beresford has, moreover, encouraged the inception of similar work at Windsor. Mrs. Bond is now undertaking a detailed study of the origins and early development of New Windsor, based on both Public and local records, which will seek to relate the growth of the borough community to its environment, and will investigate the nature of the various manorial, parochial, burghal, honorial and other jurisdictions to which the townspeople were subject.

Many other opportunities for profitable research exist in the Borough. Editions of the main Borough records, the Chamberlain's Accounts and the Hall Books, are desirable; and it is the greatest tragedy for local historians that no Berkshire county record series exists in which such editions could appear. In their absence, there is room for a simple continuation of Tighe and Davis, for *Annals* which would run from 1714 to 1914, covering, that is, the period of Windsor's greatest prosperity and individual life, and reaching a climax in the days when the Borough was for the monarch what it was for the donor of its first charter, both a home and a setting for ceremonial life. A fully documented study of Castle and Borough under Queen Victoria would indeed be a work of the greatest interest and of some considerable national importance.

There is therefore still much to do. But, it is fitting in the centenary year of the *Annals* to conclude by reflecting on how much we owe to the barrister and the brewer of a hundred years ago for a

[1]Published in 1949.

[2]A general handlist of the Borough records, entitled *Records at the Guildhall and Kipling Memorial Building* (1959), compiled by Mrs. Bond, is available on application to the Town Clerk at Windsor.

work which posed most of the problems of local studies, explicitly or implicitly, and which still, moreover, itself provides very many of the answers. It will, indeed, be a very long time before any fresh work on Windsor history entirely supplants the *Annals* of Tighe and Davis.