

**ARMORIAL GLASS FOR JOHN NORREYS, ESQUIRE TO THE
BODY OF HENRY VI, AND MARGARET OF ANJOU, QUEEN OF
ENGLAND, IN THE GALILEE CHAPEL OF
DURHAM CATHEDRAL**



Ann Darracott



Maidenhead Civic Society has a long standing interest in the heritage of the Maidenhead area and has supported the study of the history, in particular, of several of the listed buildings from the medieval period. This has proved useful when commenting on planning issues concerning them.

The buildings are:-

Ockwells Manor – a C15th manor house built by John Norreys (Norys), Esquire to the Body of Henry VI, which has important armorial glass in the Great Hall.

Bisham “Abbey” – originally a preceptory of the Knights Templar that was added to by William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury in the C14th when he founded a priory on the site. Subsequent owners made further alterations. The priory was demolished during the dissolution of the monasteries. Henry VIII re-established the priory as an abbey that only lasted six months but the name has stuck.

St. John the Baptist Church, Shottesbrooke – also C14th, and the finest decorated period church in Berkshire, part of a college founded by Sir William Trussell.

There are links between these buildings, with representatives of the same families (Beauchamp, Montacute, Neville and Mortimer) occurring in the armorial glass. The study of Bisham “Abbey” complements in particular the study of St. John the Baptist Church at Shottesbrooke. The Shottesbrooke Church was contemporary with Bisham Priory Church, lost in the C16th.

Bisham “Abbey” is in the ownership of Sport England and Ockwells Manor is in private hands. Both are inaccessible to the general public except on special occasions. To increase awareness of these magnificent local heritage buildings Maidenhead Civic Society has designed and produced presentations that provide virtual tours of both buildings. For further information contact the Society via the website www.maidenheadcivicsoc.org.uk or by email to info@maidenheadcivicsoc.org.uk.

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Front cover:

West window of the Galilee Chapel with the armorial glass in the central light

ARMORIAL GLASS FOR JOHN NORREYS, ESQUIRE TO THE BODY OF HENRY VI, AND MARGARET OF ANJOU, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, IN THE GALILEE CHAPEL OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL

by Ann Darracott
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SUMMARY

Armorial glass now in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral represents John Norreys, Esquire to the Body of Henry VI, and his first wife, Alice Merbrooke, and the royal coat for Henry VI impaling that of his wife, Margaret of Anjou. Both these armorials are also found in Ockwells Manor, a C15th manor house near Maidenhead in Berkshire, not far from Windsor castle, that Norreys built.



The north face of the Galilee Chapel

Longstaffe, writing in 1876, correctly identified Margaret of Anjou's achievement and had a stab at the Norreys one. He also said "*If we could be sure that the Lancastrian glass was always at Durham it would derive a curious interest in connection with the visit of Henry VI to the city in 1448.*"

Alice was lady in waiting to the Queen and her husband John was an Esquire to the King. It is very likely they accompanied Henry VI when he visited Durham in September 1448, three years after Margaret came to England and was married to Henry. The shields are probably survivors of a larger armorial scheme put up as a

commemoration of the visit by Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham from 1437-57, in the Exchequer building that he built and which still bears his coat and crest.

It is not known when exactly the Exchequer was built. If it was built in time for the king's visit the armorials may be recording the donors who helped build it. John Norreys could easily have made a donation as could his Queen. His career was then at a high point.

Norreys was a Berkshire man but had connections both geographically and legally with Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, Bishop Robert Neville's elder brother, whose family seat, Raby Castle was in Co. Durham. Ockwells Manor house, built by Norreys, is not far from Bisham Abbey, the family seat of Salisbury's wife, Alice Montacute. In addition, Salisbury and Norreys were among the trustees managing the estates of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1439) during the minority of his heir, Henry. Warwick, held Barnard Castle near to the Neville castle of Raby, and had inter-married his children with the Nevilles. Henry had been married to Salisbury's daughter Cecily and Henry's sister, Anne, to Salisbury's son Richard (later the famous Kingmaker).

Unfortunately, Henry Beauchamp died in 1446 after which Norreys was appointed chief steward of most of the manors, lordships and lands of the Spencers. Henry's mother was Isabel Despencer. From 1439 to 1450 Norreys would have had some contact with Salisbury in administering Beauchamp estates. The death of Henry's daughter, Anne (d.1449), and Cecily Neville, Henry's wife (d.1450), meant that their estates passed to Henry's sister Anne, married to Richard Neville, Salisbury's son, who was made Earl of Warwick (1449) in right of his wife.

Norreys may have assisted Bishop Robert Neville in building the Exchequer or Chancery Court on Palace Green. The Exchequer has been compared in shape and function to the Jewel Tower at Westminster, a building constructed in 1365-66, to a design by the King's architect, Henry de Yevele. Norreys held various posts which would have meant that he was familiar with the Jewel Tower, plus he had some building experience.

Margaret of Anjou was accompanied to England in 1445 by an escort which included Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Alice Montacute. Bisham Abbey, the southern seat of Salisbury, is not far from Windsor Castle where Henry VI and his Queen were often in residence.

Dugdale, in his *Visitation of County Durham* in 1666 did not record either of these shields in Durham Cathedral or elsewhere; nor are they among the shields he didn't record but others did. The earliest known record is from Longstaffe's paper that locates them by 1876 in "Mrs Maltby's house". Mrs Maltby was the daughter-in-law of the Rt. Rev Edward Maltby who was appointed Bishop of Durham in the summer of 1836, and her house was in the College, Durham's equivalent of the Cathedral Close. Such a house would be an obvious location for placing pieces of stained glass retrieved from elsewhere in the cathedral precincts, such as when Bishop Cosin, in the C17th, built his library onto the Exchequer building and put in it new bigger windows. Longstaffe also noted the presence in Mrs Maltby's house of the daisy badge of Margaret of Anjou, now attached to the top of the Norreys armorial. The presence of both the armorial and badge of the Queen makes it more likely Durham was where they were put up originally rather than being brought in from elsewhere.

INTRODUCTION

The Galilee Chapel of the Cathedral houses much of the remaining medieval stained glass and this includes two heater shaped shields for John Norreys, an Esquire to the Body of Henry VI, impaled with that of his first wife Alice Merbrooke and Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI. These were recognised as they also occur in a C15th manor house, Ockwells Manor¹ (Figure 1) near Maidenhead, where the armorial glass of the great hall has been studied as part of a project for Maidenhead Civic Society.

For a comparison of the armorial glass see Figures 2 and 3.



Figure 1: Ockwells Manor, Berkshire

Norreys built Ockwells Manor house and put up the famous armorial glass (eighteen lights in all, one being lost) in its great hall in part to commemorate the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in 1445 which was supposed to lead to peace with France. The glazing was done in 1450-1454 by which time England had lost its possessions in France and the Wars of the Roses was about to begin.

Alice Merbrooke, John's wife was a damsel (lady-in-waiting) of the Queen immediately after her arrival in England in 1445 and for several years afterwards.² The two shields in the Galilee Chapel appear to be of the same size though the dexter side of the shield for Margaret is damaged, with only one lion remaining of what once was the royal coat (France quartering England) of Henry VI. It seems likely that these shields are survivors of a larger armorial scheme.

This account reviews what is known about the previous locations of these shields and details links between Norreys, a Berkshire man, and members of the Neville and Beauchamp families which helps make a case for the shields having been put up as part

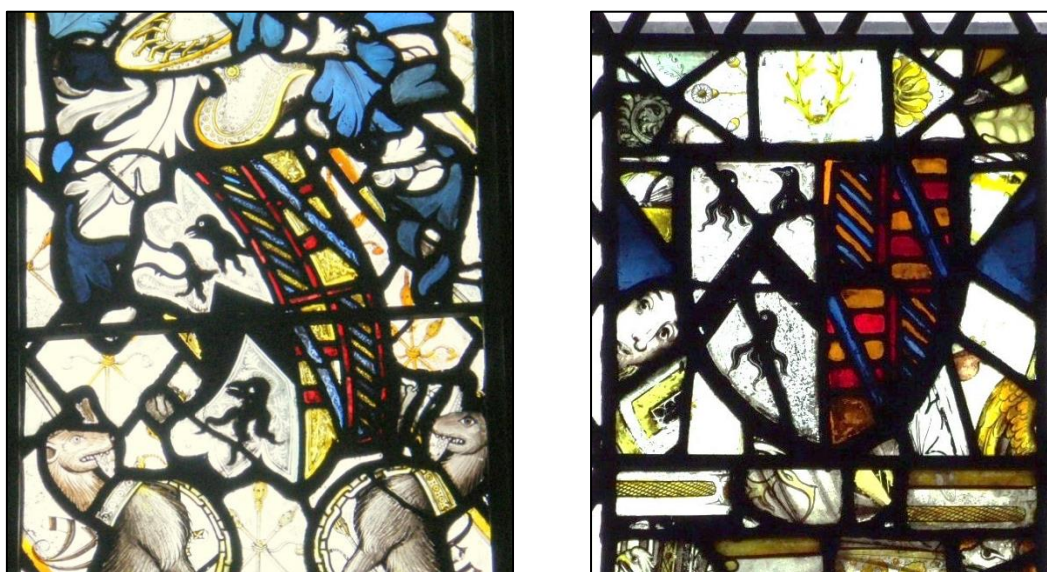
¹ Ockwells is a private house not open to the public.

² TNA items E101/409/13, E101/409/14, E101/409/17 and E101/409/18. I am grateful to Linda Clark for bringing this information on Alice to my attention.

of an armorial scheme arising from the only visit that Henry VI made to Durham, in September 1448.



*Figure 2: The armorial of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI.
Left: Ockwells; right: Galilee Chapel*



*Figure 3: The armorial of John Norreys Esq and his first wife Alice Merbrooke.
Left: Ockwells; right: Galilee Chapel*

PREVIOUS RECORDS

Dugdale, in his *Visitation of County Durham* in 1666 did not record either of these shields in Durham Cathedral or elsewhere³ nor are they among the shields he didn't record but others did.⁴

1876 The earliest known record locates them by then in "Mrs Maltby's house", among other glass, were the Norreys shield, plus two other "*private shields*", caused suspicion that said shields did not originate in the north.⁵ The link between Mrs Maltby's house and the Cathedral is discussed below and seeks to refute this suspicion. Longstaffe (1876) correctly identified Margaret of Anjou's achievement impaling that of her husband Henry VI and had a stab at the Norreys one.⁶

By 1925 the two shields were to be found in the west window of the Chapter House of the Cathedral⁷ when Longstaffe's identification was repeated; from there they were moved to the Galilee Chapel ca 1961.⁸

A 1977 survey of the stained glass record them in the Galilee Chapel, noting the arms of Ravenscroft impaling Mountford, with no identification and strangely did not identify the shield of Margaret of Anjou.⁹

A 1984 (revised 1995) description of the stained glass in Durham Cathedral noted the Ravenscroft/Mountford arms but did not identify that of Margaret of Anjou.¹⁰

Circa 2014, a booklet on the stained glass of the Galilee Chapel did not identify either shield.¹¹

³ *Durham Monuments* 1925 vol V part I. Dugdale only described shields occurring in the Cathedral itself and its cloister. He did not describe any shield from Palace Green.

⁴ *Ibid* part II details shields and effigies set up before 1666 but not recorded by Dugdale.

⁵ Longstaffe, W H D 1876, p139-140.

⁶ Longstaffe (p140) suggested Sir Walter Norrys or John Norreys, second son of Sir William Norreys of Speke, who married the daughter of a Ravenscroft and assumed her arms. This was repeated in *Durham Monuments* II, p113 quoting Burke's *General Armory*. However, this supposed marriage was created by the herald to allow the pedigree for the Norreys of Speke, made in 1567, to be attached to a pedigree begun in 1568 for "Dominus Norreis", i.e. Lord Norreys of Rycote, the great-great-grandson of John Norreys of Ockwells. Norreys was knighted by Elizabeth I in 1566; the College of Arms began a pedigree for him in 1568 that was not completed till 1580 (see College of Arms E8 f 51 & E12 f 96v; Raines 1870) using the marriage to join the two families. Lord Norreys seems to have assumed the arms of the Norreys of Speke in addition to the Ravenscroft for Norreys coat. Both coats certainly appear on his tomb at Westminster Abbey and both occur in the Elizabethan Roll described by Longstaffe (p140). This marriage of John Norreys second son of Sir William Norreys of Speke, with the heiress of Ravenscroft cannot be relied upon. All would have been revealed if Longstaffe had seen Lysons D and Lysons C 1813, which illustrated the achievement of John Norreys and Alice Merbrooke in the great hall at Ockwells.

⁷ *Durham Monuments* II, p113, which features a drawing of the Norreys coat which omits the chevron.

⁸ Haselock J and O'Connor D E 1980 p119.

⁹ *Ibid* 1980 p119-120.

¹⁰ Norris p49.

¹¹ Lowis A; photo of the window they occur in is on page 20.

LINK WITH DURHAM CATHEDRAL

The shields of John Norreys and Margaret of Anjou were first recorded in “Mrs Maltby’s house but this was not just any private house. It belonged to the Cathedral and was located in the College (Durham’s equivalent of the cathedral close). Mrs Maltby was daughter-in-law of Bishop Edward Maltby. The Rt. Rev Edward Maltby was appointed Bishop of Durham in the summer of 1836¹² dying in retirement in 1859. His son H J Maltby was made a Canon of Durham in 1852, dying 1863. The Canon’s wife survived him and continued to live in the College and was still living there according to the 1875 Durham Directory.¹³ Such a house, owned by the Cathedral and located in its precincts, would have been an obvious location to put stray bits of stained glass removed from other buildings in the immediate area, at almost any time during its existence.

Mrs Maltby’s house also had the badge of Margaret of Anjou, the Daisy.¹⁴ This was almost certainly a quarry badge.¹⁵ It seems unlikely that two pieces of glass both related to Margaret of Anjou would have been imported into Durham. Also recorded was a stag’s head caboshed bearing a cross with an arrow through the mouth, which Longstaffe (p140) queries as a Norreys badge. Such a badge is not known for Norreys but is the coat of his brother-in-law, William Bulstrode.¹⁶ Both daisy and stag’s head are located on the upper side of the Norreys armorial.



Figure 4: Left: Daisy badge of Margaret of Anjou; right: Possible Stags Head of Bulstrode

Apart from this link with the Cathedral there are others given below which make a case for these shields to be survivors of a larger scheme which was put up most likely in the Cathedral precincts or in a building elsewhere with strong links with the Cathedral.

¹² Jones E 1996.

¹³ Information on Mrs Maltby’s house from Roger Norris, Deputy Chapter Librarian, Nov 2000.

¹⁴ Longstaffe p141.

¹⁵ Many daisy quarries plus a shield for Margaret of Anjou can still be seen in the King’s Head, Aylesbury, owned by the National Trust. This building was probably previously a hospitium linked to the nearby Greyfriars Priory established by the Butler earls of Ormond.

¹⁶ His armorial achievement also occurs at Ockwells (Darracott 1998 rev. 2017)

WHEN WAS THE GLASS PUT UP?

The identification of Norreys and Margaret mean that the shields could not have been put up earlier than 1445 when Margaret of Anjou was married to Henry VI. Longstaffe says “*If we could be sure that the Lancastrian glass was always at Durham it would derive a curious interest in connection with the visit of Henry VI to the city in 1448.*” Assuming the glass was put up to celebrate the visit it would have been put up during the episcopate of Robert Neville (Bishop of Durham from 1438-1457).

It is not known when exactly the Exchequer was built. If it was built in time for the king’s visit the armorials may be recording the donors who helped build it. John Norreys could easily have made a donation as could his Queen. His career was then at a high point as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe (1444-46); Office of Receipt and Exchequer (1446-1449); Treasurer of the Chamber and Keeper of the Jewels of Queen Margaret (1445-1452); and Keeper of her Wardrobe (1452-3).

The Ockwells glass was put up between 1450 and 1454,¹⁷ in part to commemorate the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou that was supposed to result in a peace with France but didn’t, with England losing its possessions in Normandy and Gascony in 1450-1453. If the glass was put up in Durham to celebrate the 1448 visit it would predate the Ockwells glass by a few years.

LINK BETWEEN JOHN NORREYS ESQ, THE NEVILLE FAMILY AND DURHAM CATHEDRAL

John Norreys Esq (d.1466) was definitely a Berkshire man living at Ockwells Manor near Maidenhead. His Inquisition post mortem¹⁸ lists only Berkshire estates. There are, however, several reasons why his achievement could have been put up in Durham, most with some connection with the Neville family.

¹⁷ The Ockwells scheme contains two achievements for John Norreys. One impaled with the coat of his first wife Alice Merbrooke and the other with his second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe. Beltz G F 1841 (p ccxxiv) lists ladies for whom robes were provided for attendance at the feasts of the Order of St George and includes an Alice Norreys in the ladies attending in 1448. This information came from the *Keeper of the Great Wardrobe Account 25-27 Henry VI* (E101/409/18 at the TNA). The relevant entry has the date 17 September Anno 27. However, it is considered that this date refers to when the account was dealt with rather than when the robes were worn and that the event for which the robes were provided could have occurred any time in 25-27 Henry VI (1446- 1448) or even earlier (pers. comm. Peter Begent FSA, 2000). In support of this, the entry refers also to the Marquess of Suffolk which dates the event to before July 1448 when William de la Pole was elevated from Marquess to Duke of Suffolk. Finally, there is the fact that there were no elections to the Knights of the Garter in 1448 or 1449 (see Beltz p cix) which probably means that no feasts would have been held in those years. For the purposes of ascertaining the date of Alice’s death the most useful account is the E101/410/2 account of John Norreys (her husband) as treasurer of the chamber and custodian of the jewels of the Queen, Michaelmas 27-28 Henry VI (1448-9). This shows that Alice was still alive at least at some point in this accounting year (i.e. after September 1448) as she received a gift from the Queen of a silver-gilt cup (Linda Clark pers comm. 1998). Norreys was married to his second wife Eleanor Clitheroe before March 1455 (Linda Clark - draft of entry for John Norris - History of Parliament Trust in prep).

¹⁸ *Calendar Inquisition Post Mortem* - 6 Edw IV (vol IV Henry V-Richard III, no 45, page 337).

Connections between John Norreys Esq and Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury:

- Geographical

The Nevilles were, with the Percys, the most prominent families of the north-east in the fifteenth century. The Nevilles especially left their mark on the Cathedral with the Neville screen and the Neville chantry chapel. However the ones of interest here are their descendants (see family tree, Figure 11).

Richard Neville, son of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, by Joan Beaufort his second wife, had established a base in the southeast of England by marrying Alice, the daughter and heir of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.¹⁹ Neville thus became Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife. This base, Bisham Abbey (Figure 5), was the Montacute seat and is not far from Ockwells Manor.²⁰



Figure 5: C14th east front of Bisham Abbey – Salisbury’s armorial is visible in the C16th bay window

¹⁹ Killed in 1428 at the siege of Orleans.

²⁰ The armorial achievement of the first Neville earl of Salisbury and his wife Alice Montacute (Figure 6) can still be seen in the Council Chamber, (called the Elizabethan Room by Sport England who now own Bisham Abbey). His very battered effigy exists, having sometime in the past been transported from Bisham to St Mary’s, Burghfield. The same chamber at Bisham Abbey has the C14th coat of Alice’s ancestors, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife, Katherine Grandison, in its windows.



Figure 6: Armorial of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, Alice Montacute whose coat takes precedence

- Legal

However, other than geographical proximity there was another reason to connect John Norreys and Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. Both were in the group of trustees charged with administering the estates of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, after his death early in 1439. The estates were to be managed for the benefit of Warwick's wife Isabel Despenser, because his heir Henry was not yet old enough to inherit.²¹

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, held Barnard castle²² near to the Neville castle of Raby, Co. Durham, and had intermarried his children with the Nevilles. Warwick's son and heir, Henry, had been married to Salisbury's daughter Cecily and Henry's sister, Anne, to Salisbury's son Richard (later the famous Kingmaker). Unfortunately Henry Beauchamp died in 1446 (Barnard Castle forming part of his widow's dower²³) and his daughter, Salisbury's granddaughter, Anne, in 1449. Cecily Neville, Henry's widow died in 1450 (see Figure 11).

From 1439 to 1450 Norreys would have had some contact with Salisbury in administering Beauchamp estates,²⁴ possibly those in the south east of England. Significantly, after Henry's death, Norreys was appointed, in June 1446, to be chief

²¹CPR 1436-41 page 279, May 16 1439: *Appointment by advice of the Council of Richard, Duke of York, Richard Earl of Salisbury, John Beauchamp Kt, William ap Thomas Kt, John Throkmorton Esq, John Norrys Esq, John Vampage and Thomas Huggeford 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 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.

²² There appears to have been a tussle for control of Barnard Castle. In 1440 a commission attempted to repossess the castle from Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham, who had seized it against the wishes of Henry's trustees, including Norreys and the Bishop's brother, Richard Earl of Salisbury (CPR 1436-41, p408).

²³ CPR 1446-52, p37.

²⁴ Salisbury was amongst those appointed in September 1446 to look after the estates of his granddaughter, Anne, after the death of her father Henry Beauchamp, including all the possessions of the late duke in England (except those estates in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester and Warwick and the march of Wales) plus those in the town and march of Calais. This appointment was provided it was not prejudicial to any offices granted hitherto to John Norreys among others (CPR 1446-52, p1).

steward of all manors, lordships and lands of the Spencers.²⁵ One of the manors Henry had inherited from his mother Isabel Despenser (d.1439) was Great Marlow Manor. This manor would have been of interest to Salisbury as Marlow is on the north bank of the river Thames opposite Bisham Abbey. The death of Henry's daughter Anne (d.1449) meant that Marlow fell into the lap of Henry's sister Anne, married to Richard Neville, Salisbury's son.²⁶

Salisbury's son was made Earl of Warwick in right of his wife in 1449 after the death of her niece Anne and with the death of Henry's wife Cecily in 1450 they would have inherited all the estates due to them. This may be why in 1450 the custody of Warwick's lands came to an end and Norreys and the rest were pardoned all arrears of accounts as guardians.²⁷

Connections between John Norreys Esq and Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham 1438-57

Robert Neville was Richard Neville's younger brother and it would have been during his episcopate that these stained glass shields could have been put up. However, the question is: if this is true, then where were they put?

Much re-glazing took place in the choir of the cathedral in 1438-39 and in 1440²⁸ at the start of Neville's episcopate but Margaret was not married until 1445. The two bishops prior to Neville – Skirlaw and Langley – spent vast sums on stained glass;²⁹ for example, the nine altars windows were executed during Langley's episcopate 1406-1437.³⁰ A representation of Henry VI was apparently once in one of the windows of the Galilee Chapel but this is associated with Langley whose figure also occurred.³¹ Prior John Wessington was involved in re-glazing but his priorate ended in 1446,³² which is only a year after Margaret was married.

On balance it seems unlikely that the scheme was put up in the cathedral unless there are windows that have never been described. Apparently, of the twelve windows in the Galilee Chapel only four are described in the Rites³³ but the Galilee Chapel is so markedly a Langley preserve (his coat in stone is still over the entrance), that it seems doubtful that Neville would have added to it.

The other possibility is that it was put up in the Neville chantry chapel occupying part of the south aisle of the nave. In 1593 the six windows of the south aisle were described as containing coloured glass with windows 3-5 containing Neville arms and window 6 having the arms of four noblemen.³⁴ This again seems unlikely as the chapel was created some time earlier, housing Neville's grandfather (John d.1388) and great-grandfather (Ralph Neville d 1367).³⁵

²⁵ CPR 1441-46, p434.

²⁶ *Victoria County History for Buckinghamshire* vol 3, p70-71.

²⁷ CPR 1446-52, p 375.

²⁸ Haselock and O'Connor p108, 113.

²⁹ *Ibid* p116.

³⁰ *Ibid* p111.

³¹ *Ibid* p 115.

³² *Ibid* p 114.

³³ *Ibid* p 115.

³⁴ *Rites of Durham* p110-111.

³⁵ Ralph Neville was originally buried in the nave and was moved to the Neville chapel in 1416 by license from Bishop Langley (*Durham Monuments I*, p 55). Langley seems to have re-glazed the south aisle of

Interestingly, there is link between the Ralph Neville (d.1367) mentioned above and this area of Berkshire. An extant armorial for him occurs in a window of the C14th St John the Baptist Church, Shottesbrooke, a few miles to the west of Ockwells manor, which John Norreys Esq would have seen.³⁶

The Prince Bishops of Durham evidently believed in stamping their armorial achievements on any building they erected and Neville was no exception. His armorial achievement in stone³⁷ is still on the outside of the only building he is known to have constructed – the Exchequer or Chancery Court building on Palace Green (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Armorial coat and crest of Bishop Robert Neville on the Exchequer he built

the cathedral where the chapel is. The presence of knots in windows 2 and 5 plus many Neville arms (*Rites of Durham* p 110-111) indicating perhaps that it was Ralph Neville (d.1425) who financed the re-glazing. His first wife was a Stafford (whose badge is a knot). Dugdale, in *Durham Monuments I*, did not describe these Neville arms. The statement in Longstaffe 1876, p 137, that the turret windows of the south aisle of the nave, as represented by Carter in 1801, were full of heraldic glass is bending the truth (Carter J 1801). All that can be seen from Carter's illustration of four of the windows is that there would appear to have been some stained glass in two of them but the design is indecipherable. Only part of the top section of the other two windows is visible and these have plain glass. However, Ornsby G 1846 p 31, says *a few shields in the upper compartments of the windows (of the south aisle) with their well known bearing of a saltire argent on a field gules and the fragment of a border ensigned with a repetition of the Bulmer 'b' still remain to associate the memories of the proud Nevilles with the spot where they were gathered to their fathers.*

³⁶ Neville was a commander in 1346 at what became known as the battle of Neville's Cross when King David II of Scotland was captured. The Shottesbrooke collegiate church was founded in 1337 by Sir William Trussell (d.1363) who was with Edward III in 1333 when, accompanied by Neville, William Montacute and others, the king besieged Berwick, then in Scotland. Trussell put up in his church armorial glass for many of the men who fought the Scots and the French including Neville and Montacute. The latter founded a priory at Bisham in 1337 when he was made Earl of Salisbury by Edward III and was one of Trussell's donors (Darracott 2014, p21, p39).

³⁷ The Neville coat, *gules, a saltire argent, a gimmel ring azure for difference* with the Neville crest, a bulls head (the ears are lost) plus a mitre above.



Figure 8: The Exchequer building, Palace Green, Durham

Could the achievements of Norreys and Margaret of Anjou have formed part of a scheme he put in the windows of this building? A court of law would have been a sufficiently public place in which to display such a scheme.

Assuming for the moment that the scheme could have been put in the Exchequer, there is a connection between Bishop Neville's building and Norreys. The Exchequer has been compared in shape and function to the Jewel Tower at Westminster (Figure 9), a building constructed in 1365-66 to a design by the King's architect, Henry de Yevele.³⁸ Norreys was Keeper/Clerk of the Great Wardrobe from 1444-46; in 1446 he was granted "the office of receipt and exchequer" in place of the dead Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, and was also treasurer of the chamber and keeper of the jewels of Queen Margaret till 1450.³⁹ He would have been familiar with the Jewel Tower.



Figure 9: Jewel Tower, London courtesy English Heritage

³⁸ Taylor p7.

³⁹ Wedgewood p 638 who has Duke of Norfolk in error for the Duke of Warwick.

Could Norreys have got Neville the plans of the Jewel Tower given that Norreys had some building experience?⁴⁰ Maybe Robert Neville wanted to recreate a Yevele design to go with the original Yevele design, the Neville screen in the cathedral, paid for by his grandfather.⁴¹

The windows of the Exchequer that overlook Palace Green match those of the later library erected by Bishop Cosin in 1669 and 1670-71⁴² which is attached to the Exchequer. Cosin probably replaced Neville's windows. Much smaller windows, some seemingly original, are located on the north face of the Exchequer building.



*Figure 10: The north face of the Exchequer building. Palace Green is at the left and the Fellows' Garden to the right. The left-hand upper window is the only one not to have been substantially altered since the time of Bishop Cosin.
(Reproduced from "Durham Palace Green: the Exchequer Building. Draft historic building appraisal")*

The left-hand upper window, which retains most of its original masonry, is of two lights each 25cm wide. The right upper window has had its masonry renewed; even so, each light is of a comparable width (24cm). The width of the undamaged Norreys coat of arms is estimated as being 17cm.⁴³ The coat for Margaret of Anjou is damaged on the dexter side but would originally have been of a similar width. Thus several windows would have been available to put armorial glass in.

By the time Cosin built the library the Exchequer building would have been over 200 years old and had been exposed to the depredations of Cromwell and the Commonwealth. If this was the location of the armorial scheme much of it, by then, would have been lost. Perhaps Cosin when he became Bishop in 1660 decided to remove the remaining stained glass putting it in a house in the cathedral precincts, later occupied by Mrs Maltby. This would explain why Dugdale did not see it in 1666, and who anyway seems to have concentrated on the heraldry in the cathedral, or the other authorities.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ In 1443 he was paid 100 marks a year for the repair of Windsor Castle and the lodge in Windsor Park CPR 1441-6 p151.

⁴¹ Donor of screen John, Lord Neville (d.1388).

⁴² *The Old Buildings of the Palace Green section of Durham University Library*, 1995 leaflet p2.

⁴³ Data on the Exchequer windows and the armorial glass in the Galilee Chapel: pers. comm. Richard Annis, February 2018.

⁴⁴ See notes 3 and 4 above.

LINK BETWEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU AND THE NEVILLE FAMILY

Margaret of Anjou was the daughter of René of Anjou, brother-in-law of the French king Charles VII. She was betrothed to Henry VI in Tours in November 1444 and then escorted to England, aged 15, in the spring of 1445 accompanied by an impressive escort which included Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Alice.⁴⁵ Margaret was married to Henry VI in April 1445 and crowned Queen of England shortly afterwards. After escort duty was over, the proximity of the earl's seat at Bisham Abbey to Windsor Castle would have facilitated subsequent contact.

In 1447 Salisbury was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of the college Margaret founded at Cambridge (Queen's College).⁴⁶ The Old Court of the College, all brick built, is said to have been finished by 1449 and there is a heater shaped shield for Margaret impaling the royal coat of Henry VI in the Combination Room of the College.

A POSSIBLE ARMORIAL SCHEME AT DURHAM

It is tempting to speculate about the Durham armorial scheme based on what is known of that at Ockwells. The scheme at Durham could include achievements for the following people (* indicates occurs at Ockwells).

- Henry VI*
- Margaret of Anjou and her husband, Henry VI* (still extant)
- Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Alice Montacute
- Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham
- John Norreys, Esquire to the body of Henry VI, and his wife Alice Merbrooke, lady in waiting of Queen Margaret* (still extant)
- Henry Beauchamp and his wife Cecily Neville, Salisbury's daughter*⁴⁷
- William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk⁴⁸ and his wife Alice Chaucer*⁴⁹

If any such shields are found in the Durham area they should be checked for size with the extant ones.

⁴⁵ de Beaucourt, p86, 87.

⁴⁶ Searle W.G. p7-8.

⁴⁷ A roof boss for Henry's father, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1439), has been recorded in the cloister of the cathedral and a stained glass shield in *orientalibus fenestris ibidem* (Durham Monuments I p30, 49-50).

⁴⁸ A roof boss for William's father, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who died at the siege of Harfleur in 1415, has been recorded in the cloister of the cathedral (Durham Monuments I p36). If the cloisters were completed by Langley ca 1418, then William would have already been earl as his elder brother, also Michael, died at Agincourt later in the same year. William had been a donor with the Nevilles before 1448. Between 1421 and 1430 William, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Henry VI appear to have helped rebuild the church of St Mary in Hull, based on the presence of armorial glass for them in the east window (see Maidenhead Civic Society Newsletter November 2017 p20-23).

⁴⁹ Alice Chaucer was the second wife of Thomas Montacute so would have known his daughter Alice (married to Salisbury) by his first wife, Eleanor Holland. St Johns' Chapel in the church at Ewelme, rebuilt by Alice Chaucer and her husband, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, contains armorial glass for Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland (d.1425), and his wife Joan Beaufort (Salisbury's parents). The chapel appears to have been built as a memorial to them and to the parents of Alice and William whose coats also appear. Alice's grandmother had been the sister of Katherine Swynford, neé Roet, John of Gaunt's mistress, whose children were given the name Beaufort. Hence Alice was related to the Beauforts and so to the Nevilles.

There is enough circumstantial evidence to link the achievements of John Norreys Esq and Margaret of Anjou to Durham. It is quite possible that when Henry VI visited Durham towards the end of September 1448 he was shown an armorial scheme put up in honour of himself and his wife. The Exchequer is the obvious location.

1448 was an important year for Henry VI. He had a deal with René of Anjou, Margaret's father and brother-in-law of Charles VII, king of France, and her uncle, Charles of Maine, which involved handing over the citadel of Le Mans in Maine to them in return for a 20-year truce and an alliance. The English soldiers in Le Mans had been dragging their feet in implementing this so that Le Mans was only handed over in March 1448. Henry VI would have been celebrating the success of his efforts to reach a position which left him with Aquitaine and Normandy and allied with Anjou and Maine.

1448 was the only time Henry VI visited Durham⁵⁰ and it is probable that Margaret of Anjou was with him. If she was, the visit could be interpreted as leaving London far behind to show his new wife the north of her country in the confident expectation that her father, René of Anjou and uncle, Charles of Maine would be protecting Normandy's southern border and Aquitaine's northern border. The fact that in 1449 they reneged on their agreement is another story.

⁵⁰ See itinerary of Henry VI in Wolffe B 1981 *Henry VI* Methuen p 367.

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Abbreviations

CPR: Calendar of Patent Rolls

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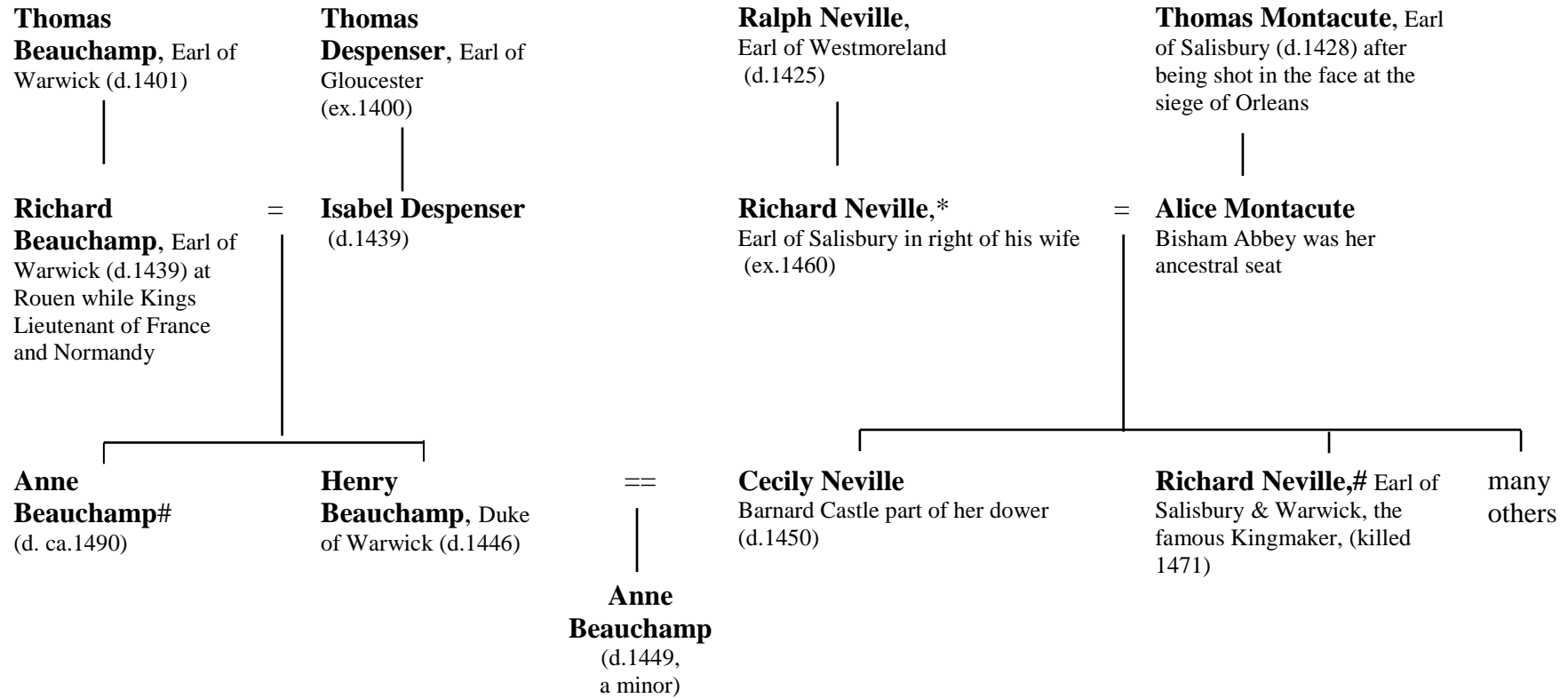
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Figure 11: Partial family tree showing the intermarriage of the Beauchamp and Neville families



* Brother, Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham (1437- 1457)

Anne Beauchamp married Richard Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, who became Earl of Warwick in 1449 in right of his wife



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