

The medieval stained glass of Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Suffolk, and its link with the Howard family and Ockwells Manor House, Berkshire



1. Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford – a “wool” church

Introduction

Ockwells Manor House, in Bray, Berkshire has been described by Nicholas Pevsner as the *most refined and the most sophisticated timber-framed mansion in England*, noting that the perfection is partly due to the restoration of 1889-1891. It was built by John Norreys Esquire (d.1466) in the mid C15th. Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, in Suffolk, was rebuilt later in the same century. Both feature stained glass that used heraldry to identify persons represented in the windows. The link between these two buildings is due to Sir John Howard, later the first Howard Duke of Norfolk, whose family seat Tendring Hall was in Suffolk, and who married the widow of John Norreys soon after the latter's death.

Ockwells, built by John Norreys glazed its great hall between 1450 and 1454 with eighteen armorial achievements for his king, Henry VI, his queen, Margaret of Anjou, and the dukes, earls, ecclesiastics, and others he was close to and often worked with. In the mid-C15th he was married to his second wife and armorial glass for both his first wife, Alice Merbrooke (d.by 1450) and second wife, Eleanor Clitheroe, occur, and also for local men from Berkshire

and Buckinghamshire including kinsmen. This spectacular armorial glass is thought to be the work of John Prudde, then glazier to Henry VI, and is a rare survival in a domestic setting. The manor house is not far from Windsor Castle and has always been a private house.

Norreys died in September 1466, by then married to his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Chedworth. By January 1467 she seems to have been married off to Sir John Howard as his second wife.¹ In that month Howard sent many expensive gifts including jewels, gold, furs, to *my lady* at Bray, almost certainly to Ockwells.²



2. The east front of Ockwells Manor House, Berkshire: the windows of the great hall are central, flanked by windows added in the restoration of 1889-91

The two families knew each other prior to the marriage. In May 1465 Sir William Norreys, John Norreys' eldest son, and his wife Jane de Vere, (daughter of John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford, and Elizabeth Howard, a kinswoman of John Howard), received Howard's daughter Margaret into their household.³ It is suggested that relations between them may have been much less cordial after January 1467 when Howard married William's widowed stepmother, as Margaret held for life a very substantial part of his inheritance until her death in 1494.⁴ Confusingly, Norreys' 1465 will, if she remarried, gave her a reasonable part of his goods and chattels to the value of 1,000 marks (ca. £667) and the residue of all his goods.⁵ Before marrying Norreys she had been married to Nicholas Wyfold (d.1456), a wealthy grocer and mayor of London in 1450-51, a connection that may have strengthened Howard's commercial interests.⁶

Howard had inherited only Fersfield, in Norfolk, and Tendring, in Essex,⁷ on his grandfather's death as most of the estates were inherited by Elizabeth Howard, only offspring of the eldest son⁸ (see Tree). His support of the Yorkists (to place Edward, eldest son of

Richard, Duke of York, on the throne in place of Henry VI) greatly benefitted his career. In 1461 he fought in the victory at Towton and was knighted by Edward after the battle and from then on was constantly in the service and good favour of the king. In 1462 the execution of his kinswoman's husband, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, for treason, gave him control of the earl's estates. Howard took a considerable interest in the day-to-day management of his own estates and was a careful and efficient administrator⁹ so had already accumulated land prior to marrying Margaret. However, quite possibly access to Norreys' wealth may have contributed to her new husband's finances. By 1470 Howard is described as a wealthy man.¹⁰

In 1470, when Edward IV was captured by Warwick the Kingmaker and Henry VI briefly restored to the throne, Howard was one of those who rescued Edward from Middleham Castle and carried him to the Continent. His support for the king on his return in 1471 was rewarded with being made Knight of the Garter in 1472.¹¹



3. *Mid-C15th armorial glass in the great hall of the C15th Ockwells Manor House, Berkshire*

Howard adopted Ockwells Manor, conveniently close to Windsor Castle, as one of his main residences.¹² He would have been familiar with the persons represented by their armorial achievements in the windows of its great hall – persons that included Henry VI, the king that Edward IV deposed in 1461 and had killed in 1471 after Henry was unsuccessfully put back on the throne (Oct 1470-April 1471). It may be that as Ockwells was his wife's house Howard was in no position to remove or damage the armorial glass of the deposed king. It is probably significant that, almost certainly during his tenure, the *rose en soleil* badge of Edward IV was scratched in the spandrels of the chimneypiece in the great hall.

The Ockwells glass may have inspired Howard to donate a similar heraldic display in the north clerestory of Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford. Clerestory glazing had long been used for such displays though more commonly this simply involved shields of arms, rather than figures.¹³ The figures put up included those for himself and members of his family, several of whom had already died (see Table and Tree). The male figures bore their heraldic

coats on their tabards whilst the female figures bore their father's coat on the gown and their husbands' on the cloak. He may also have had a window at ground level glazed with figures representing family members. Sadly, many of the Howard figures are lost but some are known from a handwritten tome produced in 1637 by Henry Lilly, Rouge Dragon at the College of Arms (see below).

The rebuilding of Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford

The rebuilding of Holy Trinity and its glazing was overseen by John Clopton, of nearby Kentwell, and work appears to have been in progress in 1467 six years after Clopton's imprisonment in the Tower for supporting the deposed Henry VI.¹⁴ The chancel was complete by 1470 and the principal arcade of the nave with its new clerestory by 1481.¹⁵ The Clopton Chapel, located at the east end of the north aisle, is regarded as complete in 1484.¹⁶

On the chapel floor are many memorial brasses to the Cloptons and on the north wall, is the tomb of John's father, Sir William.¹⁷ Clopton, distantly related to the Howard family (see Tree), ensured that the glazing included figures of men and women, both closely related to the Cloptons and also those with whom he had business dealings.

Howard, apart from being a successful military man, also had commercial and landed interests. As has been pointed out, his second wife, Margaret, had been married to Nicholas Wyfold (d.1456), a wealthy grocer and mayor of London in 1450-51, a connection that may have strengthened Howard's commercial interests. Howard is said to have had close links with the merchant class of the City of London.¹⁸ Quite probably they knew some of the same people. After Wyfolds' death she had married Norreys.

John Clopton's glazing scheme at Holy Trinity church, Long Melford, is said to make manifest an association with a living, influential group of people engaged in the government of the realm through the royal household, the judiciary and London's civic institutions – a scheme that also included local interests, such as the Howards.¹⁹

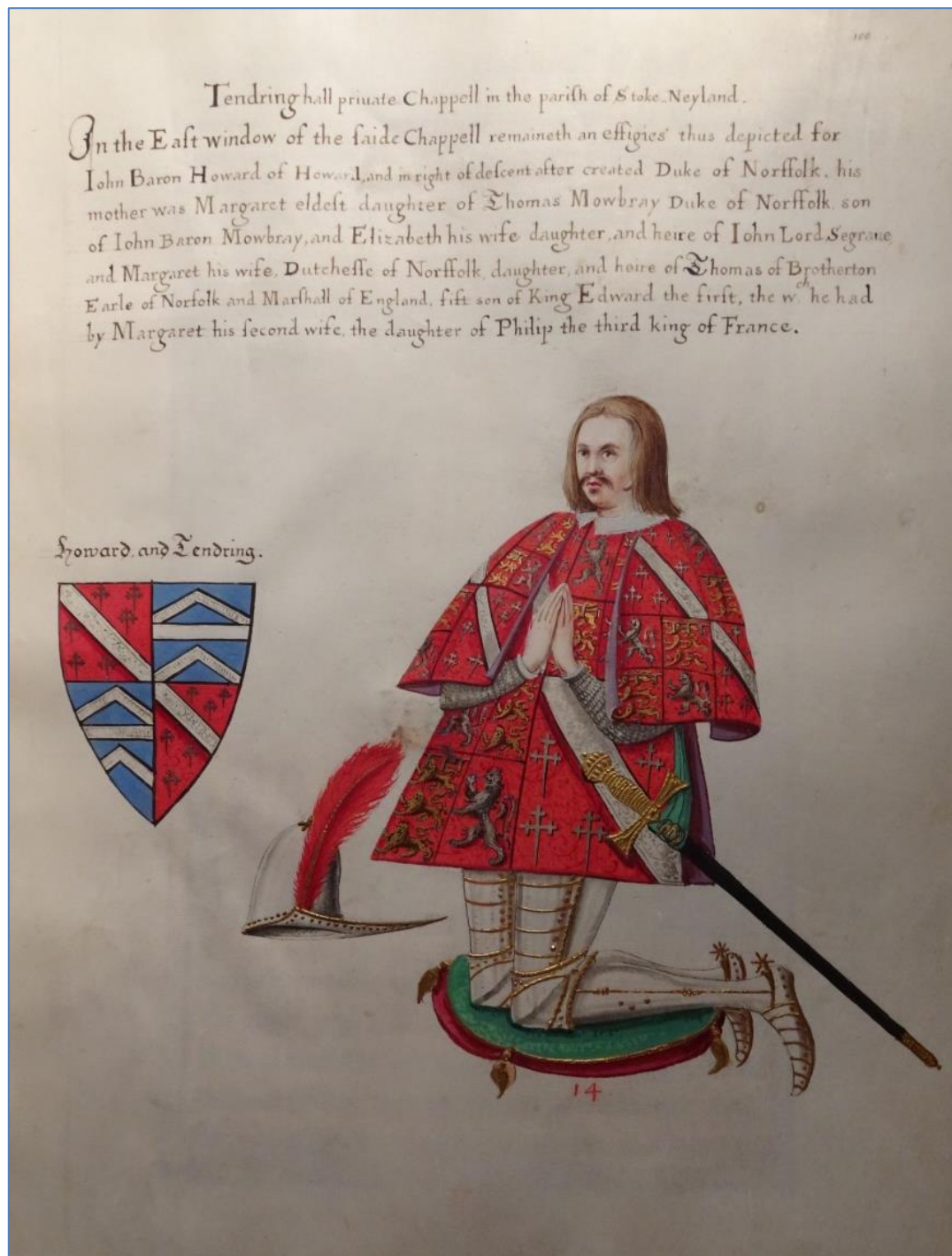
Stained glass figures for the Howards in the C17th at Holy Trinity

In 1637 in the reign of Charles I, Henry Lilly visited the Long Melford Church to record the figures depicted in stained glass of kinsmen & women of the Howard family. He noted that Sir John Howard KG, *after* Duke of Norfolk, was *a good benefactor towards the building and glazing of Long Melford Church in the reign of Edward*. It is thought Howard's glass was manufactured in 1481 or 1482 as the north clerestory was not finished until 1481, and in these years his accounts record a number of visits to Melford, visits that included settling a debt of £10 with Master Clopton.²⁰

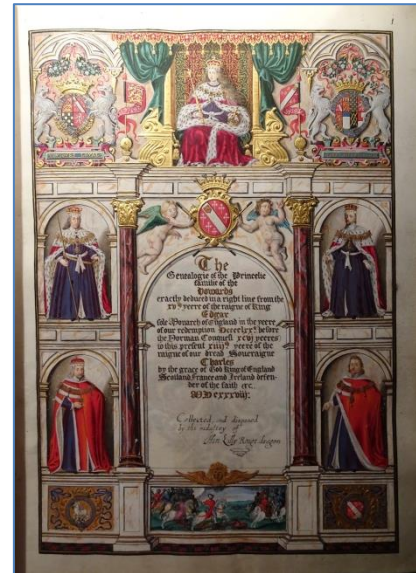
In 1482 Howard spent most of the year at Tendring Hall, the Howard family seat (now a ruin), in the parish of Stoke Nayland, Suffolk, where he finished building a new chapel that in 1637 had his kneeling figure in its east window. Around the same time he had recently completed his grandfather's rebuilding of St Mary's Church, in the same parish, installing glazing representing Sir John Howard and his wife, Alice Tendring, now lost but also seen in 1637.²¹ The similarity to the Long Melford figures is striking especially the use of heraldry on the tabards and gowns to identify them. Shortly after, in 1483, Howard was created Duke of Norfolk by Richard III.

Holy Trinity Church at Long Melford was only one of many churches visited to record extant memorials of the family for inclusion in Lilly's magnificent tome *The Genealogie of the*

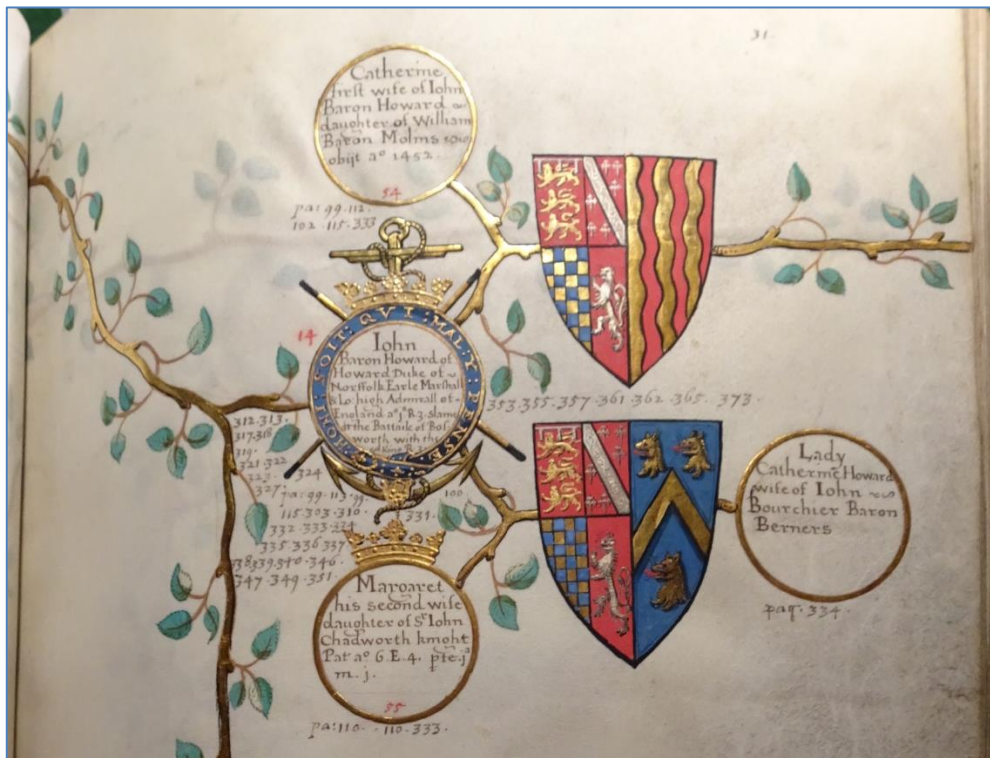
Princelie familie of the Howards held in the archive of Arundel Castle, the seat of the current Duke of Norfolk. This work includes a beautifully executed family tree as well as transcriptions from various ancient rolls that concerned the Howard family.



4. Figure of Sir John Howard, later 1st Howard Duke of Norfolk; his tabard shows coats inherited from his parents whilst the separate quartered coat shows his descent from his paternal grandparents (Lilly f.100)



5. Left: Lilly's 1637 tome "The Genealogie of the Princelie familie of the Howards"
Right: the title page

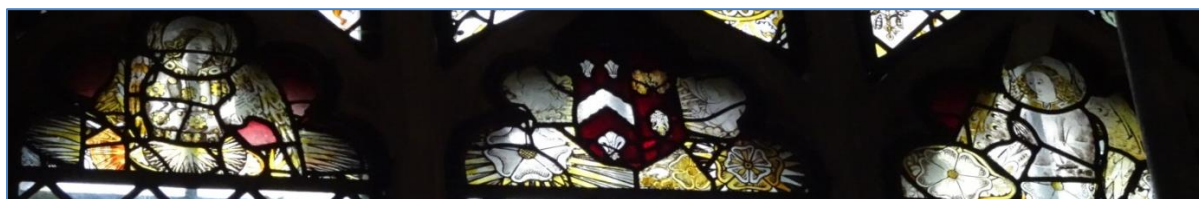


6. Extract from Lilly's family tree showing the coat of John Howard, KG, 1st Duke of Norfolk, impaled with the coat of his first wife, Katherine Moleyns, (top) and his second wife, Margaret Chedworth (bottom)

By 1484 it is said that all 72 windows were resplendent with stained glass that has been attributed to the Norwich School and dates from the mid- to late-C15th.²² That it was glazed during the reign of Edward IV is confirmed by the Yorkist badges (suns, white rose of York and rose en soleil) in the apex of windows 3 & 6. White roses occur in the borders of some windows and in the window with the figure, previously identified as the founder John Clopton because of the inscription, but now as Thomas Rudwode (Rookwood).²³ Thomas was married to Clopton's daughter Anne.²⁴



7. *Figure of Thomas Rudwode (Rookwood) (window 6 upper light 2) with, underneath, the name “John Clopton” placed there in error. Yorkist badges of the sun and white rose occur in the apex*



8. *Sun of York, rose en soleil (badge of Edward IV) & white rose of York in apex of lights 1-3 in window 3 Long Melford Church*

The families of Mowbray (Dukes of Norfolk before the Howards), the Howards and the Cloptons are linked by their family tree, a partial version of which is include here at the end. Photographs of all of the extant stained glass are depicted in a detailed booklet by Clubb &

Knott. It is almost certain that many more members occurring on the family tree once had their figures depicted in stained glass in this church but these had been lost by 1637.

Several other families, some indirectly related to the Cloptons, are also commemorated in the extant stained glass which has survived due to its original position in the clerestory.

Although a great deal of the medieval glass has been lost, quite a lot remains, moved in the late 1940s to the first eight windows of the north aisle, window 1 being furthest west.²⁵



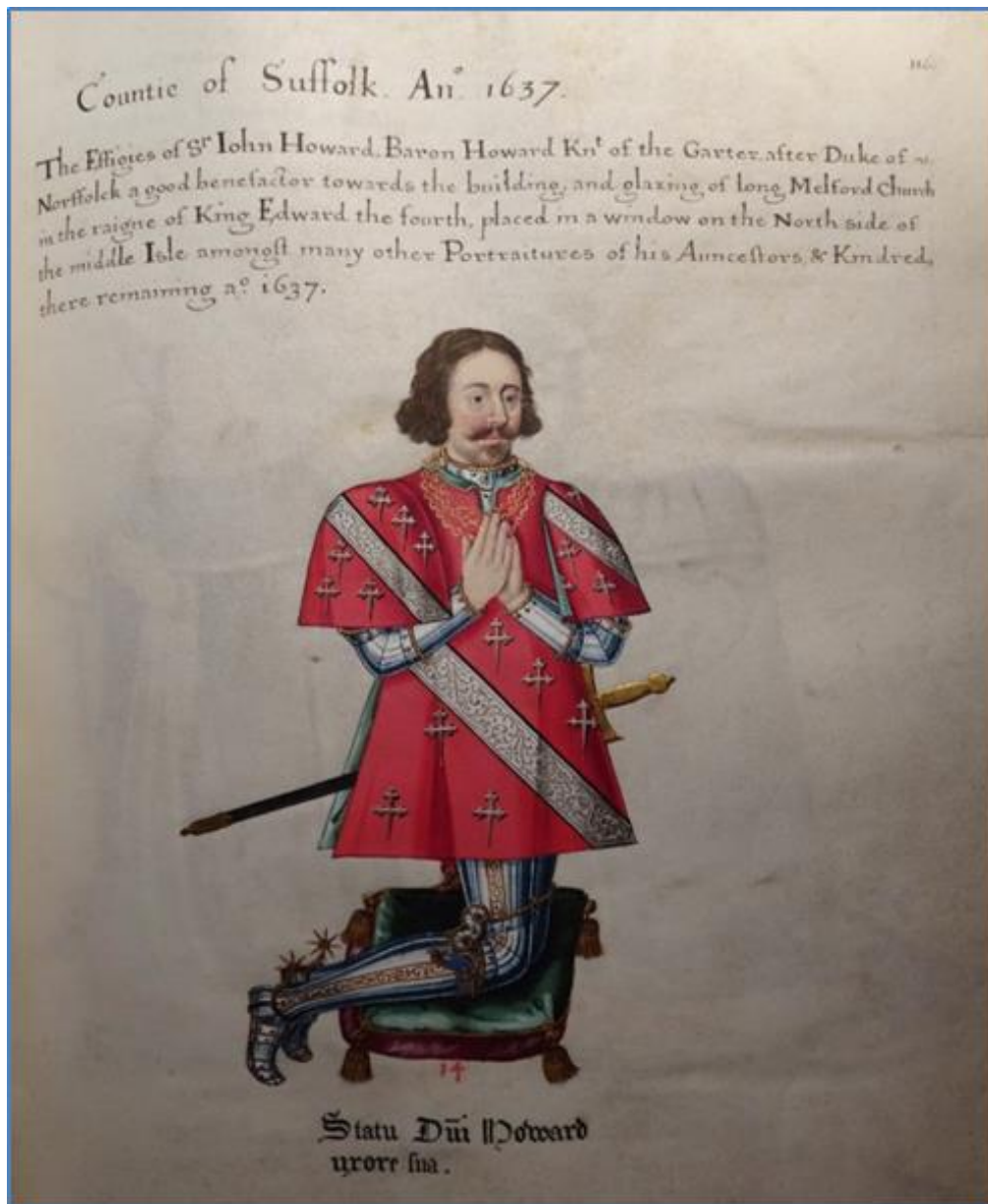
9. Medieval stained glass in the windows at the west end of the north aisle
Long Melford Church

The Howards & their kinsmen drawn by Lilly

When he visited Holy Trinity Church in 1637 Henry Lilly made drawings of ten figures he thought were linked to the Howard family. Of these, seven are extant. Lilly recorded these figures from:

- 1) North windows of *Clopton's isle* (sic), the Clopton family chapel at the east end of the north aisle (to the west of the Clopton chantry chapel)
- 2) Windows from the *north side of the middle isle* (sic), the north clerestory.

In 1637 figures for both Howard's kinswoman, Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford (née Howard), and his grandfather, Sir John Howard, occurred in both places (see table below) suggesting an original scheme of duplicate figures. As the glazing is thought to have been completed by 1484 it can be presumed that many figures had already been lost by then. Both figures for his grandfather are now lost and only one for Elizabeth is extant probably the figure from the north clerestory.²⁶



10. Figure of Sir John Howard, later 1st Howard Duke of Norfolk (Lilly f.116)

Lilly noted that the figure of John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, was in the latter location, among many portraictures of his ancestors and kindred there remaining.

The four members of the Howard family Lilly recorded from the north window of the Clopton family chapel included the extant figures of Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk, née Talbot (her husband was Howard's second cousin), and Howard's second wife, Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, née Chedworth. These are smaller than figures once located in the north clerestory. It is possible Howard also donated a window containing figures of family members designed to be seen at ground level and so more prone to damage. Such a window would have included a smaller figure for himself and other family members, all lost by 1637, apart from the four figures seen by Lilly of which two, described above, are extant. What is unclear is whether the north window of the Clopton family chapel was the original location for these smaller figures.

Location of Lilly's figures in 1637 and in 2019

Name	Folio No	In 1637	In 2019
Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk, née Talbot (d.1507)	109	North window Clopton's isle	Window 1, west end of north aisle, lower light 2
Margaret Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, née Chedworth (d.1494) 2 nd wife of Sir John Howard	110	As above	As above
Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford, née Howard (d.ca.1475) kinswoman of Sir John Howard	112	North window, Clopton's isle and north side of middle isle	Window 3, upper light 3
Alice Howard, née Tendring (d.1446) Howard's grandmother and wife of Sir John Howard (below)	113	North side of middle isle	Window 3, upper light 1
Sir John Howard (d.1436) of Tirington, Wiggenhall & Stoke Nayland, Howard's grandfather	114	North window, Clopton's isle and north side of middle isle	Lost
Katherine Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, née Moleyns (d.1465) 1 st wife of Sir John Howard	115	Not specified by Lilly	Lost
Sir John Howard, 1 st Howard Duke of Norfolk (d.1485)	116	North side of middle isle	Lost
Judge John Haugh (not John Howard, a judge in reign of Edward II & beginning of Edward III)	117	7 th window toward east on north side of middle isle	Window 3, lower light 3
Judge Richard Pygot (Pigot), judge in reign of Edward IV	117	As above <i>a good benefactor</i>	Window 3, lower light 2
Judge Sir William Howard, Chief Justice of England (or Judge William Hussey)	118	As above	Window 3, lower light 1

In addition, Lilly (ff.117-118) drew figures representing three judges. These figures are all extant. Two were identified by him as Howards but now have been identified as John Haugh and it is suggested another is Sir William Hussey.²⁷ The other judge was a Pigot (Pygot); the Pygots were kinsmen of the Cloptons.²⁸

The figures represent people both dead and alive when the glass was put up based on the inscriptions beneath: *Orate pro anima* (prayers for their soul) or *Orate pro bono statu* (for their good estate) followed by the name of the person depicted. What has happened is that inscriptions from figures that have been lost have been placed beneath extant figures, presumably in the late 1940s when the remaining medieval glass was moved to the first eight windows of the north aisle, with window 1 being further west. Probably at the same time the identity of the figure was etched in the glass underneath. This has led to misidentification of some of these figures.

There has also been some damage that has prevented identification. The extant figure of his grandmother, Alice Tendring married to Sir John Howard of Wiggenshall, drawn by Lilly, has lost the Tendring coat from her gown, while retaining her husband's coat on her cloak.



11. Figure of Alice, Lady Howard, née Tendring (Lilly f.113)



12. Figure of Alice, Lady Howard, née Tendring, Long Melford Church, window 3, upper light 1

In the same window is the figure of Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford, née Howard, a kinswoman of Sir John.



13. *Figure of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, née Howard (Lilly f.112)*

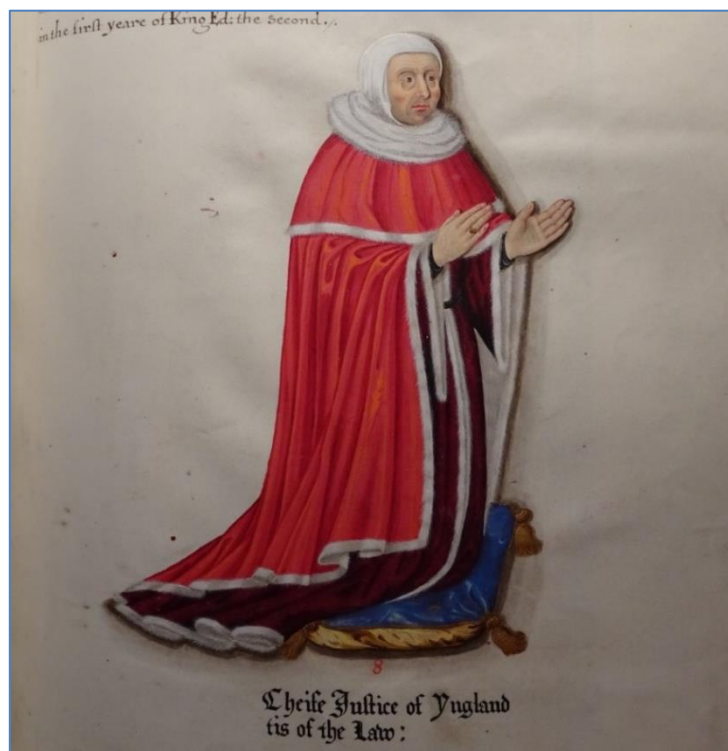


14. *Figure of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, née Howard, window 3, upper light 3*

In the lower lights of the same window are the judges also drawn by Lilly who identified two of them as Howards.



15. Figures of John Haugh (Hawte) & Richard Pygot (Pigot). (Identified by Lilly f.117 as John Howard & Richard Pygot, judges in the reign of Edward IV)



16. Figure of Judge William Howard (as identified by Lilly f.118) though it is suggested the figure was of Judge William Hussey (Eavis p104). Sir William Howard (d.1308) was the 4xgreat-grandfather of Sir John Howard, 1st Howard Duke of Norfolk.²⁹



17. Figures from L-R: Judges William Hussey or Howard; Richard Pigot; John Haugh; window 3, lower lights 1-3

Lilly says all three figures were in the 7th window toward the east on the north side of the middle isle (i.e. in the clerestory) and shows that the figure he attributes to Sir William Howard (d.1308) was the furthest east but is now furthest west. His figure can be distinguished from those of the other two judges by the colour of the gown – his is red whilst theirs are blue with prominent yellow stripes and he has a distinctive collar of ermine with more on the cloak. In the C19th Parker described an extant inscription *Orate p.a. Guilnd Howard Esq (p.a. pro anima* indicating the person was already dead) saying the rest of the inscription *Chef Justis of England* was already lost.³⁰ Hopefully further work will clarify whether it is Hussey or Howard. These figures have their coats above them, possibly part of the original scheme.

Howard figures seen in the north window of Clopton's Isle in 1637

As noted above, the figures of Elizabeth (née Talbot), wife of John Mowbray, 4th Duke of Norfolk, and Margaret Chedworth, 2nd wife of Sir John Howard, later 1st Duke of Norfolk, are smaller in comparison to many others extant. Both are drawn by Lilly kneeling on cushions behind a desk; whilst his other figures are kneeling on cushions no others are drawn with desks (see below).

Lilly drew them on adjacent pages facing each other as they do today though the desks have gone and the figures are much closer together.



18. Figures of (left) Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, née Talbot (nb: Lilly drew a gold edge to her cloak, possibly leading Lilly to misidentify the figure); (right) Margaret, later Duchess of Norfolk, née Chedworth (face each other in Lilly ff.109-110) (nb: the left hand desk was difficult to photograph because of the thickness of the tome)



19. Figures of (L) Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk, née Talbot; (R) Margaret Howard, later Duchess of Norfolk, née Chedworth (window 1, Long Melford Church). The inscription on the right has come from a figure now lost

Lilly identified the figure on the left above as for Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk (née Fitzalan), Howards' grandmother. The Fitzalan and Talbot coats are similar but the Talbot coat bears an engrailed gold bordure which is present on her gown. Perhaps Lilly mistook

the gold bordure for a border to the figures cloak (see 18 above). The inscription under Margaret's figure has been placed there in error but indicates that there was once a figure for Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Howard, née Tilney (see Tree), already lost by 1637. It is noted that some figures had been deliberately destroyed before 1688, and between 1688 and 1830 the painted glass was broadly reduced by half.³¹

If Lilly's drawing is compared with the extant figures, the difference in the style of the head dresses is evident. This and their splendid condition support the suggestion that the heads have been changed sometime in the past. This change had taken place by the time Hamlet Watling drew the figures in 1865;³² by then the inscriptions from lost figures had already been added, causing misidentification. In 1831 church warden Richard Almack, with support from Sir William Parker (d.1891), the other warden, had gathered figures from the clerestory into a restored east window, preserving inscriptions but also making new copies.³³ About 1834 more glass was moved into the upper lights of the west windows of the two aisles including the figures of the two duchesses, a task completed in 1862-3.³⁴ Parker would publish in 1888 a *Handbook on the Ancient Painted Glass in the church of Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk*.

The story that the head of Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, was used as a model by the artist John Tenniel for the Duchess illustrations in "Alice in Wonderland"³⁵ is unlikely as local historian Sally Bevan says the artist visited Long Melford after the book was published in 1865. Tenniel's inspiration has also been linked to Quentin Matsys's *The Ugly Duchess* (ca.1513) in the National Gallery³⁶.



20. *The Ugly Duchess* by *Quentin Matsys* ca.1513

(*The National Gallery, London*)

Margaret's only memorial in Berkshire is that in the Norreys Chapel in St Michaels Church, Bray, edified following a bequest in Norreys' will, her coat impaling that of Norreys occurs in a corbel in the chapel. She evidently still stayed at Ockwells after Howard's death and appears to have been active in managing her estates for in 1489 she came to court in Cookham with others over a tenancy dispute.³⁷ She may have needed the money as the Howard estates, after his death, were held by John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, whose father and brother had been executed for treason in 1462 by Edward IV and whose mother was a Howard (see Tree). De Vere led the vanguard for Henry Tudor at Bosworth in 1485, opposite Howard who led the vanguard for Richard III. Sir John Beaumont writing ca.1600 described their encounter on the battlefield that led to Howard's death.³⁸ The earl is said to have been kind to the widowed Duchess of Norfolk, perhaps to repay the financial help Howard, the earl's distant relative, gave his wife, Margaret Neville, when his estates were confiscated.³⁹ Furthermore, Margaret's stepson, Sir William Norreys, had once been married to the earls' sister, Jane. However, the Howard estates were only restored to the family by 1494,⁴⁰ the year Margaret died.



21. Norreys Chapel, St Michaels Church, Bray



22. Norreys impaling Chedworth; corbel in Norreys Chapel of St Michael's Church, Bray

The fall and rise of the Howard Dukes of Norfolk

Edward's decision to marry his younger son, Richard of York, to Lady Anne, the young daughter of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and Elizabeth Talbot his wife (see Tree) and to arrange for the prince to enjoy her inheritance even if she predeceased him (which she did in 1481) meant that Howard, the senior male heir, had his inheritance and the dukedom blocked

for the immediate future by the king's younger son. After Edward's death in April 1483 he supported Edward's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to gain the throne, and has been implicated in persuading the queen to give up her younger son from sanctuary at Westminster to join his elder brother in the Tower on 16th June 1483.⁴¹ This support led to him being made Duke of Norfolk by Richard III, on 28th June 1483, barely a week after Richard III's accession to the throne, the implication being that Richard of York, Duke of Norfolk in right of his deceased wife, was already dead.⁴²

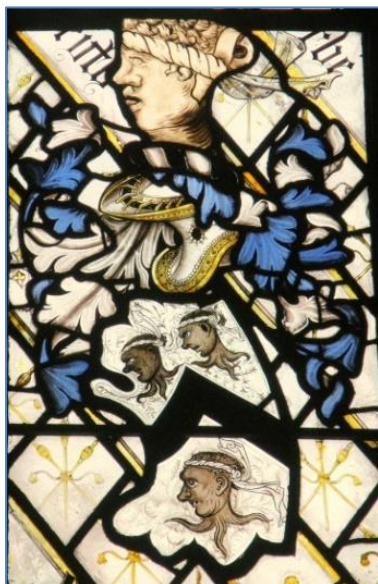
The presence of an inscription for Elizabeth Tilney (see Fig. 19 above), first wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the duke's son by his first wife (see Family Tree) can be dated to after 1472 when their marriage took place, which is within the time frame for the glazing of the church. By 1637 Elizabeth's figure was lost and almost certainly that of her husband Thomas Howard (1444-1524), who managed to recoup the family fortunes after his father, the first Howard Duke of Norfolk, was killed at Bosworth Field with Richard III in 1485.

In the 1490 will of his stepmother, Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk (proved 1494), she says *I constitute my lord and son, the earl of Surry,*⁴³ *the supervisor of this my will, to whom I bequeath a cup of gold and a cross with a foot of silver and gilt.* She also instructed her executors to *find two priests to sing in the church of Stoke for my soul and also for the soul of my husband John Norreys esquire and of all others unto whom I am beholden.*⁴⁴ Her later husband John Howard who had made her a duchess was not mentioned.

In 1514 the Earl of Surrey regained the dukedom which has been held by the family ever since.⁴⁵ The Duke of Norfolk is the premier duke in the peerage of England, and also, as Earl of Arundel, the premier earl. The Duke of Norfolk is, moreover, the Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England. The seat of the Duke of Norfolk is Arundel Castle in Sussex.

Other links with Ockwells Manor House, Berkshire

Surprisingly, there are other links between Ockwells in Berkshire and Long Melford in Suffolk. The figure of Agnes Fray (née Danvers, d.1478) occurs in Holy Trinity's stained glass, possibly paid for out of her estate by her two daughters. John Clopton was her executor.⁴⁶ Agnes had married Sir John Wenlock (d.1471) after Sir John Fray died in 1461.



23. *Armorial achievement of Sir John Wenlock in the great hall of Ockwells Manor House. Wenlock was supervisor of the 1465 will of John Norreys Esquire who built Ockwells and put up the armorial glass*

And finally, the man mainly responsible for the restoration of the C15th Ockwells Manor house in 1889-1891, one of the earliest concerns of William Morris, founder of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, was the diplomat, Stephen Leech. His aunt was Helen Leech, the mother of the famous author Beatrix Potter, and his older sister, Ethel, was married to the Rev Sir William Hyde Parker 10th Bt, of Melford Hall, Long Melford, Suffolk. A memorial window in Holy Trinity church was erected in 1938 to William Parker 9th Bt (d.1891) and his wife Sophia May and their son the 10th Bt (d.1931), and the latter's wife Ethel née Leech (d.1941). It includes an armorial for Parker impaling Leech; the same Leech coat in wood is carved under one of the new windows that Ethel's brother inserted into the east front of Ockwells Manor house.



24. *Leech armorials (L) Hyde Parker impaling Leech in the Hyde Parker memorial window at Holy Trinity Church; (R) coat of Stephen Leech, flanked by those of kinsmen, under one of his new windows at Ockwells Manor House*

Stephen Leech, when staying with his sister at Melford House, would have learnt about the stained glass at Holy Trinity, and probably its connection with the Howards, from Sir William Parker (d.1891), his brother in law's father, who had helped restore the church and had written about the glass. If Leech knew of John Howard's link with Ockwells this may have contributed to his interest in restoring the C15th manor house at the end of the C19th. His restoration saw the armorial glass, which was removed for safe keeping when it was feared that the roof would fall, replaced in the great hall and its magnificent roof timbers uncovered, but also, sadly, saw the widening of the porch entrance to give his armorials a central position above it. Nevertheless, Leech's restoration made Ockwells habitable as a family home, a process continued by subsequent owners who over the years modernised the facilities but on the whole retained the C15th fabric of the house and in particular the great hall and its historically important armorial glass.⁴⁷ So now, nearly 600 years after it was built, Ockwells Manor House still survives and hopefully will continue to do so for many years to come as, to quote Pevsner, *the most refined and the most sophisticated timber-framed mansion in England*.

The survival of the mid-C15th armorial glass at Ockwells Manor House in Berkshire and in Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford in Suffolk, erected by 1484, is remarkable – the latter helped by being originally above in the clerestory. Ockwells possesses very rare domestic armorial glass, still in its original setting in the great hall, whilst Holy Trinity has the remains of a more extensive set of glass in a church setting. Both sets demonstrate not only the skill of the glaziers of that century but also the use made of heraldic decoration to record the main connections of the person who paid for the glazing which included their wives, other kinsmen, courtiers and men they did business with. We are lucky to have them.

Notes

¹ His first wife, Katherine Moleyns, had died in November 1465 and the remains of her memorial brass, including her figure, are extant in St Mary's Church, Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk. Oddly, Lilly's transcription of this memorial (f.102), gives 1452 for her death, not 1465. This part of the memorial is sadly now lost. Lilly's Long Melford entry for her also gives 1452 for her death (f.115). Information in the church says her brass was paid for by her son Thomas (Earl of Surrey) in around 1520 which is why the figure wears Tudor dress rather than the fashions of the time of her death.

² These are listed in a document, written on 22nd January 1467, presumably by his Steward, that also gives Howard's London address: *My master left at London (at his departing to Bray) in his place in Bath Row, the 20th day of February, two broad cloths of blue.* The list was updated with gifts given the following year, one item being in Sir John's own hand: *And the seventh year of the King and in the month of January I delivered my wife a pot of silver to put in green ginger that the King gave* (Warrington pp37-39).

³ Clark p681. William Norreys married, as his second wife, Isabel Ingoldisthorpe, widow of John Neville, Marquess Montagu, in April 1472 after Neville's death at Barnet in 1471 (ibid) so Jane was already dead by then.

⁴ Ibid p681.

⁵ Kerry p120.

⁶ Eavis p101.

⁷ Fersfield, near Diss, in 1995 was still held by the Duke of Norfolk, said to be the only one of the old Howard estates that remained Howard property till modern times and the only material link with the pre-ducral Howard past (Robinson p2).

⁸ Robinson p5.

⁹ See Crawford, *John Howard*, ODNB.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Robinson p5.

¹² Clark p681.

¹³ Eavis p 105.

¹⁴ John Clopton was sent to the Tower with John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Aubrey, Oxford's son (Parker 1873 p44), who were accused of corresponding with Margaret of Anjou but escaped their fate and included them in his memorial windows. Only that of Oxford's wife, Elizabeth (née Howard), survives (Ibid p 63). It is unclear why Clopton was not executed; perhaps he denounced them.

¹⁵ Eavis p81.

¹⁶ Eavis - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8RQG_-YeYsU.

¹⁷ John Clopton's own chantry chapel was later (1494; Eavis p83) and the Lady Chapel later still - 1497 (ibid). This was after the death of both Richard III and John Howard, by then Duke of Norfolk, at Bosworth Field in 1485, and was during the reign of Henry VII. His Royal coat occurs in Holy Trinity Church and assuming this was its original location, raises the possibility that there was a later period of glazing. Support comes from the presence of the coat of his mother, Margaret Beaufort, and her third husband, Henry Stafford (d.1471) (2nd son of Humphrey Stafford, 1st Duke of Buckingham), now in window 1. In the same window is the coat of John de la Pole, 2nd Duke of Suffolk (d.1492), and his wife Elizabeth of York, sister of Edward IV. John, aged seven, was the six-year-old Margaret's first husband on 7 February 1450. John's father, William de la Pole, (executed May 1450) had her wardship. He arranged the marriage of his king, Henry VI, to Margaret of Anjou, the French king's niece, in 1445 – a marriage that was supposed to lead to peace, and was made Duke of Suffolk in 1448. He was well known to John Norreys who placed his armorial achievement between that of the king and queen in Ockwells manor house, Berkshire, in recognition of his role in the marriage and the price he paid for the failure to achieve peace. Margaret was then married to Edmund Tudor (d.1456), half-brother of Henry VI and father of Henry VII.

¹⁸ Eavis p101.

¹⁹ Eavis p106.

²⁰ Eavis p101.

²¹ Eavis pp101-102. See illustration in Robinson (opposite p1) of their figures facing each other and kneeling on cushions with the coat of Howard impaling Tendring above. The same impaled coat occurs on the church tower and on the font and that also bears the rose en soleil badge of Edward IV (extant).

²² Clubb & Knott p2.

²³ Eavis - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8RQG_-YeYsU. The figure was correctly identified as Thomas Rookwood by Parker 1873 (p65) who noted that a figure of Thomas Rookwood was then in the south side of the west window and that the figures of his two wives, Anne Clopton and – Hilton, were lost. See also Parker 1888 (p 18).

²⁴ Dymond & Paine p54 note 196.

²⁵ Clubb & Knott p2.

²⁶ Eavis A in her 2020 BAA lecture about the stained glass notes that most of the surviving glass came from the north clerestory.

²⁷ Eavis p104 who says that William Howard (d.1308), a Norfolk lawyer, did not serve as chief justice and that the identification was due to Henry Lilly in his 1637 account misreading Husseys name, often spelt Huse or Hose, which was then copied by others.

²⁸ Clubb & Knott p7.

²⁹ See genealogical table 1 in Robinson, where Sir William Howard Knt of East Winch, Norfolk (d.1308) is described as Chief Justice of Common Pleas. Sir William Dugdale in his *Origines Judiciales* identified the three as Howard, Hawte and Pygott (Parker 1888 p14).

³⁰ Parker 1888 p7, who identified the figure as Sir William Howard, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1497 – this date is unlikely because of the inscription. He also claims Sir William was related to the Cloptons through the second marriage of Katherine Mylde but this man was Sir John Howard, depicted in coat armour by Lilly (f.14).

³¹ Dymond & Paine p43.

³² Plunket p53. It seems Sir William Parker commissioned the drawings of the stained glass figures from Watling; see letter dated 29th Oct 1923 from his son, Rev William Hyde Parker to Sir Rider Haggard, enclosed with a very poor copy of Parker's handbook on the painted glass held by the British Library (BL qL69/7594).

³³ Dymond & Paine pp43-44. Almack's account says the figures *were washed and cleaned and many of them entirely reglazed* (ibid p163) and that *the surcoats of arms required to be mended with their proper heraldic colours* (ibid p164).

³⁴ Parker 1873 p65. The figures were in the northwest window. Parker notes that the inscriptions with them were modern replacing broken old ones. He also considered that the arms on the dresses are entirely ancient and are of importance to explain the confusion which has long continued respecting their identity noting that the presence of an engrailed bordure on Elizabeth's dress means she was a Talbot not a Fitzalan (Ibid p68). However, due to the inscription he accepted the incorrect identity of the second figure as Elizabeth Tilney (Ibid p67 & Parker 1888 p26). See also Dymond & Paine pp4, 163, 166. For a brief biography of Sir William Parker see Dymond & Paine pp29-31 and the notes on the restoration in 1868-89 on pp170-174.

³⁵ Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford short guide p11.

³⁶ By Martin Gardner in his 1960s book "Annotated Alice"

³⁷ Darby's Notebook vol 10 p16 (unpub ms in Maidenhead Library).

³⁸ Ingram p126.

³⁹ Gunn.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ On that date Howard's household accounts detail "8 botes uppe and down from Westminster" (Mancini p124 note 74).

⁴² See Robinson pp6-7.

⁴³ Henry VII restored the earldom of Surrey to him in 1489 and he served this king and Henry VIII loyally. His victory against the Scots at Flodden in 1513 led the latter king to restore to him the dukedom of Norfolk (Robinson pp11-18).

⁴⁴ Nicolas p404.

⁴⁵ Albeit with the occasional attainder when the estates were seized and beheading – see genealogical table II in Robinson between pages 239 and 241.

⁴⁶ Eavis p93. The figure of Agnes Fray (née Danvers) and her two daughters Elizabeth Waldegrave (née Fray) and Margaret Leynham (née Fray) are also extant (figs 5.5, 5.4 and 5.6 in Clubb & Knott).

⁴⁷ A history of Ockwells Manor House and its owners is currently being prepared for publication.

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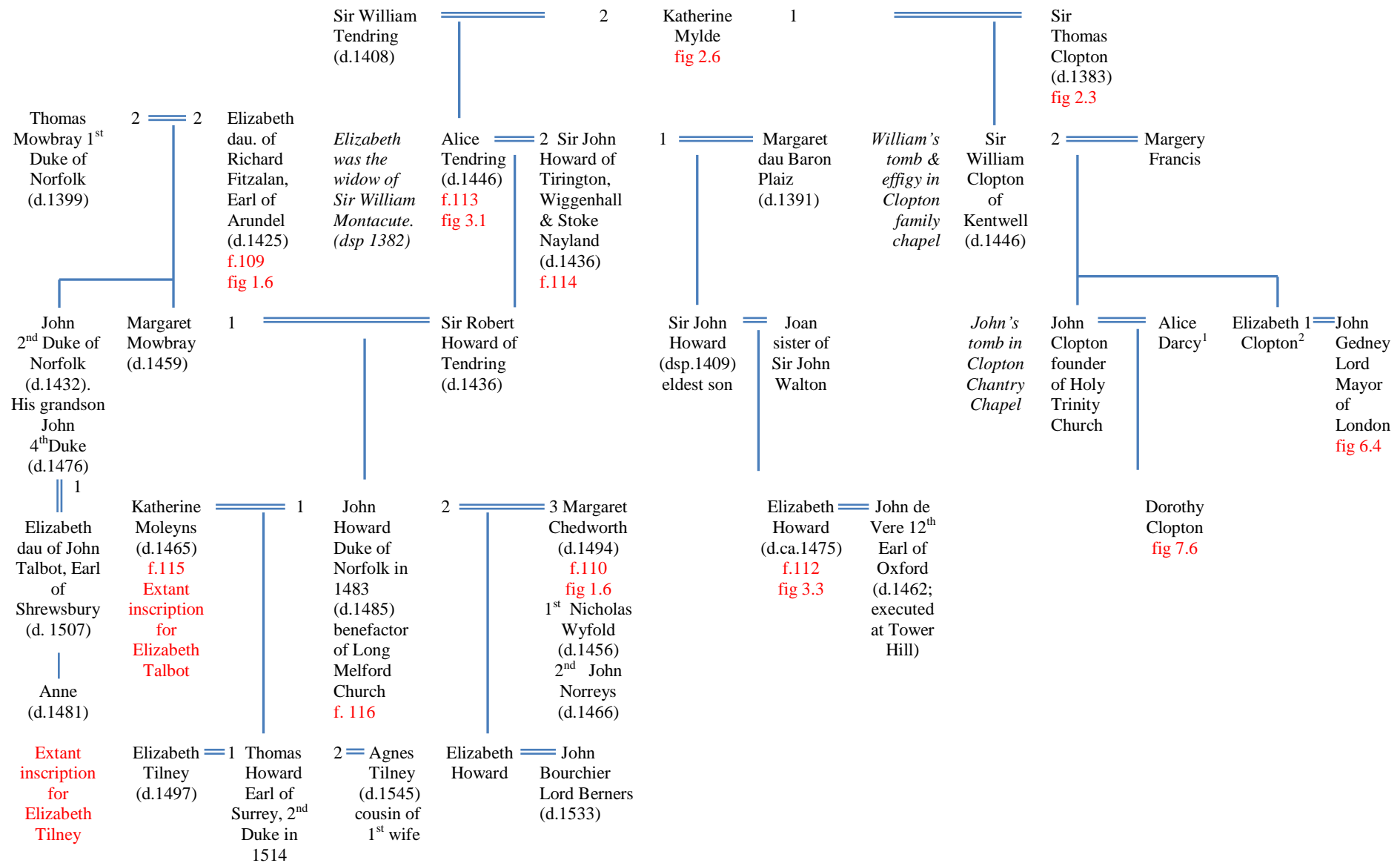
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Maidenhead Civic Society has a research project on Ockwells Manor, a C15th manor house to the west of Maidenhead built by John Norreys Esquire and glazed ca.1450-54. The re-identification of the eighteen armorial achievements in its great hall and the subsequent history of the house and its owners and tenants is included in an account currently being prepared for publication.

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Ann Darracott
Maidenhead Civic Society
March 2022

Family Tree connecting the Mowbray, Howard and Clopton families commemorated in Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford



f.= folio no in Lilly fig = fig no in Clubb & Knott : numbers = marriages

¹ Sister Elinor (fig 7.1) married Sir William Tyrell who was beheaded in 1462 with the Earl of Oxford. Their son Sir James Tyrell was Master of the Horse to Richard III and has been implicated in the disappearance of the Princes in the Tower; sister Anne (fig 7.3) married John Montgomery (fig 7.2, though identified as Sir *Thomas Montgomery*), executed with Sir William Tyrell on Tower Hill.

² Elizabeth married secondly Robert Cavendish (fig 6.6). Her sister (or half-sister) Katherine married John Denston (fig 7.5). (From Chubb R & Knott S 2007, *Medieval Stained Glass, Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford*, as are the figure (fig) numbers).