Medieval Houses in Devon and Their Modernization

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RECENT research suggests that the fully single-storied house remained common among substantial vernacular houses in Devon down to the end of the medieval period. The most important feature of these houses is that many of their internal partitions were screens that were only some 6 ft. high. In modernization, while an open hearth was retained in the hall, an upper floor was often jettied into the hall, over the low partition. At a later stage these internal jetties were used in original work. The houses with low partitions can be seen as a stage in the evolution of the medieval house, linking the evidence of surviving buildings with that of buildings known only from excavation.

N THE course of our researches into Devon houses we independently observed some unfamiliar features which radically altered our interpretation of vernacular building in the county. It became clear that many more houses were of medieval origin than had been thought, and that modernization had usually begun in the late medieval period: that is to say, well before the better-known changes of the late 16th and 17th centuries sometimes called 'the Great Rebuilding'.

The majority of the houses with which this paper deals (FIG. 41) were farm-houses, but two priest's houses and three town houses are included. All have external walls of stone or cob, while the internal partitions are either stud-and-panel screens or studs filled in with wattle-and-daub. Occasionally a house has an internal wall of stone or cob, but almost invariably there are grounds for regarding this as a later insertion. The roofs have side-purlins carried either by jointed-cruck trusses, or, more rarely, by trusses with true crucks or principal rafters; they are high enough for full upper stories to be inserted. Most of the houses have had extra rooms built on, and some have been partly demolished, but the earliest parts always appear to have been simple rectangles arranged on two-room or three-room plans with cross-passages, the three-room plan being much the commonest.

¹ Cob is the traditional building material of E. and N. Devon. Contrary to some recently-published descriptions, it consists of earth, often containing small stones, mixed with straw for a binder. It was used wet, unshuttered, and was trimmed after it had dried, normally to a thickness of 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

A standard nomenclature is used for the rooms. In the centre is the main room, the 'hall', while beyond it, at the 'upper end' of the house is the 'inner room'. In about half the examples, this room remained unheated, i.e. it was a store-room or perhaps a bedroom, rather than a parlour. Even in those inner rooms which are heated, some of the fireplaces are insertions of as late as the 18th or the 19th century, and

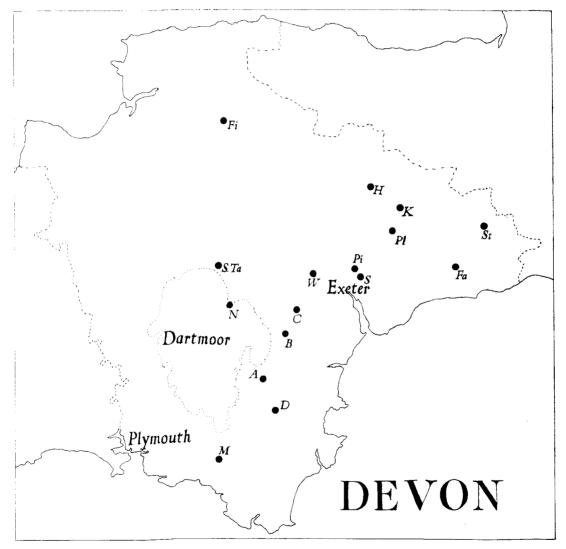


FIG. 41

SKETCH MAP OF DEVON, SHOWING LOCATION OF HOUSES (p. 100)

Parishes: A. Ashburton; B. Bovey Tracey; C. Christow; D. Dartington; Fa. Farway; Fi. Filleigh; H. Halberton; K. Kentisbeare; M. Modbury; N. North Bovey; Pi. Pinhoe; Pl. Plymtree; S.Ta. South Tawton; S. Sowton; St. Stockland

The 1000-ft. contour around Dartmoor is dotted.

it may be that conversion to a parlour was a standard improvement from the early 16th century onwards. At the 'lower end' of the house, across the passage, is the 'third room', which is usually an unheated service room, but can be a kitchen (or have been converted into one), and in two instances² is a shippon (cow-byre). The hall chimney is placed either against the cross-passage or on one of the long outer walls (at the front, except in the town houses). Although there is evidence of small medieval Devon houses having original chimneys in their halls, the smoke-blackened roofs of most of the examples establish that they formerly had open hearths.

There is very little evidence for dating the medieval work, but the should eredhead doorway is valuable because of its frequent occurrence. At present only broad ranges of date can be suggested for this, but the design seems not to overlap appreciably the heavily chamfered or moulded beams usually ascribed to the early to middle 16th century, and this provides an approximate final date. It may have been introduced about the beginning of the 15th century, following on from the earlier tradition of shouldered arches in stone. It is probable, therefore, that most of the houses described in this paper belong to the 15th or the early 16th century.

THE THESIS

The houses show features of structure and plan which can in our view best be expalined by modernization or development from a particular type of house.

I. HOUSES WITH LOW PARTITIONS

This type was single-storied throughout and heated by an open hearth in the hall. The rooms were divided from each other by low partitions, which were studand-panel screens only some 6 ft. high, their positions often unrelated to the rooftrusses. The smoke from the open hearth was thus able to percolate through the full length of the house, blackening the roof-timbers as it did so. In some the partitions have been extended up to the roof (with studs filled in with wattle-and-daub), and it might, therefore, be possible to explain the smoke-blackening in the various sections of the roof as resulting from more than one open hearth. But against this it must be noted that at roof level in several houses a partition is blackened on the hall side and clean on the other, while the roof-timbers are black on both sides. Thus the earliest stage of modernization was the sealing-off of some of the rooms from each other while retaining the open hearth in the hall. Sometimes this coincided with the insertion of an upper floor on the side of the partition away from the hall, but in others both rooms remained single-storied. Flooring-over often began in the medieval period, but the hall was not usually floored over until the late 16th or even the 17th century. A chimney was occasionally inserted while the hall was still open to the roof.

2. HOUSES WITH LONG HALLS

In some houses the whole of the partition between the hall and the inner room

² This small proportion is not significant, since our field-work has been mainly in E. and S. Devon, while long-houses are concentrated on Dartmoor, with scattered examples to the south and west.

is a later insertion. This may be because an earlier low partition has been replaced, but it is possible that some houses originally had a long hall and no inner room. Even the low partitions which survive cannot be proved to be original, for stud-and-panel screens can be inserted and removed without trace, while the design of the roof does not give any indication of their existence. The creation of an inner room may have been a still earlier stage in modernization than those already described.

3a. HOUSES WITH INSERTED INTERNAL JETTIES

When the heightening of a low partition was carried out in conjunction with the insertion of an upper floor, a ceiling-beam was sometimes placed directly over the low partition as a base for the new wall above, but in other instances the upper-floor joists projected into the room to be left open, so that they rested on the low partition and formed an internal jetty. A beam was then laid across the ends of the joists, and this supported the new wall at first-floor level. The jetties were clearly meant to be seen, as the joists were usually given curved ends, with their edges chamfered and stopped. Jetties were not apparently inserted for structural reasons; they were not used, for example, to relate their partition to a pre-existing truss. At the upper end of the hall, where there was commonly a bench,3 the jetty served as a canopy and is often shallow. At the lower end it tended to be deep, presumably to form a larger room over the cross-passage. Rooms in this position are (without evidence) sometimes called minstrels' galleries, and have occasionally been altered to resemble them by romantically-minded restorers.

3b. HOUSES WITH ORIGINAL INTERNAL JETTIES

Following on from this technique, and presumably for the same reasons, houses were built with original internal jetties, a development which had already begun by the end of the medieval period. In these examples, the first-floor wall was framed into a closed truss, so placed for this specific purpose. When the jetty was not an original feature, the partition it carried usually leant against a pair of common rafters, and it is often obvious that it was a later insertion because there is an open truss only a foot or two away.

3C. HOUSES WITH PART-FLOORED ROOMS

In a few houses, an upper room projected more than 6 ft. into an open room and was supported by a conventional arrangement of beams and joists. These can be classed more accurately as part-floorings than as internal jetties.

EXAMPLES4

I. HOUSES WITH LOW PARTITIONS

The basic house-type has to be reconstructed with evidence from several

³ Although surviving benches are apparently later, many screens were designed to accommodate them, as can be seen from the chamfer-stops on their studs, which are above bench level.

4 It should be noted that some of the houses illustrate more than one of the features discussed in this paper.

houses. The first house described was wholly single-storied, but the partitions at ground level have been destroyed; the second was partly two-storied, and has one surviving low partition.

Townsend House (previously Farm), Stockland (ST 245046: PL. XXIII, A, B; FIGS. 42-43),5 is built mainly in local chert and thatched. A kitchen and pantry were added at the rear, probably in the 17th century, when the main house was given ovolo-moulded windows and doors. The inner room and the room over it have fireplaces of this date, but the hall fireplace and the ceiling with intersecting beams are probably of the 16th century. The third room is unheated and retains a part earth and part cobble floor; it was, until recently, used for cider storage.

The four roof-trusses are jointed crucks. That over the inner room (a on Fig. 42), together with the roof beyond it, is a replacement, but the others are original. Common rafters survive over the hall and the inner room up to truss a, with one pair beyond truss d; both they and the wattling under the thatch are heavily smoke-blackened. There are through purlins, not housed into the trusses, but fastened on to their backs with pegs. The upper bay of the hall formerly had wind-braces.

Truss c (FIG. 43), over the hall, is the most elaborate and is distinguished by the use of mortise-and-tenon joints throughout. It has a cambered collar with arch-braces (3 in. thick), continued downwards by paring back the jointed-cruck posts from 9 in. to 3 in. The elbow joint is primitive and unusually complex; the foot of the rafter rests in a V-groove in the top of the post and is secured both by a free tenon and by a large face-dowel. Trusses b (PL. XXIII, B) and d (FIG. 43), by contrast, are plain and have had halved collars and braces (facing into the hall). Truss b is filled with wattle-and-daub, which is heavily smoke-blackened on the hall side, this blackening extending into the empty halvings (PL. XXIII, B). The other side of the filling is clean, but the roof beyond it is blackened. Below the filling is a mortised and tenoned collar-beam, with the sawn-off head of a central stud beneath it. Since this is smoke-blackened only on the hall side, and since its mortises are so placed that they could not have been used at the same time as the halvings, it must be an insertion, achieved either by cutting over-sized mortises or by forcing the principals apart. Truss d is identical with b, except that the collar and filling have been taken out.

It is clear that these trusses were originally open, and were later closed before the open hearth in the hall was abandoned. What is not certain, however, is the nature and height of the partitions below them. No original partitions have survived, but the E. post of truss d shows the halving for a downward brace, starting just above the first-floor level and continuing (presumably) to the ground. This may imply a partition higher than the usual 6-ft. screen, but not up to eaves-level.

There is now a stone wall at ground-floor level between the hall and the inner room, but the filling of truss b descends some way in front of it, almost to one of the deep-chamfered beams of the hall ceiling; and since this beam is chamfered only

⁵ This house was first examined by J. T. Smith. We are most grateful to him for information on it and for the plan and section on which Fig. 42 is based.

⁶ Cf. Alcock and Hulland (1972), 39. For abbreviated references see p. 125.

on the S. side, it was probably set against the original partition. Beside the hall chimney there is a short length of stud-and-panel screen with a shallow cranked door-head cut in its head-beam. It has mason's mitres and the studs are chamfered with diagonally-cut stops on the passage side, but are plain on the other. This is probably contemporary with the hall chimney and ceiling. The partition on the lower side of the passage is of lath-and-plaster (with some later brick) and is perhaps 17th-century. The hip-post at the S. end of the roof is not smoke-blackened and so must have been inserted (unlike that at Cotmead, Fig. 44).7

This house has always been of high quality. This is shown for the 15th century by the head of a wooden four-light window with trefoil cusping (now lying in the roof-space), and for the 17th century by the addition of two-story porches at each end of the cross-passage (PL. XXIII, A).

Cotmead, Pinhoe (SX 970943: FIG. 44),7 is a very small example of the three-room plan with an original upper floor over the inner room. The partition between the hall and the inner room is a stud-and-panel screen with a shoulder-headed door-frame, and this is continued upwards as a stud-and-daub partition to a tie-beam truss (a), which has clearly always been closed. Its hall face is heavily smoke-blackened, and this blackening extends without interruption through the roof to the lower end of the house (where the end wall was recently removed). The only other truss is the open jointed-cruck near the lower end of the hall (b). A fragment survives of a stud-and-panel screen on the lower side of the cross-passage, again with a shouldered-head doorway; this originally had no partitioning above it. There is no trace of an original partition between the hall and the cross-passage, and in such a small house it may have been omitted.

Nos. 27 and 29, North Street, Ashburton (SX 755700: PL. XXIV, B; FIG. 44),8 contained a complete low partition dividing the hall from the inner room. This was a stud-and-panel screen, only 6 ft. high, which had been heightened by nailing on rough studs to carry it up to the roof; it incorporated a doorway with shouldered head. As it had been neglected for so long, it was impossible to tell whether the roof-timbers had been smoke-blackened or not. The roof over the lower end had been replaced, but two arch-braced collar-beam roof-trusses and the remains of a third survived over the inner room, the hall and the cross-passage. All the upper floors were later insertions and it is, therefore, clear that, whatever happened at the lower end, the remainder was designed to have only low partitions. It was not even certain that the stud-and-panel screen between passage and hall was original, for it differed in detail from the screen at the upper end of the hall, the positioning of which was wholly unrelated to the open roof-trusses above, lying about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from one and $5\frac{1}{4}$ ft. from another (see also p. 114).

Poltimore, Farway (SY 177971),9 parallels one of the features of Townsend. The smoke-blackened medieval roof survives over the lower end up to the truss at the lower end of the hall. This truss, a jointed-cruck, is filled with wattle-and-daub

⁸ Laithwaite (1971b). The house is now demolished.

⁹ To be published in detail by Commander E. H. D. Williams.

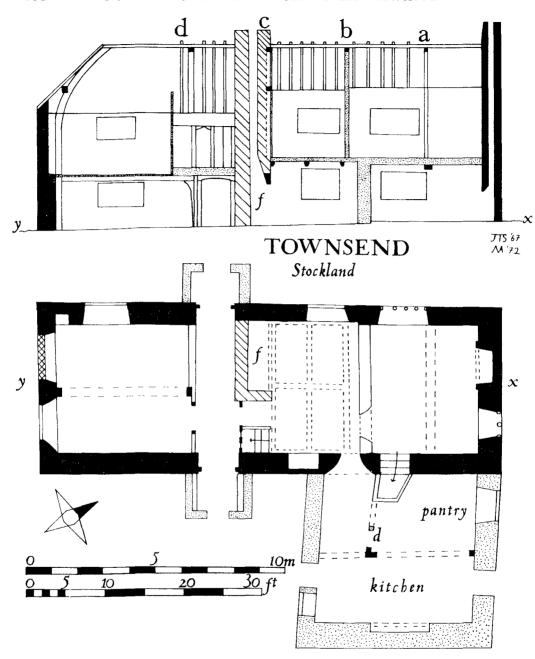
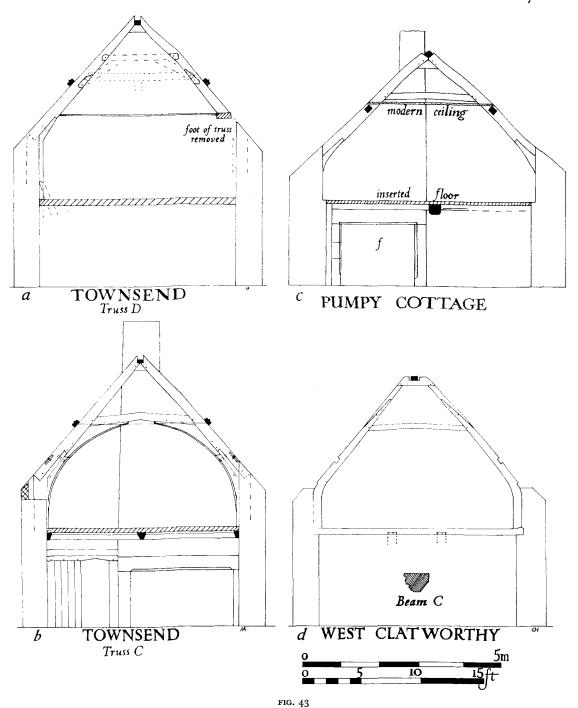


FIG. 42

TOWNSEND, STOCKLAND (p. 104 f.)

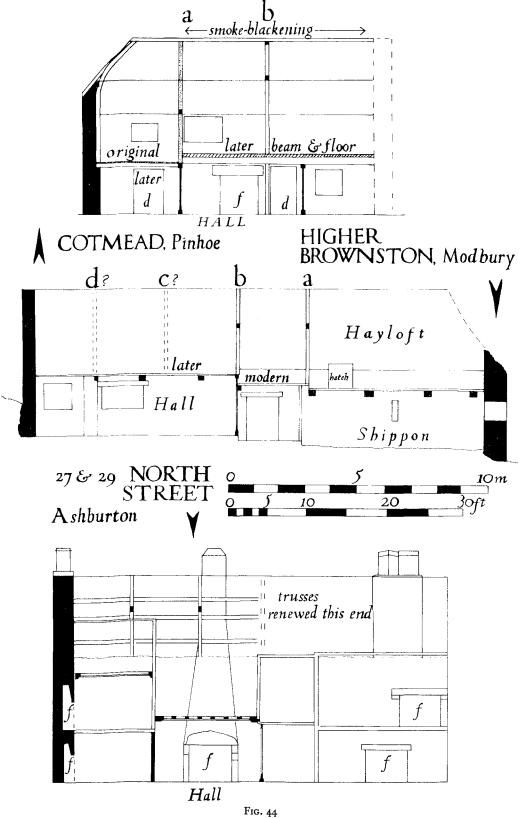
Plan and long-section. Original walls solid black; 16th-century chimney shaded; stippling and cross-hatching indicate later work. f on this and following figures indicates position of fireplace.

Based, with additions, on drawings by J. T. Smith in the R.C.H.M. archives



a, b. TOWNSEND, STOCKLAND (trusses d and c; p. 104); c. PUMPY COTTAGE, EAST WEEK, SOUTH TAWTON (pp. 109 ff.); d. WEST CLATWORTHY, FILLEIGH (pp. 118 f., 121)

Cross-sections. The lower (mortised) collar and its stud on Townsend truss d are drawn in from truss b.



and the filling is heavily encrusted with soot on the hall side, although the other side remains clean apart from a small amount of staining caused by smoke filtering through. Again, this truss must originally have been at least partly open, and, after it was closed up, the open hearth must have continued in use in the hall.

At Woodbeer Court, Plymtree (ST 065040), 10 the wagon roof survives over the lower end, the cross-passage, and half the hall, and is smoke-blackened over this whole length with no partitions. There is similar evidence from Higher Brownston, Modbury (SX 700528: Fig. 44), 11 a long-house. Two cruck trusses of the medieval roof survive, both of them originally open. One (b in Fig. 43) is above the screen between hall and passage, the other (a) almost above the present division between passage and shippon. Truss a shows heavy smoke-blackening, indicating that the roof was open to this point (and presumably over the rest of the shippon, where the roof has been replaced). The screen beneath truss b is of the late 16th or 17th century and may be a replacement contemporary with the side-chimney and floor in the hall. The partition between passage and shippon is recent. As so often with Devon long-houses, there may have been no original division at this point. 12

Cordwents, Halberton, with two low screens but with the roof-timbers concealed, is discussed on p. 1111.

2. HOUSES WITH LONG HALLS

As has already been noted, the suggestion that there were formerly 'long halls', subsequently divided into two rooms, is necessarily difficult to substantiate.

Pumpy Cottage, East Week, South Tawton (SX 665920: PL. XXIV, A; FIGS. 43, 45),¹³ is the example which best lends itself to this interpretation. The hall and inner room, both small, are all that remain, apart from late additions at the back. The cross-passage is now only a lean-to against the lower end of the hall, while the third room has been replaced by a row of sheds and garages with what may be its end wall built into another cottage. The masonry, however, proves that the cross-passage and third room did exist and were of one build with the rest of the house.

The roof over the hall and the inner room is of only two bays, with the remains of a third bay at the lower end, now occupied by an inserted stack backing on to the cross-passage. The bays are divided by two open, jointed-cruck trusses,

¹⁰ Alcock and Hulland (1972), 53. The roof is one of only three known secular Devon examples which are of common-rafter form.

¹¹ S. R. Jones, 'Devonshire farmhouses, pt. III', Trans. Devonshire Assoc., CIII (1971), 66.

¹² N. W. Alcock, 'Devonshire farmhouses, pt. 11', ibid. CI (1969), 94.

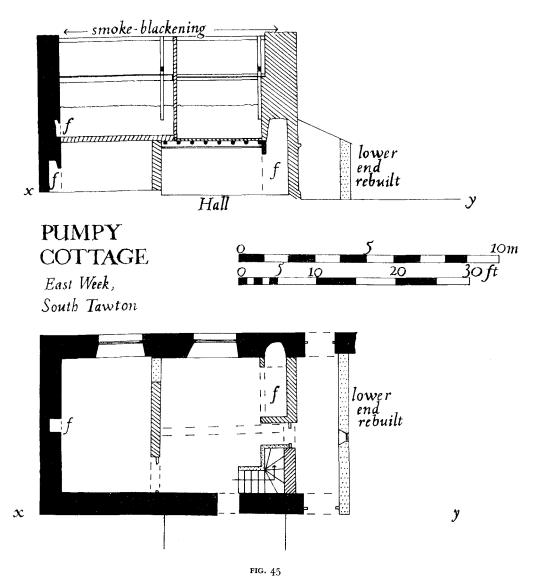
13 Survey by M. Laithwaite and P. Child. We are indebted to Rear-Admiral K. G. Lawder for drawing our attention to this house.

FIG. 44

COTMEAD, PINHOE (p. 105); HIGHER BROWNSTON, MODBURY (p. 109); nos. 27 and 29, NORTH STREET, ASHBURTON (pp. 105, 114)

Long-sections. At Cotmead stippling indicates original floor and partition, shading the later floor. The end wall has recently been removed.

and are smoke-blackened for their whole length. The wattle-and-daub partition separating the upper parts of the hall and the inner room leans against a pair of common rafters, being held in position by a collar laid across the purlins. This partition is heavily smoke-blackened on the hall side, but clean towards the inner room. No low partition now exists at ground-floor level, and at this point the two rooms are separated by a stone wall, set back I ft. 10 in. farther into the inner



PUMPY COTTAGE, EAST WEEK, SOUTH TAWTON (pp. 109 ff.)
Plan and long-section. 16th and 17th-century work is represented by two varieties of shading, later work by stippling.

room than the partition above. The wall is probably of the late 16th or the 17th century, because it contains a heavy wooden doorway with rounded head.

The clue to what seems to have happened is provided by the hall ceiling. This has a chamfered axial beam with plain joists towards the fireplace, while on the other side nearly all the joists are chamfered. The exceptions are the joist nearest the stone wall, and the one next to that, which is chamfered only on the side farthest from the stone wall and lines up exactly with the wattle-and-daub partition on the floor above, so that it must have been designed to butt against it. The axial beam, however, has not had an additional piece spliced on to reach to the stone wall, when that wall was built farther back than the earlier partition, and presumably it was a complete replacement, the joists being underpinned while the operation took place. The reason why all the joints on the fireplace side are also later may be that this side of the hall remained open after the other side had been floored. 13a Not enough of the construction is exposed to show when the inner room was floored over.

At Cordwents Farm, Halberton (ST 005127),14 the evidence is straightforward. Apart from the jointed-cruck trusses, the only medieval features are the two crosspassage screens, 7 ft. high with diagonal-cut stops, the door-head in one being two-centred, in the other shouldered. In contrast, the screen between hall and inner room rises some 2 ft. higher, to the level of the hall ceiling of the mid 16th century, with which it is clearly contemporary. Its door is square-headed and the studs have stepped stops. The whole length of this part of the house is 31 ft., of which the unheated inner room occupies $14\frac{1}{2}$ ft., the third room being 23 ft. long with a small room (pantry?) partitioned off in one corner.

Middle Moor, Sowton (Fig. 46),15 is discussed in more detail in section 3a (p. 114). Here, the screen between the hall and the inner room was of 17th-century character, like the jetty it carried. Moreover, the floor level had clearly been raised before this screen was inserted, for the screen at the lower end of the hall had its bottom rail completely buried. No evidence could be found of an original low screen between hall and inner room. The existing screen and jetty at this point were clearly associated with the creation of a spacious parlour at the upper end and a heated chamber above, as two elaborate fireplaces showed.

2a. HOUSES WITH INSERTED INTERNAL JETTIES

A few houses have clear evidence of jetties inserted over existing low partitions; in others, the partitions under the inserted jetties are themselves insertions (or perhaps replacements).

At Lower Allerton, Dartington (SX 765615), 16 a stud-and-panel screen with a shouldered-head doorway cuts off a very narrow inner room, only 7 ft. wide. The

¹³a For a house which undoubtedly has this feature see E. W. Parkin, 'No. 17 Palace Street, Canterbury', Archaeol. Cantiana, LXXXVII (1972), 183-90.

¹⁴ Alcock and Hulland (1972), 49.

¹⁵ Laithwaite (1971a); Alcock (1962). 16 N. W. Alcock, Dartington Houses; a Survey (Exeter, 1972), 11.

room over it is 11 ft. wide, its partition supported on a neatly chamfered beam with step-stops, later than the diagonal-cut stops on the screen. The main ceiling-beam in the hall is crudely chamfered, without stops. Although the roof is inaccessible, it is clear from this evidence that the hall was originally open, that the jettied room was then added, and that finally the hall was fully ceiled.

Priesthall, Kentisbeare (ST o83069: FIG. 46),¹⁷ provides an example of a jettied room inserted over the cross-passage and projecting into the hall. Only one original roof-truss survives, but despite this it can be deduced from the construction of the upper floors that the whole house was originally single-storied. The inserted floor over the hall has been recently removed, but a wooden window with four trefoil-headed lights, which would have been blocked by an upper floor, shows that the hall was originally open.

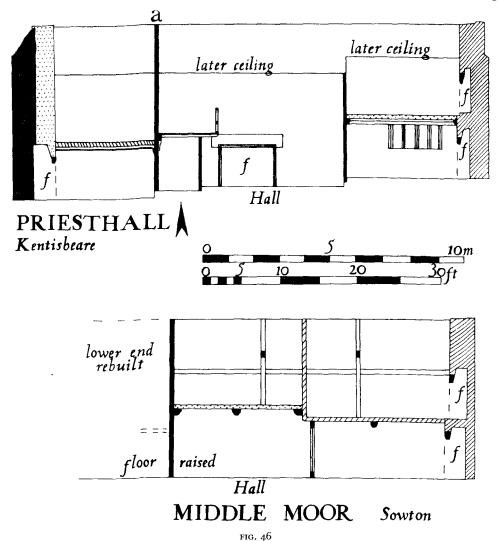
From the first, the third room, and probably the inner room, were completely partitioned off. Between the third room and the cross-passage there is a stud-and-panel screen surmounted by a framed partition, which in turn is tenoned into a closed, jointed-cruck truss (a in Fig. 46). The wattle-and-daub filling in the apex of the truss is heavily smoke-blackened on the hall side; the other side is inaccessible. The ceiling-beam in the third room is presumably inserted, as it is supported by a rough wooden bracket tacked on to the screen; the chamfer-stops at the other end of the beam are concealed in the chimney-breast, indicating that the floor is earlier than the chimney. The chamfered and stopped fireplace lintel is 17th-century and is mortised into wooden posts.

On the hall side of the cross-passage is a stud-and-panel screen, very similar to that on the lower side, which seems likely to be an original feature; it contains part of a doorway with a shouldered head. Over the cross-passage is a narrow room (recently converted into a gallery) carried on $4\frac{1}{2}$ -in.-square joists. These rest on the hall screen and project 2 ft. 2 in. into the hall, where they have curved ends. At their other ends the joists are tenoned, not into the partition (as would be expected for original work) but into a beam laid against it. Supporting this beam are wooden brackets fixed to the screen with old iron bolts, but disused mortises on the under side of the beam suggest that it was previously carried on posts.

At the upper end of the hall is a third stud-and-panel screen similar to the two already described. Like that dividing off the third room, it forms the lower section of a full-height partition of one build. But, because no truss survives at this end of the house, it is not absolutely certain that the present partition is an original feature. It has diagonal-cut stops to the studs, but contains a doorway with a cranked head that could be later than either the shoulder-headed doorway at the lower end of the hall or the ogee-headed front doorway. On the other hand, the inner room, because of the natural rise in the ground, stands 1½ ft. higher than the hall and it is difficult to imagine a 'long hall' with a floor so stepped up at one end.

When the house was first built, the inner room certainly had no upper floor,

¹⁷ This house has been discussed by W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval priests' houses in south-west England', Med. Archaeol., III (1957), 127-9, but restoration has since uncovered more of the structure. The interpretation in Laithwaite (1971b), 192, is now superseded.



PRIESTHALL, KENTISBEARE (pp. 112 ff.); MIDDLE MOOR, SOWTON (p. 114)

Long-sections. Original work solid black, successive alterations shaded and stippled. At Middle Moor some dimensions are estimated

for its main ceiling-beam is cut crudely through the main stud of the partition, dividing it from the hall, and the ceiling blocks the four-centred heads of a wooden four-light window in the N. wall. There are signs that the inner room was converted into a parlour, probably in the early 16th century. The studs of the partition with the hall are plain on this side, although chamfered towards the hall. This contrasts with the elaboration of the window and particularly of the fireplace, which has stone jambs and a wooden lintel, all finished with a double-ogee

moulding identical with that on the hall fireplace, which the smoke-blackening proves to be inserted.

At Middle Moor, Sowton (SX 964924: Fig. 46), 18 the stud-and-panel screen at the upper end of the hall appeared to be of the same date as the inserted jettied room it carried (p. 111). Only the hall and inner room remained, the lower end having been rebuilt. Both rooms had originally been open to the roof and had been floored at two different periods, both probably in the 17th century. There was some evidence that the cross-passage had been floored at an earlier date. The hall was separated from the cross-passage by a full-height partition framed into a closed, tie-beam roof-truss. Over the hall and inner room was a three-bay roof with two jointed-cruck trusses, neither of which was related to the partition between the two rooms. There was no doubt that the hall was intended to remain open after the inner room had been floored, for the joists of the jetty had curved ends and were finished with chamfers and stops. Beneath the jetty the chamfer-stops on the screen were 2 ft. 1 in. from the floor, presumably to accommodate a bench.

Jettied rooms inserted over the cross-passage and projecting into the hall, as at Kentisbeare, are known at Sanders, Lettaford, North Bovey (SX 702840), 19 which also has an original jettied chamber over the inner room, and at nos. 27 and 29, North Street, Ashburton (p. 105), where the partition supported by the jetty was out of line with and structurally independent of an open truss only a few inches away (FIG. 44).

A contrasting example, of a room being inserted over the cross-passage without jettying, is provided by nos. 66, 68 and 70, Fore Street, Bovey Tracey (SX 815783).20 Here, much as at Kentisbeare, the inner room and the third room were completely partitioned off under closed trusses and the passage was separated from the hall by a stud-and-panel screen. Some alteration has taken place, but it is clear that the passage was floored over by placing a beam against the partition with the third room and fixing the other end of the floor to the unusually heavy upper rail of the existing low screen on the hall side.

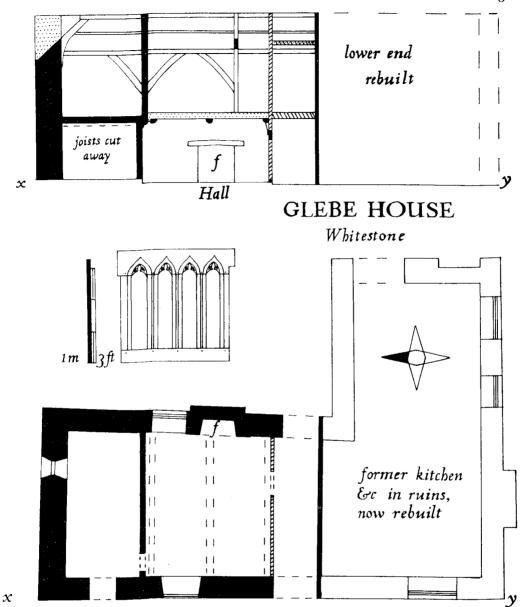
3b. HOUSES WITH ORIGINAL INTERNAL JETTIES

A good example of an original internal jetty is at Glebe House, Whitestone (SX 868944: PL. XXV, B; FIG. 47),21 formerly the rectory. The oldest part of the house, built of cob, is now embedded in a building of the 18th and 19th centuries. Nevertheless, the essential features of a late medieval house of three-room and cross-passage plan are well preserved. The third room has been rebuilt, but a plan of 1775,22 before the rebuilding, shows 'kitchen &c. in ruins' at this point (cf. FIG. 47).

 ¹⁸ Laithwaite (1971a). The house is now demolished.
 19 N. W. Alcock, P. Child and M. Laithwaite, 'Sanders, Lettaford: a Devon long-house', Proc. Devon Archaeol. Soc., xxx (1972), 227.

20 Investigation by M. Laithwaite on information kindly supplied by Miss E. Gawne.

²¹ Survey by M. Laithwaite and P. Child. The interpretation in Laithwaite (1971b), 192, is superseded. 22 Devon Record Office, Exeter Diocesan Records, PR339-341: Papers relating to the Rebuilding of Parsonage Houses. We are indebted to Professor W. G. Hoskins for this reference. This class of document provides an interesting and hitherto almost unused source of information on houses now rebuilt, often including plans or elevations.



0 5 10 20 30 ft

FIG. 47
GLEBE HOUSE, WHITESTONE (pp. 114, 116)

Ground-floor plan (restored from a plan of 1775), long-section, and detail of former first-floor window.

Original work solid black, later work shaded and stippled

At the upper end of the hall is a stud-and-panel screen with a hollow chamfer on the top rail. The studs are chamfered and stopped high up, presumably for a bench. Above the screen are the joists of the chamber over the inner room, projecting a mere 4 in. and with curved ends (PL. XXV, B). At first-floor level the wall carried by the jetty is framed into a closed, jointed-cruck truss. The late medieval date of this upper room is confirmed by a wooden window with four trefoil-headed lights (FIG. 47), which formerly lit it. The window now stands in an outhouse, with a plaque recording its discovery in 1858 in 'the bedroom above the scullery', which can be proved to be this particular room.²³ Neither the ground-floor nor the first-floor room appear to have been heated until an angle-stack was inserted in the 18th or 19th century.

On the lower side of the cross-passage (which is now a stair-compartment) is another original closed truss. What remains of the wattle-and-daub filling is clean on the lower side (where the third room was), but heavily smoke-blackened towards the hall. Between the cross-passage and the hall is a stud-and-panel screen containing a doorway with a shouldered head. This was never a 'low partition', however, but one section of a full-height wall inserted while the hall remained open to the roof. The top rail of the screen is I ft. below the present hall ceiling and its upper edge shows the pegs for the studs rising through the first floor. At roof level this partition leans against a pair of common rafters, and its wattle-and-daub filling is, as one would expect, quite clean on the cross-passage side. On the hall side the evidence is concealed by plaster. In the room over the hall is an impressive open truss comprising a pair of jointed-crucks with an arch-braced collar-beam, the latter having at its centre the butt-end of a pendant.

The original front door-frame, although also removed, is preserved, with another plaque of 1858 reading 'Ancient door frame from the west wall of the servants staircase'. Though mutilated, it seems to have had an ogee head closely resembling that at Kentisbeare.

Newhouse, Christow (SX 835850),²⁴ is a close parallel to Glebe House, except that the hall chimney has been inserted against the cross-passage instead of in the long side-wall. The stud-and-panel screen at the upper end of the hall has a hollow-moulded top rail, decorated with painted scrollwork, which might be original.²⁵ Again, the chamfer-stops on the studs are set high up to accommodate a bench: in fact, one end of an 18th-century bench still stands against the screen. The chamber over the inner room is jettied 1 ft. 10 in. into the hall, much farther than at Glebe House, but the first-floor wall is framed into a closed truss (this time with a tie-beam) in exactly the same way. The open, jointed-cruck truss over the hall lies 10 ft. 4 in. from the closed truss, but only 1 ft. 2 in. from the hall chimney-stack.²⁶ This provides important confirmation that there really was an open hearth in the hall, for the roof shows remarkably little smoke-blackening, except on the open

²³ Based on notes compiled by W. G. Hoskins and kept at the house.

²⁴ Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses* (Cardiff, 1951), 1, 47, 57, contains a brief note on this house, and a partial long-section.

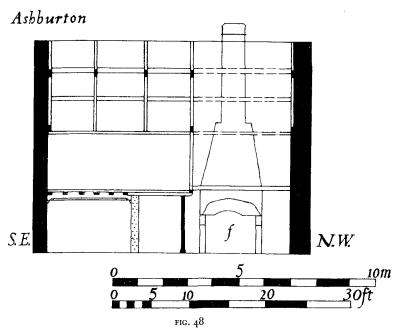
²⁵ Photographs in the National Monuments Record.

²⁶ The long section cited in note 24 is inaccurate on this point.

truss, and there is virtually none on the hall side of the closed truss. The probable explanation is that this is a very late medieval building, perhaps of the early 16th century, which retained an open hearth for only a short time, a view supported by the step-stops on the screen. The third room and the cross-passage, which now form a separate house, have not been examined in detail.

No. 33, North Street, Ashburton (SX 755700: Fig. 48),27 may have belonged to class 3a or class 3b. The jettied room lay over the cross-passage and projected into what was apparently the lower end, the NW. room. This was about 14 ft. long,

33. NORTH ST.



No. 33, NORTH STREET, ASHBURTON (pp. 117 f.) Long-section. Original work solid black, later work stippled

and the other ground-floor room, to the south-east, was 10 ft. long. However, the roof was divided by a tie-beam truss which formed a 12-ft. compartment to the north-west and an 18-ft. compartment to the south-east. This longer section of the roof was in three bays with arch-braced collar-beam trusses; the NW. compartment had no central truss surviving, possibly because one had been removed when a chimney-stack was inserted. The decayed state of the roof, however, meant that unmistakable evidence of smoke-blackening could not be obtained.

The logic of the roof seemed to demand that the SE. room and the cross-passage should be regarded as the hall, because they lay under the larger compart-

²⁷ Laithwaite (1971b). The house is now demolished.

ment of roofing. Moreover, it seemed that the upper floors were later insertions, and that the three sections, SE. room, cross-passage and NW. room, were floored in that order. After flooring had started, the NW. room might reasonably be regarded as the hall, because it remained open longest and was the first to have a chimney; the SE. room appears not to have had one until the 18th or 19th century. A possible explanation, as this was a town house, is that after the original hall was floored over, it became a shop, and the functions of the hall were transferred to the other end of the house. There would then have been a solar over the shop, later extending over the passage.

This interpretation of the medieval house as unfloored throughout is not in agreement with one aspect of the roof, the tie-beam truss. The wattle-and-daub partition below this, carried by the jetty, had its studs set into rough, diamond-shaped notches on the under side of the tie-beam, and it was not possible to decide from the structural evidence whether it was original or not. However, such a truss customarily carries a partition, as at Newhouse, and this would suggest an original jetty, with the layout of the house as described above. If the jetty were not original, the ground-floor partition (a stud-and-panel screen containing a shouldered-head doorway) would be an example of an original low partition. The function of the tie-beam truss would then have been to form a symbolic division in the roof above: a highly unusual arrangement.

3C. HOUSES WITH PART-FLOORED ROOMS

At West Clatworthy, Filleigh (SS 683283: PL. XXV, A; FIGS. 43, 49),²⁸ the crosspassage and the lower third of the hall were floored together, leaving the remainder of the hall to be floored later. The house was badly damaged by fire some years ago and most of the facts relating to its development were brought to light by the owner during restoration. The principal medieval features are: one roof-truss (a on FIG. 49), a short length of roof to the west of it, and a longer part to the east over most of the hall. All this roof is heavily and evenly smoke-blackened, including the whole of the truss, which clearly did not carry a partition originally. The truss (FIG. 43, D) is composed of crucks scarfed near the apex, which has a saddle to carry the ridge.²⁹ The feet of the crucks now stand on a beam, which might be original. However, it has on its top a continuous groove for a partition, which is not consistent with the smoke-blackening on the truss. Also, on the under side of the beam there is a rebate for a partition rather than the normal medieval mortises for studs in a stud-and-panel partition.³⁰

Above the centre of the hall a peg-hole in the ridge-piece suggests the position of another truss. Between this and the cruck truss is a very remarkable survival, a louver of a form that could be called a smoke-tunnel (PL. XXV, A). High up in the roof-space two horizontal timbers (2 in. square and about 6 ft. long) are pegged

 $^{^{28}}$ We are most grateful to Mr. Dick Petch for information on his discoveries during restoration, and to Mr. C. Hulland for the survey.

²⁹ This type of apex has not previously been recorded from Devon.

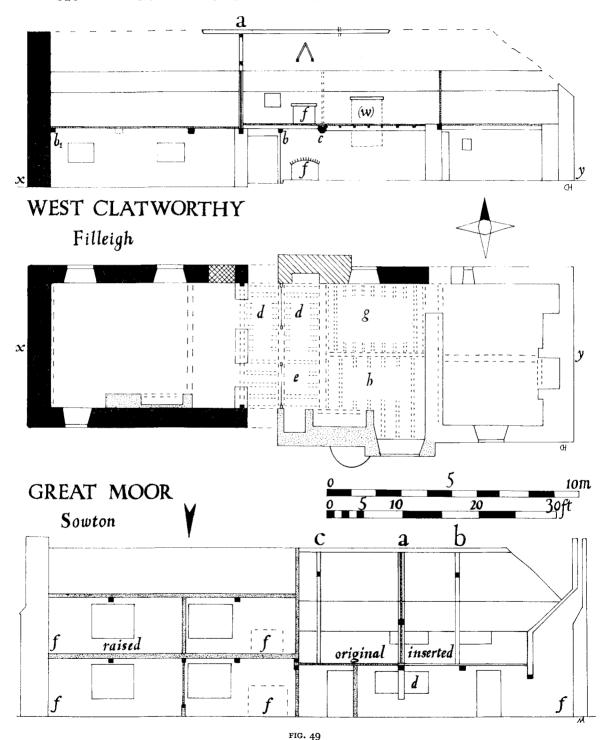
^{3°} The only other upper cruck recorded in Devon is at Pizwell, Lydford (op. cit. in note 11), but a re-examination by N. W. Alcock suggests that its beam could also have been intruded, as it has no proper joints with the feet of the blades.

into adjacent pairs of common rafters (in the position of collars). At each outer end and about 1 ft. in from each end, four pairs of timbers each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long are pitched together, resting on the two main horizontals. Battens are fixed horizontally between the shorter timbers to give triangular tunnels through the thatch on each side of the roof, in the form of small gabled dormers. Nothing like this, and indeed no other louvers, are known from Devon, although a number of medieval roofs are known with much of the original smoke-blackened thatch surviving (cf. PL. XXIII, B). The implication is inescapable that normally the smoke was just allowed to collect in the roof-space. It is possible that roofs open from end to end persisted to an unusually late date because of this, to give more space for the smoke to dissipate.

The development of the hall at West Clatworthy in the late medieval and early post-medieval period can be followed from the ceiling, whose joists and beams are of three different types. The earliest part is the beam c, together with a few of the joists d, spanning the space between it and the beam under the cruck truss; these joists are chamfered with draw-stops at their ends, and they also have pairs of stops on the hall side of the passage (at b), showing that they did pass over a beam there. What may well be this beam still exists, reused, in the lower end of the house (b1). It has a slot on the under side, indicating that it was originally the head of a plank partition with a 4-ft. opening in the centre. Across this opening, the beam has a chamfer on each side with pyramid stops. There is no rebate for a door or slot for a head-board, and this makes it clear that the partition had a wide opening without a door.31 If it is accepted that beam b^{1} belongs in this position, it follows that there was originally a low partition at this point, for the beam has no provision for a partition on its upper side, and the pyramid stops should be earlier than any part of the hall ceiling. Beam c has a plain chamfer on the passage side with step-stops, but the other side has a complex moulding with repeated double rolls (FIG. 43), suggesting that the first insertion of a floor in the hall was in the first half of the 16th century. Beam c is slotted for a partition above it, which formed one end of the upper chamber, with the other end being the partition set in the beam under the cruck truss. The trimmer (e) probably gives the position of the stair. At this stage the upper end of the hall remained open to the roof. Probably in the late 16th century the 8-in. axial beam (f) was inserted, its W. end being supported on beam c. On the N. side of f are eleven close-set joists (g); both f and g are chamfered with step-stops. On the S. side of f the corresponding joists have been replaced by seven widely-spaced joists (h), which are crude and unchamfered. This probably occurred in the 17th century, in relation to the fireplace and window in the S. wall (see below).

During the first (or possibly second) stage of flooring a chimney was added on the N. wall of the hall with small fireplaces on both ground and first floors. That on the ground floor has an arched head of very fine masonry, while the first-floor one has a chamfered oak lintel. In the third stage (17th-century), the ground-floor fireplace in the N. wall was blocked and a larger one with an elm lintel with scroll-

³¹ Cf. Great Marshall, Ide, of 1518-20, in N. W. Alcock, 'Devonshire farmhouses, pt. 1', Trans. Devonshire Assoc., c (1968), pl. iv.



WEST CLATWORTHY, FILLEIGH (pp. 118 f., 121); GREAT MOOR, SOWTON (p. 121) Plan (West Clatworthy); original work solid black, shading, stippling and cross-hatching for later stages; f, omitted on the plan, should lie between g and h. Long-sections (West Clatworthy and Great Moor)

stops was built on the S. wall. Adjoining it a projecting window bay was added, a typical feature of the period. The flooring and fireplaces of both the inner and the third rooms are also of the 17th century.

The partition between hall and inner room is a low cob wall which has embedded in its top a beam with mortises for a studded first-floor wall. The S. wall of the inner room is of stone, set farther south than the main wall of the house, which is of stone for about 6 ft., with cob above. This might indicate that the inner room was added, but it is more likely that the S. wall has been rebuilt.

The earlier arrangements at Clatworthy were disrupted in the 19th century, when a stair was inserted in the cross-passage, blocking the rear door. The two doors (one now blocked) in the N. wall, leading out of the inner room and the third room, were probably opened because of this.

At Great Moor, Sowton (SX 965925: Fig. 49),32 there is very clear evidence of part-flooring of the third room. The hall and parlour (Fig. 49, left half of section) appear to have been completely reconstructed in the post-medieval period, but over the cross-passage and the third room (now the kitchen) are three original roof-trusses. Of these b and c are open, jointed-crucks, but the closed truss (a) has elbowed principals which are mortised into the ceiling-beam (d); this beam is itself supported on short posts. The roof at this end is plastered under the thatch and the plaster and the partition are heavily soot-encrusted towards the outer end of the third room. The only direct dating evidence is the use of step-stops on the ceiling-beam (d); this and the sophisticated truss-construction suggest a date in the mid 16th century. The site is an old one and there are reused early carpentry fragments. Thus the outline of the house may well be medieval, perhaps with a hall where the kitchen now is. This might explain the odd proportions of the present house, with the kitchen almost as large as the hall and parlour combined.

A further example of a part-floored hall exists at *Kirkham House*, *Paignton*, where the chamber over the screens-passage projects 6 ft. into the hall.³³ This is a house of considerably higher status than the others described.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Since the structural evidence suggests that upper floors appeared at a late date, it is worth citing some documentary evidence which provides a contrasting picture.³⁴

The first text describes the portion assigned to the vicar at Ipplepen in S. Devon, after the appropriation of the rectory in 1439:

'the hall of the rectory of the said church, the high chamber in the west part of the said hall with the cellar under the same, together with another chamber adjoining that chamber with the cellar under it, and the chamber above the two doors of the said hall, together with the kitchen, bakehouse and presshouse . . . '

³² Alcock (1962).

³³ We are obliged to Mr. S. E. Rigold for informing us of this example. We have not examined it and are uncertain whether the chamber is original or inserted.

³⁴ The sources and Latin texts of these documents are given in Appendix I, p. 124.

Very little of the house seems to have remained to the rector. The text also gives direct evidence of the use of rooms in a house that was probably very similar to those we have described. It is reasonable to infer that the kitchen was detached.

The second text also describes a house division, as recorded in the court rolls of Pinhoe in 1423. There is no information about the status of the people involved, but they were probably copyholders and can at most have been minor freeholders; the house might be paralleled with Cotmead (p. 105) in the same parish. William Leche surrendered his tenement at Monketon . . .

'on condition that the same William during his life shall have in the said tenement a certain chamber with solar called le Forthe chambre [=further chamber?] with free entrance and exit . . . '

PARALLELS IN OTHER AREAS

Some of the features described above have been noted in other counties, but with one remarkable exception, Purton Green, Stansfield, Suffolk (TL 784532),35 the evidence for low partitions is limited to Devon, Like our Devon houses, this 13th or early 14th-century timber-framed aisled hall has smoke-blackening extending over the roof-timbers of the hall and inner room, the truss between the two rooms having been filled at a later date with a partition which is blackened only on the hall side. It was suggested that this inner room always had an upper chamber, but the structural evidence for this is slight. Moreover, its floor would have been 11 ft. above the ground and it would have been open to the smoke of the hall. It could, perhaps, have been a canopy for the inner room rather than itself a chamber.

There is one clear example of a long hall, at Pwll, Tregare, Monmouthshire (SO 410097),37 Here the partition dividing off the chamber over the inner room was fitted into an originally-open cruck truss; this chamber was jettied into the hall over a low screen, which was not an original feature. However, the open truss would have divided the 'long hall' into unequal parts, 10 ft. and 14 ft. long, suggesting that the later partition marked a pre-existing formal division.³⁸ One medieval Cornish house has been published in which a long hall was never subdivided. At Truthall, Sithney (SW 654303), 39 the hall is 22 ft. long and the solar and service accommodation are on the lower side of the cross-passage. This can perhaps be compared with Trewhiddle, St. Austell (SX 008511),40 a late 16th-century house which has always been two-storied. It has only two ground-floor rooms, separated by a cross-passage, and the hall is again 22 ft. long.

Apart from Pwll, internal jetties do not seem to have been recorded in the smaller houses of other counties, except for two in Somerset, both of which are less than two miles from the Devon border. These are at Hagley Bridge Farm (ST

³⁵ G. and S. Colman, 'A thirteenth century aisled house', Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol., xxx (1965), 149-65. 36 Ibid., 151.

³⁷ Op. cit. in note 24, 47.

³⁸ Ibid., 48.
39 E. M. Jope, 'Cornish houses, 1400–1700' in E. M. Jope (ed.), Studies in Building History (London, 1961), 199, 203.

40 V. M. and F. J. Chesher, The Cornishman's House (Truro, 1968), 33.

054238) and Waldrons Farm (ST 045227), both in Ashbrittle parish.41 They are shallow jetties: it is not known whether they are original or inserted. Internal jetties are, however, relatively well known at manor-house level, and there is one in a medium-sized town house in King's Lynn.42

Part-floored halls, on the other hand, are frequent in Kent and Sussex, both as stages in flooring medieval halls and as original constructions, and one is known in Buckinghamshire.43 They also appear in town houses of 'contracted plan' in Coventry, Oxford,44 and Burford.45 The last of these has original part-flooring and some evidence for an original chimney. Original part-flooring is also described as a 'not uncommon' feature of the halls in the rear wings of houses in Tewkesbury.46

CONCLUSION

The importance of these buildings lies mainly in the evidence they provide for the evolution of the medieval house—evidence which cannot be obtained by excavation. The low partitions define a stage at which the house was not so much a set of compartments, completely sealed off from each other, as one great room fitted with screens. Such a house would give only slight protection from being looked at, and hardly any from smoke, smells and draughts.

Looking further back, particularly with the evidence of long halls in mind, we can perhaps see these houses standing in direct descent from buildings with no internal divisions. Peasant houses which could be of this type (i.e. where any divisions were so insubstantial that they have left no trace) have been found by excavation. Others had solid outer walls with only light internal partitions, and these could be directly parallel to the Devon examples with low partitions.47 However, all these are widely separated, both in time and social class, from the substantial and prosperous-looking houses of yeomen, townsmen and clergy of the later middle ages. What is lacking at present is evidence of earlier standing buildings with low partitions or with none at all. Purton Green may be such a link, but it belongs to a very different region with its own building traditions.

The absence of other comparable houses in E. and SE. England presents a problem, for that is the area which contains the greatest concentration of medieval buildings, and where some of the most intensive study has been undertaken. Devon, on the other hand, has been relatively neglected until recent years, and the late discovery of low partitions is therefore not surprising. Possibly they represent one of those isolated survivals familar among folk-traditions. Alternatively, there may be a structural reason related to the solid-walled cob or stone buildings characteristic of rural Devon. Tie-beams are relatively unimportant in Devon roof-construction,

⁴¹ Information from Commander E. H. D. Williams.

⁴² V. Parker, The Making of King's Lynn (Chichester, 1971), 54, 62.
43 E. R. Swain, 'Divided and galleried hall-houses', Med. Archaeol., XII (1968), 127-45, and further information from J. R. Armstrong and S. E. Rigold.

44 W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval English town-house plans', Med. Archaeol., VI-VII (1962-3), 215.

⁴⁵ Unpublished survey by M. Laithwaite. 46 Notes distributed by S. R. Jones at the Vernacular Architecture Group, Winter Meeting, 1969. 47 J. G. Hurst and M. W. Beresford (eds.), Deserted Medieval Villages (London, 1971), esp. 75 ff., 105, and fig. 27.

in which the trusses, whether of jointed-cruck or principal-rafter type, are usually fastened only by collar-beams. Hence, there is little structural advantage in aligning the partitions with the trusses. But in a timber-framed house, a tie-beam is usually an important constructional element, and it may have seemed logical to build full-height partitions framed into this beam, and into the main wall-posts that support it.

Finally, a point of more local significance, but with bearing on the survival of low partitions, is that in Devon the tradition of fully single-storied houses seems to have lasted unusually late. As we have shown, there is documentary evidence of upper floors in houses comparable to ours in the early 15th century, as well as the structural evidence of inserted and original jetties. But there can be no doubt that even such a superior rectory house as the one at Kentisbeare remained single-storied even after the insertion of hall and parlour fireplaces in the early 16th century.

POSTCRIPT

Since this paper went to press, a small town house, no. 18, High Street, Burford, Oxon. (SP 252123), has been found to have a roof with smoke-blackening in all three bays. The S. bay is divided off by a tie-beam truss, but this is thoroughly blackened and must originally have been open, at least above tie-beam level. The present wattle-and-daub filling is clean on both sides; presumably it is contemporary with the insertion of a fireplace in the middle bay, and possibly with the flooring of the S. bay. No partitions remain at ground-floor level, and those on the first floor are completely boxed in.

APPENDIX I

TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO ON P. 121 f.

1. From *The* Registrum Communum of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 11, ed. G. R. Dunstan (Devon and Cornwall Record Soc., n.s., x, Torquay, 1966), 53:48
27 Sept. 1439. Assignment to the vicar of Ipplepen:

'Item assignamus et ordinamus eidem vicario . . . pro mansione sua aulam rectorie predicte ecclesie, altam cameram in occidentali parte eiusdem aule cum celario sub eadem, una cum alia camera eidem camere adiuncta et celario sub ipsa, atque cameram supra duo hostia eiusdem aule una cum coquina, pistrina et domo pressorii ibidem . . . ' [the text then discusses right of entry and use].

'Item assignamus et ordinamus vicario predicto et singulis vicariis futuris in eadem cameram ex parte occidentali stabuli cum celario sub ea et stabulum predictum cum camera supra illud stabulum.'

2. Public Record Office, sc.6.168.3: Court Roll for Pinhoe, 7 April 1423. [William Leche surrenders a tenement at Monketon for John Tylke and his wife Christine] 'sub hac condicione quod ipse Williame durante vita sua de et in tenemento predicto quandam cameram cum solar' vocato le Forthe chambre cum libere ingressum et egressum ad cameram habebit, necnon aissamentum de sportum in gardino et fructione ad quantitate 1½ bz. cum copiositas fructatis'.

⁴⁸ This has previously been noted in H. R. Evans, 'Woodland', Trans. Devonshire Assoc., xcII (1960), 166.

MEDIEVAL HOUSES IN DEVON AND MODERNIZATION

ABBREVIATIONS

Alcock (1962) N. W. Alcock, 'Houses in an east Devon parish', Trans. Devonshire Assoc., xciv

(1962), 185-231. N. W. Alcock and C. Hulland, 'Devonshire farmhouses, pt. iv', *ibid.*, civ (1972), Alcock and Hulland (1972)

35-56. M. Laithwaite, 'Middle Moor, Sowton: a re-assessment', *ibid.*, CIII (1971), 77-83. M. Laithwaite, 'Two medieval houses in Ashburton', *Proc. Devon Archaeol. Soc.*, Laithwaite (1971a) Laithwaite (1971b)

XXIX (1971), 181-94.

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Our principal debt is to the many people who have allowed us to examine their houses, usually on repeated visits. We also wish to thank Peter Child and Charles Hulland for their considerable assistance with surveying and measuring, Tom Shearer for lettering the drawings, and S. E. Rigold for valuable comments on the text of this paper.