



HENGRAVE HALL.

Photo, C. Woodforde.

Banqueting Hall. Arms of Cavendish and Kytson.

Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History.

THE STAINED AND PAINTED GLASS IN HENGRAVE HALL, SUFFOLK.

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In 1521 Sir Thomas Kytson, or "Kytson the Merchant" as he was known to his contemporaries, contracted with Edward, Duke of Buckingham for the purchase of the Manor of Hengrave. He began to build the Hall in 1525 and completed it in thirteen years.

The painted glass is by no means the least beautiful part of this magnificent house. It may be divided into three portions: (i) Armorial glass painted for windows of the house. (ii) Armorial glass now in windows of the house, but brought from elsewhere, often being earlier in date than the house itself. (iii) The twenty-one panels, showing Biblical subjects, in the great east window of the chapel.

John Gage, in his *History and Antiquities of Hengrave*, (London, 1822), describes in detail the armorial glass in the cloisters and banqueting hall, and gives, in bare outline, the subject-matter of the chapel window glass. In the main his notes are correct, but he makes a few slips, and certain shields of arms are now moved from the windows where he saw them.

CLOISTERS.

I. *a.* Azure, three crowns or, St. Edmund or East Anglia. *b.* Quarterly, 1. arg. a cross engrailed gu. between four water-bougets sa. Bourchier. 2. gu. a fess arg. between fourteen billets or, Lovayne. 3. quarterly, per fesse indented erm. and gu. Fitzwarren. 4. gu. a fret or, Audley. 5. gu. three oak-leaves arg. Cogan. 6. sa. a chevron barry nebulé arg. and gu. Hankford. 7. gu. two bendlets wavy (in outline only),

Brewer. 8. arg. two bars gu. each charged with three besants, Martin. 9. gu. a fess dancetté erm. Dinham. 10. gu. three arches or, Archer. The whole impales Sa. three luces haurient arg. a chief or Kytson, impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, paly of six arg. and az. on a chief three besants, Donnington. 2 and 3, arg. a chevron between three mullets gu. Broughton. Supporters, on dexter side a falcon arg. on sinister side a lion gu. collared and chained or. Below, upon a scroll, *Bon temps viendra*.

This very complicated coat is for John Bouchier, Earl of Bath, and Margaret his wife. The second wife of Sir Thomas Kytson was Margaret, only child of John Donnington, of Stoke Newington, co. Middlesex. After the death of Sir Thomas Kytson she married Sir Richard Long, of Shingay, co. Cambs. At the end of 1547 she married John Bouchier, Earl of Bath. A grand monument in Hengrave church bears the recumbent effigies of the Earl and Countess and of Sir Thomas Kytson.

c. Arg. a lion rampant gu. debruised by a bend az. charged with three besants, Bokenham. Hugh Bokenham was the supervisor of the will of Thomas Hethe, of Hengrave Hall, who died in 1439. The shield may be dated in the second half of the 15th century.

II. a. Quarterly. 1 and 4, vert, a lion rampant az, vulned in the shoulder gu. Robsart. 2 and 3, Bouchier. This shield is of early 15th century date. b. Kytson. c. Arg. a squirrel sejant eating a nut, gu. impaling arg. on a chevron, between three wyverns' heads erased sa. langued or, a cross flory of the first. Gage leaves this coat unidentified, but it is said to represent alliances of the Squire family. The glass is of the 15th century.

III. a. Quarterly, 1 and 4, arg. a fesse between two chevronels gu. Peche. 2 and 3, az. three chevronels or. Aspal. Sir John Aspal, of Lackford, and Catherine (Peche) his wife were alive in 1366. Their grandson, Thomas Gedding, assumed the coat and it is probably he who is commemorated in this coat. b. Kytson. c. Or, on a chevron within a bordure engrailed gu. a mitre of the field, John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1443-1452.

IV. *a.* Arg. a chief indented gu. Hengrave. The date of the glass best accords with Sir Thomas de Hemegrave, Lord of the Manor of Hengrave, who died in 1419. *b.* Kytson. *c.* Sa. a bend arg. cottised dancetté or, an ermine spot in a chief arg. Clopton. Date, last quarter of the 15th century.

UPPER CORRIDOR.

In each window is the coat of Kytson. Sir Thomas Kytson bore Sa. three luces hauriant arg. on a chief or, a lion rampant of the field gutté of the chief, between two pellets; on the first pellet a martlet, on the second an anchor of the chief. This coat was granted in 1527. It appears in one window. Sir Thomas Kytson, the son and heir, simplified this coat, receiving a fresh grant in 1568. He bore Sa. three luces hauriant arg. a chief or. It is plain that he had the arms (save the one mentioned) in the Upper Corridor changed, the plain yellow *chief* being substituted for that bearing further charges of his father's coat. Both grants of arms are preserved at Hengrave, and are fine examples of their periods.

Gage, speaking of the glass once to be seen in Hengrave church, gives the following information: "Sir John Cullum, who visited the church in 1778, notices that the coats of arms in the cloisters of Hengrave Hall, were taken from the two north windows (of the chancel)."* This can hardly be true of the shields bearing the arms of the Kytsons and the allied families, for these were obviously painted for the Hall and, probably, for their present positions. Cullum must refer to the earlier arms, such as those of Bokenham, Aspal, Hengrave and Archbishop Stafford.

BANQUETING HALL.

The oriel window contains ten shields of arms.

a. Kytson. *b.* Arms of the Earl of Bath, like that in the first cloister window. *c.* Kytson impaling Donnington. *d.* Kytson, quarterly with Donnington, impaling Sa. on a cross, ingrailed, between four eagles displayed

**Hist. Hengrave*, p. 39.

arg. five lions passant of the field, Paget. In 1557 Sir Thomas Kytson II married Jane, daughter of William Lord Paget. *e.* Kytson, quarterly with Donnington, impaling 1. sa. gutté d'eau, on a fesse arg. three cornish choughs. Cornwallis, 2. sa. three bars gemelles arg. on a canton of the second a crescent of the field, Bucton, 3. sa. a cross moline or, Braham, 4. arg. a bend between six crosslets fitché sa. Teye. 5. arg. within a bordure engrailed gu. two chevronels az. Tyrrel. 6. az. a chevron between three sea-pies arg. Stamford. Sir Thomas Kytson II married secondly, in 1560, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Brome, co. Suffolk.

This shield is surrounded with a beautiful border, showing cupids, cornucopia and satyrs holding masks.

f. Quarterly, 1 and 4. sa. three harts' heads caboched arg. attired or, Cavendish. 2 and 3, arg. a chevron sa. between three crosslets, gu. Smith, impaling Kytson quartering Donnington. Below *Cauendysh & Kytsonne*. In 1582 Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Kytson II, married Sir Charles Cavendish, of Welbeck Abbey, co. Notts.

g. Quarterly, 1. arg. three cinquefoils gu., Darcy. 2. arg. a fesse between six oak leaves gu. Fitzlangley, 3. arg. a fess erminois between two bars gemelles sa. Harleston. 4. arg. a chevron, in the dexter canton an annulet sa. Wauton. 5, gu. a goat salient arg. Bardwell. 6. quarterly gu. and arg. in the first quarter an eagle displayed vert, Pakenham; the whole impaling Kytson. Mary, the third child of Sir Thomas Kytson II married, in 1583, Thomas, Lord Darcy, Earl Rivers. Thomas, Lord Darcy, thus came into possession of Hengrave. The marriage was not a happy one. †

Gage does not mention this shield as being in the oriel window. He saw the arms of Darcy, of Cavendish and the Royal arms in a window over the gate-house, but the Darcy and Cavendish shields differs from those in the banqueting hall, having supporters, in the one case of griffons, in the other unicorns. ‡ The gate-house shields have disappeared.

†Gage, *Hist. Hengrave*, pp. 214 ff.

‡Gage, *Hist. Hengrave*, pp. 18-19.

These last two shields are a pair, as is shown by their size, shape and type of mantling. Some beautiful water-colour copies of these and other shields by John Pizay, done in 1748, illustrate a MS. book written by Sir Thomas Gage. This book, in several volumes, is entitled *Remains of Antiquities in the County of Suffolk*, 1813. These water-colours show that of the names below these two shields only *Kytsonne* and *L. Darcy &* are old glass.

h. Quarterly, 1 and 4, sa. a lion rampant between eight crosslets arg. Long. 2, arg. on a chief gu. a besant, between two stags' heads caboched or, Bradley. 3. gu. two wings conjoined in lure, a crescent for difference or, Seymour. This shield is set upon a patterned blue background within a border done in white glass and "stain." Sir Richard Long, of Shingay and Hardwick, co. Cambs, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry VIII, Master of the Buckhounds and Hawks, Captain of Guernsey, married Magaret, widow of Sir Thomas Kytson I.

i. Upon a patterned blue background, Nebulé arg. and az. a chief quarterly, 1 and 4, gu. a lion passant guardant or, 2 and 3, two roses of the third, Merchant Adventurers. Of this company Sir Thomas Kytson was a prominent member.

j. Quarterly, 1 and 4, arg. two bars with three mullets in chief gu. (Here they are in outline), Washington. 2 and 3, az. a cross flory between four cinquefoils or, Laurence. Crest, a demi-eagle with wings addorsed sable, issuing from a ducal coronet or, and charged on the breast with a crescent of the second. There is also a crescent on the shield. The arms are dated 1598. Margaret, the sister of Sir Thomas Kytson I, married John Washington, of Wharton. "Their second son Thomas was apprenticed to Sir Thomas Kytson to learn the mysteries of the London Mercers' Company."* The crescent on arms and crest is the "difference" for the second son. The special interest of this shield lies in the fact that upon the Washington arms is founded the flag of the United States of America, George Washington being the first President.

*T. Paper, *The Washington Coat of Arms, Connoisseur*, Vol. 89, p. 106. The Hengrave Hall shield of arms is illustrated on p. 102.

LIBRARY.

This series of shields has an interesting history.† They were originally in windows of New Buckenham church, co. Norfolk, together with a great deal more painted glass. They found their way into the hands of a Thetford glazier named Burrel. At the beginning of the 19th century they were bought by Sir Thomas Gage Rokewood. His reason for buying them was doubtless because the bearings of Stafford and Grey are among those represented, and the families of Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham, and of Lord Grey of Codnor had been connected with Hengrave Hall.

The arms are as follows: *a.* Quarterly, 1 and 4, arg. within a bordure engrailed a bend sa. Knevet. 2 and 3, chequy or and gu. a bend erm. Clifton. Over it, in black-letter, *Knyvet et Knyvet*. Prince Duleep Singh calls this a "somewhat curious inscription," but offers no explanation of it. A lead comes immediately after the first word; it seems likely, therefore, that one half of the inscription comes from above some other shield.

b. Quarterly, 1. within a bordure arg. France and England quartered, Plantagenet "Woodstock," 2 and 3, az. on a bend arg. cottised between six lioncels or three pierced mullets gu. Bohun. 4. or, a chevron gu. Stafford.

c. Quarterly, 1 and 4, or, three torteaux gu. Courtney. 2 and 3, or a lion rampant azure. Redvers, impaling England and France quarterly within a bordure arg. and az. Beaufort, over az. a bend cottised arg. between six lioncels or, Bohun.

d. Quarterly, 1 and 4, barry of six arg. and az. in chief three torteaux, a crescent or for difference, Grey. 2, quarterly quartered, 1. gu. within a bordure or a maunche of the second, Hastings. 2 and 3, barruly arg. and az. an orle of martlets gu. Valence. 3. Hastings quartering Valence. Above the shield, *Gray Rythyn, ye erle of Kent*.

†It has been fully worked out by Prince F. Duleep Singh with the help of the Rev. Edmund Farrer—*Armorial Glass in Old and New Buckenham Churches, Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. XV, pp. 324 ff and illustrations.

The last three shields represent the bearings of the three wives of Sir W. Knevet, 1. Alice, granddaughter of Reginald, Lord Grey de Ruthyn. 2. Joan, daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. 3. Joan, daughter of Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devon.

e. Quarterly, 1 and 4, bendy arg. and gu. Cailly. 2 and 3, gu. a lion rampant or, Albini. Above it, *Arundel et Sussex*. Prince Duleep Singh says that this inscription is wrong, as the Cailleys were never Earls of Arundel and Sussex. † Again, it seems probable that the mistake was made by the glazier, when the glass was put into the Hall windows.

f. Quarterly, 1 and 4, chequy or and gu. a bend arg. Clifton. 1 and 3, chequy or and gu. a chief erm. Tattershall. Over it, *Cayle et Tatysha* (11).

g. h. Quarterly, 1 and 4, bendy arg. and gu. Cailley. 2 and 3, chequy or and gu. a bend erm. Clifton.

STUDY.

Here are two shields of arms of late 14th century date. One shows England quartering France. The lions of England are drawn in outline only on a yellow field. The shield is set upon a quatrefoil-shaped panel, plainly once in the Decorated tracery of some church window.

The other shield shows Arg. a lion rampant az. for Bures. At Hengrave Hall is preserved a magnificent MS. history of Hengrave. This was the work of Sir John Gage and upon it his printed *History* is based. In it is a note by another hand, probably that of Sir Thomas Gage, concerning this shield. It states that the shield was originally in Welnetham church, but that in 1823 it came from "Major Leathe's house" in Bury St. Edmunds as a gift to Hengrave Hall.

LONG GALLERY.

In one window are the following shields: *a.* England quartering France impaling the many-quartered coat of Queen Catherine of Aragon. The shield is set within a pleasant green wreath. The supporters are a lion and

†*Ib.*, p. 330.

a red dragon. On a scroll below *DIEV ET MON DROET*. Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon in 1509. He questioned the validity of the marriage in 1527. The shield is not likely to have been painted much after that date.

b. St. Edward the Confessor. *c.* East Anglia. *d.* See of Ely. These three shields are of late 15th or early 16th century date.

c. Sa. three bull's heads coupé or, Crofts, impaling Kytson. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Kytson by his first wife (of unknown name) married Edmund Crofts, of West Stow, co. Suffolk. This shield was originally in the oriel window in the banqueting hall, according to a note added to Sir Thomas Gage's MS. *Remains of Antiquities in the County of Suffolk*.

In another window are three shields of arms. *a.* Kytson impaling Donnington. Another note in the volume just quoted says that this shield was moved from the second window in the cloister in 1849. *b.* Arms of Gage. *c.* Arms of Darcy. These shields seem to be of comparatively modern workmanship.

A small window in the west tower contains an interesting early 16th century fragment. It shows a crowned female head upon a patterned red background. The whole panel is in the shape of a shield.

MORNING ROOM.

Here are two shields of arms. One shows Quarterly, 1. vert, a chevron erm. charged with an annulet between three wethers, Wethaby. 2. per chevron gu. and lozengy arg. and az. in chief two doves of the second counter volant. 3. or, on a cross gu. five escallops arg. 4. or, a chevron gu. between three torteaux. This shield was acquired at the same time as the shields in the library from the Thetford glazier, but it is not so certainly from New Buckenham church. Of the second quarter of the shield Prince Duleep Singh says that "it is a puzzle. Mr. Farrer informs me that he has met with nothing approaching it in English heraldry."*

**Op. cit.*, pp. 328, 331.

The other shield shows Kytson impaling Paget. According to a note added to the MS. of John Gage's *Antiquities* this shield was given to Hengrave Hall in 1823.

In the window, also, are two 14th century roundels, with floral designs in green, red and blue glass, within yellow borders.

THE CHAPEL.

The great east window of the chapel is built in the form of a triptych. There are twenty-one lights filled with painted glass of the highest quality and to be dated in the first quarter of the 16th century. The subjects range from The Creation of the World to the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment. They read from the left across the window. In many of the panels the main subject has above and behind it subsidiary subjects, a practise not uncommon at this period. Great care and skill have been lavished upon the subsidiary subjects. In describing the subject-matter the main subject in each panel will be described first.

I. The Deity, dressed in purple robe and holding an orb, emits breath from His mouth to create a circular, blue and fluid world. The world is drawn in diminishing circles, in which are set mystical signs, including those of the Zodiac. The whole is set against a landscape and upon a red background painted to represent clouds.

II. The creation of animals and birds. At the top of the panel is a demi-figure of the Deity, in red robes, supported upon clouds and cherubim. Below are trees and water shown as wide rivers. Among the birds are a hawk with its prey in its claws, swans and peacocks; among the fishes are dolphins and eels.

III. Adam is created from the dust. Beyond trees are stags, and a bear is seen in the foreground. In the sky is a flight of swans.

IV. The Deity raises Eve out of the side of Adam, who lies asleep. Behind is a walled city (or, perhaps, a wall surrounding the Garden of Eden), and a river with large white boulders in it.

V. The Expulsion. An angel, in red and purple garments, drives forth Adam and Eve. Behind are city walls and Adam and Eve eating from the Tree of Knowledge which is covered with prominent golden fruit.

VI. On the left Adam digs. He wears a white garment with short dagged sleeves and yellow hem. On the right Eve sits and suckles Abel. Cain plays at her feet. The representation, in the background, of angels guarding the entrance to the Garden is modern work.

VII. *a.* The Flood. Noah and his family stand in the Ark. Noah is a finely dressed figure, as is the young man in green garments standing next to him. Various kinds of animals gaze out of the port-holes and also from a turret at one end of the ark. One half of the ark is of modern workmanship.

b. The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The towers of a city topple over and flames burst from its gates. An angel leads Lot and his family away. Lot's wife looks back and is turned into a pillar of salt.

VIII. *a.* The Annunciation. The Blessed Virgin Mary kneels at a prayer desk. From a demi-figure of the Diety descends a Dove in a glory. The Archangel Gabriel wears a white garment and has brilliant red wings. *b.* The Visitation. The Blessed Virgin Mary is greeted by St. Elizabeth outside the house of Zacharias.

IX. *a.* The Nativity is represented, as in continental MSS. and pictures, outside a delapidated stone-built shed. The Blessed Virgin kneels and St. Joseph stands before the Babe, who lies upon the full skirt of the Blessed Virgin's robe which is spread upon the ground. In the sky is a large star and an angel holding an un-inscribed scroll. *b.* The Appearance of the Angels to the Shepherds. The angels are drawn in outline in the blue sky. The shepherds tend their sheep. *c.* The shepherds hasten to the stable.

X. The Presentation. Simeon, receiving the Child into his arms, is represented as a tonsured and vested bishop. His mitre lies on the altar. Behind him is a tonsured attendant. St. Joseph carries the offering in a

basket and a candle. Most of the archway above is modern work.

XI. The Adoration of the Kings. One of the Kings is represented as a negro with large ear-rings in the form of bells. From the point of view of composition and colouring this is one of the most striking panels in the window.

XII. *a.* The Flight into Egypt. The ass is drawn in a spirited manner. It lowers its head to eat from a large tuft of yellow grass. *b.* The Massacre of the Innocents represented as taking place amidst trees in a walled town.

XIII. *a.* Christ in the Temple. The Child Jesus is represented as sitting upon a high throne with green brocaded back and golden tester. Below are the Doctors. On the extreme right appear The Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph. *b.* The Baptism. The Holy Dove descends from the Father. There appears also the usual attendant angel holding a towel.

XIV. *a.* The Entry into Jerusalem. Our Lord rides upon an animal much more like a horse than an ass. That the artist could vividly portray the latter is clear from the "Flight into Egypt" scene. Beneath the animal's hoofs are yellow garments. A tunic of similar colour is worn by Zacchaeus, who sits upon a branch of a tree. Two people peer through windows set above the city gate. *b.* The Temptation, in three scenes. *c.* The Raising of Lazarus.

XV. *a.* The Last Supper. Our Lord hands the sop, in the form of a large wafer, to Judas Iscariot. Noticeable is the chair upon which one disciple sits. Behind is a large sideboard with various pieces of plate and candlesticks set thereon. *b.* The Washing of the Disciples' Feet. The towel hangs upon a rail above their heads. *c.* The Agony. Jesus kneels before an angel holding a chalice. To the left the three Disciples asleep; to the right Judas leads soldiers out of the city over a bridge. The angel and the soldiers are modern work.

XVI. *a.* The Betrayal. Judas Iscariot salutes Christ. St. Peter cuts off Malchus' ear. One soldier

holds a brazier upon a long pole. *b.* A scene, the significance of which is not apparent. Two soldiers are stopped by a man in lay dress, who points backward to a walled city. Below, the two soldiers proceed alone.

XVII. *a.* The Flagellation. Our Lord is bound to a brilliant red pillar. One of the executioners wields a green birch rod, the other a scourge. Behind, a number of Priests and Levites look over a balcony. *b.* The Mocking. One soldier strikes Christ with a long yellow pole; another places a palm in His hand.

XVIII. Two scenes occupying about half the panel each. *a.* In the lower part the Procession to Calvary. *b.* In the upper part, the Crucifixion. The thieves are crucified upon either side. Their souls are represented as ascending, the one as an angel the other as a devil. Above the cross are the sun and moon with faces. To the right Longinus the Centurion pierces our Lord's side, and the Blessed Virgin swoons in the arms of St. John. St. Mary Magdalen clasps the cross. To the left are soldiers and mocking men.

XIX. *a.* The Resurrection. Christ carries a crossed staff with a purple pennon bearing a yellow cross. The sleeping soldiers wear brilliant blue and red surcoats over their armour. *b.* The Harrowing of Hell. Adam, Eve and St. John the Baptist lead the lost souls out of a red Hell Mouth at the bidding of Christ. The whole scene is set against a landscape.

XX. The Ascension. Christ ascends from a pillar-like rock. The Apostles are grouped round. The bottom half of the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Peter, together with the keys at St. Peter's feet, are modern work.

XXI. The Last Judgment. This is the most striking panel in the whole window. Christ is seated upon a rainbow. From behind his head radiate palm and sword. His feet are placed upon an orb. Under His right hand is *Venite benedicti p(at)ris mei possidete r(e)gn(u)m*; under his left hand (*Disce*) *dite (a me), maledicti, in igne(m) aetern(u)m*.* in slightly abbreviated form. Around Him

*St. Matthew, xxv, 34, 41.

are sun, moon and stars. The Blessed Virgin kneels upon a cloud with a scroll inscribed *Surgite Mortui*. St. Peter kneels opposite her with *Venite ad iutium*. Souls rise from the ground. They are in shrouds; among them are a monk and a bishop. Below fearsome red devils with blue wings await their victims.

In every scene, except that of the "Mocking," Christ wears a purple robe. The Blessed Virgin Mary wears a pinkish under garment and purple mantle. In the Annunciation and Nativity scenes she is bare-headed, having in one case a blue and in the other a red halo. In the Presentation scene she wears a white veil. In the Adoration of the Kings, the Flight into Egypt and the Crucifixion scenes she wears a purple hood. The reds in the window are brilliant and vary from deep ruby to scarlet; they are particularly noticeable in the Adoration of the Magi, the Ascension and the Doom panels. A beautiful golden yellow is used in the Entry into Jerusalem scene. Blue of various shades is used for the sky, save in the Betrayal and the Crucifixion scenes. These are excepted because so little space is left between the scene itself and the top of the light.

From Gage we can gather a little information as to who painted some of the armorial glass for Hengrave Hall. In his book is a transcription of a part of the building accounts. †

1527. Itm, paid to Robert Wright, the glasyar, for making of all the glasse wyndows of the manour place, with the sodar, and for xiiij skuttchens with arms. iiij li.

1528. Itm, paide to Robert Wright for xvij foote of glasse vs. viij*d*.

1535. Itm, pd. to Robert Wright for glazing the tower with old glass xiijs. iiij*d*.

These are the only three detailed items, but Gage also prints from the book of accounts of Robert Watson, the "ruler of the building":—"Mem. that I Robert Watson hath paid to Robert Wright, of Bury St. Ed-

†*Hist. Hengrave*, pp. 47 ff.

munds, for yt bargain made betwixt the sd Robert for glazing the windows of the manor place, xvj li. ‡

Robert Wright was a glazier in a fair way of business. In 1505 Thomas Lucas, Solicitor-General to Henry VII, began to build Little Saxham Hall. Various glaziers were employed, William Duxfield, of London, John of Colchester, Robert Beston, of Bury St. Edmunds. Nevertheless, Wright did by far the greater part of the glazing, painting not only coats of arms, mottoes, quarries, and suchlike, but Biblical scenes for the chapel.** The Hall was pulled down in 1773. Some of Robert Wright's glass eventually found a home in the east window of Rushbrooke Church, Suffolk, where it may still be seen. Wright did not confine his work to Bury and its immediate neighbourhood. In 1513 we find him contracting for work at St. John's College, Cambridge. ††

It would be interesting to know exactly which of the coats of arms that we now see were painted by Robert Wright. Most of the armorial glass in Cloisters and Hall must have been painted before or after his time. He was painting glass for Little Saxham Hall in 1509, and we may say that a young man would not have been given so large or so important a contract as the glazing of that house. We must suppose that he had retired or was dead by the middle of the century. Most of the armorial glass actually painted for Hengrave Hall is a good deal later than that. We may say with fair certainty that he painted the Kytson arms in the cloisters and upper corridor, but not much more of the glass that we now see. Of the rest of the armorial glass we can only say definitely that it is English work of various dates from the end of the 14th century to the end of the 16th century.

We can be even less certain about the origin of the glass in the Chapel. It cannot have been painted by Robert Wright of Bury. It is impossible that a pro-

‡*Hist. Hengrave*, p. 44.

**For an account of what Wright did at Little Saxham Hall, see Gage, *History and Antiquities of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred* (London, 1838), pp. 148 ff.

††This most interesting contract is printed by R. Willis and J. W. Clark, in *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. II, pp. 347-348.

vincial glass-painter, with so English a name and at so late a date, could have produced these magnificent panels with their pronounced foreign flavour.*

There remain other alternatives. It is not likely, although it has been suggested, that Sir Thomas Kytson "came across" these panels during one of his many journeys on the Continent. Such glass would only have been painted under definite contract. The date of the chapel windows, obviously built to receive these panels, forbid the idea that the glass was the casually acquired spoil of a continental church, monastic or otherwise. A more likely theory, but one that does not appeal to the writer, is that Sir Thomas Kytson saw work like it abroad. When the time came to glaze his chapel, he gave orders for such glass as he had seen to be painted and shipped to England.

It seems easiest to believe that the glass was painted in London. There was no need to go abroad to obtain first-rate painted glass at the beginning of the 16th century, as is plain to anyone who has examined the windows in Fairford Church, the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge and the Chapel of the Vyne in Hampshire. It is now almost certain that Bernard Flower, the King's Glazier, painted some, at least, of the Fairford windows. It is quite certain that he painted four of the windows of King's College Chapel. Flower, a German by birth and living in Southwark, was dead by 1517. That date excludes the possibility that he painted the Hengrave panels, for Sir Thomas Kytson did not contract to buy Hengrave Hall until 1521. However, the panels may well have been painted by such a one as Galyon Hone, a Fleming and the successor of Flower in the office of King's

*Wright must be given his due. He did not only paint heraldic glass. In 1510 he painted a series of scenes from the Passion of our Lord for the chapel windows of Little Saxham Hall. The cartoons were drawn out for him by a man named Busshe. (Gage, *Thingoe Hundred*, pp. 148-150). Busshe was presumably a relation of "Bushe of Bury, paynter," who, in December, 1572; received two shillings "for paynting the bore's heade with sondry colors" for the Christmas feast at Hengrave Hall (*Hist. Hengrave*, p. 192).

Glazier.* At a date when Hone's work was being inserted into windows at Westminster, Hampton Court, Windsor Castle and King's College Chapel at Cambridge, we may surely look to London for the source of the Hengrave panels, until some positive documentary evidence bids us look further afield.

*The design of the Hengrave panels seem to point to a glass-painter more old-fashioned than and not so touched by the Renaissance as Galyon Hone. They are much more like the earliest work at Fairford.