



Great Malvern Priory

**Rebuilding of the Quire
in the 15th Century**

Ann Darracott



**THE REBUILDING OF THE QUIRE OF
GREAT MALVERN PRIORY IN THE 15TH
CENTURY**

AND ITS LINK WITH

RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, HIS WIFE
ISABEL DESPENSER, RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK AND
JOHN CARPENTER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER

by

Ann Darracott

Maidenhead Civic Society
Ockwells Project



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in the 15th Century.

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PREFACE

This study began because it was hoped that the identification of who was represented by the Mortimer of Chirk coat that can still be seen on medieval tiles at Great Malvern and that once occurred in a window of St Anne's chapel there would help identify who was represented by the same coat, in stained glass, that can still be seen in the great hall of Ockwells Manor house, near Maidenhead in Berkshire. The study of the history of this house, built circa 1450, by John Norreys (Norys, Norris) Esquire to the Body of Henry VI, is a project of Maidenhead Civic Society. The work at Malvern has helped identify the Mortimer of Chirk coat at Ockwells as representing Sir Hugh Mortimer d 1460.

The paper could not have been written were it not for the work of early historians. Thomas Habington, in the 17th century, confined to Worcestershire because of his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot, made the first record of heraldry in stained glass and on tiles in the Priory. He was followed by Dr William Thomas who added to Habington's work and by Arthur Way who first identified the Founders Window and published the first drawings of some of the tiles. James Nott transcribed much useful material. In the 20th century the monumental work of Gordon McNeill Rushforth on Malvern's stained glass was of invaluable help in identifying who was represented by many of the shields that are or were once in the Priory.

I would like to thank several people associated with the Priory for their help, particularly John McGregor, former Custos and co-author of a useful booklet on the tiles, who gave much helpful advice, and Geoff Fearnough and Alan Pardoe who both helped with digital photography of the 1453 Tile Scheme and the shields in St Anne's Chapel respectively. I would also like to thank Linda Clark of the History of Parliament Trust for making available to me unpublished work on the Berkeleys of Beverstone and for answering many queries and Professor Ralph Griffiths of University of Swansea, our foremost authority on the reign of Henry VI, for reading an earlier draft of the paper and making many helpful suggestions. Beverley Nenck, Curator of Medieval Ceramics at the British Museum, was a great help in resolving a query relating to Abbot Seabrooke's pavement at Gloucester and I am also grateful to Brian Sanderson, a member of Maidenhead Civic Society, for designing the front cover

Finally I would like to thank my husband Brian (John McGregor called him "your very patient husband") for taking innumerable photographs, driving me to very many churches (many thanks to their churchwardens also) and for reading and editing several versions of this paper.

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SUMMARY

This study is a product of Maidenhead Civic Society's Ockwells Project which is concerned with the study of the history of a fifteenth century manor house - Ockwells Manor, near Maidenhead - which is noted for its armorial stained glass in the Great Hall. Ockwells was built circa 1450 by John Norreys (Norys, Norris) Esq., and his armorial achievements can still be seen there, together with those of his King, Henry VI, and Queen, Margaret of Anjou. Norreys was a retainer of Richard Beauchamp, the famous Earl of Warwick, and his wife, Isabel Despenser, and the achievement of their son Henry and his wife Cecily Neville also occurs at Ockwells. When on a visit to Great Malvern Priory, I noticed the Beauchamp coat and then that of Mortimer of Chirk (a cadet line of the Mortimers) on several of the medieval wall tiles. The latter coat also occurs in stained glass in the Great Hall at Ockwells. As there was no convincing identification of who was represented by this coat at Ockwells, the Malvern study was undertaken to see if it would elucidate who bore this cadet coat in the mid fifteenth century.

The study required the reconstruction of the various heraldic schemes put in place when the Priory was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. This was enormously helped by the descriptions of the heraldry made by Thomas Habington in the 17th century when he was confined to Worcestershire because of his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot. The reconstructions can be summarised as follows:

Great East Window: Originally had a stone shield bearing the Beauchamp coat above the window, plus perhaps shields bearing the coats of Despenser and Clare. The Beauchamp shield is still extant, though now over a door in the north transept. The window includes some suns and white roses suggesting an involvement of Richard, Duke of York.

St Anne's Chapel:

East Window: Originally had heraldry for the marriage of Richard Beauchamp and Isabel Despenser.

South Windows: Bore shields, many still extant, representing various families many of whom were related and with connections to the Beauchamp family or to Richard, Duke of York. Of particular interest was a quartered shield recorded by Habington in one of the windows bearing the Mortimer of Chirk coat. Evidence indicates that this represented Sir Hugh Mortimer (d 1460), a contemporary of Richard, Duke of York. There are or were also coats for Monington, Cowley, Whitney, Walwin, Ruyhale, Brugge, Croft, Paucefot, Herbert, Hanley and probably Corbet.

The Quire Clerestory

It is suggested that the major donors who paid for the rebuilding of the quire are those lords represented by shields in the clerestory. The south clerestory once or still has shields for Henry VI, Richard, Duke of York (Isabel Despenser's cousin), John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick, the Earl of Ulster, Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton and Sir Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone. The north clerestory has shields for St Edward the Confessor / Westminster Abbey and may once have had shields for the Bishop of Worcester.

The 1453 Wall Tile Scheme, a Benefactor's Wall. This dated tile scheme, the remains of which is still on the apse wall, seems to be a chronology of the founders and patrons of the Priory erected to supplement the Founders window in the north clerestory. The tile bearing the Mortimer of Chirk coat occurs on the same tile as Bohun suggesting that the Mortimer here represented was Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirk, (d 1326) and his contemporary Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford & Essex, (d. 1322), perhaps commemorating their patronage in the 14th century when some work was done on the Priory. In this scheme and on other tiles the coats of Beauchamp and Despenser and their ancestors also occur.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his wife, Isabel Despenser, as Lords of the Manor, were almost certainly patrons of the Priory when alive. They both died in 1439 and while the rebuilding of the Priory may well have begun by then, possibly in 1435, the study suggests that the rebuilding of the quire, where the new altars were consecrated by John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, in 1460, was done partly as a memorial to them and also to the founders and later patrons of the Priory. In the quire portraits of donors occur in stained glass and on the armrests of the choir-stalls. The armrests and the misericords of the stalls also feature the badges of some donor families.

It is not certain that John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester (1444-1476) was involved in this work but he was a noted builder. It is well known that the tower of Great Malvern Priory rebuilt in the mid fifteenth century is very similar to the tower of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (now the cathedral), rebuilt around the same time. Both are based on the design of the tower of Worcester Cathedral built in the late 14th century. It seems likely that Carpenter as Bishop of Worcester would have been involved.

THE REBUILDING OF THE QUIRE OF GREAT MALVERN PRIORY IN THE 15TH CENTURY

1. INTRODUCTION

The Benedictine Priory of Great Malvern was founded in 1085¹, during the reign of William the Conqueror, but little is known of the early church. The present church is a fifteenth century reconstruction of the Norman church², rebuilt on the same site (Fig 1). The presbytery, quire and quire aisles were rebuilt entirely and a new tower raised upon the Norman tower piers³. In the nave the Norman piers and arches were retained and new walls with clerestory windows built upon them.⁴ The semi-circle of the apse of the earlier church⁵ was retained to back the altar.

The quire is thought to have been completed by July 1460 when the High Altar and seven other altars were consecrated by Bishop John Carpenter.⁶ How much of the rest of the church was built by 1460 is not clear. Either the alterations to the nave were after

¹ Erected by the hermit Aldwin according to Leland about the year 1084; the Annals of Worcester give the year 1085 as the date of foundation (article by Albert Way transcribed in Nott 1894 p 24). Deane p 8 says the House of Great Malvern was attached, either at the time of its foundation or shortly afterwards to the Abbey of Westminster. See also Rushforth p1.

² Deane notes (p 16-17) that the present church is in design the work of two centuries alone, the 11th and the 15th and that of the intervening Early Decorated and Decorated periods there is nothing in situ. Some remnants remain however including a fish tile identical to that occurring in an extant 14th century pavement in Worcester cathedral, a few quire stalls (see note 299) and possibly the West Window (see note 347). The Lady Chapel at Malvern, destroyed in 1541 after the dissolution of the monastery, was built in the 14th century (Deane p 36) or replaced a 12th chapel (Winsor p 3). This chapel was to the east of the quire so the priory had already been extended beyond the Norman apse prior to the 15th century reconstruction. See ground plan in Fig 1 for site of Lady Chapel. This plan shows also the site of the abbey cloister that prevented the widening of the south aisle of the nave during the 15th century rebuild.

³ Deane p 18.

⁴ Hamand, p 2.

⁵ Deane, p 66 says that the curved wall of the apse is of fifteenth century construction and probably follows the line of its Norman predecessor. Perhaps the extension of this wall into the north aisle also follows an earlier line. However, Nott 1885 p 79 thinks that the wall of the reredos (altar screen) is of the perpendicular period (i.e. 15th century) and is of a later date than the present curved wall. He further notes that in the ancient Norman church an apsidal wall beyond the present semicircular one formerly existed the foundations of which had recently been discovered in 1885. He suggests that between this and the one existing there was a procession path.

⁶ Carpenter's Register, vol I, f. 155, first copied by A. Way from the original preserved among the chapter muniments in the Edgar Tower at Worcester (Nott 1894 p35). The Register entry describing the consecration in July 1460 (Nott 1885, p 80-81, Nott 1894 p 36-38), shows that the Altars were arranged as follows:

High altar consecrated to Virgin Mary, St Michael, St John, St Peter & St Paul and St Benedict

Altars in choir to right in honour of St Wulstan and St Thomas of Hereford

Altars in choir to left in honour of St Edward the Confessor and St Giles

4th altar in honour of St Peter & St Paul and all the apostles, St Katherine and all the virgins

5th altar in honour of St Laurence and all martyrs and St Nicholas and all confessors

6th in honour of the Virgin Mary and St Anne her mother

7th in honour of Jesus Christ, St Ursula and 11000 virgins.

Figures in stained glass of many of these saints are still extant.

1460⁷ or the stonework of the whole church was reconstructed by then.⁸ Two stages of rebuilding took place in the fifteenth century, beginning at the east end with the quire; these stages are readily discernable on the north side⁹ (see Fig 1).

The Priory survived because it was made into the parish church in 1541 after the dissolution of the monasteries. Though the church was saved, its documents and books were lost, so the materials for a history of this church are exceedingly scanty.¹⁰ The interpretation of heraldry once or still in the church therefore becomes a vital source of information on who rebuilt it. Drawing on the work of Thomas Habington¹¹ - whose forty-one years of surveying and note-taking has provided a record of what was once in the Priory¹² - this paper presents the results of a new interpretation of the heraldry exhibited in stone, in stained glass, in wood and on wall and floor tiles in the Priory.

The evidence supports the conclusion that the rebuilding of the quire was a memorial to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, his wife Isabel Despenser, and to the founders and patrons of Great Malvern Priory, the major secular donors being Henry VI, Richard Duke of York, John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick, Humphrey Stafford of Grafton and Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone.

Great Malvern Priory was a daughter establishment of Westminster Abbey, and although the Abbey may have played a role in the rebuilding, it can now be shown that it was more likely done on the initiative of the Bishop of Worcester in whose diocese the Priory is located; much of the rebuilding taking place during the episcopate of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester from 1444-1476.

⁷ Way suggested that probably the choir and transepts were completed by 1460 (see Nott p 35).

Rushforth p1 says the eastern half of the church was completed by 1460 and that alterations in the nave were probably later in the century.

⁸ Deane, p16-17, thinks that the 15th reconstruction of the priory was probably begun about 1400 and finished not later than 1460 and that the west window may have been part of the earlier stage. In 1428 for taxation purposes the Priory was described as with *capella de nova terra*. (Feudal Aids vol V, p 314). Does this indicate building had started?

⁹ Deane, p16, p34. The north transept appears to have been where the style changed.(see Appendix) In the interior of the north transept he describes changes in the arches from the transept to the quire aisle and concludes that it is here that the junction of two styles of perpendicular employed during the rebuilding occur (Deane p 52). The nave clerestory windows are considered to be later in character than the corresponding windows of the quire (Deane p33) and it can also be said that the north transept window shows similarities with windows of the quire. This is the famous Magnificat window, the gift of Henry VII dated to Christmas 1501 (Rushforth p 369), one of the last windows to be filled with stained glass. Did this window remain unglazed for many years? (See note 349).

¹⁰ Deane, p12, 24-25.

¹¹ Habington vol 1, p17 (Thomas Habington d.1647) whose involvement in the Gunpowder Plot resulted in a reprieve accompanied by a condition that he should never afterwards leave the limits of Worcestershire). About a century later, the Malvern glass was described in much greater detail by Dr William Thomas (1670-1738) who published *Antiquitates Prioratus Majoris Malverniae* in 1725, though according to Rushforth, with regard to heraldry he seems to have relied upon Habington's reputation in such matters. He also notes that the statement that Thomas simply copied Habington's notes into Latin was erroneous; Thomas wrote independently though with Habington's notes before him (Rushforth p 10-11).

¹² Habington vol 2, p176-189. His notes and those of Thomas are transcribed in Rushforth p 415-433. Habington's notes were also used by Dugdale in vol III of his Monasticon.

2. THE START OF REBUILDING

The rebuilding of Great Malvern Priory is thought to have started in the time of John Malvern¹³ named as Prior in 1435 in the Register of Thomas Bourghier¹⁴, Bishop of Worcester 1435-1444, in the year Bourghier took office. Prior Malvern donated the window at the east end of the north clerestory of the quire that has the remains of a kneeling monk, thought to represent him (Fig 2).¹⁵ At the base of the window was once the following inscription¹⁶:

Orate pro anima d(omi)ni Johannis Malverne quondam prioris (is)tiu(s) loci qui istam fenestram fieri fecit (Pray for the soul of John Malvern, prior of this place who made this window).

If this window was put up during the time John Malvern was Prior then it must have been erected c 1435 to c1448 for the next Prior, John Benet occurs in 1449. It has been suggested that the window commemorating Prior Malvern may have been put up after his death¹⁷ perhaps when the window given by Benet was erected in the south quire aisle.

The remaining two windows of the north clerestory of the quire including the Founders Window (see note 191), are thought to have been given by groups of benefactors accompanied in each case by a monk whose figures were once at the base of these windows; surviving groups are now in the east window. In the middle window several donors were commemorated including Richard Oseney and his wife Agnes, a couple who were also benefactors to Worcester Cathedral.¹⁸ Their donation to Worcester was in 12 Hen 6 (i.e. Sept 1433 – 1434)¹⁹; perhaps they gave to Malvern at the same time. The involvement of Richard, Duke of York, as a donor in the rebuilding could not have been before 1433 when he came of age (see page 28). This is the earliest date the building work could have started but it may well have been later.

¹³ Nott 1894 p2. In 1433 John Malvern, chaplain, is mentioned as a trustee of Richard Ruyhale before 1397 (CPR 1429-1436 p282). A shield for Ruyhale (d 1408) and his wife still occurs in St Anne's chapel (see below p 19).

¹⁴ Rushforth p48 n.3. Fig 32 lists the Bishops of Worcester and Hereford, the Abbots of St Peter's Gloucester and Westminster Abbey plus Priors of Great Malvern during the period c 1420-c1498 during which period Great Malvern Priory was rebuilt.

¹⁵ This light shows St Anne about to receive the swaddled infant Mary from a nurse with beneath the small figure of a monk and a scroll bearing a prayer to St Anne and with Prior John Malvern, the donor of the window, invoking his patroness "*O felix anna pro me ad Chr(istu)m ex ora* (Rushforth p 108). For other links with St Anne see below, page 5-6.

¹⁶ Rushforth p 108-9 citing Thomas (see also Rushforth, p 416).

¹⁷ Thought to have been by 1449 (see Rushforth p109; also Way, transcribed in Nott p28).

¹⁸ Rushforth p 118-120 Identities for other donors or people being commemorated in this window have been suggested as John Weston, a Malvern monk, ordained priest at Worcester in 1396; Thomas Lye, Malvern monk ordained priest at Worcester in 1434 and the following laymen and their wives; Thomas Carter, bailiff of Worcester in 1421 and as noted above Richard Oseney, bailiff of Worcester in 1441 and Agnes his wife. The bidding prayer *Orate pro animabus Thome Carter et Ricardi Oseney et Agnete uxoris eius et Thome Oseney filii eorundem cuius munera in ista ecclesia conspicua fuerunt*, indicates the Carters and Oseney were related Rushforth p 119. The figures of Carter with his shield (argent three cartwheels sable) and a monk survive, together with fragments of the prayer as does another figure together with his wife and a monk (Rushforth p 120). Other figures of laymen and monks, probably from the base of the third window, the Founders window, are extant but cannot be identified (see Rushforth p 120).

¹⁹ Habington vol 2, p 402.

THE GREAT EAST WINDOW and Richard Beauchamp d.1439

The rebuilding would have started at the east end and at the apex of the moulded arch of this window was once a stone shield bearing once the coat of Beauchamp of Warwick that can still be seen though not in its original position²⁰. It has been suggested that before 1860 there were a group of shields at the apex of the arch, the others being smaller shields for de Clare and Despenser (see Fig 3).²¹ The extant shield is for Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick d 1439 who married Isabel Despenser²² in 1423 bringing with her all the inheritance of the De Clare and Despenser Earls of Gloucester including Malvern with its chase.²³

There seem to be two alternatives, possibly not exclusive, explanations for the presence of heraldry for Warwick and perhaps his wife:

- 1) As lord and lady of the manor, they would no doubt be large contributors to the rebuilding of the quire of the Priory; but that the position of the shields (or shield) suggests that they had some special connection with the east window²⁴ and that as they both died in 1439 we may perhaps assume that the work was carried out between that date and their marriage in 1423²⁵. To account for a date for the east window of 1423-39 "*the furnishing and decoration of the quire would then proceed in a leisurely way as funds permit so that it was not till 1453-56 that the ornamental tile facing of the quire enclosure wall was put up and not until 1460 that the new altars were consecrated*"²⁶. Elsewhere the great east window is dated to about 1440²⁷. This would mean that the quire was consecrated twenty years after the great east window was finished which seems unlikely.
- 2) The presence of the Beauchamp shield at the apex of the east window could indicate it was glazed in memory of a family that died out in the main line in 1446, i.e. it was a memorial window.

Probably Warwick and his wife gave money to start the rebuilding when they were alive and the shield or shields record this donation. The shield (s) would have been put up once the roof of the quire was completed, most likely after their deaths in 1439.

²⁰ Deane note p 36, Rushforth p48. It was reset above the door into the north transept but brought inside the church in 1925 (Rushforth p48 note 4) being still located over said door in 2004.

²¹ However the evidence for the extra shields is not convincing. Rushforth p48 who makes the claim cites Neale & le Keux 1825 "Views of Churches" vol 2, p13 (drawing reproduced in Deane p29). This drawing (see Fig 3) shows a large shield at the apex of the east window with what appears to be **three** smaller shields grouped on top of it. It is not possible to identify any of the coats from this drawing. Deane p 29 mentions only the Beauchamp shield.

²² Daughter of Thomas le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester (beheaded in 1400 for adhering to Richard II) and heiress of her brother, Richard le Despenser (d.1414).

²³The chase and manor of Malvern was given by Edward I in marriage with Princess Joan of Acre to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. On the death of their only son at Bannockburn, the manor was brought by Alianor, his sister and co-heiress to her husband Hugh le Despenser and descended subsequently to Isabel Despenser (Way vol 22 p 25-26, Rushforth p 350). Warwicks widespread assets are listed in his inquisition post mortem (CIPM vol IV, no 54, p 190-192) According to Habington vol 1, p 267 many church windows in Worcestershire depicted the descent of Malvern Chase from Clare and Despenser to the Beauchamps .

²⁴ Rushforth p 48.

²⁵ Rushforth p 54.

²⁶ Rushforth p 54.

²⁷ Rushforth p 1.

The great east window has scattered about in it several large white roses and radiant suns. These are both well-known badges of Richard, Duke of York who was Isabel Despenser's cousin²⁸. He was also leader of the group that managed Richard Beauchamp's estates after his death in 1439 on behalf of Isabel. For these reasons he may have played an active role in financing the east window. For York's involvement in the rebuilding, including evidence of heraldry for him in the quire, see page 28.

ST ANNE'S CHAPEL

THE EAST WINDOW and Richard Beauchamp d.1439 (Fig 4)

This chapel in the south choir aisle was possibly a memorial and maybe a chantry chapel²⁹ for Richard Beauchamp and Isabel Despenser and their ancestors. Patronage of Great Malvern Priory by the Beauchamp's was longstanding, already occurring in the thirteenth century³⁰. In the three light east window of St Anne's Chapel, Habington in the 17th century recorded the following Beauchamp and Despenser heraldry³¹:

In the south pane of the east window *Gules a fesse between six crosses crosslets Or*; Beauchamp and above the same coat quartering *Chequie Or and Azure, a chevron Ermin*, Warwick (=Newburgh)

In the next pane - Beauchamp and Warwick impaling quarterly *Argent and Gules frettie Or, a bendlet sable*, Despenser, being the great marriage which enriched Beauchamp with Malvern Chase and the Earl of Gloucester and the Despenser lands

It has been suggested that the shields Habington recorded were only the remains of a larger series and that the missing shields could have included the arms of Despenser and Despenser quartering Clare³² (see Fig 4); also that the head of a lady with the horned head-dress of the fifteenth century³³, may represent Isabel Despenser. Rushforth says

²⁸ His aunt Constance, sister of his father Richard, Earl of Cambridge, and Edward, Duke of York, had married Thomas Despenser, Earl of Gloucester. Isabel was their daughter. York's son, Edward when he became King as Edward IV combined these two badges to make his badge, the rose en soleil.

²⁹ A chantry was an endowment for the maintenance of priests who would undertake to pray for your soul and those of your relatives. Sometimes money was also given for the building of a special chapel where the chantry priest would pray. St Anne's chapel contains a small sunken chantry with a fan tracery roof which contains floor tiles still in situ (Deane p 86). Only in a few cases has the pattern not been worn away. However one clearly bears the floral border of the Clare tile (see Fig 20) and the Clare family were ancestors of the Despensers. Habington vol 2, p 183 recorded the existence of the "little vault of stone" but noted that the two escocheons on the outside of the tomb were not "graced with arms".

³⁰Walter Beauchamp d 1236, lord of Elmley Castle, Worcs is noted as continuing his family's patronage of the priory (ODNB, 2004 vol 4, p602). Morgan p 51-52 does not mention such a chantry among those he cites from Bishop Carpenter's Register. The other possibility is that as Malvern Priory was a cell of Westminster Abbey, the Abbot of Westminster may have given permission for such a chantry. Unfortunately no abbatial registers or other records about Malvern from this period still survive at Westminster Abbey (Roger Mortimer, Archivist Westminster Abbey, pers. comm. 2001, who thinks control of the Priory by Westminster was not close). There is no record of such a chantry at Malvern in the Papal Letters from 1417 to 1464 (Cal. Papal Register Papal Letters vols VII 1417-1431, VIII 1427-1447, vol X, 1447-1455, vol XI 1455-1464).

³¹ Rushforth p 428, 429, and Habington vol 2 p186.

³² Rushforth p350 who thinks Habington probably saw these shields in the tracery lights of this three light window and this has been assumed in the arrangement of shields in Fig 4. If they were in the tracery there would have been space for two further coats, probably Clare and Newburgh.

³³ Rushforth p 350, note 3; describes two such heads from the same light in great east window. His Fig 5 illustrates the faint outline of the head which can still be seen there (see also Pitcher & Rushforth ii, 13a) but no second head is visible. A similar head was moved in 1919 with other fragments to the museum window of the north quire aisle (Pitcher & Rushforth, VI, 39) and may, according to the inscription still in the window, have come from St Anne's Chapel. Practically all the stained glass was taken out by 1941 during the Second World War (Hamand p 7) but was subsequently replaced.

*we may imagine that she and her husband were represented at the bottom of the lights 1 and 3 kneeling facing one another*³⁴.

This authority, while reiterating the view that the eastern part of the church was being rebuilt during the lifetime of the Earl of Warwick and his wife Isabel Despenser offers two explanations for the date of this window:

- 1) that it was given by them and put up before their deaths in 1439
- 2) that it was a bequest or put up by the prior and convent in gratitude to their patrons and so date from say 1440-1450³⁵.

In support of the first option, Richard Beauchamp was involved in affairs in Worcestershire before his death (see Fig 5) and may have made a donation to start the rebuilding. However, the second option seems more likely. Though no bequest to Great Malvern Priory is made in either his will or that of his wife Isabel³⁶, Isabel does leave 100 marks "*and more if need be*" to Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford (1422-1448), "*to perform such things as I have prayed him to do for me*"³⁷. Spofford had a particular interest in St Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary (Fig 6)³⁸ as did Prior John Malvern credited with being Prior at the start of the rebuilding. However at Malvern lights featuring St Anne including the light where the Prior prays to the Saint (Fig 2), are concentrated on the north side of the quire³⁹ and there is no evidence of the south quire chapel being named for St Anne earlier than the 19th century though it may have been so "traditionally denominated"⁴⁰.

³⁴ Rushforth p350, and note 3. A similar arrangement was once in the east window of Richard Beauchamp's chapel at St Mary's Warwick except that his figure was (and is still though with another's head) central with his two wives (1st) Elizabeth Berkeley (2nd) Isabel Despenser and their children on either side (see drawings in Dugdale 1765, p 295 where (1) was sinister and (2) dexter). Extant scrolls in the tracery of this window record Warwick's devotion to his second wife with the inscription "Louez Spenser tant que vivray", Praise ye Spencer as long as I shall live (Le Couteur p 120-121). The tabard of his extant figure bears the Beauchamp coats with on the sleeve an inescutcheon of Despenser (see Fig 4), again indicating the importance of his second wife. This inescutcheon was omitted in the drawing in Dugdale.

³⁵ Ibid p350.

³⁶ See wills in *Warwick castle and its Earls*, vol II, p830-833. Isabel's Will (p832-3) specifies burial at Tewkesbury Abbey "*in such place as I have assigned*". She had erected a chapel at the Abbey said to be in memory of her first husband, the Earl of Worcester d 1422 (also named Richard Beauchamp) (Gough p 5). Dugdale 1765 p 296 has a drawing of this chapel which shows arms including those of her parents Thomas Despenser and Constance d. of Edmund, Duke of York. Interestingly the arms include Castille quartering Leon but no Beauchamp coats. These may have been on the other side of the chapel, not drawn by Dugdale. He also records the inscription, put up after her death that names her as founder. Isabel's second husband, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d 1439) left instructions in his will for the building of his chapel at St Mary's Warwick. Their son, Henry, ordered Despenser trustees to found a chantry for him at Tewkesbury (no separate chapel); his will has not survived (Hicks p32).

³⁷ Isabel's will in *Warwick castle and its Earls* vol II, p833. 1 mark = 13s 4d, so 100 marks = £66. This sum would have covered the glazing of the east window of the chapel. Compare with the sum of £91 1s 10d agreed in 1447 to glaze all the windows in the much larger chapel of Isabel's husband, Richard Beauchamp, at St Mary's, Warwick (Britton Pt XXXI, vol IV p11).

³⁸ Spofford by 1446 "adorned with sumptuous build" the chapel of St Anne in Hereford Cathedral Calendar of Papal Registers (Papal Letters IX 1431-1447 p 573-4) and is depicted praying to St Anne in the great east window of St Laurence's, Ludlow (see Fig 6 & note 219; also Ganderton & Lafond p11 for Spofford's interest in St Anne).

³⁹ The easternmost windows of both the north quire clerestory and the north quire aisle plus both adjacent windows have or had pictures of St Anne (see Rushforth pp 108, 115, 320, 323, 332). It may be in this area that the altar to St Anne and the Virgin Mary was located (see above note 6).

⁴⁰ Rushforth p115, note 3, who suggests that the cult of St Anne at Malvern may originally have been due to the influence of Worcester Cathedral where her feast was kept from the 12th century or to her increased popularity in England Rushforth p115-6. The Christian name was certainly popular with the Beauchamp

Could Spofford have contributed to the rebuilding of the quire? He certainly knew Richard Duke of York. The involvement of Richard, Duke of York in the rebuilding of the Priory is discussed below⁴¹ and it may be relevant that Spofford had been abbot of St Mary's in York,⁴² and was evidently involved in the rebuilding c 1445 of St Laurence's Church in Ludlow, the Duke of York's stronghold.⁴³ Heraldry in the south windows suggests other links with Spofford

THE SOUTH WINDOWS

The south windows of the chapel would appear to have all been glazed at the same time⁴⁴ by various families, some with links to Spofford, York and Warwick and his wife. Several families were related⁴⁵ and were involved in Herefordshire affairs (Fig 7). Spofford's successor as Bishop of Hereford was Richard Beauchamp, cousin of John Beauchamp Lord of Powick who, it will be shown, was a donor. Both were distant kinsmen of Warwick. Richard held the Bishopric from 1449-1451, so was Bishop, if only briefly, during the period when the Priory was being rebuilt. This family relationship with Warwick makes it more likely that this Bishop of Hereford was also involved in the rebuilding of the Priory.

The boundary of the diocese of Hereford immediately adjoined Great Malvern in the fifteenth century⁴⁶ and the Bishop of Hereford held Bishopscace under the Malvern Hills⁴⁷. Each of the three windows originally had four shields in the tracery and of these, eight out of the twelve are still extant. Fig 7 shows the original position of the shields with a note also of their current position⁴⁸. Following the original scheme, probable donors represented by the shields are discussed below and summarised in Fig 7.

family (see Fig 9). Anne was also the Christian name of the mothers of both Richard Duke of York and Thomas Bourchier Bishop of Worcester (1435-1444).

⁴¹ Page 28-31, 41-42.

⁴² Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters IX 1431-1447 p 79. In another connection with York, similarities between the east window at Great Malvern and the St William window in York Minster have been pointed out (Rushforth p 50-52).

⁴³ See Fig 6 and note 219. In the 15th Century Ludlow, as now, was in the diocese of Hereford see map in Faraday and Cole 1989 p xiii. For Spofford's tenure as Bishop of Hereford see Fig 32.

⁴⁴ Rushforth p 351 suggests that the south windows of the chapel were not of independent design and gift like the Bracy and Clifford windows opposite on the north aisle, which each commemorates a single family (see notes 314 & 357) but forms a series in which a number of families were represented in windows with uniform decorative details. All but one of the shields either survive or are recorded (see Habington vol 2, p 186-187 and transcript in Rushforth p 429-430). Identities are based on Habington as corrected by Rushforth (p 352-366) except where adjusted here (see Fig 7).

⁴⁵ See Rushforth p361-365.

⁴⁶ For map see Faraday and Cole 1989 p xiii. For Bishops of Hereford from c 1420 to c 1485 see Fig 31.

⁴⁷ Lewis 1831 p 212 refers to the Herefordshire and Worcestershire beacons near Great Malvern and notes that around the Herefordshire Beacon, Gilbert de Clare (ancestor of Isabel Despenser) built a double entrenchment 6 -12ft deep and in some places 30ft wide to form a boundary separating his portion of Malvern Chase from that of the Bishop of Hereford. Rushforth p 53 note 1 notes that the Hereford Episcopal Registers (Pub. by Cantilupe Society) show it was a frequent practice for Malvern monks to be ordained by the Bishop of Hereford or his suffragans. It would appear to have been on this side of the quire that the altar to St Thomas of Hereford, patron saint of the cathedral, was located, see note 6.

⁴⁸ The missing shields, drawn for this paper, in this as in all the reconstructions are blazoned from Habington's description (Habington vol 2, p186-187, Rushforth p429-430). For discussion of Habington's attribution of these shields see Rushforth p 353-366.

First Window from East

John Monington Esq (Fig 7, 1a)

There are two extant shields⁴⁹ attributed to the Monington family several of whom were involved in the affairs of Hereford in the mid fifteenth century (see Fig 7, 1a and 1c and footnote). The most likely candidate is John Monington who in 1433 was involved as a trustee in the transfer of the manor of Dymmok, co Gloucs, after the deaths of Richard Ruyhale, his wife Elizabeth and her second husband Richard Oldcastle Esq. to Henry, Count of Eu (brother of Thomas Bourghier, Bishop of Worcester, and brother in law of Richard, Duke of York) and others including John Pauncefot Knt, and John and Edward Brugge⁵⁰. A shield for Ruyhale and his wife occurs in the next window (Fig 7, 2d) and one for Pauncefot in the third window (see Fig 7,3b).

Assuming the other shield (1c) is for Monington, it might represent Hugh or Walter Monington, both Esquires, or William, all of whom with John took the oath in Hereford in 1434, not to maintain peace breakers (Fig 7 footnote). Alternatively it might represent a Richard Monington who married a Walwin, a family occurring in the next window⁵¹. His son Thomas may be the Thomas Monington who before 1460 was an annuitant of Richard, Duke of York⁵².

Walter Corbet d. c. 1436 (Fig 7, 1b & 1d)

This branch of the Corbet family held Impney, near Droitwich in Worcestershire and Cowley (Coweigh)⁵³ which once straddled the Herefordshire/Worcestershire border to the north west of Great Malvern. In 1435, Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, granted custody of Bishopschace to Walter Corbet (lord of Cowley)⁵⁴. Walter was a benefactor of the chapel, as this window once bore an inscription to pray for him and his wife Johanna (Joan)⁵⁵ (see Fig 7) and in St Anne's chapel there is still a shield (1b) for

⁴⁹ Fig 7, 1a *argent on a bend sable three mullets or* (only 1 mullet remains) Rushforth p353. This coat identified as Monington in Foster 1904 p 267. The other coat, 1c *party per pale argent and gules on a bend sable three mullets or* Rushforth p354 has two distinct mullets remaining, the third less obvious because of abrasion on the bend.

⁵⁰ CPR 1429-1436 p281-282. John Monington occurs second of three Monington's, (Hugh, John and Walter) all Esquires, in a list of oath takers in 1434 (CPR 1429-36, p 376) perhaps indicating he was a second son. Walwins on the same list i.e. Richard, Malcolm and William are listed in order of age (see below p 17). Another Monington, William (not an Esquire) also occurs on the list and a William Monnington (sic) is said to have been presented by John Merbury to the rectory at Ludlow in 1437 (Lloyd p 11). If this is the same William it demonstrates another link with Richard, Duke of York, whose stronghold was Ludlow.

⁵¹ See Rushforth p 353 who also suggests Richard's son, Sir Thomas Monington (occurs between 1460 and 1490). Perhaps 1d is an impaled coat with the Walwin coat on the sinister side. The impalement is similar to the Walwin coat in 2a. Could the abrasion of the bend on the sinister side be an attempt to simulate the Walwin coat more exactly?

⁵² Johnson, p 235.

⁵³ Roskell et al vol 2, p 658-9. This reference notes that Margaret, wife of Walter Corbet had property in Lickhill and Lower Mitton in Kidderminster. Either Walter Corbet had two wives or Margaret's husband was another Walter. Cowley still exists but is not marked on large-scale modern road maps. It's location, between Cradley and Madresfield, can clearly be seen on the Tudor maps for Herefordshire and Worcestershire drawn by John Speed. In the 14th century William de Cowleigh gave to the vicar of Great Malvern lands in Cowleigh and Cradley (VCH Worcs vol 4, p 140). Rushforth p 353 says Cowley was in the parish of Leigh.

⁵⁴ See Rushforth p 353 note 6, citing the Register of Bp Thomas Spofford published by the Cantilupe Society 1917, p207. He is not named as a knight in Roskell et al vol 2, p 658-9 though he was on a list of Worcs knights and esquires in 1420.

⁵⁵ Her surname is undiscovered.

the Cowley family⁵⁶. Cowley came to the Corbet family by marriage to a Cowley heiress, though when this happened is not clear.⁵⁷

Walter was a minor when his father died⁵⁸ and in 1383 custody of his land and his marriage was purchased by Richard Ruyhale⁵⁹, an up and coming Worcestershire lawyer.⁶⁰ The Corbets seem to have been tenants of the Talbot family⁶¹. Two years later in 1385 the manor of Cowley was settled on Richard Ruyhale and his wife Elizabeth and their heirs⁶². A shield for Ruyhale and his wife occurs in the next window (Fig 7 2d) and it's interesting that in a window of the church next to the Ruyhales' manor house at Birtsmorton (south of Great Malvern) there was once a shield almost identical to the Cowley coat⁶³.

By the end of 1428 the Ruyhales were all dead and it seems the manor reverted back to the Corbets, hence Walter being termed Lord of Cowley in 1435. Walter Corbet came of age well before 1407 when he attended the Worcestershire elections to Parliament and witnessed the indenture recording the return of his former guardian Ruyhale⁶⁴. In 1414 he occurs with John Beauchamp of Holt and others on a commission in Worcester to capture Lollards and from 1422 to 1430 on commissions of the peace in that county⁶⁵ (see Fig 5). He appears to have been of some standing locally as on the electoral indenture of 1433 he was placed second to Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton⁶⁶ who also was a donor to the Priory (see below p32). The missing shield in 1d was already lost when Habington described these windows in the 17th century but is thought to have been for Corbet⁶⁷.

Impney was held by the Corbet family as lords of Wychbold from the 13th century.⁶⁸ The Corbets of Impney are a cadet branch descending from Robert 4th Baron Corbet of

⁵⁶ *Or a chevron ermine between three cows' faces sable* the arms of Cowley of Cowley near Malvern Rushforth p353.

⁵⁷ See Rushforth, p 353. Habington vol 1 p 148-9 implies that the Corbets moved to Cowley after Chaddesley Corbet passed from them i.e. after the death of William Corbet who settled the manor on Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick in reversion in 1358-59 (VCH vol 3, p 38).

⁵⁸ Roger Corbet of Impney, Roskell et al vol 2, p658.

⁵⁹ CPR 1381-5, p 320. *1383 Grant to Richard Ruyhale the younger of the custody during the minority of Walter, together with his marriage without rendering ought besides 4s 6d rent in Imeney by Wyche in Worcs in the king's hands by reason of the minority of Walter, son and heir of Roger Corbet of the said county, tenant of the heir of John Talbot of Richards Castle Kt, a minor and in the kings custody.* The Talbot family gained Richards Castle when the lands of Sir Hugh Mortimer d 1303 descended to his two daughters. Joan obtained Richards Castle and married Richard Talbot and Margaret married Geoffrey Cornwall who became Baron of Burford. (Cecil & Reade, p 154-155; Habington vol 2, p 309). The Mortimers of Richards Castle were only distantly related to the Mortimers of Wigmore and Chirk (see Mortimer family tree in Lipscomb p 203-4) and bore a different coat (*gules two bars vair* see Foster p 143). It is therefore difficult to attach too much significance to the fact that another later Sir Hugh Mortimer married a Cornwall and was a donor to the Priory (see below p 11 and Fig 7, 2a).

⁶⁰ Roskell et al vol 2, p 658-9.

⁶¹ See note 59.

⁶² VCH Worcs vol 4,p 140, Roskell et al vol 4, p 261.

⁶³ *Arg a chevron ermine between three bulls heads sable* (Habington vol 1 p125).

⁶⁴ Roskell et al vol 2, p 659.

⁶⁵ CPR 1413-1416 p 178, CPR 1416-1422 p 462.

⁶⁶ Roskell et al vol 2, p 659 In 1408 he was associated as a co-feoffee with Hugh Mortimer Esq, the Prince of Wales chamberlain who died 1416 without an heir Roskell et al vol 3, p 786 This is not the Hugh Mortimer who is represented in the next window but he may have been a kinsman.

⁶⁷ Rushforth p 353. Habington vol 2, p 27 describes the arms of Corbet of Cowley as *or a raven proper within a border sable bezantee*. As the shield was already lost by the 17th century it cannot be known which coat was used but this one seems the most likely and so has been drawn for Fig 7, 1d.

⁶⁸ VCH Worcs vol 3, p62. Impney was in Dodderhill near Droitwich.

Caus (a Marcher Lordship in Shropshire) and were closely related to the Corbets of Chaddesley, Worcs and of Leigh, Salop⁶⁹ and Walter's ancestors held Impney from the Barony of Caus⁷⁰. Walter's ancestors held Chaddesley Corbet after the death of Robert Corbet c 1270 until Walter's grandfather Sir William Corbet, in 1358-9 granted the manor in reversion to Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and after 1435 it was in the hands of Thomas's grandson, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.⁷¹ This link between the Corbet and the Beauchamp families could account for a Corbet donor in this chapel. In the 17th century, the church at Chaddesley Corbet still had a Beauchamp of Warwick coat and that of Sir Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester in its windows⁷².

Walter Corbet was succeeded at Impney some time after 1436 by Thomas Corbet, presumably his son,⁷³ and Thomas appears to have been lord of Cowley in 1457.⁷⁴ Surprisingly, despite Walter's many offspring⁷⁵ the manor of Impney and Cowley passed to Walter's granddaughters thus leaving the Corbet family.⁷⁶ His granddaughter Eleanor and her husband Roger Harewell were benefactors during the building of the nave clearstory.⁷⁷

Finally there is a record that there were once figures of three bishops in the main lights of this window⁷⁸. Was the Bishop of Hereford one of them?

⁶⁹ Roskell et al vol 2, p 658. Robert held the barony from before 1176 to 1222 (VCH Salop vol 8, p 311). The family originated with Roger and Robert FitzCorbet who c. 1086 were faithful servants and prominent tenants of Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, cousin of William the Conqueror. Roger the elder brother built a castle calling it the castle of Caux from the Norman district whence his father came. The younger, Robert left only daughters who carried his fief into the families of Botreaux (Boterell), Cornwall and Fitzherbert (VCH Salop vol 1, p 297). The Corbets held the lordship of Caus (Caux) until the failure of the male line in the early 14th century (VCH Salop vol 3, p 34).

⁷⁰ William Corbet held Impney under Thomas Corbet in 1211-12 and under Peter Corbet until c 1280 VCH. Worcs vol 3, p 62. Thomas (1222-74) and Peter I (1274-1300) occur in the descent of the Barony of Corbet of Caus which lasted until 1322 when Peter Corbet (II) died and with him the male line (VCH Salop vol 8, p 311); the barony was then divided.

⁷¹ William Corbet in 1358-9 had settled the manor on himself for life with reversion to Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick who in due course settled it on his younger son William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny d 1411 and his wife Joan. After Joan's death in 1435, as her only son Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester d 1422 (first husband of Isabel Despenser) had already died the manor reverted to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, grandson of Thomas and second husband of Isabel Despenser (VCH Worcs vol 3, p 38). William Corbet was Lord of Chaddesley and Impney (Habington vol 1, p 146-9).

⁷² Habington vol 1, p 145.

⁷³ Roskell et al vol 2, p 659; VCH Worcs vol 3, p 62.

⁷⁴ Habington vol 1, p 149.

⁷⁵ According to Habington (vol 2, p 186) the window showed Walter and his wife with ten sons and eight daughters.

⁷⁶ Walter's grandson, William, died without issue and his property was divided between his sisters Elizabeth or Isabel married to Ralph Hacklute and Eleanor married to Roger Harewell. Impney was bought back by John Corbet in the 19th century, of the same name but not descended from the feudal owners (VCH Worcs vol 3, p 62). Chateau Impney, a reproduction French chateau in Droitwich Spa (now a hotel), was built in the 19th century by this John Corbet, "the salt king". For Cowley see VCH Worcs vol 4, p 140.

⁷⁷ Rushforth p 249, 353, 419. Roger Harewell bearing the Besford arms and wearing a Yorkist collar was figured in a window of the north clerestory of the nave with Thomas Lygon d c1448 who married Joan, the de Bracy heiress of Madresfield (Rushforth p 248-9). Their son William Lygon married c 1456 Elizabeth Arundel whose mother Jane (nee Coleshill) married as her second husband John Nanfan who had purchased Birtsmorton in 1424-5 from Richard Ruyhales trustees (VCH Worcs vol 4, p 31). Jane's tomb with all three husbands and children depicted is still extant in Birtsmorton church.

⁷⁸ Rushforth p 352 quoting the Newland MS. Bishops not mentioned by Habington or Thomas; see Rushforth p 429. Could the remains of three ecclesiastics, with "jewelled" chasubles (only one still with a mitre) and now in the east window be these bishops?

Second Window from East

Hugh Mortimer Knt d.1460 (Fig 7, 2a and Fig 8)

Habington recorded in this window:

*“Mortimers 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 Earls crown”*⁷⁹

The ermine difference mark indicates a descendent of Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirk d. 1326⁸⁰ and represents Hugh Mortimer Knt of Cure Wyard⁸¹, Worcs d 1460 who also inherited Tedstone Wafre (Hereford) and Martley (Worcs) among other lands in those counties on coming of age in 1434⁸². Hugh was grandson of Roger Mortimer of Tedstone Wafre⁸³ who acquired Cure Wyard by marriage and died seized of it in

⁷⁹ See Rushforth p360, 429, Habington vol 2, p 186. See Fig 8 for reconstruction. The crest drawn was based on that still extant in the armorial achievement in Ockwells Manor house, Berkshire, which I believe represents Sir Hugh Mortimer (photo in Darracott p 41). Habington seems to think the quartered shield with chevrons was misplaced. However it might represent the coat of Herle (*gules a chevron between three drakes argent* Foster 1989, p110). If so the flashed red (gules) glass may have peeled off as Habington gives no details of tinctures. Maud de Herle was grandmother of Hugh Mortimer who had brought Kyre Wyard to her husband Roger Mortimer of Tedstone Wafre d.1402, Hugh’s grandfather. Kyre Wyard had been inherited by her mother, Elizabeth Wyard who married John de Herle (see VCH Worcs vol 4, p282). The most important heiress to marry into the Mortimer of Chirk line was Lucia Wafre but almost all the coats described for variations on this name (see Burke 1884 *The General Armory*) do not bear chevrons except for the coat of Waff (Cornwall): *Ar on a chev. Gu. 3 bezants*. This Mortimer shield is the only one described by Habington as having a crest and it once occupied tracery light 2a. Lights a and d have a greater area than lights b and c, so 2a would have been able to accommodate the crest. In the other larger lights the same space was occupied by angels, the remains of which can still be seen.

⁸⁰ The ermine difference first appears on the seal used in 1301 by Roger Mortimer of Chirk, younger brother of Edmund, lord of Wigmore, whose son was the infamous Roger Mortimer, executed 1330, (Rushforth p 361, n. 1 citing Walden p 39, 88). Rushforth (p361) suggested the shield represented Mortimer of Richard’s Castle quartering L’Archdeacon (*argent three chevrons sable*) and is puzzled as to why Habington did not identify this combination - “for he recognised it beside the Mortimer shield at Cotheridge”. However, the Mortimer coat in the church at Cotheridge recorded by Habington (vol 1, p 172) was the quite different Mortimer coat for the Richards Castle branch (i.e.gules, 2 barres varye) so it is not surprising that Habington made no such identification. Thomas (p 16) described the Mortimer shield at Malvern as bearing an inescutcheon argent; perhaps the difference marks had been lost by then. Rushforth’s suggestion (p 361) that Habington’s identification was influenced by the fact that the Mortimer coat with ermine difference occurs on the 1453 wall tiles is not supported by the evidence.

⁸¹ Habington vol 1, p 142 describing armorial glass from the church at Kyre (=Cure Wyard), identifies the Mortimer shield with an inescutcheon ermine as being for a younger branch of the Mortimers of Wigmore, the Mortimers of Cure Wyard (also described were shields for the main line of the Mortimers and the Beauchamps).

⁸² CIPM vol IV, no 15 p153 (of his brother John Mortimer): no 52, p 158 (Hugh as heir obtains probate). In 1434 he inherited lands in Herefordshire and the march of Wales adjacent and Worcestershire when the escheators of these counties were ordered to take fealty of Hugh, brother and heir of John Mortimer, son and heir of John Mortimer Knt, John his brother having died within age in ward of the king (CCR 1429-1435 p 272). There would appear to have been a third brother, Roger. See Visitation of Worcs 1569 p 6.

⁸³ Tedstone Wafre anciently belonged to the Wafre family (Duncumb vol 2, p263) and came to this cadet branch of the Mortimers by the marriage of Roger Mortimer (1256-1326) Lord Mortimer of Chirk (1282), to Lucia, daughter of Sir Robert Wafre. In 1315 a commission was ordered to find those who had broken into the parks of Roger of Chirk at Cleobury and Tedstone Wafre and hunted deer without license (CPR 1313-1317 p 323 cited in Hopkinson and Speight p 157). Their son, also Roger, dead by Oct.1333 (GEC vol 9, p 254), inherited the whole inheritance of his grandfather, Sir Robert Wafre (DNB Mortimer p 1033). He was less fortunate with his paternal inheritance. The major lordships of Roger Mortimer of Chirk d.1326 (Chirk, Blaenllyfni, Narberth and part of St Clears) had been seized by Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, executed 1330, claiming to be his uncle’s heir, at the expense of Roger of Chirk’s son, Roger. Tedstone Wafre is said to be one of the smaller estates that Roger allowed his cousin on payment of a token rent (Hopkinson and Speight p 95). It would be interesting to know whether such a payment

1402⁸⁴. In 1431 both Hugh and his kinsman, Richard Duke of York were minors and their lands in the hundred of Brokesasshe (Broxash) in Hereford were in the King's hands. Other lands in the same hundred were held by John Pauncefot Knt, Robert Whitney Knt and William Walwin⁸⁵, all of whom are or were represented by armorial glass in these windows. Three years later, on coming of age, Hugh occurs with them and others, taking the oath in Hereford not to maintain peace-breakers (Fig 7). In 1449, by then a knight, he occurs with Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Hereford, Miles Skull, Thomas Fitzharry and others to raise a loan in Hereford to maintain the war against the king's adversaries; however, he does not occur on Commissions of the Peace in Hereford until 1456 to 1459.⁸⁶

Sir Hugh Mortimer d 1460⁸⁷ is considered to be one of Richard Duke of York's colleagues in 1441 and 1451⁸⁸. He married Eleanor Cornwall, daughter of Sir Edmund Cornwall, Baron of Burford⁸⁹. Sir Hugh and Eleanor were married for about 6 years and had just two children, Elizabeth and John.⁹⁰ In 1455 he settled the manor on his wife and died in 1460 (reputedly at Wakefield fighting for Richard Duke of York).⁹¹

continued into the 15th century. If so Hugh Mortimer Knt would have had to pay Richard, Duke of York. See also notes 228, 286.

⁸⁴ VCH Worcs vol 4, p 282. Roger held at his death lands in Worcs including Cure Wyard and Martley and lands in Hereford including Tedstone Wafre. CIPM. vol IV, p285, 301.

⁸⁵ As does Miles Skull whose coat occurs on the 1453 Tile scheme (see below p39). For Broxash landholders see Feudal Aids 1284-1431 vol II p 419-420. Hugh Mortimer Knt also occurs on a commission in 1451 to assess the value of various Welsh castles and lordships including Pembroke with among others Walter Devereux Knt and Thomas Fitzharry Esq (CPR 1446-52, p445) both of whom were close associates of William ap Thomas Knt who I consider is also represented in the windows of the chapel. I am grateful to Prof. Ralph Griffiths for the information on ap Thomas's associates.

⁸⁶ CPR 1446-1452, p 298; CPR 1452-61, p 666-667. He seems to have been often associated with Miles Skull in affairs in Hereford. In 1446, with Skull, he was on a commission to investigate a murder (CPR 1436-41 p463) and in 1450 on a commission to collect taxes. CFR 1445-52,p172.

⁸⁷ VCH Worcs vol 4, p 282. Houghton p116 note 1 records him as 6th in descent from Roger Mortimer of Chirk (d 1326).

⁸⁸ Johnson p 97, note 113.

⁸⁹ By his 2nd wife Elizabeth daughter of Thomas de la Barre (Croft p 43, Cecil & Reade p189); see also Hampton p 80, 207. The barony of Burford had in earlier times been held by the Mortimers. Geoffrey de Cornwall was granted the wardship of Margaret, heir of Hugh de Mortimer of Richards Castle (d.c. 1304) by Edward I and subsequently married her becoming Baron of Burford in right of his wife (Cecil & Reade p 154). The coat for Mortimer of Richard Castle is *gules two bars vair* (see Habington vol 1, p 346, vol 2, 435) Margaret's sister Joan inherited Richards Castle which went by her marriage to the Talbot family Cecil & Reade p 155.

⁹⁰ Grant p 53 who says that Hugh was 41 when he married the 23-year-old Eleanor. It seems likely that the Sir John Mortimer knighted in 1485 at the battle of Bosworth by Henry VII, after Richard III was slain, was Hugh's son by Eleanor. This John bore the Mortimer coat with an inescutcheon ermine and the crest of a *ducal coronet Or a pyramid of leaves azure*, bearing the same arms and crest in 1487 at the battle of Stoke when he was made a knight banneret (Metcalf p 10, p 14). Duncumb vol 1, p 98 notes he was from Herefordshire. John Mortimer Knt, son of Hugh, married Margaret, 3rd daughter of John Neville, Marquess Montagu (d. 1471) by his wife Isabel Ingaldesthorp (CIPM 1898 Henry VII vol 1, no 1130 p 483). He died 1504 (Hampton p 80), without issue, predeceasing his mother (VCH Worcs vol 4, p282 note 36, which states he died by 1513). See Wedgewood p 613-614 for biography which erroneously states that his grandfather was Sir John Cornwall though he had the correct name, Edmund, in the Croft biography. Isabel subsequently married William Norreys Knt, eldest son of John Norreys Esq who built Ockwells Manor c.1450. In a window of the great hall is an armorial achievement, which I believe represents Hugh Mortimer Knt, John's father (see Darracott 2004).

⁹¹ VCH Worcs vol 4 p 282 Grant 2000 p 53 though Hampton p 207 provides evidence that he was dead by 18 November 1460, i.e. before the battle. His inquisition post mortem is dated 38/39 Henry VI (Sept 1459- Mar 1461) (CIPM.1828 vol IV, no 38 p 286). Among his lands in Hereford and the March is listed Penkethle (Pencelli, Brecon) castle and manor which was not listed among his father's or his brother's assets (see CIPM 1828 3 Henry V vol IV, p 13, no 40, Ibid 12 Henry VI, no 15 p 153.). On the seal of Roger Mortimer, Lord Mortimer of Chirk d.1326, used in 1301 on the Baron's letter to the Pope (see

His effigy⁹² still exists at St Peter's, Martley, where he is credited with building the impressive tower c 1450.⁹³

His widow Eleanor married Richard, the eldest surviving son of William Croft Esq. William is probably the Croft represented in the next window (see Fig 7, 3a, and below p16).

Robert Whitney Knt d.1443 (Fig 7, 2b)

Sir Robert Whitney d. 1443 of Whitney on Wye and Pencombe, Herefs was four times high sheriff and twice knight of the shire. He was married to Wintelan (Wentelina) sister of Richard Oldcastle,⁹⁴ the second husband of Elizabeth who was first married to Richard Ruyhale d 1408. Their impaled coat also occurs in this window (Fig 7, 2d). Whitney was a marcher lord and was compensated by Henry IV for the loss of Whitney Castle on the Wye, burned in the Welsh invasion, by the grant of the nearby Clifford castle and the lordship of Clifford and Glasbury during the minority of Edmund, Earl of March⁹⁵. The Earl of March was uncle of Richard, Duke of York who was March's heir and would have held this lordship among many others. Whether the Whitneys still held it by then has not been discovered⁹⁶.

Robert Whitney may have had leanings towards lollardy; Sir John Oldcastle was his wife's cousin, but whatever his religious sympathies they did not seem to affect his career mainly based in Herefordshire where he served on Commissions of the Peace till 1431⁹⁷. In 1434 he occurs with many of the men represented in these windows on a Hereford commission charged with not maintaining peace breakers (Fig 7, footnote). His daughter Jane/Joan married William Walwin (Walweyn) Esq and their shield occurs in the adjacent light.

William Walwin Esq and his wife Jane/Joan Whitney (Fig 7, 2c)

This extant coat of Walwin impaling Whitney identifies the shield as representing William Walwin of Longeford Esq⁹⁸ and his wife Jane or Joan.⁹⁹ Kneeling figures of

Walden p xxxiv & p 88) is written *S. ROGERI DE MORTUOMARI DNI DE PENKETLYN*. Roger acquired this lordship on marriage to Lucia Wafre and held it as tenant of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford (d. 1298) (ODNB vol 39 p 395). It seems the Pencelli lordship was one his descendent Hugh managed to claw back.

⁹² Habington vol 1, p346, who noted that the helmet's crest of feathers was also to be seen in Great Malvern Church. There is, however, no crown with the feathers on the effigy. It bears the Yorkist collar of suns and roses although the pendant, said to be of a lion serjeant (the White Lion of Mortimer/March), (Houghton p 116) is too eroded to be recognisable. This new collar was adopted by Edward IV to replace the Lancastrian SS collar (Scharf p 266). Quite probably Hugh's executors commissioned the effigy with its Yorkist collar sometime after Edward, York's son, had seized the throne in 1461, the year after Hugh Mortimer died.

⁹³ Grant p 53.

⁹⁴ Roskell et al vol 4, p 840-841. The Whitney coat was *Azure a cross chequy or and sable* though here the effect is of *a cross or* (Rushforth p 362). The black and gold diaper on the cross gives the appearance of a chequered pattern.

⁹⁵ Rushforth p 362-3. Roskell et al vol 4, p 840 who gives 1443 for his date of death. Rushforth p 363 gives 1441, probably got from Wedgewood p 943, see the biography of his heir Sir Eustace Whitney. While Eustace could be the person represented by this shield, Sir Robert's connections with many of the men and women represented in the windows indicates it is his shield.

⁹⁶ There are no Whitney's in a list of York's servants and annuitants in Johnson p 228-241.

⁹⁷ Roskell et al vol 4, p 840-841; CPR 1429-36, p 617.

⁹⁸ Third son of Thomas Walwin of Hellens, Much Marcle see p 14.

⁹⁹ *Gules a bend ermine charged with a mullet sable pierced argent, in chief a lion (or talbot) statant sable; impaling azure a cross chequy or and sable* the mullet indicating a third son Rushforth p 361-362. The lion (or Talbot) is difficult to see, as noted by Rushforth, as it is black on the red diaper but it is quite

William and his wife were once in this window¹⁰⁰ as was an inscription with their names (see Fig 7). Longeford is a village south east of Much Marcle, just north of Gloucester.

The manor of Much Marcle was held by members of the Walwin (Walweyn) family from the Mortimer family¹⁰¹ during a long period as tenants of the demesne land of the manor. In 1415 after the death of Thomas Walwin it reverted to Edmund Earl of March but after his premature death in 1425 it was vested in his nephew and heir, Richard Duke of York¹⁰².

The Walwin family were a highly respectable Herefordshire family, producing knights of the shire and high sheriffs.¹⁰³ William's father, Thomas d. 1415¹⁰⁴ in his Will left £40 to the Prior of Great Malvern¹⁰⁵ and evidently his son was carrying on the family tradition. William was the third son of Thomas Walwin.¹⁰⁶ The eldest son, Richard, inherited Marcle and Malcolm, the second son, inherited Ledbury.¹⁰⁷ All three were Esquires to Henry VI and occur with other Walwins in 1434 on a commission to take an oath not to maintain peace-breakers (Fig 7, footnote).

William's father, Thomas, had been in the service of William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny, and after his death was closely associated with his widow, Joan (d. 1436)¹⁰⁸. Thomas was also one of group to whom Edward, Duke of York, assigned the custody of the lands of the attainted Thomas, Lord Despenser, whose daughter, Isabel, (the Duke's niece) was married to Lady Joan's son, Richard, the new Lord Abergavenny¹⁰⁹. It is likely that his sons continued in the service of Isabel Despenser and her cousin, Richard, Duke of York.

recognisable once located. Foster 1904 p 52 describes the coat of John Walwayne (sic) as *gules a bend ermine* which is probably the undifferenced coat. Rushforth p 361 calls it the old Walwin coat.

¹⁰⁰ Rushforth p 355.

¹⁰¹ "Mortimer's Castle" was once at Much Marcle and out of the ruins of the castle was constructed the tower of the church (Robinson p 109-110). In the church can still be seen the effigy of Blanche Mortimer, wife of Sir Peter de Grandison. They had been granted the manor by her father, Roger Mortimer 1st Earl of March executed 1330 (Duncumb-Cooke vol 3, p 24). Two other effigies in the church are said to represent the Earl of March and his wife Joane Genevil. These may be duplicate monuments as after execution he is supposed to have been conveyed from Greyfriars in Smithfield where he was first buried to Wigmore (Abbey), seat of his ancestors (Robinson p 110).

¹⁰² Duncumb-Cooke vol 3, p 24. In 1415 Edmund Earl of March enfeoffed with a large number of properties Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Joan Beauchamp, Lady Bergavenny, Sir Thomas Berkeley, William Walwyn, Robert Corbet and others, possibly to keep the assets out of the king's hands in the event of sudden death (Johnson p 8). The Corbet is probably Sir Robert Corbet of Moreton Corbet, Salop born 1383, and the William Walwyn is probably not the William whose shield occurs in St Anne's chapel. However this record does demonstrate a link between the Mortimers, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and the Corbet and Walwin families earlier in the century.

¹⁰³ Rushforth p 361 who also has them of Longworth but this should be Longeford. Duncumb-Cooke vol 3 p 21 has William seated at Longworth in a Walwin family tree but the transcript of his fathers will clearly states that William will inherit Longeford after the decease of his mother, Isabel (ibid, p 63-64). In 1434 William was of Longeford whilst his elder brother Richard was of Marcle (CPR 1429-36, p 376).

¹⁰⁴ For his biography see Roskell et al vol 4, p 765-766.

¹⁰⁵ Duncumb-Cooke vol 3, p 63. He also left £10 to Little Malvern Priory Rushforth p 362.

¹⁰⁶ Rushforth p 362, Duncumb-Cooke vol 3, p 21.

¹⁰⁷ For full details of their inheritance see the Will of Thomas Walwin in Duncumb-Cooke vol 3, p 63-64. For a biography of Malcolm Walwin see Wedgewood p 918, though the birth date cannot be correct.

¹⁰⁸ This evidently didn't put Joan off from trying to annex Longeford in 1419 after Thomas's death. Roskell et al vol 4, p-766, footnote 8.

¹⁰⁹ Roskell et al vol 4, p 765-766 Richard Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny, was Isabel's first husband. Her second, also Richard Beauchamp, was earl of Warwick.

Richard Ruyhale d.1408 and his wife Elizabeth Brugge (Bridges) d.1428 (Fig 7, 2d) Richard Ruyhale d. 1408 of Birtsmorton and Ryall in Ripple, Worcs and Dymock, Glos is represented in an extant coat of Ruyhale impaling Brugge (Bridges)¹¹⁰ for his marriage to his second wife, Elizabeth¹¹¹ who by her will made at Birtsmorton in 1428 and proved the same year directed that she should be buried at Great Malvern Priory¹¹². Birtsmorton is a village south of Great Malvern and in the windows of the church there the coat of the Ruyhale family can still be seen¹¹³.

Ruyhale, a lawyer, had begun his career in the service of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and by 1383 was one of his councillors. He was also associated with Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, and in 1399 Thomas Lord Despencer, Earl of Gloucester (Isabel Despencer's father) appointed Ruyhale as one of his attorneys during his absence in Ireland with Richard II¹¹⁴.

In 1381 through marriage to Katherine, Sir Hugh Pauncefot's widow, he took possession of her dower estates including Crickhowell castle, Cowarne, Herefordshire and Bentley, Worcs. After his wife's death in 1382 he secured leases of these same estates during the minority of his stepson, John Pauncefot, and in 1383 became guardian of Walter Corbet¹¹⁵. John Pauncefot and Walter Corbet were both donors to the Priory as Pauncefot and probably Corbet shields once occurred in these windows (Fig 7,1b,1d, 3b).

After Ruyhale's death in 1408, Elizabeth married secondly Richard Oldcastle Esq and they both held the Ruyhale manor of Dymmok, Glos. Oldcastle predeceased her (d.1422) and she held it till her death in 1428¹¹⁶. In 1431 Dymmok was conveyed to a group led by Henry Bourghier, Count of Eu, the brother in law of Richard Duke of York¹¹⁷ and included in the group was John Pauncefot Knt (see page 18). It will be shown that York was also a donor.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ *Argent two bendlets indented gules and vert, impaling argent on a cross sable a leopard's face or, in the dexter chief (or first quarter) a pear (?) of the last* (Rushforth p 363).

¹¹¹ His first wife was Katherine Pauncefot, d 1382, widow of Hugh Pauncefot of Crickhowell castle, Brec. Roskell et al vol 4, p26. Rushforth p 363 calls him Sir Richard Ruyhale but no other reference does (eg Roskell et al vol 4, p 261-2).

¹¹² P.C.C. 10, Luffenham cited in Rushforth p 363, who notes that he found no documentary evidence that her maiden name was Brugge but thinks it is so as she and her husband had a grant from Thomas Brugge d 1408, probably her father, his eldest son Giles was one of her executors and another son Edward was trustee of her own son Richard Ruyhale (d 1422) Rushforth p 364. Giles and Thomas Brugge, identified as brothers (Johnson p20) both held annuities from Richard, Duke of York, Giles from 1455 and Thomas from 1456 (Johnson p 229). Elizabeth's second husband Richard Oldcastle d.1422, was a cousin of Sir John Oldcastle, the infamous Lollard and friend of Henry V, executed 1417 (see DNB Oldcastle; Roskell et al vol 3, p869- 870). The biography of Richard Oldcastle in Griffiths 1972, p214 seems to confuse Sir John Oldcastle's father, Richard, with his cousin Richard who married Elizabeth.

¹¹³ Next to the church is the moated manor house of Birtsmorton Court. In 1408 after Ruyhales death, the escheator was informed that the manor and advowson of Birtsmorton was held of the king as of the duchy of Lancaster. Other property, late of William Brugge, had been given by Thomas and Alice Brugge. CCR 1405-1409, p 431-2.

¹¹⁴ Roskell et al vol 4, p 261-262.

¹¹⁵ Roskell et al vol 4, p 261.

¹¹⁶ CPR 1429-1436, p281-282.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p 141.

¹¹⁸ In 1409 it was recorded that Richard Ruyhale at his death held premises in Bromsgrove from the Earl of March then a minor (CCR 1405-1409 p 429). These premises presumably eventually descended to Richard, Duke of York.

The Ruyhale family had links with Hereford Cathedral, as Sir Richard's brother Edmund d. 1427 was a canon there¹¹⁹ whilst the Brugge family had links with Gloucester Abbey. The tiled pavement there (dated 1455) still shows the Brugge coat in a corner tile, its presence indicating he was one of the monks who helped Abbot Seabrooke in his work¹²⁰. This supports the possibility that the three ecclesiastics once in the first south window of St Anne's Chapel were the Bishop of Worcester, the Bishop of Hereford and the Abbot of Gloucester.

In 1424-5 Birtsmorton was sold to John Nanfan Esq¹²¹ who then as lord of *Brutes Morton* conveyed the manor in 1431 to Sibel Delabere with remainder to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick¹²². In 1440 Nanfan was an executor of the will of Warwick's wife Isabel Despenser¹²³. Perhaps as an executor based near to Great Malvern he arranged for the memorial window for Beauchamp and his wife to be inserted into the chapel and at the same time had a window in memory of the Ruyhale family made.

Ruyhale died in 1408¹²⁴ probably before the rebuilding of the Priory began. His will has not survived but it is known that the administration of his will was committed to the Prior of Malvern.¹²⁵ If the rebuilding of the Priory was already being discussed at that stage he may have left a bequest. As noted above, his wife Elizabeth in her will directed that she should be buried in the Priory and it has been suggested that as she made no bequest perhaps her husband had been a benefactor.¹²⁶ Alternatively, the then Prior, John Benet, may have donated the light in their memory as his figure once occurred at its base (Fig 7) or Ruyhale's wards, Corbet and Pauncefot donated it in memory of their guardian, ensuring that Ruyhale's association in life with the Beauchamps and Despensers, whose heraldry once occurred in the east window of the chapel, continued in death.

Third Window from East

William Croft Esq d. by 1439 (Fig 7, 3a)

The Croft coat¹²⁷ once in this window can be attributed to William Croft¹²⁸ Esq said to be a friend of Richard Duke of York¹²⁹. Croft Castle (now National Trust) is not far

¹¹⁹ Rushforth p364 note 2.

¹²⁰ From an exhibition about the Seabrooke pavement at Gloucester (see Fig 30). Early 15th century effigies at Gloucester Cathedral attributed to Sir Thomas Brydges (Brugge, Bridges) and his wife may perhaps represent Elizabeth's parents.

¹²¹ VCH Wores vol 4, p31 notes that Birtsmorton seems to have reverted to the trustees of Edmund Ruyhale (Richard's brother) i.e. John Merbury, Edward Brugge and William Poleyn who sold it to Nanfan in 1424-5 before Elizabeth's death in 1428.

¹²² Ibid p 31; Habington vol 1, p120. Nanfan's son, Richard, was prominent in the reign of Henry VII being knighted by him in 1487 (Metcalf p18). Henry VII gave the Magnificat window to the Priory.

¹²³ Proved Feb 1440 *Warwick castle and its Earls*, vol II, p833. Another of Isabel's executors was John Norreys whose second wife Eleanor Clitherow was related to the Oldcastles, her mother being Sir John Oldcastles daughter DNB Oldcastle p 986. Armorial achievements for both Norreys and Nanfan occur in the Great Hall at Ockwells Manor, Berks, built by John Norreys ca 1450 (Darracott 2004) as does a Mortimer coat with the ermine difference for, I believe, Sir Hugh Mortimer d.1460 (see above note 90).

¹²⁴ The wardship of his estates during the minority of his son Richard d 1415 was committed to a Hugh Mortimer (Roskell et al vol 4, p 262, CFR 1405-1413 vol 13, p 100). It is not clear which Hugh Mortimer had the keeping of the estates. A biography of Hugh Mortimer of Widon, Northants (Roskell et al vol 3, p 783-8), chamberlain of Henry V when he was Prince of Wales, and who died in 1416 without male issue, does not refer to the wardship of the Ruyhales.

¹²⁵ Roskell et al vol 4, p 262.

¹²⁶ Rushforth p 363.

¹²⁷ *Quarterly per fess indented azure and argent, in the dexter quarter a lion passant guardant or.*(Rushforth p 364).

from York's stronghold of Ludlow and he probably held the land from the Duke. William named two of his sons Richard; the elder and the younger¹³⁰ and was married to Margaret, sister of William Walwin Esq recorded by Habington kneeling with his wife, Jane/Joan at the bottom of the middle of the three windows¹³¹ (Fig 7). Richard the younger and his brother Thomas were raised with York's sons Edward and Edmund at Ludlow and were servants of the Duke of York. After his death in 1460 they continued in the same capacity to Edward IV.¹³²

As noted above (p12), Eleanor, Hugh Mortimer's widow, became c.1460 the wife of Richard Croft the elder¹³³. Sir Richard Croft (d 1509¹³⁴) would have been of full age when the quire was consecrated in 1460, by which time this window would almost certainly be already glazed. It is not known when precisely the glazing occurred. William was probably dead by 1439, (see note 130), so most likely this shield was put up by his executors. It would almost certainly have been Richard, William's son, who brought Malvern tiles, including the Leper's Tile dated 1456 (Fig 18) to Croft Castle. These tiles can still be seen on the floor of the church next to the castle as can stained glass roundels of the Sun of York and the scallop shell; the latter the badge St James, patron saint of travellers and also of the Palmers Guild of St Laurence's, Ludlow (stronghold of Richard, Duke of York).

Sir Richard Croft was attached to the house of York, fighting at Mortimer's Cross in 1461, a battle said to have been fought on Croft land. He was rewarded by Edward IV, becoming his receiver general of the earldom of March.¹³⁵ That he was governor of Ludlow Castle and his wife Eleanor "lady governess unto the yonge princes at Ludlow" has been disputed¹³⁶. Eleanor evidently held on to land in Worcestershire, from her first husband Hugh Mortimer as Richard Croft is described as of Croft, Heref., and Cure (Kyre), Worcs¹³⁷. Richard had been a foeffee of the Hanleys (also occurring

¹²⁸ His parents were Sir John Croft M.P. and Janet Glendower. Wedgewood p 237, note 2. Janet was one of the daughters and coheirs of the famous Owen Glendower, the other heirs being wives of Scudamore and Monnington (sic) respectively (Robinson p 33). A Monington is also represented in these windows (see above p 8).

¹²⁹ Croft p 37.

¹³⁰ Croft p 37. William's eldest son John is said to have died in 1435 leaving a daughter Joan (Croft p 36) but a record shows that John had recently died in October 1439 leaving a pregnant wife. At this point Walter Skull Esq was awarded the wardship and marriage of Richard Croft, brother and heir of John Croft and the wardship and marriage of John's child, if it be born (CFR 1437-1445, p 109). William is said to have died in 1436 (Croft p 36). Skull's wardship suggests Richard's father was dead by 1439 and there is an inquisition post mortem in that year for a William Croft who held land in Westfield, Hereford (CIPM 1828 vol IV, no 41 p 200). However these dates cause difficulties with the suggested birth dates given by Wedgewood (p 237-239) for William's surviving sons by Margaret Walwyn (i.e. Richard the elder, 1438, Richard the younger, 1440, Thomas, 1442). That this is the same family of Croft's is suggested by the later link when the daughter and heir of Sir Walter Skull married Richard the elder's son, Edward Croft. See note 140, 291.

¹³¹ Rushforth p 362.

¹³² Croft p 38, Wedgewood p238-239.

¹³³ Croft p 37, though Harl Ms 5019, cited in Croft p 40, has Sir Richard marrying the daughter of Cornwall, widow of Sir John Mortimer. Effigies for Eleanor and her second husband Richard Croft can still be seen in the church next to Croft Castle (N.T.), Herefordshire. The tomb still bears a dimidiated coat of Croft impaled with Cornwall. An effigy of the second of William's son's called Richard occurs in a church in Chipping Norton, Oxon. See Hampton p 79-81, 149-150.

¹³⁴ Croft p 40 makes him aged 14 in 1445 i.e. b. 1431. Wedgewood p237 suggests b. 1438, but see note 130.

¹³⁵ Wedgewood p 237. Later still he fought for Henry VII being made a knight banneret at the battle of Stoke in 1487 as was Sir John Mortimer (Metcalfé p 14) his stepbrother, son of Sir Hugh Mortimer.

¹³⁶ Ross, p7 and p436.

¹³⁷ Wedgewood p 237.

in this window) for Hanley Hall and in 1483 when Thomas Hanley quitclaimed the right to Lord Beauchamp, Croft and the other feoffees refused to give up the claim¹³⁸. Eleanor is said to have died in 1520 aged nearly 90.¹³⁹ Members of the Croft family also donated a window in the north clerestory of the nave.¹⁴⁰

John Pauncefot Knt d. c.1445 (Fig 7, 3a)

The Pauncefot (Pauncefoot, Pauncefote, Pauncefort) shield¹⁴¹ once in this window can be attributed to John Pauncefot Knt who in September 1444 with his son Thomas held Crickhowell when Miles Skull was a feoffee¹⁴². He does not appear on Commissions of the Peace in Worcestershire (see Fig 5) but does occur in Gloucestershire from 1432 to 1438¹⁴³.

John was stepson of Richard Ruyhale (Fig 7, 2d), Ruyhale having married his mother Katherine, widow of Hugh Pauncefot of Crickhowell by April 1381. In the summer of 1382 after Katherine's death, Ruyhale secured her dower estates during John's minority.¹⁴⁴

Crickhowell, in the marcher lordship of Blaenllyfni, is part of the Earldom of March which in the mid fifteenth century was held by Richard, Duke of York, (see p 28 below) and York fought a legal action over the Crickhowell lordship with the Pauncefot family obtaining a license to sue for recovery in 1445 though he chose not to prosecute the action further.¹⁴⁵

In 1433 John Pauncefot Knt was in a group led by Henry Bourgchier, Count of Eu, (brother of Thomas Bourgchier Bishop of Worcester and brother in law of Richard Duke of York), and including John and Edward Brugge and others who were confirmed in their possession of the manor of Dymmok, Glos when John Monington was a feoffee. This manor had previously been held by Richard Ruyhale d 1408 and his wife Elizabeth d 1428¹⁴⁶. Extant Monington shields occur in the windows of the chapel, as does a shield for Richard Ruyhale and his wife (see Fig 7).

1433 was two years before Thomas, Henry Bourgchier's brother, became Bishop of Worcester. Could Thomas, after he became Bishop in 1435, have used his brother's connections to collect donations for the rebuilding of the Priory perhaps accounting for the presence of Monington and Pauncefot shields in these south windows and the shield

¹³⁸ The Crofts appear to have kept possession as in 1541 John Croft mortgaged Hall Place in Hanley Castle. VCH Worcs IV, p 97.

¹³⁹ Hampton p 80.

¹⁴⁰ Rushforth p 247, 418. Three Crofts were represented, two bearing the undifferenced coat and one with an annulet indicating a 5th son. It is likely that one of the undifferenced coats represents Richard Croft the elder d 1509, son of William Croft. Richard's son, Sir Edward Croft married Jocosa, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Skull (Griffiths 1972, p 153). These windows were glazed later than those in St Anne's chapel, probably during the reign of Edward IV. The next window once depicted Roger Harewell bearing a Yorkist collar and his wife who was one of William Corbet's grandchildren (for Corbet see page 8).

¹⁴¹ *Gules three lions rampant argent* (Rushforth p 364).

¹⁴² Wedgewood p 668 erroneously dates Pauncefot's death as 1422-3 (Roskell et al vol 4, p 27 note 7). Rushforth describing this shield identifies the benefactor as John Pauncefot who was dead before 1428 or a Thomas Pauncefot who he suggests is the Thomas who married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Bridges (Brugge) Rushforth p 365 note 7. John Pauncefot Knt was however still around in 1434 (see Fig 7 footnote) and in 1444 CCR 1441-47,p272. For Miles Skull see Fig 7 footnote and Fig 14.

¹⁴³ CPR 1429-1436, p 617 and CPR 1436-1441, p 582.

¹⁴⁴ Roskell et al vol 4, p 261.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson p 13, CPR 1441-1446, p 334.

¹⁴⁶ CPR 1429-1436 p 281-2.

of Henry's brother in law, Richard Duke of York, in the south clerestory? The Pauncefot family were related by marriage to the Beauchamp's of Holt, a cadet line of the Beauchamp family who held Holt from the Bishop of Worcester¹⁴⁷. Pauncefot's heir was his son Thomas who in 1467/72 sued the bishop of Salisbury and John, Lord Beauchamp for land in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire¹⁴⁸.

William ap Thomas Knt d. 1445 (Fig 7, 3c; Fig 8)

The next shield¹⁴⁹ probably represents a member of the Herbert family¹⁵⁰ and is most likely to be for the founder of the family, Sir William ap Thomas d.1445, the *Blue*

¹⁴⁷Habington vol 2, p 128 though apparently during the minority of John Beauchamp of Holt, Wores (d.1420), the earl of Warwick acted as overlord of Holt (VCH Wores vol 3, p404). It has been suggested that the John Pauncefot who married Margaret, daughter and heir of the above John Beauchamp was a son of our man (Roskell et al vol 4, p 27, note 7). Rushforth p365 was wrong in assuming Margaret was dead before 1428 because her second husband John Wysham then held the manor of Holt in her right as she seems to have had three husbands, 1) Pauncefot, 2) Wysham and 3) Sir Walter Skull (Roskell et al vol 2, p 154) and note 291. If her first husband was the son of John Pauncefot Knt, he must have predeceased his father who is recorded as living till c 1445 (see Roskell et al vol 4, p25). Wysham, her second husband, in 1428 held Bentley, Wores that Grimbaldu Pauncefot held (Feudal Aids V, p 324). John Pauncefot Knt, is described in 1431 as the heir of Grimbaldu and Richard Pauncefot (CPR1429-36, p179). In St Edmund's church, Crickhowell, can still be seen the 13th century effigy of a Grimbaldu Pauncefot whose wife Sybil, daughter of Sir Hugh Turberville, founded the church, towards the end of that century, as a thank offering for his safe return from the crusades or for reparation for his misdeeds. According to the Pauncefot legend she sent her right hand as ransom to obtain his release from infidels, apparently a regular practice of Pauncefot wives! Sybil's effigy is also extant, minus both hands. She is said to have brought the castle and manor of Crickhowell to her husband (James p 6-8, 27).

¹⁴⁸ See Wedgewood p 668. This Beauchamp is presumably John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick as the Beauchamps of Holt had died out by then.

¹⁴⁹ *Party per pale gules and azure three lions rampant argent* (Rushforth p 365).

¹⁵⁰ Noted in the 19th century (Grazebrook cited in Rushforth p366). The coat of Sir William ap Thomas quartered with Bluet (his first wife) in Writhe's book (86v) (see Siddons vol 2, p 226) would be identical to the Malvern coat. Siddons notes that the Herberts used this coat and with the colours reversed, the latter becoming the norm. Rushforth (p366 note 2) cites a similar observation by Sandford that in some cases the early Herbert arms were blazoned "per pale gules and azure three lions rampant argent" as here. Examples given include the Herbert coat on the tomb of Charles Somerset K.G., Earl of Worcester d 1526 and his wife Elizabeth Herbert d 1514 in the Beaufort chantry, St Georges Chapel, Windsor Castle. She was daughter and heiress of William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon d. 1491, grandson of William ap Thomas Kt and son of William Herbert created Baron Herbert in 1461 (he adopted the name Herbert). A further example quoted was the coat labelled Lord Herbard (sic), transcribed by Foster 1904 (see p238-239), from a Tudor book of Arms (Harleian Ms No 6163), some of the material in this book perhaps being copied from a manuscript as early as Henry VI (see Foster 1904, p 125). This "Lord Herbert" may be Elizabeth's father, William Herbert who died 1491 when the barony became extinct (Burke 1883 p272). The same coat is recorded for later Herberts (Metcalf p 72, 86). However the more common form of the coat "per pale azure and gules, three lions rampant argent" has been recorded for Elizabeth's grandfather, William, eldest son of William ap Thomas, made Earl of Pembroke in 1468. This coat occurs on a welsh ode in his honour dated c 1461-2 (Peniarth MS 109) and his figure kneeling before Edward IV in a miniature in the British Library (BL, Royal MS 18 DII, f.6) wears a tabard with the same blazon (Siddons, vol 1, p 78, plate XV). In the east window of the Herbert chapel evidently built by William ap Thomas in Abergavenny church there were once kneeling figures of a man and a woman, the man's surcoat bearing the arms of Herbert with an inscription to pray for the souls of William Thomas, militis, and Alice (sic) his wife who had made this chapel and window (Siddons vol 1 p 197, Long p 235) but unfortunately the arms are not detailed. Churchyard's description of the arms on his tomb describes three lions on a shield behind his head but gives no further details (Long p 236, Bradney vol 1, pt 2 p 165). Bradney thinks Churchyard's record of the Morley coat (*argent, a lion rampant sable, crowned or*) behind the head of the adjacent female effigy is a mistake as these are his mother's arms though the effigy is of his wife Gwladys. The only Herbert coat described is that of a shield in the east window *per pale azure and gules, 3 lions rampant argent* impaling the Royal coat with a bordure argent, (Long p 234), presumably representing the marriage of ap Thomas's grandson William Herbert to Katherine, bastard of Richard III. Metcalf (p 1) records the knighting of William ap Thomas by Henry VI in 1426 but gives no arms. A seal of his father, Sir Thomas ap Gwilym ap Jenkin bore the coat *per pale 3 lions rampant*

*Knight of Gwent*¹⁵¹, who had links with Warwick and his wife and also with the Duke of York. This shield was probably put up by him or in his memory.

William ap Thomas had a longstanding responsibility for the lordship of Abergavenny¹⁵² which Warwick held in right of his wife and evidently regarded as important¹⁵³.

He also had responsibilities for estates near to Abergavenny held by Richard, Duke of York¹⁵⁴. Thomas's castle and manor of Tretower, purchased in the 1420's, was in the marcher lordship of Blaenllyfni part of the earldom of March, which York had inherited. Thomas was also a member of the group, led by York (Isabel's cousin), that in 1439 took control of the Earl of Warwick's estates during the minority of his heir Henry¹⁵⁵.

(figured in a 17th century book, *Herbertorum Prosapia* between transcribed deeds of 1399 & 1414, now in Cardiff Library (Ms 5.7. fo. 35). See Wagner 1972, Siddons vol 1, p 196.

¹⁵¹ His rise into favour was due to his father in law David Gam who had fought against Owen Glendower in Wales and for Henry V at Agincourt (Evans p 28, 32) where, like Edward, Duke of York, Gam was killed. William ap Thomas and Richard Duke of York were among those knighted by Henry VI after the King himself was knighted in 1426 (Griffiths 1981 p 80-81). He was Deputy Justiciar of South Wales in 1439 (Griffith 1972 p 147-8) and Sheriff of Glamorgan 1434-1440 (Pugh p 190). His famous son by Gwladus Ddu (second wife) also called William, adopted the name Herbert and became a prominent Yorkist. From his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Bluet and widow of Sir James Berkeley d.1405, William ap Thomas acquired properties which still exist, including Raglan Castle (Griffiths 1972 p 148) Raglan seems to have held from Edmund earl of March (CIPM 1828 no 32 p96) and Tretower in the Usk Valley, purchased in the 1420's from James Berkeley, son of Elizabeth (Radford & Robinson p 4). His stepson had become Lord Berkeley in 1417 on the death of Sir Thomas Berkeley (see Fig 24).

¹⁵² In 1421 William ap Thomas was receiver of the lordship of Bergavenny on behalf of Joan Beauchamp, Lady Bergavenny d.1435 (Bradney, vol 2 pt 1 p3-5). Joan's son, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester d.1422, was the first husband of Isabel Despenser (by whom she had a daughter, Elizabeth). After Joan's death in 1435 the lordship of Abergavenny was amongst the manors inherited by Isabel's second husband, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in right of his wife (Pugh p 190). Perhaps Thomas was also steward for Isabel. By 1456 it was in the control of the Neville family by the marriage of Elizabeth Beauchamp to Edward Neville (Griffiths 1981 p 234, 780), brother of Cecily Neville, York's wife and Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. William ap Thomas died in 1445 and alabaster effigies for him and his wife Gwladus still exist in the Herbert chapel of St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny, his SS collar showing his allegiance to Henry VI. Interestingly, the Prior of St Mary's Priory in the mid fourteenth century was a canon from St Julien's Cathedral, Le Mans in Maine, France, a link which evidently continued to the beginning of the fifteenth century as its recorded that following a fire at the Priory several of the monks were forced to return to Le Mans (Tracy, Harrison & Miles 2002 p 208). It would be interesting to know whether the Priory was still linked to Le Mans in the mid fifteenth century. The citadel of Le Mans was occupied by the English from 1425 to 1448 when it was handed over to René of Anjou and Charles of Maine, respectively father and uncle of Margaret of Anjou who was betrothed to Henry VI in 1444, marrying him the following year.

¹⁵³ When the Earl had to take up the lieutenancy in France in 1437 which Richard Duke of York was relinquishing, among the conditions he laid down was one he insisted on otherwise he would not go and that was that the lordship of Abergavenny be held by Henry VI for two years and one week to preserve the Earl's rights (Wolffe p89).

¹⁵⁴ Griffiths 1981, p 905 provides a map of York's lordships in Wales and the March showing a large area to the west of Abergavenny. This area appears to consist of the manors of Clifford, Hay, Ewias Lacy and Blaenllyfni (see map in Radford and Robinson p 3). By 1440 William ap Thomas was a member of the Duke of York's council and in 1442-3 was chief steward of York's estates in Wales (Griffiths 1972, p147-8).

¹⁵⁵ CPR 1436-41 page 279 May 16 1439: "*Appointment by advice of the Council of Richard, Duke of York, Richard (Neville) Earl of Salisbury, John Beauchamp Kt, William ap Thomas Kt, John Throkmorton Esq, John Norys Esq, John Vampage and Thomas Huggesford Esq to the use of Isabel, late the wife of Richard Earl of Warwick, tenant in chief and to the use of executors of the said Earl of the keeping of all the castles, lordships, manors, offices, lands, tenements etc in England, Wales, the Welsh march and Calais, of which the said Earl was seized at the time of his death in fee simple and fee tail, in*

In November 1439, as William Thomas Knt, he was among the group of men endowed with various lands in order to fulfill Isabel's will¹⁵⁶ and in the December following was in the almost identical group granted all the assets of Isabel and her late husband until their son Henry was of age "*This grant is made at the prayer of the said countess who has long been visited with grievous bodily infirmity, so that her recovery is doubtful*"¹⁵⁷. Isabel must have died soon after.

In view of the question of whether the arms in this light are his¹⁵⁸ it is worth noting that the name his son adopted, i.e. Herbert, was intended to claim descent from the family of Fitzherbert as set out in the pedigree of the barons Herbert¹⁵⁹. It is reported that the arms of this family have been blazoned: *per pale gules and azure, three lions rampant or*¹⁶⁰, though the cadet branch through which the descent was later traced, that of Blaenllyfni, bore: *gules, three lions rampant or*¹⁶¹. However the coat on the seal of the father of William ap Thomas was blazoned *per pale three lions rampant* (see note 150).

The coat of the "main" branch of the Fitzherberts is very similar to that of the Malvern shield (see Fig 7, Fig 8), whilst the shield for Pauncefot, once next to it in the same window (see Fig 7) is similar to that of the cadet Fitzherbert line.

The marcher lordship of Blaenllyfni includes in a line from west to east, the castles of Blaenllyfni, Tretower and Crickhowell. Tretower was owned by William ap Thomas from sometime in the 1420's¹⁶². The lordship of Crickhowell was held by the Pauncefots from the late 13th century¹⁶³ and they still had it in the mid 15th century though in 1463 Crickhowell and Tretower were made into a separate lordship for William Herbert, ap Thomas's son.¹⁶⁴ The Fitzherberts were lords of Blaenllyfni from

the kings hands by reason of his death and of the nonage of Henry his son and heir, to have the said keeping, rendering nothing thereof until the said heir shall have sued out his livery of the premises".

Note: Isabel Despenser, Warwick's wife, died later the same year. The John Norys Esq noted above is the builder of Ockwells Manor, a fifteenth century manor house near Maidenhead, Berks.

¹⁵⁶ CPR 1436-41 p 359.

¹⁵⁷ CPR 1436-41 p360.

¹⁵⁸ See note 150.

¹⁵⁹ Burke 1883, p 271. The Fitzherberts are said to have expired in the male line in 1356 (Wagner p 356-7). He presumably meant the line based in the Welsh march. The main line lasted longer (see note 160).

¹⁶⁰ Siddons vol 1 p 196. Though this coat is not among the Fitzherbert coats described by Burke 1884 (p 355). The main line of the Fitzherberts had a different coat *arg a chief vair, or and gu. over all a bend az* and the Fitzherbert's that later became Earls of Pembroke are said to descent from a cadet line (see Burke 1883, p 206). Sir William ap Thomas was such a descendent. There is evidence that the coat of his father (Sir Thomas ap Gwilym ap Jenkin) in 1399, was *per pale three lions rampant* (see note 150). Wagner (p 356) who thought the pedigree of Sir William Herbert, eldest son of William ap Thomas, was fictitious, therefore had to say that by 1399 the fiction "had already been in some form concocted".

¹⁶¹ Siddons vol 1 p196, who also notes (p 278 note 104) that Herbert Fitzherbert married Lucy, co-heiress of Miles, Earl of Hereford, who had Blaenllyfni as her portion. Burke (1883, p271) says that the house of Herbert is derived from a Herbert Fitzherbet, son of Herbert, chamberlain to William Rufus (s. 1087, d. 1100), but cf *ibid* p 206.

¹⁶² Radford and Robinson p 3-5.

¹⁶³ Grimbold Pauncefot had free warren of Crukhowell (sic) in 1281 CPR 1429-36 p 180.

¹⁶⁴ In 1444 Crickhowell was held by John Pauncefot Knt and his son Thomas CPR 1441-47 p 272, though Richard, Duke of York, also claimed the lordship (see above p 18). Crickhowell was transferred to William Herbert in 1463 (ODNB, William Herbert p 730). Also Richard Herbert Knt (younger son of William ap Thomas Knt) who was executed in 1469, had an illegitimate son William who was of Crickhowell (see Griffiths 1972 p 156) and in St Edmund's church, Crickhowell there are many Herbert monuments. For the Pauncefots at St Edmunds see note 147.

the 12th century¹⁶⁵. The similarity of the coats of these families and their geographical proximity to each other hints at a possible family connection.

Despite the presence of Fitzherberts in a published account of the lineage of William ap Thomas and his sons¹⁶⁶ the possibility that the name Herbert was taken because of descent from the Fitzherberts is regarded as erroneous as Welsh bards of the 15th and most of the 16th centuries did not mention such ancestry¹⁶⁷. However, it would appear that William ap Thomas and his father were using heraldry to claim such descent.

Simon Hanley d.c. 1463 (Fig 7, 3d)

The last shield¹⁶⁸ probably represents Simon Hanley who about 1432 inherited the forestership and submanor of Hanley Hall and appears in Hanley documents for the last time in 1462¹⁶⁹. In 1431 he was a landholder in Suckley and Lulsey held under the Beauchamps¹⁷⁰ where the Priory was the chief owner¹⁷¹. The Hanleys of Malvern Chase were hereditary foresters of the Chase who lasted till late into the fifteenth century¹⁷².

The manor of Hanley Hall belonged to the Hanleys from the 12th century and they appear to have held it from the occupiers of Hanley Castle, the lords of Hanley Castle being the chief lords of Malvern Chase.¹⁷³ Gilbert de Clare had the castle with the manor of Hanley in the 13th century, and it then descended to the Despencers and thence to the Beauchamps. Henry, son of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his wife Isabel Despencer was born there in 1425 and died there 21 years later.¹⁷⁴ It is therefore not surprising that a shield for the Hanley's should occur in a possible memorial chapel to the Beauchamp and Despenser families.

After Henry's death, ending the main line of the family (Fig 9), a cadet line seems to have had some rights. In 1457 Richard, the son of Sir John Beauchamp of Powick makes a first appearance receiving lands at Hanley and elsewhere when the witnesses included his father, Thomas Pauncefoot and Malcolm Walwin (Pauncefoot and Walwin coats also occur in this window – see Fig 7). In 1479-80 Richard would eventually purchase the submanor of Hanley Hall and the chief forestership from Nicholas Hanley, Simon's son, when Richard Deane, Prior of Great Malvern was a witness¹⁷⁵. Nicholas's brothers Thomas and Roger Hanley disputed the sale and allegedly enfeoffed Sir Richard Croft (the Croft coat also occurs in this window- see Fig 7) and others of the

¹⁶⁵ Siddons vol 1 p 267-8.

¹⁶⁶ Burke 1883, p 271.

¹⁶⁷ Siddons vol 1 p 195-6. Evans, who also thinks it is fiction (p 46), tells the story of how the name Herbert was acquired with Welsh bards, in this case, providing the pedigree showing descent from Peter Fitzherbert (Evans p 145, note 23).

¹⁶⁸ *Ermine on a chief gules three stags heads cabossed or* (Rushforth p 365) who notes that even in Habington's time the field was lost though he knew that it was ermine for he represented a branch of the Hanleys.

¹⁶⁹ Toomey p 52. His Will is on p 52-53.

¹⁷⁰ Toomey p 53, VCH Worcs vol 4, p358.

¹⁷¹ Rushforth p366.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ VCH Worcs vol 4, p 94-97.

¹⁷⁴ VCH Worcs vol 4, p 94-96. Henry's Inquisition Post Mortem lists Hanley castle among his assets in Worcestershire (CIPM 1828, 24 Henry VI, vol IV, no 43, p 230).

¹⁷⁵ Toomey p 49, p64.

same manor and when Thomas in 1483 quitclaimed the right to Lord Beauchamp, Croft and the rest refused to give up their claim.¹⁷⁶

A final possible donor to the chapel perhaps could be the above-mentioned Henry Beauchamp, who appears for the first and only time on a Commission of the Peace in Worcester in February 1446 (see Fig 5). However, he died later that year age 21 so would not have had control of his estates for very long. After Henry's death in 1446, John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick¹⁷⁷ was among those granted his estates including those in Worcester and Gloucester, during the minority of Henry's daughter, Anne (d 1449, Fig 9)¹⁷⁸. In 1447 these same estates were surrendered and granted to Cecily Neville, Henry's wife as her dower.¹⁷⁹ Cecily may have been able to contribute to a memorial to her husband's family but again no evidence has been found that she did so¹⁸⁰.

Although the Priory is located in Worcestershire it is close to the border with Herefordshire. Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick d.1439 played a role in the affairs of both counties. Warwick was on Commissions of the Peace in Herefordshire until 1437¹⁸¹ and many of the men represented in the south windows were also prominent in that county. Many occur on a commission in 1434 (see footnote Fig 7), but the glazing was almost certainly done later. This can be concluded from the presence once of the figure of a monk with underneath the name, *John Benes* (Benet)¹⁸² (Fig 7, 2d) who occurs as Prior in 1449¹⁸³. Benet succeeded John Malvern (Prior in 1435) sometime between 1436 and 1449. This period is the earliest the glazing could have been carried out. It is not known how long Benet was Prior but the glazing was almost certainly completed well before 1457 when Benet's successor Prior Richard Mathern resigned and Prior Richard Dene was elected (see Fig 32). Many of the men here identified were dead by 1445 (see Fig 7) and if the windows were glazed after that year the shields may be in their memory.

The chapel was probably put up in memory of Warwick and his wife Isabel Despenser by donors who had been their retainers or retainers of Richard, Duke of York, Isabel's cousin, who himself appears to have been a major benefactor¹⁸⁴. Several donors were connected to the Ruyhale family and may have put up the shield to commemorate that family. There appears to have been a bidding prayer for all donors along the bottom of the middle window which in Latin said "All ye who shall pass by this window (or light) pray for our souls &c."¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁶ Toomey p 67-68. The Crofts appear to have kept possession as in 1541 John Croft mortgaged Hall Place in Hanley Castle VCH Worcs vol 4, p 97.

¹⁷⁷ His coat once occurred in the south clerestory glass and still occurs on the 1453 wall tiles (Fig 14).

¹⁷⁸ CPR 1446-52 p 1.

¹⁷⁹ CPR 1446-52, p 37-38. Cecily was daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury by his wife, Alice Montague and is not to be confused with Cecily Neville, York's wife, sister of Salisbury.

¹⁸⁰ Cecily married John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, in 1449 (Griffiths 1981 p 294) dying the following year.

¹⁸¹ CPR 1436-1441, p 583.

¹⁸² Recorded by Habington (vol 2, p 187) but disappeared by the time of Thomas Rushforth p355, 430.

¹⁸³ Rushforth p 356 and Dugdale's Monasticon vol 3, p 443. Dugdale calls him John Bennet.

¹⁸⁴ See page 28.

¹⁸⁵ Habington vol 2, p187; Rushforth p 355.

3. WHO REBUILT THE QUIRE?

It is suggested that the quire was rebuilt as a memorial to the Beauchamp and Despenser families. It will also be shown that the founders and past donors to the Priory were also to be commemorated. The question arises as to why this was done and who paid for it. Presumably the church needed restoring and perhaps the deaths of Warwick and his wife in 1439 and their son Henry in 1446, a death that brought the main line of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick to an end (Fig 9) provided the stimulus. As to who paid for it, evidence from the heraldic stained glass, some of which still can be seen at Malvern, leads to a plausible explanation of who the major donors were.

HERALDIC GLASS OF THE QUIRE

There was once a great deal of heraldic glass in the windows of the quire and indeed elsewhere in the church, and individual windows were obviously donated by particular families¹⁸⁶. However of particular interest are the shields in the tracery lights of the quire clerestory thought to represent benefactors or patrons of the church and house¹⁸⁷. These are likely to be the major donors whose help rebuilt the quire.

Rushforth has suggested dates for the quire windows that include “about 1440” for the east window with the easternmost window on the north side and its opposite number on the south side of the quire as being contemporary with or a few years later than the east window. Based on his identification of the armorial shields in the tracery lights of this window and others in the south quire he then has to suggest that the tracery lights were perhaps independent of the glass in the main lights and were put up later¹⁸⁸.

Revising the identification of the men represented by these shields, particularly the two in the easternmost window of the south clerestory of the quire, allow the assertion that the tracery lights were contemporary with the main lights and that all the glass in the quire was already in place before the altars were consecrated there in 1460 by Bishop John Carpenter¹⁸⁹ rather than the tracery lights being put in between 1479-1483 by Bishop John Alcock¹⁹⁰.

THE NORTH CLERESTORY

Identifiable shields are now only found in the tracery lights of the third window from the east which is the Founders Window, so called because it depicts people considered in the 15th century to have contributed to the founding of the Priory, including St Edward the Confessor (reigned 1042-1066), St Wulstan, last Saxon Bishop of Worcester (1062-96) and William the Conqueror (1066-1087)¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. the De Braci family gave a window in the north quire aisle (Rushforth p 316-328) and the nave (Rushforth p248). The remains of glass and tiles with their heraldry on still exist at Malvern (see note 357).

¹⁸⁷ Rushforth p 141.

¹⁸⁸ Rushforth p 1-2 who identifies the shields as representing Edward IV and his son Edward created Earl of March in 1479.

¹⁸⁹ For details of the consecration of the altars by Bishop Carpenter see note 6.

¹⁹⁰ As suggested by Rushforth p142.

¹⁹¹ That this window was a memorial to the founders of the Priory was first realised by Albert Way whose article (Archaeological Journal, 1846 ii, p 48) describing the window is transcribed in Nott 1894 p 22-41, see also Rushforth p120-136. The upper division of the 4 light window contains scenes from the life and martyrdom of St Werstan (the monks in the 15th century accounted his hermitage as the germ of the later Priory) plus one light with a full size figure of St Edward the Confessor giving a charter to a monk (a charter of Henry I dated 1127 numbered lands granted by the Confessor amongst the possessions of Great Malvern although no regular monastic establishment appears to have existed previously to the Conquest).

Both coats in the tracery lights of this window have been attributed to Westminster Abbey¹⁹², of which Great Malvern Priory was a daughter establishment (see Fig 10). It has been suggested that their presence is in recognition of substantial assistance given by Westminster Abbey to the rebuilding of the quire.¹⁹³ However, this window appears to have been donated by benefactors whose figures once occurred at the base of the window¹⁹⁴ and as one of these coats is attributed to St Edward the Confessor, founder of Westminster Abbey who is figured below in one of the lights giving a charter to a monk, the shields may simply be recognising the role of the Confessor and the Abbey in the founding of the Priory.¹⁹⁵ There were once shields, seen now in outline, in the tracery of the second window from the east and it will be suggested that these may have borne the coats of Bishops of Worcester.¹⁹⁶

Apparently, in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) a vitriolic dispute arose between the Abbot of Westminster and the Bishop of Worcester over who should have jurisdiction over the Priory at Malvern¹⁹⁷. The argument was finally decided in favour of

The lower division depicts people connected with the foundation of Great Malvern Priory, with full size figures of St Wulstan (Wolstan/Wulfstan), Bishop of Worcester from 1062-95 and William the Conqueror, both depicted as giving a charter to Aldwin, the founder, plus smaller figures showing acts of donation by Osbernus Poncius (Osbern Fitzpons) and in the final light by William, Earl of Gloucester, and Bernard, Earl of Hereford. Way illustrated four lights, transcribed in Nott, 1894 opposite p 28, 30, 32, 34, and photos of all eight are in Rushforth figs 51-58. This is the only window which still has a full set of portrait heads in the spandrels below the transom (see Fig 13: the 8 heads include from left to right two bishops; a female saint & a queen; a lady & a canonised bishop; a king & a male saint). Rushforth p 145-147, considered the heads may represent some of the chief contributors to the rebuilding of the quire with the king and queen associated with their patron saint. He identifies the king as representing Henry VI or Edward IV, the latter he suggests being more probable (p147). It is more likely to be Henry VI see below p 26 & 35.

¹⁹² Rushforth pp 135, 136, correcting Habington vol 2, p 184. The ancient arms of the Abbey (i.e. pre-reformation) were *azure on a chief indented or a mitre and crozier gules* (Scott-Giles p 33, drawing in Dugdale's Monasticon vol 1, p 265) and the impaled coat on the right-hand shield is very similar the only difference being that the mitre and crozier are gold (*or*) on a red (*gules*) field. (see Fig 10). These two quatrefoils of angels holding shields have suffered from being moved in the past to the west window. They were returned to their original position in 1919 (Rushforth p 134). The head of the left hand angel has been replaced by one of the spandrel heads. Interestingly, the head of the right hand angel has a cross bottony diadem on the head (Rushforth p 135), absent in all the angels of the south clerestory and the other remaining quatrefoil angel on the north side. See Fig 32 for the names of the Abbots of Westminster Abbey.

¹⁹³ Rushforth p 136. Certainly the Abbey held many estates in Worcestershire including Powick and Castlemorton and others near to the Priory (for map of the Abbey's estates in 1535 see Harvey 1977, see also Nott 1885, p 102).

¹⁹⁴ Rushforth p 117, 120

¹⁹⁵ The coat attributed to him also appears on the 1453 Wall Tile scheme and on floor tiles once on the sanctuary steps – see Figs 14, 15. The Confessor granted lands to a hermitage at Malvern and later an abbot of Westminster founded the priory (Rushforth p 133). An altar dedicated to St Edward the Confessor in 1460 appears to have been on this side of the quire, see above note 6.

¹⁹⁶ For the donors of this window see above, page 3. The shape of these shields can still be seen but were already unidentifiable before Habington or Thomas saw them (see Rushforth p 416 and p117). One of the angels holding a shield still exists and is of the same design as in the windows opposite. The first window from the east given by Prior John Malvern (see above page 3) has censuring angels in the tracery which can still be seen (Rushforth p 109).

¹⁹⁷ This arose because Westminster came directly under the pope and was exempt from the archbishop of Canterbury as well as the diocesan bishop but there were battles to decide whether the mother house's exemption covered its daughters (pers comm. 2001, Richard Mortimer, Archivist Westminster Abbey, who considers that Westminster doesn't seem to have exercised very close control over Malvern, reflecting Dugdale's view (Monasticon vol 3, p 443) that although Great Malvern was a cell of Westminster the prior and convent appear to have acted in the management of their estates independently). Nott 1885 (p 45- 48, p186-191) transcribes and translates original documents (Cotton MSS Faustina A.III in the British Museum) including the letter from Pope Adrian IV (Pope 1154 to 1159)

Westminster.¹⁹⁸ If Westminster was a donor perhaps they were attempting to prevent any future jurisdiction problems. It was, however, the Bishop of Worcester, John Carpenter, who consecrated the altars of the quire in 1460 and it seems likely that he played a role in the rebuilding¹⁹⁹. Perhaps one of the missing shields in the north clerestory represented this Bishop.

THE SOUTH CLERESTORY

Six shields once existed in the tracery lights of the south clerestory (Fig 11), two in each window. Three are lost and two have been moved, but it is possible to reconstruct the original pattern from Habington's notes²⁰⁰. The shields represented the King of England and leading courtiers, most with influence in Worcester, as indicated by appointment to Commissions of the Peace²⁰¹ (see Fig 5). The period when each was first appointed spans 1430 (Humphrey Stafford of Grafton) to 1446 (John Beauchamp Lord of Powick) which is most likely to be when the rebuilding of the quire began. These men were the major benefactors who paid for the quire to be rebuilt with possible help from the ecclesiastics on the opposite side of the quire.

First Window from East

Henry VI (reigned 1422-1461; 1470-1471²⁰²) **d 1471** (Fig 11, 1a)

This window once held the royal coat of France quartering England²⁰³ which kings of England had born since Edward III claimed the French throne in the 14th century (though only the English king here identified was also legally king of France). Its attribution here to Henry VI is based on the identification of the other coats in the quire clerestory, the strong link between this King, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and his son Henry and the presence of the same royal coat in a wall tile scheme, the top tile of which bears the date **anno re(igni) h(enry) vi xxxvi**, that is the 36th year of Henry VI's reign (1 Sept 1457 - 31 Aug 1458). Other tiles are dated 1453 and 1456 (see Figs 14, 16 & 18 below) and are all during this King's reign.

Henry VI was born in 1421, his father Henry V dying the following year. He thus, while still an infant, became King of England and France. In June 1428

confirming the control of the cell of St Mary at Malvern to the church of St Peter, Westminster, plus later charters of the 13th century where Godfrey Bishop of Worcester confirms that he has no jurisdiction over the Priory, and Edward I confirms the peace made between Bishop Godfrey and Westminster. Westminster was exercising jurisdiction over Malvern monks as late as October 1511 (see Visitation letter transcribed in Nott 1885, p 89-90). The Abbots of Westminster Abbey in the 15th century were William of Colchester (1386-1420), Richard Harweden (1420-1440), Edmund Kyrton (1440-1462), George Norwych (1462-1469), Thomas Millyng (1469-1474), John Esteney (1474-1498), George Fascet (1498-1500), John Islip elected October 1500 Dugdale's Monasticon vol 1, p276. Islip would have been Abbot when the Magnificat window in the north transept was given by Henry VII in 1501. Fig 32 lists their contemporaries who were bishops of Worcester & Hereford, Abbots of Gloucester and Priors of Great Malvern.

¹⁹⁸ See Weaver p3 and Morgan p27, who note that in 1283 the Priory of Great Malvern was exempt from Worcester in favour of the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Westminster, citing the Register of G. Giffard, Bishop of Worcester 1268-1301 (ed. J.W. Bund); see also Deane p 8-9 and note 197 for an account of the dispute.

¹⁹⁹ See below p 44.

²⁰⁰ Habington vol 2, p183-4; Rushforth p41.

²⁰¹ All the magnates identified here occur on the commission of 1446.

²⁰² Henry VI was put back on the throne from 1470-1471 by Richard Neville, the Kingmaker, who became Earl of Warwick after the death of Henry Beauchamp's daughter, Anne (see Fig 9).

²⁰³ Habington vol 2, p 183 who thought it was for Henry VII whilst Rushforth p 142 identified it as Edward IV.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick was appointed as his tutor.²⁰⁴ When the King was nearly eleven years old Warwick had to apply to the Royal Council for extra powers to control the boy²⁰⁵. Warwick's son Henry was one of those knighted by the King on the eve of his coronation in London in November 1429 and established a close relationship with the King when his father was Henry's tutor²⁰⁶. He was one of the king's companions at court and in April 1444 Henry VI accorded him precedence as England's premier earl and elevated him to duke in April 1445²⁰⁷ in recognition of his own meritorious personal qualities and the remarkable reputation of his father, the king's former guardian and the realm's most accomplished knight.²⁰⁸

Henry was Warwick's only male heir. He was four years younger than the king and died in 1446 when only twenty-one²⁰⁹, the last male in the main line of the Beauchamp family (Fig 9). If the rebuilding of the quire was in memory of the Beauchamps and Despensers then Henry VI would have wanted to be involved. It seems unlikely that Henry Beauchamp played any role in the rebuilding as he only had control of his estates for a brief period between coming of age and his death in 1446. February 1446 was the only time he was appointed to a Commission of the Peace in Worcester (see Fig 5) together with magnates whose shields occur in the south clerestory.

Eton College was founded by Henry VI and John Carpenter in 1441 when professor of sacred theology and warden of the hospital of St Anthony, London was involved in obtaining grants for the support of 5 scholars from Eton to attend Oxford University²¹⁰. In March 1444 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester at Eton²¹¹ so must have been well known to the King. The possible role of John Carpenter (Bishop of Worcester 1444-1476) in the rebuilding of the Priory is discussed below.

Henry VI inherited the throne as a minor and it was not until July 1436 that he exercised his will as king for the first time²¹². 1436 is likely to be the earliest that he could have donated to the rebuilding and it was probably later.

²⁰⁴ Wolfe p 46.

²⁰⁵ Wolfe p 13.

²⁰⁶ Griffiths 1981 p 298. The new Oxford Dictionary of Biography details the lives of all the Beauchamps mentioned here. See ODNB 2004 vol 4.

²⁰⁷ As a duke, Warwick was to have precedence after Norfolk but before Buckingham, but Buckingham objected so precedence was alternated yearly (Burke 1883, p 32).

²⁰⁸ Griffiths 1981 p 356.

²⁰⁹ Griffiths 1981 p323 citing GEC XII ii 383-4. Still a minor in 1440 (Griffiths p 363). His Inquisition Post Mortem lists his estates which included assets in Hereford & the march of Wales, Gloucester & the march of Wales and Worcestershire (CIPM, vol IV, no 43, p 227-230).

²¹⁰ Wilkins p 142, CPR 1441-6,p43. Carpenter was professor at Oriel College, Oxford. In 1853 the Provost and scholars of Oriel erected a new monument over the stone cadaver that was all that remained of Carpenter's monument in the church at Westbury (p 7, church leaflet "The ancient parish of Westbury on Trym).

²¹¹ Ibid p 142.

²¹² Griffiths 1981 p 231. There is no evidence that Henry ever visited Great Malvern but his itinerary (in Wolfe p 371) indicates that in April 1457 he travelled from Hereford to Worcester when he would have come very close. We are unlikely ever to know whether he used the opportunity to visit the Priory to see the newly completed quire.

Richard, Duke of York d.1460 (Fig 11, 1b; Fig 12)

This shield was once next to that of the King and its survival is of great interest. It represents York as heir to his paternal uncle Edward Duke of York (killed at Agincourt in 1415), and his maternal uncle Edmund earl of March d 1425. In 1432 he obtained livery of his estates from both uncles.²¹³

Anne, his mother died within a year or two of his birth (b. 1411) while York's father, Richard of Coningsburgh (Conisborough, Yorkshire), Earl of Cambridge, was executed by Henry V for treason in 1415. York appears to have asked for the badge of Coningsburgh to be carved on an armrest in the choir stalls (see below p 42 and Fig 22).

The shield in the south clerestory consists of the Royal coat with a three-point label with each pendant bearing three roundels,²¹⁴ the coat York commonly used as heir to Edward, Duke of York plus a small inescutcheon of Mortimer²¹⁵ quartering de Burgh, the coat of his mother, Anne Mortimer and her brother Edmund Earl of March. York as March's heir became a major landowner in Wales and the Marches²¹⁶.

It is evident that York was regarded as someone of influence in Worcestershire during the period that the priory was being rebuilt. He occurs with the Bishop of Worcester, (first Thomas Bourghier and then John Carpenter²¹⁷) and others noted below on many Commissions of the Peace from 1433-1459 (see Fig 5).

Isabel, York's sister, was married to Henry, Viscount Bourghier, elder brother of Thomas Bourghier who was Bishop of Worcester from 1435 to 1444 during the period when the rebuilding of the quire probably began.

York did not gain livery of his estates until May 1432 and 1433 is the first time he is appointed to a Commission of the Peace in Worcester (Fig 5). From then on he seems to have been involved in a number of church rebuilding projects, all including the provision of stained glass.²¹⁸ It is very likely that he was a donor

²¹³ CPR 1429-35 p150. For a new biography of York see ODNB 2004 vol 41.

²¹⁴ Habington noticed the label but not the roundels so identified it as Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII (vol 2, p183). The roundels were noticed by Rushforth p142 but their significance was not recognised. He identified the coat as Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Edward IV who was not born until Nov 1470. This would mean the glazing could not be before 1470, 10 years after the quire was consecrated. This identification is, anyway, unlikely, as the king's eldest son has a 3-point label with no difference marks. Similarly it cannot be the second son of Edward IV, another Richard, Duke of York, as he bore a different mark on the label (see Louda & Maclagan Table 4). The red glass that would have coloured the roundels is missing. Red glass was "flushed" on top of plain glass like a skin and has in this case peeled off, as can be seen in the Berkeley shield in Fig 12.

²¹⁵ For other Mortimer heraldry see note 80.

²¹⁶ For his lordships see map in Griffiths 1981,p 905.

²¹⁷ Carpenter appears to have been sent abroad on royal business in the early years of his episcopate. This was sometime before 1446 when he was rewarded for "good services rendered in France and England"; what these were is unstated (C Chr R. vol VII 1427-1516 p 55). York was in France as King's Lieutenant from 1441-1445 which may be a further connection.

²¹⁸ He built the nave and a tower at Fotheringhay, onto the quire built by his uncle, Edward Duke of York d.1415, building contract dated 1434 transcribed in Salzman p 505-509. The nave windows once had badges, the falcon & fetterlock (York's personal badge) and a crown and ostrich feather, in stained glass in the tracery lights (Topographical Northants MS fl Bodleian Library transcribed in Marks 1978 p 83-86). Glass formerly at Fotheringhay, including most of a falcon and part of a fetterlock with talons, plus a crown with two surviving ostrich feathers, can still be seen in the west window of Kingcliffe Church,

in the rebuilding of the quire at St Laurence's c1445, in his stronghold of Ludlow.²¹⁹ It may be significant that on the roof of St Laurence's quire can still be seen a roof boss with the coat of Beauchamp, and there appears to have been a chantry for the Beauchamp's in the nave²²⁰.

In 1439 York led the group appointed after the death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick to manage the Warwick estates for the benefit of his widow, Isabel during the minority of his heir, Henry.²²¹ The presence of his shield in a south clerestory window indicates his involvement with the rebuilding of the

Northants. York probably also financed Trinity Chapel in Cirencester Parish Church, described as new in 1437 (Fuller, 1886-7, p156, 1892-93, p38) which once had figures of Edmund, Earl of March, Peter, King of Castile (& Leon), Richard, Duke of York (only his head remaining), Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey (sic), and Sir Peter Geneville, "neatly painted" in the east window (Sandford 1683 p225). York possibly endowed this as a chantry chapel as the other four are his ancestors. The chapel is still liberally endowed with the falcon and fetterlock badge in stone over all the arches in addition to the same badge in wood on a roof boss.

²¹⁹ Ludlow was the stronghold of the Mortimers. The rebuilding of the quire of St Laurence's Ludlow began after 1433 in which year a faculty was granted "for the repair and alteration of the choir" (Lloyd p 3). The crowned queen on a roof boss is said to represent Margaret of Anjou (Lloyd p10) who was married to Henry VI in 1445 so the quire could not have been completed before that year. Lloyd (p 10) suggests it was completed between 1445 and 1449 based on the presence of Lancastrian and Yorkist symbols there. The Duke of York's personal badge, the falcon and fetterlock, appears as a misericord carving and as a roof boss in the roof of the quire (for Yorkist badges see note 300). Ashmole in 1663 recorded in the upper part of the east window of the chancel from left to right:

The *Royal coat with a five point label with ermine spots* (lost): France quartering England with a five point label, three of which bore ermine spots was the usual coat of John Duke of Bedford d 1435. Bedford was King's Lieutenant in Normandy and France, a post York was appointed to after Bedford's death. It is not the label for the Duke of York (as suggested in Ganderton & Lafond p11):

the *Mortimer* coat (lost), probably for Richard, Duke of York);

the *Neville* coat, probably for Cecily Neville, York's wife;

the coat of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford 1422-48: *azure two pastoral staves in saltire and a mitre in chief* or Havergal p 172, Ganderton & Lafond p 11.

See Fig 6 for the present position of the extant coats.

Spofford's figure is prominent in the east window, blessing a stone which bears the inscription *Thomas Spofford dei gra Hereford epus*. The words on the Bishop's stole indicate he was praying to St Anne who is figured teaching Mary to read in the next light see Fig 6. The exact date of the east window is assumed to be 1445 as this date was once in the next window to it on the south side, both windows forming part of an extra bay added to the chancel in the mid fifteenth century (Ganderton and Lafond p11-12, 32). The inscription to Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford is thought to show that work there must have been finished before his Bishopric ended in 1448 (Lloyd 1980 p12).

The Palmers window at St Laurence's is thought to be mid fifteenth century and has been compared with contemporary windows at York, **Great Malvern** and Warwick (Ganderton & Lafond p51). Richard Duke of York and Cecily his wife joined the Palmers Guild in 1437-8 (Faraday p 86 citing SRO: 356/321). Interestingly the chancel of St John the Evangelist at St Laurence's, the special chapel of the Palmers Guild, (Lloyd p 4) has in its east window a local version of the legend of St Edward the Confessor and St John the Evangelist with in the tracery the coat for Edward the Confessor (as at Great Malvern) adjacent to the coat for Ludlow (the white lion of March/Mortimer and three white Yorkist roses on a blue field) (Lloyd p 9). The badge of the Palmers Guild includes the coat of Mortimer. The Guild was responsible for starting a school in Ludlow c 1200 and their badge still to be seen in the hall of the school, Ludlow College (built in the 16th century) and on an external wall.

²²⁰ The Warwick chantry is supposed to have stood against the western face of the southwestern pillar of the tower where there was a fresco. This painting in 1904 was indistinct when Weyman (p347-8) noted that "*The angels at the top of the painting are holding shields; that on the aisle side bearing the arms of Newburgh (chequy or and az. a chevron ermine), and Beauchamp (gules a fesse between 6 cross crosslets or quarterly)*" Weyman while identifying the coat as "*the arms of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439*" suggested that the painting appeared to be of somewhat later date than this. I am grateful to Peter Klein for this reference.

²²¹ See note 155.

quire, which it is suggested was, in part, as a memorial to the Beauchamp and Despenser families.

As has already been noted, the great east window at Malvern, which once had stone shields for Beauchamp and possibly Clare and Despenser above it, has scattered about it large white roses and radiant suns²²², both badges of Richard Duke of York which his son Edward combined when King as the famous rose en soleil²²³.

It has been said that the Priory church has little or nothing to show in the way of stone or wood carving and apart from tiles (a home product of the Priory), the only decoration was its incomparable series of painted windows, possibly due to some personal influence²²⁴. Perhaps this influence arose from the group, led by Richard, Duke of York, which administered the estates of the Earl of Warwick (d 1439).²²⁵ Two members, John Throkmorton (d.1445) and Thomas Huggefurd (d.1470), were Warwick's executors and responsible for the building of his chantry chapel at St Mary's Warwick that still has the remains of a spectacular glazing scheme, commissioned from John Prudde, the King's glazier in 1446²²⁶. Shields for York, John Beauchamp of Powick and probably William ap Thomas all occur at Malvern and all were members of this group.²²⁷

In Worcestershire, the Duke of York as heir to his uncle, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March inherited among many other lands, Oddingley²²⁸ and Bromsgrove²²⁹. The church of St James, Oddingley, was rebuilt in the fifteenth century²³⁰ and when Habington saw it had suns and white roses covered with the Duke's crown in the east window, the coat of Mortimer on the most easterly of the windows on the south side of the chancel and in the south window of the south cross aisle the Royal Coat (France and England quarterly) flanked by the Royal coat without difference impaling Neville²³¹ and another coat of Mortimer with the Duke's crown.

²²² Though Rushforth, p 49, thinks these are gold stars because the rays proceed from a small central nucleus.

²²³ Nott page 37, who says they seem to have been inserted in various places after the window had been filled with painted glass, as they do not accord with the propriety of the design. Did York want to stamp his badges on a window primarily dedicated to the Beauchamp and Despenser families?

²²⁴ Rushforth p3.

²²⁵ Note 155.

²²⁶ Britton p11. "Jewelling" in the robes of the figures, made by inserting small pieces of coloured glass is found at Malvern Priory. It is also found at St Laurence's, Ludlow, (York's stronghold) and the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick (see Ganderton and Lafond p 19, 46, who think the quire of the Ludlow church and the chapel were built about the same time, p 20). This glass is expensive to make, indicating some wealthy donors.

²²⁷ How long York was involved is not clear. The group was set up in 1439 because the heir, Henry was not of age (see note 155). Griffiths 1981 p363 notes that after Henry died in June 1446, at the age of twenty one, scores of appointments to Warwick's estates were confirmed by the crown and the late duke's properties farmed or given to temporary custodians, mostly royal servants.

²²⁸ Roger Mortimer of Wigmore d 1282 gave the manor of Oddingley to his younger son, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, who forfeited it in 1322 for taking up arms against the Despensers. He died in prison in 1326 and though he left a son, his nephew, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, the first Earl of March, was declared his heir (VCH Worcs vol 3, p 458). See above note 83 and below note 286. The Mortimer of Chirk coat can be seen in the 1453 Tile Scheme (Fig 14).

²²⁹ Habington vol 2, p 223. A Malvern benefactor with a connection to Bromsgrove is Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, (see page 32). Grafton may have held Bromsgrove from the Duke of York.

²³⁰ Information in the church.

²³¹ Habington vol 2, p 223-224, who suggests that the lack of difference marks indicates it was the period when the Duke challenged parliament for the crown of England, circa 39 Henry VI (Sept 1460-Mar

One of the Mortimer coats and the impaled coat still exist at the Oddingley church as do kneeling figures of William Haryes (Harris), ordained in 1434, and John Haryes. It is not known whether they were related to William Haryes, a Malvern landowner and owner of a tenement in Eton whose will, proved in 1428, directed that he be buried in the nave of the Priory church, leaving money to the Prior “for the work of his church”. This Harris was once represented in the east window of the north quire aisle at Great Malvern Priory²³². Given the link between both Oddingley and Great Malvern with Richard Duke of York, that they are related seems likely.

York played a leading role in the war with France being appointed King’s Lieutenant in France and Normandy in 1436-37 and 1440-45,²³³ in the latter period replacing Warwick who had died in 1439. York returned to England towards the end of 1445 and remained there until he left for Ireland in 1449 only to return the following year. He would have been in England during the period of the rebuilding of the quire of Great Malvern Priory.

Second Window from East

John Beauchamp Lord of Powick d.1475 (Fig 11, 2a)

This shield now lost, has been attributed to John Beauchamp, Knight²³⁴, made Lord of Powick in 1447 who in 1443 had joined the feoffees of Henry VI’s colleges at Eton and Cambridge²³⁵. In 1446-7 he received a series of grants including Constable of Gloucester and Justice of South Wales and in 1450 became Treasurer of England²³⁶. He was a distant relative of the Beauchamps of Warwick and was one of those appointed with York in 1439 to manage Warwick’s lands.²³⁷ He was first appointed on a Commission of the Peace in Worcester in 1446 (see Fig 5) which may be when he became concerned with Worcestershire affairs. In 1449 he was responsible for raising a loan for the war in France with Bishop Carpenter and Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone.²³⁸ The Beauchamp of Powick coat also occurs on the 1453 Tile scheme (see Fig 14).

De Burgh, Earl of Ulster (Fig 11, 2b; Fig 12)

Both Habington and Rushforth²³⁹ have identified this shield as representing the Cross of St George, *argent a cross gules*. However as can be seen (Fig 12) it is

1461). York was in active rebellion in 1459 when he was attainted. However, it may simply be a glazier’s error. The Royal coat without difference marks impaling Neville (Cecily Neville, York’s wife) once occurred in the west window of Trinity Chapel, Cirencester church (Carles 1673, transcribed in Maclean 1893 p 310), a chapel with strong connections with York supposedly finished in 1437 (see note 218). A comparison of the glass at Cirencester and Oddingley would be welcome. Information in the church at Oddingley says the figure of St Katherine there is similar to that at Cirencester.

²³² Rushforth p 313-315. Rushforth p 313 suggests that another figure in the same window, a Richard Knight, was owner also of a tenement in Eton. This link with Eton, which is just across the Thames from Windsor Castle, supports the identification of the Royal Coat once in the south quire clerestory as representing Henry VI. Henry VI founded Eton College there in 1440, abandoning the original plan in 1448 in favour of one on a much more ambitious scale (Brown et al p 279, 284).

²³³ Arriving in 1441. For details of his career see ODNB vol 41, p748-756

²³⁴ Rushforth p 142 & 417.

²³⁵ ODNB vol 4, p590-1. In 1314 the then Bishop of Worcester sanctioned the appropriation of Powyke (Powick), a manor near to Great Malvern, to the monks of the Priory (Deane p10). Maybe John Beauchamp held Powyke from the Priory.

²³⁶ ODNB vol 4, p590-1, Burke1883, p 34.

²³⁷ See note 155.

²³⁸ See p 34.

²³⁹ Habington vol 2, p 183, Rushforth p 143 & 417.

actually *or a cross gules*. Two of the quarters have lost the yellow tincture probably due to damage but in the other two it survives²⁴⁰. *Or a cross gules* is the coat of the De Burghs who were Earls of Ulster and can be seen quartered with Mortimer in the small inescutcheon on shield 1b.

It is not clear who is being represented. Perhaps it was in memory of Elizabeth de Burgh an ancestor of Richard, Duke of York whose father was Earl of Ulster or, more likely York again, represented in his capacity as Earl of Ulster. Habington recorded this same coat in a window of the cloister at Worcester Cathedral and identified it as the Earl of Ulster.²⁴¹ He probably mistook the Malvern coat because of the height of the window. The cloister windows would have been easier to see.

It is worth noting that no other shields in the south clerestory represent a saint.

Third Window from East

Humphrey Stafford of Grafton Knt d 1450 (Fig 11, 3a)

This shield was already damaged when seen by Habington who identified it as Stafford “*but so broken that I cannot discern whether it be for the Lord Stafford or Stafford of Grafton* (differenced with a canton ermine)²⁴². The Stafford coat with a canton ermine once occurred in a window of the nave²⁴³, and is still found as part of the pattern of 1453 tiles near the altar (Fig 14)²⁴⁴. It therefore seems most likely that the same coat once occurred in the south clerestory.

Humphrey Stafford of Grafton is more likely to be represented here than Humphrey Stafford 1st Duke of Buckingham. Richard Duke of York was related to Buckingham²⁴⁵ but the latter does not appear to have been involved in Worcestershire affairs whereas Humphrey Stafford of Grafton definitely was. Not only did he appear on all Commissions of the Peace in that county during the period that the priory was being rebuilt (see Fig 5) but he was also associated in 1442 and in 1449 with among others the Bishop of Worcester to raise a loan for the King from “spiritual and secular persons” in Worcester²⁴⁶. He had a

²⁴⁰ Rushforth p 143 note 1, notices the yellow stain but says that “no heraldic meaning need to be attached to this”. However, as the yellow stain has diapering it is most likely that this was the original glass that has been replaced with plain glass in quarters 1 and 4.

²⁴¹ The coat for Mortimer was at the top of this window with underneath on the left, that of de Burgh (Earl of Ulster) and on the right, Mortimer quartering de Burgh. Elsewhere in the window was the coat of Stafford of Grafton. See Habington vol 2, p 435 who also recorded heraldry for Richard Beauchamp and Isabel Despenser in another window in the cloister.

²⁴² Habington, vol 2, p 183 see also Rushforth p143.

²⁴³ In north clerestory of nave; see Habington vol 2, p 188-9 and Rushforth p 418.

²⁴⁴ For confirmation that this is the coat of the Staffords of Grafton see Harleian MS 1481, f57 recto and Harleian MS 6128 f 90 recto. Habington vol 1, p 94-5 describes this coat as occurring in several places on the tomb of Stafford and his wife Elizabeth Aylesbury in the church at Bromsgrove. He appears to have chosen to have the coat of his great grandfather, John Stafford of Bromshull, i.e. Staffords arms within a border engrailed, upon the girdle of his effigy (see Habington vol 1, p 94; Harl. MS 1481, f57 recto). Hampton p 206 describes only the latter coat.

²⁴⁵ Humphrey Stafford, 1st Earl of Buckingham, d.1460, was related to Richard Duke of York as Buckingham’s sister Anne had been married to York’s uncle Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March d 1425. Both York and Buckingham were married to sisters of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.

²⁴⁶ CPR 1441-1446 p 61, CPR 1446-1452 p 299.

close connection with John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick, as in 1447 his daughter Elizabeth was married to Richard, Beauchamp's son²⁴⁷.

He was a second son²⁴⁸ but his elder brother, John, died in 1422, so he inherited his parents' lands and was one of the wealthiest landowners in the region²⁴⁹. Grafton founded a chantry in St John the Baptist, Bromsgrove, Worcs in 1447²⁵⁰ and the alabaster tomb for him and his wife²⁵¹ there is still extant. Bromsgrove was among the many lands inherited by Richard Duke of York from his uncle Edmund Earl of March²⁵² and Grafton may have held it from the Duke. Humphrey Stafford of Grafton was a contemporary of Henry VI and Richard Duke of York.²⁵³

Supporting evidence for identifying the Stafford coat as that of Grafton is that the nave window in which the figure of Stafford of Grafton once knelt, also contained the kneeling figure of Littleton, both bearing their coat armour.²⁵⁴ Thomas Lyttelton (Lytilton, Littleton) d. 1481 occurs on Commissions of the Peace in Worcester with Grafton from 1443 to 1446 (Fig 5)²⁵⁵. Later, in 1476, Littleton is associated with Grafton's widow Eleanor and two sons, Humphrey and Thomas when the Bromsgrove chantry was re-founded (presumably because of the change of monarch) when he is referred to as a justice of the common bench. In the following year he was handling legal work to do with the chantry²⁵⁶.

On the 1453 Tile Scheme (Fig 14), the Stafford of Grafton coat is on the same tile as that of Skull (Skull) and by then Stafford was dead being ambushed during the Cade rebellion in 1450 and killed. The tile may have donated by his daughter Anne said to be married to Thomas Skull²⁵⁷. Thomas has been identified as a son of Sir Walter Skull who with his elder brother Miles were involved in the administration of South Wales. Walter also appeared regularly on Commissions of the Peace in Worcestershire (see Fig 5) and was associated with Grafton to raise a loan for the King in 1449²⁵⁸. However, his elder brother Miles had links to the Beauchamp and Despencer families and the Skull coat on the tile is undifferenced indicating that it is Miles who is represented²⁵⁹.

²⁴⁷ Griffiths 1972 p 153. Another daughter Anne is said to have married Thomas Skull (Scull), Nash vol 1 p157, identified as son of Walter Skull Griffiths 1972,p 153 (see note 291).

²⁴⁸ Of Sir Humphrey Stafford (c1384-1419) of Grafton, by Elizabeth Burdet.

²⁴⁹ Pers. comm. 2002 Linda Clark.

²⁵⁰ CPR 1446-52 p 108.

²⁵¹ Elizabeth Aylesbury.

²⁵² Habington vol 2, p223.

²⁵³ Rushforth p143 identifies this coat as for Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton d.1485 rather than Henry Stafford 2nd Duke of Buckingham (the main Stafford line) beheaded 1483. He considered that in spite of the hereditary connection of the lords of Brecon with the Priory the coat probably represented the junior and Worcestershire branch of the family, the Stafford's of Grafton. The Humphrey Stafford suggested above is the father of the man suggested by Rushforth.

²⁵⁴ See Rushforth p418 and p 248, who queries Habington's identification of Sir William Lyttelton (Littleton) and notes that one would expect to find his more famous father, Sir Thomas, who wrote a famous treatise on tenures relating to property law (DNB Littleton, p 1252-3).

²⁵⁵ In 1443-4 Bp Carpenter granted a license to Littleton and his wife Joan to hold mass in their private chapel (DNB Littleton).

²⁵⁶ CPR 1476-85, p 11,57. As the nave windows were glazed later it may have been Grafton's son, Humphrey who was once depicted with Littleton.

²⁵⁷ Nash vol 1 p157.

²⁵⁸ Griffiths 1972, p 148-9 153, CPR 1446-1452 p 299.

²⁵⁹ See also note 291 about Miles and Walter Skull.

The presence of the Stafford of Grafton coat in a nave window as well as on tiles in the quire suggests the building of quire and nave was a continuous process and supports the idea that the quire and nave of the church was rebuilt during the episcopate of John Carpenter which ended in 1476²⁶⁰.

Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone Castle, Glos., Knt d1460 (Fig 11, 3b; Fig 12) Rushforth identified the Berkeley coat with a bordure as that of the cadet line of Berkeley of Beverstone²⁶¹ and suggested two possible identities for this donor.²⁶² A contemporary of the other men identified here is Sir Maurice Berkeley (d. 1460) who was primarily a Gloucestershire magnate appearing regularly on Commissions of the Peace in that county though only occurring in a commission for Worcester in 1446²⁶³ (see Fig 5).

This Maurice had fought in his youth at Agincourt 1415 in the retinue of York's paternal uncle Edward Duke of York, who was one of the few English casualties at that battle. His estate was substantial, "greater than that of James, Lord Berkeley"²⁶⁴, the principal holdings being in Gloucestershire.

He would appear to have had some involvement with Richard, Duke of York as in 1436 he was asked for a personal contribution of 100 marks to go towards the Duke of York's expedition to France. In 1442 he was involved in Gloucestershire with others in raising a loan for the King and again in 1449, this time with Bishop Carpenter, and John Beauchamp of Powyk when the money was for the war in France.²⁶⁵

PORTRAITS OF PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE PRIORY

Each window of the quire once portrayed heads in stained glass in each of its eight spandrels (formed between the transom and the head of the lower tier of lights). Only the Founders window on the north side of the quire, which has the coats of St Edward the Confessor and Westminster Abbey in the tracery, still has them all in situ (Fig 13)²⁶⁶. In the window opposite two survive (Fig 13). Many of the heads are now distributed in other windows of the church but as the ones of the south side were

²⁶⁰ See below page 44 and Appendix I.

²⁶¹ Habington (vol 2, 184) did not notice the bordure and so identified the coat as for the main line of the Berkeleys. Beverstone, co Gloucestershire, is not far from Wotton under Edge where, in the church, is the tomb of Sir Thomas Berkeley d 1417 (see Fig 24) and his wife, Margaret Warenne (the main line of the Berkeleys). Their daughter and heir, Elizabeth, was the first wife of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. A nephew of Thomas, James Berkeley, then took the title. Maurice at his death held the advowson of the church at Wotton under Edge (CIPM vol IV, no 57, p 288-9).

²⁶² Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone d 1460 or his son, also Maurice, d 1475 Rushforth p143.

²⁶³ This is reflected in the distribution of his estates, listed in his Inquisition Post Mortem (CIPM, vol IV, no 57, p 288-289) which are very widespread but with more in Gloucestershire (including Beverstone castle) than in Worcestershire. His son, also Maurice, occurs on Gloucester commissions from 1462 but not on those for Worcester CPR 1461-67 p 564, 575.

²⁶⁴ J. Smyth vol 1, p 351. I am grateful to Linda Clark of the History of Parliament Trust for information on the cadet lines of the Berkeleys taken from a publication currently in preparation.

²⁶⁵ CPR 1441-46 p 62, CPR 1446-52 p 298. In 1434 at Gloucester he also took the oath not to maintain peace breakers (CPR 1429-36 p373) alongside men with names linked to the Priory, such as John Pouncefot Knt, John Harewell, Henry Clifford, Edward and Giles Brugge (see Rushforth p 249, 335-7, 363-5).

²⁶⁶ For details of the Founder's window see above note 191.

executed with rather more solidity it has been possible to identify which were originally on the north side and which on the south side of the quire²⁶⁷.

The heads on the north side appear to have included a variety of ecclesiastical persons, (some canonised), male and female saints, a King and Queen (probably Henry VI²⁶⁸ and his wife Margaret of Anjou), a lady in a hood (suggested as representing Cecily Neville²⁶⁹), a man in a liripipe cap and a lady with long hair encircled with a wreath of white roses. The heads on the south side are said to have included four beardless males wearing open crowns apparently representing English kings who were connected with the history of the Priory²⁷⁰ and other males some with hats (Fig 13), some bearded, perhaps representing some of the donors identified here whose coats occur above in the tracery of the south clerestory.

Rushforth presumed that these persons were connected with the history of the Priory including perhaps some of the chief contributors to the rebuilding of the quire²⁷¹. If indeed the Queen represented (Fig 13) is Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI then the portrait cannot be earlier than 1445 when they married.

As there would have been four spandrel heads to each coat in the tracery there was plenty of scope for portraits of past founders and patrons as well as present benefactors when the quire was rebuilt. Similar donor heads are among the carvings on the choir stalls (see Fig 28).

WALL TILES AND FLOOR TILES

There are many ancient tiles still existing at Great Malvern, most dating from the period between 1450 and 1500²⁷². They were made locally by the monks, in kilns rediscovered c.1833 on land formerly belonging to the monastery.²⁷³ Many of these tiles were used widely in Worcestershire²⁷⁴ though not the 1453 Tiles (Fig 14) that appear unique to Great Malvern. Almost all the extant medieval tiles including the remaining floor tiles are now on the ambulatory wall, on the altar screen and on the north wall of St Anne's chapel.

Several were reproduced and used during the Victorian restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1860-61. These Victorian tiles now floor the church including the floor of the sanctuary in front of the High Altar and the steps leading up to it onto which copies of

²⁶⁷ For details see Rushforth p145-147.

²⁶⁸ It has been pointed out that Henry's son Edward has been figured wearing an arched crown with a similar tassel Strutt *Regal and Eccl Ant* pl xlvi cited in Rushforth p 147 note 3. However, he was not born until 1453. It is likely that the spandrels were glazed before 1460, making him rather young to be so represented.

²⁶⁹ Rushforth p 147, who suggests Cecily, as she was the mother of Edward IV. If this indeed is a portrait of her it is more likely to be here because she was Richard, Duke of York's wife. A precisely similar hood is worn by St Anne (originally in a tracery light in the north quire aisle now in the west window) Rushforth pages 146, 332 & fig 164.

²⁷⁰ Rushforth p 147. Two of the Kings (from the east window) are illustrated in Fig 13. However, the shape does not seem to fit that of a spandrel and maybe they came from elsewhere.

²⁷¹ Rushforth p 145.

²⁷² See Molyneux and McGregor; Way; Nott 1894; and Eames, though no source is comprehensive.

²⁷³ Illustrated in Nott 1894 opposite p 71, who gives a short account of what was found (p 71-73).

²⁷⁴ For the distribution of these tiles see Houghton p 15-17.

the original tiles have been placed ²⁷⁵(Fig 15). Originally wall tiles covered the “eastern and upper parte of the faire quire of Greater Malvern”²⁷⁶, that is the semicircle of the apse behind the altar²⁷⁷ and the stone altar screen²⁷⁸.

These tiles help in understanding the timing of the rebuilding, as several of them are dated. Two schemes of dated wall tiles were made, one with the date 1453 is the heraldic scheme here reconstructed using photographs of extant tiles to reproduce Habington’s record (see Fig 14): the other dated 36 Henry VI (i.e. 1 Sept 1457 - 31 Aug 1458) bears the Royal Coat for Henry VI (Fig 16). A section of this scheme can still be seen fitting neatly into the upper part of the south wall of the north quire aisle ²⁷⁹. It is likely that a third undated wall tile scheme also occurred (Fig 17)²⁸⁰. One of the floor tiles (the Leper’s tile) bears the date 1456 (Fig 18).

The dates on the tiles give a clear indication that the tiling was carried out c1453-1458 prior to the dedication of the altars in 1460.

THE 1453 TILE SCHEME – The Benefactors Wall

This wall tile scheme (Fig 14), designed to back the altar, appears to be a Benefactors Wall, recording past founders and patrons of the priory, as does the Founders Window in the north quire²⁸¹. The tile scheme unique to Malvern²⁸², is dated 1453 at the top and appears to be a hierarchical or chronological display showing the coats of patrons of the Priory. It is likely that the top row represents the earliest founders and supreme authorities, St Edward the Confessor and the King of England, most likely William the Conqueror/Abbey of Westminster, of which Great Malvern Priory was a daughter

²⁷⁵ The symbols are mostly the same as those for the wall tile scheme dated 36 Henry VI (1457-8) including the Royal Coat. One tile in the set also has the coat for Edward the Confessor as found in the 1453 wall tile scheme. See Molyneux & McGregor p 18-22.

²⁷⁶ Habington vol 2, p 183.

²⁷⁷ For dating of apse see above note 5. Nott 1885 p 79 dates the altar screen to the perpendicular period. 15th century tiles are found on the altar screen, along the outer face of the apse wall, on the adjacent south wall of the north quire aisle and on the north wall of St Anne’s chapel. Deane p 86 notes that a few of the floor tiles occupy their original positions in the recess behind the altar and in the floor of the sunk chantry in St Anne’s chapel. (See also Winsor p 11-12, & Molyneux and McGregor who give a good photo of the tiles on the north quire aisle wall).

²⁷⁸ Winsor p 5 notes that the space between the stone altar screen and the curved wall of the apse may have once been a treasury where relics were kept in the days of the monastery.

²⁷⁹ Tiles from the scheme dated 1457-58 are still to be found on the east gable of the priory gatehouse, see Fig 16. It is not known when they were fixed there, but they were already there in 1844 (see Way vol 22, p28) i.e. before the gatehouse was rebuilt (in 1891; see Weaver p 13-15).

²⁸⁰ Cole in 1746 noted that the semicircular apse was covered both before and behind from top to bottom by yellow tiles with the arms of several of the nobility whilst Lyttelton in 1752 recorded that the back part of the choir wall is faced 10 feet high with painted tiles containing the arms of France and England, Clare &c (Way vol 22 p 27). This indicates that tiles from both dated wall tile schemes were located behind the altar. An attempt has been made to calculate the height covered by each scheme:

The 1453 scheme (5 tiles of vertical length varying between 10 to 12 inches has a total height of c57inches (4ft 9inches);

The 1457-8 scheme (5 tiles each 8.5 inches tall) would occupy 42.5 inches (3ft 6.5 ins);

The undated wall tile scheme (4 tiles each 5.5inches tall) would occupy 22 inches (1ft 10ins).

Precisely how these various schemes originally fitted together is not clear. The 1453 scheme and the undated scheme (combined height 57 +22 inches = 79inches) could have fitted one on top of the other on the 80 inch high altar screen but whether they did so is not known. Tiles of the 1457-8 scheme (Fig 16) are illustrated in Way 1844 vol 21 p 492-3, Eames nos 1321-1325 and Molyneux & McGregor 1997 p22-23.

²⁸¹ See note 191 for details of window.

²⁸² These tiles are not found elsewhere because they relate to the founders and patrons of Great Malvern Priory.

priory, who both occur in the founders window handing charters to monks²⁸³. These same coats with underneath figures of St Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror occur on the Rous Roll written by John Rous²⁸⁴ in the reign of Richard III (1483-85) in praise of the Earls of Warwick²⁸⁵. The next row, the coats of Bohun and Mortimer²⁸⁶, may also represent early patrons²⁸⁷. It is tempting to speculate that these coats represent Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex (c1276-1322) and Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirk (1256-1326)²⁸⁸ who were comrades in arms, and were perhaps involved in the building of the Lady Chapel in the 14th century.

²⁸³ As noted before the attributed coat of Edward the Confessor also represents Westminster Abbey of which Great Malvern was a daughter priory. For details of the Founders' Window see note 191.

²⁸⁴ Rous J. (The Rous Roll 1980, Alan Sutton). Rous was chaplain of the chantry of Guy's Cliff, Warwick charged with praying for the good estate of the Earls of Warwick.

²⁸⁵ The King in 1453 was Henry VI but as noted above this coat represents an earlier King, probably William the Conqueror who was a patron of the Priory. The coat on the tile has three lions and according to a 15th century manuscript (Harl. Ms 4205, f3, f6, see also Petchey p 1-3) was borne by English Kings from 1195 (Richard I) until 1340 when Edward III first quartered the French fleur de lis with the English lions. The coats of kings earlier than Richard I are depicted as bearing only two lions, but nevertheless the three lion coat on the tile is probably for William the Conqueror. Henry I (1100-1135) and his father, William the Conqueror (1066-1087) both confirmed grants to the Priory and the Conqueror is depicted in the founders window giving a charter to Aldwin, founder of the Priory see Rushforth p 132 & fig 56. The Rous Roll written 1483-85 depicts three lions on the Conqueror's coat. So also does a genealogical roll (MS Lewis E201) done for Edward IV c.1461, now held at the Free Library of Philadelphia (this wonderful roll can be downloaded for free from the library's web site). The three lion coat must have been regarded as the normal coat of William the Conqueror in 1453.

²⁸⁶ The coat has an inescutcheon ermine, a difference mark associated with the Mortimers of Chirk. Roger Mortimer of Chirk (younger brother of Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore) was Justiciar of Wales from 1308-15 and 1317-22, building Chirk Castle by 1310 (Hopkinson & Speight p172-173). In 1322 he rebelled against Edward II after which he was put in the Tower, dying there in 1326 in the custody of Hugh Despenser (executed later that year) who had taken some of his estates (Mortimer p 127, 149p, Walden p 88-89; DNB Mortimer p 1033). His nephew, also Roger, (created the first Earl of March in 1328), who had rebelled with his uncle managed to escape from the Tower returning in 1326 to overthrow Edward II and to seize his uncle's lordships including Chirk by claiming his cousin, Roger Mortimer d. before 1333 son and heir of Lord Mortimer of Chirk was illegitimate (Mortimer p 234). Chirk was lost again in 1330 when March was executed. John Mortimer, probably Lord Mortimer of Chirk's, great grandson (GEC p 255-256), appears to have suffered a similar fate, in August 1359 handing over his rights to castles and lordships inherited from his great grandfather in Wales (Narberth, St Clear), in the march of Wales and in Hereford and Worcester to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March d.1360, grandson of the first Earl of March (CCR 1354-1360 p641,). Chirk remained in Mortimer hands for a very short time as the family were never able to regain possession after it was confiscated in 1330 (Hopkinson & Speight p 173), though they appear to have had some rights after that date. It is said that in October 1359 at Dover, John, son of John Mortimer released to Richard Earl of Arundel, all right in the castle and lordship of Chirk (GEC Mortimer p 256). Other sources say that John, Mortimer of Chirk's grandson, sold it to Arundel (Burke 1883, p386) and that the lordship was handed over to him in 1334 (DNB Mortimer p1033). This entry in the DNB says that the family of Lord Mortimer of Chirk d.1326 became either extinct or insignificant and the real successor to his estates and influence was his nephew, also Roger, the first Earl of March. Whilst it is true that March's descendent in the 15th century, Richard Duke of York was a more powerful figure, the cadet line of Mortimer of Chirk was not then extinct (it appears to have survived by hanging onto lands inherited from the Wafre family) and was represented by York's contemporary, Hugh Mortimer, Knt, who contributed with York to the glazing of the Priory. See above pages 11-13.

²⁸⁷ Rushforth (p 228, 246) notes that the de Bohun Earls of Hereford were patrons of Malvern priory and suggests that this is the reason why this coat appears on the 1453 tiles.

²⁸⁸ In 1316 both were involved in putting down rebellion in Glamorgan and in 1321 both rebelled against Edward II and forced his favourite, Hugh Despenser into exile. They were also together fighting in Scotland and Gascony ONDB vol 39 p 395-396, Mortimer p104-105. Earlier Bohuns in the 12th and 13th century were buried at Llanthony Priory (Lipscomb vol 1, p206-7), the Prior of which was once represented in a window in Great Malvern Priory (see Appendix and Rushforth p 245). However, Humphrey Bohun d 1322 was buried at York (Lipscomb vol 1 p 207, Walden p 12).

It has been suggested that this series of tiles illustrates the descent of the chase and manor of Malvern that had been given by Edward I, in marriage with the Princess Joan of Acre, to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. It descended by his sister and co-heiress, Eleanor to her husband, Hugh le Despenser and thence eventually to Isabella, daughter of Thomas Despenser, Earl of Gloucester who brought it to her husband Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick²⁸⁹. Their coats occur on the bottom row and with their possession of Malvern would have come patronage of the priory²⁹⁰.

What is certain is that by 1453 these three families had died out in the main line, as had the families of Bohun. Of the remaining coats, that of Stafford of Grafton was probably also a memorial to Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton d 1450 rather than his son, also Humphrey. The Stafford of Grafton coat is on the same tile as that of Skull (Scull), these tiles being few in number. Its possible the tile was put up by Stafford's daughter Anne who was married to Thomas Skull, however more likely it represents Miles Skull who was living in 1453 and had links with the Beauchamp and Despenser families²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Way vol 22 p 25-26. In effect it is also a memorial to the earldom of Gloucester. The Founder's Window in the north clerestory of the quire includes a light showing an early Earl of Gloucester and Earl of Hereford making a donation (Rushforth p 130-131 & fig 57). The families of Clare and then Despenser had been Earls of Gloucester. In 1453 Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester d 1447, uncle of Henry VI, had been the most recent holder of the title.

²⁹⁰ Heraldry for these three families once occurred in stone over the Great East Window (Fig 3), in stained glass in St Anne's chapel (Fig 4) and on contemporary floor tiles (Figs 19 & 20, see below).

²⁹¹ See above page 33. The Skull coat bears no difference marks so should be attributable to Miles Skull d. ca 1458, who had a definite link with the Beauchamp and Despenser families as before 1444-45 he was in receipt of a 5 mark annuity from the lordship of Abergavenny held by Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick. Miles Skull was also a close associate of John Lord Tiptoft, (Griffiths 1972 p 148-149) who married Beauchamp's wife, Cecily Neville, soon after Henry's death in 1446. He also had links had with Herefordshire (footnote Fig 7) being a J.P. there from 1431 till 1458 (CPR 1429-36, p 618, CPR 1452-61, p 668), was a feoffee of Sir John Pauncefoot (CCR 1441-47 p 272) and his son William married a Walwyn (Griffiths 1972 p 148, Weaver F.W p 65). The 1453 tile scheme was made when Miles was still alive so should represent him despite the combination of Skull and Stafford of Grafton on this tile. Habington (see Fig 14) identified the Skull coat as of Holt, Worcs which he describes as *gules a bend voided of the field between six lyon's heads erased or* a description based on armorial glass for Skull in St Martin's church Holt (though the lyon's heads are actually *argent not or* (see Harl. Ms 615 f 34b, 35 cited in Weaver F.W. p 65). Sir Walter Skull of Holt, who was certainly active in Worcester affairs when the quire was being rebuilt, (see Fig 5) was a younger brother of Miles and his coat would have borne a difference mark. Such a mark (a mullet) can still be seen on the extant armorial glass at Holt, a mark Habington (vol 2, p 122) did not notice. Assuming the glass is for Walter, the mullet indicates he was a third rather than a second son (as cited in the Visitation of Herefordshire in 1569 -Weaver F.W. p 65). Holt had been held by a member of a cadet Beauchamp line, John Beauchamp of Holt, who held the manor of Holt of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and died in 1420 when his daughter Margaret, widow of John Pauncefoot (see note 147) was his heir (CIPM 2002, vol XXI, p150). She then married John Wysham who was patron of St Martins, Holt from 1422 to 1434 (Nash vol 1 p 598) and later married as her third husband Walter Skull (Roskell et al vol 2 p 154, VCH Worcs vol 3, p 404) who was pardoned as of Holt in 1455 (Wedgewood p 773) and was patron of St Martins, Holt, from 1469 (Nash vol 1, p598). She was still alive in Nov 1452/Jan 1453 as Sir Walter Skulle and Margaret his wife are mentioned on a deed with those dates (Foot of Fines Worcs CP25 (1) 260/27 no. 46). She probably died shortly after as by 1464 Sir Walter Skull was married to Frances (see CPR 1461-67, p 388, surname unknown). The statement that Walter was married to Frances, a coheir of John Beauchamp of Holt (Wedgewood p 773) is an error. In the Will of Dame Frances Skull of Worcester, dated 14 June 1483, proved 29 July 1483 (TNA, PROB 11/7) she asks to be buried by (next to) her husband, Sir Walter Skull in St Mary's house, Worcester (i.e. Worcester Cathedral). This means that his body was buried in Worcester Cathedral and raises questions about the tomb seen by Habington (vol 2, p121-122) at St Martin's Holt that he evidently thought was Walter's tomb. He described "The Tombe of Skull" as being a large tomb raised from the ground covered in tiles dated 1456 (the Leper's Tile see Fig 18) and bearing **hys armes** (Skull impaling Beauchamp of Holt). Could it have actually been Margaret's tomb as she died c 1456 and would have used the same coat? In the 18th century the tomb was pulled down and the bricks (sic) were put on the floor (Nash vol 1, p 598). A tile bearing this coat can still be seen now on the floor of the church but is damaged where a difference mark would be. In the 17th century the tomb was on the

Mortimer of Chirk did having a living representative, Sir Hugh Mortimer, in 1453,²⁹² but the coat's position in the scheme, if the wall is a chronological record, suggests a past donor. Both Beauchamp of Powick and Skull had living representatives with Beauchamp of Powick being a major patron of the rebuilding as indicated by the presence of his coat once in the south clerestory of the quire. It seems likely that the 1453 tile scheme was a memorial to the founders of the Priory and past and present patrons, a Benefactors Wall.

1453 is a significant date. It marked the end of the 100 years War with France, when the English finally lost Guyenne after the battle of Castillon at which the commander of the English forces, Sir John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,²⁹³ was killed. Henry VI shortly afterwards appears to have had a nervous breakdown and York was appointed Protector.

FLOOR TILES

The floor tiles having had more wear are far fewer in number. Extant tiles relating to the Warwick and his wife (originally in patterns of four) bear the coat of Beauchamp alone, Beauchamp impaled with Despenser (Fig 19)²⁹⁴, Clare alone (the Despenser ancestor), with another set bearing Newburgh (the Beauchamp ancestor) and Despenser (Fig 20). It is likely that these floor tiles were laid c 1456 as another floor tile, the "Leper's Tile"(Fig 18) bears that date.²⁹⁵ 1456 is 17 years after the deaths of Warwick

north side of the chancel and to the east of it was the effigy of a woman (extant and in drastic need of paint removal) with the Beauchamp of Holt coat on her right arm Habington vol 2, p 121,127. This Habington (who seems confused as to the number of daughters) identified as the daughter of John Beauchamp *the ealdest I thincke was maryed to Wysham and lyethe buryed on the north side of the chancell of Holt in a well wrought auncient monument bearinge onely on her right arme Bewchamp of Holt's Armes* (Habington vol 2, p 121, p126-7). However, a church guide of 2004 notes that the Victoria and Albert Museum dates the effigy to 1325-1340. The south chapel still has in the east window armorial glass for Skull and Beauchamp of Holt and Habington (vol 2, p123) recorded the coat, now lost, of Skull impaled with Beauchamp of Holt in the apex of this window. This chapel could equally well be Margaret's chantry though in the south window of the chapel Skull heraldry dominates. The magnificent armorial achievement for Skull recorded by Habington (vol 2, p 123) is still extant. Walter Skull died in 1482 (Wedgewood p 774 citing the fact that he remained J.P. for Worcs till after Dec. 1481, see also CPR 1476-1485, p578). The death date of 1472 given in VCH Worcs vol 3, p 404, note 46, is an error. According to VCH Worcs (vol 3, p 404) her daughters Alice, Joan and Elizabeth inherited Holt, two of them Joan and Elizabeth marrying respectively John and Thomas Croft (for Croft at Malvern see page 16). In the deed of 1452/53 (Foot of Fines Worcs CP25(1)260/27 no. 46) only Alice and Margaret are mentioned as her daughters. Sir Walter Skull's daughter Joyce/Jocosa married Edward Croft (Wedgewood p 774, Griffiths 1972 p 153) perhaps reflecting an earlier connection between the two families (see above note 130). Way vol 22, p 28, identifies the coat as of Skull of Wichenford. Wichenford is a village near to Martley, which was held by Sir Hugh Mortimer (p 11) when the quire was being rebuilt.

²⁹² See page 11 above.

²⁹³ A tile bearing the name Sir John Talbot (figured in Way vol 22 plate III) and the badge of the Talbot dog can still be found at Malvern see Fig 27 and description of badges below.

²⁹⁴ The best Beauchamp tiles can be seen on the north wall of St Anne's chapel.

²⁹⁵ Way, vol 21 plate I; Nott shows a 4 tile set opp p77; Eames Fig 1568; Habington vol 2, p 122 records this tile, dated 1456, on the sides of the tomb of Sir Walter Skull of Holt, Worcs, though he didn't die till 1482 (Wedgewood p 773). Houghton p 16 says it was made for Skull's tomb but this is unlikely unless Skull planned his tomb well before his death. Perhaps he took note of the Executors Tile which also occurs at Malvern and elsewhere and says in 15th century English (Nott 1895 p83):

Think, man, thy life
May not ever endure;
That thou dost thyself
Of that thou art sure;
But that thou keepest
Unto thy executor's cure,
And ever it avail thee,
It is but aventure

and his wife Isabel and supports the idea that the rebuilding of the quire was partly as a memorial to them. As noted above (note 29) on the floor of the small sunken chantry in St Anne's chapel is the remains of a tile, probably in its original position which once bore the Clare coat²⁹⁶ indicating this chantry was devoted to prayers for Richard Beauchamp and his wife Isabel Despenser and their ancestors.

The dates on the wall and floor tiles mean that they were in place prior to the consecration of the altars in 1460.

HERALDIC BADGES ON THE QUIRE STALLS AND TILES

The heraldic coat armour of donors to the Priory has already been described. However most families also had badges that in battle were often found on their standard. The presence of Richard, Duke of York's badges of the sun shining and the white rose in the great east window has already been noted. In the middle ages badges of donors were often carved on quire stalls, so these were inspected. Two tiles were also identified as bearing badges. Further work may well identify badges of other donor families.

Great Malvern has 22 medieval choir stalls with their traditional ledges under the seat against which weary choristers could lean during the service. Carvings underneath the ledge simultaneously support the ledge and give an attractive appearance when the seat is raised (the misericords). The misericords have a central carving flanked by two smaller ones (supporters). Each stall is separated by an armrest also carved. Some of the armrest carvings are worn but those that remain are well made.

The Malvern stalls include the remains of a set of carvings representing seasonal occupations from different months of the year (8 out of 12²⁹⁷). Similar sets of carvings representing seasonal occupations are found at Worcester Cathedral (from the late 14th century) and in the parish church of Ripple (15th century)²⁹⁸.

As the stalls were most likely put in prior to the dedication of the altars in the new quire in 1460²⁹⁹ all the carvings were scrutinised to identify any known or possible badges of past or present donors whose heraldry occurred elsewhere in the quire. As in the glass above (Fig 13), the misericords and armrests also include a number of carved heads of men and woman, probably portraits of donors to the priory (Fig 28).

Houghton p 16 gives the location of these and other tiles in churches in Worcestershire.

²⁹⁶See note 29.

²⁹⁷ See Remnant, p 167-168.

²⁹⁸ See Remnant, pp 169, 172. John Carpenter when Bishop seems to have cooperated with the preceding Bishop of Worcester, Thomas Bourghier, in inserting a new east window into the chancel of the church in Ripple in memory of Bourghiers parents and grandfather (see note 322). Perhaps the misericords were installed at the same time. Ripple has a set (believed to be the only complete set) showing the monthly agricultural occupations of a village in the correct sequence, Remnant p 168-169. One of the few misericord carvings at Ripple not representing the months of the year is that of a water carrier- possibly representing the Water Bougets (water-budgets: leather bottles in pairs) of the Bourghier coat (see Scott-Giles p 32). The others depict flaming suns (two) and a moon. Whilst the sun is a Yorkist badge, the sun and moon are well-known medieval symbols representing the New and the Old Testament respectively. It seems more likely these stalls were made for this church rather than being imported from Hartlebury Palace, seat of the Bishop of Worcester, a suggestion cited in Remnant p 169.

²⁹⁹ Edminson p 4 dates the seasonal misericords from 1450 to 1480 but thinks most of the other work belongs to the 14th century (1350 or 1380). There are a few misericords that are of a different design, notably four on the upper row of stalls on the south side of the quire and these may well be 14th century but the design of the majority of the misericords, whether depicting a seasonal occupation or some other image, are similar and these stalls are most likely of the same date, i.e. 1450-1460.

Richard, Duke of York

Ten badges of the lordships of Richard Duke of York are listed in a document thought to have been written in the Duke's lifetime³⁰⁰. Two of these, the white rose and the sun shining occur in the east window and several others have been found on the misericords and arm rests of the choir stalls.

Of the **seasonal** misericords still extant most have leaves or foliate squares as supporters with the exception of January (*a double rose*), March (*bird in flight*), August (*birds with wings and claws expanded*) and October (*boars*). Roses, falcons and boars are possible badges of Richard, Duke of York (Fig 21). The *rose*³⁰¹ is a well-known badge of York. The August bird might be a falcon as it has a hooked beak and this bird is also a badge of York, though usually found in a fetterlock.

The *boar* is recorded among the badges of the house of York³⁰². Ebor is Latin for York and the boar is also a powerful Celtic symbol in Ireland³⁰³ where York held many estates. On one of the armrests on the north side is a carving described as part boar and part lion³⁰⁴. It has a lion's snout, mane and hind legs but a boar's shape and cloven forelegs. This carving probably represents York as it combines the boar symbol for York (Ebor) with the lion of Mortimer (Fig 22). Other boar-like carvings occur on several armrests.

The boar is better known as the badge of his son Richard III³⁰⁵. Swine occur on the October misericord at Worcester and on a misericord at Ripple³⁰⁶ so were probably also a traditional symbol.

³⁰⁰ Listed as 1) Falcon and Fetterlock (Dukedom of York); 2) Falcon with Maidens head (Coningsburgh); 3) white rose (castle of Clifford); 4) white lion (earldom of March); 5) black dragon (earldom of Ulster); 6) boar (King Edward III); 7 & 8) sun shining and white hart (King Richard II); 9) black bull (honor of Clare); and 10) white hind (the Fair Maid of Kent, i.e. Joan, mother of Richard II and wife of the Black Prince) - transcribed from Digby Ms No 82 in the Bodleian by Ellis H.1814; see also Planche for critique. York was related to Joan through his mother, a descendent of Joan's first marriage to Sir Thomas Holland d.1360 (see Foster 1989 p188) and also to Philippa of Hainault, another contender for the hind badge, through his father a descendent of Philippa and Edward III. Of these badges 1), 2), 3), 4) and perhaps 7) occur on roof bosses in the quire at St Laurence's, Ludlow, the Mortimer stronghold (see Lloyd p 10) which York, I suggest, helped to build (see note 219).

³⁰¹ The rose at Malvern has been described as a Tudor Rose (Edminson p5) but this is incorrect. Roses were quite often double, as here, before the Tudors came to power. The same rose occurs on misericords in All Souls College chapel, Oxford and St Laurence's Ludlow; both date from the mid fifteenth century and a double white rose also occurs in the east window at Great Malvern.

³⁰² See above note 300 Ellis H.1814 p 227, Planche 1864 p 28. The boar is among the Yorkist badges on the pulpit at Fotheringhay given by Edward IV (1461-83) who was Richard, Duke of York's eldest son. (Friar p 90) Two boars in saltire occur on a misericord said to be ex Fotheringhay (Remnant p202), now in the church at Hemington, Northants. At Hemington a boar also occurs on one of the four bench ends; the others are a double rose, a falcon and fetterlock and a crown with a ostrich feather through it, all badges used by York. These stalls appear to have come from a chapel, possibly from the chapel at Fotheringhay Castle when it was demolished. One misericord, bearing a crown, has been cut down to fit and obviously came from a larger stall. The falcon & fetterlock and the crown with an ostrich feather once occurred in the nave windows of Fotheringhay Church that York built (see note 218).

³⁰³ Matthews and Stewart p 67, 111; another symbol was a radiant sun, p 114, a badge associated with York.

³⁰⁴ Nott 1885, p 162.

³⁰⁵ His shield also occurs at Malvern, now in a window in the south quire. The coat, France and England quarterly surmounted by a ducal coronet (now lost) and supported by two boars argent was for Richard Duke of Gloucester according to Rushforth (p266) who, while pointing out Habington's observation that the label of difference was absent from the Royal Coat, comments "that the ducal coronet above the shield proved he was not yet King". This shield and one attributed to his wife, Anne Neville, Duchess of Gloucester granddaughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Isabel Despenser, were once in

Among the **non-seasonal** misericords is one with *owl* supporters (Fig 21). There is evidence that the owl is a badge of the Mortimer family³⁰⁷ (the mother of Richard Duke of York was Ann Mortimer). It has been shown that York was one of the major donors to the priory with his kinsman, Hugh Mortimer Knt contributing to the glazing of the south quire aisle during the 15th century reconstruction. It is also possible that Hugh's ancestor, Roger Mortimer of Chirk d 1326 contributed to earlier rebuilding of the Priory as the Mortimer of Chirk coat can be seen on the 1453 Tile scheme, named here as the Benefactor's Wall.

Of particular interest is an armrest carved with a falcon with a maiden's head (Fig 22), the badge of Coningsburgh. Richard of Coningsburgh (Conisbrough) was York's father, and was so named because he was born in this Yorkshire town. He was made Earl of Cambridge in 1414 but was executed for treason in 1415 when his son was aged four. York may have requested this badge in memory of his father.

Berkeley or Lyttelton

Another misericord has the carving of a *mermaid and merman* (Fig 23). The *mermaid* was a badge of Thomas Berkeley, father of Richard Beauchamp's first wife Elizabeth. His tomb in St Mary's at Wotton under Edge, Glos, bears a collar of *mermaids* (see Fig 24) and an earlier Berkeley in the time of Edward III apparently bore his arms with a *merman*.³⁰⁸ Mermaids occur as supporters on several Berkeley seals and appears to have been used as a badge by the Berkeleys of Beverstone³⁰⁹ and may also have been used as a badge by the. The Lyttelton (Littleton) family also used a single merman to support their arms³¹⁰ and a figure bearing the Lyttelton coat armour was once in a nave window with that of Stafford of Grafton.³¹¹ However, the design seems different to the majority of the misericords and it may be one of the 14th century seats preserved from the earlier church. In that case a donor in the 14th century rather than the 15th century would have to be sought.

the west window. The only fragments of her armorial to survive are the foreparts of the bear supporters Rushforth p 267. A reproduction of Anne's shield (quarterly 1 Beauchamp 2 Clare 3 Despenser 4 Newburg the whole impaling Neville) with these fragments is located in the Museum window of the north quire aisle. The Neville coat is incorrectly tinctured, as the saltire is gold instead of silver. Rushforth p 267 notes the shield is one of the several versions used by her father Richard Neville, the Kingmaker.

³⁰⁶ Edminson, p 9.

³⁰⁷ A green bed-cover woven with owls plus four items with the same pattern, variously described as carpets/rugs (Mortimer p 118) or hangings (Hopkinson and Speight p 197) occurs in an inventory of the possessions of Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore held by Wigmore Abbey and compiled 1322/23 after his imprisonment in the Tower (from where he escaped) following his rebellion against Edward II (see PRO E154/1/11B; I am grateful to Peter Klein for this reference). Owl misericords also occur with the falcon and fetterlock (personal badge of Richard Duke of York) or the coat of Mortimer in numerous places e.g. St Laurence's Ludlow (see note 219), St Peter and St Paul, Hemington (from Fotheringhay), All Souls College chapel, Oxford, & St David's Cathedral, Pembroke.

³⁰⁸ Palliser p274.

³⁰⁹ Maurice Berkeley, probably the son of the Maurice whose shield occurs at the priory, used the mermaid badge on his seal in 1464. See Ellis R.H.1978 Vol 1, p 7, no p75 and also Smyth 1883 who shows seals with mermaids for Thomas Berkeley d 1361 (Vol 1 p 356-7); Thomas Berkeley d 1417 (whose brass effigy in the church at the Wotton under Edge still bears a collar of mermaids, see Fig 24) (Vol 2 p 33-34); James Berkeley d 1463 (Vol 2 p 94).

³¹⁰ Grazebrook vol 2, p 361, quoting Harl Ms 1566, that records the single merman as a supporter for Sir William Lyttelton of Frankley (eldest son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Frankley. See Rushforth p 248). Grazebrook records that the shield of Judge Littleton is supported by a single merman on his monument in Worcester Cathedral.

³¹¹ See above p 32.

Herbert or Clifford

On a further seat, a wyvern has been carved (Fig 25), said to be the badge of the Herbert family³¹². The founder of this family was William ap Thomas, and it is suggested that it is his coat that still occurs in St Anne's chapel (see Figs 7& 8). The Wyvern is also recorded as a badge of the Clifford family³¹³ and a cadet line, the Cliffords of Frampton on Severn (Glos) donated a window in the north quire aisle³¹⁴.

Stafford of Grafton

The usual badge of the main line of the Staffords is the Stafford Knot and a variant of this badge (two Stafford knots issuing from the hub of a cart wheel) occurs on a tile at Malvern³¹⁵ and may be attributable to the Staffords of Grafton (Fig 26). It is also possible that the Staffords of Grafton used as a badge the Staffordshire Bull Terrier as carvings of this dog occur on a misericord and an arm rest at Malvern (Fig 26).

John Talbot, Earl of Shrewbury d 1453

The badge of Shrewbury, the Talbot dog, occurs on an arm rest of the choir stalls and on a tile (see Fig 27) Talbot was married to the eldest daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick by his first wife, Elizabeth Berkeley and had fought with Richard Duke of York in France when the latter was King's Lieutenant there in 1436-37 and 1440-45. Goodrich castle on the Wye in Herefordshire was for many years the principal residence of the Talbots who were created Earls of Shrewsbury in the 15th century. The presence of his badge indicates he was either a donor or is being commemorated³¹⁶. He died at the battle of Castillon in 1453 when the English were finally thrown out of France at the end of the 100 years war with France. The tile is not common, possibly one of the new altars dedicated in 1460 was a chantry for Sir John and so the floor tiles nearby bore his badge.

As outlined above several of the misericords and arm rests bear carvings of animals and mythological figures associated with particular families, known from heraldry elsewhere in the Priory. This gives support to the proposal that these families helped rebuild the quire. Portraits of male and female donors also occur carved on the choir stalls (Fig 28) as they do in the spandrels of the quire windows above

³¹² The wyvern badge occurs often at Highclere Castle, home of the Earls of Carnarvon, descended from a cadet line of the Herberts (Guide to Highclere Castle, 2003).

³¹³ Clifford 1987 p 72.

³¹⁴ Rushforth dates this window to probably not later than 1450 (p337) with the donors being Henry Clifford, Seneschal of Longeney (close to Frampton on Severn, Glos) and his wife Elizabeth (p 334).

³¹⁵ This tile was originally illustrated in Way vol 22 Fig xvi, and is attributed to the main Stafford line by Molyneux & McGregor p14. It appears to be of mid 15th century manufacture. Several of them occur with others found at Malvern on the floor of the church next to Croft castle, Herefordshire, once the seat of the Croft family (see page 16).

³¹⁶ No donation to the Priory occurs in his Will (see Vane p372-378).

4. THE ROLE OF JOHN CARPENTER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER

The rebuilding of Great Malvern Priory³¹⁷ was probably the initiative of the Bishop of Worcester³¹⁸ possibly with the support of the Abbot of Westminster³¹⁹ rather than the Priory itself, as it suffered from poverty in the mid-fifteenth century.³²⁰ The Bishop, based in Worcester Cathedral was head of a diocese that included Great Malvern and Gloucester³²¹ and was involved in the affairs of their respective counties as were some of the magnates suggested here as major donors in the rebuilding of the quire at Great Malvern (Fig 5). The rebuilding probably began during the episcopate of Thomas Bourghier (Bishop of Worcester 1435-1444 a project that Bishop Carpenter continued³²². Carpenter, who held the post for 32 years, from 1444-1476, 16 years before and after the quire altars were consecrated, is considered to have been keenly interested in the work of rebuilding churches³²³. He was also active in the repair of roads and bridges in the diocese both of which were necessary for successful economic activity³²⁴. This latter activity would have benefited major landowners in the diocese who would have been involved in industries such as wool and forestry³²⁵; perhaps this was the *quid pro quo* for help with funds to rebuild the Priory.

³¹⁷ Full title = The Priory Church of St Mary and St Michael Great Malvern.

³¹⁸ An earlier Bishop of Worcester, Wulstan, was regarded as a founder of the Priory and appears in the Founders' Window (see note 191 above).

³¹⁹ See note 197 about jurisdiction disputes between the Bishop of Worcester and the Abbot of Westminster. See Fig 32 for incumbents.

³²⁰ In 1447 in relief of their poverty the Prior and Convent exempted from being made collectors of a tenth etc (CPR 1446-52 p 48).

³²¹ Great Malvern Priory, St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester and Worcester Cathedral were Benedictine churches.

³²² That these two men cooperated can be concluded from the evidence of the east window in the church of St Mary at Ripple, Worcs. This window of 15th Century perpendicular architecture was inserted into Ripple's 12th century church, most likely by Carpenter with Bourghier's assistance. It appears to have been a memorial to the latter's family. Habington (vol 2 p 404) notes that the armorials show Bourghier's descent from Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III. Habington's notes (vol 2, p 267-268 recording the coats and badges) allow the identification of armorials in this 5 light window for (from left to right) - 1) Bishop Thomas Bourghier; 2) His mother Anne; 3) His grandfather, Thomas of Woodstock, d 1397, Duke of Gloucester; 4) His father, William Bourghier, Count of Eu, d.1420; 5) Bishop John Carpenter (see Foster 1989, p 28, 188 for coats of 4) and 2). The few remaining pieces of 15th century glass still in the church are remarkably similar in style and background diapering to those in the spandrels of the quire at Great Malvern Priory.

³²³ Morgan p 65, who notes that Carpenter encouraged building projects at Great Malvern, St Peter's Gloucester, St Mary's Warwick (where the Beauchamp chapel was built after 1447 see notes 36, 37), and elsewhere by granting indulgences and appropriations; personally consecrating the new altars at Warwick in 1452 and at Great Malvern in 1460.

³²⁴ Morgan p 83-84, who notes from Carpenter's Register that he contributed to the repair of the roads including those between Bristol and Gloucester, and Bristol and Wotton under Edge (not far from Beverstone) and in the upkeep of bridges such as at Gloucester, Powick and Stratford upon Avon. Holy Trinity church at Stratford once had armorial glass (Despenser quartering Beauchamp) attributed by Dugdale to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick d.1446 (Dugdale 1730, p 680:1765, p 479). This church also still has a misericord bearing a combination of two Beauchamp badge, (two bears and a ragged staff). A similar combination; two bears each with a ragged staff occurs as supporters on a seal dated 1406 of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, d.1439 (see Ellis R.H.1978 vol 1, p 5, no p53). According to Dugdale (1730 p 692, 1765, p 479) the chancel of Holy Trinity was rebuilt in the 15th century during the tenure of Dean Thomas Balshall 1466-1491 in the time of Edward IV. The presence of Beauchamp armorial glass and badges suggests that either it was built earlier than this or that the glass and misericord date from Edward IV's reign, placed there in memory of that family. Carved misericords of a merman and mermaid, an owl and a double rose, all seen at Great Malvern Priory, also occur at Holy Trinity, Stratford (see Remnant p 164-5).

³²⁵ A map in Morgan (p 97) details communications, agriculture, industries and forests in the Worcester diocese at that time.

There is no proof that John Carpenter was involved in the rebuilding but he was Bishop from 1444-1476 during which period two towers were built in his diocese, one at Great Malvern Priory and one at St Peter's Abbey Gloucester, both created in the image of the tower of Worcester Cathedral (Fig 29). As has been noted, "*The tower of Gloucester (c1450) was based on the tower of Worcester Cathedral which was built in 1357*³²⁶. *The towers of Gloucester and Great Malvern Priory, roughly contemporary, are so alike that they have to be attributed to a single designer*"³²⁷.

In January 1451, John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, received the royal assent from Henry VI to the election of Thomas Seabroke (Sebroke), monk of St Peter's Gloucester as abbot of that place³²⁸. Abbot Thomas Seabroke was Abbot at Gloucester from 1451-57 during whose abbacy the central tower there was begun. It was finished by Robert Tully, one of the monks. Dugdale records this inscription over the great arch within the quire

*"Hoc quod digestum specularis opusque politum
Tullii haec ex onere Seabrooke abbate jubente"*³²⁹

Tully left to become Bishop of St David's, Pembrokeshire in 1460³³⁰ so the Gloucester tower appears to have been built between 1450 and 1460. If the Malvern tower was built at the same time it would have been up when the altars were dedicated in 1460.³³¹

³²⁶ Tower completed in 1374 according to the Pitkin Guide for the Cathedral.

³²⁷ Verey & Welander (p 29). Worcester Cathedral also has tiles bearing sacred symbols e.g. the fish and heraldry (the tile bearing the fish symbol at Worcester is also found at Great Malvern; Nott p 1895 p77) and the remains of a set of misericords representing seasonal occupations (Remnant p 172). Both tiles and misericords are from the 14th century and would be in situ when Carpenter became Bishop. Great Malvern has most of a set of 15th century misericords showing the seasons and a complete set also 15th century occur in the church at Ripple, Worcs where according to Habington vol 2, p 267-268, there was once armorials for Thomas Bourghier and John Carpenter (see note 322). All of this suggests that at Malvern, a Bishop of Worcester was trying to reproduce Worcester's tower, its tiling and its misericords and Carpenter is the most likely candidate with the possible involvement of the Abbot of Westminster Abbey. A tile bearing the coat of the diocese of Worcester (*argent ten torteaux gules*) with a mitre in one corner occurs at Malvern (Molyneux & McGregor p 14-15). For Abbots of Westminster Abbey in the 15th century see Fig 32.

³²⁸ CPR 1446-1452 p 406. The temporalities were restored to him on 16 Feb 1451 (Rymer's Foedera p 681).

³²⁹ Dugdale's Monasticon vol 1 p 536.

³³⁰ Croxford's Directory p 814. Carpenter had been a prebendary in Pembrokeshire in St David's administration in 1426 and 1430 (Emden p 360) and would have known Tully when he was a monk at Gloucester. It is worth noting that St Davids also has a tiled pavement said to date from Tully's episcopate (1460-1482) Jones & Freeman p 129, 358. St David's seems to have needed repair by 1445 (see Calendar of Papal Register Papal Letter IX 1431-1447, p 486-487) and it seems likely that Tully contributed the pavement and perhaps the quire stalls; a poppyhead in the quire stalls (dated from 1470, Remnant p196) bears his coat of arms. The pavement at St David's is very similar to the Canynges pavement now in the British Museum, which is thought to have originated from a house in Bristol, built by William Canynges probably before 1467 when Canynges entered Westbury College (Eames vol 1 p 239-242). He was appointed dean at Westbury on Trym by his friend John Carpenter in 1469 and was also a benefactor to Westbury (DNB Canynges, p 919). Eames notes that the Canynges pavement includes tiles present in Great Malvern Priory, Gloucester Cathedral and St David's Cathedral. The pavement was initially dated to before 1461 (Eames p247) but subsequently a later date of 1481-1515 was arrived at because of the presence of tiles bearing designs associated with Robert Elyot (Eames designs no 1427 and 1466/1467, both bearing R & E intertwined), hosteller at of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol (not Bristol Cathedral until 1542) during the abbacy of John Newland (1481-1515). Eames considers these tiles and others including a tile for Newland (a heart pierced with nails dripping blood, a rebus associated with Newland) were designed for St Augustine's after 1481 concluding that the Canynges pavement was put down when Canynges was dead (d 1474) and many of the designs were from 50 to 80 years old (Eames p 247-8). The possibility that these tiles were a repair, Eames original suggestion when dating the pavement to 1461, she later rejected because of the presence on all the tiles of a distinctive opaque glaze (Eames p 247). The two tiles associated with Robert Elyot occur at Great Malvern (Way vol 22 plate III, xii, Molyneux & McGregor p10-11) as does a tile bearing the Newland rebus, though the

In another link with Malvern, Gloucester also has a tiled pavement before the high altar laid down by Abbot Seabrooke and dated 1455³³²(Fig 30) which fits the time frame of the tiles at Malvern. A set of tiles at Malvern bears the motto *fiat voluntas dei* (the will of God be done). The motto is said to be that of Abbot Sebroke but this is an error³³³. The Gloucester pavement has many identical tiles to those at Malvern including floor tiles bearing the coats of Beauchamp, Clare and the Royal Coat (Fig 31).³³⁴ Perhaps this pavement was also a memorial to Richard Beauchamp and Isabel Despenser.

The dates on the tiles at Malvern, 1453-1457 and Gloucester, 1455, mean that they were put in place after the main line of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick had died out in 1446 (Fig 9). Richard Beauchamp had been involved in both Gloucester and Worcester affairs prior to his death in 1439 as were the Bishop of Worcester, Richard Duke of York and John Beauchamp of Powick (see Fig 5). Were these three the link between Great Malvern Priory and the Abbey at Gloucester which resulted in new towers patterned after Worcester Cathedral and pavements with similar tiles?

Malvern tile though very similar has a different inscription (see Eames p248) and decoration than that recorded for Bristol. For the Malvern Newland tile see Way vol 22 plate III, xv. Assuming these dates are correct these tiles were most likely put down at Malvern when the great Magnificat window, gift of Henry VII was inserted before the end of 1501 (Rushforth p 369). It has been suggested that John Newland may have been born at Newland, a chapelry attached to the Priory, from which his name was taken (Way vol 22, p 30). A heart pierced with nails, possibly Newland's rebus, was also recorded on a ceiling boss in the porch (Way vol 21 p 495). See note 380.

³³¹ Deane p 55 speculates that the same masons after building the Gloucester tower came to Malvern and built the tower between 1457-1460. By 1469-71 a Gloucester mason was at Ludlow. The church tower there, though not so decorated, shows stylistic similarities to that at Gloucester (Lloyd p 3). Note the four painted shields now occurring on the vault of the Malvern tower crossing are modern (Deane p56).

³³² Verey & Welander p 72. The Victorian tile set shown in Fig 30 shows Seabrooke's coat (*ermine a cinquefoil sable*) and in two corners the coat of Brugge/Bridges with a 'B' above. An *R. Brugg* is among the monks listed as benefactors on the tiles (according to a transcription in Nichols p xvii. I am grateful to Beverley Nenk, Curator of Medieval Ceramics at the British Museum for this reference). The date 1455 occurs below each Brugge coat. For Brugge at Malvern see page 15-16. Apart from *Brugg* several of these Gloucester monks could have had links with Great Malvern. Of the six monks *W. Malu'ne* was perhaps a monk from Malvern; *Joh. Graft'* may have been of Grafton (Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton was a Malvern benefactor) and *R. Hullei* is thought to be Richard Hanley (Nichols p xvii) who succeeded Thomas Seabrooke as Abbot in 1457 Nicholls p xvii (for Hanley at Malvern see p 25). *W. Farlei* (William Farley) also listed succeeded Hanley in 1472 (see fig 32). The remaining monk was *J. Appl'bi* (J. Appleby).

³³³ Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vol 1, p536) says that Seabrooke's motto *fiat voluntas domini* is present on the Gloucester tiles but this is not the case. The word *fiat* occurs but in a different inscription. I am grateful to Beverley Nenk, (pers. comm. 2004) for help in resolving this problem. The motto at Malvern is around a coat *three lions passant gardant* which is probably for England (see illustrations in Winsor p 12. and Molyneux & McGregor p 15). This is certainly not Seabrooke's coat, which is *ermine a cinquefoil sa.* (see Fig 30) (Dugdale's *Monasticon* vol 1, p 536, Eames 1980 design 1473). According to Burke, the motto *fiat voluntas dei* is the motto of the Salwey family of Stafford, Worcs and Salop their principal seat being in Richards Castle (Burke 1884 *General Armory* p 893).

³³⁴ From a display about the Seabrooke pavement at Gloucester Cathedral. For tiles shown on the Gloucester display identical to those at Malvern, see Molyneux & McGregor nos. 29, 30, 34 and 35; Eames, designs 1656, 1518, 1421. Victorian floor tiles of Beauchamp impaling Despenser occur at Gloucester. 15th century tiles of this design occur at Malvern (see Fig 19); perhaps they also occurred once in Gloucester's 1455 pavement. This design is also present in the Canynges pavement (see Eames design 1716 & her fig 14, area 5340-3). Gloucester and Malvern tiles were made of the same Malvern clay and were being manufactured at the same time (Eames p 238, 246).

5. CONCLUSION

The rebuilding of the quire at Great Malvern and the pavement at Gloucester was very likely a memorial to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, his wife Isabel Despenser and their ancestors. At Malvern his shield once appeared in stone over the great east window, and heraldry for both occurred in stained glass in the east window of St Anne's chapel, on wall tiles dated 1453 near the altar and on floor tiles. The rebuilding may have started before their deaths in 1439 but was not completed until 1460, after their deaths and the death of their only son, Henry in 1446.

The Founders Window in the quire and a Benefactor's Wall, the 1453 Tile scheme, backing the high altar, both record the Priory's founders and patrons, some of whom appear in a series of portrait heads in stained glass in the spandrels of the quire and carved on the arm rests of the quire stalls. The rebuilding of the quire was also in their memory.

Evidence indicates that the main secular donors involved in this rebuilding based on coats occurring in the tracery lights of the south clerestory of the quire were Henry VI, Richard, Duke of York, John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick, Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton and Sir Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone. These were wealthy and influential people who could easily have cooperated in financing the rebuilding of the quire at Great Malvern³³⁵. The role of Westminster Abbey is less clear as the presence of its heraldry in the north clerestory and elsewhere may be in recognition of the role of Edward the Confessor and the Abbey in the founding of the Priory. It is not known who was represented in the tracery in the window to the east of the founder's window. However, if the shields in the north clerestory represented ecclesiastic donors then there is a strong possibility that the missing shields included the coat of the Bishop of Worcester, perhaps those of both Thomas Bourghier and John Carpenter.

The coat of Henry VI was located furthest east, the most holy location, with York's coat next to his in the same window. By 1459 York was in open rebellion against Henry VI so the glass must have been inserted prior to that date when he was still loyal to the king³³⁶. Possible dates include before 1455 when the War of the Roses began or even before 1450, the year York returned unexpectedly from Ireland after the Cade³³⁷

³³⁵ See Fig 5 for their involvement in Commissions of the Peace in Worcester and Gloucester. In addition, in 1442 Humphrey Stafford of Grafton with Thomas Bourghier, Bishop of Worcester, is among a group raising a loan for Henry VI at Worcester, as does Maurice Berkeley at Gloucester (CPR 1441-1446 p 61-62), whilst in 1449, Carpenter is involved in raising loans *to maintain the war against the king's adversaries who cease not to wage war on England, Normandy and other places* in Gloucester with John Beauchamp Kt and Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone and in Worcester with Humphrey Stafford of Grafton Kt and Walter Skull Kt (CPR 1446-1452 p 298). A tile bearing the coats of Skull and Stafford of Grafton occurs in the 1453 tile scheme here reconstructed, see Fig 14.

³³⁶ York was also still loyal to Henry VI when the quire of St Laurence's, Ludlow was rebuilt. The roof bosses and misericords of the quire include both Lancastrian (the swan and the antelope) and Yorkist (the rose in fetterlock, the falcon in fetterlock) symbols (for others see note 300). The roof bosses have been dated to after 1445 when Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou and before 1449 (See Lloyd p 10). He suggests that the bosses showing a crowned queen and a flower garland represent Margaret of Anjou. The eagle boss he attributes to John of Gaunt may rather be the eagle of Lorraine, a supporter of Margaret of Anjou, seen on her armorial achievement at Ockwells Manor house in Berkshire (see Darracott 2004p 43). The eagle and the swan are both located at the east end of the quire above the altar. A separate eagle represents St John located with the badges of the other apostles (see Lloyd p 10). It is also suggested (Ganderton & Lafond p53) that the frieze of daisies in the east window may refer to Margaret of Anjou, as the daisy is her badge. See also note 219.

³³⁷ Jack Cade called himself John Mortimer and was referred to as *John Mortymer* in his pardon of July 1450 (CPR 1446-52 p338).

rebellion. This rebellion had been sparked off by the loss of English possessions in France, where until 1445 York had been King's Lieutenant.

Support for this comes from the dates on the tiles. The earliest date is 1453 and as tiling is usually what is done last, it is most likely that the stained glass of the quire was already been in place by that date. The church would certainly have had the roof on when the glass was installed and it would be more efficient to put it in while the roof scaffolding was still in place, subject obviously to having enough money for the stained glass.

If the rebuilding of the quire had already started prior to 1439, when Warwick and his wife Isabel Despenser died, then York would have been well placed to continue the rebuilding. He was Isabel's cousin and was also appointed leader of a group responsible for managing Warwick's estates³³⁸. If the rebuilding had not commenced by 1439 he would have been in a position to help initiate it, as a memorial to the Beauchamp and Despenser families.

As it seems likely that the bulk or all of the rebuilding of the quire took place after Warwick's death, i.e. from 1440-1460, then it is worth noting that York was in England from November 1438 having been replaced as King's Lieutenant in France by Warwick, remaining in England till 1441 when he returned again to France after Warwick's death in 1439. York was again in England from 1445 to 1449, when he left for Ireland. It may have been during the latter period that the glass was put up. It was also during this period, in 1447, that covenants for the glazing of the Beauchamp Chapel³³⁹ at Warwick were concluded with John Prudde, the King's glazier.

If the quire was rebuilt as a memorial to the Beauchamp and Despenser families it may explain why York's youngest son, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (Richard III in 1483) and his wife Anne Neville³⁴⁰ should have donated the glass for the west window. Anne's mother, also Anne, was Henry Beauchamp's sister (see Fig 9) and both these women, and Henry's daughter (d. 1449), were probably named for St Anne whose figure in stained glass occurs several times at Malvern (see Fig 2). The gift, in 1501 by Henry VII, of the famous Magnificat window in the north transept, was perhaps prompted by his wife, Elizabeth of York, a daughter of Edward IV, whose grandfather was Richard, Duke of York.

However it is also possible that Richard, Duke of Gloucester may have donated the window after the execution of his brother George, Duke of Clarence (Fig 9), whose wife Isabel as senior heiress held Malvern Chase. She died in 1476 when it's suggested Richard may have tried to claim the whole Warwick inheritance.³⁴¹ In 1487, two years after Henry Tudor seized the throne from Richard III, all the great Clare-Despenser-Beauchamp inheritance was restored to Anne, Henry Beauchamp's sister, only so that she might convey it to the King. It's further suggested that Henry VII may have been influenced to contribute to the even more spectacular Magnificat window after the

³³⁸ John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick, a member of the group (see note 155) and a distant relative of Warwick, was a donor as was probably William ap Thomas Kt; a coat likely to be his can still be seen in St Anne's chapel (see Fig 7, 8).

³³⁹ The chapel was not consecrated till 1475 when John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester gave a special commission to John Hales, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield for this (Dugdale 1730 *Antiquities of Warwickshire* p 356, cited in Britton p 10).

³⁴⁰ Who had first been married to Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI (Fig 9).

³⁴¹ Rushforth p 268.

attainder and execution in 1499 of Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of George and Isabel, left the King undisputed lord of Malvern³⁴².

This account has dealt with the rebuilding of the quire that was completed by 1460 during the episcopate of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester (1444-1476). There are differing viewpoints as to how much of the rest of the church had been built by 1460 and further work is needed to clarify the evidence. Two main stages of construction have been identified. One possibility is that the rebuilding of the quire commenced after 1435 during the episcopate of Bishop Thomas Bourghier, brother in law of York's sister Isabel. The arrival of Bishop Carpenter in 1444 possibly heralded the change in style with the Tower, thought to be contemporary with that at Gloucester, being built c1450-60 and also the transepts.

It seems likely that work on the nave commenced during Carpenter's episcopate (until 1476). Whether he was responsible for the construction of the nave clerestory on top of the Norman pillars is not clear and will be discussed elsewhere³⁴³. What is clear is that the windows of the nave were completed some time before all were filled with stained glass.

Many important events took place from c1435- 1460 while the quire was being rebuilt, many of which involved Richard, Duke of York. The English finally lost Normandy and Gascony in 1450-53, a loss blamed by York on Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset who had replaced York as King's Lieutenant there. Henry VI had a nervous breakdown in 1453 and York became Lord Protector. He had Somerset imprisoned but saw him released when Henry VI recovered. York became increasingly disillusioned with the court surrounding Henry VI and Beaufort's role in it and in 1455 led the Yorkists at the first battle of the Wars of the Roses at St Albans when Somerset was killed. In 1459 after an abortive confrontation with Henry VI at Ludford Bridge, near Ludlow, York fled to Ireland and the Coventry Parliament in November 1459 seized all his possessions.

On July 10th 1460 York's supporters were victorious at the battle of Northampton although their leader, York, was still in Ireland. King Henry VI, in the control of the Yorkists, governed thereafter in name only. Twenty days after the battle, on 30th July 1460, the altars in the quire of Great Malvern were consecrated by Bishop Carpenter³⁴⁴.

³⁴² Rushforth p 374. The window had at the bottom kneeling figures of Henry VII, his Queen, Elizabeth of York, Arthur Prince of Wales and three knights of the body Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Savage and Sir Thomas Lovell, all three of whom had local connections and probably also contributed to the glazing of the window (Rushforth p 373). Of these Prince Arthur and Bray are almost intact whilst Henry VII and Lovell have been reconstructed. The others are lost. For a full description of this window see Rushforth p 369-402. For evidence that the glazing dates to c Christmas 1501 see Rushforth p 369.

³⁴³ See Appendix.

³⁴⁴ Among the many prelates with the Yorkists at Northampton were Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury and Thomas Bourghier, Archbishop of Canterbury (Hampton p 202). They were respectively Bishops of Hereford and Worcester (see Fig 32) during the rebuilding of the quire which Richard Duke of York helped fund. In 1460 York, after his return from Ireland (in September), attempted to claim the throne causing consternation. Parliament eventually agreed that Henry VI should continue to rule but that the crown should be inherited by York and his heirs, thus disinheriting Henry's son, Edward. In December 1460 York was captured and beheaded at Wakefield by forces loyal to Henry VI. In 1461 York's son seized the throne as Edward IV. He seems to have retained a link with Carpenter as during the latter's tenure as Bishop of Worcester, the king in 1464 gave grants to the church at Westbury co Gloucester to pray for himself, his mother and for the souls of Richard, Duke of York, his father and Edmund Earl of Rutland his brother (CPR 1461-1467 p 322) with further grants in 1465 (CPR 1461-1467 p444), 1468 (C. Chr. R. 1427-1516 p 237-238) and 1473 which mentioned obits for York and other members of the family Morgan p75- 76. Bishop Carpenter is said to have been born in Westbury (DNB

Later that year York was captured at the battle of Wakefield by the Lancastrian army and beheaded.

Carpenter p1065) where c1455 he rebuilt the church and college on a larger scale and in 1466 built almshouses for poor men, women and aged priests (Morgan p 71-72, Wilkins p 145-157). The crypt of the church, decorated with his arms, was eventually Carpenter's burial place (see Harvey A., p38 and church leaflet "The ancient parish of Westbury on Trym, p8 for an illustration). Westbury College Gatehouse (National Trust) still stands and bears Carpenter's coat (*paly azure and gules a chevron argent charged with three crosslets and a mitre overall or*) on a roof boss. The work on the church was not completed in Carpenter's lifetime, the last portion the so-called Canynges chapel being consecrated by Carpenter's successor, Bishop Alcock (Harvey A. p36-37, who dates Carpenter's re-founding of the collegiate church to 1447). Alcock probably completed the rebuilding of the collegiate church rather than erecting the whole thing as stated in DNB Alcock, p 236. Alcock's biography in ODNB vol 1, p593-595 doesn't mention Westbury.

APPENDIX: STAGES IN THE REBUILDING OF THE PRIORY

Two or even three stages of rebuilding took place in the fifteenth century (see Fig 1) with the **first stage** being the rebuilding of the quire. It is considered that the quire with its windows filled with stained glass was completed by July 1460 when the High Altar and seven other altars were consecrated by John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester. How much of the rest of the church was built by 1460 is not clear. Either the alterations to the nave were after 1460³⁴⁵ or the stonework of the whole church was reconstructed by then.³⁴⁶ Understanding what happened is made more difficult by the west window which appears to be older than the windows of the nave clerestory (Fig 34)³⁴⁷.

If Richard Beauchamp and his wife Isabel Despenser were donors the rebuilding of the quire could not have started before 1423 when they married. It was patently not completed by 1439 when they both died so it's likely that the quire, whether or not construction had already started, was completed in part as their memorial.

The involvement of Richard, Duke of York (Isabel's cousin) as a donor raises the possibility that the first stage commenced after 1435 when Thomas Bourghier, brother in law of York's sister Isabel, became Bishop of Worcester (see Fig 31). Perhaps the change in style, resulting in the **second stage**, arose from the decision to model the new towers at Malvern and Gloucester on the 14th century tower at Worcester. The most likely person to have made this decision was Bishop Carpenter whose long episcopate ran from 1444-1476 (see Fig 31). The tower at Great Malvern is thought to be contemporary with that at Gloucester which was built c1450-60 and the tower and adjacent north transept³⁴⁸ is where the style changes, most apparent in the change of parapet design (Fig 33)³⁴⁹.

³⁴⁵ Way suggested that probably the choir and transepts were completed by 1460 (see Nott p 1895 p 35). Rushforth p1 says the eastern half of the church was completed by 1460 and that alterations in the nave were probably later in the century.

³⁴⁶ Deane p16-17 thinks that the 15th century reconstruction of the priory was probably begun about 1400 and finished not later than 1460 and that the west window may have been part of the earlier stage.

³⁴⁷ The West window has been described as older by at least half a century than the nave clerestory (Rushforth p 262) which has been dated to 1475-85 (Rushforth p 144) presumably making it c1425-35. Deane p44 declares that the nave clerestory windows are of a later date, judging by their tracery than any other of the 15th century windows and are evidently later than the West window that he dates to c 1400 (p17). Rushforth describes the window (p262) as a curtailed design with the lower tier of lights represented by blind panels while the two outer lights of the upper tier, and so much of the tracery lights as is immediately above them are blocked up (see Fig 34). He considers that this was not a later alteration and that the object may have been to strengthen the angle-masonry (citing architectural evidence from W.H.Knowles). His implication is that it was not altered to cope with the new nave clerestory. Rushforth (p 262 note 1) points out that it is almost a copy of the great east window of Exeter Cathedral constructed c. 1390. It is also of a design similar to that of the great east window at Gloucester Cathedral constructed c. 1350. Could the west window at Malvern also be 14th century, a relic of work done then, that was altered when the nave clerestory was rebuilt? An accurate date for this window would be useful.

³⁴⁸ The south transept has been destroyed along with the adjoining cloister and other monastic buildings. See Fig 1.

³⁴⁹ Deane p 16, who notes that the difference in date between the nave on the one hand, and the transept and the eastern limb on the other, may readily be discerned on the north side p34. Deane p 41 describes a mixture of embattled parapets: plain on the east as is the quire and its aisles (though the battlements there are much smaller than those on the north transept); pierced on the west as is the nave and tower; panelled on the north as are the nave aisles) see Fig 33. In the interior of the north transept he describes changes in the arches from the transept to the quire aisle and concludes that it is here that the junction of the two styles of perpendicular employed during the rebuilding occur (Deane p 52). The nave clerestory windows are considered to be later in character than the corresponding windows of the quire (Deane p33) though

What is the significance of the fact that the north wall of the north transept shares the same parapet design (pierced) as that of the nave clerestory and the tower whilst the west wall of the transept has the panelled parapet of the nave quire aisle. Does this represent two stages in nave construction?

The nave clerestory at Malvern has the same pierced embattled parapets as the Lady Chapel at Gloucester known to have been built under Abbot Richard Hanley (1457-72) and completed by his successor, William Farley (1472-98)³⁵⁰ (see Fig 31) in the reign of Edward IV. The chantry chapels on each side of the Lady Chapel at Gloucester must have been glazed in this reign as the windows still show the badge of his father Richard, Duke of York, the flaming sun, and his own badge, the rose en soleil. It will be suggested below that many of the windows of the nave at Malvern were glazed during the reign of Edward IV.

If the building of the Lady Chapel at Gloucester was contemporary with the building of the nave at Great Malvern then the work at Great Malvern would have been initiated during the episcopate of John Carpenter who was the contemporary of Richard Hanley (see Fig 31) who began the Lady Chapel (perhaps a kinsman of the Hanley whose shield still occurs in St Anne's chapel at Great Malvern).

Evidence for when the nave clerestory was built on top of the Norman pillars is scanty. At the bottom of the nave windows were a series of kneeling figures described as benefactors and it has been suggested that these windows were not the gifts of individuals but were set up by the convent to commemorate the chief benefactors to whose assistance the rebuilding of the church was due³⁵¹. The glazing seems to have been later than that of the quire, though some of the same families are involved (see below). The most easterly of the nave windows, each had stained glass figures of ecclesiastics, the south window having a seated figure of John Alcock Bishop of Worcester from 1476 whilst the north window had kneeling figures of Prior Richard Dene, elected prior in 1457³⁵² and Brother Maculinus³⁵³. Unfortunately only the lay donors from the north clerestory windows have been identified,³⁵⁴ based on records of their coat armour. Some, not all, represent succeeding generations of families recorded from the quire, who appear to have served on Commissions in Worcester in the reigns of Edward IV, and in a few cases have also served in the subsequent reigns of Richard

the north window of the north transept shows similarities to those of the quire (see Fig 1). This is the famous Magnificat window, the gift of Henry VII dated to Christmas 1501 (Rushforth p 369, see also note 342) and the last window to be filled with stained glass. Given that the north transept is where the styles changed what credence can be given to the apparently tentative suggestion of Habington (vol 2, p 130, cited in Rushforth p 373 note 3) that Sir Reginald Bray, a courtier of Henry VII, built the north transept. Bray occurs as a figure in the Magnificat window, so was almost certainly a contributor to its glazing. Did this window remain unglazed for many years (indicated by the window of a style similar to those of the quire built before 1460) or was the north transept the last part of the church to be constructed perhaps by Bray? In support of the former suggestion the style of the window means that depiction in the glass of the coronation of the Virgin Mary has to be off centre, suggesting the glaziers had to cope with an existing window.

³⁵⁰ Verey and Welander p 7. See below p 55 for the suggestion that Farley may have been represented with Alcock in a nave window.

³⁵¹ Rushforth p243.

³⁵² Rushforth p144, Dugdale's Monasticon vol 3, p 443.

³⁵³ Rushforth p 247, 418.

³⁵⁴ Kneeling benefactors with their wives were recorded by Thomas at the base of the windows of the south clerestory but he did not identify them. Rushforth p 246 suggests they may not have had arms or their names were illegible. See Habington vol 2, p 188-189 and Rushforth p247-250, 418-419.

III and Henry VII. The second window from the east had armorials for the Crofts³⁵⁵; the third had Lyttelton and Stafford of Grafton³⁵⁶ and in the fourth Bracy³⁵⁷ and Besford. Both figures from the fourth window have survived with their wives and are now in the east window. An inscription identifies the figure bearing the Besford coat as Roger Harewell³⁵⁸ whose figure bears a Yorkist collar of white roses³⁵⁹. The Yorkist decoration is explained by the numerous Worcestershire Commissions in which his name appears under Edward IV and his successors³⁶⁰, the Yorkist symbols indicating the glass was put up in Edward's reign.

In the fifth window kneeling benefactors were recorded but no details given and in the sixth and last the benefactors were identified as Richard Holker, Richard Collwick on occasion Bailiff of Worcester from 1459 to 1475 and Richard Frewen Bailiff in 1473.³⁶¹

It has been suggested that the glass of the nave clerestories was probably executed about 1475-85.³⁶² Bishop Carpenter was replaced by John Alcock in 1476 so this period covers the latter's episcopate (1476-1487). However the high incidence of glass in the nave for families also recorded from the quire suggests a continuous building programme with the nave completed to allow glazing during the reign of Edward IV d.1483, a reign that began in 1461. The question is whether Alcock built the nave clerestory or simply helped glaze it

³⁵⁵ Also once recorded in St Anne's chapel (Fig 7). Three Crofts once occurred in the nave window: two figures bearing undifferenced coats and one bearing the Croft coat with an annulet (Rushforth p 418). The annulet indicates a 5th son. One figure with an undifferenced coat probably represents Sir Richard Croft, the elder d 1509 who occurs on Commissions of the Peace in Worcester from 1469 (CPR 1467-1477 p 636) and was still serving in 1494 (CPR 1485-1494 p 505). His son Sir Edward Croft married Jocosa daughter of Sir Walter Skull (Griffiths 1972, p 153). The Skull family were also donors in building the quire (see Fig 14).

³⁵⁶ The coat of the latter occurring on the 1453 tiles (Fig 14) and probably in the south clerestory of the quire. The Stafford of Grafton once represented in this window may be the son of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton d.1450 who was a donor in building the quire. The elder son, also Humphrey, with his mother, Eleanor and brother Thomas, was associated with Thomas Lyttelton in refounding his father's chantry at Bromsgrove in 1476 (CPR 1476-85, p11, 57) and was brother in law of Richard, 2nd Lord Beauchamp of Powick whose father occurs as a donor in the quire. This Humphrey was executed by Richard III in 1485 (Rushforth p 143, 248) so the window probably predates that king's reign. Lyttelton occurs on Commissions of the Peace in Worcester until 1478 (CPR 1476-1485, p 578).

³⁵⁷ Also recorded from the most easterly of the windows in the north quire aisle (where Joan Bracy, her husband Thomas Lygon d. 1448 and her sons William and Thomas were the latest persons represented - see Rushforth p 316-328). It might be expected that the extant figure of Bracy once in the nave window would represent their son Thomas who served from 1461 in Commissions of Peace in Worcester (CPR 1461-67 p 575) and was still serving in 1494 (CPR 1485-1494, p 505). However an extant inscription (*Thomas Lygon et Iohanna uxor*), has identified the Bracy figure as again representing Thomas Lygon d c. 1448 carrying the Bracy arms in right of his wife, Joan, heiress of the Bracys of Madresfield (Rushforth p 248).

³⁵⁸ Harewell's grandmother was a Besford (Rushforth, p 249) and his wife Eleanor was a Corbet. Rushforth p 353 suggests she was the granddaughter of Walter Corbet who features in the most easterly of the south windows of St Anne's chapel (see Fig 7).

³⁵⁹ Rushforth p 249, his fig 151.

³⁶⁰ Ibid. Roger Harewell is recorded on Commissions of the Peace in Worcester from 1471 (CPR 1467-1477, p 636) and was still serving in 1494 (CPR 1485-1494, p505), spanning the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII.

³⁶¹ Rushforth p 249-250 who describes remnants of these groups.

³⁶² Rushforth p144.

Bishop John Alcock

Thomas³⁶³ describing the glass in the first window on the south side of the nave recorded a seated figure of the Bishop with before him the words:

“Pontificum domino presento Johannem”

and behind him his arms and an inscription:

“Orate pro bono statu Religiosi viri Iohannis Alcock episcopi Wygorn cancellarii Angliae”.

Because of the reference to Alcock as *Cancellarii*, Chancellor, later dates of between September 1485 and October 1486 have been suggested based on when Alcock was Chancellor to Henry VII.³⁶⁴ However, a slightly earlier date for Alcock’s involvement is possible. Alcock was Chancellor in the earlier reign of Edward IV according to an inscription once in the east window at Little Malvern Priory³⁶⁵ which Alcock rebuilt in 1482³⁶⁶. In addition to Edward IV and his family there was once a figure of Alcock in this east window and his arms still remain. Only four daughters of Edward IV are illustrated in this window (their figures still extant) so it could be argued that the glass was made c1479-80 as the 4th daughter was born in 1479 and the fifth in Nov 1480³⁶⁷.

Thomas’s record demonstrates that Alcock glazed the nave window at Great Malvern Priory. Did he also rebuild the nave clerestory?

Though not recorded by Thomas its been suggested that there may have been two other seated ecclesiastics in this three light window identified as the Abbot of Gloucester and the Prior of Llanthony³⁶⁸ from extant inscription fragments³⁶⁹. Rushforth³⁷⁰ suggests that the others were Alcock’s contemporaries, making the three:

³⁶³Thomas page 7. Neither the figure nor the inscription was recorded by Habington (Rushforth p 243-244).

³⁶⁴Rushforth p 244.

³⁶⁵*Orate pro anima Iohannis Alcock Episcopi Wigorniensis qui de novo hanc ecclesiam Sanctorum Dei genetricis et St Egidii et St Iohannis Euangelistae aedificauit quondam Cancellarii Angliae et Presidentis Concilii Edwardi Regis Quarti primo regni.* (Pray for the soul of John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, who builded of new this church, dedicated to these Saints, the mother of God, St Giles, and St John the Evangelist, which bishop was sometimes Chancellor of England and President of the Council to King Edward the fourth in the first year of his reign) (Habington vol 2, p 406-7). It has been suggested (Griffiths R.A. pers. comm. 2003) that this is a misreading by Habington and that the Latin inscription should end with *primogenitus* i.e. saying Alcock was the president of the council of the first born of Edward IV which he was by 1473. He was chancellor under Edward IV only briefly from June to September 1475 (ODNB vol 1, p594) i.e. not in the first year of Edward’s reign.

³⁶⁶1482 is quoted by Rushforth p 244, based on Habington vol 2, p 191 (who doesn’t give a date) and Thomas, his Appendix p 150. Around 1480-83 Alcock was at Ludlow with the Prince of Wales and Anthony Woodville (C. Weightman, pers. comm., 2004).

³⁶⁷All five daughters are figured in a similar family group in the northwest transept window of Canterbury Cathedral. This window is dated to the early 1480’s, not long before the death of Edward IV in 1483 (Brown S.p27).

³⁶⁸There were two Priors named Lanthony in the mid fifteenth century, both with a link with Richard Duke of York. Lanthony Prima the original priory was located in the marcher lordship of Ewyas Lacy which was held in receivership by the Duke of York (Johnson p14); this lordship being just to the north of the Usk valley, another of York’s lordships where William ap Thomas (Fig 4) was his steward in 1442/3 (Johnson p 240). Lanthony Prima had been seized by the Welsh in 1136 so Lanthony Secunda, was built (to the south of Gloucester) in the same year to house the fugitive prior and his canons. A transcript of a history of Lanthony Secunda detailing the founders of the Priory and their descendents mentions the Mortimers (from 13th century when Roger Mortimer married Matilda Braose until the fifteenth century when the last Mortimer mentioned is Yorks mother Anne) (Dugdale’s Monasticon vol 6, pt 1 p 134). Lanthony Prima was restored after 1154, and as its assets were tabled separately when Henry VIII closed them both down (Dugdale’s Monasticon vol 6, pt 1 p570) it would seem that both establishments were functioning in the mid fifteenth century.

³⁶⁹Abba[s] glowc[estrie] and [prior] lontan[ie] see Rushforth p 245 who says that they have the characteristic border of nave text.

John Alcock, the Bishop of Worcester 1476-87;
Henry Farley, Abbot of Gloucester 1472-98
and Henry Dene or Deane, Prior of Llanthony 1461-94³⁷¹.

There is one problem: there is evidence that there may have been a seated figure of Bishop Carpenter in a window in the Priory. Rushforth³⁷² describes a fragment of glass showing a seat with a boar with a bell round its neck coming round it which he links with Carpenter who was Master of the Order of St Anthony till he became Bishop of Worcester in 1444. This Order had pigs with bells as their symbol. He notes that Carpenter may have been a Malvern benefactor "*but if he was represented in the glass it would probably be in the opposite window of the north clerestory as the three places in the south window seem to be occupied*"³⁷³ although the two figures recorded from the opposite window by Thomas,³⁷⁴ one of which was Richard Dene,³⁷⁵ the Prior, were kneeling not sitting.

Where else could such a figure have come from? Three bishops were once recorded in a window of St Anne's chapel, but with no description.³⁷⁶ However if the Bishops can be identified with the three figures (one headless), currently in the east window, wearing jewelled chasubles³⁷⁷, one of whom has a mitre³⁷⁸ then it seems the Bishops were standing not sitting. Further study of these fragments is needed especially the fragment with the boar and seat if it can be located.

Bishop John Carpenter

John Carpenter was Bishop of Worcester for sixteen years after the altars were consecrated in the quire in 1460 and in the 1460's received several grants from the new King, Edward IV, York's son, to aid his foundation of a college and church at Westbury on Trym, Gloucestershire³⁷⁹. The question is whether he began work on the nave before 1476 when his episcopate ended and Alcock's began. Alcock may have contributed to the completion of the nave or he may have just helped fill the windows with stained glass.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁰ Rushforth p245.

³⁷¹ Not much is known of the early career of Henry Deane. Emden (p 554) says he was a scholar probably at Oxford in 1457. Emden also gives the later date of 1467 for his election as Prior of Llanthony cf 1461 in Dugdale's Monasticon vol 6 ,p 127.

³⁷² Rushforth p245. Rushforth recorded this fragment in the east window citing Pitcher & Rushforth (vol 2, photo.3) but if it is there it is very difficult to see.

³⁷³ Rushforth p 245 note 1.

³⁷⁴ Rushforth p 247.

³⁷⁵ Richard Dene was Prior of Great Malvern from 1457 to 1491 (Rushforth p144, 307). Rushforth p10, 245 thinks he may have been Prior as late as 1501, when the great transept window was being made, and may have been related to Henry Dene, Prior of Llanthony, a seated figure of which he suggests was in the window on the opposite side of the nave. The Priorate of Richard Dene coincided with the Episcopates of both John Carpenter and John Alcock (see Fig 31).

³⁷⁶ The only information about the contents of the main lights comes from the Newland Ms, which after the Trinity mentions three bishops and "John Corbet, a Knight Templar with his wife and children". Rushforth p 352,428 locates the Bishops with Corbet in the most easterly of the south windows of the chapel.

³⁷⁷ Jewelling indicates expensive glass.

³⁷⁸ The headless figure may have once had a mitre; the central one may not.

³⁷⁹ See note 344. Morgan p 77 suggests a motive for the work at Westbury was to provide a place of residence for the Bishop to facilitate his closer episcopal supervision of Bristol which at that time had no cathedral. Abbots of Bristol seem to have had some involvement in work at Great Malvern see notes 330 and 385.

³⁸⁰ For Alcock's involvement at Carpenter's foundation at Westbury see above note 344. A few medieval tiles remain at Westbury including a tile bearing the instruments of the passion, one of the designs used in

As noted above,³⁸¹ it has been suggested that windows of the nave were not the gifts of individuals but were set up by the convent to commemorate the chief benefactors to whose assistance the rebuilding of the church was due. Rushforth suggests that the motto *Letabor in misericordia* (I will rejoice in thy mercy) that once occurred in the spandrels of each of its twelve windows as well as the later Magnificat window in the north transept and the adjacent west window³⁸² was the motto used by both Richard Dene (Prior of Great Malvern from 1457 to c 1501³⁸³) and his possible kinsman, Henry Dene, (Prior of Llanthony Secunda 1461-94³⁸⁴), associating them with the work on the nave clerestory and the glazing of the north transept which would date the nave glass to after 1461. The window donated by Alcock would however have been glazed after 1476 when he became Bishop of Worcester.

Richard Dene (elected 1457) was Prior in 1460 when the quire altars were consecrated. At that point the quire would already have windows donated by John Malvern (Prior in 1435) and John Benet (Prior in 1449). It is tempting to speculate that if in fact the nave was built by then that Dene would have had the most easterly window on the north side of the nave with its representation of him kneeling glazed in time for the consecration.

Finally, it seems likely there was a **third stage** when the abbey gatehouse and the porch of the Priory (see Fig 35)³⁸⁵ were built with, it is thought, a connecting passage between them. The work probably done when the famous Magnificat window was installed at the end of 1501 in the reign of Henry VII.

It would appear that the reconstruction of the church spanned the reigns of four kings. It began in the reign of Henry VI, probably c 1435 at the east end with the rebuilding of the quire. The new altars were dedicated in 1460 by Bishop John Carpenter, just a year

the mid fifteenth century on the sanctuary steps at Great Malvern (see Molyneux & McGregor p 18-19). Another Westbury tile bears the rebus for John Newland Abbot of Bristol 1481-1515 and is the Bristol variant of this tile (see Eames design 1500 and Harvey A. p40, pl. III) rather than the one recorded at Great Malvern (see note 330 above). For Westbury tiles see Harvey A. 1904.

³⁸¹ Rushforth p243.

³⁸² Perhaps given by Richard Dene (Rushforth p 3 p 144, 372, 409, who also suggests that the same motto appears to have been on a scroll held by angels in the two upright tracery windows of the Founders window on the north clerestory of the quire and the window next to it).

³⁸³ Rushforth p 144 & p 398.

³⁸⁴ In 1481, Deane procured a royal order from Edward IV to unite Llanthony Prima and Llanthony Secunda in Gloucester.(where his arms can still be seen on its ruined gatehouse). He later became a friend and councillor to Henry VII and was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1501 and officiated at the wedding of Arthur Prince of Wales, in 1502 (DNB, Deane p 702-3). Arthur is represented in the Magnificat window at Great Malvern.

³⁸⁵ The priory porch and gatehouse have north fronts of very similar design. Both have been rebuilt – the porch in 1894 and the gatehouse in 1891 (Winsor p 15, Weaver p 13-15) - but appear to have followed the original design except probably for the parapet on the gatehouse that was missing prior to restoration. Before the rebuilding, Way (1844 vol 21 p 495) noted that the ceiling of the porch bore a heart pierced with nails, which also occurs as a tile at Great Malvern (Way vol 22 p24 Fig xv). This is the rebus of John Newland, Abbot of Bristol 1481-1515 (Way vol 22 p 30). According to Way, Newland was a chapelry adjoining to Great Malvern where the Abbot may have been born. Newland was Abbot of Bristol when the famous Magnificat window was put up at the Priory in 1501 (Rushforth p 3, 369). Perhaps he made a donation to the Priory for the porch to be built. Nott 1885 p 128 says the porch and room above was built during the reconstruction of the church in the reign of Henry VII but gives no source for this statement. It is thought that when the porch and gatehouse were originally built a connecting passageway was put in outside the west wall of the church (see Nott 1885 p128). If so it may have been at this point that small openings were created, in the blind panels of stone that fill the lower tier of lights, to allow a view into the church (see Fig 34) Rushforth p 262 suggests the openings belonged to some chamber or passage connected with the monastery buildings.

before the throne was seized by Edward IV in 1461. It is suggested that the process of rebuilding continued after 1460, Bishop John Alcock replacing Carpenter as Bishop of Worcester in 1476. Alcock either helped rebuilt the nave clerestory or contributed to it's glazing. Edward IV died in 1483 while Alcock was still Bishop of Worcester and the throne was seized by his brother who became Richard III. The west window was glazed by Richard but probably when he was still Duke of Gloucester. The final king, Henry VII, who seized the throne in 1485, contributed to the last window to be glazed, the Magnificat window, done by the end of 1501. It is possible that this was also when the abbey gatehouse and the porch were constructed.

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Abbreviations

CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CChR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CFR	Calendar of Fine Rolls
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
GEC	COKAYNE G.E.
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria County History

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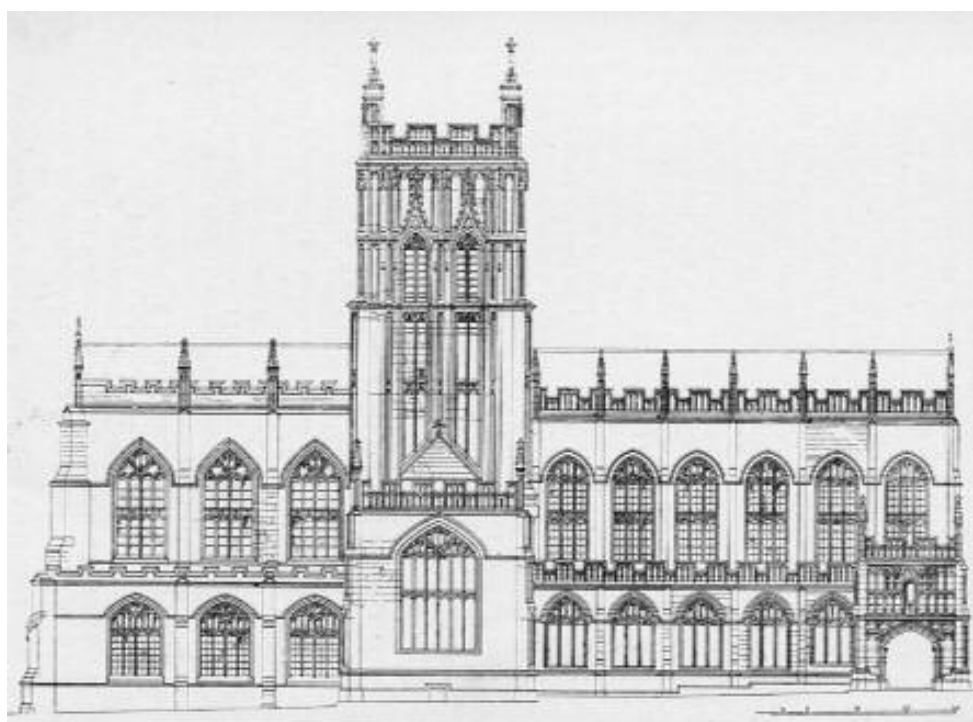
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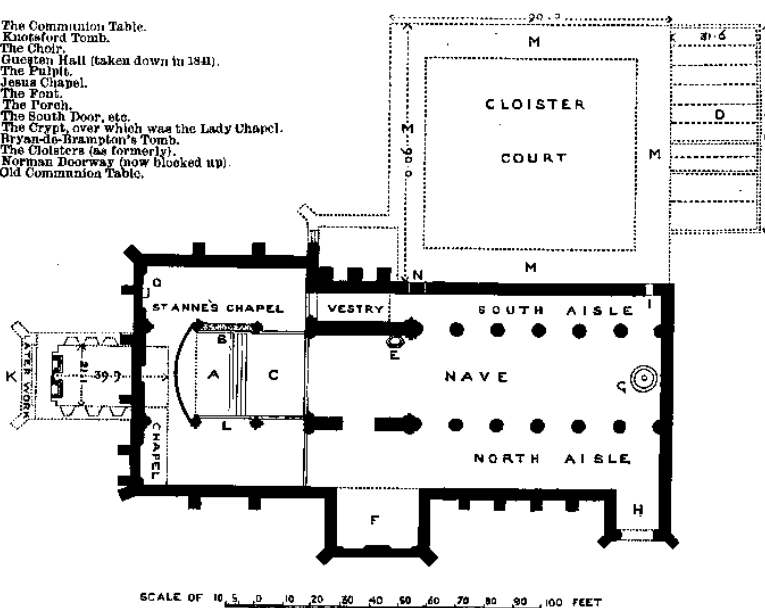
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- A. The Communion Table.
- B. Kiotoford Tomb.
- C. The Choir.
- D. Guesten Hall (taken down in 1841).
- E. The Pulpit.
- F. Jesus Chapel.
- G. The Font.
- H. The Porch.
- I. The South Door, etc.
- J. The Crypt, over which was the Lady Chapel.
- K. Bryan-de-Brampton's Tomb.
- L. The Cloisters (as formerly).
- M. Norman Doorway (now blocked up).
- N. Old Communion Table.



GROUND PLAN OF CHURCH, CLOISTERS, ETC.

Fig 1 The North Elevation of Great Malvern Priory from a drawing by A. Troyte Griffith (see Deane, p 35), and ground plan, after Nott (1885).



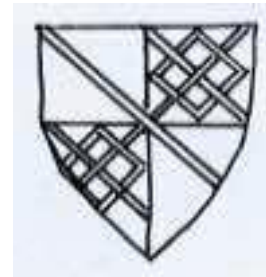
Fig 2 Prior John Malvern praying to St Anne, in the most easterly window of the north quire. The inscription reads: *O felix anna pro me ad Chr(istu)m ex ora.*



Clare?



Beauchamp



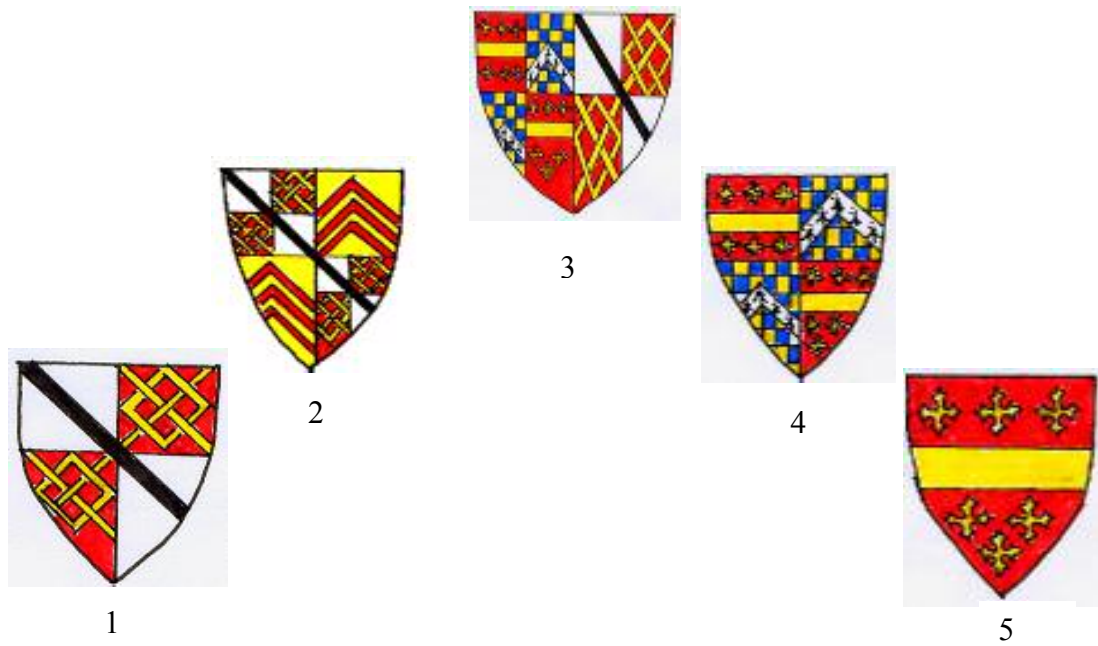
Despenser?

“The apex was before 1860 covered with the arms of Beauchamp of Warwick, grouped with smaller ones of De Clare and Despenser” (Rushforth p 48, but see illustration below). The Beauchamp shield is now in the Jesus Chapel over the door on the west side of the north transept



The Great East Window, illustrated in Neale & Le Keux vol 2, pl 3 and reproduced in Deane p 29, shows what appears to be a large shield with three smaller shields of similar size grouped on the upper half, the central shield slightly elevated.

Fig 3 Stone Shields once at the apex of the arch of the Great East Window of Great Malvern Priory



3 to 5 seen by Habington (vol 2, p 186); 1 and 2 conjecture by Rushforth (p350)



Fig 4 Top: Shields for Richard Beauchamp d.1439 and his wife Isabel Despenser d.1439, once in the East Window of the south quire aisle (now St Anne's Chapel)
Bottom: Figure of Richard Beauchamp at St Mary's, Warwick (note Despenser coat on sleeve)

Key

◆ Worcester (no commission in 1460) ◇ Gloucester (only commissions occurring in the same year as Worcester are detailed)

Name	Year															
	1423	1424	1427	1430	1431	1433	1435	1437	1440	1443	1444	1446	1451	1454	1458	1459
Bishop of Worcester#		◆ ◇	◆	◆	◆	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆
Richard, Duke of York d.1460						◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆	◇	◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆
Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick d.1439	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆	◆	◆	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◇								
Henry Beauchamp Duke of Warwick d.1446												◆ ◇				
Walter Corbet d. c. 1436	◆	◆	◆	◆												
Humphrey Stafford of Grafton Knt d. 1450				◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Walter Skull, Scull Esq. Knt by 1451 d. 1482								◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Thomas Lyttelton, Littleton d. 1481										◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
John Beauchamp of Powick Knt d.1475									◇		◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆ ◇	◆
Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone Knt d. 1460						◇	◇	◇	◇		◇	◆ ◇	◇	◇	◇	

Philip Morgan from 1419; Thomas Polton 1426; Thomas Bourghier 1435; John Carpenter 1444 to 1476 when succeeded by John Alcock (Crockford's Clerical Directory, p 801).

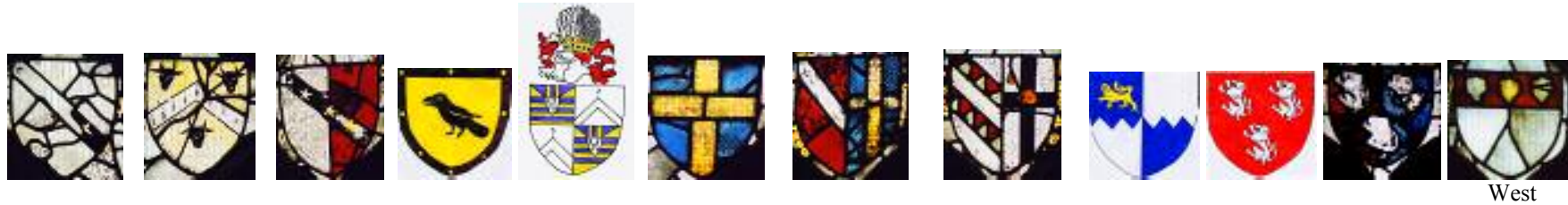
Source

- CPR 1422-1429 p563, 572
- CPR 1429-1436 p617, 627
- CPR 1436-1441 p582-3, 593
- CPR 1441-46 p470-71, 481
- CPR 1446-52 p589, 591
- CPR 1452-61 p666, 681

Fig 5 Men appointed to Commissions of the Peace in Worcestershire from 1423-1459 who appear to have been involved in the rebuilding of the Quire of Great Malvern Priory; some were also appointed in Gloucestershire



Fig 6 Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford 1422-1448 praying to St Anne, in the East Window of St Laurence's, Ludlow



	1a	1b	1c	1d	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	3c	3d
Shields in Tracery	Monington	Cowley	Monington (a variety of)	Lost by 17 th century-possibly Corbet	Mortimer of Chirk quartering chevrons ?displaced	Whitney	Walwin (Walweyn) impaling Whitney	Ruyhale impaling Brugge	Croft	Pauncefot	Herbert	Hanley
Possible Identity ³⁸⁶	John Monington Esq	Cowley ancestor of Corbet	? Richard Monington who married a Walwin	Walter Corbet, d. c. 1436 Ward of Richard Ruyhale	Hugh Mortimer Esq (Knt by 1450) d. 1460	Robert Whitney Knt d.1443	William Walwin Esq & his wife Joan/Jane d of Robert Whitney Knt	Richard Ruyhale d.1408 and his wife Elizabeth (probably Brugge) d. 1428	William Croft Esq d. by 1439 married to Margaret Walwin, sister of William Walwin Esq	John Pauncefot Knt d.c.1445 stepson of Richard Ruyhale	William ap Thomas Knt d.1445	Simon Hanley d.c.1463
Inscriptions and figures once recorded		A man & his wife, perhaps Corbet's parents		Figures of the Corbet family <i>Orate pro animabus Walter Corbet et Iohannae uxoris eius</i>	Kneeling figure of William Walwin with name below	Kneeling figure of "Jane" his wife with name below	Another kneeling figure	Kneeling monk John Benet (occurs as Prior in 1449)				
Position in 2004	1b	1c	1a	Lost	Lost	2c	2a	2d	Lost	Lost	3a	3d

Fig 7 Original Scheme of Shields once in the south windows (1to 3) of the south quire aisle (now St Anne's Chapel)

³⁸⁶ From Rushforth p352-366 except for 1a, 1b, 2a & 3c here suggested. In 1434, the following men were amongst those taking the oath not to maintain peace breakers in Gloucester and Hereford -their rank is that occurring in 1434(CPR 1429-36 p 372-3,376-378). These were all represented in the quire of the Priory, those in bold in the south quire chapel:

Gloucester: Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone Knt; **John Pauncefot Knt**; Henry Clifford;

Hereford: **Robert Whitney Knt**; **Hugh Mortimer Esq**; **William Walweyn of Longford Esq**; **John Monington Esq**; Miles Skull.

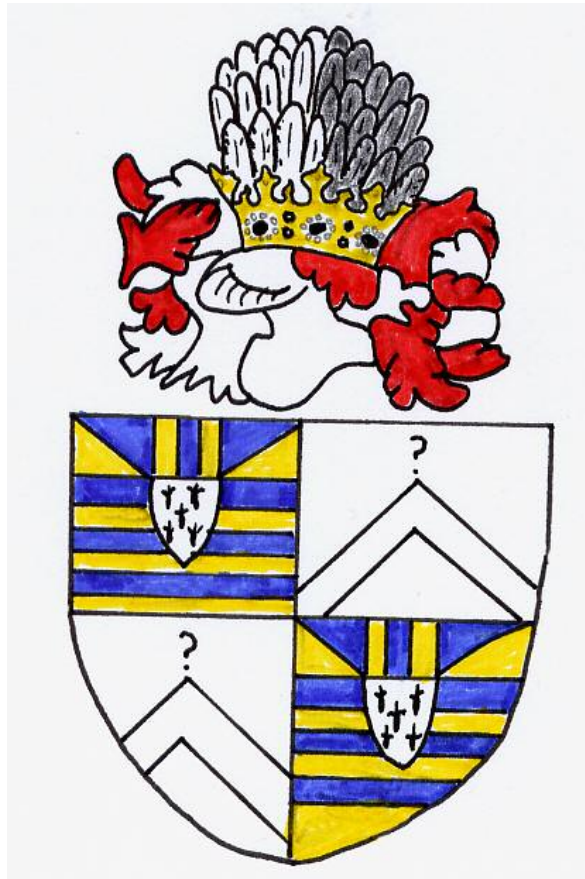
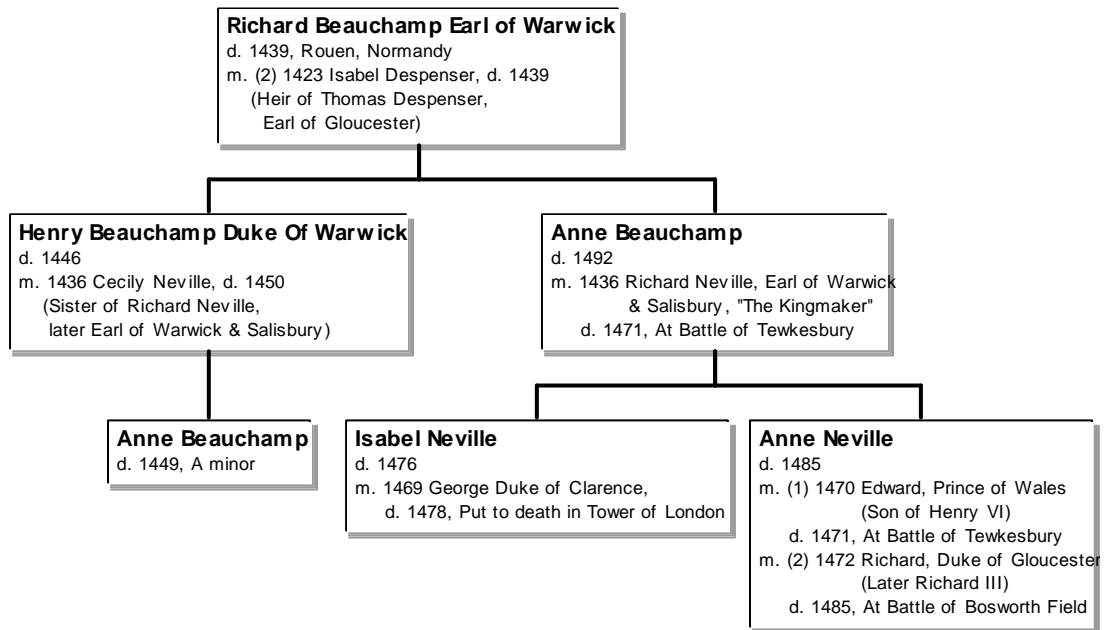


Fig 8 Shields for Hugh Mortimer Knt (d.1460), top, and William ap Thomas Knt (d.1445) from the south windows of St Anne's Chapel



Richard Beauchamp married firstly Elizabeth Berkeley d.1422, daughter of Sir Thomas Berkeley d. 1417
 Their three daughters married respectively
 Margaret = John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury d. 1453 at Castillon, France
 Eleanor = 1) Thomas de la Ros d.1431 2) Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset d. 1455 at St Albans
 Elizabeth = George Neville, Lord Latimer

Isabel Despenser married firstly Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, son of William Lord Bergavenny by Joan Fitzalan, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel (according to Dugdale -*Antiquities of Warwickshire*, Joan, Lady Bergavenny was godmother of Henry Beauchamp).
 They had one daughter who married
 Elizabeth = Edward Neville bringing him the baronies of Burghersh, Despenser and Abergavenny

Fig 9 The end of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick



WEST	3 rd window from the East - The Founders Window		EAST
	Westminster Abbey, coat attributed to Edward the Confessor	Westminster Abbey	
Habington vol 2, p184; transcript in Rushforth p 416	<i>Azure, a cross patonce³⁸⁷ between 5 martlets Or; the arms of England from the Kings of Jerusalem</i>	<i>Azure 2 keys in saltire the one Or the other Argent impaling Azure on a chief indented Gules a Garb Or(sic)</i>	
Rushforth 1936, p135-136	Arms of Edward the Confessor or Westminster Abbey <i>Azure a cross patonce (or flory) between five birds Or</i>	Arms of Westminster Abbey <i>Azure two keys one Or, the other Argent, ward upwards in saltire, impaling azure on a chief indented gules a mitre and crozier Or</i>	

Fig 10 Shields for Westminster Abbey in the North Clerestory of Great Malvern Priory

³⁸⁷ Rushforth (p135) notes this version of the arms has a cross flory though the cross patonce occurs on the 1453 tiles. Both shields had been moved to the west window but were replaced in 1919 suffering accordingly (see Rushforth p 134)



	EAST			WEST		
Identification	1a	1b	2a	2b	3a	3b
This paper	Henry VI d.1471 <i>Quarterly France and England</i>	Richard Duke of York d.1460 ³⁸⁸ <i>The Royal coat quarterly France and England with a three point label bearing 9 torteaux (red flashing lost) with an inescutcheon of Mortimer quartering De Burgh</i>	John Beauchamp, Lord of Powick d. 1475 <i>Gules, a fesse between six martlets or</i>	De Burgh ³⁸⁹ earl of Ulster <i>Or a cross gules</i>	Probably Humphrey Stafford of Grafton Kt d. 1450 ³⁹⁰ <i>Or a chevron gules a canton ermine</i>	Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone Kt d 1460 ³⁹¹ . <i>Gules a chevron between ten crosses patee Argent a bordure argent</i>
Habington vol 2, p183-184 transcript in Rushforth p 417	Henry VII	Prince Arthur (eldest son of Henry VII)	Lord Beauchamp of Powick	Saint George <i>Argent a cross gules</i>	Lord Stafford or Stafford of Grafton	Baron Berkeley
Rushforth p141-144	Edward IV	Edward, Prince of Wales as Earl of March (elder son of Edward IV)	Beauchamp of Powick	St George	Stafford of Grafton d 1485	Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone d 1460 or his son Maurice d 1475
	Lost	Moved to 3b	Lost	Present	Lost	Moved to 3a

Fig 11 Original Scheme of Shields in the South Clerestory Windows (1 to 3) of the Quire of Great Malvern Priory

³⁸⁸ York commonly used the coat of his uncle Edward Duke of York d.1415. Here it has an inescutcheon of Mortimer quartering De Burgh for his mother, Anne Mortimer or her brother, Edmund Earl of March. York was heir to both men

³⁸⁹ Quarters 1 & 4 may have been damaged in the past and replaced with plain glass, the yellow stain with its diapering is the original glass. (cf de Burgh coat on ineschutcheon in 1b). May represent York again.

³⁹⁰ Habington writing in reign of Charles I (1625-49) recorded "*Stafford, but soe broken that I cannot discern whether it be for the Lord Stafford or Stafford of Grafton*". It is more likely to be for Stafford of Grafton as this occurs in the 1453 tiles, was once in a nave window and he was prominent in Worcester affairs (see Fig 5). The Stafford coat with a canton ermine is attributed to the Staffords of Grafton by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald 1580-1588 see Harleian Ms 1481 f 57 in the British Library

³⁹¹ A cadet line of the Berkeleys shown by the bordure. Some of the red flashed glass has been lost.



Fig 12 Shields of Richard Duke of York d.1460, De Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and Maurice Berkeley of Beverstone Knt.d.1460



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig 13 Portrait heads in the spandrels of (a) the Founders' Window of the north clerestory and (b) in the south clerestory opposite, and (c) heads of two kings said to be from the south clerestory (now in the east window)



Fig 14 Original Scheme of Heraldic Wall Tiles dated 1453 (key overleaf)

“The eastern and upper parte of the faire quire of the Greater Malvern is closed round with quarryys of brick, whereon are painted the armes of England and Jerusalem³⁹², and underneath the like of Mortimir Earle of March, with an inescutcheon ermin and Bohun Earle of Hereford, and lowest of all the armes, Clare, Earls of Gloucester, the lord le Despenser, Beauchamp, Earle of Warwick and Beauchamp, Baron of Powick; Anno Dom, 1453 and 32 Hen 6. In one panell within is Gules, a bend voyded of the field between six Lyons heads erased or, beeing the armes of Skull, once of Holt, com. Wigorn, and the next coate of Stafford of Grafton...” (Habington vol 2, p 183 transcript in Way A 1844 Gentleman’s Magazine vol 21 p27)

Key to Reconstruction

Top Row

Anno d s M s CCCC s LIII = 1453

Anno (year) d (omini = lord) M (1000) CCCC (four hundred) LIII (53)

2nd Row

Left crowned coat of **Westminster Abbey/Edward the Confessor** (see also Fig 10)

Right crowned coat of **England** probably representing **William the Conqueror**

3rd Row

Left **Bohun** Earls of Hereford perhaps representing Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford & Essex d 1322,

Right **Mortimer** The escutcheon bears the ermine difference mark for Mortimer of Chirk, perhaps representing Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirk d.1326, a contemporary of the above

4th Row

Left to Right

Clare Malvern given by Edward I to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester on his marriage to Princess Joan of Acre. After the death of his son, Malvern was brought by Gilbert’s sister, Eleanor, to her husband Hugh le Despenser

Beauchamp Isabel Despenser, daughter of Thomas Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick in 1423 bringing him Malvern chase. They both died in 1439. Their son and heir, Henry died 1446 and Henry’s daughter Anne in 1449. Warwick’s daughter, Anne, married Richard Neville who became Earl of Warwick in right of his wife in 1449 and inherited most of the Beauchamp and Despenser estates

Despenser The Despensers were Earls of Gloucester. Isabel Despenser d 1439, was daughter of Thomas Despenser, beheaded in 1400. On the death of her brother Richard in 1414 the main line of the Despenser’s came to an end

Beauchamp of Powick John Beauchamp d 1475, Baron of Powick was a member of a cadet line of the Beauchamp family. He was made K.G. in 1445 and Justice of South Wales before 1449.

The above families were predominant in the scheme. However, Habington noted “one panel”, possibly one section of wall, where the following tile occurs. I have seen only four examples of this tile at Malvern.

Skull Miles Skull d c. 1458 elder brother of Walter Skull of Holt who was prominent in Worcs affairs. The lack of difference marks on the coat indicates that it is the elder Skull being represented. Miles Skull was Deputy Justiciar in South Wales in 1439 and 1447; held an annuity from Henry Beauchamp’s lordship of Abergavenny (originally a Despenser lordship) and was a close associate of John Lord Tiptoft, who married Beauchamp’s wife Cecily Neville after Henry’s death in 1446.

Stafford of Grafton Humphrey Stafford of Grafton Knight d 1450 was, with Walter Skull, prominent in Worcestershire affairs (see Fig 5). This tile scheme was made in 1453, three years after Stafford’s death during the Jack Cade rebellion of 1450.

³⁹² This is a mistake; the coat for Jerusalem, though superficially similar, has crosses (4) instead of martlets (5) and a silver field rather than a blue one. The description of the Skull coat was based on armorial glass seen by Habington at Holt except that it should be *six Lyons erased argent not or*.



Fig 15 Victorian Tiles replicating those originally on the sanctuary steps



Fig 16 Wall Tile Scheme dated 36 Henry VI (1457/1458) on the wall facing the north quire aisle and on the gable of the Priory Gatehouse



Drawings in Molyneux and McGregor 1997 p21 after Eames 1980

Fig 17 Undated Wall Tile Scheme



Fig 18 Leper's Tile dated 1456 with drawing from Nott (1894, opp. p 101)

It bears the name of the four apostles and the verse "***Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me***" (Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me. Job xix, 21)



Fig 19 Floor Tiles bearing the coat of Beauchamp (top), and Beauchamp impaling Despenser (below)



Fig 20 Floor Tiles bearing the coat of Clare (top) and of Newburgh and Despenser (below)



Fig 21 Falcons, Boars, Owls, Roses: possible badges of Richard, Duke of York d.1460 on Misericords at Great Malvern Priory



Fig 22 Boar/lion and a falcon with a maiden's head – possible badges of Richard, Duke of York d.1460



Fig 23 Misericord of a Merman and Mermaid



Fig 24 A Mermaid Collar on the Brass for Sir Thomas Berkeley (d 1417)



Fig 25 Misericord of a Wyvern

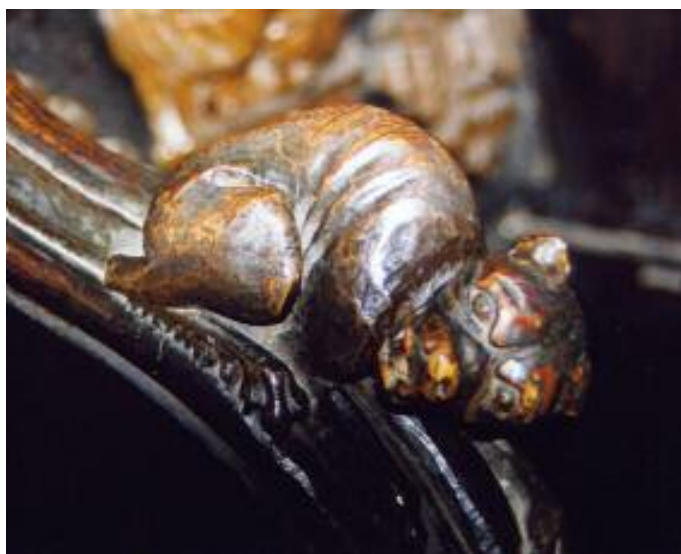


Fig 26 The Stafford Knot on a tile and a Staffordshire Bull Terrier on a misericord and arm rest: possible badges of the Staffords of Grafton



Fig 27 Talbot Dog on tile and armrest – badge of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury d.1453



Fig 28 Portrait heads on armrests



Worcester Cathedral



Great Malvern Priory



Gloucester Cathedral

Fig 29 The Tower of Worcester Cathedral (late 14th century): the inspiration for the Towers of Great Malvern Priory and St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, built in the mid 15th century



Fig 30 Victorian Tiles bearing Abbot Seabrooke's coat, the date 1455 and the coat of Brugge, reproduced from his Pavement at Gloucester Cathedral



Drawings from Eames 1980
Beauchamp design 1601: Clare design 1656: Royal design 1518

Fig 31 Floor tiles, originally in sets of four, bearing the Beauchamp, Clare and the Royal Coat found at Great Malvern Priory and Gloucester Cathedral

Worcester	Hereford	Westminster	Gloucester	Great Malvern
	Thomas Polton 1420-1422	Richard Harweden c1420-1440	John Marewent 1420-1437	
Thomas Polton 1426-35	Thomas Spofford 1422- 1449			
Thomas Bourghier 1435-44		Edmund Kyrton 1440- 1462	Reginald Boulers 1437-1450	John Malvern occurs 1435
John Carpenter 1444-76	Richard Beauchamp 1449-1451		Thomas Sebroke 1451-1457	John Benet (Bennet) occurs 1449
	Reginald Boulers 1451-1453			Richard Mathern (Mathon) resigned 1457
	John Stanbury 1453-1474	George Norwych 1462- 1469	Richard Hanley 1457-1472	Richard Dene elected 1457 occurs 1491 Maculinus Ledbury occurs 1503, Rushforth p 398
		Thomas Milling 1469- 1474		
John Alcock 1476-1487	Thomas Milling 1474-1492	John Esteney 1474-1498	William Farley 1472-1498	
Robert Morton 1487-1497				

Source:

For Bishops of Worcester and Hereford see Croxford's Clerical Directory.

For Abbots of Westminster & Gloucester and Priors of Great Malvern see Dugdale's Monasticon, vol 1, p 276, 535-536 and vol 3, p 443. Dugdale (vol 1, p 536) gives 1450 for the election of Thomas Sebroke as abbot at Gloucester but the correct date was 1451 (see CPR 1446-1452 p 406, Rymers Foedera p 681).

That there was some movement between these institutions can be seen from the careers of Polton, Boulers and Milling.

N.B.: Dugdale also cites Richard Bone and Richard Frewen as Priors of Great Malvern succeeding Richard Dene but the former is thought to have been a misreading of Dene's name by Thomas (Rushforth p 409) and Frewen, a benefactor to the nave, is thought to have been a sub prior, not a Prior (Rushforth p307).

Fig 32 Bishops of Worcester and Hereford, Abbots of Westminster, Gloucester and Priors of Great Malvern from c1420-c1498



East side of transept with plain battlements



North and west sides of transept with panelled and pierced battlements

Fig 33 Changing battlements on the north transept



Fig 34 The West Window



Fig 35 The Abbey Gatehouse and Porch