

## ETON COLLEGE.

BY THE REV. C. O. GOODFORD, D.D., PROVOST OF ETON.

I undertook, I am afraid somewhat unwisely, a few weeks ago, to read to those friends who have done us the honour of coming here to-day, a paper on some matters connected with the antiquities of this College; unwisely, because I was tempted to measure my ability to do this by my fondness for the subject, rather than by my knowledge of it, and I did not then foresee the many interruptions which I should have to the due preparation of this paper. Indeed, I much fear that when you have heard what I have to say, you will agree with what was said of the office of Provost of this College by an M.P. about three weeks since in the House, when he reported of a visit of inquiry which he had made to this place, "that he could not find out what use the Provost was except to give entertainments," and I am far from sure that you will leave this place with any deep impression of his usefulness even for that purpose. I will only say that but for more pressing duties I should have been better prepared to discharge the task which I have undertaken to-day, and it is on that ground, that I crave an indulgent hearing. I do not propose to enter into the history of the founding of this College; there are many publications from which that may be learned; but rather to go into more details connected with the building, which may be fairly supposed to be more interesting to the antiquarian than to the general reader.

And first I would remark on our Chapel, and some of the other buildings which you have seen to-day, that fondly as we who have been educated here are attached to them, and much as we admire them, and sufficient as they are for our present wants, they are not by any means such as our pious founder intended them to be. This we know

from undoubted testimony—that of King Henry VI. himself. It was my luck, about three years ago, to find his directions on this subject corrected and signed by himself. There are three documents, two of them are signed, the third is not. One on a single sheet is called “the apointment made by the King, oure al Soverain Lord as touching the dimensions of the housing of his College Roial of oure Lady of Eton.” Signed R. H.

A second, dated Feb. 7th, an reg. 26, *i.e.* 1448, “The apointment made by the King oure al Soverain Lord as touching certain dimensions of the Church of his College Roial of oure blessed Lady of Eton.”

The first three pages are signed R. H. at the beginning and end, the fourth page has no signature.

The fifth is signed at the top R. Henricus, and the same signature occurs at the end of the document.

The first of these contains directions for “the utter (outer) walles of the Procincte, for the South, Este, North, and West Panes, the South Wall to be 1440 feet of assise, with a large dore to the water-side. The Este to extend from the water-side to the hieway 700 fete of assise. The North walle to be 1040 fete of assise, with a faire gate out of the utter court into the hie-way. The West walle 510 fete of assise, so that the utter walles of the Procincte shall contain in length 3690 fete of assise.

Then follow minute directions—where shall be the bakehouses, brewhouses, garners, stables, and hayhouse, chambers for the steward, auditors, and “other lerned counsell of the College,” for the Infirmary Chambers, for the thirteen poor men—all these in “the utter courte.”

In the quadrant of the College, on the north side, in “the midel a faire tour and gatehouse, with two chambers on either side, and two chambers above vawted, 40 fete long, 14 broad. On the este side of the said gate, 4 chambers, two above and two benethe, each 35 fete long, 24 broad, and on the west side (*i.e.*, where the lower school now is\*), a scole 70 feet long, 24 broad, and above the same two chambers, each in length 35 feet, in brede 24.”

“The east side 230 fete†—in the midel whereof directly again the entree of the Cloister, a library, 52

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\* Which is 76 by 25 feet.

† Now 135 feet.

fete long, 24 broad, with three chambers above on one side, and 4 on the other, and beneth 9 chambers, ech 26 fete long, 18 breed, with 5 utter and 5 inner towers. On the west 230 fete in length, directly again the library, a dore into the cloyster; and above, eight chambers, and beneth other eight, with three utter tours and 5 inner tours, with a wey unto the quere for the mynister of the church between the vestiarie and the same quere."

The second document contains minute directions for the size of the church, with occasional corrections, which in each case increase the size; the object being apparently to attain the result, that the church should be, as stated at the end—longer than "the quere of Winchester (corrected to the 'Newe') College, at Oxenforde, by xxiii, broader by v fete, and the walls heyer by xx fete, the pinnacles by x feet."

"1. Breadth of church, 35 feet; length fro. quere dore to W. end, 119.\*

"2. The yles on each side 16 feet wide; length 119 feet.

"3. On S. side a dore with a porch for christenings and weddings. (So in the Salisbury use, 'deferatur infans ad valvas ecclesiæ,' and 'in primis statuatur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ.')

"4. The steps up to the high altar six of six inches each.†

"5. 16 feet to be between the church wall (at the west end, and the wall of the church yard; these 16 feet to be taken from the 'hie way.'

"6. The Cloyster, E. and W., 200 fete; N. and S., 160 fete. The old ground to be raised eight 'or hyt come to the pavement.'

"7. The Cloyster to be on the N.W. and N.E. side of the church, with a dore leading into the College.

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\* Present breadth of chapel 41 feet; present length 152 feet, but no aisles.

† "On the right syde of the seid hye auter to be sett an ymage of oure Lady, and on the lefte side an ymage of Seynt Nicholas, and above in the seyd reredos in the myddel to be sett a grete ymage of oure Savieoure, with xii Apostoles, with vi sett on every side of the same ymage, with sygnes and tokens of here passion and ma'tirdome." (That the image of the Virgin, at least, was set up is clear from the fact that Dame Alice Jurdeley in her will, dated Feb. 20th, 1482, has the following clause;—"Item lego ymagini bte Marie de Eton in media ecclie ibm mea optima zonā pt xls.")

"8. Cloyster to be 15 feet wide, 20 high, with clere stories, inward vaulted and embattled on both sides.

"9. 28 fete to be left between the cloister and church to be planted with trees and flowers behovefull and convenient for the service of the church.

"10. The cementere (cemetery ?)

"11. A grete square tour on the west pane of the cloyster, xx fete within the walls, and 140 fete high, with the battlement and pinnacles.

"12. A good hie wall on the south and all round.

"13. The water at Baldwyne's Brigge to be turned onethwart into the Thames by a dych xi feet wide, and the ground between the dych and College to be raised of a grete height, so that it may at all floddes be playne and drie ground 80 feet in distance from the hall to the water.  
—R.H.

"14. The enhancements of the ground for the cementerie 6 feet and a half fro the street, and the wall in height above that, 5 feet and a halfe.

"15. The wall to be built of hard stone of Kent, and the garden to be enhanced with erthe to the height of a fote lower than the cementerie.

"16. The quadrant and the utter court to be a fote lower than the cementerie.

The second part, signed R. HENRICUS,  
Repeats the words with which the first part begins—with lines of erasure drawn across and on the margin:—

\* "Willm. Bishop of Wynchester.

\* "Willm. Marchis of Suffolk."

"1 and 2. Dimensions of quire.

"3. Enhancing of the ground.

"4. Height of quire wall, 80 feet.

"5. The windows. At the este end one gret gable window of seven daies and two butras, and on either side

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\* The appearance of these names at this date is easily accounted for. William of Waynflete, now Bishop of Winchester, under whom (as Master of Winchester School) the King probably had been educated, had just been raised from the Provostship of Eton to that See, on the death of the King's uncle. The Marquis of Suffolk, as Earl with that title, had been commander of the royal forces in France. Taken prisoner there he had been employed to negotiate the King's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, and for the success with which he had conducted this negotiation, had on the King's marriage been created Marquis, and was now in high favour at court.



*seven* windows, every window of four daies and eight buttraes, every buttraes in height fro the ground werke unto the end of the pinnacle c feet.\*

"6. The hie auter 12 feet long, 5 feet broad; the first stone to be leyd in the mydel, and not be 'removed, touched, ne scored in any wise.'

"7. The vestiariie on the N. side of the quire, 50 feet in length departed (=divided?) in two houses; 24 feet broad, 20 feet high, with gable windows and side windows.

"8. The work to be done well and substantially, goodly windows, vaultes, curiouse worke of entaile and bese moulding.†

"9. 32 stalls on either side, and a rode loft like that of St. Stephen's at Westminster." (Then comes the paragraph quoted above, "and so the said quire.")‡

Then follows an estimate of the cost of the work from "Feb. 12, 1448, to Michaelmas, 32 weeke":—

	£	s.	d.
The estimate is for 40 free masons, at			
3s. per week a piece . . . . .	192	0	0
12 hard hewers, 12 leyers, 2 sawyers,			
4 carpenters, all at 6d. by the day;			
40 labourers at 4d.§ . . . . .	226	13	4

\* The eight windows on the sides and the nine buttresses which we now have agree with the King's directions in another document.

† The walls were ornamented with fresco paintings, executed probably in the reign of Henry VII., by Italian artists. A writer in "Notes and Queries" accuses the authorities of Eton of having effaced these paintings, and asks whether any drawings of them were taken at the time of the restoration of the Chapel. The facts of the case are as follows:—The clerk of the works on that occasion was found by one of the Fellows diligently employed in effacing these paintings; he was at once stopped, and what remained of them was preserved and carefully copied by Mr. Essex. The drawings are now in the College Library, where they were placed by the Provost, who received them from the executors of his predecessor, but Provost Hodgson refused to allow the adoption of any plan by which the originals could remain visible.

‡ William of Waynflete's contract for making the rood loft and stalls, dated 1475, is for making the rood loft like that at Bishop Wykeham's College, at Winchester, and stalls like those in the church of St. Thomas, of Acars, in London.

§ Prof. Rogers, in his valuable work on prices and labour, vol. 1, p. 258, speaks of work going on at Merton College at the same time where the wages appear to be somewhat higher, but he omits to say whether, as is clear, from what I shall have to state presently, was the case at Eton, the labourers at Oxford were supplied with tools; he speaks too of the

	£	s.	d.
Stone from Huddleston and Caen, with carriage . . . . .	100	0	0
Hewstone of Kent, with carriage . .	89	6	8
Ragg and Hethstone, and flint, with carriage . . . . .	116	13	4
Lime and sand . . . . .	108	6	8
Iron, steel, nails, iron ware, barrows, carrs, mending and repairing instruments .	10	0	0
Coles for the forge, ropes, barrows, hirdells, scaffold timber, and other diverse things, with carriage . . .	30	0	0
For the Master of the Works for half a year . . . . .	25	0	0
The Clerk of Works . . . . .	6	13	4
Robert Buston, now clerk, as- signed to be attendant, helping and counselling unto thrym . . . . .	6	13	4
John Smith, master mason . . . . .	6	13	4
Robert Whately,* master car- penter . . . . .	5	0	0
Two purveyors, each £5 . . . . .	10	0	0
	60	0	0
Items of various small matters in the kitchen, bakehouse, almshouses, and garnishing it . . . . .	14	0	0
The some of all the said expenses by the said 52 weeks, by estimation .	1093	0	0
The money to pay for this to come partly from what remains in the re- ceiver's hands for the assignment of the feoffment of the Duchy of Lan- caster . . . . .	860	0	0

chief masons receiving 8d. a day—the precise sum which John Stubbs, who paid the masons at Eton, and Robert Church, who is called Warden, received. The Professor also speaks of fewer men being employed at less wages, in the winter, which was not the case at Eton. *Vide* lease of quarry and contract for carriage of stone by water to London, and receipt of money from Provost Westbury.

\* He in the *Jornale anno primo* is often employed to pay others *en masse*.

	£	s.	d.
— Same, paialbe of the assignment due at the Annunciation and Michael- mas, in the 26th year of the reign .	1000	0	0
And at Michaelmas day next year . .	767	0	0

The *Jornale Anno Primo*, though it has no date, refers to the first year of the Chapel building. It begins February 12th, but the King never seems to have had the precise number of masons which he intended. In the first 16 weeks, they vary from 40 to 53. No hard hewers appear for the first 11 weeks; then they vary from 5 to 14. The sawyers vary only from 4 to 2; the carpenters from 3 to 19; the labourers from 3 to 28. No work was done on Saints' Days, but the free-masons received their pay as though they worked; none of the others, save on special occasions—such as June 5th, the Dedication Day, when the free-masons had full pay. The others were, by the King's commandment, allowed 4*d.*, except some carpenters, who were away in the Forest working, and the two sawyers, who were at Slough working, and so had full pay; one labourer, too, who was "in ye wode at ye dedication."

The wages seem high, especially as the King found the men in tools. This appears clearly in the day-book (as well as in the estimate), where the men are often mulcted of their wages, for "breking of a traye," and "for breking a scope;" "for breking of a shovell;" "for he lost a shovell." The clerk of the works seems to have kept a good look-out in these and other matters. Men lose their wages for "late cumming" often. On one man he seems a little hard: he lost his pay because "he wold kepe his oures, and ne go to worke till the clock smyte." One incompetent man is "deliverid he is not abull." A whole set are fined a day's wages because "they wolde not go to theyre worke till two of clocke, and all maketh —." (The following word illegible.) Another for "late advent, and goethe from his werke out of tyme." Several, on one page, are fined for not being at work "at one of clocke;" but no greater penalty is imposed on one who "wolde a ron away."

One very good rule seems to have been in vogue, to

fine one who "wolde tell tailes;" and another for "telling tailes and letting his felowes." There could be no hardship in not paying a man who "wol not do nor labor but as he list hyselfe;" or those who "wrosted, and playde, and ron about in working tyme;" or a man who "will not do as he is bedyn," or "goes away without lycence;" or two men who are found "fyting." One of the most regular amongst the masons is "John Bright;" and if any archæologist could persuade his namesake of the present generation to be as conservative of these ancient institutions with his tongue as his predecessor was constructive with his trowel, he would do us a good service.

In the next year, besides the receipts from the Duchy of Lancaster, amounting to £1767, the following sums are entered:—

	£	s.	d.
To come from the King's coffers . .	380	0	0
A Gift from the Marquis of Suffolk .	666	13	4
A Gift of the Bishop of Winchester, for the wages of ten free masons .	75	15	0
From the Bishop of Salisbury, W. Aiscough, for the use of the work .	33	6	8
The Expenses are calculated for the whole year at . . . . .	2423	18	4
The Receipts at . . . . .	2922	15	0

The document signed:— "R. HENRICUS."

But, besides the sources of income named above for his work, the King had procured from Pope Eugenius IV. a Bull, by which he granted to the Provost of Eton, and to Confessors deputed by him, the power to give, on the Assumption-Day, the same absolution which the Pope himself could give, in all cases which His Holiness had not specially reserved to himself. (See Bull in Coll. Libr.) A curious proof of the effect of this exists in an audit-roll of the time,\* in which there is a charge on the Feast of the Assumption of £2 13s. 11d. for the hire of thirty beds for confessors; and a receipt of £18 10s. 7d. for oblations made on the same day.

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\* A.D. 1447.

Free-masons are called "Lathotomi." The same rule holds good as to paying them for the Saints' Days' work. John Bright worked almost all the year. Sometimes a carpenter occurs having only 5*d.*, or even 3*d.*, per diem, and a labourer who has 6*d.*; and here I would remark that, though the wages seem a little lower than those named by Professor Rogers, in his Book on Prices (vol. ii., p. 258), there is not, in these accounts, that reduction of pay in the winter months of which he speaks; nor does he tell us whether the wages which he names included the finding tools for the men. We have John Vady's book, as clerk of the works, from September 27th, 1445, to Michaelmas, 1446. In this book, all had their wages on St. Hugh's Day, November 17th. Why? He was Bishop of Lincoln. Perhaps out of respect to the office of Visitor held by his successors. They also had their pay on Edward the Confessor's Day. All lost three days in the week beginning December 21st, which included St. Thomas', Christmas Day, St. Stephen's, and St. John the Evangelist's. On the Purification, masons and labourers were paid, but no work done. In March, the Prostratores Mæremii come in as a new charge at 4*d.* per diem. They vary in number from 2 to 11. In this book appear also daubers, joiners, and glaziers; so that the building of the College must have made some progress. John Gore, sen., and John Gore, jun., work as masons; the latter had only 4*d.* per diem. Only one instance occurs of a mulct of wages—in the case of Richard Foxe, mason:—

"Disalloc sua vadia pro tard,  
Advent suo diversis temporibus."

	£	s.	d.
The sum total expended on the building this year . . . . .	410	12	5
We have also the wages-book for 1453 (John Medehill, Clerk of the Works).			
Total . . . . .	471	9	10½
1456—(Also John Medehill), the book imperfect. No total.			
1458—(Still John Medehill). Total expended . . . . .	408	8	8½
The Receipts are all from Provost Westbury. Total for 59th year . .	452	2	2



The year following, the King was made prisoner, and taken to London. We may easily imagine the consternation which this would produce here, and shall not be surprised to find that the Provost and Fellows went or sent immediately to London, and procured from the Duke of York the protection which still remains in the College Library, written on a small slip of paper, and signed, "E. YORKE." A proof, to my mind, of the haste in which it was asked and given, is found in the fact that the seal, usually attached to, was impressed upon, the paper. The traces of it are most clear, though the impression itself is gone.

How long the Duke remained in good humour I cannot say, but we know that he had it in his mind to suppress this College, and transfer its property to the College of Windsor. He had obtained a Bull from the Pope with this object, on the ground of the institution being useless to the purposes to which it had been destined. We now see the advantage of Provost Westbury's diligence in building. He was able to contradict this assertion, and to appeal to the Pope against this contemplated act of disendowment. The Pope with singular fairness remitted the case to Thomas Bouchier, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and he with a love of justice which enabled him to act without fear of the King, decided in favour of the College. The Provost's protest and the Archbishop's sentence are both in existence—the latter a most beautifully illuminated document, with seal quite perfect. To these we owe what we now have, though not all which Henry VI. gave us, for Edward robbed, though he did not destroy us, not of land only, but—as appears from an inventory bearing date 1465, and exhibited in the library, but so much damaged by wet as to be in great part illegible, though so long as to show that its contents were considerable,—of a large amount of plate. The list fills seven rolls of vellum. I cannot find that our neighbours on the hill, to whom we were compelled to resign this, have any record of the receipt. Provost Westbury seems to have anticipated some seizure of this sort, from his having had an inventory made in the previous year, and possibly some of it came back again, for in 1537, there is another very legible and copious list of plate and jewels, taken

by order of King Henry VIII. The articles therein mentioned were delivered to the Commissioners (a word of unpleasant import from that day to this) "for the use of our said sovereign Lord until his highness's further pleasure shall be signified and declared in that behalf." The significant quotation made by one of the Fellows of the day hints pretty clearly at what that pleasure was—

"Ferus omnia Jupiter Argos  
Transtulit ; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe."

Doubtless, we are to translate "Argos" by Windsor Castle, and "ferus Jupiter" by Henry VIII., and when I add that by what he was pleased to call an exchange, he got from us 185½ acres of land, extending from Chelsea to Aye Hill, near Berkeley Square, including the land on which St. James's Palace now stands, you will perceive how much better I should have been able to discharge that duty which is said to be my only one, had Edward IV. and Henry VIII. been a little less rapacious. You will see, too, the justice of the saying—

"Henricus Octavus took away more than he gave us."

Still Edward IV. left us enough wherewith to entertain Henry VII., and his son did not disdain to partake of the College hospitality. The relative cost of entertaining these two kings may seem in some measure an indication of their character. On October 21, 1506, Henry VII. dined in hall. The College spent on the occasion £13 0s. 9½d. On July 2, 1510, in the second year of his reign, Henry VIII. followed his father's example, when the College spent £17 17s. 8d. Possibly the display of plate then was as unwise as Hezekiah's exhibition of his treasure. Certainly, had it all remained, and with it the land which, by an unpleasant fiction, he took in exchange, we could have made a better show than we can to-day. Be this as it may, the building went on in Edward IV.'s time, for his letter to the constable of Windsor Castle, dated Dec. 12, 1472, directing him to allow the Provost and College to dig for chalk and flint in the park for building the church is in the College Library. In the second year of Richard III., 1484, the "Magister Operum" dined in

hall. We have also building accounts of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.'s reigns — the eighth, tenth, and eleventh years of Henry VIII. In the latter a clerk of the works' book of the total expended in the year was only £180 4s. 4d. Little was carried out as the founder intended: indeed I believe that the cellar, with its vaulted roof beneath this hall, as he ordered, is almost the only part done as he wished. Part of this hall, as may be seen from without, was built of stone, and there is an evident mark of interruption, and of completion in brick at a later date. But though the cellars were finished, they are no longer furnished as the pious founder meant they should be.

The last person who contributed the "*duo dolia vini rubri*," which Henry VI. intended we should have annually *in perpetuum*, having been Oliver Cromwell, whose warrant for its delivery is in the College Library.

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