

ON THE PORTRAITS OF EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES (AFTER-
WARDS EDWARD V.) AND HIS SISTERS IN THE EAST WIN-
DOW OF LITTLE MALVERN CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE.

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FEW exhibitions have lately taken place of greater archæological and artistic interest than that which, by the kindness of Mrs. Charles Winston, the Institute was enabled to open to the public in March and April, 1865. The series of fac-simile drawings from windows of the mediæval and cinquecentist periods, traced and coloured by the lamented author of "Hints on Glass-Painting" with a fidelity and skill rarely, if ever, equalled, formed collectively an illustrated synopsis of the history of an Art which no one in this country, it may safely be asserted, had ever studied more deeply, or in a healthier critical spirit. The Council of the Arundel Society, sympathising with the desire to render such a collection available for general instruction, placed gratuitously at the disposal of the Institute sufficient space in the apartments of that Society for the display of the most important and typical specimens of the drawings, arranged in the chronological sequence of the original windows. A learned and eloquent lecture, delivered by Mr. T. Gambier Parry on the 31st of March, and afterwards published in the "Ecclesiologist" (No. CLXVIII.), showed the value of the materials which Mr. Winston's labours had collected, as illustrations of Art. The archæologist, however, might have found in the subjects represented in the windows as much of curiosity and interest as the technical execution of the windows themselves presented to the artistic student. Christian hagiology, heraldry, mediæval palæography, the progressive phases of costume, armour, architecture, and mechanical invention, were alike illustrated in the designs of those fragile, yet, if rightly protected, most durable monuments, which our ancestors erected not merely for the gratification of the eye, but for historical and religious teaching. I now propose to offer a few

observations on two drawings in Mr. Winston's collection (shown on a reduced scale in the annexed woodcuts), which were made from the remains of a mutilated window in the church of Little Malvern, Worcestershire, and exactly represent the original in dimension, colour, texture, and actual condition.¹

The neglected and half-ruined building to which this interesting monument belongs was formerly the church of a small Priory or House of Benedictines, planted in the picturesque hillside which looks eastward over the rich vale of the Severn, and lies just below the ancient encampment crowning the height now known as the "Herefordshire Beacon."² The House itself was, like the older and larger Priory at Great Malvern, an offshoot of the Benedictine establishment at Worcester, having been founded A.D. 1171 by Brothers Jocelin and Edred, to extend religion and civilization to the wilds of Malvern Chase.³ In the lapse of three hundred years, however, the church and residences of the monks had fallen into decay; and from documents yet extant it appears that the discipline of the brotherhood was little less dilapidated. In 1476, John Alcock, a man of ability, learning, and character, was translated to the Bishopric of Worcester, which he occupied till 1486, when he was promoted to another see. During his episcopate at Worcester he rebuilt the church of Little Malvern, dedicating it anew to St. Mary, St. Giles, and St. John the Evangelist. The

¹ It is with regret that I call attention to an error in the printed Catalogue of Mr. Winston's Drawings which was brought out at the time of the Exhibition mentioned in the text; but the reproduction of the same error in the *Memoirs Illustrative of Glass-Painting*, lately published by Mr. Murray, forbids me to leave it unnoticed. The two drawings which form the subject of the present paper are there described as follows:—

"226. Prince Arthur, Little Malvern Church, Worcestershire.

"227. The Princesses, ditto. The Princess Elizabeth of York, afterwards Queen of Henry VII., and her sisters."

If the Editor of the Catalogue had access to the drawing numbered 226, he might have seen at the back, in Mr. Winston's handwriting:—

"Edward P. of Wales, eldest son of Ed. IV., afterwards King Edward V."

Even without that authority, the slightest reflection might have shown him, that if one of the figures were "the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen," that is, the Princess in her maidenhood, her son Arthur could not have been represented in the same window.

² A view of the church, showing the exterior of the east window, is given in Chambers' *History of Malvern*, p. 102.

³ V. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 476 (*Annales Eccl. Wigorniensis*). "Anno MCLXXI. Fundatus est Prioratus S. Egidii Abbatibus parvæ Malvernæ a duobus fratribus, qui nati fuerant apud Betkeforde. Primus enim erat Prior sc. Jocelinus, Secundus Prior Edredus. Habitum religionis et regulam B. Benedicti et consuetudines a capitulo Wigorn. [accepterunt]." Cf. a MS. Chronicle in the Cotton Collection [Calig. A, x], cited by Nash, vol. ii. p. 140.

year in which this work was completed does not appear to be exactly recorded ; but evidence exists, from which it may with tolerable confidence be inferred, and which, as the date is of importance in determining some of the persons represented in the window, may be briefly investigated.

In the Appendix to the notice of Little Malvern, contained in Dr. Nash's "Collections for the History of Worcester-shire," various original documents are published, taken from the registers of the episcopal see, and illustrating the history of the Priory. Amongst these is an instrument⁴ from Alcock's Register (fol. 69, a), recording the resignation of the Prior's office by John Wyttesham on the 19th July, 1480, and the removal for divers misdemeanours, two days after, of the four brethren, John Myldenham, George Malverne, John Ledbury, and Walter Gloucestre, who were consigned to the charge of the Abbot of Gloucester, head of their order, for discipline and reformation. Afterwards follows a letter from the Bishop to Brother Henry Morton of Tewkesbury,⁵ dated 11th September, 1480, which recites the vacancy of the Priorate by the resignation of Wyttesham, the incompetency of the monks by reason of their irregularities to elect a successor,⁶ and the consequent lapse of the nomination to himself,⁷ and then proceeds to appoint Morton to the vacant office. In this letter Alcock describes himself as "fundator et patronus Domus sive Prioratus Sancti Egidii Minoris Malverne ordinis Sancti Benedicti nostre Wigorn. dioceseos," and nominates Morton "auctoritate nostra ordinaria ac jure fundacionis et patronatus ejusdem." As, then, the title "fundator" does not occur in any of the charters or instruments of preceding Bishops of Worcester which are published in Nash's Appendix, it might possibly be interpreted as referring to the rebuilding of the church by Alcock, and hence be thought to prove that event anterior to 11th September, 1480. But this construction is not tenable. The title used is not "fundator Ecclesiæ," but "fundator Domus sive Prioratus ;" and the tutelage named is not that of the three saints to whom the church was dedicated by Alcock, but simply that

⁴ Nash, vol. ii. p. 151.

⁵ "Prefectio Prioris Minoris Malverne," Alc. Reg., fol. 74, b ; Nash, vol. ii. p. 152.

⁶ "Ceteri confratres et commonachi dicti Prioratus fuerint et sint, propter

eorum demerita criminaque et excessus quibus respersi fuerint, ad eligendum alium Priorem inhabiles et insufficientes."

⁷ "Collatio, prefectio, et provisio Prioris ejusdem Prioratus ad nos legitime spectat hac vice."

of St. Giles, the patron saint of the ancient Priory. Moreover, the same right of appointing the Prior, which is here claimed by Alcock, amongst other grounds, "*jure fundationis*," had been equally, and without dispute, exercised by his episcopal predecessors for three centuries previous, as appears from various documents published in this collection. We may therefore conclude that the title "*fundator et patronus*," with the corresponding "*jus fundationis et patronatus*," though not mentioned expressly in any known earlier deed, really belonged alike to all the Bishops of Worcester, as representatives of the parent establishment from which Little Malvern was originally founded, and of which it always continued a branch.⁸ In other words, no reference is therein intended to Alcock personally, and it is consequently in no way implied that the church had yet been rebuilt.

But let us look a little further. It will be found, from the letter just cited, that though Morton was thereby nominated Prior, yet no successors were appointed to the four discharged monks. The explanation of this may not improbably be found in a later document in Nash's collection, of much importance to the present question.⁹ It is a letter in English from Alcock to the Prior and Brethren of Little Malvern, dated 22nd October, 1482, and contains the following passage:—"For as moche as *now* by his [God's] grace and mercy I have bylded your Church, your place of your logyng is sufficient repaireid, and as I suppose, a grete part of the dett of the seyde place be content." It then proceeds to order all the dismissed brethren, who "have byn this ii yeres yn worshipfull and holye places," except "Dan" John Wyttesham, to return to their Priory, and there pursue such rules, and celebrate such masses, as thereby prescribed. Here, then, is the first positive limitation of a date before which the rebuilding of the church must have occurred. And that it occurred not long before may, in the first place, naturally be inferred from the word "*now*," and is, I think, further confirmed by the mention of the repairs of the "*logyng*," and the order to the monks to return. For these

⁸ For the intimate relation maintained between Little Malvern and Worcester Priories, see particularly a charter set out in Nash, vol. ii. p. 155. "*Carta Simonis Episcopi super subjectione Minoris Mal-*

vernies." Reg. 1, Dec. et Cap., fol. 9, b. et fol. 40, a.

⁹ Entitled "*Littere direct. a Domino Episcopo Priori et Conventui Minoris Malvernies*." Nash, vol. ii. p. 153.

repairs would doubtless have been made during the absence, or, in modern academical phrase, the "rustication," of the four delinquent brethren, who appear, from a subsequent document in Alcock's Register,¹ dated 19th October, 1484, to have formed at that time, and therefore probably also in 1480, the entire establishment at Little Malvern; so that the house had been for a season altogether broken up. On these grounds, therefore, the 19th July, 1480, and the 22nd October, 1482, may safely be assumed as the limits of the period within which the church was rebuilt.

At the east end of the chancel was erected a window of Perpendicular style, divided by mullions into six vertical lights, with four smaller lights of quatrefoil form in the tracery above. The whole was filled with painted glass, which, on a system common in the 15th and 16th centuries, was arranged as a single composition, extending through all the openings of the window. Its treatment did not, indeed, exhibit that daring disregard of all external restraint which sometimes inspired the cinquecentist glass-painter to ignore altogether the intrusion of stone-work into his design, and continue the arms and legs of his figures through solid mullions, as if they were as permeable as the living wall between Pyramus and Thisbe.² In each vertical light at Little Malvern was depicted upon a blue or red background a distinct architectural canopy, represented in white glass, with ornaments of yellow staining, and shadows of enamel brown; below which appeared, as it were in a niche, a figure or figures kneeling in prayer. By this arrangement the subject in each light was at once complete in itself, and yet, by its correspondence with those of adjoining lights, contributed to a larger composition;—an admirable principle of design, which secured grandeur of scale, and breadth of general effect, without sacrificing that subordination of the decorative to the structural art, which, in all combinations of

¹ Entitled "Acta in eleccione Prioris Minoris Malverne," and relating to the appointment of a successor to Henry Morton in the Priorate. Reg. Alc. fol. 137, b. 138; v. Nash, vol. ii. p. 153.

² Examples of this may be seen in a window by Jean Cousin, in the Sainte Chapelle at Vincennes (v. Lasteyrie, *Histoire de la Peinture sur Verre*, pl. lxx.); in one by Germain Michel, dated 1528, in the cathedral at Auxerre (*ib.*

pl. lxxix.); in one, dated 1513, in the cathedral at Auch (*ib.* pl. lxxxi. reproduced in *Hints on Glass-Painting*, pl. 22); and in another, attributed to Jean Cousin, in S. Patrice at Rouen (v. Langlois, *Essai sur la Peinture sur Verre*, pl. 3). The same false principle of composition appears in the flying angels in the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster (v. *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. pl. xxvi.).

architecture with either sculpture or painting, is essential to truth, harmony, and repose. Unhappily, the glass which completed this symmetrical composition has fallen a sacrifice to the same long neglect which has caused the entire destruction of the transepts, the two side-chapels, and the sacristy of the church, and reduced the greater part of the nave to an ivy-covered ruin.³ Of the two central and two outer panels of the window, all but a few fragments have perished; nor would it have been easy to identify the subject of the whole merely from the two panels which remain. Fortunately, however, a detailed description of the entire design, written whilst the glass was still perfect, has been preserved among the manuscripts of Thomas Habington of Hinlip, now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London. This industrious topographer, who was born about A.D. 1560, having in early life engaged in a conspiracy for the rescue of Mary, Queen of Scots, and afterwards been in some degree involved in the Gunpowder Plot, was pardoned by James I. on condition of never again quitting the county of Worcestershire. To the illustration of this extensive and not disagreeable prison he accordingly devoted the remainder of a life prolonged to the age of eighty-seven. His papers, transcribed by his son William, the poet and historian, and bequeathed by Bishop Lyttelton, in 1768, to the Society of Antiquaries, have been largely used by subsequent writers, not always with due acknowledgment. The description of the Little Malvern window was first published by Stevens, in his *Additions to Dugdale's "Monasticon,"*⁴ but is there said to have been communicated by Mr. Canning of Foxcote, without any mention of Habington's name. Dr. Nash in his *History of the County,*⁵ and the editors of the last edition of the *"Monasticon,"*⁶ republish the description, with proper commemoration of the original author, but in a modernized, incomplete, and even incorrect form. The reader is therefore here presented with Habington's *ipsissima verba*⁷ :—

³ See a letter addressed to the Institute in May, 1844, by the late Rev. Thomas Dean, Perpetual Curate of Little Malvern, and published in the first volume of this Journal, p. 250.

Vol. i. p. 353.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 142.

⁶ Vol. iv. p. 448.

⁷ See Manuscript Survey of Worcestershire, vol. iii., in the library of the Soc. Ant.

Lond., MS., No. cxliii. Cf. Dr. Prattinton's large collections for the history of that county, preserved in the same library, vol. xxiii. For this transcript from Habington's papers, and for the references to Prattinton, as well as for the information given in the text on the present condition of the window, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr. Way.

"In the east window of the Quayre, consystinge of syx lofty panes, theare is paynted, in the middest and worthiest of them, Edward the fourthe in a robe of Ermynes, wearinge hys ryghtefull imperiall crowne, yet purchased anewe with divers blouddy Battelles; and, in the next pane, his Queene with the lyke diadem, beeing theareto strangly advanced, though her lyfe dyd rather weare a thorny crowne of discontentmentes and extreeme afflictions. In the pane behind the kinge was hys ealdest sonne the Prynce, after Edward the fyfte, though the Crowne hoveringe over hys heade neaver covered it; his surcoat was heere Azure, and hys robe Gules turned downe and lyned with Ermine, and on his heade a Princes Crowne: and in the last pane of that syde his brother Richard Duke of Yorcke, his surcoate Gules and his robe Asure turned downe Ermine, and one roe to the foote of the same, havinge on hys heade a Dukes crowne; but thease sons beeing bothe murdered by theyre unnaturall unckell, though losinge with theyre lyfes theyre earthly crownes, have, I hope, by theyre innocent deathes gayned eternall crownes in heaven. In the pane behind the Queene was theyre ealdest daughter the Lady Elizabeth as the onely braunche from whom (after her brothers so cut of from the tree of lyfe) shoulde springe all the kinges of England and Scotland; behind, her systers, of whom remayneth as now no issue. In the last pane of all was John Alcocke, Bishop of Worcester, kneelinge as thease and prayinge for them all. In the highest closure of this windowe, beeing devyded into foure panes, was, in the principall and myddest of them, France and England quarterly, and, over, an Imperiall crowne supported with tow Angels argent winged Or, and belowe with tow Lyons Or. In the next pane the Queenes Armes consystinge of six peeces;⁸ 1. A lyon rampant, the coullers faded; 2. Quarterly Gules and Vert,⁹ on the Gules a Star¹ Argent, on the Vert a floure de lyze Or;² 3. Barry a lyon rampant,

⁸ In the margin is written, apparently by a contemporary hand—"1. Mounsyre de Lyon; 2. (blank); 3. (blank); Sr Payne de la Marche; 5. (blank); 6. Wydvale Earle Rivers.

⁹ "Azure," Dr. Prattinton's MS.

¹ "Rather a Sun;" Prattinton.

² Prattinton notices the "azure semée of fleurs de lys." What now remains of

the Queen's arms in the window agrees exactly with those given in Sandford (Genealog. Hist., pp. 374, 407), from her seal, and in Willement (Regal Heraldry, p. 47, pl. ii.), from a manuscript in the College of Arms, in which the emblazonment is apparently taken from some painted glass formerly in Westminster Abbey.



Edward, Prince of Wales.
(Afterwards Edward V.)
From the East Window of Little Malvern Church.

the coullers faded ; 4 and 5, so broaken as not to be blased ; 6. Argent, a Fesse and Quarter Gules, supported with Angells as before, and over all a royall Diadem. Next pane behind the kinges Armes weare the Princes, beeing Quarterly Fraunce and England supported with Angells and Lyons, like the Kinges ; on the sheild a Labell of three Argent, and over all on a Cap of Maintenance Argent turned up Ermine a Princes Crowne. In the pane behind the Queenes Armes, Argent, on a fesse, between three Cockes heades erazed Sables combes and bills Gules, a Bishops Miter Or ; the coate supported with Angells like the others, and over all a Bishops Miter.³ In the syxt and southe pane of this windowe, belowe, is Checkie Or and Azure.⁴ In the lowest skyrt of thys windowe is wrytten,—Orate pro anima Johanis Alcock Episcopi Wigorniensis, qui de nouo hanc Ecclesiam Sanctorum Dei Genitricis et S^{ti} Egidii et S^{ti} Johannis Euangelistæ edificavit, quondam Cancellarii Angliæ et Presidentis Concilii Edouardi Regis Quarti primo Regni.”

In this description let us first notice the subjects of the two vertical lights or “panes,” which have been, excepting a few slight mutilations, preserved entire ; afterwards, those of the four which have almost as completely perished.

The second from the left represents the ill-fated Prince Edward, who, at the period here assigned for the erection of the window, was in his twelfth year, having been born on the 4th November, 1470. His face, as delineated in Mr. Winston’s drawing,⁵ might be thought above that age ; but his figure, when compared with the Lady (or, as we now say, the Princess) Elizabeth, who kneels beside a desk on the same level with himself, duly indicates his early youth ; for she, who was then sixteen or seventeen, appears about three or four inches taller than her brother. Upon the costume of the Prince one observation only is needed, arising from the woodcut being without colour ;—namely,

³ In the margin, “Alcocke Byshopp of Worcester.”

⁴ In the margin, “Waren.” Dugdale, who has preserved drawings of the heraldic bearings in the window (Church Notes, taken July, 1643, MS. Ashm. Mus., F. 1, p. 139), sets out this coat as “checky Or and Azure, a fess Gules.” How the family of Warrene, to which Habington appears to have referred these arms, was con-

nected either with Edward IV. or with Bishop Alcock, has never, it is believed, been explained.

⁵ An acknowledgment is here due to the liberality of Mrs. Charles Winston, for permitting the use of the woodcut representing the Prince, which she caused to be prepared for the second edition of the Hints on Glass-Painting, and which will there be given in colours.

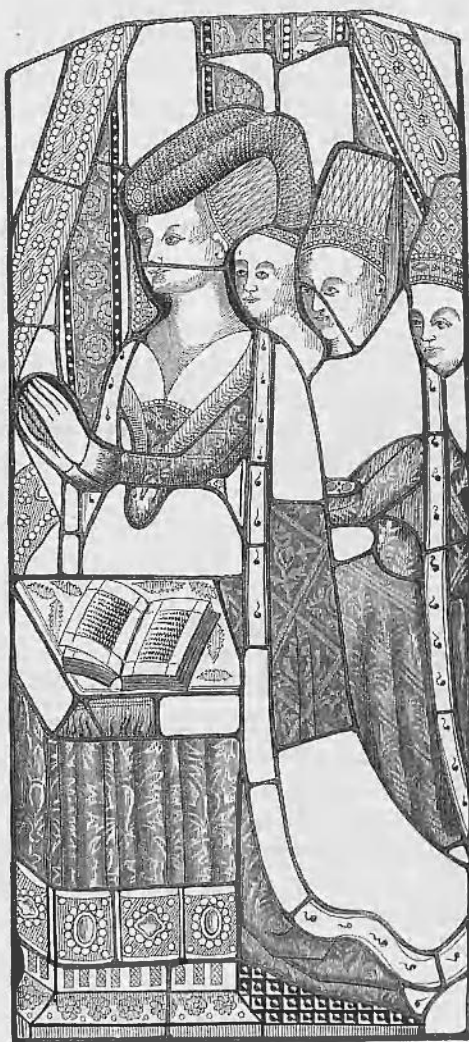
that the "gules robe" mentioned in the description is the outer mantle which falls behind; the "azure surcoat" is seen on the arm and chest, and again below near the knee. The crown to which Habington refers as "hovering over Edward's head, but never covering it," would seem to be merely a poetic conception of the writer; for the princely coronet duly covers the head of its owner, and the regal crown, with which Edward V., it is true, was never afterwards formally indued, could not have been introduced in a window executed in the lifetime of the Prince's father.

In the corresponding light, or second from the right, are still seen the kneeling figures of the four princesses, as described by Habington.⁶ Two only, Elizabeth and the second sister behind her, are so placed as to show their forms and robes. Each wears a blue boddice-shaped gown, disclosing underneath, in the figure of Elizabeth (and probably also in her sister's, though the glass is there destroyed), a gold embroidered stomacher, whilst above the gown is a mantle of crimson bordered with ermine. These garments resemble Prince Edward's in colour, and were the reverse or counterchange of the Duke of York's: like Edward's also, they are diapered throughout with flowers and foliage of no heraldic character. The head-dress of all the young ladies is interesting, as illustrating a certain phase in mediæval costume, which requires a few sentences of explanation.

In the reign of Edward IV. two earlier and well-known modes of attiring the head, of which it is hard to say which was the less graceful or more inconvenient, still continued in use, though somewhat shorn of the exuberant proportions which had excited the wrath of preachers, and the ridicule of satirists, under the Lancastrian kings. One was the horned or heart-shaped tire, which became generally prevalent in England under Henry V., probably through the influence of Katherine of France. The other was the "steeple," or "chimney," which enclosed the hair within a conical cap or roll, sometimes three quarters of an ell in height, made of cloth, linen, or silk, and originally garnished with a long veil depending from its apex.⁷ About the period of Edward, the steeple was often furnished, in lieu of

⁶ The woodcut of this subject has been kindly presented for the use of the Journal by Professor P. H. Delamotte, F.S.A., of King's College, London.

⁷ An old French writer, quoted by Mr. Shaw (*Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii. Plate 61), complains of the ladies of his day that —



The Princess Elizabeth of York, and three of her Sisters.

From the East Window of Little Malvern Church.

the veil, with two kerchiefs or wings, which procured for it the popular name of a "butterfly." By an almost ironical caprice of fortune, this latter variety, which to our eyes appears the very symbol of mediæval formalism, has, in a land of revolutions, survived institutions of far greater importance, and perhaps not inferior value; for with little change in form or dimension the butterfly still airs his wings over the heads of the peasant-women of Normandy. Towards the close of Edward's reign, and in that of Richard III., another modification of the steeple type is sometimes found in the form of a caul of gold net or embroidered linen, closely wound round the hair, and shaping it into a short cylinder, which generally stands out almost horizontally behind, and is covered with a floating gauze veil. This appears to have been the head-attire of Anne, Queen of Richard III., and some other ladies of the Nevill family, represented in the Warwick or Rowse Roll, preserved in the College of Arms.⁸ It is more clearly shown in the brass of Lady Say, in Broxbourn Church, Herts, dated 1473,⁹ and in another brass at Iselham, Cambridgeshire, representing Sir Thomas Peyton (who died in 1484) between his two wives, each attired in this fashion.¹

Now the portrait of Princess Elizabeth in the Little Malvern window exhibits one of the latest representations of the horned tire which still remain. The head being seen nearly in profile, and the two horns brought close together, the type might not by itself be recognised; but the illuminations in manuscripts of the fifteenth century supply ample explanation of the arrangement intended. The upper edge of the two horns, which in the glass is painted brown, and looks much like hair adorned with gold leaves and a jewelled brooch, is probably only a linen roll, for the same part is sometimes coloured in manuscripts blue, pink, or green. A head-dress seen from the same point of view as this, and identical in form, occurs in an illumination in the British Museum, attributed to the time of Henry VI.² It is indeed

"Tant que plus belles et jeunes elles sont,

"Plus haultes cheminees elles ont."

⁸ See the Warwick Roll, by John Rows of Guy's Cliff, published by Pickering, in a quarto volume, London, 1845, with facsimiles of the figures.

⁹ See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments,

vol. ii. pl. lxxxviii.; Waller's Monumental Brasses, pl. xlv.

¹ See Gough, vol. ii. pl. civ. Another example, from an illuminated manuscript in the British Museum (Reg. 16, F. ii.), is published in Planché's British Costume, p. 218.

² MS. Reg. 15, E. vi. This is engraved

only a variety, in more modest proportions, of the stately tire represented in Montfaucon, as worn more than half a century earlier by Isabella of Bavaria, Queen of Charles VI. of France.³ Of this princess it is related (the reader may believe it or not) that a door in the palace of Vincennes had to be enlarged to allow her to pass through; though it is uncertain whether the obstruction was caused by a horned or a chimney tire, as she appears with the latter in an illumination representing the celebrated and fatal masquerade of Charles VI., in a manuscript of Froissart of the fifteenth century.⁴

The head-dresses of the younger princesses in the window, of which the second only is fully preserved, must, I think, be considered varieties of the type mentioned as the latest modification of the steeple. They differ from those of Lady Say and the two Ladies Peyton, in not standing out horizontally, but rising upwards, like truncated "chimneys," as well as in not being enveloped in the large floating veil. In lieu of this veil is seen, at the back of the second sister's head, what might possibly be taken for a stream of golden hair escaping through the top of the structure. I know of no example, however, of hair brought through a cylinder or steeple-tire, though it was occasionally passed through another kind of tire, which consisted of a simple annular roll of cloth or other material, encircling the head, something like an ancient Greek *μίτρα*.⁵ The head-dress of this princess is more probably meant to be decorated with a yellow pendent kerchief, and may be compared to one published by Strutt, from a manuscript in the British Museum, though it is smaller in dimension and quieter in arrangement.⁶

Of the four other vertical lights in the window, the two central contained the portraits of Edward IV. and his Queen, doubtless kneeling, like their children, beside desks. Of the King's figure there are now no remains; of Elizabeth's, only a few scattered and doubtful fragments.⁷ It is

in Strutt's *Dresses and Habits*, pl. cxix., and in *Planché*, p. 198.

³ *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, vol. iii. p. 108, pl. xxv. The head-dress is there surmounted by a crown.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 18, E. ii.* This illumination is published in colours by

Mr. Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii. pl. 61.

⁵ V. an illustration in Mr. Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 186.

⁶ *MS. Harl. 4376*; Strutt, pl. cxxv. fig. 5.

⁷ Mr. Dean, in the letter referred to in

to be observed that Habington, whose description derives a quaint and interesting freshness from the intermixture of moral reflections and personal sympathies with the dryer details of heraldry, is careful to speak of Edward's "ryghte-full" crown; and takes note of "the Lady Elizabeth as the onely braunche from whom should springe all the Kinges of England and Scotland." So good an antiquary and genealogist was doubtless aware that the legitimate representation of Edward III. lay in the House of York, not in that of Lancaster; and therefore even after the union of the Roses by the marriage of Henry VII., he points out that the Queen, rather than her husband, was the true ancestor from whom both Tudors and Stuarts derived their crowns.

The outer light on the left, which represented the Duke of York, has entirely perished. Of that on the right, however, where the donor was himself introduced, some remains are still preserved, which are thus described in a memorandum drawn up for me by Mr. Albert Way, from observations formerly made in the church:—

"There are considerable portions of a figure vested in pontificals; the chasuble is of violet colour, with a rich orfray; the alb has likewise an elaborate *parura*; a crozier is seen borne on the left; and in the right hand there is a book, and a chain to which is appended a singular padlock, the device, possibly, of Edward IV., but the falcon usually found in combination with the favourite badge of the House of York, the fetterlock, is here wanting. This mutilated figure, in such sumptuous costume, may have been that of the Chancellor prelate, founder of the church, whose arms were subsequently taken as those of the Priory, and who may have been here represented as bearing the badge of his royal patron."

The glass in the small quatrefoil lights above has been more fortunate than most of that below; for all the achievements, except the Queen's, remain as blazoned by Habington. The only point for note in this part of his description is the introduction of the "Imperial," or double-arched, crown, which is also mentioned as worn both by the King

a previous note, speaks of the "figure of the Queen" as "nearly perfect" in 1844; but this is at variance both with all the published authorities, and with Mr. Way's very careful notes, taken in that year.

It may, therefore, be suspected that Mr. Dean mistook the figure of the Princess Elizabeth in the adjoining light for that of the Queen.

and Queen in the two lost portraits in the lower lights. Edward IV. is the first of our sovereigns on whose seal this crown occurs, though it is not found upon the coins of any King prior to Henry VII. In the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth is a manuscript with a highly interesting illumination, representing Earl Rivers, (the accomplished brother of the former Elizabeth Widville, now "strangely advanced" to the throne,) and a person supposed to be Caxton the printer, presenting a book to the King and Queen in the midst of their court; and in this illumination both Edward and Elizabeth wear imperial crowns.⁸ Richard III. has a similar crown in the Warwick Roll, as well as in another illuminated manuscript, also from the hand of John Rowse, of Guy's Cliff, now in the Cottonian collection;⁹ and it was doubtless such a crown which the usurper carried into the field at Bosworth, and which was picked up by Lord Stanley, and placed on the head of Richmond.

It is said in the notes to the last edition of Dugdale's "Monasticon,"¹ that no trace exists of the inscription at the foot of the window,—an incorrect assertion, as appears from the following note by Mr. Way:—"Of the inscription at the foot of the window there remain in the first light the words 'hanc eccl'iam suis;' in the second—'Wygo... hui' Mon' q' de novo;' of the inscribed band in the third light no portion exists; in the fourth may be read—'Dei genit' Marie S'ci egidii et S'ci Joh'is evag...' If these fragments are now in their original position, it is impossible to reconcile them with the inscription as copied by Habington, and hardly possible, even if we reject Habington's version, to explain how 'hanc ecclesiam' could have preceded 'qui de novo.' It is therefore more probable that the fragments have been accidentally misplaced; and as there are also two or three words remaining on the glass which are omitted by Habington, it must be concluded either that he could not exactly decypher the whole when *in situ*, or that his son did not fully and correctly transcribe his notes. It may perhaps, then, be allowed to submit the

⁸ Cat. MSS. Bibl. Lambethanæ, cclxv. An engraving of this illumination forms the frontispiece to the second volume of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors. The original was lent by the Archbishop of Canterbury for exhibition at Rochester, during the Annual Congress of the Insti-

tute in 1864.

⁹ Jul. E. iv., the pedigree of the Beauchamp family. The portrait of Richard in this manuscript is given in Meyrick's Ancient Armour, vol. ii. p. 177.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 448.

following conjectural restoration and divisional arrangement of the inscription, printing in Italics the words actually remaining in the window which are omitted by Habington, and in brackets those which are here hypothetically suggested to complete the sense. The abbreviations may be passed over, to avoid needless complexity. In the first light might have originally been—‘Orate pro animâ Johannis Alcock Episcopi;’ in the second—‘Wygorniensis, [*fundatoris*] *hujus Monasterii*, qui de novo;’ in the third—‘hanc ecclesiam *suis* [*sumptibus in honorem*] Sanctorum;’ in the fourth—‘Dei genitricis Mariæ, Sancti Egidii, et Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ;’ in the fifth—‘edificavit, quondam Cancellarii Angliæ, et Præsidentis;’ and in the sixth—‘Concilii Edouardi Regis Quarti, primo Regni.’ In this restoration the least possible variation is made from Habington’s version; but if flaws in his accuracy are once admitted (as cannot indeed be avoided), it may be further doubted, whether the words ‘pro animâ’ should not rather have been rendered ‘pro bono statu,’ the phrase usually employed in referring to persons still living.”²

Passing now from the glass-paintings to the persons represented in them, it may be asked who were the four princesses whose portraits are before us? The King and Queen had in all seven daughters,—Elizabeth, Mary, Cecily, Margaret, Anne, Katherine, and Bridget. Sufficient reason must therefore be found for the omission of three from the window. Now Margaret, who was born on the 19th of April, 1472, died on the 11th of the following December, nearly ten years before the completion of the restored church; she was therefore of course not here portrayed. Mary, who by an unaccountable error is placed by William Habington,³ Speed,⁴ and Sandford,⁵ (though not by Carte,⁶) fifth in the list, appears from indisputable evidence to have been the second, having been born in August, either 1466 or 1467.⁷ She died on the 23rd of May, 1482;

² Habington has himself recorded, that in another window erected by the same pious donor in the Priory Church of St. Mary, Great Malvern, on the south side of the nave, was the Bishop’s portrait, with the inscription,—“Orate pro bono statu religiosi viri Johannis Alcock Episcopi Wigorn. Cancellarii Angliæ.” V. Nash, vol. ii. p. 130.

³ History of Edward IV., reprinted in Kennet’s Complete History of England, vol. i. p. 429.

⁴ History of Great Britain, p. 880.

⁵ Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, p. 418.

⁶ History of England, vol. ii. p. 803.

⁷ The Annals of William of Worcester (Hearne, vol. ii. p. 510) enter her birth

and as the church is not proved to have been finished till the 22nd of October in that year, and the glass-paintings would probably be the latest work executed, we are justified in conjecturing her to be excluded from the window, as no longer living. Of the remaining five sisters, who all survived their father, Bridget may most naturally be the one omitted, having been born only on the 10th of November, 1480. A writer of the last century, in describing a similar window, which will presently be noticed, representing also the family of Edward IV., considers that Bridget was not there introduced, because "she early became a nun at Dartford."⁸ A very insufficient reason; for neither could the Princess in her second year have already taken the veil, nor, if she had, need this have deprived her of the honours of portraiture in a family monument.⁹ We may better explain her absence in the window at Little Malvern simply on the ground of her tender age, which did not admit of her appearing with propriety amongst the kneeling group.

The subjects of our window-light are thus reduced to Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne, and Katherine. The history of the future Queen of Henry VII. is sufficiently familiar;¹ and all that is known of her sisters has been so fully and carefully related by Mrs. Everett Green in her "Lives of the Princesses of England," as to need no repetition here. It only remains to distinguish, if possible, the several portraits. That of Elizabeth admits of no question; for the others, we have no safer guide than apparent age. It is true that one, Cecily, had the reputation of superiority in outward attractions; for Sir Thomas More, in his history of the years 1483-4, written in 1513, distinguishes her, in his enumeration of Edward's daughters, by the words, "not so fortunate as fair."² But to discriminate the degrees of beauty in the three younger

under 1467; but Sir Frederick Madden (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1831, p. 24), places it a year earlier, on the authority of a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. MSS. No. 6113); and he is followed by Mrs. Everett Green, vol. iii. p. 396. For proof that Mary was born at least before the 9th of October, 1468, see Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 631.

⁸ Gostling, *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury* (2nd ed.), p. 339.

⁹ Mrs. Green (vol. iv. p. 46) shows

satisfactorily that Bridget did not profess before 1486, at the earliest.

¹ Yet, singularly enough, even her age is disputed. For she is said by Sandford, Carte, and all the older writers, to have been born on the 11th of February, 1466; but Sir F. Madden (*loc. cit.*), following Sir N. H. Nicolas, as well as the inscription on her tomb, corrects this to 1465.

² More's history is incorporated in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, vol. iii. p. 360; and in Grafton, vol. ii. p. 79. Cf. Hall, p. 345.

damsels depicted at Little Malvern, would demand the skill of the Shepherd of Mount Ida. A more diffident critic in such subjects may content himself with saying, that the oldest appears to be the one whose figure is seen kneeling immediately behind Elizabeth, with the head-dress and kerchief already described. This may therefore be assumed as Cecily, then in her thirteenth year. The next, Anne, who was in her seventh year, is probably the one whose head appears further to the right, with an attire similar to Cecily's, except that no kerchief is visible. The youngest, Katherine, who was at least three years old, and probably more, shows only her face, between her two eldest sisters.³

It may, perhaps, be thought that the countenances of the two youngest princesses, like that of their brother, indicate greater age than accords with the chronology here laid down. But the true expression of youthfulness required a pictorial skill beyond the reach of the ancient glass-painter. In that graceful and interesting subject, common in the windows of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—"Saint Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin to read"—the features of Mary are generally too womanly for her age. Even in an artistic sphere of higher pretension, the fresco and distemper painting of contemporary Italy, a similar defect often appears. Lord Lindsay, indeed, observes that "the delineation of childhood was one of the latest triumphs of Art,"⁴ and Mr. Ruskin, in his notice of a youthful figure of the Virgin painted by Giotto, seems to assent to this opinion.⁵

It is hardly necessary to point out the interest of a strictly contemporary portrait of the unfortunate Prince Edward. Two others only exist, as far as I am aware, and of these one only is now complete. This is to be found in the illumination already referred to, in the manuscript of the Lambeth Library, where the Prince is introduced standing beside the King and Queen. His figure there appears even younger than in the window at Little Malvern; and if

³ The exact era of her birth is unknown, but it is proved to have been prior to the 28th of August, 1479, by a treaty of that date in Rymer (vol. xii. p. 110), made between Edward IV. and Ferdinand of Arragon, by which Katherine was contracted in marriage to John, the heir of the united Spanish monarchies, who was himself only born on the 30th of June,

1478. This contract, like those which Edward made for the marriage of his other daughters to the heirs of France, Scotland, and Burgundy, was utterly forgotten after his death.

⁴ History of Christian Art, vol. ii. p. 187.

⁵ Giotto and his Works in Padua, p. 65.

the illumination represents, as is commonly supposed, the presentation to Edward IV. of the "*Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers*,"—a book translated from the French by Lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton in 1477, the Prince is probably meant to be delineated at about seven years of age.

The other contemporary, but now incomplete, portrait of Edward forms part of a large and splendid window, which in its original state comprehended a great variety of subjects, and, amongst them, a similar family group to that depicted at Little Malvern. This window occupies the north end of the western transept of Canterbury Cathedral, overlooking the "*Martyrdom*," and is fully described by Gostling,⁶ though no engraving of it has, I believe, ever been published. It is divided vertically into seven lights, across which are carried three horizontal ranges of continuous subjects, one above another. The middle or principal range represents Edward IV. and his Queen, their two sons, and five daughters, kneeling on each side of a crucifix, which formerly filled the central compartment of this range, but is now destroyed. During the Puritan ravages in 1642 one Richard Culmer, commonly known as "*Blue Dick*," at some risk of his own neck, demolished great part of the paintings in the window, including the central crucifix and all the figures of the higher and lower ranges, representing the Almighty, the Virgin Mary "*in seven several glorious appearances*," St. Thomas à Becket, and various other "*Popish Saints*."⁷ He spared, however, the interesting, and fortunately not "*idolatrous*," figures of the royal House of York. But whether by an accidental flourish of his iconoclastic pike, or by mischance on some other occasion, the head of the Prince of Wales was unfortunately destroyed,

⁶ *Op. Cit.* pp. 208–212, 329–345. It is also mentioned by Mr. Winston, as having, in common with the Little Malvern Window, "*a remarkably soft and silvery appearance*." *Hints on Glass-Painting*, p. 113.

⁷ This achievement is related with some pride by the performer himself in a narrative quoted by Gostling, p. 210. "*A minister*," he tells us, "*was on the top of the city ladder, near sixty steps high, with a whole pike in his hand, rattling down proud Becket's glassie bones, when others then present would*

not venture so high." Gostling adds, but not on Blue Dick's authority, that "*a townsman, who was among those who were looking at him, desired to know what he was doing. 'I am doing the work of the Lord,' says he. 'Then,' replied the other, 'If it please the Lord, I will help you;'*" and threw a stone with so good a will, that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making." This incident is somewhat differently told by Dart, *History of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, p. 29.

and had been, before Gostling's time, "replaced by the fair face of a mitred saint." Edward's figure occupies a corresponding compartment to that at Little Malvern, the second from the left, between the Duke of York and the King, and is in a similar attitude, kneeling beside a desk with an open book.

There remains, however, another portrait of the Prince, which, though not strictly contemporary, was certainly executed for, and possibly by, one who had seen him. It is one of four paintings on a screen outside the Choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, representing, on a scale somewhat less than life, Edward son of Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., and Henry VII. An inscription below commemorates Dr. Oliver King, Canon of Windsor, successively Secretary to all these royal persons, whose lineaments he gratefully desired to record for posterity. As this inscription mentions King's promotion to the Bishopric of Exeter in 1492, but not his translation in 1495 to Bath and Wells, nor his death in 1503, it must apparently have been executed during his episcopate at Exeter, that is, from nine to twelve years after the murder of Edward V.; and with the inscription the paintings were obviously contemporary. There is, therefore, hardly sufficient reason for rejecting the authenticity of the portrait simply from the lateness of its date, as Sir Samuel Meyrick was inclined to do;⁸ though it must be admitted that the features of all the four heads, as published by Carter, have but little individuality. It is remarkable that above the figure of Edward is represented, as if in the air, the very "crowne hoveringe over hys heade," which Habington erroneously introduces in his account of Little Malvern. We may thence, perhaps, conjecture that the passage already cited from that topographer was not written or corrected in presence of the window he was describing, but in his own study, where his memory betrayed him into a slight confusion between the Prince's portrait at Little Malvern and another which he had probably seen many years before at Windsor.

Of Elizabeth of York before her marriage the only other known portrait is in the Canterbury window. She is there represented in the compartment next behind her mother,

⁸ See the text to Plate I. of Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture in England*.

kneeling at a desk with an open book, just as at Little Malvern. The likeness, however, like Prince Edward's, is imperfect, for the original face has been replaced by that of another person.

As Queen of Henry VII., we have various portraits of her, real or reputed. One of them, indeed, can be accepted as authoritative, the effigy on the well-known royal tomb in Westminster Abbey, sculptured by Torrigiano. Two other queenly portraits, however, to which her name has been attached, require a passing notice, rather from the interest of the two monuments of bygone art in which they occur, than from any weight of evidence connecting them with Elizabeth. The first is in the curious historical tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, a notice of which was communicated by Mr. Scharf to the Society of Antiquaries in 1856.⁹ A letter from Mr. J. G. Nichols is published in Mr. Scharf's paper, in which it is suggested that the royal figures represented might be Henry VII. and Elizabeth, who were admitted as Brother and Sister of Trinity Guild at Coventry in 1499, a date doubtless according with the costumes, and with the general style of the tapestry. Mr. Scharf, however, does not seem to adopt this suggestion; and to me the balance of argument appears certainly in favour of the traditional belief, that the King and Queen intended are Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, who were admitted into the four united Guilds of Trinity, St. Mary, St. John, and St. Catherine, in 1456, though this interpretation may involve the supposition that the artist committed the not very uncommon anachronism of attiring his predecessors in the dress of his contemporaries. The second portrait is a kneeling figure in a side light of the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster. This is stated, in the marginal inscription on an engraving of the window published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1768, to be Elizabeth of York.¹ Mr. Winston, however, has justly argued, both from the figure of St. Catherine above the Queen, the pomegranate in an upper light, and the artistic style of the glass, which he considers as late as 1526, that the person intended is Catherine of Arragon.²

⁹ *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 438. Two coloured plates of the principal figures are given by Mr. Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii. pl. 47, 48.

¹ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. pl. xxvi. Cf. the descriptive text to pl. xli., xlii., of the same volume, p. 7.

² *Hints on Glass-Painting*, p. 180, note

Several panel pictures exist, representing Elizabeth after her marriage, but it is unnecessary here to investigate their respective claims to authenticity. One, belonging to the Earl of Essex, is engraved by Lodge;³ and three others are now to be seen in the National Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington. These all represent the Queen, who lived till the 11th of February, 1503, in the gable-shaped head-dress of her later age. It would be difficult, however, to distinguish from any of her portraits that remarkable beauty which is spoken of by writers of her time, or even to identify the "fair hair" which is mentioned by Leland, and thus curiously referred to in a contemporary poem, entitled, "The Most Pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy," which was written by Humphrey Brereton, himself an actor in the scenes he describes.⁴ When appealing to Lord Stanley to rise in favour of Richmond against her uncle Richard, and unable at first to persuade him—

" Then from her head she cast her attire,
Her colour changed as pale as lead,
Her face, that shoon as the gold wire,
She tair it of beside her head."

In the Canterbury window, if Gostling may be relied on, the fair locks were duly portrayed; for he says that "the hair of all the five Princesses is golden;" which implies that, though the face of Elizabeth was lost, her tresses remained. But I confess to some doubt whether the writer has not confounded the hair with part of the head-gear, which is hardly likely to have differed much from the fashion of the time, as shown at Little Malvern.

The window at Canterbury supplies us also with trustworthy representations of the three younger sisters, originally identified by inscriptions underneath.⁵ With them appears the Princess Mary: and if the justice of the argument be allowed, that she was omitted at Little Malvern owing to the window having been erected after her death on the 23rd of May, 1482, we may accordingly conclude that the Canterbury window was anterior to that date.

³ Illustrious Personages, vol. i. pl. i.

⁴ Edited by Mr. Halliwell, in the Percy Society Publications, vol xx. See p. 9.

⁵ "Under each figure was the name and

quality of the person; but these have been broken, and the fragments improperly put together, with no design but to fill up the vacancies." Gostling, *loc. cit.*

The only one of the younger sisters of whom any other likeness can now be cited is Anne, who married Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, the statesman and warrior of Henry VIII.'s reign, and father, by his second wife, of the poet Surrey. An effigy of Anne is upon the high tomb, erected by her husband about 1513, at Framlingham in Suffolk.⁶ Miss Strickland also mentions "a contemporary portrait in oil colours at Norfolk House, there called Elizabeth of York," but which she believes to represent the Princess Anne.⁷

Of Cecily, whose inferior fortune, in the eyes of Sir Thomas More, probably consisted in her marriages, the first to Viscount Wells, the second to Thomas Kymbe, and who died on the 24th of August, 1507, not even a sepulchral memorial remains. She was buried in the Abbey of Quarr, in the Isle of Wight; but at the dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry, the building and its monuments were alike destroyed.⁸

A similar fate befell the monument of Catherine, who married Sir William Courtenay, and styled herself on her seal, "*Countess of Devon*, daughter, sister, and aunt of Kings."⁹ She died on the 15th of November, 1527, and was buried in Tiverton Church; but the chapel and tomb erected there by her son Henry, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, was destroyed by the populace during the Reformation.¹

In modern times a representation of three of these royal ladies has appeared, which is entitled to mention, though

⁶ A plate of this effigy is given in the Memorials of the Howard Family, privately printed by Mr. Howard of Corby Castle, App. No. vi.

⁷ Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iv. p. 64 (n.).

⁸ Green's Lives of the Princesses, vol. iii. p. 436.

⁹ This seal is engraved in Sandford, p. 372. Catherine was not strictly entitled to the rank of "Countess," as her husband died before the Earldom was formally restored after the attainder of his father. Her grandson, the unfortunate Edward Courtenay, was at once the last descendant of Edward IV. except from his eldest daughter, the last heir of the second creation of Earls of Devon, and the first Earl of the third crea-

tion in 1553, which, after lying dormant nearly three centuries, was lately revived in a collateral, but strictly male, branch of this illustrious house. Edward Courtenay died unmarried in 1556; and Habington's statement, that "of Elizabeth's sisters remaineth as now (i.e. in Charles I.'s time,) no issue," was perfectly correct.

¹ Lives of the Princesses, vol. iv. p. 42. A monument remains in the north aisle of Colyton Church, Devonshire, in honor of Margaret Courtenay, a daughter of the Princess Catherine's, who died in early youth from swallowing a fish-bone. Lyson's Devon, p. cccxxvii. The aisle of the church is now called "Choke-bone aisle."

unfortunately not to approval. Valentine Green, the mezzotinto engraver, published in 1792 a quarto volume called "*Acta Historica Reginarum Angliæ*," consisting of illustrations, both in letter-press and plates, of twelve large prints from drawings by J. G. Huck, representing historical events in which Queens of England had been actively concerned. One of these compositions exhibited "Elizabeth, Queen Dowager of Edward IV., delivering up her son Richard Duke of York to Cardinal Bouchier, A.D. 1483; and in this the Princesses Elizabeth, Cecily, and Anne, were introduced attending their mother. Plate vi. of Green's volume contains the heads of the principal characters represented in the large print; and the descriptive text states that the portraits of the three Princesses were taken from the Little Malvern window, a drawing from which was in the writer's possession. The design of reproducing the outward lineaments of the actors in English history from authentic monuments certainly deserves all praise; but unhappily the execution of that design is in the present instance so defective, as altogether to destroy its value, and even convert it into a source of error.² Not merely do the features of the young ladies in the plate present no resemblance to those in the window, but even their head-dresses are neither of Edward V.'s nor of any other historical period. The only explanation of this strange misuse of really well-selected materials seems to be deducible from the following sentence in the introduction to the book³:—"The costume of the different periods of our history has been attended to sufficiently to satisfy the antiquarian, *without disgusting the artist*; but wherever the balance has been suffered to preponderate in adjusting these matters, it has mostly been *on the side of the modern graces*!"

A few words of commemoration are due to the pious restorer of the Church at Little Malvern, and donor of the East window. In Bentham's "*History of the Cathedral of Ely*" is a short biographical notice of John Alcock, as one of the bishops of that see.⁴ His earlier career, like that of so many other eminent mediæval prelates, was divided between

² In the useful and interesting work already cited, the *Lives of the Princesses of England*, the authoress, who had probably never seen the Little Malvern window, appears to rely on Green's

Plate for her observations on the features of Anne Duchess of Norfolk. Vol. iv. p. 12.

³ *Acta Historica*, p. 12.

⁴ Second edition, p. 181-3.

diplomacy, law, politics, and divinity. After holding various offices, civil and ecclesiastical, he was created in 1472 Bishop of Rochester and Keeper of the Great Seal, and in 1475 Lord Chancellor. In 1476 he was translated to Worcester, and in the latter part of Edward IV.'s reign was Preceptor to the Prince of Wales, a post which he occupied when he dedicated the window containing his pupil's portrait. In March, 1486, Henry VII. re-appointed him Lord Chancellor; but he soon after resigned the Seals, and was translated in the same year to the Bishopric of Ely. Having discovered great irregularities in the Nunnery of St. Radegund at Cambridge, he procured a patent for its dissolution in 1497, and founded Jesus College in its place. Distinguished as an architect no less than as a scholar, he was appointed Comptroller of Works and Buildings under Henry VII., and both from official revenues, and his own private munificence, erected various edifices, but chiefly in connection with his diocese. He died in 1500, and was buried in the sumptuous chapel he had constructed for himself at the east end of the north aisle of Ely Cathedral, where his monument, though much defaced, may still be seen. Whether for the extent of his acquirements, the singular sanctity of his character, or the activity and usefulness of his public life, he was apparently one of the most remarkable men of his age. A full-length portrait of him, belonging to Jesus College, Cambridge, may now be seen in the National Portrait Exhibition. He is there represented kneeling, in full pontificals, with an open book before him, and a scroll piously inscribed—"Omnia mea tua sunt."

It is now more than twenty years since an appeal from the late Incumbent of Little Malvern fortunately called the attention of the Honorary Secretary of the Institute both to the value and the ruinous condition of the church-window.⁵ Having obtained the permission of the parish authorities, Mr. Way with his own hands took down the glass in the two lights here described (a work of no small difficulty from the decay of the leading), and having first made a cartoon on the spot, to fix the positions of the shattered fragments, he conveyed the whole to London. Mr. Winston, being then called in, made the admirable drawings which have supplied

⁵ See Mr. Dean's letter to the Institute referred to in a preceding note.

the foundation of the present notice, and superintended the releading and repair of the glass by the late Messrs. Ward and Nixon, of Frith Street, Soho. In this latter operation no lost portion was allowed to be restored, except a few mere completions of pattern-work in the accessories; those parts of the design to which no clue remained were filled up with unpainted glass. For these well-timed and discriminating repairs, as well as for the subsequent replacement of the two lights in their ancient site, archæologists will learn with pleasure that they are indebted to the liberality of Mr. Way.