

ART. IX.—*Medieval glass in Penrith Church.* By the late FERDINAND HUDLESTON and C. ROY HUDLESTON, F.S.A.

Read at Penrith, September 4th, 1951.

WHEN Jefferson described the monuments in Penrith Church in 1840¹ he wrote: "In the south windows of the chancel are some fragments of stained glass which have been preserved from the old church. Among these are portraits of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York and Cicely Nevill, his wife, daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland. These are supposed to be the only original portraits of those personages now extant . . . Round the head of Cicely Nevill is this inscription, but misplaced by a blundering glazier; *Mater Dei miserere mei.* In the north windows of the chancel are some other remains of stained glass; one is an angel, and the other a crowned head."

Excellent drawings of the portraits are reproduced opposite pages 53 and 468, and have been reprinted many times since, always described as representing the Duke and Duchess of York.

It is curious that the glass does not appear to have been described in print before 1840. Bishop Nicolson makes no mention of it in his *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle*, though he describes many interesting features of the church which he visited in 1704. Jefferson gives no source for his statement that the pictures are those of the Duke and Duchess of York, who had only a very slight connexion with Penrith.

This led a former curate, the Rev. Edward King, B.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.Hist.Soc., to challenge the accuracy

¹ History of Leath Ward, 53.

of Jefferson's identification, and in a lecture to the Royal Historical Society in 1881 he put forward the theory that the two heads represented members of the Hutton family.

That this theory was untenable was asserted by Mr Daniel Scott at pp. 60-62 of his *History of Penrith Church*, but as it happens, Mr King's suggestion led the present writers to what they believe is the true identification of the two heads.

At page 43 of his *Leath Ward* Jefferson gives some details of other painted glass in Penrith Church and says: "Richard St. George, Norroy King at Arms, 1615, in his pedigree of the Hutton family, says the tomb of Thomas de Hutton and Helen his wife, temp. Henry V, was under a south window in the chancel, their effigies painted in the window, with this inscription: *Orate pro animabus Thomae Hoton et Elenae uxoris ejus.*"

This statement suggested that Mr King's theory might be the right one after all, and we therefore had St. George's original visitation examined, in the hope that therein might be a fuller reference to the portraits.

We were disappointed to find that there is nothing in the original manuscript about this glass, but it occurred to us that possibly Jefferson was quoting from Dugdale's Visitation, and that he made a slip in writing of St. George.

One of the present writers went to the College of Arms in September 1948 and was able to inspect the MS. of Dugdale's Visitation of Cumberland made in 1665.² There, at folio 2, he found a page of drawings of glass and monuments in Penrith Church, done by Gregory King, Dugdale's secretary. The Chapter of the College kindly allowed us to have this page photographed and to reproduce it here (fig. 1).

At the top of the page are drawings of four figures which were in the glass of the east window of the chancel in 1665. The two right hand pictures — those of St.

² MS. C. 39.

George and of a member of the Nevill family—have vanished completely, and we suggest that of the other two figures only the heads, a pair of supplicating arms,³ and the legend *Mater Dei miserere mei* survives, and that they are those which in Jefferson's time were in the north window of the chancel and are now in a window of the south aisle of the nave of the church. In figs. 2 and 3 we give photographs of the heads as they appear to-day, and we submit that they are the only remaining features of the four figures which Gregory King saw and sketched in 1665.

Fig. 1 shows that the lady has the Royal arms embroidered on her under-garment or kirtle and those of Nevill on her cape or mantle. It was the custom for married women to be represented wearing their own arms on the kirtle, and the husband's arms on the mantle.

The lady in the sketch was therefore a member of the Royal family who married a Nevill. The fact that the arms of old France occur as a quartering in the Royal arms shows that the glass cannot have been later than the beginning of the 15th century. It was then that our sovereigns who persisted in quartering the Royal arms of France altered the old coat of semy of *fleurs de lis* to three only—a change which had been made in France in 1370.

We have not far to look for the lady of royal birth who married a Nevill before 1400. On November 29 1396 Ralph Lord de Nevill (later first Earl of Westmorland) and Joan his wife, daughter of the King's uncle John (of Gaunt) Duke of Lancaster, were granted the manors and towns of Penrith and Soureby, with the hamlets of Langwathby, Scouteby and Carleton.⁴ According to G.E.C.,⁵ Ralph Nevill's first wife died on June 9 1396, so that the date of his marriage to Joan Beaufort, widow

³ These are now in front of the man, but he was in armour and they cannot be his. They obviously belong to the lady.

⁴ Cal. Pat. R 1396-1399. 39.

⁵ Complete Peerage v., pedigree between pp. 320 and 321.

of Sir Robert de Ferrers, must lie between then and November 1396.

We submit that the lady in Gregory King's sketch who wears the Royal arms⁶ on her kirtle and her Nevill husband's arms on her cape represents Joan Beaufort, and the man kneeling next to her, with the undifferenced arms of Nevill on his surcoat or jupon, is intended to represent Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland.

The military costume he is wearing suggests the time of Richard II, for in the reign of Henry IV the jupon—a leather or woollen covering to a man's body armour—was abandoned. In the Visitation sketch all three men wear the jupon. Two of them are bareheaded, and are bearded in the fashion of the time. St. George has a helmet of a distinctly Lancastrian type—i.e. without the camail which was a kind of chain mail muffler to protect a man's neck, and was laced on to the pointed bascinet, which was not so securely fastened to the body armour as was the Lancastrian helmet.

It is possible that Gregory King omitted to sketch St. George's headgear when he visited Penrith and later drew the sort of helmet he imagined the saint ought to be wearing.

As we have said, Penrith was given to Ralph Nevill and Joan his wife in 1396, and it may well be that the church was re-built by them, in conjunction with William Strickland, later Bishop of Carlisle, who founded a chantry in the church at this time.

Except for a short time between December 1459, when the Wars of the Roses were at their full tide, and August 20 1461, Penrith remained in the possession of the first Earl of Westmorland and his descendants until 1471, when Richard, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, was killed at Barnet, and all his possessions reverted to the

⁶ Mr H. Stanford London, F.S.A., points out that the Royal Arms as worn by Joan Beaufort were surrounded (differenced) by a bordure gobony silver and azure. This has been omitted in the drawing, probably owing to the difficulty of shewing it on such a small scale.

Crown. Between 1459 and 1461 the Nevill lordship was interrupted and Penrith was granted to John Lord Clifford, who was killed at Towton.

On 20 August 1461 the King maker was again in possession of Middleham Castle, and made there his grant of £5 a year to Thomas Hutton of Hutton John "out of my revenues from Penrith", as appears in the grant still preserved at Hutton John.

We have shown that the heraldry in the Visitation sketches proves conclusively that the figures could not possibly represent the persons whom Jefferson stated they did and as the modern lettering in the window asserts they do — Richard Duke of York and Cicely Nevill his wife, daughter of Ralph Nevill and Joan Beaufort. Had the figure of the lady been intended for Cicely she would have worn her own arms of Nevill on her kirtle and the arms of Plantagenet on her mantle—a complete reversal of the way in which her royal mother wore her arms and those of her Nevill husband. Moreover, until Cicely's son Richard III obtained a grant of Penrith in 1471 she and her husband had no interest in the place, and if it is suggested that Richard III set up the glass in memory of his parents, we point out that the heraldry and costume depicted in the Visitation sketch cannot be later than 1400.

It is, we think, proved beyond dispute that while Cicely and her husband are not represented in the glass, Cicely's parents are, and moreover the glass is of a much earlier date than has hitherto been supposed.

Underneath the four figures in the Visitation sketch are six coats of arms, all dating from the same period, and showing 1. Strickland, 2. Dacre,⁷ 3. Nevill, 4. Nevill differenced with a *fleur de lys*, for Thomas Nevill Lord Furnivall, who died in 1406, brother of Ralph first Earl of Westmorland. 5. Nevill differenced with an annulet,

⁷ Mr E. A. Greening Lamborn pointed out that there is a mistake on someone's part in the tinctures, which are transposed.

for John Nevill Lord Latimer, who died in 1430, half-brother of the first Earl of Westmorland.

Below these shields is a drawing of the memorial of Richard Coldall, still in the church, and described by Bishop Nicolson in his *Miscellany Accounts*⁸ nearly 40 years later.

Below again is the inscription to the memory of Anthony and Elizabeth Hutton, with two coats of arms, which have disappeared, though the effigies, after many vicissitudes, are now at the top of the stairs leading to the gallery.

PART II.

Besides the Nevill window in the south aisle of the church, there is an interesting one at the east end of the north aisle which is mentioned at page 53 of Jefferson's *Leath Ward* as having "some remains of stained glass, one an angel and one a crowned head", which seem to be to-day much as they were when Jefferson wrote in 1839, surrounded by a hopelessly confused lot of fragments of medieval glass, mostly representing portions of buildings.

This crowned head, which we reproduce in fig. 4, is so like the picture called Richard II, preserved in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, as to suggest that it might be intended to represent that unfortunate king. All the details are curiously alike, both faces are clean shaven, both have abundant hair on each side of their heads, both have the sceptre on the left shoulder, both are crowned, and both have an ermine cloak on the shoulder, though very little of it is left at Penrith.

We can produce no evidence as to the position this effigy might have occupied in the old church. It does not seem to have interested Dugdale nor does Bishop Nicolson record having seen it.

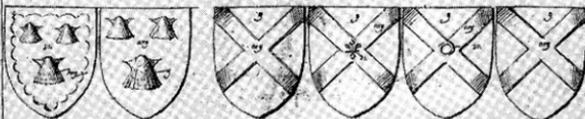
Experts to whom we have shown photographs say that

⁸ Page 151.

the work was not by the hand which was responsible for the faces of Joan Beaufort and her husband. Nevertheless, we suggest that Joan may have set up the representation of the King, her cousin, after she and her husband received a grant of Penrith in 1396. If, as we suggest, extensive re-building was carried out by Joan Beaufort, it seems quite probable that she would have included a portrait of her cousin and patron the King in the church to which she was a benefactress.

We acknowledge with deep gratitude the help and advice we have received from a number of authorities on medieval heraldry and glass, including Richmond Herald (Mr Anthony R. Wagner, F.S.A.), Mr H. Stanford London, F.S.A., and the late Mr E. A. Greening Lamborn, M.A.

Adhuc
Penrith.



Super lapidem orientali muro Ala australis affixum.

ORATE PRO ANIMA RICARDI COLDALL NYPER
DE PLYMPTON IN COM. CYMBR. ARMIGERI
OBIIT ADVD PLYMPTON XVII DIE MENSIS DECEMBR.
ANNO DNI MILLEMO CCCCC LXII. CUJVS ANIMÆ.
PROPIETVR DEVS. AMEN.



Super Tumulum alabastrinum elevatum, in Cancelli
q^{ue} hoc epitaphium.

Here lyes interred Anthony Hutton Esq^r. who was
a grave faythfull and judicious Councillor at Law; and one of the
Masters of the High Court of Chancery; Son and heire of that
renowned Sen: Sr William Hutton of Penrith Esq^r; And was
matched into the noble family of Sr Thomas Burlet
of Bramcote in the County of Warwick Baronet, by the marriage
of his virtuous Sister Elizabeth Burlet, whose pious care and
religious bounty hath erected this marble to perpetuate the
memory of such a worthy Commonwealths man; and of soe
deare a Husband, who dyed 10 July 1657.

et hæc insignia.



Maritus uvari.

Multum dilectus coniux sua et morte
inducula Comes, non amissit que
permisit.

Spice eundem Tumulum.

Here lyes the spouse of Elizabeth Hutton
the wife of the late deceased Anthony Hutton,
who though living, desired thus to be placed
in token of her union with him here in-
terred, and of her own expected mor-
tality.

Uxor marito

Uxor mihi cura sic vitæ ut tecum
Orbito Revæ, et tuo latere in eterna ðm
coniungior.

FIG. I.—Dugdale's drawings.

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FIG. 2.—Joan Beaufort.

(Photo by Mr. W. Tunley, Penrith, and reproduced by kind permission of the Rev. Norman Robinson, B.Sc., Vicar of Penrith)



FIG. 3.—Ralf Nevill, Earl of Westmorland.

(Photo by Mr. W. Tunley, Penrith, and reproduced by kind permission of the Rev. Norman Robinson, B.Sc., Vicar of Penrith)



FIG. 4.—Richard II (?).

(Photo by Mr. W. Tunley, Penrith, and reproduced by kind permission of the Rev. Norman Robinson, B.Sc., Vicar of Penrith)