

# THE PAINTED GLASS AT EAST SUTTON CHURCH AND THE ARMS OF A DUKE OF YORK

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*This article discusses the heraldry of various shields in the stained glass of East Sutton Church dating from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century. These include heraldry of the families of Valence, Hastings, St Leger, Mortimer of Wigmore, a Duke of York, Guildford, Halden, Argall, Scott and Filmer. The ownership of the manor of East Sutton from the early fourteenth to the seventeenth century is used to explain these shields, some of which at some time may have been transferred from the manor house to the church. The particular problem of the shield of a Duke of York is explained by the ownership of the manor of East Sutton being in the possession of the Darell family in the middle years of the fifteenth century. Their arms are not in the glass but both George (d.1474) and Richard (d.1489) Darell served the Yorkists and provide a convincing explanation of the presence of the arms of the Duke of York, probably Richard (d.1460).*

The parish of East Sutton lies about seven miles south-east of Maidstone. Together with the parishes of Sutton Valence and Chart Sutton it forms an area known locally as the Three Suttons. The church is dedicated to St Peter and St Paul and was built using Kentish ragstone. Construction phases from the thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries have been identified. During an ill-considered restoration in 1897-8 the interior walls were entirely stripped of their plaster rendered finish. This left the inside of the building with a stark stone-clad like appearance. In all other respects the church at East Sutton is a beautiful and fascinating building.

In 1898 Thomas Henry Oyler published a guide to the church. Better than most, it contained the usual information on the architecture, monuments and stained glass, but was rather more detailed. Among the latter was a reference to a window containing the arms of 'Richard Duke of York father of Edward 4th'. However because Oyler did not state why, in his opinion, the arms specifically related to Richard Plantagenet (d.1460) an examination of the arms borne by the fifteenth-century dukes of York is necessary. But first, a description of the glass remaining at East Sutton is given in order to place the arms in their present physical context.

## The Fourteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Painted Glass at East Sutton

Apart from some fifteenth-century remnants of saints in the west window all the old glass is now in the south chapel. This area of the church has been known variously



Fig. 1 Heraldry in Filmer Chapel window in East Sutton Church containing the Duke of York's arms.

as the Pembroke or Filmer chapel. The glass in its south window comprises three panels containing fragments datable to the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries (**Figs 1 and 2**). The York panel measures 32 x 21½in. (810 x 545mm), the others are of comparable size.

The left panel contains, i and iv, *or a maunch gules* (Hastings) quartering, ii and iii, *barry of ten, argent and azure an orle of martlets gules* (Valence). This was the coat borne by the Hastings' earls of Pembroke and appears on the seal of Laurence Hastings (d.1348), the first of that ilk, datable to 1345. The Valence arms were derived from those of Lusignan. Laurence Hastings' great grandfather William de Valence (d.1296) was the son of Hugh de Lusignan 5th Comte de la Marche (d.1249). Above this coat is a small truncated, rectangular shield containing the arms of Mortimer of Wigmore, *barry of six or and azure, on a chief of the first, three palets, between two based esquires of the second; overall an inescutcheon argent*. This is the earliest shield remaining in the church and dates from the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In the upper right of the panel are the arms of St Leger, *azure, fretty argent and a chief or*. To the left of the Hastings/Valence coat is a fragment of the St Leger arms but of a later date than the previous complete coat and perhaps dating from the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries. Below and between the forgoing is a shield bearing the arms of Filmer, *sable three bars or, in chief as many cinquefoils of the second*. Beneath and either side of the Filmer coat are two shields bearing the arms of Argall, *per fesse argent and vert, a pale counterchanged, three lions heads erased gules* impaling Scott, *argent, three Catherine wheels sable within a bordure engrailed gules*. Between the Argall/Scott arms is a crowned fleur-de-lis. Fragments of foliate decoration have been placed around and among the shields.

The centre panel is all seventeenth-century work. The primary subject is a shield displaying the Filmer arms surmounted by the family crest, *on a broken tower or, a falcon rising proper, belled or*. Above the crest is another of the same but smaller



Fig. 2 Detail of the Duke of York's arms.

in size. Below the central shield of arms to the left and right are two other Filmer coats.

The arms of Richard, 3rd Duke of York, forms a part of the right hand panel pieced together using fragments of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century glass. In each of the top corners are the head and shoulders of a winged angel. Just below and between the angels are the head and shoulders of the Blessed Virgin with the legend '*ecce ancilla domini*' around her halo. Below the Virgin is a fragmentary shield set within a garter for Sir Henry Guildford (d.1532). Guildford was Comptroller of the Household to Henry VIII. He was made a knight of the Order of the Garter

in 1526 and acquired the manor of East Sutton in 1528. His arms were quarterly, i and iv, *or, a saltier between four martlets sable, a canton gules charged with a pomegranate or, slipped verts* (Guildford), ii and iii, *argent, a chief sable overall a bend engrailed gules*, (Halden) *a mullet or in the nombril point*. As they remain Guildford's arms are difficult to interpret as only the third quarter survives in a vaguely recognisable state the second considerably less so and apart from some small pieces of yellow glass the Guildford quarters have gone. It is possible however to see the mullet, indicating a third son, at the intersection of the four quarters.<sup>2</sup> Below the Guildford arms are the ducal arms of York with, either side, a roundel of blue glass showing a rose. The York shield measures 7 x 8¼in. (180mm x 210mm). A close examination of it reveals that the fourth quarter has undergone some repair where a portion of the glass was missing. This has resulted in the loss of the first fleur-de-lis which has not been replaced. As with the left panel, foliate fragments appear around and between the main subjects.

When Oyler published his guide in 1898 a window in the north or Hastings chapel contained the arms of St Leger and Hastings quartering Valence. From a comparison of Oyler's account and the remaining old glass it is evident that during the 1897-98 restoration all the old glass from both chapels was brought together into the window in the south chapel. Some losses have occurred since Oyler wrote. He described a fragment, *barry of six, argent and azure, in chief three torteaux* (Grey of Ruthin) which may have appeared as it did on a seal datable to 1403, i and iv, *Grey*, ii and iii quarterly, i and iv, *Hastings*, ii and iii, *Valence*. This has now gone as has a lozenge bearing *on a chevron three talbots gules*. This last is more properly described, *argent, on a chevron, gules, three talbots, passant, argent* and refers to Joan the daughter of Robert Martin of Graveney, Kent, who was the first wife of Richard Argall (d.1588) of East Sutton.

An account by the Reverend John Cave-Brown also from 1898 stated that in one of the windows 'is a dirty fragment, which on careful examination discloses part of the banner of Simon de Montfort'. De Montfort's banner described as *partir per pale indented argent and gules* was not, however, recorded by Oyler. A recent study of the remaining glass by the author has revealed that Cave-Brown was in error and had incorrectly attributed a remnant of the third quarter of Sir Henry Guildford's arms to de Montfort.<sup>3</sup>

On 2 June 2015 the three panels of glass were carefully removed for conservation work. This was part funded by the Rochester Bridge Trust and was carried out by the Cathedral Studios of Canterbury. The conserved panels were replaced in the church on 11 August. On 30 January 2016 a service of commemoration and rededication led by the Bishop of Dover was held in the presence of the Lord Lieutenant of Kent, Viscount De L'Isle, to mark the centenary of the death of Captain Sir Robert Marcus Filmer MC of the Grenadier Guards. Sir Robert was the tenth and last baronet Filmer of East Sutton Park and died on active service in France on 27 January 1916. He was also a warden of Rochester Bridge. The whole composition is known as the Filmer Armorial Window.<sup>4</sup>

### The Arms of the Dukedom of York

In heraldic terms the York arms at East Sutton are described; quarterly, i and iv,

azure, three fleur-de-lis or (France modern), ii and iii, gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or, armed and langued azure (England), overall on a label of three points argent, nine torteaux gules. These are the arms as borne by the dukes of York from the early years of the fifteenth century. The quartering of the arms of France together with those of England occurred under Edward III at some point after the commencement of the Hundred Years War in 1337. From that time on the first and fourth quarters of the royal arms were described; azure, semée of fleur-de-lis or. Later, it has been said in 1376, the French king Charles V reduced the number of fleurs-de-lis on the arms of France to three. This date has undergone some revision and it is now thought that the change may have occurred around 1394 under his successor Charles VI. From the first years of the fifteenth century, under Henry IV, the English royal arms began to follow the same pattern, the earliest example being a seal of Edward 2nd Duke of York attached to a charter of 1403.

To date there have been eleven dukes of York six of whom were living at some point during the fifteenth century. The first to bear the title was Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, fourth surviving son of Edward III, who was created Duke of York by his nephew Richard II on 6 August 1385. On Edmund's death on 1 August 1402 the title passed to his son Edward, Earl of Rutland who died at the battle of Agincourt on 25 October 1415. Edward's successor to the title was his nephew Richard, son of his brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge who had been attainted and executed for treason by order of Henry V on 5 August 1415. On Richard's death at the battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460 his son Edward Earl of March was styled Duke of York but following his accession as Edward IV on 4 March 1461 the title became vested in the Crown. King Edward's son Richard was created 5th Duke of York on 28 May 1474. On 31 October 1494 Richard's nephew Henry, second son of Henry VII and the future Henry VIII, was made 6th Duke of York.<sup>5</sup>

The change to the royal arms makes it extremely unlikely that the shield at East Sutton was intended to represent Edmund of Langley but in their revised form they might be used by his successors to the title. However, it is doubtful that they relate to Edward (IV), the fourth duke as he was never officially raised to the dukedom and was only styled as such for nine weeks before his accession.<sup>6</sup> Likewise the arms at East Sutton do not belong to his son (Richard) as his Garter stall plate at St George's Chapel, Windsor shows the *dexter point of the label charged with a canton, gules*. The arms on the stall plate of Richard's nephew Henry include a *label of three points ermine* although it is interesting to note that the figure of 'Henrie Dux Ebor' in his 'coate armour' was recorded as being in the chapter house at Canterbury Cathedral in 1599 when his arms were shown as those used by the second and third dukes. Clearly whoever was responsible for this particular example was unaware of the label actually used by Henry and again his stall plate rules out any notion of him being the man represented by the East Sutton shield. Thus far, by a process of elimination, it would appear that the arms at East Sutton were intended to represent either Edward (d.1415) or his nephew Richard (d.1460) the second and third dukes respectively.

Other examples of the York ducal arms with France modern quarterings remain at Canterbury Cathedral and serve as useful comparisons to the East Sutton glass; two examples in the Water Tower are described as early fifteenth-century and in

the east window of the Lady Chapel are the arms; i and iv, *argent, a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable* (Bourchier); ii and iii, *gules billety or, a fess of the last* (Louvain). These are the arms of Henry Bourchier, 1st Earl of Essex (d.1483) and are shown impaling the arms of York for his wife Isabel of Cambridge (d.1484), sister of Richard 3rd Duke of York.<sup>7</sup>

#### The Owners of East Sutton Manor

At this juncture it is necessary to examine the history of East Sutton and its owners but only from the second half of the thirteenth century as anything before that date has no bearing on the remaining early glass in the church. It should also be noted that because Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer 4th Earl of March was the mother of Richard 3rd Duke of York, it may at first glance appear that the ducal arms of York and those of Mortimer are connected, not within their present modern context but by the appearance of both in the church. However, as will be shown this is not so. During this period East Sutton was held by Aymer de Valence, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, son of William the 1st Earl and a nephew of the half-blood to Henry III. On his death in 1324 it passed to his nephew John 2nd Baron Hastings (d.1325) son of John 1st Baron Hastings and Isabel an elder sister of de Valence. Hastings' son Laurence (d.1348) became 3rd Baron Hastings and 1st Earl of Pembroke and married Agnes (d.1368) daughter of Roger Mortimer 1st Earl of March. Their son John (d.1375) became 2nd Earl of Pembroke and married Margaret a daughter of Edward III. There was no issue from their union. Hastings remarried to Anne daughter of Sir Walter Manny who gave birth to a son. East Sutton then passed to their son John the 3rd Earl of Pembroke who first married Elizabeth daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, then Philippa (d.1400) daughter of Edmund Mortimer 3rd Earl of March and Philippa, daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence. There was no surviving issue from either union the second of which ended with Pembroke's death during a tournament in 1389. Thereafter the manor passed to Reginald 3rd Baron Grey of Ruthin (d.1439). Reginald was the grandson of Roger 1st Baron Grey of Ruthin and Elizabeth daughter of John 1st Baron Hastings and Isabel, daughter of William de Valence 1st Earl of Pembroke.<sup>8</sup>

In early 1402 Grey was taken hostage by Owain Glyndŵr during the Welsh Revolt. A ransom of 10,000 marks was demanded so in May 1403, in order to raise the money for his release, Henry IV directed that certain of Grey's manors be sold, East Sutton and the other Kentish manors of Sutton Valence and Hartley among them. On 25 May 1403 East Sutton was conveyed to Richard Bruges (d. c.1415) Lancaster King of Arms.<sup>9</sup> On 2 July 1413 he and his wife Katherine alienated the manor to John Mepersale, Thomas Enderby, John Botiller and Thomas Bank.

#### The Darells of Littlecote, Wiltshire

On 10 October 1414 Botiller and Bank conveyed the manor of East Sutton to William Darell (d.1450/1) and his brother John (d.1438). William and John were the sons of William and Emma Darell of Sessay in North Yorkshire. An elder brother, Marmaduke (d.1423), inherited the family estates at Sessay whilst in 1410 John purchased Calehill in the parish of Little Chart. In 1412 William married

Elizabeth (d.1464) daughter of Thomas Calstone of Littlecote, Wiltshire, where the couple settled. The union produced at least five sons and several daughters. However, only the eldest sons, George and Richard, will be discussed in this paper. On 20 March 1435 John Darell issued a quitclaim to William and Elizabeth relinquishing any interest he may have had in East Sutton manor. William's career saw him appointed as sub-treasurer of England in 1399 followed by service in the shires as sheriff of Wiltshire then Oxfordshire and Berkshire for four terms from 1420 to 1433.<sup>10</sup> In 1453 his eldest son George entered into the service of Richard, Duke of York;

This endenture made at Fodringey the xxx<sup>th</sup> day of Jannuer the xxxi<sup>th</sup> yere of the regne of oure souverain lord kyng Henry the sext Betwix the right high and mighty prince my lord Richard duc of York on the toon part and George Darell squier on the other part bereth wisse that the saide George is belaste and withholden with my saide lord the duc for terme of his lyf. Prometting by the feith of his body and binding him by these endentures for to doo true and feithful service unto my saide lord the duc. And with him for to be agest all ertyly creatures of what estate priemence or condition soo evere thay bee next the kyng oure soverain lord and his yssu kynges of England and of France. For the which withholding the saide George shal take of my saide lord the duc yerely the somme of x.li sterlinges to bee taken of the yssues proufites and revenues of his manour and lordeshipp of FASTERNE in Wiltshire by the handes of the receveur and fermour and other occupiers of the same for the tyme being atte festes of the annuncacion of oure Lady and Mighelmasse by even porcions unto the tyme that the saide George bee provided by my saide lord the duc unto an office or an other resonnable rewarde of the valeu of xx mark by yere as by lettres patentes and lettres of warrant made theruppon unto the saide George, undre the seel of my saide lorde the duc hit may more clerely appere. In wisse wherof to the toon part of these endentures remaynyng towards the saide George, my saide lord the duc hath, doo set his signet the day place and yere aforesaide.

That Darell was still the duke's man by 1460 is confirmed by the issuing of a pardon to him on 16 March; 'for £40 for all treasons and other offences etc'. The family had a history of service to the future Yorkist party. In May 1431 William Darell (d.1450/1) acted as a trustee in the matter of various estates concerning the late Thomas Montagu 4th Earl of Salisbury. This was for Montagu's son-in-law Richard Nevill 5th Earl of Salisbury and his wife Alice, Montagu's daughter and heir. During the same period William's nephew Edmund Darell had been retained by Neville who became York's brother-in-law and ally.<sup>11</sup>

From the 1450s George Darell was appointed to a number of county shrievalties and in April 1461 was made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe. In January 1462 he served on a commission to arrest adherents of Henry VI and other senior Lancastrians in Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire. The following month he was appointed to a commission of Oyer and Terminer regarding treasons and felonies in Wiltshire. Soon after Easter 1465 he was made a Knight Bachelor then a Knight of the Bath on the day of the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville. Among other royal commissions one in June 1470 required him to assist in raising men against the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick.<sup>12</sup>

He married firstly Margaret daughter of John 1st Baron Stourton. By his second marriage to Jane daughter of William Haute of Bishopsbourne and Joan Woodville

daughter of Sir Richard Woodville of the Mote, Maidstone, he was a kinsman to the Yorkist monarchy. George died in March 1474.

But returning to East Sutton, on 4 March 1450 William and Elizabeth Darell settled the manor on their second son Richard whose first public appointment took place on 7 November 1459 when he was made escheator for Southampton (Hampshire) and Wiltshire. He subsequently served as sheriff of Wiltshire in 1467-68 and Hampshire in 1469-70 and 1470-71.<sup>13</sup> Before March 1463 Richard married Margaret, daughter of Edmund Beaufort 2nd Duke of Somerset (d.1455). Margaret was the widow of Humphrey Stafford (d.1458) the eldest son of Humphrey Stafford 1st Duke of Buckingham and was already the mother of two young sons, Henry, the future second duke of Buckingham and his brother Humphrey.<sup>14</sup> From her marriage to Darell came a daughter, also Margaret, who was probably born before 14 July 1464 when George Darell issued a quitclaim to his brother Richard respecting East Sutton.

The Plea Rolls record that in 1465 Richard Darell described as 'late of Littlecote' was summoned by suit of his brother Alexander, executor of their mother's estate, to pay 45 marks owed to the estate, which had been withheld. On 1 August 1463 Richard had placed his wife with his mother to whom he would pay 13s. 4d. a week for her 'diets' and would continue to do so for the whole time she was there. Although Margaret ended up staying with her mother-in-law for 'the 45 weeks following', until June 1464, Richard reneged on the pledge to reimburse his mother. Elizabeth Darell made her will on 15 June 1464. Following her death soon after, Richard refused to pay her executor the balance owed to her estate a situation perhaps exacerbated by his exclusion from her will. The period referred to would seem to be when Richard's daughter was born. Perhaps difficulties during the birth led to complications resulting in a protracted lying-in period. It has been suggested that Margaret Darell was an imbecile although no evidence appears to exist to support this statement which was almost certainly a conclusion drawn from the above.<sup>15</sup> Be that as it may, events during this period must have plunged her into an inconsolable state of grief. In addition to the loss of her father who had been killed at the first battle of St Albans in 1455 the continued support given by her family to the Lancastrian party resulted in the deaths of four brothers and a number of cousins.<sup>16</sup> However worst of all was the loss of her younger son Humphrey who probably died around April/May 1471.<sup>17</sup>

Throughout the tribulations of his wife's Lancastrian family Richard Darell remained a staunch supporter of the Yorkist monarchy. From November 1466 until June 1470 he served on a number of commissions of array and peace, several alongside the king's brother-in-law, Anthony Woodville Lord Scales.<sup>18</sup> The fact that his brother George had received an appointment to the royal household may be seen as a result of his long-standing loyalty, at least since 1453, to the house of York. Richard might have hoped for similar advancement but although he received a knighthood in 1466 thenceforth his progress stalled, perhaps because of his close kinship to so many proven traitors, which may have meant that beyond regional appointments any higher ambitions were curtailed. In 1476 he acted as councillor for his stepson, the duke of Buckingham, serving as one of the justices' itinerant presiding over the Great Sessions at Newport, Wales. In 1483 he was present at the coronation of Richard III. Buckingham's fall came later that year but there seems to have been no evidence that Darell had played any part in the rebellion that bore



his stepson's name unlike his cousin John Darell (d.1509) of Calehill, Kent, who suffered attainder. Owing to her death, his wife was spared the knowledge of her remaining son's ignominious end.<sup>19</sup>

By July 1478 Richard had remarried to Joan (d. aft.1502) widow of Sir Walter Wrottesley of Wrottesley, Staffordshire (d.1473). Joan had given Wrottesley four sons and five daughters but her union with Darell does not appear to have been similarly fruitful. Around 1474/5 Darell decided to sell his lands at East Sutton. On 18 March 1475 the manor was conveyed to Thomas Waryn, John Feiamys and David Hopkins. By agreement of 26 April 1478 Darell sold East Sutton to the executors of the estate of William York for £336 13s. 4d.<sup>20</sup>

Richard Darell died on 6 August 1489 after which escheators for Hampshire and Wiltshire were ordered to examine his land holdings but only the *inquisition post mortem* for Hampshire survives. This together with an inventory of his goods indicates that his principal residence was the manor of Paulton in Hampshire. His place of burial is unknown but of interest are those religious foundations to whom the inventory shows he was indebted at the time of his death; 3s. 4d. was due to Saint Swithun's whose location was not noted but was probably the Benedictine cathedral priory of St Swithun, Winchester. He owed the parish church at Eling, Hampshire 13s. 4d. To the vicar of the same he owed 11s. while the chapel of Ower in the same parish was due 10s. Possibly most significant of all was the £5 owing to the prior of Mottisfont Priory, Hampshire, an Augustinian house. A further debt was to an individual named or described as 'Brekeman of Mottysfounte' to whom was due £3. In the absence of firm testamentary evidence perhaps we may tentatively speculate that Mottisfont was Darell's chosen place of burial.<sup>21</sup> His daughter Margaret married James Tuchet, 7th baron Audley of Heleigh, Staffordshire to whom Darell owed the large sum of 100 marks. Tuchet was executed on 25 June 1497 for his part in the Cornish Rebellion against Henry VII.<sup>22</sup> Darell's heir was his six-year old grandson John Tuchet (b. c.1482/3) to whom the title was restored becoming 8th baron Audley in 1512.

#### East Sutton manor house

To the south-east of the present Elizabethan mansion lies a large and well preserved homestead moat probably dating from the period 1250-1350. Each arm measures 65m while retaining banks survive to the west and south. There is an inner rampart and an entrance causeway at the north-east corner. Was this the location of the manor house that the Darells knew or does another lie beneath the present house? In 1546 the manor was acquired by the royal administrator Thomas Argall of London (d.1563) and his wife Margaret. On Thomas' death the manor passed to their son Richard (d.1588). Probably most of the sixteenth-century parts of the present house can be attributed to the Argall family as a richly carved screen in the hall bearing the date 1570 also displays the initials R.A. and M.A. for Richard and his second wife Mary, daughter of Sir Reginald Scott. After Argall's death it was held by his son John. John's sister Elizabeth married Sir Edward Filmer (d.1629) son of Robert Filmer of Little Charlton, East Sutton.

In 1610 John Argall sold East Sutton to Edward Filmer to whom he owed money.<sup>23</sup> The manor was then inherited by Sir Edward's son Sir Robert Filmer (d.1653) who

is noted for his *De Patriarcha* a treatise on the divine right of kings. Although published posthumously in 1680 it is believed to have been completed before the outbreak of the Civil War. This naturally put him at odds with the Parliamentary side during the war and eventually led to his arrest and imprisonment in nearby Leeds Castle. Prior to this, in September 1642, East Sutton Place had been looted by the Parliamentary army. Apparently the house was attacked on no less than ten separate occasions resulting in the destruction of much personal property and the house being set ablaze. The church did not escape the depredations. Notes made by Sir Robert record that on 27 July 1643,

Cornet May came to search East Sutton Belfry for arms there, he tore the surplice with his owne hands, tooke away a Bible, a service booke and a booke of homilies out of the Church and broke the glasse windowes.

These notes appear to have been copied almost verbatim from his wife's diary, or perhaps vice versa, the main difference being that Lady Anne Filmer apparently wrote '...and broke down the screen and the painted glass windows'. Lady Anne's original has been lost since 1945.<sup>24</sup>

## Conclusion

In 1569 Mathew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury visited the church at East Sutton following which it was recorded that 'the high chancel of the church is in great decay, through the default of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester'. It is therefore possible that some of the glass was lost years before Cornet May and his cohorts arrived there; from the Filmer account it would appear that practically nothing remained after 1643. Perhaps it was possible to salvage and repair some of it but if May and his accomplices took the time to destroy the rood screen, less effort would be required to wreak havoc on the fragile painted glass which by then was already over three centuries old and doubtless failure of the lead would have contributed to the losses. The arms of Filmer, Argall and Martin may have come from the manor house but whatever their original locality they possibly postdate the damage done to the church in 1643.

The history of the medieval glass in the church is a little more complicated and requires some explanation. The ownership of East Sutton manor followed the exact same pattern as its neighbour Sutton Valence from the time of Aymer de Valence, 2nd Earl of Pembroke to Reginald 3rd Baron Grey of Ruthin. As previously noted Sutton Valence was sold in 1403 along with East Sutton to raise the money required for Grey's ransom. Sutton Valence would then appear to have been purchased by Thomas St Leger (d.1408) of Otterden, Kent, as his daughter Juliana died possessed of it in 1417.<sup>25</sup> When John Philipot, the antiquarian (d.1645), visited the church at Sutton Valence he recorded the remnants of glass there among which were the arms of Hastings quartered with de Valence but by 1823 the building was in such a state of dilapidation that the decision was taken to rebuild on and within its original footprint. The work was completed in 1828 and no ancient glass now remains. Although much, if not all, of the remaining medieval glass at East Sutton came, in all probability, from the nearby manor house there remains a distinct possibility that some of it had its origins at Sutton Valence particularly the arms of

the St Leger family which had no connection with East Sutton at the beginning of the fifteenth century so therefore could not have formed part of a glazing scheme illustrating the descent of the manor. The later fragment of their arms in the left panel at East Sutton possibly relates to Ralph St Leger of Ulcombe (d.1519) who held the manor of East Sutton from 1507-14. Aside from the St Leger arms the other odd one out at East Sutton is of course the shield of Richard 3rd Duke of York. York had no identifiable association with the manor. His *inquisition post mortem* reveals that at the time of his death his Kentish lands comprised the manors of; Erith, Swanscombe, West Kingsdown, Tonge, Shillingheld (Chilham) and Deptford le Strand.<sup>26</sup> The possibility exists that York's arms came from one of these manors but this is not very likely. As previously noted there is also no connection between the arms of Mortimer and York in the church, the presence of both being purely coincidental. An examination of those members of the Hastings family who would have had reason to place one or other coat in the church shows that whilst members of that family were still living at the relevant time to have installed the Mortimer shield, those same individuals were dead by the early years of the fifteenth century when the changes were made to the Royal Arms so could not have been responsible for the arms of York. The very earliest time from which the arms of York and Mortimer could have appeared anywhere together with a familial connection was after 23 May 1408 when a papal dispensation was belatedly granted for the marriage between Richard of Conisburgh the younger brother of Edward 2nd Duke of York and Anne Mortimer. The Mortimer shield is the earliest coat remaining at East Sutton and was probably commissioned to record the union of Agnes (d.1368), daughter of Roger Mortimer 1st Earl of March, and Laurence Hastings 1st Earl of Pembroke (d.1348).<sup>27</sup>

Having discussed all other likely possibilities it may be concluded that the date of the arms falls within the period from 1453, when George Darell was indentured to Richard Duke of York, to 1460 when the latter died. If the Darell's had earlier dealings with the duke it might push the date a little further back but no previous connections with York are known. In any case as William died in 1450/1 after settling East Sutton on his son Richard it is to the latter we should look as the individual who was responsible for commissioning the York arms. Richard appears to have no identifiable record of service to the house of York before Edward IV's accession and thereafter only in the shires. It has been said that he served as under- or sub-treasurer to the Exchequer just as his father and uncle had done before him but this has not been possible to establish. It must therefore have been family pride at his brother's formal indenture to the duke and a desire to promote the fact that theirs was a family of rising fortunes that led to the installation of York's arms at East Sutton. The dimensions of the shield indicate that it probably came from a domestic context and in all likelihood was commissioned for the old manor house. Before the house was demolished the arms were removed perhaps on the instructions of Richard Argall and placed in the church where they remain.

### The Darell arms

One notable absentee among the arms at East Sutton are those of the Darell family themselves (**Fig. 3**). They are described, *azure, a lion rampant or, ducally crowned*



Fig. 3 Arms from tomb of John Darell of Calehill (d.1438),  
St James' Church, Egerton, Kent.

*argent*. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the collateral branches at Little Chart and Littlecote introduced differences to the arms to distinguish themselves from the senior line. It is best left to an inscription set up in the church of St Mary at Little Chart in the seventeenth century to explain the differences:

From the avncient howse of Darell of Seysey in the Covntie of Yorke, are disoended twoe howses the one of Calehill by Iohn the second sonne of Sir Marmadvke Darell of Seysey aforesaid Knight the other of Litlecott in the Covntie of Wilts: by William the third sonne of the said Knight. The difference of which twoe howses by order was this, that Calehill shovld beare the Troyfoll in the showlder of the lyon, and Litlecott shovld carry the crosselet, for differenoë sake But by the death of Thomas Darell of Seseý aforesayde whoe, died withovt issewe Male 17<sup>o</sup> H: 8<sup>l</sup>: the Darelles of Calehill beinge nowe the eldest Heyres male, of right do give the avncient armes intire withovte difference.<sup>28</sup>

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Trust and Hugh Wood for his knowledge of the Mortimer arms. And lastly the Reverend Sheila Cox for kind permission to use the Darell arms in Egerton Church.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> T.H. Oyler, *East Sutton Church*, London, 1898, pp. 31-2. W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols, London 1887-1900, vol. 3, pp. 75, 10, 537. William de Valence was buried in Westminster Abbey where his effigy of oak covered with decorated copper plates bears a shield with his arms in Limoges champlevé enamel. The inescutcheon on the Mortimer arms appears to be *gules*!

<sup>2</sup> A good example of the Guildford/Halden arms, without the pomegranate, can be seen in the church of St Mary, Wiston, West Sussex. It is surrounded by a quatrefoil and appears among the remains of the monument to Sir Richard Shirley (d.1540). Elizabeth Guildford half-sister to Sir Henry was his second wife.

<sup>3</sup> Oyler, pp. 31-2, 40. Kent History and Library Centre (hereafter referred to as KHLC), U120/T1/2. 'Proceedings, 1901', 'East Sutton Church', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 25, (1902), lv-lvii. This report followed a KAS outing to the area during which a paper written by Oyler was read in his absence by Edward J. Wells. Towards the end it says, 'Mr Wells further gave a description of the ancient heraldic glass in the windows of the church'. Frustratingly no further details are given. J. Cave-Brown, *Sutton Valence & East Sutton: Their Early History*, Maidstone, 1898, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> The panel containing the York arms was conserved by Joy Bunclark while the other panels were cleaned and repaired by Alison Eaton, both of the Cathedral Studios, Canterbury. They were replaced in the south window by David Griffiths, Alison Eaton and Grace Ayson.

<sup>5</sup> J.H. and R.V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England*, London, 1974, pp. 88, 104. *CChR 1341-1417*, p. 300. *CChR 1427-1516*, pp. 242, 271.

<sup>6</sup> Pinches', pp. 113, 120; A. Darracott, *Great Malvern Priory. Rebuilding of the Quire in the 15th Century*, Maidenhead, 2005, p. 28. According to the herald Francis Sandford the arms used by the future Edward IV as earl of March were, quarterly, i and iv, *barry of six or and azure, on a chief of the first, two pallets between two base esquires of the second, overall an inescutcheon argent* (Mortimer), ii and iii, *or; a cross gules* (de Burgh). Some confirmation of this can be seen in one of the south clerestory windows of the quire at Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire which shows, perhaps uniquely, the arms of Richard 3<sup>rd</sup> duke of York with the quartered arms of Mortimer/de Burgh inescutcheon. They were probably installed between 1440 and 1460. It should also be noted that, before his marriage and creation as Viscount Lisle, Arthur Plantagenet the king's natural son bore as his arms; quarterly, i, quarterly *France modern and England*, ii and iii, *de Burgh*, iv, *Mortimer overall a baston sinister azure*. The Mortimer arms also appear on a sword of state for a Prince of Wales in the collections of the British Museum (SLAntiq. 364) datable to the period 1473-83.

<sup>7</sup> T. Willement, *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, London 1827, p. 154. <www.cvma.ac.uk> *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, Medieval Stained Glass in Great Britain. CVMA inv. no. 000723, Canterbury Cathedral. North-west transept, north window. CVMA inv. no. 001028 & 001047, Water Tower. CVMA inv. no. 001018, Lady Chapel, east window. M.H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, CVMA, ii, London, 1981, pp. 264, 284, figs 466, 524. A solitary example of the York arms, of uncertain origin but perhaps dating from the sixteenth century, was given to the church of St Laurence, Hawkhurst, Kent in 1955. The lion of March forming part of the crest on the stall plate of Richard 5th duke of York wears the label as a collar that also includes the *canton gules*. His arms in the north transept of Canterbury Cathedral have lost the *canton*. Henry's stall plate at Windsor has ermine tails across the whole label, not just on the points. Whilst a stall plate survives at St George's Chapel for Edmund of Langley those for his son and grandson, the 2nd and 3rd dukes of York respectively, are lost.

<sup>8</sup> *CIPM Edward II*, vol. 6, 518 p. 321, *Edward III*, vol. 9, 118, p. 116, *Edward III*, vol. 12, 226, p. 202. The magnificent tomb of Aymer de Valence is located on the north side of the high altar in Westminster Abbey. Among the sixteen figures around the tomb is one that represents either John 2nd baron Hastings or his son Laurence the 3rd baron. The latter is perhaps more likely as the former did not live long after the death of his uncle. The tombs of the 2nd and 3rd barons' Hastings may be seen in St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny. The effigy of the former is carved from oak. At one time

Laurence Hastings appeared as a weeper on the brass of his uncle Sir Hugh Hastings (d. c.1347/8) in the church of St Mary, Elsing, Norfolk.

<sup>9</sup> Court of Common Pleas TNA, CP 25/1/290/59. *CPR 1401-05*, pp. 171, 231-2. Richard Bruges was Lancaster herald to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster by 1389. He was Lancaster King of Arms by 1392 whilst still in Gaunt's service. By the accession of Henry IV in 1399 he was made Lancaster King of Arms of the North. KHLC, U120/T1/1/1.

<sup>10</sup> KHLC, U120/T1/5/1, U120/T1/7/1. History of Parliament Trust, London. Unpublished article on William Darell for 1422-61 section by Linda Clark. The author is grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing him to see this article in draft. KHLC, U120/T1/12. *CFR 1413-22*, p. 358. *CFR 1422-30*, pp. 12, 194. *CFR 1430-37*, 112, 113.

<sup>11</sup> Court of Chancery Deeds TNA, C 146/6400. *CPR 1429-36*, pp. 122-3. *CPR 1452-61*, p. 576. A.J. Pollard, 'An Indenture between Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Sir Edmund Darell of Sessay, North Riding, 1435', *The Fifteenth Century IX, Essays Presented to Michael Hicks*, pp. 67-75, Woodbridge 2015. Edmund was the son of Marmaduke Darell of Sessay (d.1423). He was indentured to Salisbury sometime before 20 August 1435 the extant document being a later contract. In 1436 he went to France with Salisbury as a part of the duke of York's army. He made a will at Fécamp, Normandy on 6 September that year and died soon after.

<sup>12</sup> *CFR 1452-61*, pp. 101, 289; *CFR 1461-71*, pp. 128, 191, 221; *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 8, 17, 101, 132, 274. *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 196, 219, 220, 284.

<sup>13</sup> C. Parkin, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, London 1808, vol. 9, p. 285. In 1463, John Southwell, alias Tatershall was presented to Wells Church, Norfolk, by Margaret Countess of Stafford. In 1465 William Dudley was presented to the same church by Sir Richard Darell, 'in right of Margaret, aforesaid, his wife'. *CFR 1452-61*, p. 252. *CPR 1461-71*, pp. 210, 254, 268.

<sup>14</sup> Margaret's parents both appear as weepers together with their enamelled arms on the tomb of her grandfather Richard earl of Warwick in the Beauchamp Chapel of the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick. C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 21 note 45.

<sup>15</sup> TNA, PROB 11/5/77. *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, new series vol. 4, London 1901, p. 141.

<sup>16</sup> Her highest ranking cousin was James II king of Scotland. He was killed when a cannon exploded while he was laying siege to Roxburgh Castle. He was the son of James I and her paternal aunt Joan Beaufort (d.1445).

<sup>17</sup> *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 324, 463, 464. *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 175, 284, 285. Humphrey is first mentioned on 21 March 1464 when a grant was made to the king's sister Anne duchess of Exeter of 500 marks for the 'sustenance' of himself and his brother who were minors in the king's custody. Further grants for the boys were made on 26 August and 3 September 1465 but this time to the queen because they had 'for some time been maintained at her expense'. A grant was made 16 November 1469 to Walter Devereaux lord Ferrers of various offices during the minority of Henry; Humphrey is not mentioned but on 26 April 1471 they are both appointed to serve on commissions of array for Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire. Confusingly they are shown thus; *Humphrey* duke of Buckingham, *Henry* Stafford of Buckingham, knight. This would seem to be the last time Humphrey appears on record. A further commission of array of 11 May 1471 for Buckinghamshire shows only Henry but once again described as Humphrey duke of Buckingham. Despite his youth did Humphrey die at the battle of Tewkesbury?

<sup>18</sup> *CPR 1461-7*, p. 572; *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 56, 196, 220, 629.

<sup>19</sup> C. L. Kingsford, *the Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483*, London, 1919, 2 vols, vol. 1, no. 83, p. 87. No date for Richard's knighthood is available. He is described as such together with his brother George in a letter datable to 1466. *CPR 1461-67*, p. 572. On 11 November 1466 he was present at a commission where he was not described as a knight but others were. A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond, *The Coronation of Richard III: the Extant Documents*, Gloucester, 1983, pp. 272, 332.

<sup>20</sup> *Collections Staffs*, new series vol. 6, pt 2, p. 258. Joan was still living when Walter her son made his will on 7 December 1502. *Ancient Deeds*, vol. 2, London, 1894. C 2770, p. 555.

<sup>21</sup> PCC and Other Probate Jurisdictions: Inventories Compiled Before 1661 TNA, PROB 2/164. TNA, PROB 11/16/51. His cousin Sir John Darell died in 1509 leaving £4 'for a stone to lye ouer me wt the epithappie'.

## PAINTED GLASS IN EAST SUTTON CHURCH AND THE ARMS OF A DUKE OF YORK

<sup>22</sup> C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, Oxford 1905, p. 216. 'And the same day was the lord Awdley had from the Tower to Westm'. the Axe of the Tower borne byfore hym. And there in the White hall a-Reyned and adjudged; and that after none drawn from Westm' unto Newgate, and there Remayned all nyght. And upon Weddensday in the morning, aboute ix of the Clok, drawn from the said Gaole of Newgate unto the Tower hill w<sup>t</sup> a cote armour upon hym of papir, all to torne; and there his hede stryken off: upon whose Soule, and all christen godhave mercy! Amen! And after his hede set upon the Brigge....And the Trunke of the lord Awdley was buryed w<sup>t</sup> in the chirch of the blak ffres w<sup>t</sup> in Ludgate, fast by the Chapell of the Erle of Worcetur'.

<sup>23</sup> [www.pastscape.org.uk](http://www.pastscape.org.uk), map reference TQ 8296 4930. KHLC, U120/T1/30/2.

<sup>24</sup> KHLC, U120/C4/1. C. Igglesden, *A Saunter Through Kent with Pen and Pencil*, vol. 16, p. 57, Ashford, 1923. D. Cleggett, *The Filmers and the Wilsons 1255-1968*, London 2005, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> W.J. Hardy, *The Home Counties Magazine*, 'Archbishop Parker's Visitation, 1569. Transcribed by Arthur Hussey', vol. 6, p. 109, London 1904; CFR 1383-91, p. 152. CFR 1391-9, p. 197. Thomas St Leger (d.1408) was a younger, perhaps second, son of Ralph St Leger of Ulcombe, Kent. Ralph was Sheriff of Kent and Keeper of Canterbury Castle in 1386/7. Thomas was appointed to the same post for 1396/7. He is commemorated by a fine brass in the chapel of St Lawrence, Otterden, Kent. CIPM Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, vol. 4, p. 29 no. 37, London, 1828. Several sources are confusing and describe Juliana as St Leger's wife/widow but the *IPM* clearly describes her as one of his daughters, 'una filiarum et heredum Thomæ Seintleger'.

<sup>26</sup> C.R. Councer, *Lost Glass from Kent Churches*, Maidstone, 1980, p. 122. The other heraldic glass at Sutton Valence noted by Philipot related to the families of Fawkham and Norton plus one unidentified coat. Ralph St Leger was sheriff of Kent in 1503. He made his will on 22 July 1517, *CIPM HV, HVI, EIV, R III*, vol. 4, p. 342, no. 57.

<sup>27</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, London 1904, vol. 6, 1404-1415, p. 132.

<sup>28</sup> R. Griffin, 'An Inscription in Little Chart Church', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 36 (1923), 131. 'The style of the lettering of the inscription shews it to be c.1620, and its contents shew it to have been inspired by the heralds of the period, possibly by John Philipot'. The inscription begins 'Heere lyeth the body of S<sup>r</sup> John Darell Knight, Sqvyre of the Body to K H: the VII<sup>th</sup> who departed this lyfe 6 Septem: 1509'. It was once to be seen in the north chapel dedicated to St Katherine in the church of St Mary the Virgin and the Holy Rood, Little Chart. After its almost total destruction by enemy action on 16 August 1944 the surviving monuments were installed in a new church consecrated in 1956. In 2007 the monuments were moved again, this time to the church of St James the Great at Egerton whose tower Sir John Darell had begun. The monuments were restored through the generosity of a member of the Darell family.