

THE MEDIEVAL PAINTED GLASS OF BOUGHTON ALUPH

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THE study of glass fragments in a church is apt to become something of a detective story as we search for clues which may enable us mentally to reconstruct the fragmentary windows, or to trace their vicissitudes through the years. At Boughton Aluph, four miles north of Ashford, where the existing remains of medieval glazing are of considerable interest and importance, we are fortunate in possessing four sources of information, three in MS. and one printed, as to the state of the glass at different periods during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

They are :

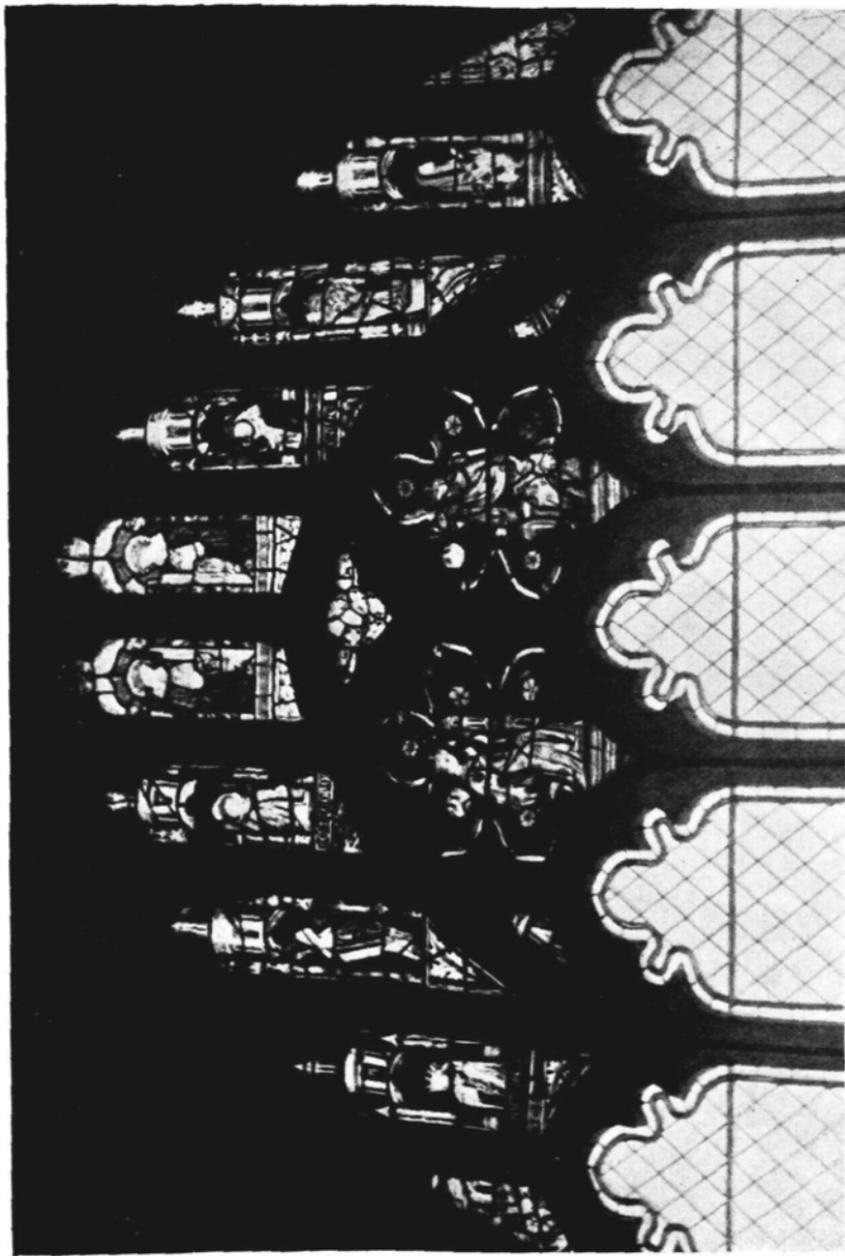
(1) British Museum Harley MS. 3917 (A), a small volume of notes, with pictures, chiefly of the heraldry in Kentish churches, written in the seventeenth century by Thomas Philipott, the herald and antiquary.

(2) MS. (B) in the possession of Dr. F. W. Cock, F.S.A., of Appledore, compiled about 1790-1800 by Zachary Cozens, author of the better known *Tour Through the Isle of Thanet*.

(3) British Museum Add. MS. 33884 (C), the Rev. Thomas Streatfeild's interleaved and annotated copy of Hasted.

(4) The Rev. Philip Parsons' *Monuments and Painted Glass of Upwards of One Hundred Churches in East Kent*, 1794.

In this paper I make use chiefly of MSS. A and B. There is abundant evidence to show that Cozens was a better and more careful worker than his contemporary, Parsons, whose mistakes are all noted and corrected (with a certain smugness) in the Appledore MS. ; and as the observations of the two men were made at the same time, and Parsons has nothing



[Photo: J. J. Masters

BOUGHTON ALUPH—EAST WINDOW OF CHANCEL.

PLATE I.

to tell us which we cannot get in a more accurate and more complete form from his rival, his work is here to be disregarded. I do not wish, however, to suggest any sweeping condemnation of Parsons' book, which was a brilliant effort for its period and has proved of great interest and value to many researchers; but his observations do at times show a lack of care which makes it desirable for them to be checked where possible. The Streatfeild MS. is also of minor importance for our purpose, since the coats of arms given therein are only copied from MS. A. Streatfeild, however, does identify the coats, whereas Philipott does not.

The plan of this paper will be to examine the glass as it now exists, and then, with the aid of the MSS., to fill up the blanks and generally to discover, as far as possible, what the windows looked like in old times.

THE EAST WINDOW OF THE CHANCEL

(Plate I).

This is a five-light Perpendicular window of late fourteenth century date, with beautiful tracery, and it contains the following contemporary glass in the tracery lights, the main lights being of modern white glass :

- (1) Half length figure of a King carrying a gold vessel.
- (2) Bishop, patched at middle.
- (3) Lower part of figure trampling on a dragon; a large head wrongly inserted above. Below, lettering CH . . . TOFOR in Lombardic capitals.
- (4) and (5) Figures of angels playing regals, or small hand organs, of different style and colour from the rest of the glass, probably of the early fifteenth century.
- (6) Another King similar to (1); below, lettering ARCANG . . .
- (7) St. Christopher.
- (8) A nun (?) praying (half length).

In the two large sexfoils at the base of the tracery are seated figures of a King and Queen.

Philipott makes no mention of this window, but Cozens has an elaborate description dated September 14th, 1794, showing that since his time an almost complete rearrangement has taken place, and much glass has been introduced from other windows. His description is as follows :

- (1) Figure broken and gone except feet which are naked and beneath them a Catherine-wheel. Motto : " Archangel."
- (2) A bishop sitting, mitred, crozier in left hand, right hand lifting a child. Motto : " Episcopus."
- (3) Figure of St. Michael standing on the dragon. Motto : " St. Michael."
- (4) and (5) An angel standing having six wings.
- (6) A King, a quiver in his right hand and an arrow in his left. Motto : " St. Edmond."
- (7) St. Christopher carrying the holy Child across a river. Motto : " St. Cristofor."
- (8) Broken and gone except the legs and wheel as (1).

He then describes the King and Queen, whom he calls male and female figures crowned with Ducal Coronets, and states finally that below the figures was a coat of arms, gules a fess argent between two cotises or, which is now gone and which I have been unable to identify. It is not unlike the Badlesmere coat, but the colours are wrong. As to the identity of the two crowned or coroneted figures several theories have been advanced : it has been suggested that they are intended for King Edward III and Queen Philippa, or for the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, though if the latter theory is correct it is curious that the figures have no nimbus. I have not found any positive evidence tending to throw light on this problem.

The changes which have been made in the glass of the tracery since 1794 are sufficiently clear from a comparison of the two descriptions given above to absolve me from much comment upon them. It is evident that the glass in lights 1, 4, 5, 6, and 8, has been introduced from some other source. The bishop (who was probably St. Willibrod) remains in

part in light 2 and the lower part of St. Michael, minus his motto, is still seen in light 3 ; the motto from light 1 has been put (incomplete) into light 6, where it bears no relation to the figure now there ; while the only figure surviving complete and in its proper place from Cozens' time is St. Christopher in light 7, whose motto has gone to light 3.

The losses, notably of the figure of St. Edmund, the six-winged cherubim, and the archangel, and the senseless alterations, are very lamentable, and can only be attributed to the so-called "restorers" of the nineteenth century. The King now in light 6 is certainly not the one seen by Cozens: he and his companion in light 1 have to me the appearance of Magi from a Nativity scene, but as to where this scene may have been located we have no clue. The lady who looks like a nun in light 8 may have come from the north chancel, where no old glass now remains, but where Cozens notes a "whole length figure with the hands closed in prayer" in the second window from the west end. This figure must have been fairly small in proportion to the size of the window, and may have been cut down to fit its new position.

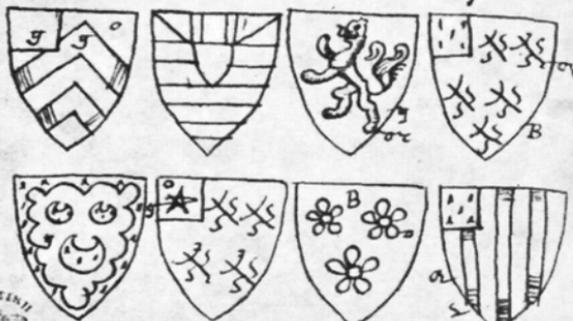
There seems to have been a fair amount of old glass in the north chancel in Cozens' time, but apart from the figure already mentioned the only piece he describes is a "whole length figure of a female with the hands erect" in the east window.

THE NORTH WINDOW OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT

This is a five light Decorated window of the fourteenth century, and the following coats of arms are to be seen in the tracery lights, the main lights being filled with plain glass :

- (1) Barry of six or and azure (PEMBRIDGE).
- (2) Azure a bend argent between six lions rampant or (BOHUN).
- (3) The Royal arms of England with a label argent (EDWARD the Black Prince).
- (4) Blank shield.

S^r Bartholmew Burwash. In y^e
 west window Kmalinge in his
 Coate of Armes. as a Barron.
 In y^e same window Thre.



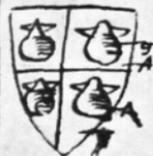
In the quire.

Hic sacet Johannes Frobody huius ecclesie Rector

Hic sacet Johannes Smart.
 Rector istius Ecclesie Thre.
 Armes are pulled away.

In Bredgar Church are Nor.
 Armes. Remayn in q^r /
 In Wiclingo Church No Armes

Thre. 2
 In y^e north
 side y^e quire



- (5), (6) and (7) Edward the Black Prince as No. 3.
 (8) Argent a cross azure (? PAVELEY).
 (9) Much discoloured but apparently or a chevron gules (ST. LEGER).
 (10) Also discoloured, but apparently quarterly argent and gules (HOO).
 (11) Barry of six or and azure with the chief paly and the corners gyronny with an escutcheon ermine (MORTIMER, Earl of March).

This window is mentioned by Cozens, from whom we gather that in his time there were three Bohun shields instead of one, and two other coats now missing, viz. barry of six or and vert a baston gules (POYNINGS), and gules three lions rampant or, a chief of the second semée of fleurs de lis sable (unidentified). The Black Prince's shields are noted, but not those of Hoo and St. Leger and that attributed to Paveley, nor that of Mortimer, which has apparently been introduced from the west window of the nave, to which we now come.

THE WEST WINDOW OF THE NAVE.

The beautiful fourteenth century Decorated tracery of this five light window retains its original glass, consisting entirely of decorative pieces of various colours arranged in patterns, foliage, etc. The main lights contain no old glass.

We learn from our authorities that this may well have been the most interesting window in the church, since it contained, in addition to numerous shields shortly to be described, "y^e figures of the Lord Bohun Earle of Hartford yn his Coate of Armry wth his wife behinde him."¹ Philipott's note was intended to be accompanied by a sketch of the figures, but this was never completed, and remains in pencil outline, very faint and without any detail. Our authority continues (f. 58b): "S^r Bartholmew Burwashe. In y^e west window kneelinge in his Coate of Armes as a

¹ MS. A, f. 58.

Barron ” ; and then gives sketches (Plate II) of the following eight shields which were also to be seen in the window in his time :

- (1) Or two chevrons and a canton gules (CRIOL).
- (2) Barry or and azure with the chief paly and the corners gyronny with an escutcheon ermine (MORTIMER, see No. 11 in the north transept window).
- (3) Gules a lion rampant double queued or (BURGHESH, called Burwashe above).
- (4) Azure five lioncels rampant or, a canton ermine (CHENEY of Shurland, Isle of Sheppey).
- (5) Gules three crescents and a bordure engrailed ermine (ALDON).
- (6) Four lioncels, on a canton or a molet gules (KIRKBY).
- (7) Azure three cinquefoils or (BARDOLF).
- (8) Paly or and vert a canton ermine (BASSETT).

Cozens also notes these arms, with the exception of Nos. 7 and 8, which may have disappeared by 1794, but wrongly attributes No. 3 to Fitzalan of Clun. He also amplifies Philipott's description by giving a blazon of the arms of Bohun, viz. azure on a bend cotised argent between six lions rampant or three molets gules (a simplified form of which we have seen in the north window of the north transept) and the crest, out of a ducal coronet gules a cap argent between two elephants' tusks or. The Burghersh and Bohun figures had disappeared by 1794. MS. C also has an additional item of information in the shape of a drawing of the arms of Lady Bohun, gules three roses (or cinquefoils) argent, assumed by inference in an accompanying note to indicate that the lady was Maud de Avenesbury. I am inclined to question the shield, about which Streatfeild himself is uncertain enough to be in doubt as to the correct charges ; and in the absence of any evidence of where his information was acquired I take the view that the lady was Elizabeth de Badlesmere, and her husband

William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton. This matter is further dealt with below.

Two other coats of arms not yet mentioned are noted in MS. A and copied in MS. C. They are said to have been "in y^e north side y^e quire,"¹ and were azure on a chief indented or three molets gules (MOORE) and quarterly argent and gules four escallops counterchanged (BURTON). Both these coats are or were also in the windows of Tunstall church.

THE HERALDRY OF THE WINDOWS

The presence in Boughton Aluph church of all these shields of arms, many of them of families having no known connection with the place, presents a problem of considerable interest, upon which a good deal of light is thrown by Mrs. Gardiner in her paper printed elsewhere in this volume. We see there that early in the fourteenth century Robert de Burghersh was consolidating his possessions and acquiring land in Boughton Aluph, land which descended not to Sir Bartholomew Burghersh as stated by Hasted but to Maud, only child of Robert's son Stephen. The presence of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh's figure in the west window therefore seems improbable, as he had no direct connection with Boughton Aluph, and as early as Streatfeild's time it had been suggested that the figure was more likely to have been that of his father, Robert, who was lord of the manor and the principal landowner of the parish, or of Stephen the father of Maud. Maud married first Sir Walter de Paveley (shield 8 in north transept window) who was dead by 1327, and secondly, before 1332, Sir Thomas de Aldon, the King's Yeoman (shield 5 in Philipott's list) both of whom were successively lords of the manor. The earlier and later stages of the story may be read in Mrs. Gardiner's paper.

But a large number of shields have yet to be accounted for. Those of Mortimer and Bohun present little difficulty. Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere and niece of Sir Robert de Burghersh of Boughton Aluph, married

¹ MS. A, f. 59.

first Edmund, eldest son of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and secondly, William de Bohun, created Earl of Northampton in 1337, who most probably is the figure formerly represented in the west window. Whether he was also Earl of Hertford, thus bearing out Philipott's description, I am not clear.

The Criol and Poynings shields owe their presence in the church to the fact that these families held the small manor of Seaton in the parish. John de Criol is recorded as lord of this manor in 48 Henry III, holding it "by knight's service in grand sergeantry, to provide one man, called a *vautrer*, to lead three greyhounds when the King should go into Gascony, until he had worn out a pair of shoes of the price of four-pence, bought at the King's cost."¹ John's granddaughter Joan carried the manor by marriage to Sir Richard de Rokesley, who held it in 11 Edward II, and whose eldest daughter and co-heir Agnes married Thomas de Poynings and entitled him to the possession of it.²

It can hardly be a coincidence that almost all the remaining shields, as Mrs. Gardiner points out, may be shown to be those of colleagues of Sir Thomas de Aldon in the King's service, and the inference is that Sir Thomas was responsible not only for the insertion of much of the glass but also, perhaps, for the rebuilding of the nave, and received subscriptions towards the work from his friends. This is by no means the only instance in Kent of the display of subscribers' coats of arms on ecclesiastical monuments. The classic example is, of course, the cloister of Christchurch, Canterbury, but a number of smaller works, e.g. the west window at Mersham (c. 1400), and the font in Herne church (1405-14) show the same practice. It is interesting to note that the Aldon shield appears both at Canterbury and at Herne.

Among the King's officers whose family arms appeared at Boughton were William de Hoo (shield 10 in north transept window), Keeper of the Wardrobe to Edmund, Earl of Kent, 1330-33, Keeper of the Wardrobe to Edward, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, 1339, or John de Hoo, the

¹ Hasted, VII, 388.

² Hasted, *ibid.*

King's Yeoman, 1337-9¹; William de Kirkeby (shield 6 in Philipott's list), Treasurer, Clerk and Attorney to Queen Philippa, 1337-9²; Ralph de la More (shield in MS. A, f. 59), Clerk of the Works at Windsor Castle³ or Bertram de la More the King's Sergeant⁴; John de Burton (shield in MS. A, f. 59), the King's Clerk⁵ or Thomas de Burton the King's Sumpter-man⁶; Sir John Bardolf (shield 7 in Philipott's list), Keeper of the Maritime Lands in co. Norfolk⁷; Edmund de Cheyne (shield 4 in Philipott's list), Keeper of the Palace of Westminster, 1330-33⁸ or William de Cheyne, Kt., who held lands and chattels in Kent, including a moiety of the manor of "Patrikesburn";⁹ Ralph Bassett (shield 8 in the same list) of Drayton, Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports c. 1326¹⁰; and Richard de Pembrugge (shield 1 in north transept), Keeper of Droslan Castle in 1329 and the holder of various offices in Herefordshire.¹¹ The connection in this last case would probably be through Edward de Bohun, Justice of North Wales, or the other Bohun interests in Herefordshire.

It only remains for me to express my thanks to those whose help has made the preparation of this paper possible. To Mrs. Gardiner I am indebted for the references to the King's officers without which so many of the shields would be meaningless; to Mr. Francis Wormald of the British Museum for information about MS. C; to Dr. F. W. Cock, F.S.A., for allowing me access to MS. B; and to Mr. Ralph Griffin, F.S.A., for important heraldic information.

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1330-33, p. 25; 1339-41, pp. 336-7; 1337-9, p. 220.

² *Ibid.*, 1337-9, pp. 111, 284, 394; 1339, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 1327-30, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1330-33, p. 262.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1339-41, p. 263.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102; Sir Thomas de Aldon held the corresponding post in Kent.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1330-33, p. 505.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1327-30, p. 533 (1329); 1333-7, p. 275. He was dead by 1334 (*Ibid.*, p. 320).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1323-7, p. 534 etc.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1327-30, p. 354.