HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL

NOTICES OF MAYFIELD PALACE.

PARTLY READ AT LEWES, OCTOBER 3, 1848.

By HENRY ROSEHURST HOARE, Esq.

In pursuing the study of mediæval architecture, we trace its history mainly as developed in our ecclesiastical edifices, but few remnants of domestic buildings having survived to the present age, not so much through the lapse of time as through the gradual changes in society attendant on its course. Still those that remain of the ancient homes of England deserve our attention: their comparative rarity rather invests them with additional value than with an excuse for passing them by unnoticed; and we may find some interest yet lingering about the habitations of our forefathers, as well as in the nobler piles in which they worshipped, and around which they now repose. And here we may remark with what advantage this branch of our national architecture might be studied, inasmuch as it would lead us to a principle important in itself, and the more so as it is lost sight of in the present day, viz. the distinction observed by the ancient architects between their ecclesiastical and domestic designs, which may be pointed out in the far greater prominence which they gave to the former, both as to magnitude and decoration, than they cared to bestow upon the latter (though, be it observed, never trusting to either of these features for effect). In the one case their care was to erect a costly building, without taking into consideration the number of those for whom it was raised; in the other, to provide for themselves a substantial dwelling, often indeed ornate and imposing, but always eclipsed by the superior grandeur of their church.

The remains of monastic establishments present very scanty

portions of their domestic buildings; generally the ruins of the church or chapel alone attest the former existence of a convent. Probably the habitable parts were more carefully levelled, to preclude all hope of return from the ejected inmates; or perhaps the more substantial fabrics of the churches have withstood better the various mutilations which have taken place since the suppression of those establishments.

Though the greater part of the existing examples of ancient domestic architecture are numbered amongst the "warrior piles" of the feudal barons, yet some of great interest may be found in the remains of episcopal palaces,* of which the archiepiscopal palace at Mayfield has been, in its day, a very fine example, enough still remaining to show what it was when perfect.

The parish of Mayfield has been from early times a peculiar of the see of Canterbury; it was one of those where the archbishops had palaces or resting-places, to which they resorted when travelling to Lewes, for the purpose of visiting their college and palace at South Malling.† All the parishes in the line of country from Lewes into Kent were, till lately, peculiars of Canterbury, viz. South Malling, Ringmer, Horsted, Framfield, Uckfield, Buxted, Mayfield, and Wadhurst; thus the archbishop might travel from South Malling to Kent without quitting his own diocese. On a similar plan the peculiars belonging to the diocese of Lincoln follow the line of the north road from Lincoln to London.

There is no record of the first erection of a palace at Mayfield; but it probably was in the time of St. Dunstan, about the middle of the tenth century, when he made Mayfield pa-

* At at Lincoln, Norwich, Wells, Durham, and Bishop's Waltham, Hants.

† Various accounts have been given of this establishment. It seems probable that Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons (who died in the year 688), founded a church at Old Malling; that "Adolphus Dux Suth Saxiæ" founded the college there; that Baldred, and after him Egbert, granted the whole manor to Christ Church, Canterbury; and that Archbishop Theobald erected a new church and habitation for the canons at South Malling, and first established a deanery there. Lee's Hist. of Lewes and Brighton, chap. x, where is a full account of the manor and college. The college continued under the jurisdiction of the archbishops till the surrender, 10 March, 1545, 37 Henry VIII. The college and deanery were granted to Sir Thomas Palmer. In 26 Henry VIII the deanery was valued at £47 4*s.* 8*d.* Framfield, one of the prebends, at £17 0*s.* 7*d.* Ringmer pr. at £22 10*s.* Southeram pr. at £19 14*s.* 11*d.*—Tanner's Notit. Monast. Sussex., No. xxi. The archbishops had a palace at Malling, distinct, it appears, from the college.

rochial. Eadmer, in his life of that prelate, says that " he built a wooden church at Magavelda (Mayfield), as in other villages remote from Canterbury, where he had residences." The same historian gravely records of St. Dunstan, that when dedicating this church, and walking round it according to the rule, he found that its position was not in the line from east to west; applying, therefore, his shoulder to it, he moved it with a slight pressure (*aliquantulum pressit*) into its proper line of orientation; " the which," continues Eadmer, " that he easily effected no one can doubt, except he who would incredulously oppose the words of Christ, by which he promises to those who have faith as a grain of mustard seed, that they should even transplant a mountain with a word."*

According to some histories, St. Dunstan was a prelate of an universal genius, having been an architect, a skilful artist, a musician, a painter, an organ-builder, and a bell-founder; and the good folks of Mayfield would add, a blacksmith. An anvil, a hammer, and a pair of tongs are shown at the palace as his.† The legend of the place tells, that the devil having paid him a visit whilst engaged at his smith's work, St. Dunstan suddenly seized the nose of the unwelcome visitor with his tongs, and forcibly detained him; that when the devil at length made his escape, he by one leap " abridged the distance" from Mayfield to the spot now occupied by Tunbridge Wells, and plunging his nose into the spring there, imparted to it its chalybeate qualities. In his character as a churchman St. Dunstan is perhaps, on the whole, " more conspicuous than estimable." He was the principal founder of the order of St. Benedict in England, which had been only partially introduced by Archbishop Wilfred, and which afterwards prevailed so extensively.

Though the palace at Mayfield might at first have been intended merely as a resting-place, it evidently soon became a favorite resort for the archbishops; this we may infer from its ample dimensions, and from the number of deeds executed here, attesting the residence of several of the primates.

As there are no authentic records of this place, we can only

* Eadmeri Vita S. Dunstani Archiep. Cant.—Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii, p. 217.

† Engraved at page 214.

collect a few incidental notices, of which a better connected view may be gained by subjoining a list of the primates, from Boniface, the first of whose residence here we have record, to Cranmer, who alienated the estate to the crown, quoting the deeds or councils dated at this palace.

Boniface of Savoy; consecrated 1244. Died at the castle of St. Helena, in Savoy, 1270. Endowed the vicarage of Mayfield; the deed of endowment is dated at this palace on the eve of St. Laurence (August 9), 1262.*

Robert Kilwardby; 1272. Died at Viterbo, 1280.

John Peckham; 1278. Died at Mortlake, Dec. 8, 1292.

A letter from this archbishop to Richard, Bishop of London, "on affairs of great importance, treated of in the Archiepiscopal Court," is dated at Mayfield, Feb. 24, 1283.†

Also a letter of protection (*litera conservatoria*) on behalf of the Friars Minors, that they might have power to hear confessions, and to absolve all the faithful, without distinction, without applying for the assent of a council, and without the licence of the parish priest, is dated at Mayfield, March 12, 1287.

Robert de Winchelsea; 1293. Died at Otford (Kent), May 11, 1313.

A consultation of this archbishop, concerning the affording of assistance (or paying a subsidy) by the clergy to the king; dated at Mayfield, May 30, 1296.

A letter to all suffragans, to hold a service of praise to God for the success of the king (Edward I) in the Scotch war. Dated at Mayfield, August 22, 1298.

A command of the archbishop to the Bishop of Norwich, that he should persuade Hamon de Gatele, one of his clergy, to present his gift‡ in the Roman court. Dated at Mayfield, Jan. 10, 1299.

A letter to Hamon de Gatele, ordering him to make his present to the chief pontiff and to the cardinal. (It is added, "who, however, did not obey this command.") Dated at Mayfield, Jan. 10, 1299.

Letters of this archbishop in answer to the Bishop of Ely, on the payment of fifteenths to the king, and on the notification of an appeal to be made to the abbot of St. Michael's on the

* Horsfield's Sussex, vol. i, p. 416.

† Wilkin's Concilia, vol. ii.

‡ *Ad faciendum exennium.*

affair of Pageham.* Dated at Mayfield, Jan. 7, 1301. Probably Winchelsea was personally known to the inhabitants of Mayfield, and held in veneration for his deeds of charity. A compiler of miracles said to have been wrought by him after his death, records the cure of William Andrew, of Mayfield, of blindness, which was said to have been effected by his wife's bringing him to the tomb of that prelate.† Amongst other charitable deeds recorded of him is his grant to the poor of Mayfield, and to other indigent persons, all the profits of that rectory, except what was reserved for the repair of the house and church. If this was the case, the deed by which Archbishop Langton granted this rectory for the endowment of a fifth prebend of the church of South Malling, according to Tanner (Notit. Monast.), cannot have taken effect. Another disposal has been made of the rectory, viz. that it was a portion of the revenue of Canterbury Hall, founded by Archbishop Islip at Oxford. Godwin asserts this, but does not give his authority: Ecton also, quoting from Mag. Brit. There probably was no such disposal of the rectory as this; still it is not clear to what quarter its funds were applied. Lee says that Mayfield paid to the dean of Malling 6*s.* 8*d.* for proxies; and in the 'Taxatio Spiritual. Archiep.' occurs "Ecclesia de Maghfeld in decanatu de S. Malling LX *l.*" (Battely. Cant. Sac. Append. No. xi, a. Godwin, de Præsulibus. Ecton's Thesaurus.)

During the primacy of Winchelsea, Edward I made his progresses into Sussex; and as he visited Mayfield, he was probably entertained by that prelate at the palace; as the deeds before mentioned prove the residence of Winchelsea.

1297. The king grants a licence to David Comyn de Breghin, a Scotch knight (a hostage or prisoner), to go to France to fight for the king, on his oath of fidelity, and to return as before. "Donné à Maghefeld, 30 jour de May."‡

June 22. In offerings of the king in the chapel in honour of St. Alban, at Maghefeld, 7*s.*,§ the feast day of St. Alban.

The above notice is interesting, as showing that a chantry-altar at that time existed in Mayfield church in honour of St. Alban. The church then standing was burnt (with the greater

* Three deeds were executed by this archbishop at South Malling, in April, 1300, and a letter to the Bishop of Ely, Jan. 11, 1310.

† Top. Brit. ‡ Rymer's Fœdera. § *See p.* 145 *of this Volume.*

part of the town) in 12 Rich. II, 1389. T. Walsingham, who records this, calls the church collegiate, but apparently without authority. The present church dates about the close of the fifteenth century, and has no chantry-altars. It is rather singular that there should be so few dedications in honour of England's proto-martyr. Ecton only mentions two throughout England, besides the abbey church at St. Alban's, viz. a church in London and one in Worcester. He does not, however, record the dedication of chantry-altars. (Ecton's Thesaurus.)

Walter Reynolds; 1313. Died at Mortlake, Nov. 16, 1327.

Simon Mepham; 1327. Died at Mayfield, Oct. 12, 1333.

Under this archbishop was held, July 17, 1332, "CONCILIUM MAGHFELDENSE," or the council of Mayfield, in which was recited the constitution concerning the celebration of holy days, and the festivals of the saints.

It directs, among other matters, "the sacred sabbath to be begun from the first hour of that day, and not to be commenced beforehand, that we may not seem to be followers of the Jewish persuasion." "Feasts to be kept, besides the usual saints' days, on the anniversaries of the dedication of parish churches, and of the saints in whose honour the parish churches are dedicated. On the remaining feasts of saints, so called, persons may with license proceed to their accustomed occupations. But if any hired workmen should be refractory, and presume to abstain from their usual duties on the private feasts, and not, as was before said, on those authorized, and thus defraud those to whose service they had bound themselves, they shall be restrained, according to rule, from such superstitions.*

"Given at Maghfeld, July 16, in the year of our Lord 1332, and of our consecration the fifth." (Wilkin's Concilia.)

John de Stratford;† 1333. Died at Mayfield, August 23, 1348. No deeds are entered by Wilkins as executed by this archbishop at Mayfield. S. de Birchington has some interesting

* Bishop Ridley, in his Articles of Visitation of 1550, asks if any tradesmen continue to observe what he calls abrogate or private holidays.

† This archbishop was brother of Robert de Stratford, Bishop of Chichester. Their nephew, Ralph de Stratford, was Bishop of London at the same time. The primate founded the college at Stratford on Avon, co. Warwick, and also St. Thomas's Chapel; and Ralph erected a mansion at that place for the residence of the chantry priests. Wheler's Hist. of Stratford.—The following records the

notices of his being executor of his own will, and of his charitable donations at this place. "Having," he says, "been much occupied with his pastoral charge, he was seized with a severe illness at Maidstone, and growing daily weaker, he was at length conveyed to Mayfield, where, having made his will, he distributed all his bequests amongst his family, and for the most part executed his own will. He often foretold his death to his family; and on Sunday, the 23d of August, eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, in the year of our Lord 1348, and of his translation the fifteenth, this primate, being in possession of his faculties, and having heard the mass of St. Mary, died at Mayfield. Before his death he appointed Simon de Islip his successor. He (Stratford) had given daily in alms, in the morning, to thirteen poor persons, thirteen pence, and to each a loaf. At noon, to thirteen others, before dinner, to each a loaf and a penny. He was in the habit of distributing these gifts with his own hand. Besides which he gave the "fragments" of his household to a great multitude of poor who came in from the neighbourhood. These were distributed by his almoner; and still further charities are mentioned as given by him in private. He was buried at Canterbury, near the high altar, on the northern side.

John de Ufford; 1348. Died July 18, 1349.

Thomas Bradwardine; 1349.* Died at Lambeth, Dec. 18, 1349.

Simon de Islip; 1349. Died at Mayfield, April 26, 1366.

Several deeds of this archbishop are dated at this palace: in the summer of the first year of his primacy, ten instruments were executed by him here in the months of May, July, August, and September, 1350. The first was an injunction to chaplains to serve cures for moderate stipends; the second for settling the stipends of chaplains; the third an order issued in obedience to the king's command to offer up public prayers for

archbishop's investiture:—Forma dandi Pallium Johannis (de Stratford), Archiep. Cant. anno 1334, die 24 Aprilis.

"Ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et B. Virginis et SS. Petri et Pauli et D. Papæ Johannis xxii et S. R. E. Necnon et Cant. ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradimus tibi Pallium de corpore B. Petri sumptum, plenitudinem, videlicet pontificalis officii; ut utaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis ei ab apostolica sede concessis."—Ang. Sac.

* This primate was of Sussex extraction. Hasted says he was of Heathfield; but, as he quotes from Birchington, he seems to have mistaken that parish for Hartfield (Hertfeld).

success against the Spanish fleet; the other seven relate to the controversy between the university of Oxford and Bishop Synwell, of Lincoln, who had refused to confirm their election of William de Palmorna to be their chancellor.

The following deeds are also dated at Mayfield. A command of the archbishop to the Bishop of Lincoln, for the expenses of the apostolic messenger, dated April 13, 1352.

A similar order, dated June 29, 1352.

A command of the archbishop against those who refused to pay tithes, dated July 20, 1352.

An order for a convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, for making a supplication to the king, dated February 24, 1357.

A commission granted by the pope to the archbishop, for a convocation of the prelates of Canterbury, was published from hence March 31, 1361.

An order, containing the visitation of the convent of St. Frideswide, Oxford, dated January 3, 1362.

A mandate for levying tithes to be paid to the pope, directed to the Bishop of Winchester, dated March 24, 1362.

About this time Archbishop Islip founded Canterbury Hall, in Oxford, and it is probable that the regulations for its establishment, which are given by Wilkins under the year 1362, were drawn up by him at Mayfield, as he was resident here during the greater part of that year. It was here that he executed the charter of foundation, and the grant to the society of the manor of Woodford, in Northamptonshire, April 8, 1363. He is said to have been resident also on December 9 of that year, when he collated Wickliffe to the wardenship; but this seems doubtful.

Islip, like many of the mediæval prelates, was an architect as well as primate; he expended large sums in building and repairing several of the edifices belonging to his see, and, as we shall notice hereafter, the finest existing portion of this palace was probably his work. He recovered the sum of £1100 for dilapidations from the brother of John de Ufford, and obtained from the pope a bull to levy upon the clergy of his province a rate of fourpence in the mark towards the support of his charges, but under which a tenth was extorted from the clergy of his diocese. He is said also to have committed a greater waste of timber in the Dourdennes, in the weald of

Kent, than any of his predecessors.* Birchington mentions his having nobly repaired the palace of Canterbury, and his finishing the house at Maidstone begun by Archbishop Ufford.

One of the journeys of this primate to Mayfield seems to have eventually proved fatal to him. It is recorded of him, that about the end of January, in the year 1362, in riding from Otford to Mayfield, he fell from his horse, in a wet and miry lane, between Sevenoaks and Tunbridge. The chronicler tells us, rather unnecessarily, how he was thereby made "wet through all over,"† in which pitiable state he rode on, without the necessary change of clothes, and so arrived at Mayfield. After sleeping at noon "in a certain stone chamber" in the palace, he was seized with paralysis; so that after dinner that day he was unable to articulate distinctly. He remained at Mayfield till July, 1363, when he went to Charing (Cherrynge), riding, not on horseback, but "gently in a litter" (*suaviter in literâ*). From thence he went by stages to Canterbury, and after some time returned to Charing; and at length, in the beginning of August, 1364, came again to Mayfield, where he died on the morrow of St. Mark (April 26), 1366, in the seventeenth year of his consecration. He was buried on the 2d of May, without pomp and expense, before the great cross in the nave of the church at Canterbury.

Simon Langham; 1366. Died at Avignon, July 22, 1369. An admonition against holding a market on Sundays in the Isle of Sheppy, is dated at Mayfield, July 4, 1368.

William de Whittlesea; 1369. Died at Lambeth, June 5, 1374.

Simon de Sudbury; 1375. Was beheaded on Tower Hill, together with Sir Robert Hales, master of the Hospitallers, by the rebels under Wat Tyler, June 14, 1381.‡

A mandate of this primate, to denounce murderers as excommunicate in the church at Westminster, is dated at Mayfield, August 14, 1378.

William Courtenay; 1381. Died at Maidstone, July 31, 1396.

When this archbishop was making a metropolitical visita-

* Biblioth. Top. Brit., vol. iv. Stephen de Birchington, Ang. Sac.

† "Adeo quod ipse quam sub equo quam desuper fuerat penitus madefactus." The roads of Kent did not, it would appear, lack the "dirt and myre" for which Sussex was famous.

‡ Battely, Cantuaria Sacra, p. 74.

tion, the abbot and convent of the canons of St. Augustin, in Bristol, complained that their habit, being white, was much soiled by the dirt and grease of the black leather boots, which they were obliged to wear by a rule of their establishment. In order to obviate this, the archbishop granted them a license to use, within the precincts of their monastery, stockings and hose of cloth of a black or brown colour, so that the price of it did not exceed 20*d.* per yard. But when they went abroad, they were to appear in boots and not in stockings, without the special leave of their abbot. This license is dated at Mayfield, Sept. 30, 1385.*

Also an inhibition against encouraging the preachings of one William Skynderby, of the diocese of Lincoln, an heretic, is dated at Mayfield, May 14, 1491.

There is no record of deeds executed by any of the seven following primates at Mayfield, viz. Arundel, Chichley, Stafford, Kempe, Bourchier, Morton, and Dene.

William Warham; 1504. Died at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury, Aug. 3, 1532. This archbishop was probably (as we shall see) an occasional sojourner at Mayfield, though there do not appear to be any deeds dated here by him.

Thomas Cranmer; 1533. Martyred at Oxford, March 21, 1556.

It does not appear that Cranmer resided at Mayfield at any time. It was during his primacy that this place ceased to be the resort of the archbishops. Some years before resigning it to the king, Cranmer had given up several estates in exchange for other property, to the great detriment of his income. I refer particularly to what was called "the Great Exchange," made Dec. 1, 1537, when, amongst other estates, most, if not all, of the noble manors with their palaces, belonging to the archbishopric, in Kent, were made over to the crown. They are detailed by Strype (b. ii, c. 29).† In lieu of these, the king gave Cranmer some manors, which had belonged to the lately dissolved religious houses; from which stock of plunder all the properties granted in the Exchange seem to have been taken. "This way of exchanging lands,"

* Top. Brit.—At the visitation of Selborne Priory, Hants (an establishment of Augustins), by Bishop Wykeham, in 1387, the canons incurred a severe reprimand for wearing coloured stockings without permission.—White's Hist. of Selborne.

† Memorials of Abp. Cranmer.

says Strype, "was much used in those times: wherein the princes commonly made good bargains for themselves, and ill ones for the bishoprics."

The deed of the alienation of the manor and park of Mayfield is dated Nov. 12, 1545 (37 Henry VIII).* The rectory also is included; but it may be doubted whether it went with the manor, as it has continued till lately a peculiar of Canterbury.

In return for this and other demesnes, the king gave Cranmer a promise of a grant of lands, which, however, was not carried into effect till the 1st year of Edward VI, who, in consideration of his father's promise, and in performance of his will, "that certain persons should be considered," conveyed to him the rectories of Whalley, Blackbourne, and Rochdale, co. Lancaster, lately belonging to the Abbey of Whalley, with lands and tenements in that and other counties.

Extract from K. Edward's Book of Sales. An. regni Reg. Edw. VI primo. (Strype, Append. No. lxviii.)

Name of purchaser.	The some of money for the purchase.	The Lands.	The yerely value of the landes.	The rent reserved.	The tyme of the issues.	The teste of the patent.
Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuar.	In consider. promis. Dom. R. H. VIII. et perform. Test. sui, ac in escamb. Maner. et Parc. de *Mayfeld* in Com. *Sussex*, ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in Com. *Midd.*, *Hertf.*, *Kant.*, *Buck.* et *Ebor.*	Rect. de *Whalley*, *Blackbourne*, et *Rochdale*, in Com. *Lanc.* nuper Monastio sive Abbie de *Whalley* in eodem Com. *Lancastr.* modo dissolut. dudum spectan. et pertinent. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in Com. *Lanc.*, *Kant.*, *Surr.*, *London*, *Bangor*, &c.	£ *s.* *d.* 479 0 2½	£ *s.* *d.* 55 14 6¼	A festo S. Michael. Arch. A° 37° H. 8.	Test. 31° die Augusti.

Cranmer has been blamed for parting with these revenues of his see. "But surely," says Strype, (quoting from Philpot, historian of Kent), "it was a true apology, made for the archbishop's great exchange, namely, because, he finding that the spreading demesnes of the church were in danger to be torn off by the talons of avarice and rapine, to mortify the

* Battely. Cant. Sac., p. 64.

growing appetite of sacrilegious cormorants, and to extinguish the passions of such as looked with regret and desire on the patrimony of the church, exchanged them with the crown." How unjustly he had been charged with covetousness, let the good prelate himself testify. "I toke not half so moche care for my lyvynge, when I was a scholer of Cambridge, as I do at this present. For altho' I have now moche more revenewe, yet I have moch more to do withal; and have more care to lyve now as an archbishope, than I had at that time to lyve like a scholer. I have not so moch as I had, within ten yeares passed, by £150 of certen rent, beside casualties (fines and accidental benefits). I pay duble for everythynge that I bye. If a good auditor have this accoumpt, he shall fynde no grete surplusage to wax rich upon." (Letter to Sir William Cecil. Strype, Append., No. lxvii.)

Such a rapacious seizure was a "sign of the times," happening in the year of the suppression of the greater religious houses (1537). On the palace at Otford alone Warham, Cranmer's predecessor, had expended £33,000.

A park was attached to the palace at Mayfield at the time of its alienation, and probably had existed there from an early date. It is delineated in the map of Sussex in Camden's 'Britannia,'* so that its boundaries have not long disappeared, though they may not now be traced. Probably this, and all the parks belonging to the palaces of the see, were stocked with deer. Archbishop Islip sold to the Earl of Arundel an ancient claim appendant to Slindon Manor of 26 does out of the earl's forest.† That prelate received for the discharge of the claim 260 marks, and has been charged with applying the amount to his own use; but he probably was in want of it to aid him in his extensive works of building and reparation. These deer were to be delivered half yearly, thirteen in the fat season, "*in tempore pinguedinis,*" and thirteen "*in tempore de ffermesoun;*" this last is a singular word, seeming to mean "time of shutting up" (from the French *fermer*), and probably signifies the month of June, the time of the fawning of the does, which was technically called "the *Fence* month," as during it no swine, sheep, or goats were allowed in the forests.‡

* Gibson's edition. 1782. † Godwin de Præsul.

‡ See Notes on the Forest Charters, in Thomson's "Magna Charta," p. 360.—*Courts of Swainmote.*

To most of the palaces, parks were attached, and to that at Aldington, in Kent, was annexed a chase for deer. (Strype.) The alienation of these must have been a considerable loss to the archbishop. Queen Elizabeth (mindful probably of this) sent, on one occasion, a present of a buck to Archbishop Parker. A letter is extant from Robert Duddley to Parker, in his collection of MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Antiquarian Repertory, vol. ii, p. 166); in which he acquaints the archbishop that "he had sent him, by the queen's command, a great and fat stag, killed with the queen's own hand, but which, because the wether was hot, and the dere somewhat chafed, and dangerous to be carried so farre without some help, he had caused to be parboyled in this sort, for the best preservation of him."

We need not dwell upon the history of this manor subsequently to its alienation. Like most of the estates once belonging to the church, it has several times changed its owners. It was granted, in 1545, to Sir Edward North; after whom it passed into the possession of Sir Thomas Gresham, who resided here in great style, and entertained Queen Elizabeth when on her Kentish progress in 1573; one of the rooms of the palace is still called "Queen Elizabeth's Room." "But his chief seat," says the Biog. Brit. "seems to have been at Mayghfield, in Sussex, one room of which was called the Queen's Chamber, and the goods and chattels belonging to it were estimated at £7553 10*s.* 8*d.* This estimate is said to have been extracted from Sir T. Gresham's MS. journal: it evidently refers to the furniture of the whole mansion, not merely to the appurtenances of the Queen's chamber, and was a large valuation for those days.

From the Greshams, the palace passed to Sir Henry Neville, and successively to the families of May, Baker, and Kirby. There are a few notices of the manor in the Burrell MSS.,* extracted from the Tower Records.

The Architecture.

No traces remain of the early building of St. Dunstan, which, indeed, is not to be expected, as it was, most probably, like the church, built of wood, and would therefore soon be supplanted by subsequent renovations. The building, as it

* Addit. MSS. fol. 5682.

now appears, exhibits two styles of architecture, the Decorated of the fourteenth, and the Tudor, or late Perpendicular of the commencement of the sixteenth century. The plan is irregular, and difficult to be accurately traced, on account of the ruinous state of parts of the mansion. It consisted principally of a hall, with a quadrangle at the upper or east end,* containing the apartments, having projections in the form of square towers; at the lower end of the hall were the kitchen and buttery, and a tower which probably contained the servants' rooms. At a short distance south of the palace stands the gatehouse, or porter's lodge; it is tolerably perfect, but much modernized, having been converted into a dwelling. The principal feature is a lofty pointed arch, through which was the chief entrance in the centre of the front. It is now partially blocked,† and consists of plain, continuous mouldings. The lodge does not appear to be earlier than the fifteenth century.

The most ancient portion of the palace consists of the remains of the Great Hall, which show it to have been a noble building, both as to proportions and details. It was probably erected about the year 1350, the period when pointed architecture attained its perfection in the Decorated or Middle Plantagenet style. This date is confirmed by the reference already made to records of the see of Canterbury. We have noticed the residence at this palace of Archbishop Islip, and also the extensive works of building in which he was engaged during his primacy. As the date of his consecration (1349) agrees well with the style of this hall, it is highly probable that, during his residence at Mayfield in the summer of 1350, he superintended the erection of it, and of some other portions of the palace.

Some antecedent primates had probably improved the palace, as it is not likely that, in the general renovation of edifices later than the Anglo-Saxon era, such a palatial residence would remain unaltered. The primate, to whom we

* The ends of the hall are more properly S.W. and N.E. I have followed the cardinal points for the sake of brevity.

† In the blocked part of this arch is the carving of a bird plucking fruit, which may have been intended as a rebus, but it does not agree with the name of any of the archbishops who resorted to Mayfield, nor with the arms assigned to them. In fact, rebuses were not common until towards the time when this estate was alienated. The device is of stone, but has been coloured by some native artist.

may point with some degree of probability as a builder here, is Thomas Peckham, who was a native of, and a resident in, this county.* He is related to have spent before the year 1284, 2000 marks in building and repairing some of his manor houses and castles;† and as the dates of two of his deeds attest his residence here, he may have made some additions to the palace, though a small portion only (to be hereafter noticed) remains, which might be assigned to his date. It is evident that a part of the palace was of stone in Islip's primacy; for, as we have seen, he slept in "a certain stone chamber," after his unlucky fall in the mire: this, however, may have been his own work, as he had at that time been primate thirteen years. From the mention of a *stone* chamber, we may also infer that a portion was of wood, which might possibly have been the remains of St. Dunstan's house.

The hall, though now a roofless ruin, still retains remnants of its former beauty, well worthy of careful examination. It is built with the sandstone of the neighbourhood, which is probably the reason that the elaborate details are confined to the interior. A striking feature of the exterior is the porch, very

OUTER DOORWAY OF THE HALL PORCH.‡

* Lewes is his reputed birth-place, but this is not certainly known. He had a palace at Tarble Down, in the parish of Framfield. Lee says there were some remains of it in his time (1795). The family of the Peckhams resided at Arches, in the same parish, and bore the same coat-armour assigned to the archbishop, *ermine*, a chief quarterly, *or* and *gules*.

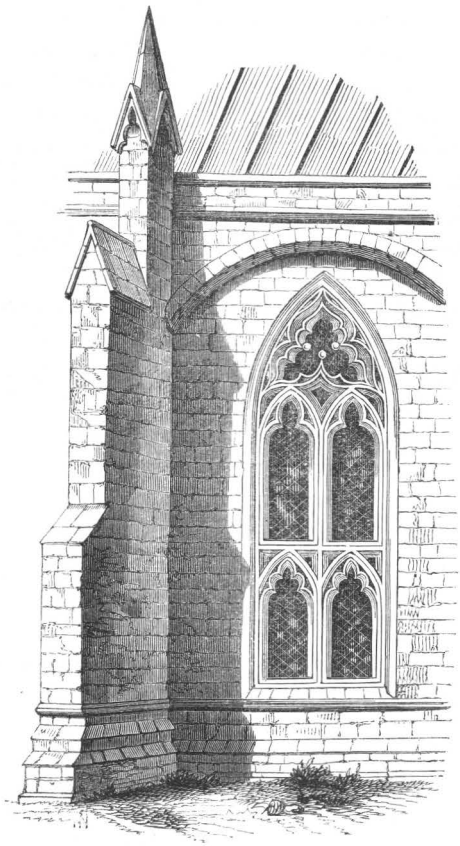
† Battely. Cant Sac. p. 70.

‡ The leaves on the capital of the principal shaft (now much broken) lay more horizontally than vertically, as the artist has drawn them.

massive, but of handsome proportions. Buttresses support it on the sides and front, of two stages, with pedimented heads. It is roofed, internally, with a quadripartite stone vault: the mortar has perished, but the stones are still held by the angular ribs, themselves locked together by the massy central keystone, which is worked into a foliaged boss. A chamber formerly existed over this roof, communicating with others at the lower end of the hall. The sides of the hall are divided into four bays, of which the lower one on each side is occupied with a doorway, that on the south side opening from the porch. The other bays contain each a window. The uppermost bay, on the north side, has been, at a subsequent period, projected, retaining the original window; the sides of this projection were carried above the parapet, and inclosed an upper chamber. Above each window, on the exterior, the wall is increased in thickness, and turned in an arch between the buttresses, which thus sustain a longitudinal as well as an outward pressure; these are (or rather have been, for not one remains perfect) very solid, and of deep projection. They appear to have been of two stages, with a plinth, finished above the parapet with pinnacles. No pinnacles now remain, but there are apparently traces of them; and they would be of use in balancing the thrust of the internal arches. The constructive arches, before described, greatly strengthen the fabric, at the same time giving a light appearance to the walls, and are a peculiar arrangement.*

The windows (three in number on each side) are tall and of elegant proportions, and all similar in design. They are of two lights trefoiled, divided by a transom, cinquefoiled: the tracery is of the geometrical order, and consists of a large ogee-pointed trefoil, each foil again trifoliated by smaller cusps: the three inner points of the trefoil have rounded stone finials. The exterior mouldings are plain chamfers, and those of the interior consist of a boldly-carved roll, with a square

* The buttress by which I have been guided in giving a restored sketch, is that on the north side, against which the projecting bay has been built; being in this way somewhat protected, it is the least ruinous. The others were, doubtless, similar, but they are now too much mutilated to be called buttresses, either in appearance or use. I have drawn the pinnacle without crockets, as there was an evident intention to avoid external ornament, on account of the softness of the stone. Pinnacles without crockets are occasionally found in the Decorated style.



RESTORATION OF A BAY OF THE HALL.*

fillet on the face. Transoms, unused in church windows of this style, occur occasionally in domestic buildings, for the convenience, probably, of opening and shutting the casements.† The internal splays are finished with a moulded arch, supported on engaged shafts, which have bases and foliaged capitals: the arch is surmounted by a label or hood moulding; this member, rather singularly, is absent from the

* The small finials in the tracery belong to the primary trefoil, and not merely to the cusps.

† A transomed window, of rather later date than these windows, though of the same style, and similar in proportions, lights the hall of the noble mansion at Haddon, Derbyshire.

exterior of the windows, where it is most needed, as a guard against the weather; perhaps such a provision was judged unnecessary, in consequence of the constructive arches aforesaid bending over the windows. Below the sill of each window, in the interior, is a flat table-stone, in the thickness of the wall, intended, it would seem, for a seat. This arrangement is occasionally to be seen in churches; the inner splay of the south-east window of the chancel is sometimes continued to within a short distance of the ground to serve the purpose of sedilia, as at Isfield.—"All the inner side (of the walls) of rough stone, except the *bench table*-stones, &c., which shall be altogedir of free-stone." (Contract for Fotheringay Church, p. 21.)

These windows furnish an interesting example of the ancient custom of considering glass as moveable property. Except in the tracery, there are no grooves for the glass, nor do there appear mortices in the jambs for holding the saddle-bars. The casements were moveable, turning upon hinges, some of which remain.

"It is singular," says a writer in the 'British Magazine,' "to how late a period glass was considered in the light of furniture, and to be moveable, in other words, as a luxury, not necessary either to the occupation or preservation of the house. In Brooke's Abridgement (title, Chattels), it appears that in the 21st Henry VII, A.D. 1505, it was held, that though the windows belonged to the heir, the *glass* was the property of the executors, and might therefore, of course, be removed by them, "quar le maison est perfite sauns le glasse," a doctrine and a reason which would much astonish a modern heir. As may be supposed, the advances of society in civilization did not leave such a doctrine unshaken, but nearly a century elapsed ere it was overturned. Lord Coke mentions, in the fourth part of his Reports (p. 63, b.), that in the 41st and 42d Elizabeth, 1599, it was in the Common Pleas resolved, *per totam curiam*, that glass annexed to windows by nails, or in any other manner, could not be removed, for without glass it is no perfect house, and that the heir should have it, and not the executors. The cost of glass for the windows was then (temp. Eliz.) no light one; for it is well known that, at that time, most houses were built with a

great number of very large windows, many of them filled with stained glass. Lord Bacon, in the case before quoted from Coke, observes, "peradventure great part of the costs of the house consists of glass, which, if they be open to tempests and rain, waste and putrefaction of the timber of the house would follow."*

But, besides these moveable casements, a feature yet remains unaccounted for. Grooves or channels are worked in the jambs and sill, apparently for the use of shutters or leaves of wood, as they do not seem to have been for the convenience of the casements, which would turn on the hinges independently of the grooves. Shutters were not unfrequently used in windows, either plain or carved with panels; in some cases they superseded the use of glass. They were either hung on hinges, or, as I think was the case here, they worked up and down in grooves. Probably, therefore, the casements were taken out when the archbishops were not in residence, and the windows closed with shutters.† It is hardly necessary to observe that the windows would be furnished with richly stained glass, probably armorial, as no building would have been considered perfect without such a provision.

We now come to describe the roof, a noble design, when perfect, and of a peculiar construction. The plan is simple, viz. three lofty stone arches spanning the hall, and sustaining a timber roof of rather acute pitch. The spandrils (or space between each arch and the wall) were closed with stone, and thus the bays were divided from one another. These arches were a bold conception of the architect: they embrace a span of nearly forty feet; and though their weight must have been very great, yet their magnitude would rather preclude than favour the idea of heaviness, as such a construction would appear more cumbersome on a smaller scale. They are obtuse-angled drop arches, i. e. their centres are below their spring; but their proportions cannot be accurately described, unless the measurements could be obtained of the chord of each arc

* Notices of Past Times from Law-books, by William Twopenny, Esq.—Brit. Mag. vol. iii, p. 650. Quoted in the Glossary of Architecture, vol. i, p. 189.

† "Window leuys (leaves) of tymber be made of bourdis joyned together with keys of tree let into them. I wyll have a latesse before the glasse for brekynge .... I have many prety wyndowes shette with leuys *goynge up and downe*."—Hormani Vulgaria, p. 242, 244.

or segment, and the height to the keystone from the line of spring.

A groove or jamb, slightly recessed, is worked vertically on each spandril of the arches, finished below with a four-leaved flower projecting against the hood moulding of the arch. These were probably intended to hold the shafts of the wind-braces,—arches of wood, placed longitudinally within the bays, for the support of the purlines which connect the principal rafters.*

The arches are carried on corbels placed midway down the wall: these have a moulded abacus, and are enriched with varied foliage of excellent sculpture, which, together with that on the jamb-shaft capitals of the doorways, exhibits the vine, ivy, and oak-leaf, in a manner worthy of the best period of art. The foliage is supported by figures of men in various

CORBEL OF ONE OF THE ROOF ARCHES.

postures, and of animals; immediately below these runs a string course of the scroll-moulding round the hall, except where interrupted by the windows. I am at present acquainted with only two other instances of a roof of this construction: one is at the Mote, Ightham, Kent, where the roof of the hall is supported by an arch of stone in the centre, and one of timber at each end; the other, in the hall of Conway Castle, Caernarvonshire, which, of smaller dimensions than that at this palace, is surmounted by eight depressed arches of stone, which probably sustained the floor of an upper chamber.

At the lower end of the hall are three arches leading to

* They are common in the construction of the roofs of collegiate and other halls.

the kitchen and butteries,* the usual arrangement in large establishments. There are, apparently, mortices in the walls, into which were fitted the beams of a western gallery, below which was probably a screen, extending across the hall—a general appendage in later times, useful in protecting the company from the draughts caused by the entrance-door and kitchen archways.

In the centre of the wall, upon the dais, at the upper end, was the chief seat or throne: nothing now remains of it except the stone diaper-work, which formed the back. There appears to have been a projecting canopy of stone, foliated within and pedimented on the exterior, and flanked perhaps with pinnacles. Not a relic exists of such an arrangement, but traces on the wall somewhat answering to it are delineated in one of Grimm's drawings of the palace, in the Burrell Mss.

The diaper-work is beautifully carved in square four-leaved flowers. This mode of ornamenting was not continued, except in painting, later than the Decorated style; it is not of frequent occurrence: other examples in this county are in Chichester Cathedral, and on the tomb of Gervase Alard at Winchelsea. In the upper wall above the dais is a pointed window, now blocked; it is said to have communicated with the archbishop's private room, from whence he could view the proceedings in the hall, when not inclined to be present. There is a smaller square-headed window in the same wall.

According to the uncertain description given by the tenants of the palace, the pavement, now entirely destroyed, consisted of stones, carved in the same pattern as the diaper-work of the throne; the hollow parts of the flowers being filled with various colours, probably a coarse kind of enamel. Perhaps, however, these were not stones, but tiles, which, though generally red, with devices in yellow, yet were not unfrequently, as mentioned by Chaucer, "of manie divers hue."† A few fragments of the pavement were preserved till lately by the tenants, but have been very negligently allowed to be abstracted by visitors.

* In one of the small stone lockers in the butteries is an ancient iron mortar.

† Tiles of dark blue and yellow occur in Etchingham Church.

In the bay at the upper end of the hall is an archway, now blocked, which led to the adjoining apartments; and at the opposite angle of the same end are two adjacent doorways, one on the east and the other on the south side: the arches of both are deeply moulded, and the jamb-shafts have foliaged capitals. That on the south opens into a recess or passage, cut obliquely through the wall and buttress, perhaps intended for a closet; but this is not clear. What were the internal fittings of the hall we have no means of ascertaining; the walls on the interior (as well as externally) are of smooth ashlar work, and do not present traces of painting or of wainscoting; they were probably hung with tapestry.

The length of the hall internally is 68 feet; its breadth 38; and height, to the ridge of the roof, about 50. Thus its general appearance, with its lofty windows of stained glass, its magnificent roof and elegant pavement (besides the internal fittings), must have been exceedingly fine; hardly surpassed, perhaps, by any other hall in the kingdom. I have detailed its principal features at length, as it is by far the finest portion of the palace, and also the most ruinous, having been regarded only as a stone-quarry by some of its modern possessors. We may traverse the remaining apartments more quickly, as they have lost many of their ancient features.

Passing through the eastern doorway before mentioned, and leaving, on the right a narrow arched passage leading to the cellars, and on the left an entrance to some of the ground-floor apartments, we ascend a staircase of stone, and enter the antechamber, which led (by a door now blocked) into a large apartment, probably the presence-chamber, occupying one side of the quadrangle. It is now called the great dining-room, and was probably used as such in later times, instead of the hall. In ancient mansions a dining-room was not uncommonly put in requisition after the hall had been disused for banqueting purposes. In this apartment is a fine stone fireplace, which is the portion before alluded to, as perhaps the work of Archbishop Peckham; but if not, it dates as far back as the hall. It is in the ancient form of the projecting hood, which is in this instance supported at each end by a triple bracket, resting on an engaged shaft; the hood was required to catch the smoke, as the back is but slightly recessed.

This room, which is now used as a granary, has lost its original windows; those by which it is at present lighted, on the side opposite the fire-place, are of the Tudor period. In an adjoining apartment, called Queen Elizabeth's room, is a chimney-piece bearing a date in Arabic numerals, which reads 1371, but is evidently a mistake for 1571, the time probably of its erection. There are traces of arabesque work beneath the whitewash. In a spandril of the doorway of another upper room is a shield, containing the arms of the see of Canterbury, impaling a fess between a goat's head in chief, and three lozenges in base. These were the bearings of Archbishop Warham, who occupied the see from 1504 to 1532, which period agrees well with the style of architecture of the doorway, and indeed of the greatest part of the quadrangle, which was probably repaired or rebuilt by Warham; so that this palace may have been his occasional residence, though we have no further proof of this in history. He made a request in his will that his successor should not exact any sum for dilapidations, as he had himself expended no less than £30,000 in repairing and improving his residences.* One of the lower rooms of the quadrangle seems to have been used as a kitchen; perhaps when the presence chamber was used as a dining-room, the kitchen at the lower end of the hall was discontinued as such. An adjoining room was probably a larder: the window is filled with elegant open lead work; the piercings are in the shape of fleurs-de-lis.

No others of those useful witnesses, armorial bearings, are to be found, except a small shield, charged with the arms of the archiepiscopate, built into the exterior of the hall, away from its original place. There was, however, another badge or bearing extant in Sir William Burrell's time. He says, "I found but one shield of arms at the place, which was that of the see of Canterbury on one corner of a mantle, and on the other corner was cut, in the stone, this figure"—(unfortunately no figure is drawn)—" the badge of one of the archbishops, as I conceive; it appears to be two bows, or straps of leather interlaced."† This bearing is not now to be seen, nor is it

* Hasted's Hist. of Kent.

† "Mr. Baker, of the Lower House, told Mr. Hayley that he had the coat armour of Sir Thomas Gresham, finely executed in painted glass, which was brought from the palace."—Burrell Mss. It is not to be wondered at that Sir William overlooked

clear to which of the archbishops it can be assigned, but it may not improbably have belonged to Archbishop Stafford, as a knot was the cognizance of a branch of the Staffords. (Lower's Curiosities of Heraldry.)

It is rather surprising that no traces remain of the chapel, though one doubtless existed, as it was anciently a necessary appendage to the mansion, and in one of the deeds executed here occur the words, " in *capellâ* de manerio nostro de Maghfeld," &c.

On the north side of the hall there are the remains visible of a subterranean passage, leading, it is said, to the church; it is now choked with rubbish.* Adjoining the kitchen apartments, at the lower end of the hall, is a well, of considerable depth, and supplied with the purest water. It is called St. Dunstan's, and was probably dedicated in his honour, and consequently the resort of pilgrims, and the reputed scene of miracles. It is guarded by four walls, having one entrance.†

We may here take leave of the palace, though other architectural features might be noticed: the foregoing sketch will show it to be well worthy of investigation, though now so much ruined, and hastening to further decay. Its mutilation has been caused by the hand of man, and not by that of time. It survived all the chances and changes of passing ages, and stood securely till about the year 1740, when its gothic proprietor fell upon it with axe and hammer, and reduced its fair proportions. Having been deserted as a family residence, the roof of the hall was taken off, and a quantity of stone taken from the buttresses and other parts of the palace, to be used elsewhere in building. Probably the Elizabethan mansion of the Bakers, generally called the Lower House, and sometimes the Little Palace, at the western entrance of the village, was partially built with materials from the palace.

Since this mutilation the hall has remained in nearly the same condition; but the apartments at the east end were so

the coat of Archbishop Warham, just mentioned, as it had then a super-coat of whitewash, of which it has only lately been relieved.

* The owner of the adjacent garden refuses to allow a search to be made of this passage in the direction of the church.

† The wishing-well at Walsingham chapel, Norfolk, was similarly inclosed for the convenience of the pilgrims.—Brand's Pop. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 223, art. Wells and Fountains.

much battered, that portions of them have from time to time fallen, and other parts are ready to follow. When Henry Nevile,* Esq., sold to Thomas May, of Burwash, Esq., the manor and park of Mayfield, May 6, 1597, "the glass and wainscot of the chief manor house" was particularised, and it was probably removed soon afterwards. A considerable quantity, however, of carved wainscoting remained for some time, but it has been wantonly burnt by the tenants. It may be a matter of surprise with some how the noble arches of the hall have escaped destruction. It was no feeling of veneration that spared them; the only reason was, the danger that would attend any attempt to pull them down. We would fain trust that they may long stand in defiance of any such assaults; but perhaps the next owner (for the ruins, it is said, are shortly to be sold) may want a few materials, and down will go further portions of the walls and buttresses; then the arches must fall, and with them some of the most interesting architectural features of the county will perish.

Those who have wandered amongst the once stately piles of a purer age of architectural science, cannot but regret the loss of these interesting fabrics of antiquity, which have deserved a better fate. It were to be wished that the voice of antiquarian societies, not seldom lifted up against their destruction, might be of more avail; but the utilitarian spirit of the present age looks coldly on them if they do not serve its purposes, and sweeps them ruthlessly away. It is an unpleasing truth that their demolition and spoliation have been, from various motives and on various occasions, the work of our own hands. Time has only cast his dark mantle over them, investing them with an additional claim to our veneration; exerting his influence only on those which man's hand had previously undermined.

Better things, certainly, may be said of the last few years, as we are now endeavouring to revive our national ecclesiastical architecture, and to appreciate the models of antiquity; still there is much apathy and neglect to be overcome, and the tide of tasteless innovations is yet but imperfectly stemmed. Surely we ought to consider ourselves as the guardians rather than the owners of our ancient edifices; for it is ungrateful in

* Of Billingbean, co. Herts. He sold the property for £6387.—Burrell Mss.

us, who have made so free a use of them, not to take some thought for posterity, remembering how our ancestors have built for us. We shall, however, be doing good service if we collect such records as we may of mediæval architecture, particularly in the case of structures doomed to fall; happy if we shall have lent an effectual hand in rescuing from oblivion the ancient monuments of England.

[It may not be amiss to remark, that a correspondence was carried on some time ago in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' on the point—whether the great reformer Wickliffe was rector of Mayfield. Not being acquainted with the controversy, I can only make this reference to it; remarking that Wickliffe was at one period of his life rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and Warden of Canterbury Hall, at Oxford.]