The Armorial Glass of Ockwells Manor House

Ockwells Manor house was built by John Norreys Esq. (d.1466) in the mid-fifteenth century. Nicolas Pevsner has described it as *the most refined and most sophisticated timber-framed mansion in England.* Its survival is almost certainly due to the magnificent set of contemporary armorial glass in its great hall that past owners have sought to preserve.

This description of the glass including its date, scheme, the identity of the men and women represented by their armorial achievements and their link with John Norreys Esq is a simplified extract from:

Darracott A. (2023*) Ockwells Manor - A history of the house and its occupants*. Maidenhead Civic Society, 358pp. Details can be found at: http://www.maidenheadcivicsoc.org.uk/group/2086/Projects/Documents/Ockwells%20Book%20Flyer.pdf

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The Armorial Glass

The survival of the Ockwells armorial glass is a testament to the care taken by past owners. The achievements are still mostly in their original position in the windows of the great hall, despite being taken out in the Victorian period. The illustration of the great hall published by Charles Knight before their removal, where the achievements are recognisable, presumably helped when the glass was replaced. Only those in the side of the oriel became mixed up.

The oriel features the armorial achievements of Henry VI and his queen, Margaret of Anjou, together with lords temporal & spiritual, whilst the east wall has achievements for John Norreys Esquire and his first two wives and their associates – making a total of nineteen lights though the armorial achievement in one light has been lost.

Panoramic view of the armorial glass in the great hall

Most of the shields at Ockwells are slightly bowed with a curved notch on the dexter (left as viewed) side to represent where the lance would pass through, thus *á bouche*. However, the shields of the king and queen and those of the ecclesiastics are heater shaped, named for the resemblance to a flat iron, the latter shape being better able to bear crests of crown and mitre. These latter shields do not have mantling. Only the achievements of Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, and the two for Norreys and his wives have supporters. Norreys' motto *Ffeythfully serve* occurs in all lights except those of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou which have their own mottos – *Dieu et mon droit* for the king and *Humble et loiall* for the queen. Quarries in all lights have the Norreys badge of three golden distaffs.[1]

[1] Hussey, II, p94 suggests it is also the badge of the Wardrobe. Norreys was Keeper of the King's Wardrobe in 1444-1446. He also suggests the motto *Feythfully serve* has the same origin.

The Individual Lights

The sketch below shows the layout of the armorial glass and is followed by a list of those represented in the various lights.

Sketch showing the position of individual armorial achievements in the Great Hall

1. HENRY BEAUCHAMP (1425-1446)	Duke of Warwick 1445 impaled with coat of his wife Cicely Neville.
2. EDMUND BEAUFORT (1406-1455)	Duke of Somerset 1448. Constable of England 1450.
3. MARGARET OF ANJOU (1429-1482)	Queen of England from 1445-1461 & 1470-1471.
4. WILLIAM DE LA POLE (1396-1450)	Duke of Suffolk 1448. Quartered with the coat of his wife, Alice Chaucer.
5. HENRY VI (1421-1471)	King of England 1422-1461 & 1470-1471.
6. JAMES BUTLER (ca.1390-1452)	4th Earl of Ormond in Ireland.
7. ABBEY OF ABINGDON	Abbot William Ashendon 1435- 1467. Originally light no.8.
7a. Missing - probably the ABBEY OF READING	Abbot Thomas Henley 1430-1445. Abbot John Thorne 1446-1486.
8. RICHARD BEAUCHAMP (d.1481)	Bishop of Salisbury 1450. Chaplain of the Order of the Garter 1452, then Chancellor 1475.
9. JOHN NORREYS (1405-1466)	Impaled with coat of his 2nd wife, Eleanor Clitheroe
10. JOHN WENLOCK (1400-1471)	Of Someries, Bedfordshire; Lord Wenlock 1461.
11. WILLIAM LAKEN (d. 1475)	Justice of the King's Bench.
12. HUGH MORTIMER (d.1460)	Of Cure Wyard & Martley, Worcs.; and Tedstone Wafre, Herefordshire; Esquire in 1434; Knight by 1449.
13. JOHN NANFAN (1400-1462)	Of Birtsmorton, Worcs., and Trethewall, Cornwall. Esquire of the Body 1447-54, 1457-?
14. JOHN NORREYS (1405-1466)	Impaled with coat of his 1st wife, Alice Merbrooke.
15. EDWARD LANGFORD (1417-1474)	Of Bradfield, Berks; Esquire of the Body 1443-1452
16. EDMUND BRUDENELL (d.1469)	Of Amersham, Bucks; half-brother of William Bulstrode, who was brother-in-law of John Norreys.
17. JOHN PURY (1415-1484)	Of Chamberhouse in Thatcham, Berks; Esquire by 1448.
18. WILLIAM BULSTRODE (d. after 1479)	Of Upton, Bucks; brother-in-law of John Norreys.

The Armorial Glass Scheme and its Inspiration

Even before the fifteenth century wealthy men put up displays of armorial glass to record those they wished to commemorate. Norreys would have been familiar with such a display put up by Sir William Trussell in the collegiate church he founded in 1337 at Shottesbrooke, not far from Ockwells, commemorating his king, Edward III, and lords who fought with him in Scotland.[2]

Norreys may have been inspired by the scheme put up by the Anglo-Irish Lord, James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond, in what seems to have been a hospitium associated with the nearby Greyfriars Priory in Aylesbury (now called the King's Head, a National Trust property). The battered remnant of this armorial glass includes the coat of Margaret of Anjou and probably others that also occur in the oriel window at Ockwells and was most likely put up ca.1445-1449 when Butler was in England.[3]

Norreys knew him since both attended the coronation of Henry VI in Paris in 1430 and would have met him again at court when Butler was in England. The earl's armorial occurs in the oriel at Ockwells.

Evidence indicates that the great hall was glazed between 1450 and 1454 when certain of those represented were already dead. John Norreys Esquire had a clear scheme for glazing his great hall. In the main oriel window he placed armorials for his patrons, the king and queen, together with certain lords. Ecclesiastics he knew are represented in the side window. On the east wall of the great hall he put up two sets of lights: one set begins with his armorial impaled with that of his second wife together with armorials for men who were not local, some with links to this wife; and the second set begins with his armorial impaled with that of his first wife and includes armorials for local men including relatives based in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire.

The Main Oriel Window – Patrons & Lords (*Lights 1-6*)

As will be explained below, an important element of the armorial scheme that Norreys put up, commemorates those involved in the diplomacy related to the marriage of Henry VI, King of England, to Margaret of Anjou, niece of Charles VII, King of France – a marriage that was supposed to lead to a peace agreement and bring to an end the long running Hundred Years War between England and France. The failure of subsequent peace negotiations and loss, beginning in 1449, of English held lands in France, led to unrest in England that resulted in 1450 in the head of the English Embassy, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, paying with his life. As a memorial to the duke, Norreys purposely placed his armorial achievement between those of the king and queen symbolising his role in negotiating the marriage including acting a proxy for the king in the 1444 betrothal ceremony in Tours, France.

Also represented in the oriel window of the great hall are Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, Edmund Beaufort (then Marquess of Dorset) and James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond, who, with other lords and in addition to Suffolk, greeted the French embassy that arrived in England in July 1445.[4]

Another theme demonstrated in the oriel is the Beauchamp connection. Norreys had been involved in managing the estates Henry's father, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick

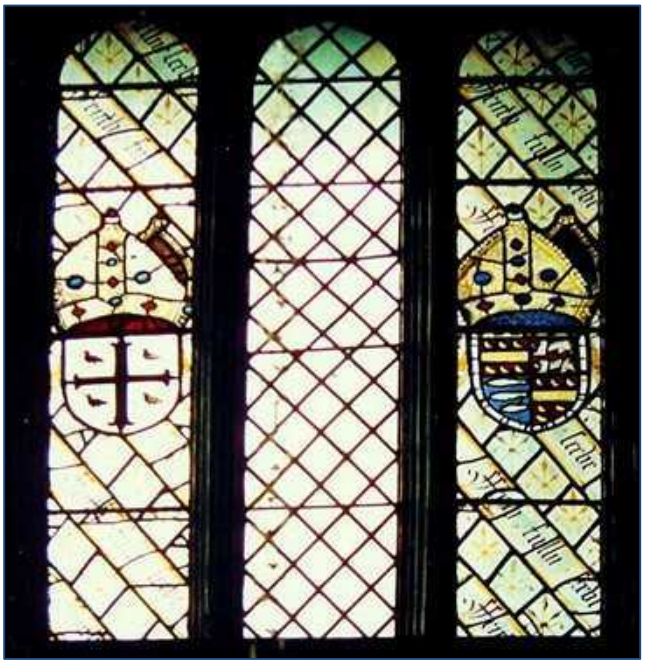
[2] Darracott 2014, p3.
[3] More details of the Aylesbury scheme are given in Butler's biography (Light 6).
[4] See Stevenson I, pp153-159.

(d.1439), on behalf of his wife Isabel Despenser, during the minority of Henry, his son & heir. In 1450 custody of Warwick's lands came to an end and Norreys was among others pardoned all arrears of accounts as guardians.

The oriel has armorials for Henry Beauchamp (Light 1) and in the side window Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury (Light 8), a distant relative; in addition, the wives of both Beaufort (Light 2) and Butler (Light 6) were Beauchamps. Norreys, in the glazing of the oriel, may also have been commemorating his association with the family which had come to an end in 1450.

Side of the Oriel Bay – Ecclesiastics (*Lights 7, 7a & 8*)

One of the three original armorials is missing. The missing one is probably for the Abbey of Reading; extant is the coat of the Abbey of Abingdon. Norreys had held land from both Abbeys and was involved in local guilds at both places. Bishop Richard Beauchamp's armorial was originally in position 7 (see sketch). He was King's chaplain by 1448, Bishop of Salisbury in 1450 and from 1452 chaplain of the Order of the Garter based in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. Ockwells fell within the diocese of this bishop. Norreys would have met



him at court, in connection with his business with the chapel and probably through his involvement with the Beauchamp of Warwick's affairs.

East Wall of Great Hall (*Lights 9 to 13*)
Closest to the oriel is the impaled coat of Norreys and his second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe (Light 9). Her family was based in Kent but through her grandfather, Sir John Oldcastle (ex.1417), she had connections with Herefordshire where offspring from his first wife lived. Eleanor's uncle, Henry Oldcastle, lived not far from where Sir Hugh Mortimer (Light 12) had a base. Norreys would have included John Nanfan (Light 13) in his scheme because, like Norreys, he was a retainer of the Earl of Warwick. However, Nanfan also had a link with Eleanor's family, having purchased Birtsmorton Court, Worcestershire, in 1424-5 from the widow of Richard Oldcastle, a cousin of Sir John.

Mortimer also had land in Worcestershire. William Laken (Light 11) was from Shropshire but worked in Kent as a lawyer before moving to Clewer, Berkshire by 1455. Apart from the armorial for John Wenlock, included because of his involvement in the 1444 betrothal of Margaret of Anjou and the escort to England the following year, all the other men represented had some link to the Clitheroe family.

(*Lights 14-18*)
The impaled coat of Norreys and his first wife Alice Merbrooke (Light 14) is followed by armorials for local men from Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. Edward Langford (Light 15) and John Pury (Light 17) were both based in West Berkshire not far from Yattendon held by Norreys from his marriage to Alice. William Bulstrode (Light 18) was Norreys brother-in-law, being married to his sister Agnes. Edmund Brudenell (Light 16) was Bulstrode's half-brother. Both lived in Buckinghamshire.

Summary of Norreys' scheme - four themes:

1) **A commemoration of the marriage of Henry VI & Margaret of Anjou** – a failed attempt to reach peace with France - recording some of those:
   - who were involved in the negotiations which culminated in the betrothal (May 1444) and marriage (April 1445).
   - who helped escort Margaret to England in 1445.
   - and who greeted the French embassy which came over in July 1445.
2) **A Beauchamp connection** – members of the Beauchamp family, their relatives and retainers; Norreys helped manage the estates of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1439), Beauchamp's wife Isabel Despenser (d.1439) and their son Henry, Duke of Warwick (d.1446).
3) **Abingdon connection** – Norreys had dealings with the Abbey and St Helen's Church, Abingdon, also probably a **Reading connection** with the Abbey there.
4) **Local Men** from **Berks** and **Bucks**, including his brother-in-law, linked with his first wife: and men from **Kent, Herefordshire & Worcestershire,** with his second wife.

Heraldic Description and Brief Biographies of those Represented in the Glass

The nineteen lights in the armorial glass of the great hall depict the armorial bearings of prominent people who all had some connection with John Norreys. This section describes in more detail their armorial bearings, key aspects of their lives and the nature of their connection with John Norreys. An understanding of this is desirable in order to fully appreciate the reasoning behind the layout of the glass and what inspired it. The following sources provide further biographic detail for some of the personalities represented in the armorial glass: the *Oxford Dictionary of Biography (ODNB)*; the *Complete Peerage (GEC);* and the *History of Parliament – Biographies of the members of the Commons House 1439-1509* published in 2020 by the History of Parliament Trust.

1. HENRY BEAUCHAMP (1425-1446)

6th Earl of Warwick 1439; Premier Earl of England 1444; Duke of Warwick 1445.

Son of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1439), and his second wife, Isabel Despenser. (d.1439). Married to Cicely Neville, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife, Alice Montacute, who lived at Bisham Abbey not far from Ockwells.[5]

Armorial Achievement

Crest

Five columbines erect azure leaved and slipped or the personal crest of the Duke of Warwick.[6]

Blazon

Quarterly:

1. Gules, a fess between 6 cross crosslets or; for Beauchamp.

2. Or, three chevrons gules; for Clare.

3. Checky or and azure, a chevron ermine; for Newburgh.

4. Quarterly argent and gules, a bend sable between two frets or; for Despenser.

Impaling Quarterly:

1 & 4: *Argent, three fusils conjoined in fess gules*; for Montacute.

2 & 3: *Or, an eagle displayed vert*; for Monthermer.

Overall an ineschutcheon:

Gules, a saltire argent; for Neville (missing the label *gobony argent and azure*).

The armorial achievement bears the impalement and an escutcheon for his wife, Cicely Neville.[7] When the armorial glass was put up Henry was dead, bringing the Beauchamp earls of Warwick line to an end. Cicely died in 1450, so this achievement probably commemorates both of them.

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[5] Alice was the daughter and heir of the famous Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, by his first wife Eleanor Holland. He was shot in the face at the siege of Orleans in 1428, dying shortly after. The Montacutes had held the manor of Bisham since the C14th, founding a priory there in 1337. Bisham Abbey, currently owned by Sport England, still has in the manor house armorial glass for the founder of the priory, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344) and his wife Katherine Grandison and another for Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury (d.1460), in right of his wife Alice Montacute – her coat taking precedence (illustrated in Darracott 2015, pp17-18).

[6] Everard Green, p326.

[7] Everard Green, p325 says the shield is much broken and that the impalement is modern but gives no source. See the full book for comments on the authenticity of the armorial glass.

Norreys link

John Norreys was a yeoman of the chamber by 1429 and would have known Henry Beauchamp since the latter was a favoured companion of the young king, Henry VI. Both accompanied the king to France in 1430 and attended the king's coronation there in 1431. In April 1439 Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, died and his widow, Isabel Despenser, included Norreys among those having custody of the Beauchamp estates during the minority of her son, Henry. In December Isabel died and Norreys together with John Nanfan and others were executors of her will. In 1442 Norreys, with Henry and John Nanfan, had custody of Sir Henry Bodrugan's lands in Cornwall. From 1446 to ca.1449 Norreys was Chief Steward of the lands of the Spensers. After the death of Henry Beauchamp Norreys took over the latter's post of Office of Receipt and Exchequer. Following the death in 1450 of Beauchamp's wife, Cicely Neville, custody of his lands came to an end and Norreys was among others pardoned all arrears of accounts as guardians.

Henry Beauchamp is said to have been made Duke of Warwick is recognition of his father Richards' worth. He died young and was buried near his mother in the chancel of Tewkesbury Abbey where it is said his tomb was found in the 1870s when alterations were being made. Isabel had chosen to be buried with her first husband, the earl of Worcester, also confusingly called Richard Beauchamp. There is no memorial for Henry at Tewkesbury, though on his fathers' tomb in St Mary's Warwick, are enamelled shields for him and another impaling that of his wife, Cicely Neville.

Coats on the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St Mary's Warwick. Left: the coat of his son Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick. Right: Henry's coat impaling that of his wife Cicely Neville, (Montacute quartering Neville with the Neville coat being in the subordinate position)

2. EDMUND BEAUFORT (1406-1455)

Earl of Dorset 1441; Marquess of Dorset 1442; Earl of Somerset 1448; Duke of Somerset 1448; Constable of England 1450.

Edmund Beaufort was a younger son of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, by Margaret Holland, sister of Joan *Fair Maid of Kent*. Edmund was married to Eleanor, second daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1439), by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Berkeley and Lisle. He was therefore step-brother-in-law of Henry Beauchamp.[8]

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A *chapeau gules* turned up *ermine*. *A lion statant guardant or*, *gorged with a collar gobony* of the Beaufort livery colours *argent & azure.*

Blazon

Quarterly:

1 & 4: *Azure, three fleur de lis or;* for France (modern).

2 & 3: *three lions passant guardant in pale or;* for England.

All within a bordure gobony argent and azure; for Beaufort.

The coat at Ockwells has no charge in the bordure although Edmund was a younger son. No charge is shown on his coat on the tomb of Richard Beauchamp in St Mary's Warwick.

Beaufort was a successful soldier who in 1438 waged war in Maine and at the end of the campaign made an agreement with John, Duke of Alençon and Charles, Count of Maine

[8] His father John was one of the children born in adultery to John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford née Roet. They were surnamed Beaufort and legitimised in 1397 by Richard II. Edmund's uncle, Henry Beaufort, was Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal of England and helped bankroll English armies in France. His aunt, Joan Beaufort, married to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, was mother of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife Alice Montacute, who held Bisham.

(brother of René of Anjou) to put their possessions under the protection of appatis[9] when he is styled as Captain General & Governor of the King in Anjou & Maine. He was given land rights in Maine in 1442. When Maine was to be given up to obtain a truce for 20 years with René and his brother Charles, he wanted compensation, and for a year he bargained with the government until he obtained it (10,000 livres tournois a year from taxation in Normandy, which was fully paid until the outbreak of war in 1449). Only when Beaufort had secured this could the cession of Maine go ahead and only then would he agree to undertake to be lieutenant-general in France, and governor of Normandy.[10]

Norreys link

Norreys would have known Beaufort, when the latter was, from 1438 to 1455, Constable of Windsor Castle, though evidently not always resident. Norreys was his lieutenant, responsible for receiving money to pay for repairs to the fabric of the castle and probably to oversee the work. In 1446 Beaufort was appointed King's Lieutenant in Normandy & France but didn't go until 1448. The French invaded the following year and the entire duchy was overrun. Richard Duke of York's chief complaint against him concerned the inadequacy of his defence of Normandy. The breach led to the start of the Wars of the Roses in 1455.

Edmund Beaufort was killed at St Albans during the first battle of the Wars of the Roses in 1455. He and others killed at the battle were reportedly buried with their armour under the floor of the Lady Chapel of St Albans Abbey. There is no memorial for him in the abbey, but Edmund's coat does occur on an enamelled shield on the tomb of his father-in-law, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, at St Mary's Warwick together with a shield that impales the coat of his wife, Eleanor, Warwick's daughter, by his first wife, Elizabeth Berkeley.

Coats on the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St Mary's Warwick.
Left: the coat of his son-in-law Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.
Right: Edmund's coat impaling that of his wife Eleanor Beauchamp

[9] Wolffe, pp163-4. Appatis: an agreement between the local citizenry (or the lord) of a defeated region and the occupying soldiery, essentially a payment system that under the laws of war forbade theft and mistreatment of the locals so long as the appatisised country paid the ransom.
[10] Jones 2004.

3. MARGARET OF ANJOU (1430-1482)

Queen of England from 1445-1461 & 1470-71.

Margaret was born in 1430 at Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine and was the younger daughter of René of Anjou by Isabella, daughter and heir of Charles II, Duke of Lorraine.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A triple arched and jewelled royal crown.

Blazon

Quarterly:

1 & 4: *Azure, three fleur de lis or;* for France (modern).

2 & 3: *Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale;* for England.

Impaling quarterly of six:

1. *Barry of six argent and gules;* for Hungary.
2. *Azure, semy fleur de lis or, a label gules;* for Naples (only remnant of label remains).
3. *Argent, a cross potent between four crosses potent or;* for Jerusalem.
4. *Azure, semy of fleur de lis or, a bordure gules;* for Anjou.
5. *Azure, semy of cross-crosslets fitchy two barbels or;* for Bar.
6. *Or, on a bend gules three allerions argent;* for Lorraine.

Supporters

Dexter: *an heraldic white antelope, armed, unguled, maned and spotted or* supporter of her husband Henry VI.

Sinister: golden eagle of Lorraine[11] supporter of her father René though without the cross of Lorraine.

Motto

"Humble et Loiall" in the glass quarries.

René's mother, Margaret's grandmother, was Yolande of Aragon whose husband Louis II, Count of Anjou, inherited the Anjou claim to the titular throne of Hungary & Jerusalem and the kingdom of Sicily & Naples – a claim that was to have an influence on Margaret's life when it descended in 1434 to her father, René, at the time a prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy. In 1437 he agreed to pay an enormous ransom of 400,000 gold crowns to obtain

[11] The eagle occurs as a supporter on the seal of Charles II, Duke of Lorraine. Seals of René from 1435 to 1453, when king of Sicily, had two eagle supporters and an eagle bearing the cross of Lorraine together with a painting of René praying are depicted in *Le Livre d'heures du roi René* (Paris. Bibl.Nat.Ms lat 1156 A, f.81v) (Merindol, pp114-115, pl XXXI-XXXII). Everard Green (p328) identifies the supporter as the golden eagle of Hungary, but this is the double headed eagle.

his release to go to Naples.[12] However, in 1442, losing his kingdom to Alphonso V of Aragon (his second cousin), he returned to France unable to pay the remainder of his ransom. Plans for Margaret's marriage to King Henry VI seem to have begun then. Aged fourteen when she was betrothed by proxy to Henry VI in 1444 in Tours, she was escorted to England in March 1445 and in April 1445 was married to the king at Titchfield Abbey, being crowned at Westminster Abbey at the end of May. Also in May, Isabel, Duchess of Burgundy, arrived in Chalons to discuss various grievances, including René's ransom, with Charles VII. The treaty that was concluded included acquitting René of paying the rest of the ransom. Among the other ladies present at Chalons was René's wife, Isabella of Lorraine, termed Queen of Sicily. An eyewitness account of a meeting between these two noted that "*neither of them was likely to damage their knee caps curtsying to each other.*"[13]

By the time the armorial glass was put up at Ockwells, ca.1453-54, there was unrest in England due to the loss of English held lands in France, a loss that Margaret's father, René played an active part in, disregarding the impact it would have on his daughter. The Wars of the Roses began in 1455. At the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 her son Edward was killed and she was captured. A prisoner, sometimes living with Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, at Ewelme, she was ransomed by her cousin, Louis XI, in 1475. She had to renounce all her English assets in favour of Edward IV and, when she got to France, had to renounce all rights to inheritance from her mother and father to her cousin, Louis XI, who gave her a pension to live on. However, Queen's College (also of brick), that she founded, next to her husband's foundation of King's College in Cambridge, survives as a memorial to her.

Norreys link

In 1445 Margaret arrived in England and Norreys then wife, Alice Merbrooke, was made a Lady in Waiting to the Queen. From 1445 to 1452 Norreys was Treasurer of the Chamber and Keeper of the Jewels of Queen Margaret, becoming Keeper of her Wardrobe in 1452-3. The presence of Margaret's armorial coat in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral together with that of Norreys impaled with Alice's coat suggests they accompanied Henry VI when he visited Durham in September 1448; this is possibly the remnants of a scheme put up in the Exchequer built by Robert Neville, then Bishop or Durham, on Palace Green, near the Cathedral.[14]

Armorial glass in the west window of the Galilee Chapel in Durham Cathedral for, left: Henry VI (damaged) and Margaret of Anjou; and right: John Norreys and Alice Merbrooke

[12] Villeneuve Bargemont vol 1, pp228-229, claims that in secret clauses, he agreed to be neutral in any conflict between France, Burgundy and England and to cement the peace to marry his second daughter, Margaret, to Henry VI of England. The1437 treaty for René's release from captivity does not mention these clauses (see Lecoy de la Marche vol 2, pp224-233).

[13] Vaughan, pp119-20.

[14] Darracott, in *MCS News* Feb 2018, pp13-14; Darracott 2018, available on MCS website.

Margaret died in 1482 in Chateau Souzay, near to the village of Dampierre, on the banks of the Loire and was buried in the family tomb in the church of St Maurice, Angers.

Chateau Souzay on the bank of the Loire where Margaret of Anjou died in 1482

Plaque outside Chateau Souzay commemorating the place where Margaret of Anjou died

4. WILLIAM DE LA POLE (1396-1450)

4th Earl of Suffolk 1415; Knight of the Garter 1421; Marquess of Suffolk 1444; Earl of Pembroke 1447; Duke of Suffolk 1448.

He was the second son of Michael de la Pole, second Earl of Suffolk (d.1415), and Katherine Stafford (d.1419).

Armorial Achievement

Crest

Lost. It would have been a *Saracen's head in profile gules, crined and bearded sable, couped at the neck with a gold chain, and with a jewelled circlet around the temples.*[15]

Blazon

Quarterly:
1 & 4: *Azure a fess between three leopards' faces or*: De la Pole.
2 & 3: *Argent a chief gules over all a lion rampant double queued or*; Burghersh for Chaucer.[16]

Everard Green identifies this coat as for Suffolk's son John de la Pole (d.1491) but as he was not born until 1442, had no connection to John Norreys and was too young to be involved in the mid fifteenth-century diplomacy around the marriage of the king, it must represent his father, William.

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[15] The piece of purple red glass once in its place has also gone. See Everard Green p329. The crest occurs on extant stall plates for William and his son John in St George's Chapel, Windsor and also on and above John's monument at Wingfield. William was made a Garter knight in 1421, prior to his marriage, so the plate quarters De la Pole with Wingfield for Katherine Wingfield of Suffolk, an heiress, who had married his grandfather, Sir Michael de la Pole (d.1389). After William's marriage in 1430 (Watts 2004a) to Alice Chaucer, also an heiress, he quartered his coat with Burghersh (her mother's coat). This coat occurs on the tomb of Alice's parents and her own tomb in St Mary's Church, Ewelme, and in the east window of St Mary's Church, Kidlington, the nave of which was raised and clerestory windows added in the mid-C15th (church guide). Goodall 2001 (p306 note 45) states there was once every variation of the de la Pole and Chaucer arms in the glass of the nave and that as William and Alice owned the manor of Kidlington they probably made a bequest to the church.

[16] His wife evidently preferred the coat of Matilda Burghersh (d.1437), her mother, to that of her father, Thomas Chaucer (d.1434), son of Geoffrey Chaucer.

William served in Henry V's campaign of 1415, during which his father died of a fever at the siege of Harfleur, where he himself was wounded and repatriated. A few weeks later, his elder brother, now the new earl, fell at the battle of Agincourt, making William, Earl of Suffolk. He continued fighting in France, first for Henry V, who made him a Knight of the Garter, and after his death for the Regent, Henry's brother, John, Duke of Bedford. In 1428 he took command at the siege of Orleans when Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, was killed, marrying his widow Alice Chaucer in 1430. In 1429 when Joan of Arc raised the siege at Orleans he fell back to Jargeau where shortly after he surrendered. Suffolk was taken into the custody of Jean, the Bastard of Orleans (later Count of Dunois), half-brother of Charles, Duke of Orleans, a captive of the English since Agincourt in 1415 and John, Count of Angouleme, a captive since 1412. Suffolk was soon set at liberty – sometime between 28 February and 15 March 1430, but, as a condition of his freedom had to pay a ransom of £20,000, and it appears to have been part of the arrangement for his release that the earl would do everything he could to obtain Angoulême's release.[17] It seems the Bastard of Orleans befriended Suffolk using him to obtain the release of his two half-brothers. Charles was released in 1440 supposedly to assist in peace negotiations and John was freed by Suffolk in Rouen in March 1445[18] as the latter began to escort Margaret of Anjou to England to marry Henry VI.

By 1444 Suffolk was the leading figure in the planning and conduct of English diplomacy for Henry VI. He evidently had concerns when tasked with arranging the king's marriage, for the King said *on account of the fears of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, that his conduct as ambassador in France will be called into question, orders him to execute his instructions concerning peace and the King's marriage* giving him a letter exonerating him and his heirs for ever from any consequences. In April Suffolk and the embassy travelled to France and in May Suffolk acted as proxy for the king when he was betrothed to Margaret of Anjou at a ceremony in Tours Cathedral. He returned in November 1444 to escort Margaret of Anjou to England, arriving back in April 1445. The French Embassy that arrived in July was greeted by Suffolk and others represented at Ockwells and resulted in a truce. In 1449 after the truce was broken in March, Charles VII attacked English held towns with the help of the Bastard of Orleans. On 11th November the king entered Rouen in triumph flanked by Margaret of Anjou's father René and his brother Charles who both disavowed the 20-year truce they had made with the English when Maine was handed back in 1448.[19]

The resulting public unrest led to Suffolk being impeached by Parliament and sent into exile. The poignant letter he wrote to his son John stresses the need "to obey your sovereign". In 1450 while en route to exile he was captured in the channel *And in the sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into a boat and one of the lewdest of the ship bade him lay down his head and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within a half a dozen strokes, and laid his body on the sands of Dover and some say his head was set on a pole by it.*[20]

Norreys Link

Norreys accompanied the king to France in 1430 and would have met Suffolk as in 1431 the latter assisted at the coronation of Henry VI in Paris in December. By then Suffolk was

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[17] Watts, 2004a. Sackville West p221 cites sources indicating either he surrendered to a squire after knighting him, or to the "bravest woman in the world" Joan of Arc.

[18] McLeod, p275. Suffolk being proxy for the king was in 1444 not 1445.

[19] Villeneuve de Bargemont vol 2, p77; Monstrelet vol 2, p171. For 20-year truce see Stevenson II, ii, pp710-711.

[20] Paston Letters (ed. Archer-Hind) 1924, vol 1, p25-26. Robert Wennington, Vice Admiral of England and in command of the Fleet, is thought to be the "pirate" of the ship *Nicholas of the Tower* who oversaw Suffolk's murder (Wedgwood and Holt, 1936, pp932-3).

married to Alice Chaucer, widow of Thomas Montacute, the Earl of Salisbury, who had died at the siege of Orleans in 1428. The Montacutes for many generations had held Bisham not far from Ockwells. The Chaucers held land in Ewelme, Oxon, again not too far away. In 1441 both Norreys and Suffolk were among the founder members of Guild of the Holy Cross based in St Helen's Church, Abingdon and both were feoffees for the king's will of 1448 funded by Duchy of Lancaster assets.[21]

When Norreys was planning to build Ockwells he would have sought advice from Suffolk who from 1440 had been supervising the building of Eton College where there was extensive use of brick. Suffolk was descended from successful merchants in Hull whose assets included a brickworks from which the walls surrounding Hull were built. Suffolk had helped rebuilt St Mary's Church in Hull ca.1425 using bricks.[22] Brick also features in the Long Alley Almshouses built in 1446/7 by the Guild of the Holy Cross and in the almshouses and school at Ewelme founded by Suffolk and his wife, Alice Chaucer in 1437.

Suffolk (d.1450) was buried in the Charterhouse monastery in Hull, founded by his great-grandfather William de la Pole in 1384. The monastic church was destroyed in 1538 during the dissolution of the monasteries, but the Charterhouse still functions in an eighteenth-century building, providing sheltered independent living and run by a board of trustees including five appointed by Hull City Council. The complex includes an eighteenth-century chapel.

It is almost certain that Suffolk was dead when the armorial glass went up in Ockwells. Norreys placed Suffolk's achievement between that of the king and queen thereby acknowledging his role both in achieving the marriage and the price he had paid.

Ewelme, Oxfordshire. Left to right: school; almshouses; and St Mary's Church. This complex still functions with the aid of the trust founded by Suffolk and his wife Alice Chaucer in 1437

[21] Nicolas 1826, p22. From 1437 to 1443 Suffolk had been Chief Steward of Duchy lands in the north and then jointly from 1443 to 1451 with Sir Thomas Tuddenham (Somerville, pp420-421).

[22] He put up armorial glass in the church for himself (de la Pole quartering Wingfield), his king, and another northern magnate, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, in right of his wife, Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Montacute (*MCS News*, Nov 2017, pp20-21).

Ewelme School, built of mainly brick. The armorial coats on the windows are replacements

Ewelme almshouses – like Ockwells built around a courtyard and with barge boards over the porches similar to those at Ockwells but with unglazed corridors

5. HENRY VI (1421-1471)

King of England 1422-1461 & 1470-1471.

Henry VI, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, was born at Windsor Castle on 6 December 1421, the only child of Henry V (1386–1422) and Catherine, daughter of the French king Charles VI (1401–1437).[23] Henry V never saw his only son, and his 21-year-old queen, Catherine of Valois, joined her husband in France five months after the birth. When she next saw her son, he was king of England, as Henry V died at Vincennes, near Paris, on 31 August 1422, leaving as his heir the nine-month-old baby. As a child he was crowned king of England in 1429 and king of France in 1431. He is credited with losing all lands his father gained. However, his educational foundations of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge survive to this day.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A triple arched and jewelled royal crown.

Blazon

Quarterly:
1 & 4: *Azure, three fleurs de lis or*; for France (modern).
2 & 3: *Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or;* for England.

Supporters

Two heraldic white antelopes, *armed, unguled, maned and spotted or.*

Motto

"Dieu et mon droit" in the glass quarries.

[23] His parents were married in June 1420. In May the Treaty of Troyes between Henry V and Charles VI had made Henry V his heir. See Griffiths 2004 for the biography of Henry VI.

His marriage in 1445 to Margaret of Anjou, niece of the king of France, was supposed to lead to peace with France. When the embassy from France arrived in July they reported that the king met them in a great hall (probably Westminster) dressed in a robe of cloth of gold and seated on a chair covered in cloth of gold. At his right hand stood many ecclesiastics whilst on his left stood dukes and lords including the Duke of Warwick (Henry Beauchamp), the Marquis of Dorset (Edmund Beaufort), the Marquis of Suffolk (William de la Pole), and the Earl of Ormond (James Butler)[24] all of whom are represented by their achievements in the oriel at Ockwells. Also present were ambassadors from René of Anjou.[25] They may then have handed over the copy of the document that Henry referred to in December 1445 that said Charles VII had given permission for René, King of Sicily, and his brother Charles, Count of Maine, to make a truce with the English for 20 years, evidently in return for the handover of Le Mans and Maine.[26] The agreement to deliver Le Mans and Maine was signed in March 1448, with the Bastard of Orleans, (now count of Dunois) being the leading French ambassador.[27] This 20-year truce was repudiated by René and his brother in 1449 and led to the loss of all of Henry VI's kingdom of France except Calais; the Wars of the Roses; the ruin of his kingship and eventually the loss of his life.

Norreys Link

Henry would have known John Norreys from boyhood as the latter was already a yeoman of the chamber by 1429 when the king was seven and Norreys was twenty-four. He served the king over many years, being Esquire of the Body from 1437 to the end of 1455[28], Keeper/Clerk of the Great Wardrobe 1444-1446 and Chamberlain of the Exchequer 1446-1450. In 1440 Henry founded Eton College and four years later Norreys, together with Suffolk and John Pury, granted the manor of "Le Mote" and other lands in New & Old Windsor and Clewer to the king for the benefit of the college. In 1447 Henry made his Will; John Norreys Esquire is among the executors.[29] In 1471 Henry VI was imprisoned in the Tower and then murdered there after his son and heir, Edward Prince of Wales, was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury. An account in Warkworth suggests Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was responsible as the principal man in the Tower at the time.[30]

Statue of Henry VI in a quadrangle of Eton College, the college he founded in 1441. Built mostly of brick its construction was overseen by William de la Pole, then Earl of Suffolk, whose family in Hull had owned brickworks.

(Photo by Man Vyi on Wikipedia Commons)

[24] Stevenson I, pp157-158.
[25] Ibid I, p155.
[26] Ibid II, ii, pp639-642. Henry requested the original letters that granted permission (p641), probably unsuccessfully.
[27] Ibid II, ii, pp710-718.
[28] Clark 2020a, p675.
[29] Nicolas 1826, p21.
[30] Wolffe, p347, who notes the account was written soon after July 1482.

6. JAMES BUTLER (BOTELER) (ca.1390-1452)

4th Earl of Ormond (known as "The White Earl"); Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1420-22, 1425-26 & 1442-43.

The earls of Ormond were one of Ireland's leading families. The "White Earl" was the elder son of James Butler, third Earl of Ormond (ca.1360–1405), and his wife, Anne Welles. His first marriage (before 28 August 1413) to Joan (d.1430), daughter of William Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, significantly extended his English connections, but at the cost of weakening Butler power in Ireland in the next generation. Through his own second marriage, in 1432, to Elizabeth (1398?–1452), widow of John, Lord Grey of Codnor, and only legitimate child of Gerald FitzMaurice Fitzgerald, fifth Earl of Kildare (d.1432), Ormond acquired the bulk of the Kildare lands for life
and also the animosity of the collateral heirs.[31]

Armorial Achievement

Crest
A garb and eagle rising therein, both *or*.

Blazon
Per fess dancetty azure and or.

Everard Green has identified this coat as representing this man's son, the fifth earl, also James Butler,[32] but it could not represent the fifth earl before August 1452, when the fourth earl died, as it is undifferenced. If the glass was put up after 1452, it could still represent the fourth earl, as two other personalities (Henry Beauchamp & Alice Merbrooke, Norreys first wife are commemorated after their death in this armorial scheme.

[31] Matthew 2004. See also Kirwan, pp21-24.
[32] Everard Green, p330.

Norreys Link

John Norreys would have known Ormond, the fourth earl, as both men accompanied Henry VI to France in 1430 for his coronation in Paris the following year. He probably met Norreys at court as in 1442, when Lieutenant in Ireland, his disputes with English officials in Ireland led to him being summoned to London. Whilst it appears that it was the fourth earl's son who was part of the escort that brought Margaret to England in 1445, it was the fourth earl who greeted the French Embassy later that year.

It is probable that after the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou the earl built in Aylesbury (between 1445 and 1449) a hospitium attached to the nearby friary built by his father. In what is now the King's Head pub (owned by the National Trust) he put up armorial glass including the coats and badges of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou.[33] His own badge, the covered cup, remains as does that for Richard, Duke of York – a plume of feather out of a crown. Ormond returned to Ireland with York in 1449. Possibly this scheme inspired Norreys when it came to glazing Ockwells. It has not fared as well. The fourth earl died in August 1452 at Atherdee, County Louth, and is buried in the church of the Abbey of St Mary in Dublin.

The hospitium built by the fourth earl in Aylesbury, now the King's Head pub. Above: main entrance and adjacent salon. Below: inside the salon showing the extant armorial glass

[33] Gibbs, p80, p406 – the first known attempt to identify the coats and badges. In 1429 the earl was granted a plot of land used for a pound called *Kyngespynfold* in Aylesbury (Birmingham Collection NRA 28607, vol 1, p156; Worcs. Archive & Archaeol Service 705; 349/12946/494897), possibly where the hospitium was built.

The coat of Margaret of Anjou in the King's Head pub, Aylesbury,
- the former hospitium founded by James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond

Badges: top: Henry VI (the Bohun swan, collared and chained or, for his grandmother, Mary Bohun);
Richard Duke of York (panache of feathers in a crown);
bottom: Margaret of Anjou (the daisy) and James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond (the covered cup)

7. ABBEY OF ABINGDON

Abbot William Ashendon 1435- 1467.

Abingdon Abbey was one of the largest and wealthiest in England and the greatest medieval landowner in Berkshire.[34] Some of the many manors it held in that county[35] could be granted to others, presumably for a price. In turn the Abbey could receive grants in mortmain of lands, which appears to have been a tax avoidance scheme.

In medieval times the other major religious organisation in Abingdon was St Helen's Church. Members of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross based in that church had, in 1416, bought land from the Abbot to build bridges at Culham and Burford and a connecting causeway.[36] In 1441, re-founded as a Gild (Guild), it was licensed to collect assets *for the repair of the road which extends from Abyndon, co. Berks towards Dorchestre, co Oxford, and over the water of the Thames through Burford and Culhamford between the said towns, by which road the King's lieges have had carriage and free passage save when it is flooded so that none can attempt it without peril of his life and loss of his goods.*[37]

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A gold jewelled mitre.

Blazon

Argent a cross patonce between four martlets sable.

The armorial achievement was originally in Light 8.[38]

Norreys Link

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[34] Allen, p1. It was rebuilt in the perpendicular style from 1427-1495 (information board erected by Friends of Abingdon Civic Society in the Long Gallery, a remaining building of the Abbey).

[35] See map in VCH Berkshire, vol 1, p322 which shows their holdings in the Domesday survey. Its early history is obscure but its history is well documented from AD 953 when re-founded by Aethelwold (Allen p4).

[36] Lysons & Lysons 1806, pp221-222.

[37] CPR 1441-46, p36. The 1416 bridge at Culham is extant. The Culham and Abingdon bridges were built with stone from the quarries of Sir Peter Bessils (d.1424) whose great-granddaughter Elizabeth married Richard Fettiplace (Preston pp36-37). Richard Fettiplace was brother of Sir Thomas Fettiplace who married Elizabeth Norreys and held *Ocolt* (Ockwells) according to his will of 1523. Sir Peter Bessils is regarded as a donor to the fraternity of the Holy Cross. His portrait, thought to have been done ca.1580-1610, still hangs in the hall of the Long Alley Almshouses, built by the guild co-founded by Elizabeth Norreys' grandfather, John Norreys Esquire.

[38] *Gentleman's Magazine* 1798 vol LXVIII pt II, p762. An unpublished 1987 history of Ockwells by Harvey Van Sickle noted the original order.

St Helens Church had on occasion a fraught relationship with the Abbey. In 1327 the church organised a group (including one *Thomas Noreys (sic)*) to rebel against the Abbey, forcing the prior to sign a charter in which the abbot granted the men of Abingdon the right to elect their own reeve and bailiffs.[39] This suggests the Norreys family had a longstanding association with St Helen's Church. In 1441 Norreys was a founder member of the Guild of the Holy Cross in the church. However, he also in 1452 granted land to the Abbey and when he died in 1466 was holding land from them.

Above: Abingdon Abbey gatehouse flanked by St Nicolas Church (to the left) and what was St John's Hospital (to the right). Below: detail of the gatehouse showing the royal coat and the Abbey coat in the spandrels of the main entrance

[39] Lambrick and Slade, pp326-329.

7A. LOST - PROBABLY THE ABBEY OF READING

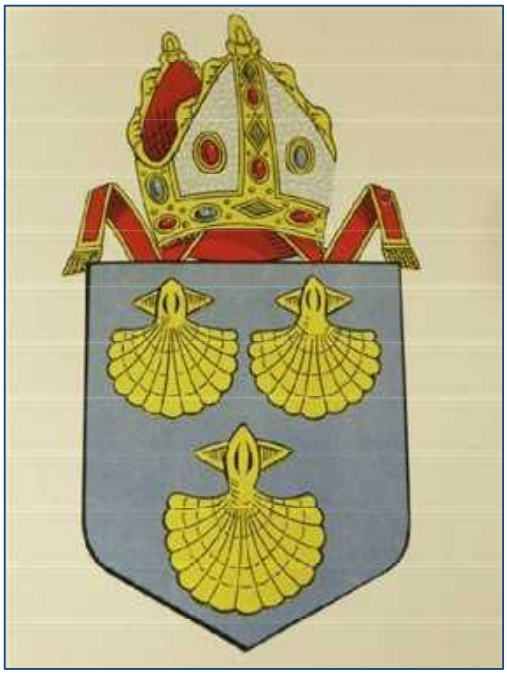
Abbot Thomas II (Henley) 1430-1445; John II (Thorne I) 1446-1486.

The Abbey of Reading, founded by Henry I in 1121, was one of the main pilgrimage centres of medieval England and one of the richest and most important of the religious houses.[40] In 1126 the king gave the Abbey a gift of an important relic, the hand of St James the Apostle.[41] St James was the patron saint of pilgrims who still, in the twenty-first century, walk the Camino to Santiago de Compostella in Spain carrying a scallop shell, the badge of St James. This gift led to the Abbey's coat bearing scallop shells. [42]

Armorial Achievement

Crest
A jewelled mitre.

Blazon
Would have been *Azure three scallops or.*



Norreys Link
The Abbey, a Benedictine monastery, is likely to be the missing coat as John Norreys held lands (in Reading, Twyford and Hurst) from this Abbey[43] as he had from Abingdon Abbey. These two monasteries dominated the ecclesiastical map of Berkshire.[44]

As with Abingdon, there was also a guild (the Merchant Gild) in Reading which seems to have had a similar occasionally acrimonious relationship with the Abbey.[45] Norreys may have

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[40] Reading Abbey Cartularies of charters in Berkshire and elsewhere are given in Kemp I & II.

[41] Cram, p24. The charter is transcribed in Kemp I, p39-40 who discusses its validity. It is thought all the abbey's relics were destroyed after the Dissolution; however, a withered left hand was found in a wall at the east end of the Abbey Church by workmen digging foundations for the new gaol in 1786. The relic, once claimed to be the hand of St James, is held by the Catholic church of St Peter in Marlow (Durrant & Painter, p17).

[42] The coat reproduced here is from Hurry.

[43] Less likely is William Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury (d1450), who married Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in England, and, together with John Norreys, established a guild in St Helen's Church, Abingdon and a chantry in St Michael's Church, Bray (CPR 1441-46, p36; CPR 1446-52, p2). Aiscough was murdered in 1450 by soldiers angry at the loss of Normandy. Norreys was an executor of his will (Clark 2020a, p674).

[44] See map of 1535 in VCH Berkshire, vol 2, opp. p47.

[45] Though there was no question of a popular rising against the abbey (Slade 1964, p49).

been a member of the Gild as he was with the guild at Abingdon; the accounts of the Reading Gild show that in the mid-fifteenth century Norreys received a gift of wine from them and rented from them a garden in Castle Street, Reading.[46] Norreys was certainly close to a prominent member of the Gild, Thomas Lavington, who visited Maidenhead in 1431-2 when Mayor of Reading and had business dealings with Norreys.[47] If Norreys was not a member of the Reading Merchant Gild he was closely involved with a member of it.

By 1448 Norreys, by now an influential courtier, acted as one of the wardens for the Abbey estates at Leominster, Herefordshire. In 1465 priests, it seems, from the Abbey (*religious*) and parish church (*seculers*) are mentioned by Norreys in his will in which he required his executors to find thirty devout priests in *Redyng and nigh ther aboute* to do his obit in the parish church of Yattendon.

Abbey Ruins – restored and opened to the public in 2018

An angel holding the coat of Reading Abbey occurs on a corbel on the west front of St Laurence's Church, one of the heavily restored extant buildings linked to Reading Abbey. The other restored buildings, St John's Hospitium and the Abbey Gatehouse, have had various uses

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[46] Slade 2002 Part II, pp31, 39, 43 and 49.

[47] Slade 2002 Part I, page xci; Berkshire Feet of Fines Pt II, no 1375, p61; 1380, p62; 1384, p63; 1398, p67; 1399, pp67-68.

8. RICHARD BEAUCHAMP (1450-1481)

Bishop of Hereford 1448; Bishop of Salisbury 1450; Chaplain from 1452 and then in 1475 the first Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; 1473 builder and surveyor of St George's Chapel for Edward IV; 1477 Dean of Windsor.

Younger son of Sir Walter Beauchamp (d.1430) of Bromham, Wiltshire (by wife Elizabeth, d.1447, daughter of Sir John Roche), of a cadet line of the Beauchamps, distantly related to the earls of Warwick. His elder brother, Sir William Beauchamp, created Lord St Amand in 1449, has also been identified as being represented by this coat. It can be ascribed to the bishop as the coat bears doctor's caps in the bordure.[48] As the two extant coats, in the side of the oriel, are heater shaped bearing a mitre crest, it is assumed all three represented ecclesiastics.

Armorial Achievement

Blazon

Quarterly:
1 & 4: *Gules a fess between six martlets or* for Beauchamp of Powick.
2. *Gules two lions passant in pale argent* for De La Mare.
3. *Azure three roach naiant argent* for Roche.
All within a *bordure of argent semy of tonsure caps sable.*

In 1798 this achievement was in Light 7 and its mitre was in Light 7a. It is possible they were put together after the Victorian restoration.[49]

[48] See identical coat in Harl. Mss 14581 f100 R. Glover Somerset Herald 1580-1588 *de Origine Antiquitate et differentii armorum fine insigni* identified as Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury.
[49] *Gentleman's Magazine* 1798 vol LXVIII pt II, p762, which gives the original order.

Norreys Link

In December 1448, as the king's chaplain, he was appointed Bishop of Hereford,[50] being consecrated at Lambeth in February 1449. As chaplain he would have known John Norreys. Around this time the quire of Great Malvern Priory was being rebuilt, in part as a memorial to the bishop's kinsman, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick[51] whose estates Norreys helped manage. In August 1450 he was appointed Bishop of Salisbury after the murder of William Aiscough in June. Beauchamp found himself often called to Windsor by the king: "*Forasmuch as your being about our person is to us full agreeable and your service at such times as you are with us full good and notable"*, ran one such open-ended summons to join Henry, issued on 15 August 1452.[52] This is around the time (1450-1454) that Ockwells was being built and the armorial glass erected. Norreys' contact with the bishop may well have increased when he was appointed chaplain of the Order of the Garter in 1452, as Norreys had dealings with St George's Chapel. In his will of 1465 John Norreys left six shillings and eight pence to Salisbury Cathedral for prayers for his soul.

In 1473 the bishop initiated the building of a new St George's Chapel for Edward IV, who appointed him master and surveyor of the chapel. A patent in 1475 authorised him to clear ground for the building of the new chapel,[53] and in October he was appointed the first Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, then Dean of Windsor in 1477. He died in 1481 and was buried in the chantry chapel he had built on the south side of the Lady Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral. His chapel was demolished by James Wyatt ca.1790.

The new St Georges Chapel built for Edward IV by Bishop Richard Beauchamp, located at the west end of the original chapel of the Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III in 1348

[50] CPR 1446-52, p223.

[51] Darracott 2005 p11. The bishop later built a memorial recess in St Georges Chapel with, in the lower part, his coat showing his descent from the Beauchamps of Powick, flanked by the coats of the Beauchamps of Warwick and Holt, both by then extinct in the male line (Darracott 2019, p4).

[52] Davies, 2004.

[53] Begent & Chesshyre, p127. The chapel was intended as a dynastic mausoleum for the House of York (Lewis 2015, p32).

a)

b)

c)

Desk fronts in the choir of St George's Chapel bear the armorial coats of Bishop Richard Beauchamp, as seen in the quartered coat at Ockwells: a) Roche b) De la Mare c) Beauchamp of Powick (vandalised). Each is encircled with the garter (as he was the first Chancellor of the Order) with adjacent snails (his badge) and mitres in the spandrels give his status

9. JOHN NORREYS Esquire of Bray, Berkshire (1405-1466)

(See also Light 14, below)

Builder of Ockwells c.1450-54; Yeoman of the Chamber by 1429; Usher of the Chamber 1437-ca.1441; Esquire of the Body 1437 to end-1455; High Sheriff of Berkshire & Oxfordshire 1437-38, 1442-43, 1457-58; MP Berkshire 1439-40; MP Oxfordshire 1442; Berkshire 1445-46, 1447, 1449-50, 1450-51, 1453; Keeper/Clerk of the Great Wardrobe 1444-1446; Chamberlain of the Exchequer 1446-1450; Treasurer of the Chamber & Keeper of the Jewels of Queen Margaret 1445-1452; Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe 1448-1457; Steward of Cookham and Bray 1447-1461.

Chapter 3 sets out full the biography of John Norreys Esquire.

He had three wives, two of whom are represented in the Ockwells armorial glass (see also Light 14, below). Here, his coat (said to be of Ravenscroft for Norreys) is impaled with that of his second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A raven rising proper

Blazon

Argent, a chevron between three ravens' heads erased sable (Ravenscroft for Norreys).
Impaling quarterly:
1 & 4: *Argent three covered cups sable* for Clitheroe.
2 & 3: *Argent, a castle triple towered with the portcullis raised sable* for Oldcastle.

Supporters

Two beavers collared and chained or, each with a fish in mouth.

Motto

"Ffeythfully serve"
This motto is present in the quarries of all the lights except Lights 3 and 5 for the queen and king. However, Norreys' badge – three golden distaffs – is present in all lights.

Everard Green (p332) describes the supporters as sea otters. Lysons correctly describes them as beavers. The beaver identification is based on the feet and the tails. Otters have four webbed feet, beavers only

have two (the back ones) and this is usually reflected in heraldry, as at Ockwells. Otters have furry tails, beavers have scaly ones, and the scaly tails seem quite clear at Ockwells.[54]

In Norreys' will of 1465 he specified that his body was to be buried in the north aisle of St Michael's, Bray, called St Nicholas Chapel, leaving a bequest for the *newe making and edefying of the chapel a*nd for the making of a tomb. The tomb is long gone but much of the edification survives including stone plaques bearing the Norreys coat with beaver supporters and corbels of the Norreys coat impaling the coats of his second and third wives. Such a coat for his first wife was also probably once there.

The Norreys coat with beaver supporters each with a fish in mouth – one of two plaques located on the east wall of the Norreys Chapel in St Michael's, Bray – part of the "neue making and edefying" of the former Saint Nicholas Chapel, specified in John Norreys' will

The coat of John Norreys impaled with that of his second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe, on a corbel in the Norreys Chapel

[54] Lysons 1813, p449. I am grateful to David Ford for clarification on the supporters.

10. JOHN WENLOCK of Someries, Bedfordshire (1400-1471)

Usher of the Queen's Chamber by May 1445; Chamberlain to the Queen by 1448; MP Bedfordshire from 1433; Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire 1444-45; Constable of Cardiff Castle & Stewardship of Glamorgan and Morgannok 1446; Esquire by 1444; Knighted 1447/8; from 1460 to 1469 Chief Butler of England; Knight of the Garter 1461; Lord Wenlock 1461; Chamberlain of the Duchy of Lancaster for Life 1461.

Son of William Wenlock (d.ca.1415), a Bedfordshire landowner, and Margaret Breton (Briton). His family, while retaining property in their native Shropshire, had settled in Bedfordshire in the fourteenth century.[55] John was a younger son whose elder brother, Thomas (d.1429), fought at Agincourt; John was his heir. He married twice: firstly (by 1435) Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Drayton of Nuneham, Oxfordshire. She was dead by March 1466, and in 1468 Wenlock married Agnes Danvers, [56] daughter of Sir John Danvers of Cothorpe, Oxfordshire.[57] She outlived Wenlock. He had no children from either marriage.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A Saracen's head couped proper, and wreathed around the temples argent.

Blazon

Argent a chevron sable between three Saracen's heads erased proper, wreathed around the temples argent.

Norreys Link

An experienced soldier, in 1430 Wenlock was back in France, perhaps as a member of Henry VI's coronation expedition. If so, this may be when he first met John Norreys who was a member of the expedition as were the Earls of Suffolk and Ormond. By 1441 Wenlock had

[55] Roskell 1958, p12; Moreton 2020, p418.

[56] Roskell 1958, p15 says her brother was William Danvers, Justice of the Common Pleas. He married Anne, daughter of John Pury of Chamberhouse, Berkshire. A tree in MacNamara (facing p171) records Agnes as a daughter of Sir John Danvers by his first wife, Alice Verney, whilst William was son of Sir John by his second wife Joan Bruley (see MacNamara, p202 for her lineage). Agnes had four husbands, Wenlock being the third (see Darracott 2022 for her link to Holy Trinity, Long Melford, where John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, who married Norreys' widow Margaret Chedworth, was a benefactor.)

[57] Kekewich, 2004b.

entered the king's household and in June he began to be involved with English diplomatic activities in France designed to bring an end to the war; being closely identified with the peace policy of the Earl of Suffolk.[58] In 1444 the English Embassy including Wenlock was at Tours by 16th April. On 24th May Margaret of Anjou was betrothed to Henry VI with Suffolk acting as king's proxy. In April 1445 Wenlock was part of the escort that brought Margaret of Anjou to England to be married to Henry VI. By the time Margaret landed at Portsmouth he may already have secured the position of an usher of her chamber, an office he certainly held at her coronation on the following 30 May.[59] At the same time Norreys was treasurer of her chamber and keeper of her jewels. In March 1449 Norreys and John Wenlock were in a group were enfeoffed with the manor and warren of Fenelsgrove, Bedfordshire and in 1454 Wenlock, described as lately Chamberlain to the Queen, was in the group that granted lands, tenements etc in Staines to another group that included John Norreys Esquire and Edmund Brudenell.[60] On 1st July 1463 Wenlock and his wife Elizabeth were *deforciants* with John Norreys Esquire, one of the *querents,* concerning the sale of the manor of West Wittenham, plus part of the manor of Burghfield, Berkshire, and part of the manor of Kempston in Bedfordshire.[61] These manors, of his wife's inheritance, were conveyed away to Wenlock and his heirs shortly before her death, after 1 July.[62] In 1465 Wenlock was charged in the will of John Norreys with "assisting his executors" for which he was to receive a gilt cup. His buildings include Someries Castle, another early use of brick, and a chapel he had built in 1461 onto the north side of St Mary's Church, Luton, evidently as a chantry chapel for himself and his first wife, Elizabeth Drayton, though there are now no monuments to either of them.[63]

He changed sides during the Wars of the Roses but eventually, in 1471, at the battle of Tewkesbury, he died fighting on the side of Margaret of Anjou and her son who also died at the battle. His king, Henry VI, was by then in the Tower and did not long survive him. It is not known whether Sir John was eventually buried in the chapel he built but certainly his helmet and gauntlets from Tewkesbury were once displayed on its north wall.

A fifteenth-century jug bearing the words "My Lord Wenlok" is thought to refer to John Wenlock or his great uncle, William, (whose extant tomb does occur in the chapel Sir John built in St Mary's, Luton). In 2005 funds were raised by public subscription, to which Maidenhead Civic Society contributed, to ensure it stayed in this country. It was unveiled in 2006, stolen in 2012, found later that year and reinstated the following year at the Stockwood Discovery Centre, Luton, with better security.

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Moreton 2020, p421.

[60] St George's Chapel Archives SGC XV 21, 83 & 84.

[61] Berkshire Feet of Fines Pt II no 1443, pp79-80.

[62] As it happened, Wenlock did not retain either Long Wittenham or Burghfield Regis, both of which he formally quitclaimed to Alice, Dowager Duchess of Suffolk in March 1466, presumably after she had purchased them from him (Moreton 2020, p428).

[63] In the east window of the chapel there were once eight lines of prayer that began *Jesu Christ, most of myght, have mercy on John le Wenlock, Knight, and of his wife, Elizabeth,* but already lost when transcribed in C19th by Cobbe, p345-6. In the same window Cobbe recorded Sir John's kneeling figure bearing his arms on the surcoat and a Yorkist collar.

Someries Castle (a fortified manor house) Bedfordshire.
Ruined remains of the chapel which, with the gatehouse, are said to be an early example of brick building; built by Sir John Wenlock in the mid-fifteenth century.

The Wenlock Chapel in Luton Parish Church (two windows on left)

a)

b)

c)

d)

Armorials on the screen separating the chapel Wenlock built from the chancel in St Mary's Church, Luton

a) The quartered coat of Sir John Wenlock – Wenlock quartering Breton (Briton) the coat of his mother – at the apex of the screen (facing chapel). The achievement has a different crest (of feathers) to that seen at Ockwells.
b) The coat of Sir John Wenlock impaling that of his first wife, Elizabeth Drayton at the apex of the screen (facing chancel).
c) The quartered coat of Sir John Wenlock on the wall of the screen.
d) The coat of Sir John Wenlock encircled by the garter on the top of the screen.

Wenlock's badge, a lance rest with the word "Hola" inscribed on it, probably his war cry, is also carved into the screen and on the spandrels of the piscina in the chapel

11. WILLIAM LAKEN (d.1475)

Justice of the King's Bench.

William Laken (Lacon) (d.1475) of Betton Alkmere, Shropshire and Stone, Kent was the illegitimate son of Sir Richard Laken (d.ca.1446) of Laken and Willey in Shropshire. By his first wife Maud he had three sons and three daughters. By October 1460 William had married secondly Sybil, daughter and coheir of John Siferwast (Syferwast) of Clewer, Berkshire.[64] The eldest son of his father, he was a rising young lawyer but the main estates of his family passed to the legitimate sons, firstly to Richard and after his childless death in 1451 to another William.[65] William and Sybil had two sons, William, George and a daughter Elizabeth who married a Mortimer.[66] This is interesting as a Mortimer coat occurs in the next light at Ockwells.

Armorial Achievement

Crest
Seven bullrushes sable, slipped and leaved or.

Blazon
Azure five fleurs de lis or.

This attribution, made by Everard Green, appears to be based on canting arms as yellow flags (fleurs de lis) and bullrushes grown on a lake, (are Lake-on) though he notes that no such arms are on record, suggesting that Laken abandoned the canting arms and bore what was the coat of the main line, *Quarterly, per fess dancetty ermine and azure* on the tomb for him and his wife in St Michael's Bray. His brass effigy and shield are extant though the *azure* now looks black. His wife's effigy was stolen about 1841.[67]

[64] Payling 2020b, p145.
[65] Ibid, p146. Confusingly, Richard Laken, the father, had two Williams, two Richards and a Thomas.
[66] Ibid, p151.
[67] Ibid, p152.

Norreys Link

Laken was a lawyer and although his family was based in Shropshire, he evidently also worked in Kent for several landowners including, in the mid-fifteenth century, Edward Brooke, Lord Cobham. His work in Kent may be how he originally came in contact with John Norreys as the family of Norreys' second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe, was based in Kent. Her grandfather, Sir John Oldcastle, had been Lord Cobham in right of his wife. Laken was illegitimate so Norreys may have used canting arms at Ockwells, rather than the main Laken coat. In 1454 Laken was a King's Justice in the Welsh lordship of the duchy of Lancaster. John Norreys Esquire was a feoffee of the estates of the duchy around this time[68] so may have dealt with him regarding these estates. Laken became Norreys' neighbour between 1458 and 1460 when he married Sybil Sifrewast, the youngest of three daughters of John Sifrewast, whose main property was the manor of Clewer, near Windsor. This probably brought him into this area of Berkshire. Via this marriage he extended his property. By 1464 he was given a life interest in her inheritance, holding in her right a moiety of the manor together with 400 acres and £4 of annual rent in Hurst, Cookham, Bray and Binfield.[69] John Norreys also held assets in those manors at his death in 1466. In 1459 Laken was appointed with others including John Norreys (Norys) to examine prisoners in the gaol at Windsor Castle, in effect to decide on their guilt and either release them or if their offences warranted it to send them to the court of King's Bench at Westminster.[70]

William Laken died in 1475 and was buried in St Michael's Church Bray by his widow, his executrix, who probably chose to use the coat of the legitimate Laken line on their joint tomb rather than the Ockwells coat.

Left: monument to William Laken (d.1475) in St Michael's Bray. Right: Ashmole's drawing of Laken's tomb showing the lost brasses (Ashmole 850 f298. Copyright: Bodleian Library)

[68] Norreys remained a feoffee of the duchy in 1458 (Clark 2020a, p673).
[69] Payling 2020b, p149-150.
[70] CPR 1452-1461, p493.

12. HUGH MORTIMER (d.by 1460)

Esquire of the Body; Knight by 1449.

Hugh Mortimer, of Cure Wyard & Martley, Worcestershire, and Tedstone Wafre, Herefordshire, was the son of Sir John Mortimer who died at Agincourt in 1415.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A panache of feathers argent issuing out of a coronet or.

Blazon

Azure, three bars or, on a chief of the second, a pale between two gyrons of the first, over all an inescutcheon ermine.

In 1838 a watercolour drawing by Thomas Willement, Queen Victoria's glazier (*left*; *copyright: BL*) made before the armorial glass was removed to Taplow Court shows that the feathers of the crest were *per pale sable and argent*, identifying it as Mortimer.[71] The sable colour of the dexter half of panache of feathers is no longer apparent. Everard Green in 1899, described the glass after it was re-instated, noting that the dexter half of the panache of feathers was missing. Evidently it was later repaired but the sable colouration was not reproduced.

[71] See BL Add MSS 34868, p198. Habington, vol 2, p186, identifies the panache of feathers as the Mortimer crest.

Apart from his lands in Herefordshire and Worcestershire Hugh Mortimer seems to have had a local base, being also of Mortimer's Hall, possibly located in Mortimer West End on the Berkshire/Hampshire border.[72] He was of the cadet line of this family, distinguished by an ermine difference mark on the inescutcheon of the Mortimer coat that descended from Roger, first Lord Mortimer of Chirk (d.1426). Lord Mortimer was imprisoned in the Tower with his nephew, the famous Roger Mortimer, after they joined the rebellion against Edward II in 1422. The nephew escaped and with Isabella, wife of Edward II, returned in 1426 to overthrow the king and become Earl of March. His uncle died in the Tower apparently from his wounds. The nephew claimed that his uncle had made him his heir thereby effectively disinheriting his uncle's actual descendants. The cadet line seems to have survived by retaining the lands of Roger Mortimer of Chirk's wife, Lucy de Wafre, and subsequent judicious marriages.

Hugh married Eleanor Cornwall in 1454, daughter of Sir Edmund Cornwall, Baron of Burford and had a son John and two daughters, Elizabeth and Alice.[73] Son John was knighted by Henry VII at the battle of Bosworth after Richard III was slain and was a banneret at the battle of Stoke in 1487.[74] John married Margaret Neville, third daughter of John Neville, Marquess Montagu (d.1471) by his wife Isabel Ingoldisthorpe, but had no issue. Isabel subsequently married Sir William Norreys, eldest son of John Norreys Esquire.

Norreys Link

Mortimer is likely to have known Eleanor Clitheroe, the second wife of John Norreys, as her uncle, Henry Oldcastle Esquire, son and heir of Sir John Oldcastle by his first wife Katherine, lived at Tillington, northwest of Hereford, [75] separated by approximately fifteen miles from Tedstone Wafre. In 1434 both took the oath in Hereford not to maintain peace breakers. There is evidence that Mortimer was a donor in the rebuilding of the quire of Great Malvern Priory where his coat once occurred in a window of St Anne's Chapel. The rebuilding appears to have been a memorial to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and his wife, Isabel Despenser,[76] so he probably knew John Norreys who was one of those managing the earl's estates during the minority of the heir, Henry Beauchamp. After the latter's death in 1446, Mortimer was a member of the jury concerned with the Inquisition Post Mortem of his estates in Herefordshire and the adjacent March of Wales. He died reputedly in 1460 at the battle of Wakefield fighting for Richard Duke of York though there is some evidence he died before the battle.[77]

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[72] Mortimers Hall is described as being in Hampshire (Wedgwood and Holt, p613). At one time Mortimer West End was part of the cross-county parish of Stratfield Mortimer which is mostly in Berkshire and was held by Richard, Duke of York, in the mid C15th. Stratfield Mortimer was already part of the Mortimer estates at the start of the C12th when Hugh Mortimer (d.1180/1) gave it to his son of the same name who gave it to Reading Abbey (Kemp II, pp232-3). St Marys Church in Stratfield Mortimer was rebuilt in 1869 but retains in the organ loft medieval stained glass including the Yorkist symbols, falcon in fetterlock, white roses, the sun of York and feathers issuing out of a crown dating evidently from when Richard, Duke of York, rebuilt the north aisle. Ashmole recorded his armorials in the east window of this aisle plus the Yorkist symbols (Ashmole 850 f.no 27 Bodleian). York apparently allowed his kinsman to live in the manor. Our Hugh was probably a kinsman of the Hugh *Mortemer,* who in 1416 with others, obtained a reversion of the castle and manor of Donnington and other manors, messuages, lands etc in West Berkshire from Thomas Chaucer, which would have become effective after the death of his daughter, Alice, the document noting that *Alice who was the wife of John Philipp chivaler holds for her life from the inheritance of Thomas on the day the agreement was made* (Berkshire Feet of Fines Part II no 1232, pp23-24). Alice's first husband Sir John Philipp had died in 1415.

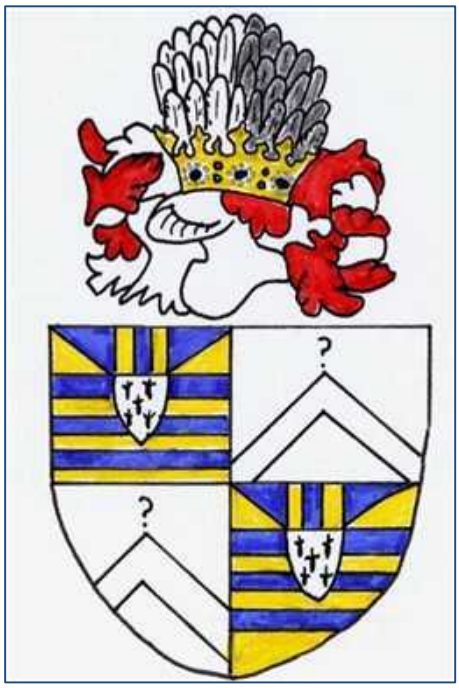
[73] Draft genealogy of the Mortimers given to the Mortimer Society by Ian Mortimer 2013.

[74] Darracott 2005, pp11-13, citing Metcalfe, pp10, 14. See also Shaw vol II, pp22, 24.

[75] Wedgwood and Holt, pp646-7.

[76] Darracott 2005, p11, note 79.

[77] See Hampton, p207; Darracott 2005, p12, note 91. Wedgwood and Holt, p613 give ca.1455.



Reconstruction of armorial achievement for Sir Hugh Mortimer once in a window of St Anne's Chapel, Great Malvern Priory, described by Habington as "Mortimer's arms with an inescutcheon ermine quartering chevrons defaced and I suppose misplaced; on his helmet a bunch or plume of feathers party per pale argent and sable out of a Duke's or Earl's crown"

An effigy believed to be of Sir Hugh Mortimer, (with the Yorkist collar of suns and roses and a crest of feathers), in St Peter's Church, Martley, Worcestershire, whose tower he is said to have built ca. 1450[78]

[78] Grant p53; Hampton 1979, p207.

13. JOHN NANFAN (1400-ca.1462)

Constable of Glamorgan 1423; Sheriff of Cornwall 1428-30, 1439-40, 1450-1 & 1456-7; Chamberlain of the Exchequer 1445-46; Esquire of the Body 1447-54, 1557-?; Governor of Jersey 1452-till death.

John Nanfan, of Birtsmorton, Worcestershire, and of Trethewell, Cornwall, was perhaps the son of James Nanfan and Geta Penneck. He married Jane, widow of Sir Remfry Arundell, and daughter and heir of Sir John Coleshill, by whom he had a son Sir Richard Nanfan MP (1445-1507), a second son and a daughter. The marriage of his ancestor Thomas Nanfan, probably his grandfather, to Johanna Penpons, led to him quartering her coat.[79]

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A wolf statant azure.

Blazon

Quarterly:
1 & 4: *Sable on a chevron between three dexter falcon's wings argent, a cross between four ermine spots sable* – Nanfan.
2 & 3: *Argent, three wolves passant in pale azure* – Penpons.

Left: copy by Charles Kerry of a drawing by Sir Thomas Reeve of Hendon's House, Holyport, made in 1765 which indicates that some damage has occurred to quarters 1 & 4 – the chevron and lower falcon wing being lost. It seems they were replaced probably while the windows were at Taplow Court in the nineteenth century. The falcon's wings have been replaced in a different orientation. No identity was given for this coat (from Kerry's notebook Vol II p118, Bodleian Library; copyrighted).

[79] See family tree in Maclean, p218 who gives Jas (James) Nanfan? as son of Thomas, and the latter's grandson as John. This tree gives John a son, also John, who was Governor of Jersey & Guernsey. His recent biographer considers the details of his career to indicate that of a single man of that name (see Kleineke, p600, note 17).

Norreys Link

Everard Green[80] identifies this coat as for John Nanfan's son Richard but he was not born until 1445. Richard's father John certainly knew John Norreys through their joint responsibilities regarding the estate of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and dealings with his son Henry and wife Isabel Despenser. Nanfan with Norreys and others had been granted the manor of Tewkesbury in November 1439 to fulfil the will of Isabel Despenser, Countess of Warwick (d.1439), who had been buried in Tewkesbury Abbey with her first husband in the Beauchamp chantry chapel.[81] Nanfan is also likely to have known the Oldcastle family of John Norreys' second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe, through his purchase of Birtsmorton Court, Worcestershire in 1424-5 from the widow of Richard Oldcastle, a cousin of Sir John Oldcastle, Eleanor's grandfather.[82] It is suggested Nanfan rebuilt the manor house adding crenelations some of which survive.[83]

In 1442 wardship of Henry, son of Sir William Bodrugan, was granted to Henry Earl of Warwick, John Nanfan and John Norreys,[84] and in 1445 to 1446 Nanfan was appointed Chamberlain of the Exchequer,[85] being succeeded by John Norreys. In 1450 Cicely Neville, Henry Beauchamp's wife, died and so custody of Warwick's lands came to an end and Nanfan and Norreys were among others pardoned all arrears of accounts as guardians. By then, Henry and Cicely's daughter, Anne, had died so her assets descended to Henry's sister, Anne, wife of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in right of his wife.

Nanfan was appointed warden and governor of the Channel Islands in 1452 for five years, a post renewed in 1457 while in England. He was back in Jersey at Mont Orgueil Castle when it was easily captured in an invasion ordered by Charles VII in May 1461, leading to a suggestion that Margaret of Anjou had sent Nanfan secret orders to surrender the islands to the French,[86] the queen seeing the islands as a refuge for Lancastrian hopes after the defeat at Towton (in March 1461).[87] It is thought Nanfan died in French captivity before May 1463. At the time he was said to die intestate, but it appears he had made a will in 1446 asking to be buried in Tewkesbury Abbey, leaving charitable bequests for the salvation of his soul to the Abbey, the priory at St Michael's Mount in Cornwall and elsewhere.[88]

In a final tenuous link to the Norreys family, Katherine Norreys, the great-great granddaughter of John Norreys Esquire. lived at Mont Orgueil, from 1583, with her husband, Sir Anthony Paulet (d.1600), who was lieutenant governor, and in 1590, governor of Jersey. Their impaled coat can still be seen over the Queen Elizabeth Gate to the castle, the blazon unfortunately being erroneously for the Norris family of Speke.

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[80] Everard Green, p238.

[81] CPR 1436-41, p359. Nanfan had been in the retinue of her first husband in 1417 and 1421 when en route to the battlefields of France and may have been with him when he died at the siege of Meux. He remained in the service of his late master's widow (Kleineke p596).

[81] Kleineke, p596.

[82] VCH Worcestershire, vol 4, p120.

[83] Kleineke, p596.

[84] CPR 1441-46, p83.

[85] Wedgwood & Holt, p622.

[86] Kleineke, p600, who finds this suggestion hard to reconcile with Nanfan's ties to the Yorkist, Richard Neville, the Earl of Warwick.

[87] Marr, p79.

[88] Kleineke, p600; Habington vol 1, p121. There does not appear to be a memorial to Nanfan in the Abbey.

The crenellated entrance to Birtsmorton Court.
Nanfan probably reconstructed the manor house though this may be all that remains of his work

Birtsmorton Court - now a wedding venue. The venue website notes the house was remodelled for a descendent Giles Nanfan ca.1572 and restored in 1871-72, with the east range rebuilt in 1929-30 after a fire in the eighteenth century

Birtsmorton Church next to the manor house

Left: tomb of Jane née Coleshill, wife of John Nanfan. The south side has the kneeling figure of John Nanfan, her second husband, flanked by their daughter and two sons. Traces of paint survive.

Right: figure of John Nanfan on the tomb of his wife

14. JOHN NORREYS Esquire of Bray, Berkshire (1405-1466)

(See also Light 9, above)

Builder of Ockwells c.1450-54; Yeoman of the Chamber by 1429; Usher of the Chamber 1437-ca.1441; Esquire of the Body from 1437to end-1455; High Sheriff of Berkshire & Oxfordshire 1437-38, 1442-43, 1457-58; MP Berkshire 1439-40; MP Oxfordshire 1442; Berkshire 1445-46, 1447, 1449-50, 1450-51, 1453; Keeper/Clerk of the Great Wardrobe 1444-1446; Chamberlain of the Exchequer 1446-1450; Treasurer of the Chamber & Keeper of the Jewels of Queen Margaret 1445-1452; Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe 1448-1457; Steward of Cookham and Bray 1447-1461.

Chapter 3 sets out full the biography of John Norreys Esquire.

He had three wives, two of whom are represented in the Ockwells armorial glass (see also Light 9 above). Here his coat (said to be of Ravenscroft for Norreys) is impaled with the quartered coat of his first wife, Alice Merbrooke.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A raven rising proper

Blazon

Argent, a chevron between three ravens heads erased sable – Ravenscroft for Norreys impaling quarterly Mountfort coats assumed by Richard Merbrooke:
1 & 4: *Bendy or and azure, a bordure gules* Mountfort (Warwickshire).[89]
2 & 3: *Or two bars gules, a bend azure* Brandeston.

Supporters

Two beavers collared and chained or, each with a fish in mouth.

The crest and supporters are the same as in Light 9.

[89] Everard Green (p334) identifies this coat as Merbrooke, citing College of Arms MSS. It is clearly the Mountfort coat (see Foster, p142) with a bordure indicating illegitimate descent (see Cole 1950, p22).

Alice Merbrooke, Norreys' first wife, was a daughter of Richard Merbrooke of Yattendon by his wife, Helen (Ellen), a daughter of William Mountfort (Mountford, Montfort) of Lapworth and Codbarrow in Warwickshire . Alice brought Yattendon, west Berkshire, to her marriage as dowry.

Yattendon Church, west Berkshire, near to the Yattendon Estate

Head stops on each side of the door were described to Everard Green in 1899 as representing John and Alice. These were put up when the church including the south doorway was vigorously restored in 1858-60 (VCH Berkshire, vol 4, pp125-130)

St Mary the Virgin, Lapworth. The Mountfort Chantry Chapel (west chapel) founded by Richard Mountfort and Rose Brandeston, great-grandparents of Alice Merbrooke, projects over the footway

Mountfort impaling Brandeston, in west window of St Mary the Virgin, Lapworth; this is the coat of Alice Merbrooke's great-grandparents seen at Ockwells as a quartered coat. (The photo has been reversed as the armorial was installed incorrectly, as noted in an information leaflet in the church)

15. EDWARD LANGFORD of Bradfield, Berkshire (1417-1474)

Sheriff Berks and Oxon 1446-49 & in 1471; MP Berkshire 1449-51, 1459; JP Oxfordshire 1452-1455; JP Berkshire1452-1458, 1471; Esquire 1443-52 and probably longer.

Son and heir of Sir Robert Langford (d.1419) of Bradfield by Elizabeth, daughter Sir John Cheyne of Beckford, Gloucester, and married before May 1445 to Sancha, daughter of Sir Thomas Blount (d.1456). Edward was the grandson of Sir William Langford (d.1411) whose estates included holdings in Devon and the Isle of Wight but had at their core eight manors in Berkshire inherited from the De La Beche family.[90]

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A naked boy erect argent, crined or, holding with both hands a club across his waist barwise of the first.

Blazon

Paly of six argent and gules, on a chief azure a lion passant or.

Everard Green wrongly identified this coat as representing Sir John Langford who married Katherine, granddaughter of John Norreys Esquire, and daughter of Sir William Norreys, John's eldest son

Copy (left) by Charles Kerry of a drawing by Sir Thomas Reeve of Hendon's House, Holyport, made in 1765. The colour of the chief has changed from gules to azure. No identity was given for this coat. (From Kerry's notebook Vol II p119 Bodleian Library; copyrighted)

[90] Clark 2020d, p163. Much of the details of Langford's biography is from this source except when otherwise indicated.

Norreys Link

Edward Langford remained loyal to the house of Lancaster in the later 1450s, doubtless encouraged by his close links to John Norreys Esquire with whom he remained on friendly terms right up to the end of the reign of Henry IV.[91] They had similar careers including both being MPs for Berkshire in 1449-50 and 1450-51. Their manors in West Berkshire (Bradfield and Yattendon) are not far apart. Following the death of Langford's grandmother in 1420, Bradfield was committed to two highly influential members of the local gentry – Thomas Chaucer and John Golafre. Both were leading members of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in Abingdon attached to St Helen's church.[92] Norreys and the then Earl of Suffolk would later be involved in licensing this fraternity as a guild. In 1442 Langford relinquished the overlordship of the manor of Yattendon to Norreys.[93]

In 1445 Langford acted as a feoffee for Norreys together with Suffolk and Sir Edmund Hungerford in connection with the purchase by Norreys of the manors of Elington and Spencers in Cookham. In 1446, together with Norreys, Edmund Brudenell and others he was involved in the grant of the manor of Erlegh White Knygtes.[94] He was also appointed Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire – a thankless task which Norreys may have persuaded him to take on.[95] Again in 1447 he acted for Norreys in the acquisition of the manor of Frilsham.[96] From 1449 to 1451, at a time of crisis with garrisons in Normandy capitulating to the French, Langford was appointed MP for Berkshire, together with Norreys.[97] These parliaments saw the impeachment of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. Suffolk was murdered in 1450 whilst en route to exile. Another casualty was William Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, who had married Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in 1445, murdered by local people while at mass in Edington, Wilts. Langford was commissioned to take charge of the bishop's movable goods and deliver them to the treasurer. In 1452, with Norreys and others, he obtained a royal licence to grant in mortmain to Abingdon Abbey various landed holdings in Sugworth, Radley, Sonnyngwell and Kennyngton,[98] and in 1455 was on commission to raise money in Berkshire with Norreys, the Abbot of Reading and others.[99] In 1459 he represented Berkshire in Parliament for the third and last time, and was on a Commission of Array in Berkshire with among others, John Norreys, John Pury and Edmund Brudenell to resist the rebellion of Richard, Duke of York, and the Nevilles.[100] He was the steward of estates forfeited by the Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Alice (Montacute) his wife in Devon and Cornwall, and escheator of estates ("Denbigh landes" in Wales) forfeited by Richard, Duke of York. Finally, in 1463 the burgesses of Reading made him a member of their guild,[101] almost certainly the Merchant Gild of Reading. From this same guild, from 1457 for three years, John Norreys had rented a garden in Castle Street, Reading, and may have been a member.[102] In 1474 August Langford died, and though it is unclear where he was buried, it was possibly in St Andrew's Church, Bradfield, rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century. His grandson John would later marry Katherine, daughter of Sir William Norreys and Anne Horne.

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[91] Ibid, p165.
[92] Preston, p21. Thomas Chaucer was the father of Alice, who married Suffolk after the death at the siege of Orleans of her husband, Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.
[93] CCR 1441-47, p59.
[94] CPR 1446-52, p24.
[95] Clark 2020d, p165.
[96] CCR 1441-7, p496.
[97] Wedgwood, p615.
[98] CPR 1446-52, p549.
[99] Nicolas 1837, p240.
[100] CPR 1452-61, p557.
[101] Clark 2020d, p168, note 1.
[102] Slade 2002, Pt I, pp39, 43, 49.

16. EDMUND BRUDENELL of Amersham (d.1469)

Lord of manors of Raans, Colshill, Chalfont, Burleys in Stoke and patron of Missenden Abbey; JP Buckinghamshire (1441-1449).

Son of William Brudenell by Agnes Bulstrode who brought Bulstrode's manor in the parish of Chalfont St Peter to the marriage.[103] He inherited Raans from his uncle, Edmund Brudenell, and the manor of Stoke from his uncle Henry.[104] Edmund was a half-brother of William Bulstrode by the second marriage of their mother, Agnes, to John Shobbington/Chopinden who took his wife's name. He seems to have been close to his half-brother describing him as his "brother" and giving him remainder rights in his will dated 1457. Edmund married twice, firstly to Agnes Depden[105] having one daughter Alice (b.1438). He married secondly Philippa Englefield, daughter of Philip Englefield Esquire of Finchingfield, Essex, and had four sons (Drew/Drue, John, Edmund and Robert) and two daughters, Joan and Elizabeth.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

Lost by 1899. *A Swan standing with open wings.*[106]

The original swan crest can be seen in the drawing of Ockwells Hall in Knight's Olde England, published in 1847 (*below*).[107]

Blazon

Quarterly:

1 & 4: *Argent a bend gules.*

2 & 3*: Barry of six gules and argent, on a chief of the last a lion passant azure.*

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[103] VCH Buckinghamshire, vol 3, pp193-198.

[104] Lipscomb vol 2, pp446-447.

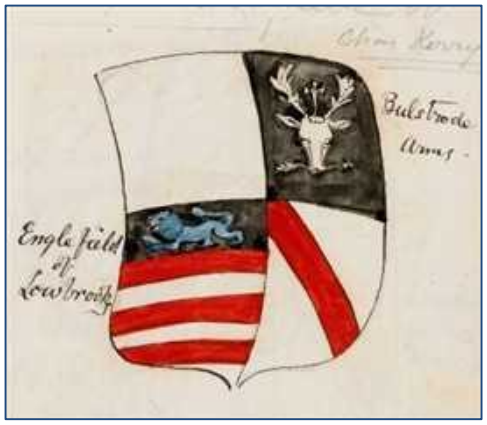
[105] Collins & Brydges, pp489-491.

[106] The crest and possibly the upper part of the coat may have been damaged when the armorial glass was taken out by Charles Pascoe Grenfell and stored at Taplow Court.

[107] The *swan standing with open wings over a lotus flower* is the Brudenell crest on a seal dated 32 Henry VI (1 Sept 1453 to 31 Aug 1454); see Ellis vol 1, p11.

The present Brudenell crest of a sea horse was chosen in 1559 by a later Sir Edmund Brudenell (d. 1585).[108] Everard Green states that this armorial had been renewed. Quarters 1 and 2 of the present blazon are spurious. In 1765 this shield was among the drawings made by Sir Thomas Reeve of Hendons House, Holyport, and subsequently copied by Charles Kerry.[109]

At that date, the blazon Reeve drew can be described as:



Quarterly:

1: Lost – probably *Argent a chevron gules between three hats azure* - Brudenell.[110]

2: *Sable, a buck's head caboshed argent, attired and ensigned with a cross or, pierced through the nose with an arrow barwise of the last* – Bulstrode.

3: *Barry of six gules and argent, on a chief sable a lion passant azur*e – Englefield "of Lowbrook."[111]

4: *Argent a bend gules* – possibly Depden.

The colour of the field in chief in the Englefield coat has been changed from sable to argent. It is possible that when Sir Thomas Reeve in 1765 drew this coat he used silver (argent) paint for the field in chief, which, by the time it was seen by Charles Kerry in the nineteenth century, had tarnished accounting for the sable colour in Kerry's copy.

Although quarter 1 was lost by 1765 this identification seems reliable. Edmund Brudenell is suggested because his mother was a Bulstrode and his second wife was Philippa Englefield, daughter of Philip, younger son of son of Sir Philip Englefield (d.1380). Furthermore, he was a Buckinghamshire man who had documented links to John Norreys Esquire. The Bulstrode coat is reflected in the dexter supporter used in their arms by the later Brudenell earls of Cardigan: a *stag argent attired or; between the attires a cross pate of the last; in his mouth an arrow in bend sinister or.*[112]

The current identification as Edmund Brudenell is supported by armorials for his father and mother at each end of the tomb of their son, Sir Robert Brudenell, in St Peter's Church, Deene, Northamptonshire.

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[108] Wake, p68.

[109] Kerry's Notebook vol II, copyright: Bodleian Library.

[110] Based on the Brudenell coat on his son Robert's tomb in St Peter's Church, Deene, Northants which bears the crescent for a second son as two of his elder brothers (John and Edmund) had died (Wake, p10).

[111] So labelled by Kerry. The manor of Lowbrook is to the west of Ockwells. However, the Englefields did not acquire Lowbrook until the mid-C16th so *of Lowbrook* is misleading. In 1541 Robert, grandson of Christopher Martyn, sold Lowbrook to John Yate and Thomas Elyott, trustees for Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Englefield (Kerry, p107). Sir William Martyn (d.1504), Robert's great-grandfather and Sir Thomas Englefield (d.1514), Elizabeth's father-in-law, were both made Knights of the Bath at the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, on 14th Nov 1501 (Shaw vol, 1 p146). Probably the families knew each other.

[112] Collins & Brydges, p487 & p500.


Left: St Peter's Church, Deene, Northamptonshire. Right: armorial on the tomb of Edmund's son Sir Robert Brudenell: Quarter 1 Brudenell; 2 Bulstrode; 3-5 other coats impaling Englefield (where the field in chief is or (gold) not argent (silver))

Norreys Link

In January 1446 an agreement was made in the court of *Humfrey,* Duke of Gloucester, wherein Edmund with John Norreys Esquire and others appear as complainants before the Steward of Cookham concerning a messuage, mills and various land assets in Cookham. The right of John Norreys is acknowledged and the same were released to the complainants as heirs of the said John Norreys.[113] Also in this year Edmund, together with John Norreys and Edward Langford among others, were involved in a grant of Erlegh White Knyghtes (Knights) and the chapel thereof.[114] Again in 1446 Edmund was described as late escheator in Buckinghamshire[115] and late escheator in Bedfordshire when he and John Wenlock held separate inquisitions concerning the inheritance of the same Bedfordshire manor.[116]

In 1448 Edmund was among a group that included John Norreys Esquire, John Pury Esquire, William Norreys (brother of John), Richard Merbrooke (father of Alice Merbrooke, first wife of Norreys), and William Catesby Esquire, (cousin of Alice), which was granted the manor of Hampstede Ferrers (alias Hampstede Cyfrewast), Berkshire, by Sir William Ferrers of Chartley.[117] This manor became Hampstead Norreys and is still known as such today. Later, in 1452, Edmund with the Abbot of Abingdon, John Norreys, Edward Langford and others served on a commission *de kidellis* (inspection of weirs and dams) for the Thames from Abingdon to New Windsor.[118] In December that year, Edmund, together with the attorney of the Dean and Chapter of St Peter's, Exeter, attended an inquisition at *Thurverton* (Thorverton) regarding the rights of the Dean and Chapter to the parish church there. The

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[113] Darby Notebook vol 6, p107 (unpub ms in Maidenhead Library); transcribing information from the Bodleian Library. The other complainants were Sir Edmund Hungerford, John Leyntlo (St Lo) Esq and Thomas Lanyingtone (Lavington), a prominent member of the merchant guild in Reading. The mills are Ray Mills.

[114] CPR 1446-52, p24. It seems likely that the 1443 record relating to Earley Whiteknights, giving Norreys, Langford, Brudenell and the others remainder rights (Berkshire Feet of Fines vol II no 1365, p62) is in error in naming him *Edward* Brudenell.

[115] CPR 1441-6, pp 434-5.

[116] CCR 1441-47, p328.

[117] CPR1446-52, pp277-8. In 1449 Thomas Babham was included in the group (Berkshire Feet of Fines Part II no 1398 p67). Two years later he, with the Norreys family, founded a guild in Maidenhead to maintain the bridge over the Thames.

[118] Ibid 1446-52, p578.

findings of the jury were reported to another attorney of the Dean & Chapter, a Thomas Norreys.[119]

During 1454 and 1456 Edmund served on Commissions of the Peace in Berkshire together with John Norreys, Edward Langford and John Pury but more often on the same commission in Buckinghamshire (from 1453 to 1459).[120] In 1459 the Coventry Parliament attainted Richard, Duke of York, Edward, Earl of March, Richard, Earl of Warwick, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and Edmund, Earl of Rutland of high treason. The Berkshire contingent of the Commission of Array to resist their rebellion included Edmund Brudenell, John Norreys, Edward Langford and John Pury.[121]

On 7 October 1457 he wrote his will, describing himself as Edmund Brudenell of Amersham. His body was to be buried in Amersham church with bequests to the church for a new bell and lights before the great cross and St Katherine's cross; he left money for the poor; goods were to be sold and the money used to repair the highway to Aylesbury and Wendover; and there were substantial bequests to his children Joan, Alice, John, Edmund, Drue & Sir Robert, though not Elizabeth. His wife Philippa was left for life his manor of Hugeley (Hedgerly Bulstrode) and all his lands in Burnham, Ashburnham, Dorney, Taplow, Heckam and Farnham. The executors were Philippa his wife, Richard Bulstrode, John Cheney and Richard Parsons.[122] In December he served on a commission to assign how many archers be supplied by Buckingham and to assess goods and chattels etc for the support of 205 archers. The same commission involved other Ockwells men: William Laken the elder (Shropshire); John Wenlock (Bedford) and the Abbots of Reading and Abingdon together with John Norreys, Edward Langford and John Pury (Berkshire).[123] Edmund died 1469, some years after making his will.

St Mary's Church Amersham. The memorial brasses for Edmund Brudenell and his wife Philippa née Englefield were once in the north aisle of the church

[119] CPR 1452-1461, p41. Thought to be a cadet of the family of Norreys of Bray (Wedgwood & Holt p639).
[120] Ibid 1452-1461, pp660-1.
[121] CPR 1452-1461, p557.
[122] Nicolas 1826, pp282-4, Collins & Brydges, p490-91. Richard Bulstrode was the son of Edmund's half-brother, William Bulstrode (18). William (Edmund refers to him as his brother) occurs in the entail of lands bequeathed by Edmund to sons Drue (Drew), John and Edmund. Richard Bulstrode, one of Edmund's executors was also an executor of the 1465 will of John Norreys Esq.
[123] CPR 1452-1461, pp406-408.

17. JOHN PURY of Chamberhouse in Thatcham, Berkshire (1415-1484)

"Of the Household" 1442-55; Esquire by 1448; MP Bridport 1447; Oxfordshire 1449; Berkshire 1472-75; JP Berkshire 1448-49 & 1452-63.[124]

Son and heir of Thomas Pury, a servant of Henry IV, and Maud Atmore, daughter of William Atte More of Cookham and Bray, Berkshire. He married by April 1439 firstly Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Isle (or de l'Isle), whose son, also Sir John, in 1439 settled on them the Little Park at Crookham and the nearby manor of Chamberhouse in Thatcham. Their daughter Mary died without issue. By October 1442 he had married Isabel, daughter of Waurne (Wawne) of Beverley, with whom he had a daughter Anne. He also had an illegitimate daughter Susan.[125] Anne married Sir William Danvers and had three sons, Thomas, John and William.[126]

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A peacock's head argent between two eagle's wings erect sable.

Blazon

Quarterly:
1 & 4: *Argent on a fess sable, between three martlets, as many mullets, all countercharged* – Pury.
2 & 3: *Argent, a chevron engrailed between three moor-cocks sable* – Ate More of Cookham.

Norreys Link

From the early 1440s, Pury's recorded association with William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, steward of the Household, became more frequent. He also became closely linked with an influential neighbour, John Norreys Esquire. In 1444, together with, Suffolk, John Norreys and others, Pury donated the manor of "le Mote" in Windsor to the king, who in turn granted it to Eton College.[127] In 1448, described as an Esquire, he was again with Norreys and the latter's kinsmen, including Edmund Brudenell, and business associates, in a group granted Hampstead Ferrers and other lands by Sir William Ferrers.[128] The Brudenell armorial occurs in the next light to Pury's. During the period 1448-52, together with John Norreys he served on Commissions of the Peace in Berkshire, and also with Edward Langford in 1452.[129] In

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[124] Wedgwood & Holt, pp702-3.
[125] Clark 2020e, pp260- 264, Everard Green, p335.
[126] See pedigree in Barfield II, opp p241.
[127] Tighe & Davis, v1, p341; Clark 2020e, p261, who notes that Pury acquired 300 acres of land from Suffolk in 1447 to expand the Chamberhouse estate. Suffolk's wife, Alice, was the widow of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1428) whose family had held land there for generations (Barfield v1, pp276-277).
[128] CPR 1446-52, pp277-8; Berkshire Feet of Fines vol 2, p61.
[129] CPR 1446-52, p586.

January of 1449 Pury and Norreys were granted an office of collector of tunnage and poundage in the port of London,[130] and in June Pury joined John Norreys, Edward Langford and others to conduct an inquisition in Berkshire regarding the construction of a mill on Lambourn water by the Prior of Poughley that had diverted the water.[131] In September Pury, with Norreys, Langford, the Abbots of Abingdon and Reading plus others, raised a loan in Berkshire for the war in Normandy and elsewhere.[132]

In April 1450 Pury executed a deed granting of all his goods and chattels to John Norreys, and Anne and Susan Pury among others by delivering a gold ring[133] - this being one month before the death of William de la Pole then Duke of Suffolk.[134] In 1451 a commitment was made to John Norreys Esquire, his brothers William and Roger and eldest son William, by mainprise of John Pury of Thatcham and Richard Bulstrode of Bray, *gentilman* (son of William), of the keeping of the lordship of Cookham & Bray for twenty years.[135] In December 1451 Pury was associated with John Norreys and his brothers in founding the Guild of SS Andrew & Mary Magdalene, one purpose of which was to repair Maidenhead bridge. In 1452, Pury with John Norreys, Sir John Lisle (probably his brother-in-law) and others served on a commission of *de kidellis* on the Thames.[136]

By a charter dated 1453 Pury obtained for four acres of meadow in the parish of *Cokeham* (Cookham); this was witnessed by John Norreys, steward of Bray, William Norreys and Roger Norreys and two others.[137] In 1459 Pury served on the Commission of Array in Berkshire with among others, John Norreys, and Edmund Brudenell, to resist the rebellion of Richard, Duke of York. In 1476 Pury came to court in Cookham with others including William Bulstrode, brother-in-law of John Norreys, and John, Lord Howard, married to John Norreys' widow, Margaret Chedworth. Roger Norreys, John's half-brother, and William Bulstrode were among those elected to the office of Receiver of the Queen's rents.[138] Pury died in 1484 and was buried in St Mary's church, Thatcham, leaving as sole heiress the issue of his second marriage, Anne, who subsequently married Sir William Danvers (d.1509), one of the Justices of the Common Bench.[139] In 1530 Anne in her will wrote *I give my body to be buried in the church at Thatcham in a chapel newly made by me in a vault of fayer bricke; where an honest priest is to pray for my dear friends, for me, and for my children.*[140]

St Mary's Church, Thatcham. The Chamberhouse Chapel, at the east end of the south aisle, was built by John Pury's daughter Anne, of "fayer bricke". It was faced in stone and flint during the Victorian restoration (from information in the church)

130 Ibid, p206.
131 CPR 1446-52, p271.
132 Ibid, p279.
133 Barfield v1, pp109, 279-280; II, pp163-164.
134 Barfield v1, p280.
135 CFR 1445-52, p229.
136 CPR 1448-52, p578.
137 CCR 1447-54, p47.
138 Darby Notebook vol 11, p29.
139 Barfield v1, p280.
140 McNamara, pp183-189.

18. WILLIAM BULSTRODE of Upton, Buckinghamshire (d. after 1479)

Brother-in-law of John Norreys Esquire.

Son of Agnes Bulstrode and John Shobington/Chopinden, her second husband. William took his mother's name quartering his father's coat with his mother's but keeping his father's crest. He married Agnes Norreys, sister of John Norreys Esquire. They had nine sons and two daughters. He was the half-brother of Edmund Brudenell, son of Agnes by her first husband, William Brudenell.

Armorial Achievement

Crest

A squirrel sejeant gules, holding in his dexter paw a bunch of nuts or – the crest of the Shopington/Chopinden family.

Blazon

Quarterly:
1 & 4: *Sable, a buck's head caboshed argent, attired and ensigned with a cross or, pierced through the nose with an arrow barwise of the last* – Bulstrode.
2 & 3: *Argent, a chevron gules. Between three squirrels sejeant sable* –
Shobington/Chopinden.

Everard Green identified this armorial as for Richard Bulstrode (d.1502), his eldest son, but it can be identified as the father for the following reasons:
a) William Bulstrode was alive in 1479, long after the armorial glass at Ockwells was put up.
b) There are no difference marks on the armorial to indicate an eldest son.
c) William was the brother-in-law of John Norreys and the half-brother of Edmund Brudenell whose armorial is also at Ockwells.

Norreys Link

Little information has been found on this man's career. He is glimpsed through the records left by his children and his half-brother, Edmund Brudenell. It appears that the main asset of his mother, Agnes Bulstrode – i.e. Bulstrode Manor, in the parish of Chalfont St Peter –

remained with her children from her first marriage to William Brudenell.[141] This may account for the low profile of William Bulstrode, son of her second marriage to John Shobington. It appears William's only asset was the manor of Upton, presumably held from Merton Priory who owned it from the twelfth century until the Dissolution.[142] It is suggested that the family connection with his wife's brother, John Norreys Esquire, an influential courtier, benefitted William's son Richard, who entered the service of Queen Margaret of Anjou when Norreys became Treasurer of the Chamber and Keeper of the Jewels of the Queen (1445-52).[143] Richard's career seems to have improved the family fortunes, as on his death he held a lot of land in Buckinghamshire, land including holdings in Upton, Hugeley and Chalvey.[144]

In 1447 Richard, *gentilman,* together with another of his Norreys kinfolk, received from a London skinner custody of his goods & chattels. It is suggested Richard was attached to Norreys' retinue, possibly living with his uncle.[145] Records also show an Easter 1448 commitment to John Norreys Esquire, William his son, William and Roger Norreys (his brothers) by mainprise of Richard Bulstrode of Cokeham, *gentilman* and Thomas Crychefeld of Bray, *gentilman*, of the keeping of the lordship of Cookham & Bray for twenty years.[146] In 1451 this was renewed by mainprise of Richard Bulstrode, now of Bray, and John Pury of Thatcham who had replaced Crychefeld.[147]

Throughout the 1450s, William Bulstrode's son Richard continued to be close to John Norreys, assisting him in the acquisition of property. Norreys is regarded as his most important associate.[148] In January 1453 Richard was paid for materials and wages for a *disgisyng*e at the royal manor of Pleasaunce. Evidently, he had been responsible for organising the Christmas revels. In the same month he paid for silks and cloth of gold purchased for the Queen.[149] Norreys was then Keeper of her Wardrobe. Together with John Norreys Esquire, he was granted Fulscot manor in South Moreton.[150] In 1463 Richard Bulstrode was involved in a deed of entail involving properties in Mapledurham owned by John Norreys Esquire.[151] Richard was also named as executor in the will of John Norreys dated 1465. Ca.1455 Richard married Alice Knyffe, daughter and heir of Richard Knyffe of Chalvey. Chalvey is adjacent to the Bulstrode holding of Upton.[152]

In 1457 William, half-brother of Edmund Brudenell, is mentioned in the latter's will, proved 1469.[153] William's son Richard Bulstrode was an executor. Agnes his wife died in April 1472 and was buried in St Laurence's Church, Upton. In 1860 a slab showed matrices of William Bulstrode (her husband) and also a brass of their children with an inscription, both now lost, reading (original in Latin): *Pray for the souls of William Bulstrode and Agnes his wife, daughter of William Norrys of Bray and for the souls of Richard, Robert, Isabella, John, William, Edmund, Agnes,*

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[141] Hugeley Bulstrode was alienated to Edmund Brudenell in 1449 (VCH Buckinghamshire, vol 3, p278-281) perhaps indicating it was also part of Agnes's assets. It is thought William Brudenell (his father) is buried in the church at Hugeley (Hedgerley) Bulstrode that once had the arms he bore in its windows i.e. Brudenell impaling Bulstrode (Collins & Brydges p489). Edward Bulstrode, grandson of Agnes and William Bulstrode is said to have been of Hugeley Bulstrode (Visitation of Buckinghamshire in 1634, 1909, p13) so the Bulstrodes may have regained the manor.

[142] VCH Buckinghamshire, vol 3, pp314-318).

[143] Clark 2020c, p633.

[144] See *CIPM* Henry VII, Vol 2, 1915, no. 627, pp395-6.

[145] Clark 2020c, p633.

[146] CFR 1445-1452, p110.

[147] CFR 1445-1452, p229.

[148] Clark 2020c, p634.

[149] Clark 2020c, p634.

[150] Berkshire Feet of Fines Part II no 1416, p71.

[151] Cooke, p78.

[152] Clark 2020c, pp633-634.

[153] Nicolas 1826, pp282-284.

Thomas, Roger, Henry and George children of the aforesaid William Bulstrode and Agnes which Agnes, the mother died April 12 A.D. 1472 and in the 11th year of the reign of King Edward IV. And the aforesaid William Bulstrode, the father, in the year of his life (not filled in).[154] All that remains of their monument is a brass of a woman kneeling, enveloped in a shroud (see photo below).

During 1472-75 Richard (d.1502) was the MP for Bucks. He was appointed Sheriff in 1473, described as "Richard Bulstrode Esq of Hedgerley".[155] But it was William who in October 1476 came to the manor court in Cookham with others including John, Lord Howard Knt, by then married to John Norreys widow, Margaret Chedworth, and John Pury Esq, regarding a land issue when the tenants of the manor elected to the office of Receiver of the Queen's rents that year several men including William, Roger Norreys, possibly the half-brother of John Norreys Esquire and Thomas *Batham* (sic), who was elected Bedell.[156] Also in 1476 he was appointed as a justice with others including his cousin, William Norreys Knt (eldest son of John Norreys Esquire), *Drugo* (sic) Brudenell (his kinsman) and William Danvers, (son-in-law of John Pury) to survey the River Thames and determine offences concerning the erection of weirs, mills etc.[157]

Another son, William, a citizen and draper of London, wrote his will on 28 December 1478 naming his brother Robert and wife Joan as executors and his father William and brother Richard as supervisors.[158] He wished to be buried at Beaconsfield, almost certainly in the church of St Mary's & All Saints where his brother, Robert's, tomb is extant.

William the father was still alive in 1479 as he was mentioned in his son William's Inquisition Post Mortem. Before William's death William Norreys Knt and Roger Bulstrode, gentleman, had enfeoffed William Bulstrode senior, Richard Bulstrode and William Bulstrode, citizen and draper, with Bradley (Bradwells) in the manor of Cookham held of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV.[159] William senior and his son Richard still held Bradley after William junior's death. Agnes Norreys and her husband, William Bulstrode, were buried in St Laurence's Church, Upton by Chalvey, as were several of their descendants. Extant brasses occur for Edward Bulstrode (d.1517) and Edward Bulstrode (d.1598) together with a stone monument for Henry Bulstrode (d.1632); see below.[160]

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[154] See Records of Buckinghamshire vol 7 1892, p78 and vol 9 1909, p248; and Baker J H, 2004, p103. The date should be April 11 Edward IV is 1471 not 1472 – probably an accidental error. His son William's name was omitted from the transcribed inscription but that there were nine sons and two daughters is evident from the rubbing of the children's brass as well as the inscription (both lost). Browne Willis in 1733 recorded the figure of Agnes and inscription in 1733 together with arms of Bulstrode quartered with Shobington on a surviving shield, (also lost - see Baker J H, 2004, pp102-103); this is the same as the Ockwells coat.

[155] Cooke, p78.

[156] Darby's Notebook vol 11, p29. Bapham with Norreys, his brothers and John Pury, had founded the Guild of SS Andrew & Mary Magdalene in Maidenhead in 1451.

[157] CPR 1476-1485, p23 (Commission of *de kidellis*).

[158] Clark 2020c, p634.

[159] Darby's Notebook vol 18, pp135-6 that transcribes the Inquisition Post Mortem (IPM) of William Bulstrode citizen & draper (d.1478). The IPM also notes that William Norreys Knt and Roger Bulstrode had enfeoffed William Bulstrode & Richard Bulstrode Esq, William Noreys (sic) of the Inner Temple & Richard Batt citizen & draper of London with the manor of Pynkneys and other lands & tenements. This manor is remembered by the National Trust common of Pinkneys Green near Maidenhead.

[160] Bulstrode memorials are found at St Mary & All Saints Church, Beaconsfield: the tomb of William's son Robert Bulstrode bearing crescent of 2nd son; and at St Mary's Ewelme: brasses for Thomas Broke (d.1518) and Anne Bulstrode, his wife, William's granddaughter (alive 1535) (Napier pp204, 338-9).

St Laurence's Church, Upton by Chalvey

Left: brass of Agnes Bulstrode née Norreys, sister of John Norreys and wife of William Bulstrode
Right: coats of Bulstrode, Norreys and Shobington on the monument of a descendent, Henry Bulstrode (d.1632), in St Laurence's Church, Upton

Early Attempts to Identify Personalities Represented in the Glass

The identification of the personalities represented by their armorial achievements, detailed above, is based on heraldic and biographical research and represents current thinking. There have been two previous published attempts to do this, the first by Lysons in 1813 (his page 449) and the second by Everard Green in 1899. Later authors repeated these identifications. The table on page 104 shows where the identities have changed and where they have stayed the same.

In 1765 the first known drawings of this unique armorial glass were made by Sir Thomas Reeve who mostly drew the coat rather than the whole achievement. In the nineteenth century these were copied by Charles Kerry but not included in his 1861 book on the history of Bray. Kerry's notebook containing his copied drawings is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[161] Unfortunately, Reeve's original drawings have not so far been located, so the author of the labels in unclear. An example of Kerry's drawings is shown below.

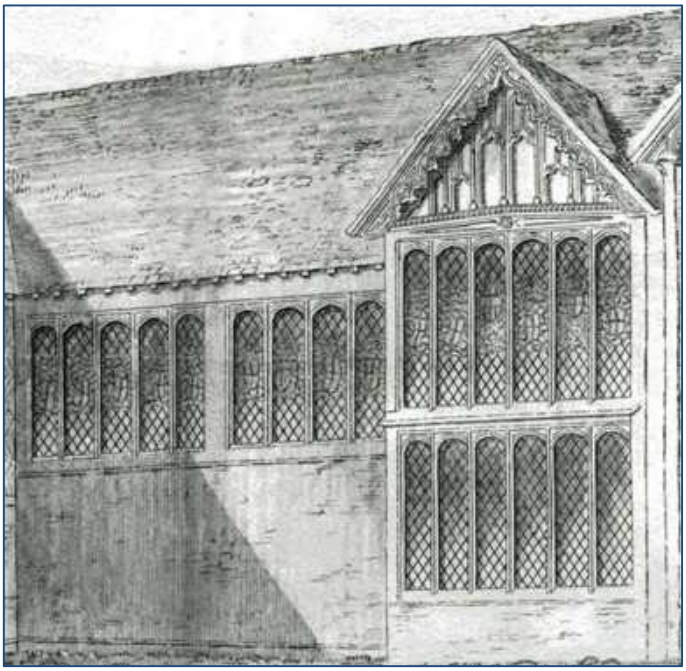
Page 118 from Kerry's notebook (copyright: Bodleian Library)

[161] Kerry's notebook Vol II, pp118-121. This cites additional information on the glass in vol IV of his notebooks but unfortunately this is not possessed by the Bodleian.

In 1798 the *Gentleman's Magazine* published comments about the armorial glass indicating some damage. The authenticity of the glass, including remarks on possible damage and alterations, is assessed in more detail in the full book.

In 1899 Everard Green, in describing the stained glass, said "*What the scheme of the heraldic glass was at Ockwells it is now difficult to say".* His conclusion was based on the idea that there was once additional heraldic glass in the hall windows "*so that a considerable part of the story is lost".* He added "*the other difficulty is that the glass having been removed to Taplow Court, the original order of the shields is now lost".*[162]

Lysons' drawing of 1806, the earliest known drawing of the east front of the house, shows a single row of shields, as now.[163] There is no evidence that there was once additional heraldic glass in this front or elsewhere in the great hall.



Detail from Lysons' drawing of the east front, showing a single row of armorials in the oriel window

Everard Green's second difficulty can be overcome by the realisation that although the armorial glass was removed for safe-keeping to Taplow Court in the mid-nineteenth century, because there were fears that the roof would fall, a coloured illustration of the hall windows was made before removal and published by Knight in 1847.[164] Particular individual armorial achievements are identifiable from the illustration and show that the achievements were put back in the original order. The only armorials not in the original order are the ones in the side window of the oriel that were not visible in the illustration.[165] Green's other actual difficulty was that he had not identified correctly all the personalities represented by the armorial glass. The identification of the shields described above shows that Norreys had a clear scheme for the armorial glass he put up, involving his relatives and colleagues, which portrays a set of people contemporary with each other rather than an "*apparently haphazard assembly"* as previously assumed.[166]

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[162] Everard Green, p324.

[163] In his drawing the royal achievements, today in lights 3 & 5, are shown in lights 2 & 4, but this is a drafting error as in 1798 they were in the same lights as now (see *Gentleman's Magazine* vol LXVIII Part II, p762).

[164] Knight's *Olde England*, 1847 vol II opposite page 108. Charles Knight, a publisher in Windsor, invented by 1839 a way of printing colour plates at a low price for the mass market. Vol I was published in 1845. See http://www.historyofinformation.com/expanded.php?id=3645 for more on Charles Knight's printing.

[165] The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1798 (Pt II, p762) describes the original order of coats in the side of the oriel that can be identified as, from left to right: Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury; defaced coat with mitre; Abbey of Abingdon.

[166] See Hussey, II, p97.

Comparison of the Identification of the Armorial Achievements in the Windows of the Great Hall of Ockwells Manor House

No	Present Work	Everard Green 1899	Lysons 1813
1	HENRY BEAUCHAMP 1425-1446	HENRY BEAUCHAMP	HENRY Duke of Warwick
2	EDMUND BEAUFORT 1406-1455	EDMUND BEAUFORT	BEAUFORT Duke of Somerset
3	MARGARET OF ANJOU 1429-1482	MARGARET OF ANJOU	MARGARET OF ANJOU
4	WILLIAM DE LA POLE 1396-1450	John de la Pole William's son	DE LA POLE Duke of Suffolk
5	HENRY VI 1421-1471	HENRY VI	HENRY VI
6	JAMES BUTLER 4th Earl of Ormond c.1390-1452	James Butler 5th Earl of Ormond	
7	ABBEY OF ABINGDON	ABBEY OF ABINGDON	Abbey of Westminster
7a	Missing - probably the ABBEY OF READING		
8	RICHARD BEAUCHAMP d.1481	RICHARD BEAUCHAMP	William Beauchamp, Richard's brother
9	JOHN NORREYS 1405-1466	JOHN NORREYS	JOHN NORREYS
10	JOHN WENLOCK 1400-1471	JOHN WENLOCK	My lord WENLOCK
11	WILLIAM LAKEN[167] d.1475	WILLIAM LACON	WILLIAM LACON
12	HUGH MORTIMER d.1460	Mortimer of Chirk	Edmund, last earl of March
13	JOHN NANFAN 1400-ca.1462	Richard Nanfan	Richard Nanfan, John's son
14	JOHN NORREYS 1405-1466	JOHN NORREYS	JOHN NORREYS
15	EDWARD LANGFORD 1417-1474	John Langford – Edward's grandson	
16	EDMUND BRUDENELL d.1469	De la Beche family	
17	JOHN PURY 1415-1484	JOHN PURY	JOHN PURY
18	WILLIAM BULSTRODE d. after 1479	Richard Bulstrode William's son	Bulstrode quartering Shobington

(NAMES in capitals are regarded as correct)

In 1798 a heraldic description of the armorial glass was published but the only identities given were the Abbey of Abingdon and the arms of Mortimer and also England.[168]

[167] Name changed from Lacon to Laken based on his memorial brass in St Michael's Church, Bray.
[168] *Gentleman's Magazine* 1798 vol LXVIII Pt II, p762.

Dating the Armorial Glass

The glass can be dated to between 1450 and 1454 for the following reasons:

- It was put up when Norreys was married to his second wife as only the armorials of his first and second wives (he had three altogether) occur in the great hall. As his first wife, Alice Merbrooke, was still alive in ca.1449[169] the glazing cannot date from earlier than 1450. By 1450 Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, was already dead; during 1450 Henry's wife, Cicely Neville died, and William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was executed. They are all represented in the armorial glass.
- Similar armorials for Norreys and his first two wives, Alice Merbrooke and Eleanor Clitheroe, once occurred in the windows of Yattendon Church and can be securely dated because Elias Ashmole in the mid-seventeenth century recorded an inscription that said Norreys had rebuilt it in the year 32 Henry VI (Sept 1453-Aug 1454). Norreys' first wife, Alice, had brought Yattendon, West Berkshire, to her husband and when he rebuilt the church there he put up the armorial glass.

Detail from Ashmole 850 of armorials at Yattendon for John Norreys and his second wife Eleanor Clitheroe (from left 2nd and 4th) and his first wife Alice Merbrooke (5th)

- At Yattendon, as well as the armorials, Ashmole recorded figures for Norreys, his two wives and five children, three sons and two daughters. Alice had only two sons so the third must be Eleanor's. Assuming Alice, his first wife, died in 1450, the earliest the glazing at Ockwells could have been put up would be a couple of years later, giving time for his marriage to Eleanor and the birth of a son – so probably in the period 1453-1454.
- The roof of the Yattendon church and the hall at Ockwells are thought to be by the same architect.[170]
- Eleanor is thought to have died by October 1457.
- The glazing at Yattendon and Ockwells must have been done before he married a third time, to Margaret Chedworth, ca.1459.

In the years 1450-1454 there was tumult in England. In 1450 Normandy was lost resulting in the Duke of Suffolk being blamed and executed. Gascony was finally lost in July 1453 and shortly after this Henry VI suffered a mental collapse resulting in Richard, Duke of York, being appointed Protector. York's struggle with the Duke of Somerset then led to the start of the Wars of the Roses in 1455. From 1453 Norreys' career began to decline.

[169] In TNA E101/410/2 an account of John Norreys as treasurer of the chamber and custodian of the jewels of the Queen 27-28 Hen.VI (1448-9) records Alice receiving a gift from the queen of a silver-gilt cup showing she was still alive at some point in this accounting year i.e. after September 1448 (pers.comm Linda Clark).
[170] Everard Green, p334, note d.

The Norreys Family after the Death of John Norreys Esquire

The 1465 will of John Norreys, apart from leaving money for the *full bilding and making uppe of the Chapell with the Chambres ajoyning with'n my manoir of Okholt*, has no other mention of Ockwells.

John Norreys died in 1466 so was alive when Richard, Duke of York's son, Edward, seized the throne in 1461 as Edward IV. On the chimneypiece in the great hall, this king's badge, the rose en soleil, is crudely carved, perhaps as a placatory gesture in a room containing the armorials of Henry VI, the king Edward replaced.

Within four months of Norreys' death, his widow Margaret had married Sir John Howard (later 1st Howard Duke of Norfolk), as his second wife and, despite Norreys' will, which gave her a reasonable part of his goods and chattels to the value of 1,000 marks (ca. £667) if she remarried, Margaret held for life a very substantial part of the inheritance of Sir William Norreys, John's eldest son.[171] Probably Edward IV facilitated the marriage of Howard to the now rich widow, as he had had the king's patronage since the battle of Towton (1461) when Edward seized the throne.[172] In January 1467 Margaret was living in Bray, almost certainly at *Okholt*, when her new husband sent her wedding gifts from his house in London.[173] It appears that she retained control of the manor of *Okholt*, which was returned to Sir William after her death in 1494.

Also, by 1467, the church of Holy Trinity in Long Melford, Suffolk, was being rebuilt with help from Sir John Howard,[174] whose figure in stained glass together with his relatives was still in its windows in 1637.[175] In that year it was seen and drawn by Henry Lilly, Rouge Dragon, who noted that when the figure was put up he was not yet Duke of Norfolk. Sir John's figure is now lost, but fortunately, that of his wife, Margaret, is extant as is the figure of Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk, née Talbot and other relatives.[176] Perhaps Norreys' assets helped Howard contribute to the rebuilding at Long Melford; the nearby Stoke by Nayland church where he completed the work of his grandfather; and his own chapel at Tendring Hall.[177]

As the senior co-heir Howard could expect to inherit the Mowbray estates. However, by 1481 Howard's prospects had already dimmed. Edward IV had married his younger son, Richard, Duke of York, to Lady Anne Mowbray, heiress of the fourth Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, an Act of Parliament ensuring that the prince would enjoy the Mowbray estates for life even if she predeceased him. She died in 1481 leaving Richard as Duke of Norfolk in right of his wife, so that Howard found his inheritance blocked, considered to be reason enough for Howard to support the king's brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, after Edward's death in 1483.[178]

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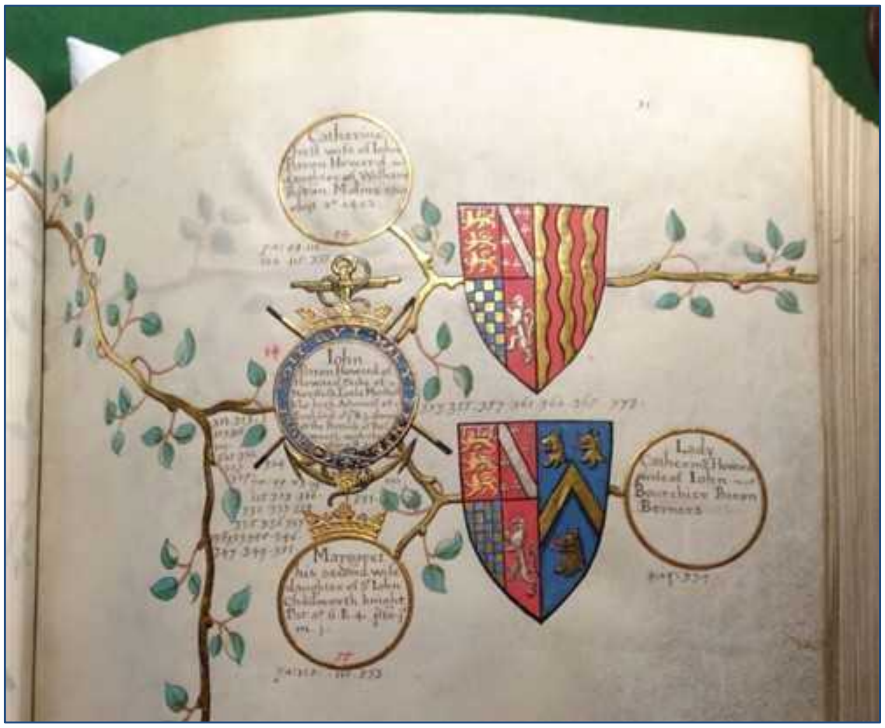
[171] Clark 2020b, p681, who suggests that resentment against his stepmother's husband, Lord Howard, now elevated to the dukedom of Norfolk, and still in possession of his paternal inheritance may have played a part in William's rebellion in September 1483 after the throne was seized by Richard III.
[172] Eavis, p100.
[173] Paston Letters 1924, revised 1956, pp37-39.
[174] Eavis, p83.
[175] The glazing is dated to 1481-2 as the clerestory was not finished until 1481 (Eavis, p101).
[176] For a comparison of figures of the Howards seen by Henry Lilly in 1637 and extant in 2019 (see Darracott 2022). Lilly's magnificent work is in the archives of Arundel Castle, seat of the Dukes of Norfolk.
[177] See Eavis, pp101-102 for his building activities and career.
[178] Robinson, p6.

Figures of Elizabeth Mowbray (née Talbot) and Margaret Howard (née Chedworth) in Long Melford Church



The family tree of the Howards showing the two marriages of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk KG, illustrated by the impaled coats. In Henry Lilly's 1637 tome "The Genealogie of the Princelie familie of the Howards" (reproduced courtesy of the Duke of Norfolk)

William and John, John Norreys' sons by Alice, had prospered under King Edward IV. William was a king's knight and John an esquire of the body.[179] When Edward unexpectedly died, John, on 17th April 1483, helped carry Edward's corpse to the Abbey. Later, the cortege, led by John, Lord Howard, as King's Bannerer, progressed from Westminster Abbey to St George's Chapel, Windsor, for the funeral – a chapel, then incomplete, that the king had built.[180] His son and heir, Edward V, had ridden into London in May with an escort that included John Norreys.[181] In the power struggle that followed Howard was as one of the lords who induced the queen, who had taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, to allow her younger son, Richard, Duke of York and Norfolk, to leave sanctuary and join his brother Edward V in the Tower. It is thought her son was surrendered on 16th June, as on that date Howard's Household Book accounts record *8 botes uppe and down from Westminster*.[182] On 22nd June, Edwards' sons were declared bastards; on 26th June Gloucester was hailed king as Richard III and on 28th June Howard was created Duke of Norfolk.[183]

Although William Norreys took part in Richard's coronation[184] and his brother was promoted by the new king,[185] they both rebelled, with William leading the Berkshire contingent during the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion in Sept 1483 together with their brother-in-law John Harcourt Esquire.[186] It is said that the original plan was to put Edward V on the throne and this only became a bid to replace Richard with Henry Tudor when it became clear that the princes were dead;[187] they were dead by early to mid-July.[188] Both brothers were to be attainted; however, John secured a pardon[189] and avoided attainder, being taken to the king by the Duke of Norfolk, in Feb 1484,[190] who seems to have had his custody.[191] Perhaps Margaret, the brothers' stepmother, persuaded her husband to help. The pardon was perhaps a favour to Howard from Richard III. It would also have helped that the second cousin of the Norreys brothers was William Catesby, regarded as one of the closest allies of the king.[192]

William may have joined Henry Tudor in Brittany and appears to have fought against Richard III and the Duke of Norfolk at Bosworth in 1485. The new king, Henry VII, reversed his attainder and rewarded him, but not his brother John who had obtained a pardon from Richard III. William and his son Edward supported Henry against the pretender Lambert Simnel in 1487, Edward being knighted at the battle of Stoke. Also knighted was a William *Norrys*.[193] Somehow this has created the myth that Sir William Norreys (John Norreys Esquire's son) was a banneret at the battle of Stoke. This Sir William was knighted by Henry VI at the battle of Northampton in 1460.[194] The William knighted at Stoke has been identified as one of the Norris family of Speke.[195]

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[179] Gill, p33.
[180] Tighe & Davis, vol 1, p392. Howard also carried the kings' banner to the Abbey at the head of the cortege (an eyewitness account in Ibid pp391-394).
[181] Gill, p60.
[182] Note by Armstrong in Mancini p124 note 74.
[183] Kendall, p227.
[184] Clark 2020b, p682.
[185] Gill, p62.
[186] Both were attainted (Ibid p179). Harcourt died in exile in June 1484 (Ibid p98).
[187] Ibid, p93.
[188] Ibid, p63.
[189] His pardon describes him as *late of Yatenden co Berks, Esquire, alias late of London* (CPR 1476-1485, p458).
[190] Gill, pp97, 107, and 179. Their brother-in-law, John Harcourt Esq, was also attainted, dying in exile in 1484 (Ibid, p108, pp176, 179). He left Stanton Harcourt to his widow Anne (Norreys) (Baggs et al, p7).
[191] Clark 2020b, p683.
[192] Horrox 1993, p59.
[193] Shaw vol II, p25; Metcalfe, p17; Herald's report of ca.1488-90 transcribed in Bennett, p129.
[194] Shaw vol II, p12.
[195] Lumby, page vi. Metcalf, p17 does not give arms for this Sir William Norrys (sic).

When William finally inherited the bulk of his father's estates in Bray and elsewhere on the Duchess of Norfolk's death in 1494, he became a very wealthy man.[196] The duchess appears to have been active in managing her estates for in 1489 when Roger Norreys was elected Beadle, she came to court in Cookham with others including the Prior of Bisham over a tenancy dispute.[197] This suggests she still resided at Ockwells on occasion as it would be convenient for attending court at Windsor Castle.

William evidently had some resources as in 1493, the year before Margaret, his stepmother, died, he purchased messuages, land, meadow, pasture and rents in Cookham from Thomas and Richard Bullok.[198] William died in 1507 having had, like his father, three wives. His third wife, Anne Horne, was closely related to Sir Thomas Fettiplace who married Williams' daughter Elizabeth and inherited Ockwells.[199]

Today this family is best known for the unfortunate Henry Norreys Esquire, great-grandson of John Norreys Esquire, who was beheaded in 1536 having been accused of adultery with Anne Boleyn. It is said that the Norreys family in the sixteenth century obtained the head of Henry Norreys and buried it in their private chapel at Ockwells. It is suggested that Elizabeth I ennobled his son Henry, Lord of Rycote, because his father had protested Anne's innocence.[200] Anne was descended from another lord represented by armorial glass at Ockwells, James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond .

It is unclear who lived at Ockwells after Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, stepmother of Sir William Norreys, died in 1494. The main residence of the Norreys family seems to have been in Yattendon but Ockwells, as noted above, would have been convenient for the court in Windsor.

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196 Clark 2020b, p684.

197 Darby's Notebook vol 10, p16 (unpub ms in Maidenhead Library). Thomas Bulstrode and Thomas Langford also involved in the dispute are probably descendants of men represented at Ockwells.

198 Berkshire Feet of Fines II no 1501 p98. This has been identified as a second manor in Cookham. He bequeathed it in 1507 to his son William with remainder in moieties to sons Lionel and Richard; the other manor was White Place, extant until 2018 as a farm (VCH Berkshire, vol 3, p128).

199 In 1490 Sir William Norys (sic) together with William Fetyplace (Fettiplace), Thomas's brother and William Besels, father-in-law of Richard, another brother, were gifted lands in Shinfield, Whitley and Reading (Berkshire Feet of Fines II no 1496, p96). By 1490 he must already have been married to Anne Horne half-sister of the Fetyplace brothers.

200 It is said that Henry VIII offered Henry Norreys his life if he would confess his guilt. This he nobly rejected saying "*That in his conscience he thought the queen innocent; and that he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent person* (Burke 1883, p403). Napier, pp343-346 also transcribes the legal proceedings leading to the execution of Lord Rochford, (Anne's brother), Henry Norreys, Mark Smeaton, William Bryerton (Brereton), Sir Francis Weston and the queen, Anne Boleyn). Among the list of lords & knights summoned in April 1536 for the trial of these men and the queen was Sir Thomas Englefield, father of Sir Francis, who would later marry Katherine Fettiplace, daughter of Elizabeth Norreys, and cousin of Henry Norreys. Francis and Katherine would live for a time at Ockwells.

Abbreviations, References and Sources

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls, HMSO
CFR	Calendar of Fine Rolls, HMSO
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls, HMSO
HEA	Historic England Archive
M.Ad	*Maidenhead Advertiser*
MCS	Maidenhead Civic Society (*www.maidenheadcivicsoc.org.uk*)
NT	National Trust
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RBWM	Royal Borough of Windsor & Maidenhead
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
Ry.F	Rymer's Foedera
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria County History

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