

MANOR FARM, RUISLIP, LONDON BOROUGH OF HILLINGDON

HISTORIC BUILDINGS REPORT

Geraint Franklin and Linda Hall



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**MANOR FARM, RUISLIP,
LONDON BOROUGH
OF HILLINGDON
HISTORIC BUILDING REPORT**

Geraint Franklin & Linda Hall

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*Frontispiece: The earliest located photograph of Manor Farm, c.1886.
(Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © Records of the Ewer family).*

CONTENTS

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
SUMMARY	3
PART I: BACKGROUND & CONTEXT	5
Historical summary	7
The Development of Manor Farm	13
The complex in c.1500	12
The building of Manor Farm 1505-06	14
Subsequent development	17
Functional context	18
Tenure	19
<i>Leases</i>	19
<i>Maintenance</i>	19
The Manorial Court	21
PART II: FABRIC ANALYSIS	29
Introduction	30
Exterior	31
Hall range	32
Cross wing	33
Interior	34
Ground Floor: Hall range	35
<i>Hall (room 11)</i>	35
<i>Principal stair</i>	35
<i>Closet (Room 12)</i>	36
<i>Entrance hall (room 9)</i>	36
<i>Back stair</i>	37
<i>Room 10</i>	37
Ground Floor: Cross wing	38
<i>Parlour (room 15)</i>	38
<i>Room 13</i>	39
<i>Room 14.</i>	39
First Floor: Hall range	39
<i>Hall chamber (Room 23/31/32)</i>	39
<i>Closet (room 24)</i>	40
<i>Room 22</i>	40
<i>Rooms 33/34/35</i>	40
<i>Room 21</i>	40
<i>Room 20</i>	40

First Floor: Cross wing	41
<i>Parlour Chamber (Room 28)</i>	41
<i>Closet (room 27)</i>	42
<i>Rooms 25/26</i>	42
<i>Attic and roof</i>	43
<i>Attic: Cross wing</i>	43
<i>Roof: Hall range</i>	45
<i>Roof: Cross wing</i>	46
Fabric analysis and phase interpretation	48
The house of 1505-06	48
Exterior	48
Interior	51
Ground Floor layout	51
<i>Hall (room 11)</i>	51
<i>Original stairwell (room 12)</i>	52
<i>Present stairwell</i>	52
<i>Parlour (room 15)</i>	53
<i>Room 13.</i>	53
<i>Room 14.</i>	53
<i>Service end (room 10)</i>	53
First Floor layout	54
<i>Hall chamber (rooms 23/31/32)</i>	54
<i>Middle bay (rooms 22/33/34/35)</i>	54
<i>Southern bay (rooms 19/20/21)</i>	54
<i>Original stairwell (room 24)</i>	54
<i>Present stairwell</i>	55
<i>Parlour chamber (room 28)</i>	55
<i>Rooms 25/26/27</i>	55
<i>Attic</i>	56
16 th Century	56
17 th Century	58
18 th century	59
Early 19 th century	61
Late 19 th century	63
c.1933	63
c.1960	64
2007-08	65

PART III: TYPOLOGY, TECHNOLOGY & STRUCTURE	73
Typological discussion	75
Technological and structural Discussion	76
Brick	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY	82
APPENDIX I: 'LIST OF DEADSTOCK REMAINING IN THE MANOR',	91
APPENDIX II: 1817 INVENTORY	93
APPENDIX III: MANORIAL LESSEES & UNDER-TENANTS OF MANOR FARM	95
APPENDIX IV: CHRONOLOGY OF CEILED, CHIMNEYED TIMBER-FRAMED HOUSES	97
APPENDIX V: PAINTED DECORATION	99
APPENDIX VI: WALLPAPER	101
ILLUSTRATIONS	107

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Architectural Investigation report was undertaken at the request of Stephen Brindle, then Ancient Monuments Inspector for the London Region of English Heritage (EH), in order to assist the London Borough of Hillingdon, the curators of the Manor Farm site, in the architectural analysis of Manor Farm. The present report supplements and amplifies building recording commissioned by the London Borough of Hillingdon and carried out by Linda Hall during the building's conversion to an interpretation centre in 2007-08. 'Opening up' of fabric during this work exposed new evidence and gave the opportunity to test existing interpretations of the building's use and development. The building recording comprised the preparation of measured elevations, cross-sections and architectural details, which are reproduced here by permission of LB Hillingdon. A digital photographic record was also made.

The present report, which is co-authored by Geraint Franklin of the Architectural Investigation (London and South) team of EH and Linda Hall, presents the results of the fabric analysis within the historical and architectural contexts of Manor Farm. Documentary research undertaken during the preparation of the report made use of historic maps, photographs and illustrations, estate documents and municipal records and well as secondary sources.

The survey and research making up this report was carried out in 2007-08. The measured survey was supplemented by ground and first floor plans prepared by Andy Donald and Gemma Bryant of EH, based on surveys by Linda Hall and Westwaddy ADP. Appendix v, a note on the historic interior decoration by Andrea Kirkham, was based on a survey commissioned by LB Hillingdon, and is reproduced with their permissions. Treve Rosoman contributed Appendix vi on the historic wallpaper. Unless otherwise stated, the photographs have been taken by Derek Kendall, Adam Menuge or the authors of the report.

Useful reports on the building were produced by Patricia A. Clarke in 1994 and by Demaus Building Diagnostics Ltd of Leominster in 2005. The room numbering system follows that of Demaus (2005). The trusses in the hall range are numbered from south to north, following the carpenters' marks.

The authors would like to thank Stephen Brindle, Kim Stabler, Susie Barson, June Warrington, Andy Donald, Gemma Bryant, Derek Kendall, and Treve Rosoman of EH. The report was edited by Joanna Smith. Special thanks are due to Jeremy Ashbee (Head Properties Curator, EH) for providing transcriptions of Latin documents, Adam Menuge (Senior Architectural Investigator, EH) for sharing his knowledge of the building during a site visit and in subsequent comments, and Andrea Kirkham for her insights on the historical interior decoration. The research has drawn upon research completed by Eileen Bowlt, who provided valuable input on the historical account of Manor Farm.

Trudi-Lee Daughters, the project manager of the Manor Farm conversion provided access to the building and much assistance. Thanks are also due to Sarah Harper, Sarah Drysdale and Charmian Baker, also of LB Hillingdon. The assistance of the

staff of the National Monuments Record, the archive of King's College Cambridge, the London Metropolitan Archives, the Hillingdon Local Studies Library, Uxbridge and the Manor Farm Library is gratefully acknowledged. The following also provided valuable information: Edward Roberts, David and Barbara Martin, Charles Brooking, Rosemary Harden of the Bath Museum of Costume, Emily Daly of Haley Sharpe Design, Christopher Willey and Chris Harrison.

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SUMMARY

Manor Farm, Ruislip, in the London Borough of Hillingdon (formerly in Middlesex) was built in 1505-06 as a manorial home farm of King's College, Cambridge. It is one element of a multi-period site, comprising a motte and bailey of early Norman date, within which a small, non-conventual Benedictine priory was established in the later 12th century. The manor was sequestrated by the crown and granted to King's College in 1451.

Manor Farm functioned principally as a manorial court hall and secondarily as a working farmhouse. It was leased to an absentee manorial tenant, who in turn subleased the demesne to a resident farmer. The disparity between these functions and sets of occupants may explain some of the building's idiosyncrasies of planning.

Of two storeys, the building has a ground floor of brick and close-studded timber framing above. Its L-plan comprises a three-bay hall range with a coeval two-bay cross wing. Manor Farm is of significance as an early and little-altered example of a fully-floored hall house with an integral stack. It is also a rare example of a documented, early 16th century court hall. Alterations and additions undertaken from the 16th century onwards relate largely to reconfigurations of service functions and circulation within the house.

PART I: BACKGROUND & CONTEXT

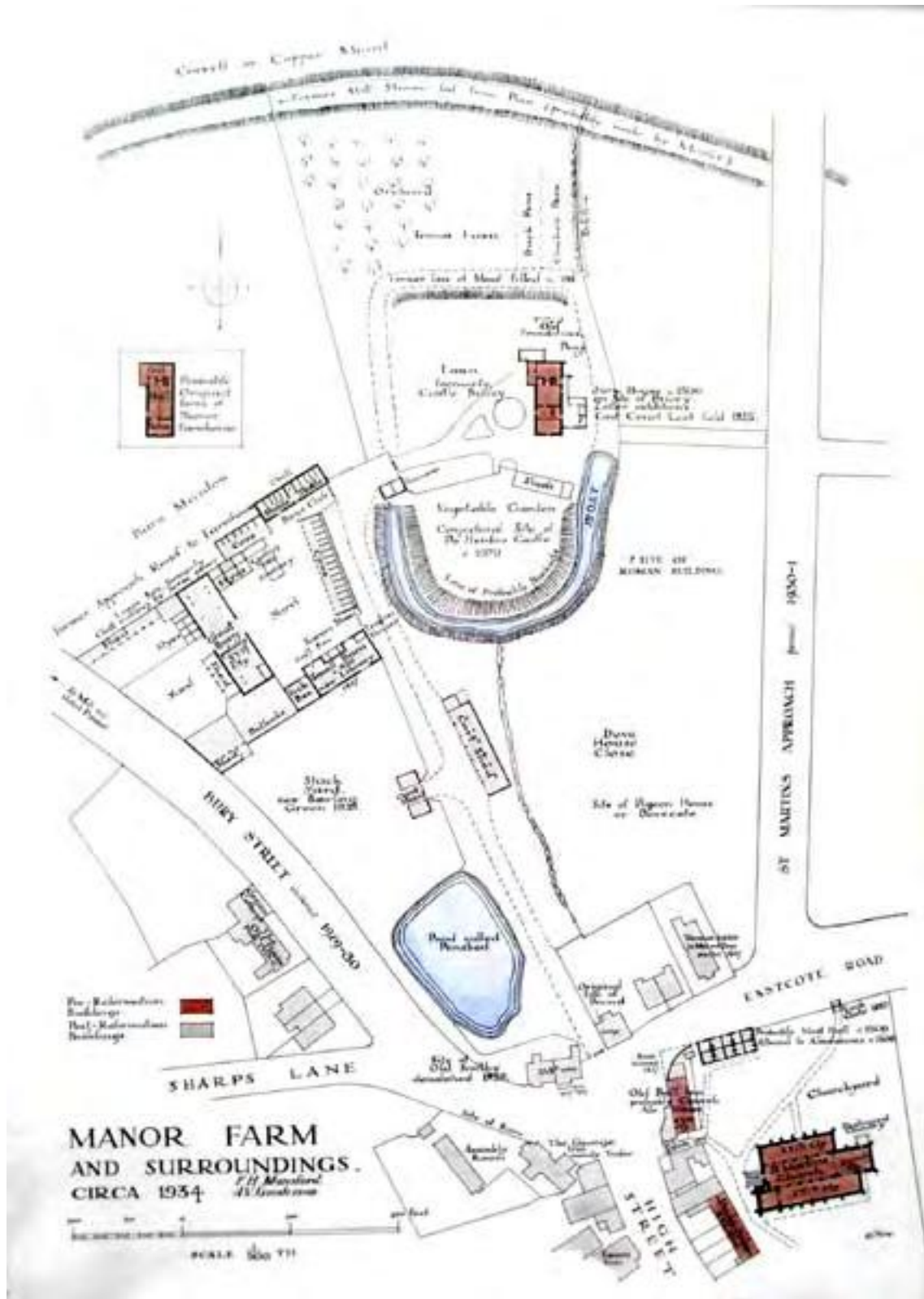


Figure 1: Interpretative site plan of Manor Farm (F.H. Mandsford and A.V. Gooderson, 1934; Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © London Borough of Hillingdon).

Historical summary

The settlement and development of medieval Ruislip can be attributed to a number of factors: its size, proximity to London, the presence of a crossing place on the river Pinn, which bisects the parish, and the exploitation of its natural resources, which included productive arable land, clayfields, and heavily-wooded areas north of the Pinn. After Edmonton, Ruislip was the largest medieval parish in Middlesex, comprising an area of some 6,350 acres enclosing the modern areas of Ruislip, Northwood, Eastcote, Ruislip Manor and South Ruislip.¹ The ancient manor of Ruislip was largely coterminous with the parish and was divided into three tithings, Westcote (now Ruislip), Ascot (Eastcote) and Norwood (Northwood).² The land south of the road from Ruislip to Eastcote was largely open fields, with common land and woods to the north.³

Prior to the Conquest the entire manor of Ruislip belonged to a thane of Edward the Confessor, Wlward Wit, who held land in 11 counties, including the manors of Kempton and Kingsbury in Middlesex.⁴ The importance of Saxon Ruislip is indicated by its park of 'wild beasts of the forest' (*ferarum silvaticarum*), one of 31 such parks recorded in the Domesday survey. The park was enclosed by a substantial bank and ditch, remains of which survive as earthworks. The banks were topped with palings, which were being renewed into the 15th century.⁵ The park supported 1,500 pigs in 1086 and was stocked with deer in 1270.⁶ To the north was a wooded commons, later known as the outwood, great wood or common wood.⁷

After 1066 the Manor was granted to Ernulf de Hesding, who held in total about 28,000 acres of land in southern England. Hesding may have had an origin in Hesdin, Piccadie, and is thought to have resided at Wiltshire. In 1086 Ruislip manor was assessed at 30 hides (11 of which were in demesne) and valued at '£20 in total value, when received £12, in the time of King Edward £30'. 53 people are referred to, implying c.250 inhabitants, living in around 50 dwellings.



Fig. 2: The motte and bailey earthworks southwest of Manor Farm. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042428).

Manor Farm lies within a motte and bailey complex of early Norman date. It probably had a small wooden castle. The motte is c.45m (c.150ft) across, now a low mound rising to some 3m (10ft) above the base of the bailey ditch, which is some 4m (13ft) wide at its widest point. The sub-rectangular course of the bank and ditch enclosing the bailey still be made out, despite extensive landscaping and infilling of its northern circuit in

1888; it is clearly shown on the 25" Ordnance Survey map published in 1865 (figure 3d).⁸ A portion of village enclosure may exist to the south of the motte and bailey earthworks, consisting of a bank some 1.5m (3ft) high with a ditch.

It has been suggested that the depreciation from £30 prior to 1066 to £12 in 1086 indicates the presence of a detachment of William's army in Ruislip in the winter of 1066, constructing the motte and bailey and stripping the area of fuel, food and fodder prior to their march on London.⁹ The Domesday book also attests to the continuing presence of the occupiers into the 1080s: unusually, four Frenchmen (*francigenas*) are recorded, probably lesser followers of William, who may have continued to occupy the castle. Ruislip castle was one of at least five early Norman castles in Middlesex, the others being the Tower of London, Baynard's Castle, Montfichet's Castle and South Mylmes.¹⁰

Shortly after the making of Domesday book, Hesding granted Ruislip to the Benedictine abbey of Bec Hellouin in Normandy.¹¹ Although no conventual complex ever existed at Ruislip, a prior's residence was founded in the reign of Henry II (1154-89). This probably supported the prior and his *socius* (assistant) who administered the estates; a Prior of Ruislip is first named in 1176, and two *cathedra* (the chair or throne of an official) were recorded in a 1435 inventory (Appendix 1).¹² The manor was farmed by the Priory, although the demesne was occasionally leased in the 13th century.¹³ In 1211 King John temporarily sequestered the properties of Bec, the first of several confiscations of Ruislip by the Crown.

During the height of its importance in the 13th and early 14th centuries, Ruislip Priory was the residence of the Proctor-General and the administrative centre for Bec's interests in England.¹⁴ The principal evidence for this is three inventories of 1294, 1324 and 1435, made during periods of Crown confiscation. Of the 907 acres in demesne in 1294, approximately three-quarters were under cultivation, and the value of the manor was estimated at £81.¹⁵ The annual centralised audit was held at Ruislip, where a counting-house and counting board were recorded in 1435 (Appendix 1). In addition, the Ruislip's Manorial Courts were held at the Priory.

The c.900 acres of arable in demesne supported a sizeable household, with surplus being sold to the London market to generate additional income and exported to the home Priory at Bec.¹⁶ In 1324 the customary tenants included four men employed in carrying goods between Ruislip and London.¹⁷ Due to its extensive woods, the demesne was also one of the largest producers of timber in Middlesex, and sales of firewood and timber to the London market realised £26 a year in 1442.¹⁸ Ruislip was also an early centre for brick and tile manufacture in England.¹⁹

The household was accommodated in an extensive Prior's residence with an adjoining complex of agricultural outbuildings. Resident servants of the prior included in 1248 a cookboy, and in 1294 a mace-bearer, door-keeper, cook, baker, gardener, and carpenter.²⁰ The 1324 extent gives a further indication of both the household and the ancillary buildings: a reeve, 14 ploughmen, a swineherd, cowherd, two stablemen, a carpenter to mend ploughs and harrows, a smith, a woodward, and a hayward to maintain the hedges. The presence of two swans and 17 peacocks in the grounds in 1294 implies that the Prior enjoyed high-status cuisine.²¹

The temporary sequestration of Bec's lands in England in 1294, 1324 and 1336 and the heavy crown extractions must have placed considerable financial demands on the Manor,

which continued until the permanent confiscation of the English properties of Bec. The buildings at Ruislip became dilapidated: repairs were necessary to the *aula* (hall) and *cameras* (rooms) as early as 1324. Ancient weathering at the top of the east posts of the Great Barn may indicate that the structure may have been partially unroofed during this period of neglect.²²

The discovery, during the present works, of a fragment of a carved bone inlay from an early 15th marriage casket, possibly of French origin, suggests that links with Bec continued up to the final confiscation of Ruislip.²³ In 1404 Henry jointly granted the manor to his third son, John of Lancaster, William de St. Vaast (Prior of Ogbourne) and Thomas Langley (Dean of York). The Prior's death shortly after severed the last link between Bec and Ruislip.²⁴ Prince John (the duke of Bedford after 1414) remained the lord of the manor until his death in 1435, when Ruislip reverted to the crown. The title of the inventory of that year, 'List of deadstock remaining in the Manor', suggests that the house remained partially furnished but disused (see Appendix 1). By this time, the majority of the villagers were paying money rents rather than rendering labour services.²⁵

In 1437 the manor was leased by Henry VI to his physician and courtier John Somerset (d. 1454). The following year the estate was granted to the University of Cambridge. After the University surrendered its interest in 1441, it was granted to the King's College of Our Lady and St Nicholas in Cambridge, (later renamed King's College). In 1451 the manor was granted outright to King's College, who remained absentee lords of the manor for the next 480 years.²⁶ This prompted Somerset's *Querimonia*, a Latin poem directed at the University:

'The councils did not grant Ruislip, they kept it as security for you...When you stole it you took my livelihood by stealth...so you take, nay rather you seize, wide and fertile estates by your craft and deceit'.²⁷

From the beginning, King's College farmed out the demesne, the woods and other land and holdings, sometimes together and sometimes separately.²⁸ The first lease occurs in 1452, to Nicolas Sharp esquire.²⁹ The manorial lessees, largely formed from the local gentry, were usually absentee, holding Ruislip as an investment or speculation. In a possible example of royal patronage, Roger More, Henry VIII's baker, leased the demesne in 1529 for 16 years for an annual rent of £68.13s.4d.³⁰ The right to hold courts at Manor Farm, and to the profits it generated, was retained by the College as absentee lords of the manor.

From the beginning of the 16th century, and possibly earlier, Manor Farm was being sub-leased by the manorial lessees to demesne farmers.³¹ The impersonal and absentee lordship of the resulting three-tiered arrangement led to unrest on the part of the tenants, often over piecemeal enclosure of common land, grazing rights and fines.³² One such dispute between the copyhold tenants and King's College was taken to arbitration in 1521. Again in c.1545 the tenants filed a bill in Chancery alleging that Guy Wade, the farmer of the demesne, had denied their customary rights of pasture and passage in the common fields.³³ Further disputes resulted after King's College leased profits of court to

Robert Christmas of Lavenham, Suffolk in 1566.³⁴ The copyhold tenants complained to the college about excessive admission fines and other abuses of manorial custom.³⁵

This system of tenure, whilst disadvantageous to villagers, seems to have been beneficial to the maintenance of the manorial buildings. The college invested in construction, rebuilding and repairs as they became necessary. A significant phase of construction around 1505-06, which included the rebuilding of Manor Farm, may relate to the incoming manorial lessee Robert Drury. The building now known as the Little Barn already existed in 1505, when it was referred to as the 'sowth barn'; it is possible that it was rebuilt the following year.

Leases of the manor (including 'mansion house' and the right to dig marl) and the woods were granted to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury in 1602.³⁶ Cecil cleared 568 acres of the Common Wood, north of Ruislip Park in 1608, probably for the construction of Hatfield House.³⁷ The remaining portion of the Common Wood was coppiced and enclosed at the same time (the present Copse Wood).³⁸ In 1669 the lease passed from the Cecil family to Ralph Hawtrey JP (1626-1725) of Eastcote House. The demesne was farmed by the Hawtreys and their descendants, the Roger and Dean families, until King's College took direct control of the Manor in 1872.³⁹ Whilst the Hawtreys were an established Middlesex family, most male family members reaching the rank of esquire, they neither owned large amounts of freehold land nor the title of lords of the manor of Ruislip.⁴⁰

A survey of the demesne of 1750 by John Doharty survives interleaved with a transcription of a 1565 manorial terrier.⁴¹ Comparison of the two surveys showed that the use of the landscape had not substantially changed in the intervening period, nor had agrarian practice radically altered.⁴² Yet the 1750 survey shows Ruislip on the brink of a series of widespread and far-reaching reforms of agricultural practice that would change the surrounding landscape. The first Parliamentary enclosure in Middlesex, in 1769, enclosed 174 acres of Ruislip parish.⁴³ This was a prelude to the 1804 Ruislip Enclosure Act, which was executed from 1814, dividing c.3,000 acres of large open fields into a series of hedged fields with fenced access roads. By 1798, four-field crop rotation was probably prevalent in Ruislip, as only one field in Ruislip was laid down to fallow every third year.⁴⁴ Agriculture continued to support the vast majority of the parishioners: by 1831, 206 families were employed in agriculture, compared with 48 families who gained a living by trade.⁴⁵ At Manor Farm, evidence of an 'agricultural revolution' can also be seen in the increasing investment in farm buildings: the cowshed and sties are of probable 18th century date and the cowshed to the east of the farmyard and cart shed to the south of the first half of the 19th century (ref to site plan).

The extent of the Manor Farm complex in 1852 is shown by a valuation completed for the manorial lessee, Ralph Deane.⁴⁶ The surveyor remarked that:

The buildings comprise the Manor Farm house and offices Brick and Tiled in good repair; detached Brewhouse, Chaisehouse, Carpenters Shop, Timber and Tiled; Harness Room and Fowlehouse Brick and Slated; Range of carthorse stables with loft over; 2 granaries, cow house and piggeries timber and tiled; Range of bullock sheds thatched; Bean barn with lean to shed and



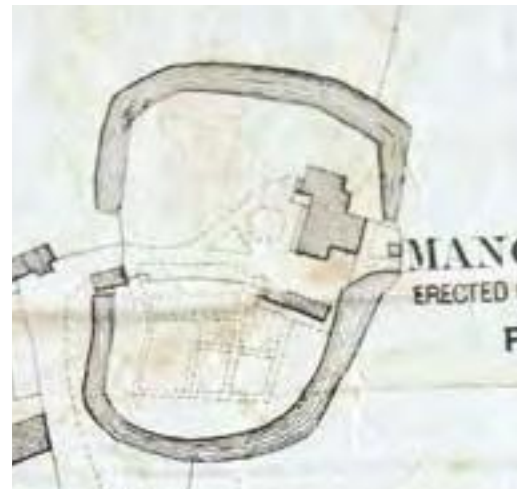
(a) 1750 Estate map



(b) 1750 Estate map, detail of Manor Farm



(c) 1806 Enclosure map



(d) 1873 Auction map

Figure 3: Map regression, showing extracts from:
 (a) Estate map of 1750 by John Doherty (RUI/450).
 (By permission of the Provost and Scholars, King's College, Cambridge).
 (b) Detail of RUI/450.
 (c) Enclosure Map of 1806 (ACC/538/2ndDep/3695; City of London, London Metropolitan Archives).
 (d) Auction map of 1873, based on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1865
 (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © London Borough of Hillingdon).

piggeries Timber and tiled; Machine House and range of Bullock sheds in back yard brick and slated; Wheat barn to stables, Tol house and straw barn timber and tiled; Wagon lodge and old stable thatched; Cattle shed tiled, Old Wagon Hovel thatched; New ditto and Drill House slated. Note: the farm buildings generally in a good state of repair except the old stable and Wagon Hovels and Wheat barn.

These buildings changed little during the second half of the 19th century but, following a dispute with the manorial tenants, the farm was leased directly from King's College to the demesne farmers from 1872.⁴⁷ The Lee family, originally from Bradenham in Buckinghamshire, farmed here from at least 1861 to 1882; the last tenants were the Ewer family, who resided at Manor Farm from 1886 until 1932.

The fate of Manor Farm in the 20th century was bound up with the piecemeal replacement of its agrarian landscape with a dormitory suburban one. In Ruislip, the steady influx of workers in the latter decades of the 19th century, and the urgent need for houses and amenities such as improved sanitation, drainage and roads led to the constitution of the Ruislip-Northwood Urban District Council (**RNUDC**) in 1904. The same year saw the opening of Ruislip Station, on the Metropolitan Railway's Pinner to Rickmansworth extension.⁴⁸



Fig. 4: Henry James Ewer (1849-1916), the farmer of Manor Farm photographed in 1886 (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © Records of the Ewer family).



Fig. 5): Detail of A. and J. Soutar's successful entry in the Ruislip Town Planning competition, c.1911, showing the removal of Manor Farm and its site (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; Reproduced by kind permission of Woodbridge & Sons, Uxbridge).

Realising the development potential of their 1,300 acre estate at Ruislip, and perhaps concerned at the pace and piecemeal nature of speculative development, King's College set up the Ruislip Building Company Limited in 1907. This was replaced in 1910 by Ruislip Manor Limited, a partnership with Garden Estates Limited. The following year the company organised a town planning competition for the college's estate. It was judged by Sir Aston Webb and Raymond Unwin, who selected an ambitious axial plan by A. and J. Soutar of Wandsworth.⁴⁹ The **RNUDC** subsequently prepared a 'joint municipal and private' outline plan for the entire Urban District, incorporating a detailed plan for the King's College demesne lands based on the Soutar entry. The plan was approved by the Local Government Board in 1914 but not fully implemented due to the outbreak of war and post-1918 economic conditions.

That the Soutar plan stalled was fortuitous for Manor Farm, as its implementation would have entailed the clearance of the entire site. Instead the site became islanded by suburban housing in the inter-war years. As a consequence, the farmhouse and manorial functions of the Manor House became untenable: the manor court was last held in 1925 and farming ceased in 1933. As new roads were cut through the nearby fields and the pace of building accelerated, Manor Farm came under a renewed threat.⁵⁰ This prompted a campaign by the Ruislip Association, who consulted the Royal Society of Arts and petitioned King's College for their preservation.⁵¹

In 1931, Manor Farm and its associated land, barns and outbuildings were included as a gift in the sale of Park Wood to the Ruislip-Northwood Council and Middlesex County Council.⁵² The buildings were then restored by the **RNUDC** for community use.⁵³ The first floor of Manor Farm was converted into a number of self-contained flats, one of which was occupied by a groundsman for the complex.⁵⁴ The work was probably supervised by H.R. Metcalfe **AM Inst CE**, engineer and surveyor to the **RNUDC**.⁵⁵ Further repairs and remedial works were undertaken c.1960 by Harold J. Wood, Engineer and Surveyor to **RNUDC** (contractors Walker Symondson Ltd).⁵⁶ In 2007-08, the London Borough of Hillingdon refurbished the building and converted it to an interpretation centre.

The Development of Manor Farm

The complex in c.1500

Immediately prior to the construction of Manor Farm House in 1505-06, the complex comprised a group of moated medieval domestic buildings, with outbuildings to the southwest. The residence of the Prior of Ruislip was probably located on the flat ground of the bailey. This would explain the awkward location of Manor Farm on a site near to the bailey ditch.⁵⁷

Information about the nature and extent of the medieval priory buildings can be gained from valuations made during the period of the Abbey of Bec's tenure. A valuation of 1294 mentions a manor house incorporating a private chapel.⁵⁸ A second, more extensive, valuation of 1324 mentions further buildings: a guest house (*hostellum*), stables and three barns.⁵⁹ A 1435 inventory lists a kitchen, two sculleries, *aula*, chamber, counting house, bakehouse, prior's chamber, lord's chamber, forester's chamber, brewhouse and chapel (see Appendix I).⁶⁰

Documentary evidence suggests that the chapel, and probably other principal chambers, were of 'morter and stone', perhaps of flint with ashlar dressings, as used in the nearby medieval parish church, St Martin's.⁶¹ For example, the collapse of part of the building in c.1547 caused 'gret stones and breckes [to] fell in to ye moyte'. Hugh Braun wrote in 1937, 'everywhere beneath the turf are the foundations of thick flint walls, and Gothic tracery and other stonework is sometimes turned up'.⁶² The roofing material of the principal buildings was probably locally-produced tile.⁶³ These structures were probably in a dilapidated condition by 1500, necessitating their repair and eventual replacement. It was possibly for building repairs that the then tenant John Betts, 'gentleman', borrowed £80 in 1474.⁶⁴ As late as 1500-01, 18 days were spent on repairing the 'gabiland of the hall'.⁶⁵

King's College also inherited from the Priory a substantial late-medieval complex of timber-framed outbuildings, grouped around a courtyard. There are 16th century references to the great stable, bean barn⁶⁶, south barn,⁶⁷ coalhouse, woodhouse⁶⁸ and dovecote⁶⁹. When the court was held at Ruislip, provision was made for up to 12 horses of the provost's officials to be stabled in the college stables, which probably contained chambers for the two grooms sent down from Cambridge. The importance of the stables is demonstrated by documentary evidence for frequent repairs and maintenance.

The King's College accounts suggest that the bailey ditch was intact and water-filled in the late medieval period. Leases from the 16th century specify that it was the tenants' responsibility to 'clean out a certain ditch called "le mote"'⁷⁰ and £5 was spent 'making clene the grete dyke' in 1506/07. Access to the former Prior's residence was via a 'drawbryg' across the moat, which seems to have included a porch.⁷¹ This was probably on the site of the present gates to Manor Farm House. A 'new Byrge at ye corte' was constructed in 1546/47, when John Barenger was paid 'to hew saw frame to set up exceyte the gate of yt'. The gate of the bridge was substantial and topped with 14 'rege tyle', implying a drawbridge or similarly substantial structure.

The building of Manor Farm 1505-06

Ample documentation about the construction of Manor Farm survives in the archives of King's College. These documents, and a sequence of building accounts in particular, provide rare and valuable detail about the building process, the processing and transport of materials and the wages and working conditions of the craftsmen.

Manor Farm was built in 1505-06, over the space of two building seasons generally lasting from Easter to Michaelmas (although the preparation of building materials occurred outside this period). Building started in June 1505.⁷² Fifty three oaks were felled and stripped of bark in advance of framing. Labourers spent two days 'lettyng owte the watter of the mote', presumably to lower the water table and avoid flooding during the excavation of the foundations.⁷³

The new building adjoined the medieval priory buildings, part of which were retained (including the old hall and a tower), others (such as the chapel) demolished.⁷⁴ The high price of materials and wages in the opening years of the 16th century may have provided an incentive to reuse extant buildings in the course of rebuilding.⁷⁵ It is possible that the retained medieval buildings served a new function as a service range, or farmer's accommodation.

Excavation of the foundations of Manor Farm commenced at the same time. From the 12th June 1505, teams of labourers and masons spent around a month excavating and constructing the foundations. 46 loads of timber, plus additional 'scaffold tumber', were carted 'owt of the wode', probably to be seasoned.

Construction of the ground floor walls probably began on 13 September 1505, when the presence of a team of a master mason, two masons and two labourers are first recorded.⁷⁶ A load of 2,000 bricks had been purchased previously in July, and an

additional 22,000 bricks and eight cart loads of lime arrived on site on 28 September. Construction continued for around four weeks; the end of the 1505 building season is marked by a final construction-related payment on 9 October to 'a man for four dayes and an halfe yn thakkyng and covering the walles'.⁷⁷ More timber was felled in November, and transported to the site along with 4,000 bricks.⁷⁸

Preparation for the next building season started on 16 February 1506 with the supply of 19 oaks, a load of lime, eight loads of sand and 100 four penny nails. John Wever, probably the master carpenter, made four ladders, presumably necessary because the frame was reared on a brick wall. The period from 1 June to 5 September 1506 represented an intense period of construction, with small teams of bricklayers and tilers carrying out piece work. From July a 'clayman' and his mate was employed on-site, and from the 16th August a second was taken on. Although a clayman usually describes a brickmaker, it could also be interpreted as a term for a workman employed in applying daub, given that separate purchases for over 20,000 bricks and 8,000 tiles were recorded in August, and there is otherwise no mention of daubing in the building accounts.⁷⁹

The presence of both tilers and bricklayers suggests at least two buildings were being worked on simultaneously. In July a tiler was employed for six days in 'poyntyng the towre and the old hall'⁸⁰ It is therefore possible that the medieval priory buildings were being reroofed at this time. An additional possibility is that these accounts represent works on the south barn, which was repaired or rebuilt in Summer 1506.⁸¹

Other documents confirm that two to three carpenters were on site at the same time, perhaps working in a framing yard. At Michaelmas 1506 a series of large sums were paid, presumably representing a mixture of wages and large contracts.⁸² 'John Wever the carpenter' was paid a total of £31. Wever probably represents the master carpenter; he was almost certainly working on Manor Farm itself, as 'the hows' is specified.

A second document, dated 22 June 1507, records the previous wages for Wever for the previous year's building season.⁸³ Wever received a final payment of £6 19s. 4d. for 'fynishing of the howses cregges dores wyndows and thend of the hows'. This payment is unusual in including 'mite drink and wage', and suggests the provision of a meal to celebrate Christmas or the completion of a significant stage of work such as framing.⁸⁴ During the period from Easter to November, at least two 'stewyers' were on site 'steweng of 2,200 borde' at the rate of 22d per hundred. This suggests water seasoning of internal timber such as floor boards to drive out sap and tannin from the green timber.⁸⁵

Work continued beyond the normal building season, no doubt to finish the house in time for Christmas and the onset of winter. A major alteration, possibly a making good of defective work, seems to have occurred late in the 1506 building season, presumably after the framing was reared. The carpenter Henry Cogge and his mate was paid the considerable sum of 33s. 4d for 'making up thend of the newe howse thend of the parlour and other fawtes'. Even if we assume Cogge was paid a generous daily rate of 8d and his assistant 4d, it still represents over five weeks' work.

Manor Farm was probably tiled late in 1506, as labour 'costes at the royfing of the howse' are itemised before a payment dated 23 December. After the house was fully roofed, the building could then be floored and internally fitted up. Cogge was paid 10s 'for ffloryng of the halle the parlour the kechyn the botery and thentre [ie the entry]', representing between one and two months' work. A final flurry of expenditure on materials at the end of 1506 corresponds with these activities. That at least some of the windows may have been glazed is suggested by a summary of work undertaken at the tenant's expense that concludes the accounts.⁸⁶

The building accounts record a mixture of direct labour (individuals paid by the day), piece work, contracts and wages. The usual six day working week was adopted. The skilled labourers, including carpenters and bricklayers (the latter are sometimes described as masons) probably came from London or Cambridge, and unusually the accounts include accommodation expenses. Typically a craftsman would be accompanied by one or two assistants (termed servants in the accounts), paid at an accordingly lower rate. The occasional presence of related workmen may indicate family apprentices.

Correlation between the surnames in the accounts and documented Ruislip families suggests that many of the unskilled labourers, carters and suppliers, and perhaps the occasional carpenter, were drawn from the local workforce.⁸⁷ A workman digging the foundations of Manor Farm house was 'to his owne borde', suggesting he lived nearby.⁸⁸ The paying of villagers is itself of interest as it suggests that feudal labour services had weakened or been entirely abandoned in favour of a cash economy.⁸⁹

Subsequent development

Within three or four decades of the completion of Manor Farm, substantial alterations were found necessary. These suggest a reconfiguration of the service spaces of Manor Farm in the 1530s and repairs after a partial collapse of the building in the 1540s.

Undated building accounts, perhaps of c.1530, record two seasons of 'reparacions' to the house. These included reflooring the hall, payment to a smith for new keys and bolts to the hall doors, 'makyng of a dore in to the bolttyng howse' and other minor work.⁹⁰ The following year's accounts record a payment for 'makyng of the oven'.⁹¹ This would have served a kitchen or bakery and may have been housed in a new structure, such as an extension or a detached building, as suggested by mention of lathes and tiles. Two other references to the building of ovens appear in early 16th century documents.⁹²

In c.1547 part of manor farm collapsed into the moat, necessitating rebuilding. The relevant building account is headed 'allowance for making of the howse ende that dyd falle done in to the mote[,] a new chemney and a new oven'. It is not clear whether this relates to Manor Farm, or the attached Priory buildings.⁹³ The accounts suggest that an opportunity to carry out additional alterations at the same time as emergency repairs was taken.⁹⁴ The former Prior's residence was described as 'ruinouse' by 1596⁹⁵, and was cleared c.1613, after the Provost gave the Ruislip bailiff permission 'for the taking down the old ruinated friars hall in our house at Ruislip'.⁹⁶

From the 17th century onwards, documentary evidence is more scarce and therefore it is unclear who was responsible for subsequent alterations. The 17th century insertion of an entrance hall, the decoration of this room with fine wallpaper c.1700 and a generation later panelling, were surely intended to impress visitors and suitors, asserting the continuing authority and status of the manorial court. The mid-18th century modernisation of the exterior, which included the rendering and refenestration, may also have been funded by the college. Given that the lord of the manor, the provost of King's College Cambridge, remained in receipt of profits of court, it is possible that he or his agents authorised conspicuous enhancements of Manor Farm as the venue for the manorial court. As a paid court official, a resident bailiff would have been of a higher social status than a tenant farmer, and more likely to pay for the decoration of his house. Martin Whyte was one such bailiff, residing at Manor Farm in 1613.⁹⁷

The insertion of the present back stairs and the erection of a large kitchen extension in the early 19th century, however, relate to Manor Farm as a working farmhouse. Comparatively minor alterations and repairs, such as the early-19th century papering of the hall chamber, the late 19th century conversion of the former parlour (room 15) to a kitchen and the erection of a veranda (see frontispiece) were probably carried out by the resident farmer. Reconfigurations of the service spaces or tenant's quarters were more likely to be funded by the resident, or the manorial lessee at the request of the former. Similarly minor reconfigurations of access and circulation were probably carried out by the resident tenant to ameliorate the relationship between Manor Farm's twin roles of manorial court house and farmhouse. The schedule of an 1817 lease (Appendix II) gives a picture of Manor Farm as an early 19th century home farm.

Functional context

Late-medieval manor houses combined two roles: the domestic residence of the lord of the manor, and the manor's administrative headquarters. In the case of Manor Farm, the absenteeism of the nominal lord of the manor (the provost of King's College), and indeed that of the manorial lessees, caused the division of these two functions, with Manor Farm representing the administrative centre of the Manor (and farmhouse) only. The administrative centre took the form of a manorial court.

After 1441, when King's College Cambridge was granted the manor, it was a manorial home farm, that is to say it was let by a gentry, aristocratic or institutional landlord to a tenant farmer. This type of arrangement probably emerged during the period 1460-1530, when the land-owning classes began to grant long-term leases of manorial farms to lessees or farmers for a fixed cash rent.⁹⁸ From the end of the 15th century, the tenure was complicated by the addition of a further tier of subletting.

Tenure

Most manors derived a greater proportion of income from their tenants, in the form of court revenues, than from their demesnes.⁹⁹ King's College sought to augment their rents by leasing Ruislip Manor to a middle tier of absentee gentry whose interest was primarily speculative. As Dyer comments, 'when gentry gathered such land [on lease] they did so for profit, not to gain prestige'.¹⁰⁰ On occasions leases were granted to former court officials in recognition of service. Thomas Betts, described as bailiff in 1456 and 'deputy of Nicholas Sharp, firmar' in 1461, was granted the lease two years later.¹⁰¹ Ralph Hawtrey was granted the lease in 1669, several generations of his family having served the college as bailiffs.¹⁰²

Occasionally the lease seems to have been granted to those with a connection to King's College. In a 1577 chancery case, the lessee, John Smyth (b.1510) was reported as being 'a fellow of King's College in Cambridge which was about 40 years ago as he remembers or more'.¹⁰³ Robert Cecil was a Chancellor of Cambridge University when he gained the Ruislip lease in 1602.¹⁰⁴ Hereditary succession of leases was also permitted, the lease passing from Thomas Betts to John Betts in 1472, Sir Robert Cecil to William Cecil in 1618, and staying within the Hawtrey family, and their descendants the Rogers and Deanes, for more than two hundred years (see appendix III).

By at least 1505, the manorial lessee was subleasing Manor Farm to farmers who resided at Manor Farm.¹⁰⁵ How the farmers came to acquire the Ruislip leases, and what their origins and social backgrounds were, is not clear. Some tenants, such as Captain John Redding in the 17th century and Henry James Ewer in the late-19th century came from established Ruislip families, others from neighbouring counties. The sub-leases sometimes passed from father to son.

The farmers appealed directly to the college over certain matters: the undertenant Robert Hughes wrote to the provost Roger Goade in 1596 requesting firewood and timber, the latter in compensation for repairs already carried out.¹⁰⁶ Light is shed on the three-way tenorial relationship by correspondence of 1613 concerning the demolition of

former Priory buildings. The college consented on the condition that 'it please my Earl of Salisbury our new tenant to that Manor to give his consent, without [which] we may not in any case attempt any thing indurious to his manor'.¹⁰⁷

Leases

The manorial leases (listed in Appendix III) were generally short, usually varying from seven, to 14 and 21 years; they were perhaps negotiated with each incoming lessee. The earliest lease of Ruislip Manor occurred in October 1452 to Nicholas Sharp, *armiger*, a year after it was granted to King's College.¹⁰⁸ The leases set out the extent of the manor and the right and responsibilities of both parties. Crucially, the college reserved a number of privileges, the most significant of which was the right to hold the manorial court and retain profits of court.

The college also reserved to itself the woods, although the lessee was granted rights of haybote, housebote, firebote and ploughbote (ie. the right to take timber with which to repair hedges, buildings and ploughs, as well as firewood).¹⁰⁹ The college was to fund the 'clearing out and repair of ditches and closes, but the said tenant will clean out a certain ditch called *le mote*'. Other manorial privileges and profits (including right to 'swarms of bees discovered') were retained by the College, the exception being 1565 to c.1616, when they were licensed to the lessee.¹¹⁰ During the late 16th century, the college provided a housekeeper, although the tenant had to pay their wages.¹¹¹

Maintenance

Landholders generally found they could maximise their rent by maintaining their buildings in good repair, and occasionally financing their rebuilding.¹¹² At Overton, Hampshire in 1503 the Bishop of Winchester leased the demesne farm to John Langton for 31 years, rebuilding the house in 1505-7. Like Manor Farm, it was a fully-floored house with an integral stack, and is thought to have functioned as a manorial court house also.¹¹³ Similarly, Magdalen College, Oxford rebuilt King's Somborne Manor, Hampshire in 1503-4 for the tenant.

At Ruislip also, rebuilding followed the granting of a long-term lease by a major institutional landlord. In April 1505, the College let the manor to Sir Robert Drury (d.1535) of Hawstead, Suffolk; the rebuilding of Manor Farm started that June.¹¹⁴ The final section of the building accounts are written and signed, by Drury, suggesting that he directly supervised the rebuilding of Manor Farm.¹¹⁵ The accounts were submitted to King's College, which suggests that Drury was reimbursed. It is worth noting that King's College was in receipt of £100 from Henry VII in April 1506 for the completion of King's College Chapel, the first of several large payments totalling almost £7000. Work on the chapel does not appear to have recommenced in earnest until the spring of 1508, and raises the possibility that some of these funds were expended on the college's estate at Ruislip.¹¹⁶

The right of house-bote was essential to the tenants, who were responsible for the upkeep and repair of the manorial buildings. Nicolas Sharp's 1542 lease obliges him to 'repair and sustain both the daubing and the roofing at his own expenses', and

that timber for the same was to be supplied by the landlord, the standard practice of the time. The limited nature of Sharp's obligations implies that major repairs and improvements were the responsibility of the college. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that short-lease tenants or their under-tenants would have had sufficient means, incentive or tenurial security to fund major works.

Some responsibilities lay with the manorial lessees. A 12 year lease of 1747 to the under-tenant Joseph Goodson obliged him to 'sufficiently Repair amend and maintain the said Capital Messuage or Mansion House' and outbuildings. However his landlady Elizabeth Rogers (the manorial lessee) provided the 'rough timber or timber unhewed'. She also reserved her right to make twice-yearly inspections at Manor Farm, 'to view search and see what reparations shall be needfull from time to time to be made and done', any necessary work was then conveyed by a 'note being left in writing at the said messuage'. These had to be done within three months, an onerous clause given the short lease.¹¹⁷

The Manorial Court

Manorial courts were regarded by the college as fundamental to the management of their estates and as generators of revenue. The right to hold a court at Ruislip, and to retain profits of court, was reserved by King's College in all its surviving leases¹¹⁸ (with the exception of the period 1565-1616 when the college responded to the high inflation of the mid 16th century by leasing profits of court to the copyhold tenant in return for a fixed fee)¹¹⁹. In the absence of a resident lord of the manor, the holding of regular courts at Ruislip demonstrated their continuing authority. The continuing importance of Manor Farm as the administrative centre of the manor may in part explain its rebuilding in 1506-07.

There is little doubt that Manor Farm represents a purpose-built court venue. This is supported by 15th and 16th century references to 'court place' and 'Ruislip court' in a Chancery case heard in 1577 (the latter name persists in John Doharty's 1750 map). A second Chancery case of 1581 stated that the manorial courts were to be held at the manor house 'where they have been usually kept'.¹²⁰ A 1747 sublease obliges the tenant to accommodate the steward 'when he keeps the court at the said capital messuage'¹²¹ To think of Manor Farm as court house first and farmhouse second satisfactorily explains why the college invested in a building employing expensive and fashionable building techniques (close studding) and materials (brick) with high status refinements such as oriels and a garderobe, when the intention from the outset was to let it to a tenant farmer. The feudal institution of the manor court must have represented to the suitors the continuing authority of the landlord in their absence. As at Ruislip, such courts were often held in manor farms, an aspect of the latter that is seldom recognised in their recording and study.

Manor Farm's principal function as court house had to co-exist with its secondary function as farmhouse. The resident tenant farmer was obliged by the terms of his lease to receive and accommodate the steward, his officials and their servants several times a year.¹²² The court officials included a clerk who travelled from Cambridge to take court minutes in Latin and write them up into court rolls.¹²³ This obligation was sufficiently inconvenient for the under-tenant in 1568 for him to secure a release in consideration of a fee.¹²⁴

In 1517-21, 1545-47, 1579 and 1616, tenant disputes were not settled in the Manor Court but in higher courts, suggesting that its jurisdiction was diminishing. It is possible that certain areas of judicial authority transferred to the parish vestry meeting, which was empowered by a growing body of Parliamentary legislation during Elizabeth's reign.¹²⁵ From the perspective of King's College, however, the courts continued to represent their authority and a regular source of income. Courts continued to be held at Ruislip Manor Farm until 1925.

Endnotes

- 1 Roumieu 1875, 2; Bowlt 1989, 11. The pre-medieval history of Ruislip falls outside the scope of the present study; see Braun 1937; Derricourt 1976; and Cotton, Mills and Clegg 1986. For the etymology of Ruislip, Ekwall (1960) suggests OE *risc*, a rush, and *slaep*, a slippery spot: the wet place where the rushes grow. Gover (1994) proposes *risc* and *leap* ie. The crossing point of the Pinn river. *Rishlep*, *Ryshelepe*, *Rysslypp*, *Rysshypp*, *Ryshlupe*, *Rysselipp*, *Ruislip* and other variants are found in 16th century documents. The present spelling was standardised by the 19th century.
- 2 Eileen Bowlt, pers comm. By 1250 the demesne had been divided into three parts, managed by the manor-house at Ruislip and from granges at Northwood and Bourne in the open fields to the south (Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137).
- 3 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137.
- 4 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134.
- 5 2006 NMR schedule amendment. Bowlt 1989,38. Cockburn and Baker 1971, 127-134.
- 6 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 140.
- 7 Bowlt 1989, 38, 52.
- 8 See Scheduled Monument Description for a detailed description of the earthworks.
- 9 Bowlt observes that Ruislip stands in a line of vills, including Hampton, Bedfont, Stanwell, Harmondsworth, Hayes and Northolt, which similarly depreciated in value and may represent the route of a Norman detachment. Braun 1937, 112; Cotton et al 1986, 75; Bowlt 1989, 35-42; Bedford (nd).
- 10 Beeler 1956, 586.
- 11 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134; Bowlt 1989, 42.
- 12 Cockburn and Baker 1969, 202.
- 13 Morgan 1946, 45.
- 14 Flower 1954; Bowlt 1989, 44.
- 15 Cockburn and Baker 1969, 202; Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134.
- 16 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137.
- 17 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137.
- 18 In the 16th century, wood and timber was carted from Ruislip wood to Brentford wharf, from whence it was transported downriver to London (RUI/2). It is likely that this was a long-established route.
- 19 The earliest located documentary reference to tile manufacture in Ruislip records a 1324 payment to a tile counter (Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134).
- 20 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.
- 21 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 135; Morris 1957, 14.
- 22 Bowlt 1989, 64.
- 23 Note of 5.2.2008 from Paul Williamson of the Sculpture Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 'Inlay from a late medieval casket (c.1420) following the style of North Italian marriage versions by the Embriachi family workshop from c.1380 into the 15th century. Many of these have putti or similar supporting a heart-shaped shield uniting the arms of the two partners, all against a foliate field. The present fragment, with its angel supporter (facing outwards in contrast to the putti, who look towards the arms they hold), different form of shield and stylistically distinct foliate

background is probably a north-European (eg French) adaptation of the Italian caskets, possibly for a specifically religious milieu. No obvious close parallel traced.'

- 24 Knowledge of 'French Friars' remained in the oral lore of Ruislip and Cambridge for many generations, however (Bowl 1989, 64-65).
- 25 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 140.
- 26 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134.
- 27 Morris 1980, 12; Rawcliffe 2004.
- 28 Bowl 1989, 97.
- 29 RUI/366.
- 30 Bowl 1989, 98. More is listed as 'clerk of the larder' in 1515 and 'serjeant' of the King's bakehouse in 1518 (Brewer 1864, 1467 & 1548).
- 31 Robert Drury, the manorial lessee from 1505-29 was resident at Hawstead, Suffolk (Hyde 2008).
- 32 Bowl 1989, 100.
- 33 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 137.
- 34 Bowl 1989, 98. A Robert Christmas was a servant to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester in 1566 (Pearson 2005, 23).
- 35 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 137.
- 36 Manor Farm attracted a money rent of £46 and a food rent of 30 quarters of wheat and 52 quarters of malt, an arrangement which continued substantially unaltered until 1810, when the money rent was increased to £86 (Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134). For the digging of marl in Ruislip, see Kiddle 1956.
- 37 Bowl 1989, 99. Hatfield was under construction 1607-12 (Smith 1992, 61).
- 38 Eileen Bowl, pers comm.
- 39 Bowl 1994, 14.
- 40 The Hawtreys of Chequers claimed Norman descent (D'Awtrey). Ralph Hawtrey (1494-1574), the fourth son of Thomas Hawtrey of Chequers, married Winifred Walleston of Ruislip c.1525 and from 1527 settled at Hopkyttes, Eastcote, later remodelled as Eastcote House. The Hawtreys of Ruislip were JPs and leased the rectory of Ruislip from 1532-1867. Morris 1980, 12; Bowl 2002.
- 41 RUI/450.
- 42 A number of fields were subdivided, whilst others were renamed.
- 43 A Parliamentary counter-petition was brought against the 1769 enclosure, indicating the continuing strength of local opposition to enclosure (Tate 1944, 396).
- 44 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 138.
- 45 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 138.
- 46 RUI/408/1.
- 47 Bowl 1989, 145.
- 48 In 1915, the publicity department of the Metropolitan Railway coined the term 'Metro-Land' to describe the suburbs of North West London served by the railways (Thom 2005, 177).
- 49 Cherry and Pevsner 1999, 345; Bowl 1989, 256.

- 50 Early 20th century plan by F.H.Mansford and A.V.Gooderson, entitled 'Manor Farm and Surroundings', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge.
- 51 Bowlt 1989, 256; Sprink 2006, 29; Bowlt 2006.
- 52 The price was £28,000, and the Old Post Office was also included as a gift. 75% of the cost was contributed by Middlesex County Council because of the amenity value of the woods. (Bowlt 1989, 262).
- 53 The farm buildings were also converted to public use. The smaller barn was converted to a library in 1937 by Middlesex County Council by W.T. Curtis (country architect) and H.W. Burchett (assistant architect for educational buildings).
- 54 Eileen Bowlt, pers comm.
- 55 Ruislip Where Is it, 1937.
- 56 Bowlt 1989,66.
- 57 An early twentieth century map (figure 1) depicts an east-west aligned foundation wall adjoining the ditch and some 12m (40ft) north of, and in-line with, Manor Farm.
- 58 The chapel was extent by 1272, when Edmund 2nd Earl of Cornwall married Margaret de Clare (source: <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ENGLISH%20NOBILITY%20MEDIEVAL1.htm>).
- 59 'The barn which is next to the gateway through which one enters into the main house', 'the other barn which lies northwards and southwards' (probably the Great Barn), and 'another barn' Bowlt 1994, 14; Morris, 1980, 7; Morris 1957. For the great barn, see Hewitt 1974a.
- 60 The value of the manor in 1435 was £103. Morris 1980, 10; Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134.
- 61 RUI/339.
- 62 Braun 1937, 119.
- 63 In 1394 a tiler and his servant were hired for seven days at the cost of 2s. 4d (Bowlt 1989, 51).
- 64 NA:C 241/256/27.
- 65 RUI/223.
- 66 Accounts dated July 1505, refer to the renewing of a 'grounsele' (sill beam) in the 'northe end of the bene [bean] barne', which suggests a north-south aligned building. This may therefore represent the aisled Great Barn, which has been tree-ring dated to between 1299 and 1328. In 1707/08 the barns were refloored and 'raising pieces and groundpinning [inserted] in ye further barn where it is wanting'. Elizabeth Rogers funded further repairs to the barn floor in 1787.
- 67 RUI/339. The 'Sowth barne' was reroofed with tiles in August 1505, and two rafters and 36ft of eavesboard renewed, necessitating the erection of a scaffold. In August 1506 the South barn was again repaired, or possibly rebuilt: a payment for five cartloads of timber probably relates to this work. A smith provided two hanges [hinges] two stapelys and one haspe' for a door. This could refer to the small barn (converted to a library in 1937), dated by Cecil Hewitt to the late 16th century on the basis of carpentry techniques (Hewitt 1974b).
- 68 RUI/362.
- 69 RUI/2.A steeple-like dovecote was located some 60m (200ft) south of the motte, on the position of the present St Martin's Approach car park (Bowlt 1989, 132). It was repaired in 1513, and survived to be depicted in Doharty's 1750 survey. It is referred to as a 'pigeon house' c.1727 (LMA:0249/2288).
- 70 RUI/366, lease of 15.10.1452 to Nicholas Sharp, Armigarium.
- 71 RUI/222.

- 72 The building accounts for the first building season are RUI/339, former ref CCI01/ 1. It is dated to the 20th year of the reign of Henry VII, ie 22.8.1504-21.8.1505.
- 73 RUI/339.
- 74 RUI/339.
- 75 Dyer 2003, 338.
- 76 The term mason seems to have been used interchangeably with bricklayer in the Manor Farm accounts; that is, in its broader sense of a builder. There is no mention of the use of stone in the building accounts but tens of thousands of bricks were purchased during this period.
- 77 From the Middle English thacchen: to roof with thatch or other materials; to cover a wall. This refers to the laying of protective layers of thatch or furze on top of the wall as protection against frost (Airs 1995, 173).
- 78 This represents the first building-related entries in a bound document (RUI339, former ref CCI01/2. It is dated 'Michaelmas term anno 21': the 21st year of Henry VII's reign, ie 22.8.1505-21.8.1506. The regnal year is given without reference to a monarch, but the reign of Henry VII is likely on the grounds that CCI01/1 and CCI01/2 record payments to common individuals, as well as having similar scribal hands and paper dimensions.
- 79 Source: http://www.geocities.com/sinistraltyger/SCA/med_occupation.html#v.
- 80 : This may refer to the practice of applying mortar to the lowest courses of tile to provide additional protection against water ingress (Salzmann 1997, 233).
- 81 An August payment for 'ten score rofe tyle and hyp tyle at an 1/2d every pece sum 8s. 4d' may relate to the structural completion of the building work in progress. Exactly what building or buildings is not specified in the accounts, but it is unlikely to be Manor Farm, as separate accounts for 'the royfing of the howse' are considered below, and there is no evidence for a hipped roof.
- 82 RUI/339, former ref CCI01/ 3, accounts 'for the yere endyd at Mykhelmes anno 22': the 22nd year of Henry VII's reign, ie 22.8.1506-21.8.1507.
- 83 The reason for this apparent duplication of payments to Wever is unclear, as both documents can be dated with reasonable confidence. RUI/362 is dated 22 June Anno 22, ie 1507. The date of this document is secured by a reference to 'Sir Robert [who] hath paid for the second yere of his ferme ended at estre last'. Sir Robert Drury's lease with King's College is dated 5 April 1505 (RUI/321).
- 84 See Airs 1995, 122.
- 85 See Airs 1995, 120.
- 86 'Made that [...] palyng gravelyng glasyng and diverse other thinges doone by Sir Robert Drury in amenyng and reperataon of the seid place and it that belongeth therunto be done at the charge of the seid Sir Robert where of he apereth new allowance.' [ME apperen: report; record.]
- 87 For example, two carpenters working at Manor Farm in the second quarter of the 16th century, Henry Cogge and John Barenger, were of probable Ruislip origin.
- 88 RUI/339.
- 89 Dyer suggests that 40% of households lived predominantly on wages in 1524-25 (2003, 364).
- 90 RUI/349. The KCC archive catalogue dates this item to c.1525. The accounts are divided into two sections, headed 'Reparcions the frist att Rysleppe court' and 'Reparcions don apon Ryslerpe court the secuide yere'. It is unlikely that these accounts relate to the 1505/06 construction of the house, and the flooring of several named rooms, including the hall, is already itemised in RUI/362. Further, use of the terms 'reparcion' and 'new bolttes' imply alterations to an existing building. It is more probable that this work was carried out at the beginning of Roger More's tenure (see RUI/20), and

a tentative date of 1530 has been assigned on this basis. The 'bolttyng howse' probably refers to a service room for the preparation of flour and bread.

- 91 Hary Acogges and his mate were paid 8s.4d. for ten days' work. The materials cost 4s. 9d. and included 500 bricks, 500 tiles, paving tiles, lathes, lime and sand. (RUI/349).
- 92 An allowance of c.1537 for, inter alia, 'the making of an oven', records nine days' work by 'William Prest and his servant [...] upon the oven and mending the harth in the court', for which he received 8s.8d. Richard Robyns contributed an 'iron hope for the oven'.(RUI/2). Accounts of c.1547 document the building of 'a new chimney and a new oven' as part of repairs. It is possible that this reference represents the tenant's attempts to bill the college for earlier work carried out at his own expense.
- 93 James Webe and Roger Chamber were paid 4s. for 'fetheken owt gret stones and brecks that fell in to ye moyte'. The reference to masonry implies that ruinous Priory buildings collapsed, or later structures reusing robbed medieval masonry.
- 94 A bargain worth £3 6s. 8d. was made with a bricklayer, who was paid 5s extra to 'breckene the walles[] to sett a new wendow and a new dore in the same howse'. The work required a scaffold. A carpenter and his son were paid for making the said openings, and to 'undersett the house', the latter task taking only a day.
- 95 In May 1596, the under-tenant Robert Hughes requested 20 trees from the College woods by way of reimbursement for 'the charge of repairinge the ruinouse Mannour house', which Hughes stated cost £46. He goes on to request firewood to heat 'the mannor howse spacious and owlde requiringe much fier to be kept them'. Whilst Hughes' complaints may have been exaggerated (he describes 'the place so farre unfit as an alehouse'), the document suggests that the tenant farmer was accommodated in surviving portions of the Prior's residence (RUI/216).
- 96 RUI/49.
- 97 RUI/28; RUI/49.
- 98 Roberts 2003; Dyer 2003, 332.
- 99 Dyer 2003, 331.
- 100 Dyer 2003, 343.
- 101 RUI/355; RUI/356; RUI/367. In 1447, a Thomas Bettes was collector of rents in the college estate in Coton Burwash, Cambridgeshire.
- 102 Ralph Hawtrey,(1494-1574) is recorded as one of the 12 freemen at the court in 1529 (RUI/84) and was submitting accounts to King's College in 1540-43, probably as bailiff (RUI/361). His grandson, also Ralph (1570-1638), was bailiff in the early 1620s (LMA:0249/3161; Bowlt 2002).
- 103 Bowlt 1989, 64.
- 104 Bowlt 1989, 99.
- 105 A twelve-year lease of 1747 from the manorial tenant Elizabeth Rogers to the demesne farmer Joseph Goodson grants the capital messuage and demesne lands for £210 paid in two biannual instalments and 'twelve young fatt hens' at Christmas. Rogers reserves rights to timber, hunting hawking and fishing and rights of ingress egress and regress. (LMA:0249/2602).
- 106 RUI/216.
- 107 Letter of May 1613 from the provost William Smythe to Martin Whyte, the bailiff and probable resident farmer. The letter was forwarded to the manorial lessee the Earl of Salisbury who added a note underneath indicating his consent.(RUI/49).
- 108 The lease is for a term of 20 years for the sum of £68, payable in two equal parcels at Easter and Michaelmas (RUI/366). Armiger is a term of feudal original, approximately equivalent in status to esquire.

- 109 RUI/366; Dyer 2003, 325.
- 110 Cockburn and Baker 1971, 134. The reference to 'swarms of bees discovered' is not a standard clause, and has a curious parallel in the discovery in 2007 of a large and dormant hive in the void between the north structural wall and the internal lining of room 28.
- 111 RUI/216
- 112 Dyer 2003, 331.
- 113 Roberts 1995, 101.
- 114 RUI/321. Drury was a lawyer and in 1495 was Speaker of the House of Commons. During the first decade of the 16th century he actively served on Henry VII's council, becoming associated with the court of Star Chamber. He was later councillor and knight of the body under Henry VIII, serving on several commissions in the early years of Henry's reign. Drury's principal land holdings were in East Anglia. On 12 March 1509–10 he obtained a license to impark two thousand acres of land, and to fortify his manors in Suffolk. 'He was the beneficiary of the grant of several wardships, and also had a grant of forfeited lands in north Norfolk for life' (Hyde 2008); he is mentioned as farmer to lands owned by the Abbey of Ramsey in Brancaster, Norfolk (NA: C 1/354/13).
- 115 RUI/362.
- 116 Colvin 1975.
- 117 LMA:0249/2602.
- 118 Amongst the rights and privileges reserved by the King's College in Roger More's 1529 lease, are several relating to the Manorial Court (Bowlt 1989, 98). These included Amercements (a fine imposed at the discretion of the court); View of Frankpledge (inspection of the tithings (groups of manorial tenants); Courts Leet; Wards (Right to administer the estates of orphaned minors); the right to sell marriage licences; Fines (payments made when property changed hands); Reliefs (fines payable by incoming tenants inheriting land); and Heriots (death duties).
- 119 In 1579 the then-tenant George Ashby esquire was presiding over the manorial court. The same year the manorial tenants petitioned King's College that 'the said copyholders find themselves greatly grieved by excessive fines taken of them'. Again in 1616, the Ruislip Copyholders filed a Bill of Chancery seeking assurances about their rent, which was resolved by Act of Parliament in which the rights of court would revert to King's College.
- 120 RUI/30, quoted in Bowlt 1989,66; RUI/450. LMA:ACC/0249/0107, quoted in Bowlt 1989,101.
- 121 LMA:0249/2602.
- 122 LMA: Acc.249/107. The tenants were entitled to claim expenses back from the college; these accounts are titled 'coryt wage' in one document of the 1540s (RUI/2). The leases of the Bishop of Winchester's farm at Manor Farm , Hambledon (1473-78), the Prior of St Swithun's Manor Farm, Michelmersh, and Winchester College's farm at Goleigh Manor, Prior's Dean (1466) also contain similar conditions (Roberts 2003, 145).
- 123 RUI/339, former reference CCI01/2.
- 124 RUI/27.
- 125 Bowlt 1989, 11.

PART II: FABRIC ANALYSIS

Introduction

Manor Farm is today islanded in a suburban landscape to the north of Ruislip village and its parish church of St Martin. Ruislip lies some 22.5 kilometres (14 miles) from central London, in the present London Borough of Hillingdon, and in the north-west part of the former county of Middlesex.



*Fig. 6: The ditch circuit to the northwest of Manor Farm, infilled in 1888, but still visible.
Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042389).*

Manor Farm is located to the northeast of the bailey of a motte and bailey castle, on ground sloping down to the former ditch circuit, located to the north and east of the house. The motte and bailey is a scheduled monument, and the wider farm complex contains five listed buildings, (one Grade II* and four Grade II, including Manor Farm). The site lies within Ruislip Conservation Area and an Archaeological Priority Area, as designated in LB Hillingdon's Unitary Development Plan.¹

The following section contains an architectural description of Manor Farm, followed by an analysis of the fabric with an interpretation of the development of the house on a phase-by-phase basis. The accompanying drawings can be found in the illustration section of the report.

The following section contains an architectural description of Manor Farm,



Fig. 7: West elevation of Manor Farm in 2007 (DP040077).

Exterior

Manor Farm is a two-storeyed house with attics, orientated north-south and facing west. The ground floor is of brick on foundations of mortared flint and ragstone rubble, with a timber-framed upper storey, plain tile roof and brick stacks.² The building comprises a three-bay hall range with a coeval cross wing at the north end, giving an L plan. There are minor and later extensions.



Fig. 8: The west wall of the parlour, showing diaperwork (DP040083).

The ground floor is largely of 16th century brick in English bond with relatively wide courses of mortar. A chamfered brick plinth survives on the north and east elevations. The upper face of the brick wall is chamfered on the north and east elevations, and alterations may conceal a similar treatment on the west elevation. Areas of original brickwork visible at the high end of the house incorporate decoration in vitrified brick, including the remains of diaper work (see figure 8).

The upper storey was originally close studded throughout with brick nogging infill. This arrangement survives comparatively intact on the north wall of the cross wing and the west wall of the hall range. Survival is more fragmentary on the east wall of the hall range, but evidence from peg holes permits the studding to be conjecturally reconstructed (figure 72). Generally tenoned and pegged into the wall plate and sill beam³, the studs are wide and of the same scantling as both the infill panels and the main posts, with the result that the bay divisions are not articulated in the elevations.



Fig. 9 The partial removal of nogging during conservation works in 2007 showed that the reveals of the studs were hollowed to provide a mortar key (DP040076).



Fig. 10: Scribing marks on the wallplate of the west elevation (highlighted in white), inscribed during the 'setting-out' of the timber frame to indicate the position of the adjoining studs (DP040078).

Scribing marks surviving on the west elevation show how the intervals between studs and infill were calculated during framing (figure 10). Carpenters' marks are not visible on the exterior.⁴ The sides of the studs are hollowed to provide a mortar key, confirming that the nogging is part of the original design (figure 9)⁵. Despite the narrowness of the panels, the brick nogging has been arranged in a variety of patterns, with five recognisable designs (not counting mirroring, variants and horizontally-set bricks).⁶

Hall range

The hall range is of three north-south orientated bays. The west elevation (figure 7) forms the principal front of the building. Fenestration is non-aligned and asymmetrical, and of a variety of dates, from the 16th to the 20th centuries. The ground floor is of brick which has been covered in pebble-dash and the plinth rendered. The central bay contains the main entrance, a six-panel door of early-19th century date with circular iron knocker and 20th century flat hood over. The flanking bays contain three sash windows of different sizes.

The upper storey framing is recessed from the brick wall and comprises a sill beam and wall plate, into which four posts and intervening studs are tenoned and pegged. The infill is of decorative brick nogging⁷. Into each of the three bays has been inserted sash windows set within a projecting moulded architrave of the 18th century. The outer bays have evidence for a central oriel window (see page 49). Above the door is an inserted two-light casement. A narrow bay at the north end of the elevation signifies the location of a closet adjoining the principal chimney stack. This is lit by a two-light casement on the first floor.

The east elevation (figure 12) has been extensively altered and repaired, resulting in irregular and varied fenestration. The brick ground floor is largely obscured by single-storey service extensions: a 20th century rebuilding of an earlier extension and a single-storey lean-to corridor. The only uncovered part of the ground floor contains a sash window of 19th century date. A small area of close studding and



Fig. 11: Detail of east elevation, showing inserted sash window (DP040080).

brick nogging⁸ survives on the upper storey, where it has been protected by an earlier two-storey extension. An inserted and sawn-off beam end in this area relates to the former extension. Evidence for original windows, pegged into adjacent studs, survives in the southernmost bay and the quarter bay.

The first-floor fenestration largely dates from the 20th century, probably replacing



Fig. 12: First floor of east elevation (DP040081).



Fig. 13: South elevation (DP040079).



Fig. 14: East elevation of cross wing (DP040082).

earlier windows of similar sizes and locations. Above the extension are grouped a two-light cross window, a two-light casement with thin glazing bars, and a narrow single-light window. Immediately to the north of the latter is a blocked doorway to a former single-bay two-storeyed extension of possible 16th century date. There is a large 20th century three-light cross window in the northern bay.

The south gable end is essentially a blind elevation, apart from two small windows lighting first floor and attic chambers. The brickwork is in a header-rich irregular bond, with a plinth.

Cross wing

The cross wing is of two east-west orientated bays. It has a tiled gable roof with a lower ridge height than that of the hall range.⁹ The east gable end is flush with the east wall of the hall range. The ground floor is of 16th century brick with chamfered plinth and diaperwork decoration. The present three-light casement is probably a 19th century enlargement of an original window. The jowled posts of the 16th-century easternmost truss remain, but the rest of the first floor and gable, including the leaded casement windows, is a 20th century rebuild.

Little 16th century fabric is visible in the west gable of the cross wing, with the exception of the jowled posts of the terminal truss. The ground floor is of painted brick, and lacks a plinth. The first floor is recessed and rendered, and probably lightly framed underneath. There is an inserted, non-central extra-mural chimney stack, which is pierced by a doorway, and a 19th century sash window with a segmental head. Anomalies in the westernmost truss raise the possibility that it was framed to abut an existing building on the site (see pages 50-51).

The north elevation has 16th century brick with diaperwork on the ground floor with a recessed, timber framed upper storey. The 'columns' of diaperwork flank a non-central window, which has been enlarged from its original size to form a segmental-headed, four-light casement window of 19th century date. At the east end of the elevation is evidence for an inserted, and subsequently blocked door. To the west of the central window is an inserted window, now brick-blocked. West of this is an area of brickwork rebuilt in the 20th century.

The usual close-studding and decorative brick nogging is present on the first-floor. The north wall preserves five different nogging patterns.¹⁰ A nearly-central original window, the sill and lintel of which survives, has been replaced by a 20th century casement. At the west end is a blocked door that probably served an external stair. At the east end is the blocked door of a former garderobe (see page 50).

In its construction and materials, the south elevation of the cross wing resembles the hall range west elevation, which it adjoins to form the internal angle of the building's L plan. The ground floor is pebble-dashed, with two off-centre narrow casements of 19th-century date. The recessed, timber-framed upper storey contains two pairs of studs with intervening narrow panels of nogging¹¹. These flanked a large central window which has been replaced with a sash window within a moulded architrave, and infilled below with yellow bricks.



Fig. 15: South elevation of cross wing at first-floor level, showing replacement infill and window in position of the original window (DP040084).

Interior

The building comprises a three-bay hall range with a coeval two-bay cross wing adjoining at a right angle, giving an L plan. An integral stack straddles the junction of the hall range and cross wing, and is acknowledged in a narrow quarter-bay of framing. The resulting back-to-back fireplaces serve the hall (room 11), parlour (room 15), and the two chambers above (rooms 23/31/32 and 28).

Both hall range and cross wing are fully storeyed throughout. Principal rooms have heavily-moulded ceiling beams, and joists with hollow chamfers; most are concealed by secondary plaster ceilings. The tiebeams are chamfered with diagonal-cut step stops (hall range) or straight-cut stops (cross wing).¹² The spine beams are either moulded or chamfered, and are un-stopped. Wallplates are all chamfered and mostly un-stopped;¹³ wallplate sections are edge-halved and bridled, the tenons secured by three pegs in an unusual triangle formation. Secondary chamfered timbers fixed to the wallplates carry the ends of the joists and are visible in some rooms in the hall range. The main posts are chamfered and jowled and there are large curved braces running up to the tiebeam.

The partition walls throughout the first floor have full-height studs and a middle rail, with stud, lath and plaster infill. Most continue to the top of the joists where they would have butted against the floorboards that formed the original ceiling; they may therefore pre-date the plaster ceilings inserted in the 17th century. The original floorboards, where they

survive, demonstrate the high quality joinery of the early 16th century floors, which also formed the exposed ceiling of the rooms below.

Ground Floor: Hall range

The hall range is of three bays, the hall itself occupying one-and-a-half bays, with the entrance hall (room 9) and a back stair in the remaining half. The third bay, at the south gable end, latterly functioned as a parlour, but has a likely origin as a service end.

Hall (room 11)

The hall originally comprised the two northernmost bays of the range but has been truncated by the insertion of the entrance hall. It has drylined walls and a deep skirting board with an upper moulding which is carried down to the floor at the openings. These include an inserted window in the western wall, a large, eight-over-eight sash with slender glazing bars, panelled reveals, and folding shutters. The east wall has a pair of French windows with narrow side lights, typical of the early 19th century. An inserted plaster ceiling conceals a four panelled ceiling; only part of the moulded spine beam is visible.



*Fig. 16: North elevation of hall.
Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042331).*

The hall fireplace, which has been much altered, has a 20th century wooden lintel and mantelshelf, with a five-sided hearth of brick. The opening has brick jambs with an ovolo moulding on the west side, with a converging stop; the other jamb has been rebuilt with a chamfer. Traces of a decorative scheme has survived on the plasterwork lining of each inner jamb. This comprises a geometric pattern of diagonally-divided squares marked out by faint incised lines and painted half red and half cream. Further traces of the incised lines can be made out beneath 20th century white paint.¹⁴ Flanking the stack are stud partitions of 19th or 20th century date, separating the hall from a closet (room 12) and stairwell.



Fig. 17: Traces of a geometric decorative scheme of probable 17th century date surviving on the plasterwork lining of the hall fireplace jamb. (DP040085).

Principal stair

The principal stair, to the northeast of the hall, is a winder of probable early 17th century date, which turns 360° from the ground to the first floor. It has an octagonal newel terminating in an octagonal finial. More unusual is the lattice balustrade of the stair head,



Fig. 18: Landing of principal stair.
Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042404).



Fig. 19: Lattice balustrade, octagonal newel and finial of principal stair. (DP040086).

composed of timbers roughly square in section, fixed together with large hand-made iron nails. Its handrail has upper chamfers and is tenoned into the doorframe of the hall chamber. The walls of the stairwell are lined with late 19th or early 20th century planking. The opening to the stairwell, with its parallel-splayed reveal, is an insertion which gave access to a single-storey lean-to service corridor.

Closet (Room 12)

At the time of the survey the space to the west of the stack was a walk-in closet. The room received borrowed light from Room 15 by a six-paned window set high in the north wall, with slender glazing bars of early 19th century type. The closet door has two recessed and moulded panels on each face.

Entrance hall (room 9)

The entrance hall is of Georgian appearance, and is panelled throughout. The panelling, which dates stylistically to the 1720s or 1730s¹⁵, has tall fielded panels above a moulded chair rail and



Fig. 20: Fielded panelling of entrance hall.
Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042329).

square fielded panels below, with a deep moulded cornice and a narrow skirting board. The sash window in the west wall is accommodated by the panelling and has a solid seat with a moulded edge and a shallow panel below. The shutters have fielded panels and a single plain leaf in the centre, decorative H-hinges and a security bar.

The doors from the entrance hall to the hall, the cupboard in the east wall of the entrance hall and the passage to the back door (room 6) have moulded architraves with a bead, flat and shallow ogee moulding. The doors to the hall and the cupboard (room 8) have two fielded panels with deep lock rails and decorative H-hinges. The cupboard ('room' 8), which is below the back stair, has been altered, presumably by the insertion or rebuilding of the back stair in the early 19th century. Inside it retains a deep shelf which has a semicircle cut out of the front edge and a shallower shelf below.

Back stair

The back stair is approached from the passageway (room 6) through a semicircular arch with shallow moulded capitals and a ribbed moulding of its soffit. A similar arrangement exists on the first floor (room 19), but here the arch contains a doorframe with a glazed arched head. The stairs, of early 19th century date, are of pine, with a short handrail, turned newel post and a single stick baluster. A corresponding handrail on the opposite wall has been removed. The stair originally divided at the quarter landing near the top, with short flights going north and south as shown by the skirting board and by a break in the floorboards in room 33.

The tie beam marking the original south end of the hall is visible in the cupboard under the back stair (room 7). It has unstopped chamfers and is rebated to carry the floorboards.¹⁶ The back door (room 6) is wide and probably an early-18th century insertion; it opened outwards into a coeval kitchen extension (the present extension is a 20th century rebuild in approximately the same position).

Room 10

This small room has the character of an early 19th century parlour. It is lit from the east and west by sashes with moulded architraves and folding shutters. Plank seats represent



Fig. 21: View of Room 10 in 2007. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042328).



Fig. 22 Detail of Room 10 fireplace in the late 20th century. (Local history room at Manor Farm Library, Ruislip).

a later addition. There is a 19th century skirting board and moulded picture rail. Also of the early 19th century is the fireplace, with its moulded, light grey marble surround with corner blocks containing roundels, and a plain marble mantelshelf; the semi-circular cast-iron grate is a later 19th century insertion. A segmental-headed blocked door in the south wall, uncovered during the present works, is of possible 19th century date and gave access to the kitchen extension.

Ground Floor: Cross wing

The cross wing is of two unequal-sized bays, giving a large parlour in line with the hall, and adjoined by a western bay roughly half the length and divided axially into rooms 13 and 14.

Parlour (room 15)

The Parlour is the only room where the open ceiling is still exposed. There is a heavily-moulded spine beam and hollow-chamfered joists, all of good quality.¹⁷ The joists have runout stops at the spine beam, joined with soffit tenons with diminished haunches. The easternmost five joists are also stopped at the north wall. In front of the stack is a trimmer tenoned and pegged into two of the joists.¹⁸



*Fig. 23: Parlour ceiling, looking west.
Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042341).*

Otherwise the character of the room is firmly 19th century. The north and east casements are enlargements of original windows; the east wall window has a seat. The lower half of the walls are lined with vertical planking, a chair rail and moulded skirting board. The large fireplace has a shallow segmental arch and a plain mantelshelf. In the east wall is a cupboard with double doors, each with three recessed panels, and with two shelves inside. There is a four-panelled door to the stairwell. However, the door into room 13 may date from the 18th century. This has two panels with an additional narrow panel over, and a plain beaded architrave; the panels are feathered on the parlour face, and there is a later glazed light in the middle panel.



Fig. 24: Parlour (room 15), looking west. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042340).

Room 13

This small room presently serves as an ante-room, with an external doorway in its west wall. It is lit from the south by two narrow inserted casements. At the south end of the west wall is a segmental-headed fireplace. Above the doorway is an area of studding with brick nogging, probably a 20th century confection, although perhaps reusing older elements from a restoration of the house. The 20th century door is also a historical pastiche..

Room 14.

This room, in the north-western angle of the cross wing, is lit from the west by a sash window. There is an inserted, and subsequently blocked, opening in the north wall. The original timber framing of the east wall is exposed, with fairly widely-spaced studding with a middle rail. The sill beam is some 6in (15cm) below the current floor level. The south wall has a four-panelled door and chair rail. Underneath room 14 is an inserted brick cellar of 18th or 19th century date, accessed by a trap door in the floor.



Fig. 25: Cellar underneath Room 14. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042412).

First Floor: Hall range

Hall chamber (Room 23/31/32)

This room, which occupies a whole bay at the north end of the range, was returned to its original dimensions in 2007 after the removal of 20th century partitions. The ceiling of the former hall chamber has hollow chamfered joists with runout stops at the chamfered spine beam and at the junction with the wallplates. The chamber is lit from the west by a sash window with a richly-moulded architrave. There is also a 20th century three-light casement window in the east wall.



Fig. 26: Hall chamber fireplace, exposed during works in 2007-08 (DP040087).

The original hall chamber fireplace was unblocked during a refurbishment in 2007-08 to reveal a wooden lintel with an unchamfered depressed four-centred arch. Because the face of the timber has been hacked back to receive plaster, any chamfers or mouldings have been lost. The fireplace opening is square with some plaster surviving on the west wall. Two rows of square tiles are employed in place of a hearthstone. Above the fireplace the original wall surface is recessed behind the current wall face: it may have a recessed panel, as in room 28. The present wall surface is stud, lath and plaster.

Closet (room 24)

Room 24 is presently a circulation lobby linking the hall chamber (rooms 23/31/32) and parlour chambers (room 28) but was previously the stair head of the principal stair. It is lit from the west by a replacement casement in an original window. The entrance from the hall chamber has a plain two-panelled door and an early 19th-century architrave on the south face. The east wall is formed by the side of the principal stack and has two arched recesses, probably to hold candles or lanterns.

Room 22

Room 22 is a plain room occupying the western half of the middle bay. The axial partition under the spine beam is a 20th century insertion. The room is lit from the west by a sash window and, to the south, a two-light leaded casement with a chamfered wooden mullion. The latter was probably inserted in the 17th century to light a closet or similar space: it corresponds with the position of a break in the north-south aligned floorboards. A blocked door in the north wall once gave access to the hall chamber.

Rooms 33/34/35

These spaces occupy the remainder of the middle bay and enclose the back stairs. Room 33 contains a blocked door in the north wall that once gave access to the hall chamber, and is lit from the east by a modern casement. Room 35 is a closet over the stair, which has a four panel door with H-hinges, and an early 19th-century architrave.

Room 21

Room 21 occupies the western half of the southern bay. The west wall has a sash window with a richly-moulded architrave. This replaced an original oriel window. While the south wall has a fireplace with a 20th century tiled surround, there is a two-panelled door on the west side with an architrave of early 19th century date.

Room 20

This plain room occupies the eastern half of the southern bay. The jowled eastern post and brace of the southernmost truss is visible, below which is a cupboard recess with a window in the south wall. The room is lit from the east by a 20th century cross window and has a segmental-headed fireplace in the south gable end. It has replacement floorboards running east-west on top of earlier boards. The door has an early 19th century architrave.



Fig. 27: Room 20, looking south (DP040088).



Fig. 28: Parlour chamber (room 28), looking southwest (DP040089).



Fig. 29: Parlour chamber (room 28), looking southwest. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042356).



Fig. 30: Original fireplace lintel, exposed during works in 2007-08 (DP040091).



Fig. 31: North wall of Parlour chamber (Room 28), exposed during works in 2007-08. Note blocked garderobe door to right. (DP040090).

First Floor: Cross wing

Parlour Chamber (Room 28)

The Parlour Chamber is located at the eastern or high end of the hall range and represents the larger of the two cross wing bays. Its ceiling is comparable in appearance and quality to that of the parlour below, although its joists are now concealed by a plaster ceiling. This has a central moulded beam and the joists have hollow chamfers, which are stopped at the central beam and at the north wall, but not at the south partition wall. The joists continue over the south partition walls to the wallplate which crossed the lobbies either side of the stack.

The west wall retains its original exposed framing, with irregular studs tenoned into a mid rail and the tiebeam. The infill between the studs is varied, reflecting the presence of later repairs: some panels contain roof tiles set into mortar, while others are of plaster; a grey, straw-rich daub has been added to some panels to create a flush wall surface, possibly permitting the plastering or papering of the room.¹⁹ There is a large curved brace at the north end; two studs are halved across the brace, one of which has been broken off at the top.

The original fireplace lintel on the south wall, concealed by later facing planks, was temporarily exposed during a refurbishment in 2007-08. Like its counterpart in the hall chamber, it is timber and has a steep, depressed four-centred arch. The surface of the wood has similarly been hacked back to receive plaster, which is still present on the jambs.

A midrail is tenoned into a post each side of the stack; that to the east is cut back slightly to accommodate the fireplace lintel and set higher because it forms the lintel of a door opening. The doorframe is chamfered on its north face, with shouldered step stops (usually an early 17th century feature) and rebated on the south. The door itself dates from the early 17th century. The doorway on the west side is cut into the midrail; its architrave is 20th century. The close studding of the walls flanking the stack is exposed on the south face and plastered on the north side. The stud closest to the door to room 24 is more irregular than the others and may replace a doorpost set between it and the current doorframe, where there is a peg in the rail.

Closet (room 27)

This closet served the Parlour chamber. Its plank-and-batten door has plain strap hinges hung on pintles and could date from the 16th or the 17th centuries. Inside the closet there is a batten at the south-east corner for a shelf along the south wall, with a peghole in each of the studs forming a row roughly in line with the top of the batten. There are also three pegholes in the midrail, set between the studs. The room is whitewashed, including the ceiling joists.



Fig. 32: Blocked doorway in the east wall of room 25 (DP040092).

Rooms 25/26

The west bay of the cross wing comprises one large room (room 25) with two closets along the north wall, the smaller of which (room 26) served this space, separated off by a stud partition with lath and plaster infill. Room 25 is lit from the south by a sash window that replaced a larger, original window. The fireplace in the west wall, with a raised hearth and a plain opening, is a 19th century insertion.

The ceiling has a heavily-moulded central beam. The joists have hollow chamfers over the chamber, but are unchamfered and limewashed where they cross the closets. The joists are stopped at the beam, at the south wall and at the north partition wall, indicating that the arrangement of chamber and closets is original.

The spaces between the joists are filled with bricks which sit on the headbeam of the partition; this appears to be the original arrangement as the surface of the bricks is covered with a thin layer of plaster and a red pigment, that has in turn been covered by plaster

concealing the stops on the joists. The presence of the red pigment suggests an early decorative scheme of red-painted ceiling timbers.

At the south end of the east wall the rail accommodates an original doorhead, subsequently brick-blocked. Adjoining this is an inserted doorway from room 28 with a plank and battern door; the original access between rooms 28 and 25 was via the stair head (room 24). The doorway to the closet (room 26) has a depressed four-centred arch and is set directly under the rail of the north wall. The doorhead has a small chamfer on both faces and there is a hollow chamfer on the south side of the rail. The opening has later been reduced in width by the insertion of a reused section of late 16th or early 17th century small-square panelling and an eight-panelled door with cockshead hinges.²⁰



Fig. 33: Original, four-centred doorway to closet (room 26), reduced in size with reused 17th century door (temporarily removed) and panelling (DP040093).

Attic and roof

The roofspace was originally floored to form an attic which was probably used for storage and servant accommodation. It is now lit by a small window in the south gable, but there is an original window high in the west gable.²¹ Sections of original floorboard survive in the south bay of the hall range and in the cross wing west of the stack, and nails in the joists indicate the former positions of removed floorboards. The floorboards ran in the same direction as the joists, giving a first-floor ceiling without visible joints. The roof trusses are relatively complete, although many rafters have been renewed.

The joists are connected to the spine beams by means of soffit tenons with diminished haunches (see page 77). The spine beams are in turn tenoned into the tiebeams. The outer ends of the joists are unpegged and appear to simply rest on the wallplate or on extra timbers nailed to the wallplate.



Fig. 34: Framed opening in attic floor (DP040094).

Attic: Hall range

Immediately south of Truss III on the east side of the hall range evidence for a framed opening and the remains of a strap-hinged trapdoor still survive. The opening has a trimmer at each end, with a plank nailed on top of the east trimmer and another nailed over the joist on the north side. There are short lengths of original joist between the west trimmer and the spine beam. Three mortices in the joist forming the south side of the opening may relate to a former handrail. The main original access



Fig. 35: Roof space of hall range, looking north. The struts in the foreground are later insertions. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042418).

to the roof space was a trapdoor. It is not clear if the opening was for a permanent framed stair or for a moveable ladder; the former is more likely. The hatch is immediately south of the partition wall between the hall chamber and the middle chamber.

The hall range joists have a full set of carpenters' marks on their upper faces either side of the spine beams, with tags on the marks on the east side. The sequence

runs from I-XI (northern bay of range); XII-XXII (middle bay); XXIII-XXXVI (southern bay). On the west side of the central bay of the hall range there is evidence for an error in construction or for a change of plan.²²

In the hall range, packing pieces have been inserted in places where the upper surface of the joists is not level. They are neatly cut into the upper surface of the joists and nailed, and could be original features necessitated by irregularities in the upper surfaces of the joists. In the middle and south bays two pairs of joists have been reinforced by inserted iron straps which cross the spine beam and are nailed to the joists. Another iron strap holds the spine beams together across the tiebeam of Truss III.

The tiebeam of truss III has two mortises in the upper surface on the west side; although one mortise is larger than the other the spacing would be correct for a doorway if the truss had been closed. The mortises may therefore indicate the position of a slight partition, with studs nailed to the truss.

The narrow quarter bay between truss IV and the wallplate of the cross wing accommodates the majority of the stack within the hall range roof. On either side of the stack the bay was spanned by two east-west aligned chamfered joists. Those on the west side are still in situ; on the east side one joist was truncated and one replaced when the present stair trap was inserted against the east face of the stack.²³

Attic: Cross wing

Although the cross wing has a virtually complete set of original floor joists, there are almost no visible carpenters' marks on the beams and joists. A different team of carpenters may have worked on the cross wing, and perhaps used marks where they would not be visible once the floor was assembled.

At the north-west corner of the western cross wing bay runs the headbeam of the first-floor partition wall that creates the two closets below (rooms 26 and 27). It is presumed that the closets were originally open to the roof; at a later date the space between the headbeam and the northern wall was floored with thinner and less regular joists than those elsewhere.

Roof: Hall range

The hall range roof, like that of the cross wing, is of clasped-purlin type with diminished principal rafters and tenoned collars. There is a large, flat ridge piece, set parallel to the western pitch and joined by an edge-halved scarf at Truss III. Pairs of unpegged and curved windbraces provide lateral stiffness to the outer bays.

Whereas the hall-range joists are numbered from north to south, its four trusses appear to have been framed from south to north, and this sequence has been adopted accordingly in this report (ie truss I at the south gable).²⁴ Truss I is set immediately north of the south stack, which projects from the centre of the gable end; there is a further pair of common rafters south of the truss at the gable wall. Truss IV is set immediately south of the central stack.



Fig. 36: Detail of principal truss, showing clasped purlin construction and windbrace (DP040095).



Fig. 37 (above): Western truss of cross wing. Note pegholes for fitting below collar, and former three-light window above. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042424).



Fig. 38 (left): Northmost bay of hall range, looking east. Note windbraces (DP040097).

There are intermediate collars between the purlins in each bay; that for Truss I is cambered, while the others are straight and may be later replacements. The collars have been reinforced with inserted props which stand on baulks of timber laid across the joists. The baulk of the north-bay prop lies across a fragment of the original floorboards. Probably contemporary with this work was the removal of the collar of Truss III and its replacement with a pair of angled struts.

Truss IV is closed with an inserted doorway to the east of the central stack. The infill consists of studs with laths nailed horizontally across them on the south face and covered with daub. The western doorpost has pintles for strap hinges on the north face, superseded by T-hinges of probable 17th century date on the south face; the door is missing. The doorway is probably an insertion, as the laths are not nailed to the doorposts, and there is a redundant mortise in the soffit of the collar, which may be the position of an original doorpost. In the top of the tiebeam the mortises for the doorposts are of slip-tenon type, allowing the insertion of timbers into a pre-existing frame. Two further studs on the east side also have oversize mortises and it may be that the doorway was originally further east.



Fig. 39: Closed truss III of hall range (DP040096).

The pairs of curved windbraces in the outer bays are tenoned into the purlins and principal rafters.²⁵ The east side of the southernmost bay contains only one a single windbrace, and the absence of redundant mortices suggests this was the original arrangement. The central bay has an original straight brace on each side which runs from near the foot of truss III to join truss II next to the collar.²⁶

The common rafters are laid flat on the west side, but on-end on the east side; the latter are notched over the ridge piece. In the south bay, a reused rafter has a set of shallow housings that may relate to a former louvred opening with slanting boards set into the jambs to provide ventilation.

Roof: Cross wing

This has three closed trusses: at the east and west gable ends, and in the middle, aligned with the west wall of the hall range. The trusses, like those of the hall range, have diminished principals with tenoned collars, clasped purlins and a flat ridge piece set parallel to the north slope of the roof. Both the shorter west bay and the east bay have windbraces at the west end, and there are mortises for windbraces at the east end of the east bay. The windbraces are all pegged, unlike most of those in the hall range.

The closed central truss has three surviving studs, one at each end of the collar and one near the north end, with mortises in the soffit of the collar for a further five studs. The lower ends of the studs were held in a groove in the tiebeam; the irregular spacing of the studs and the absence of the groove at the northern end indicate a doorway here. The

upper surface of the collar has mortises for five studs, demonstrating that the truss was closed to the apex of the roof.

The truss in the west gable end retains all its original studs, with two extra ones inserted in the middle. Its infill panels are 20th century replacements. The six central studs have rows of large pegholes suggesting that four shelves were built against the lower part of the truss. Above the collar are four studs, the middle two having a horizontal timber with mortises for diamond-set mullions, showing that there was a three-light unglazed window in the centre of the gable. Subsequently, the window was blocked and a central stud inserted. Generally, the studs of the west gable end are unpegged and spindly, that is of lesser quality than the exterior framing on display elsewhere in the house. The implication is that a brick gable end was intended, or that the west side of the house was built against an existing building; the existence of the unglazed window implies that it had a lower roof.

The east gable truss of the cross wing was entirely rebuilt in softwood in c.1960. Near the gable end the purlins have additional lengths scarfed on, raising the possibility that they once extended further than the present east wall. Alternatively these extra sections of purlin may have been added when the gable end was rebuilt, reusing old timber.²⁷

There are intermediate collars between the purlins at the east end and in the centre of the east bay; added angled props give additional support to the purlins near the east end, between the intermediate collar and the central truss, and in the centre of the west bay. The north side of the eastern bay is further reinforced by inserted straight braces.

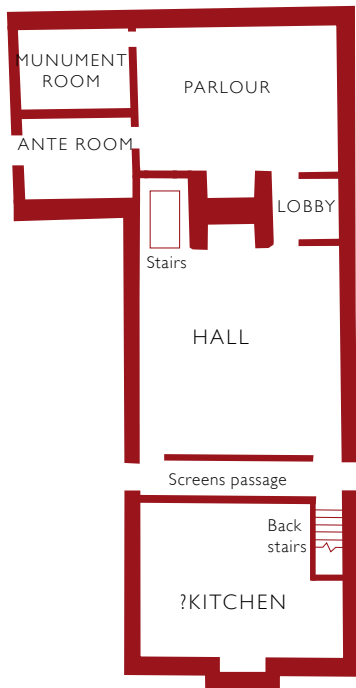


Fig. 40: Phase plan—1505-06

Fabric analysis and phase interpretation

The house of 1505-06

When first built the hall range comprised a two-bay hall with a longer, in-line service end to the south (figure 40). The original entry was into the southern or low end of the hall, perhaps via a screens passage. The principal staircase was formerly to the west of the principal stack (rooms 12/24). Separate access for servants would be expected in a house of this size, status and date. Furthermore, a second stair would have been necessary for the tenant when the court was in session and during the periods when court officials occupied the upper end of the house. Evidence for an original back stair was not observed during the 2007-08 refurbishment, but a likely arrangement would be a straight flight against the east wall of the service bay, accessed by a doorway from the screens passage.²⁸

Exterior

It is evident that a degree of care was bestowed upon the exterior elevations of Manor Farm, which were decorated with close-studding, nogging and diaperwork. The principal west elevation had two oriel windows flanking a central window, indicating a preference to symmetry over purely functional considerations.

Whilst the location of most of the first-floor openings can be established with some certainty, evidence for the form and position of the ground-floor windows has either been removed or is concealed by later rendered surfaces²⁹ However, their location can be conjectured on the basis that, in houses of this date, size and status, ground and upper floor openings tend to be aligned to give regular facades where possible. Framed buildings also display a degree of axial symmetry in the placement of openings, and it is possible that some of the east-wall windows opposed those of the west, especially in bays undivided by axial partitions.

The principal doorway was probably in the same position as the present front door. Later



Fig. 41: Conjectural reconstruction of appearance of oriels.

rebuilding of part of the east elevation has removed evidence for a presumed opposing door. Likewise, although much of the west gable end of the cross wing is rebuilt at ground floor level, the present doorway may occupy the position of an original door.

The original arrangement of the first-floor windows of the principal (west) elevation of the hall range is shown in figure 70. The north and south bays preserve evidence for projecting oriel windows, central to the rooms they lit. The studs which flanked both windows have pegs for their lintels and sills, the upper pairs angled at 45° to the wall plane. This suggests that the lintels and sills were of canted form, and secret-tenoned to the side of the studs. Below the sill pegs is a shallow horizontal groove cut into both studs and brickwork with pegs within the groove in the outer studs. This housed a rail which formed the base of the oriel. The studs have mortises for five upright brackets to support the projecting sill. The mortises are angled at 45° to the horizontal, implying that concave brackets sprang from the rail. The brackets may have been exposed with plaster infill, or plastered over to form a smooth cove; 16th century examples of both types are known.³⁰ The northern oriel retains most of the studs below the sill, but that of the south bay retains only the outer studs.

The central bay was lit by a wide, flush, off-centre window, tenoned and pegged into the west post of truss III. Pegs for the frame show that its lintel was aligned with those of the oriels, but its sill was higher. The presence of oriel windows implies that the hall chamber and the south room were the most important spaces in the hall range, separated by a chamber of lower status. At the north end of the elevation is an original small window that would have lit the stair on the east side of the chimney stack.

It is likely that the ground-floor windows of the principal (west) elevation were directly beneath the first-floor windows (figure 70). This would have given two windows lighting the hall and one the service room.³¹ The height of the ground floor makes the use of transomed windows possible, especially at the northern or high end. There may have been a corresponding ground-floor window at the north end to light the original stairwell.

Window positions in the east elevation are harder to determine because of the greater degree of later disturbance and renewal. Given the status of the house, it was probably glazed throughout, although the practice of glazing only the principal elevations continued well into the 16th century.³² The only first-floor window whose position is certain is a tall window in the middle bay, the frame of which survives. It is situated above the posited location of the rear entrance. The replacement of studs has removed any evidence of window positions in the outer bays, but it seems likely they occupied the same positions as the present windows. A small window once lit the space to the east of the principal chimney stack (presently the stairwell). Pegs for its lintel survive.

The window lighting the hall chamber (rooms 23/32/31) opposes, and is of equal width to, the oriel in the west wall. It may therefore represent a replacement for an original window of equal size. The French windows in the hall (room 11) may be an enlargement of an original window: their jambs correspond to the position of the northernmost oriel on the west elevation. The opening cut through at the base of the present stair might

utilise an earlier window opening, but the evidence is unclear. It is likely that the parlour chamber (room 28) would have received additional light from a large and probably transomed window in the east gable, perhaps an oriel, but rebuilding has removed any evidence.

The first floor of the north elevation had a single tall window, placed approximately centrally. To the west was a western doorway, which provided external access to the cross wing, perhaps via an external stair. The evidence for this is a wider panel with a heavy lintel, set against the western post. The doorway has been blocked with studs and brick infill, and a small window inserted below the lintel.

At the east end of the north elevation was a projecting garderobe, accessed from the parlour chamber via a narrow doorway. The studs which frame the doorway and the next five have a small mortise near the top, and some have approximately central peg holes. The infill is plain, horizontally-set bricks, as decorative nogging was not required where it would not be seen. The first five of these studs are tenoned and pegged into a secondary sill beam set above the main sill beam and carried on the sawn-off ends of six cantilevered joists. The joists extend as far as the fifth stud, while the plain infill continues to the seventh stud. The discrepancy can be accounted for as the floor did not extend as far as the west wall because the garderobe seat was here. A shaft was probably located below. The presence of diaperwork on the ground floor below the garderobe rules out the possibility that it extended to the lower storey. The present blocked door is an insertion (it cuts the diaperwork) and presumably postdates the removal of the garderobe.

The ground-floor windows in the north and east walls of the cross wing would have been smaller than the present openings (which cut the diaperwork). However there are no clear signs in the brickwork for an alternative location so the positions are probably original. Given that the windows lit the parlour it seems likely that they were glazed and mullioned; the available height for the openings precludes the use of transoms. The partial rebuilding of the north elevation has removed evidence of the window position for room 14, although it is thought that its placement would have been constrained by an external stair (see page 34).

The south wall of the cross wing had a large first-floor window, of equal width and perhaps similar in form to the centre window of the hall range, flanked by close studding.³³

The west gable end of the cross wing is rendered, with the exception of the jowled posts at the corners. But the recessed upper storey suggests that first floor framing lies underneath the render, and spindly and unpegged studs are visible in the gable below the collar. Cherry and Pevsner thought that the cross wing may have extended further west.³⁴ However, the posts terminate the sill beam, rather than resting on it, as an intermediate truss would do.³⁵ Further, there are no pegholes or mortises in the posts for any structure to the west, and the fair face of the western truss faces outwards. These all suggest it was framed as a terminal truss.

It is possible that the truss was built against, and gave access to, an existing building with a lower roof height. The southern termination of the hall range demonstrates the carpenters' belief that the framing system should be structurally independent from an adjoining gable wall. If, like the south gable, the west truss of the cross wing was originally open, its subsequent closure could relate to the demolition of the earlier building. The slight framing below the collar, if original, would have functioned as an interior partition wall. Further evidence exists in a reference by the council engineer who supervised the c.1960 restoration to 'apparent door openings in first floor level' of the 'west gable'.³⁶

Interior

The building accounts of 1506 list a hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery and entry. While the locations of most of these rooms are clear, the buttery and kitchen are not. A buttery could be a small, cupboard-like room partitioned out of the hall or kitchen, that could be removed leaving little evidence of its former existence.³⁷ Alternatively a buttery was sometimes the equivalent of the cellar, principally for the storage of beer or wine. It is not uncommon to find a cellar or buttery at the upper end of a house, adjoining the parlour and away from the servants. Therefore one possible situation for the buttery in Manor Farm is room 14, a function perhaps perpetuated by the later excavation of the cellar.

The location of the early-16th century kitchen also presents a problem. The 1506 building accounts suggest it was accommodated within the house. The most likely location is the large service bay at the south end of the hall range. The rebuilding of the gable wall may have removed a large cooking fireplace and extra-mural stack.³⁸ Several alternative locations for an original kitchen present themselves. A hall-kitchen is unlikely, given the inadequate size of the stack heating this room, its position at the high end of the room, the status of the house, and the interference with a court hall function.³⁹ There is no evidence that the 1505-06 building extended further to the south or east.⁴⁰ One possibility is a detached kitchen, sited near to the house, probably at the southern or lower end. Detached kitchens were not uncommon in south-east England between 1450 and 1550.⁴¹ Alternatively, the Priory kitchen may have been kept or some other part of the retained buildings converted for such a use.

Ground Floor layout

Hall (room 11)

The two-bay hall was a large and imposing space, with a four-panelled ceiling and moulded beams.⁴² The presence of hollow chamfers and stops on the joists of the two northernmost bays but not on the bays south of truss II confirm the original extent of the hall and the location of the partition wall between hall and service room. The entrance was at the south end but it is unlikely that a room of this size and quality would have been entered directly. A light or movable screen perhaps separated a cross passage from the hall proper; this is suggested by a 1506 reference to the flooring of 'thentre'.⁴³ Excluding the presumed screens passage, the original proportions of the hall would have been roughly square (6.52m (21ft 5in) wide by c.7m (22ft 11in)).⁴⁴

It is likely that the manorial court was held in the hall, a 'semi-public' space with direct entry. Ground-floor court halls, following the late-medieval hall-house layout, were recognised as a type by Stuart Rigold in his classification of purpose-built medieval court halls.⁴⁵ It is unsurprising that no architectural evidence remains to confirm this at Ruislip, as manorial court rooms rarely contained permanent fittings and any furnishings were probably removed and stored between sessions. An early 16th century reference to 'makyng of the benchis in the same hall the 12 of' suggests that the jury were individually seated.⁴⁶ It is likely that the court officials sat behind a large table, perhaps located east of the hall fireplace. As well as symbolising the authority of the manor court, this arrangement would also have served for domestic use. It is unlikely that the hall would have been able to accommodate all those attending court. This would not have presented a problem however, as early modern manorial courts appear to have been fairly fluid, with constant comings and goings of suitors depending on the business under discussion.⁴⁷

Original stairwell (room 12)

The evidence for this as the location for the original stair exists in the form of a trimmer incorporated into the first-floor joists. The opening between the trimmer and tiebeam, the edges of which are chamfered, would have housed the staircase (figure 42). Although its precise form, and the position of the foot of the stair, is unclear, the location of the opening implies a straight flight steeply ascending northwards.⁴⁸ The rebuilding of the north and south walls has removed any evidence of access to the stair.

Present stairwell

This space was probably a lobby linking the hall and parlour (room 15). It was generally common for access to the parlour to be at the farthest point in the hall from the main entrance.⁴⁹ The former position of the doorway between lobby and parlour is suggested by a post adjoining the northeast corner of the stack which is reduced in width below the rail (as in the corresponding room above). The south wall of the lobby has been rebuilt, but it is likely that an opposing doorway gave access to the hall. One ceiling joist supporting the landing retains a fragment of hollow chamfer with a runout stop, and the outlines of further joists can be seen on the north face of the tie beam on the south side of the lobby, indicating that the stair is a later insertion.

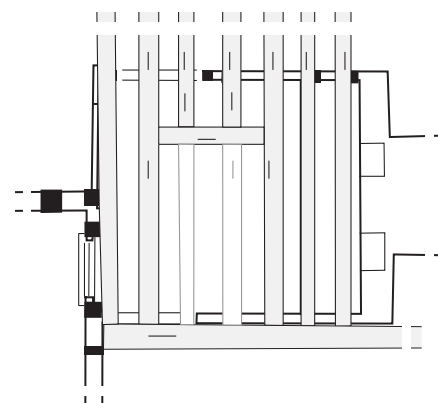


Fig. 42: Floor plan of room 24 (floorboards removed, ground floor ceiling beams and joists visible). Note framed and chamfered opening, probably for original principal stair. (The grey-coloured joists tenoned into the trimmer are later insertions).

Parlour (room 15)

The Parlour was located at the upper or northern end of the house. It was heated by the principal stack, and probably lit from the north and east. Two smaller service rooms were located to its west (rooms 13 and 14). During court sessions, the parlour probably doubled as an 'adjourning room' for private deliberation.⁵⁰ From the 15th century onwards, court houses were increasingly provided with ancillary chambers where the steward, bailiff, jury, and senior officers could consult, adjourn and retire in privacy.⁵¹ The adjourning room was often accessed from the dais-end of the hall, suggesting a domestic analogy with the late medieval parlour. Room 15 was furnished with an anteroom, a possible storage room, a separate entrance, and access to the parlour chamber on the first floor (room 28).

Room 13.

Evidence for the early 16th century use of this room has been obscured by several phases of rebuilding, including the insertion of the stack in the west wall and the erection and subsequent removal of a 19th-century lean-to extension. It may be speculated that the present external doorway is a renewal of an original separate entrance for the use of court officials, in which case the room would have functioned as an antechamber to the parlour.

Room 14.

This room probably served, and intercommunicated with, the parlour. The doorway was at the north end of the wall but has been subsequently filled in.⁵² Room 14 may have been a lockable space for the storage of court paraphernalia, or a muniment room. A dairy, study or wine store are alternative suggestions.⁵³ A vertical mortise in the southern post of the eastern partition indicates that Rooms 14 and 13 were originally of equal size. The second, fourth and sixth studs from the north on the east wall have a row of four large round pegholes, implying a fixture or fitting. Although too close for individual shelves, they could have held large brackets supporting a shelf strong enough for heavy objects, perhaps items associated with the manor court.

Service end (room 10)

The larger southern bay, at the low end of the house, was an undivided service room. This is evident because there are no mortises for a partition in the soffit of the spine beam and the joists are unchamfered, consistent with a service function. Undivided service ends are uncommon in a house of this size: the service bay would normally be divided axially into a buttery and pantry. It is unclear if or how the room was heated originally, as the present south gable wall has apparently been rebuilt. If the room was an in-line kitchen, a large cooking stack would be expected. It is possible that a back stair was located in this bay.

Room 10 would probably have been supplemented by service rooms in the retained buildings of the medieval priory and its outbuildings. But no evidence has been found for a kitchen in a further bay to the south, or for a passage to a detached kitchen.⁵⁴

First Floor layout

The original layout of the first floor probably corresponded with the bay division, giving two large rooms of equal size at the north and south ends of the house, flanking two slightly smaller rooms in the hall range. The most important room was at the north end, a heated parlour chamber, which, along with an attached garderobe, adjoining 'inner room' and closets, formed a cross wing suite. This was probably for the periodical use of the steward.

Hall chamber (rooms 23/31/32)

A heated hall chamber occupied the full width of the northernmost bay of the hall range. It is clear that this room was only a single bay because the joists of the northernmost bay have hollow chamfers with runout stops whereas those of the middle and south bays are unchamfered. This is surprising, given the two-bay hall below.

Middle bay (rooms 22/33/34/35)

It is not clear whether the middle bay was originally sub-divided (the present partition under the spine beam is modern). Given that the large window on the west wall and the smaller window at the east wall are not aligned a two-room arrangement is possible. The position of the east window allows for a stair to the attic, positioned against the east and north walls (see 'Attic' below). The reason for the location of the west window at the north end of the chamber is unclear: an original closet against the west wall offers one explanation.

Southern bay (rooms 19/20/21)

The south room was as large as the parlour chamber. The presence of an original oriel lighting the south chamber is consistent with a single, undivided, and important space. It may have been heated by a stack in the south wall (since rebuilt). However, such a status conflicts with its position at the low end of the house, and the plain chamfer of its axial ceiling beam and its unchamfered joists, which signify a lower-status room. Such undivided solars over a ceiled service bay are sometimes encountered in larger open-hall houses.⁵⁵ One possible explanation is that it functioned as the tenant's bedroom.

Original stairwell (room 24)

The original stair occupied the space west of the stack. The floor joists of room 24 incorporate a central opening between a trimmer and a tie beam (see room 12 description). This indicates a stair, the upper section of which comprised a straight flight ascending northwards to doorways to the parlour chamber (room 28) and its adjoining room (room 25). Such an arrangement would have precluded original access to the hall chamber; this is supported by the fact that the present doorway between rooms 24 and 23 is an insertion. Access to the upper floor of the hall range may have been obtained via room 28 or a back stair located to the south of the hall.

Present stairwell

This lobby probably formed the original access between the hall range and cross wing. The architraves of the doors to the hall and parlour chambers are chamfered and stopped on the north face only, which is consistent with a principal circulation route from the parlour chamber to hall chamber via the lobby.

Parlour chamber (room 28)

This large heated room (room 28) occupies the greater part of the cross wing. That it formed the superior first-floor chamber is indicated by its location at the high end of the house and its enrichment with a decorated ceiling similar to that of the parlour below.⁵⁶ This was the best-appointed chamber, and probably accommodated the visiting provost or steward. Self-contained solar suites have been recorded in other manor farms which doubled as court houses.⁵⁷

The room was served by a walk-in closet (room 27), and projecting garderobe, accessed through a narrow doorway at the east end of the north wall. The relatively poor quality of the studding in the partition between rooms 28 and 25, and the lack of symmetry in the framing, with one brace in room 28 and another in room 24, suggests that it was not intended to be seen, and may have been concealed by wall hangings.⁵⁸

Rooms 25/26/27

The present layout of these rooms is the original one. This is demonstrated by the axial beam in room 25, which is central to the room and not to the cross wing as a whole. Room 25 may have served as an ante-chamber to the parlour chamber, although it seems that entry was gained via room 24.⁵⁹

Immediately to the south of the smaller closet (room 26) is a framed ceiling hatch which is possibly original. This would imply a moveable ladder to the attic as the hatch is small and its position immediately in front of the closet doorway would preclude a fixed stair.⁶⁰

The original, four-centred doorway from room 25 into its closet (room 26) is unusually wide, occupying the full width of the closet. One explanation is that room 26 originally functioned as a lobby for an external entrance at first-floor level. The north elevation contains evidence for a first-floor doorway that would have served an external stair or adjoining structure since lost (see page 34).

The joists above the closet are later insertions, suggesting that the space was originally open to the roof. The restricted headroom would have made ingress and egress difficult; a loading trap is an alternative explanation.



Fig. 43: Framed opening adjacent to north wall of room 25 (DP040098).

Attic

The attic was originally floored throughout. A small window in the south gable, and scorch marks from candle flames on the north face of the collar of Truss I imply servant accommodation at the low end of the house. A number of the joists in the eastern bay of the cross wing have small mortises in the upper surface. They may relate to non-structural partitions creating storage spaces or servants' bed cubicles. Other parts of the attic may have been given over to dry storage of foodstuffs such as grain. The attic floor is clearly designed to be load-bearing: the joists are closer together than those of the first floor, suggesting it was designed for a substantial load.⁶¹

It seems probable that the main access to the attic was via a stair against the north wall of the middle chamber in the hall range (rooms.22/33/34/35) The existing stair trap is large enough for a fixed stair, and mortises in the top of the adjoining joist imply a handrail. Such a stair would have ascended from east to west: if it ran the other way there would have been no headroom at the top. It is likely that it consisted of two flights at right angles (the lower one against the east wall) or a straight flight with winders at the bottom. The ceiling height is such that a single flight along the north wall would not have achieved the height in the distance available.

16th Century

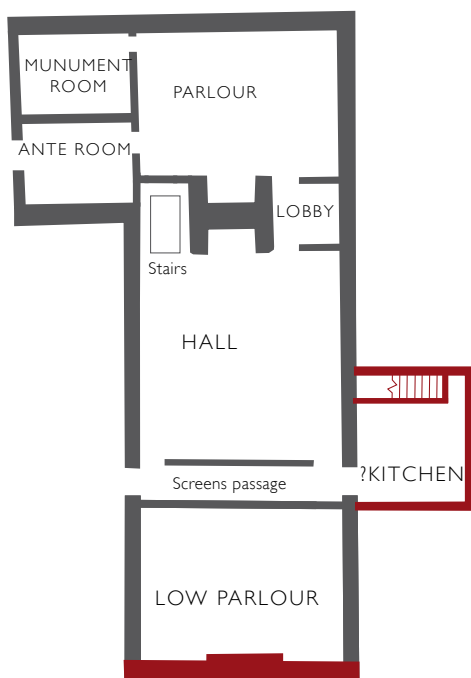


Fig. 44: Phase plan—16th century (new work highlighted in red).

Various alterations, possibly co-related, were undertaken at an early stage in the development of the house. The most significant was the rebuilding of the south gable wall, probably in response to structural problems such as subsidence or settlement. This work may correspond with a 1547 'Allowance for makynge of the howse ende that dyd falle done yn to the mote a new chemney and a new oven', which required 8,000 new bricks and scaffolding.⁶²

This afforded the chance to modify the layout of the low end of the house. The southernmost first-floor room was subdivided into two chambers, each heated by a flue diverging from the ground floor stack. A two-storey single-bay extension to the east, suggested by mortices in the posts and an inserted first-floor doorway, may also relate to this phase of work.

The framing of the roof and the finishing of the southernmost truss of the hall range suggests that the south wall was originally brick. Although the southernmost truss was framed as an external truss (with fair face to the south, unlike the other hall range trusses, whose fair face is orientated to the high end), there is no evidence that it was ever closed.

Furthermore, the wall plates, purlins and ridge pieces project south of the truss, requiring the support of an additional rafter in the process.

However the construction and appearance of the south wall differs from the other elevations. The wall is of early brick in an irregular header bond with thick mortar joints and incorporates random vitrified bricks. The brick wall is misaligned with truss I.⁶³ Anomalous details, such as the lack of English bond, plinth chamfering and diaperwork (found in the early 16th century brickwork elsewhere in the house) suggest that it is a rebuilding, perhaps reusing original bricks. The bond is header-rich, giving a wall comprising two leaves of stretchers. Header bond, although rare in the 16th century, is frequently used for its strength, and its use here in the apparent context of a rebuild may betray concerns about lateral stiffness or subsidence.⁶⁴



Fig. 45: Detail of south truss of hall range. Fair face outwards, indicating a terminal truss. The purlin extends beyond the principal rafter and there are no signs that the truss was ever closed. The stack is visible to the right (DP040099).

The fact that the present south wall accommodates two integral flues on the first floor demonstrates that its rebuilding anticipated an inserted axial partition in the southern bay. That the partition is early is indicated by the fact that it predates the insertion of plaster ceilings throughout the house, and its studs bear traces of a paint scheme dating to the 17th century (see Appendix v). It is assumed, therefore, that the rebuilding of the gable end afforded the opportunity of reconfiguring the layout of the low end of the house.

The ground-floor service chamber remained undivided, but its new fireplace rules out any kitchen function for this room from this phase onwards. It is possible that the opportunity was taken to move the kitchen function out of the hall range, perhaps to provide the tenant with a low parlour or private room when the court was in session.

An extension to the east of the hall range is suggested by evidence in the east elevation (see page 33).⁶⁵ Two interpretations are possible. The first is that it contained a two-storeyed kitchen wing, removing this function from the house. The 'new oven' of the 1547 accounts (see page 17) could relate to such a structure. Alternatively, it was a lean-to structure housing a garderobe or extramural stair giving service access to the chambers above the hall via an inserted doorway in room 33.

There is little evidence of significant change at the high end of the house. The insertion of a small west window into the northern bay of the hall range at first-floor level may indicate the formation of a closet or similar space partitioned-off from the hall chamber. Such additions would have been built against the original stairwell partition. When, in the 17th century, room 24 became a lobby between the hall and parlour chambers, it would have necessitated the removal of the closet and the blocking of the window.

17th Century

The first half of the 17th century saw several reconfigurations of the original plan. An entrance hall was inserted between the hall and service bay and the principal stair was moved from its original position in room 24 to its present location. The building underwent redecoration, significant evidence of which survives.

An entrance hall was inserted between the hall and service end, altering the original access arrangement and truncating the hall and service end.⁶⁶ The entrance hall retains traces of a paint scheme dating to the 17th century, overlain by wallpaper of c.1700 (see Appendices v and vi).

Access to the hall was in, or near, the present doorway. This would have given two staggered doorways from the entrance hall: a formal route to the hall to the north and household access to the south. These may have been separated by an axial partition (the

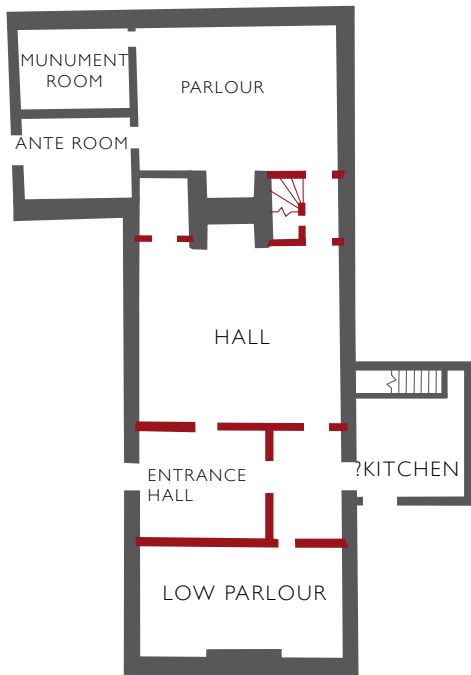


Fig. 46: Phase plan—17th century. (new work highlighted in red).

present wall is an 18th century creation). A doorway into the hall at the east end of the south wall may have provided service access to the hall from the low end of the house.⁶⁷

Stylistic evidence suggests that the hall fireplace is a rebuilding, possibly of the late 16th or early 17th century. The brick jambs have an ovolo moulding on the west side, with a converging stop. The ovolo is usually regarded as coming into widespread usage around 1560.⁶⁸ The painted decoration on the fireplace inner jambs may relate to this work also.

The position of the principal stair, and access between hall range and cross wing appears to have been switched between the two spaces flanking the stack in the late 16th or early 17th century.⁶⁹ The fabric evidence for this exists in the beam supporting the stair head on the south side of stair lobby, cut back to give more room on the stair, and bearing traces of mortises for the original first floor joists. Stylistically, the lattice form of the balustrade of the landing also suggests such a date.⁷⁰

Furthermore, the present configuration of room 24 must be a comparatively early alteration, as a painted scheme



Fig. 47: South wall of entrance hall (room 9). Fragments of wallpaper of c.1700 survives under later panelling (DP040100).

of probable 17th-century date survives on the panels below the stair head. (Appendix v) The lath and plaster ceiling on the underside of the stair head also appears of early date and the plank-and-batten door to the parlour chamber (room 28) is of the first half of the 17th century.⁷¹

Other modifications in this period included the reworking of the fenestration to the first-floor middle chamber in the hall range (rooms 22/33/35). A tall, three-light west window was inserted approximately central to the middle bay, adjoining the original window immediately to the north. Its sill and lintel are tenoned and double-pegged into the stud on the south side but housed in the stud to the north, demonstrating it is a later insertion. Given the early form of the window, it is likely that the window was inserted to light a subdivided space (such as a closet) rather than as a replacement for the original window. At the south end of the room is a small two-light window, with a chamfered frame and mullion of 17th century appearance. This may have lit another closet at the south end of the chamber, also suggested by a break in the floorboards in this position.

Plaster ceilings were inserted throughout the house to conceal the joists, leaving only the ceiling beams exposed. The Parlour (room 15) had a plaster ceiling inserted also, as shown by nail holes for laths. Evidence has been uncovered throughout the house for a 17th century decorative paint scheme based on white and grey (Appendix v). All exposed timbers (wall studs, rails and ceiling beams) were painted grey with a narrow grey stripe alongside, framing the infill and ceiling panels. The scheme demonstrates the continuing importance of Manor Farm and of the manorial courts held there.

18th century

A major refurbishment of the building was undertaken in the first half of the 18th century. The work included a refenestration of the principal elevations, the rendering of the exterior, and the removal of the garderobe and oriel windows. The service rooms and spaces at the south end were reconfigured along with the rebuilding of the eastern extension to house a kitchen.

The refenestration apparently consisted of the introduction of sash windows. Although no 18th century sashes remain, the first floor architraves of the west elevation are of this date. The architrave of the sash lighting the entrance hall is coeval with the panelling, and it is unlikely that in a house of this status a single sash window would have been inserted in a principal elevation. The provision of

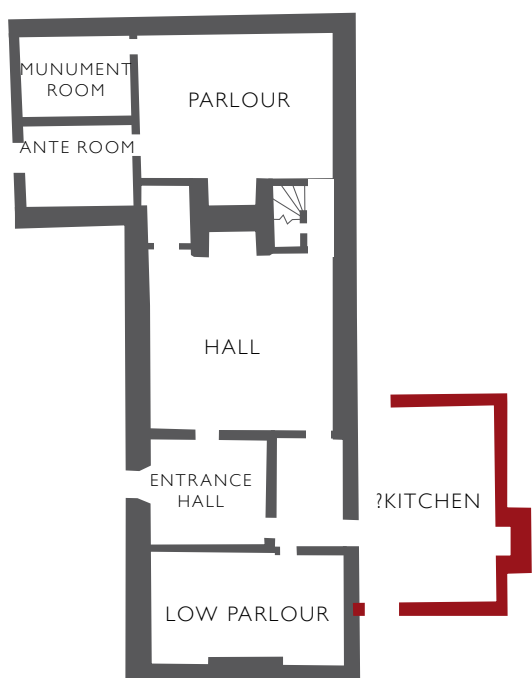


Fig. 48: Phase plan—18th century (new work highlighted in red).



Fig. 49: Detail of south elevation, showing projecting 18th century architraves (DP070335).

room 10 with a sash window on the east side suggests that it had ceased to function as a service room by this date; the most probable use was a low parlour for the use of the tenant farmer when the manor courts were in session. At the same time, the west elevation was rendered, as the first floor window architraves project from the wall face to be flush with the rendered surface. After this significant alteration, the general appearance of the exterior changed little in the following two centuries, as is shown by late -19th-century photographs of the principal elevation (see frontispiece).

This alteration also presents a *terminus ante quem* for the drylining of much of the lateral ground-floor walling, as the panelling incorporates a void of equal depth.

The present size of the entrance hall (room 9) was established by at least c.1720-30 when the room was lined with fielded panelling of that date, covering the earlier wallpaper.

One significant addition to the building with implications for its layout was the replacement of the earlier extension with a single-storey eastern kitchen extension (figure 89). Its roofline is indicated by a roofscar on an area of close studding on the east elevation, above which the studs are more weathered.

The space to the east of the entrance hall presumably served as a lobby to the extension, and was not drylined. It is possible that the rebuilding of the adjacent part of the east wall, and the creation of a wide external doorway, dates to this period. The back door has a tenoned and pegged frame, with a large bead moulding on the inner face, which could date from the end of the 17th- or the first half of the 18th century. It is rebated on the outer face, with the back door opening outwards into the extension. The opening is set within an area of brick rebuilding in header-rich bond, which includes bricks of probable 18th century date (figure 50). It is presumed that this rebuilding represents the removal of the opposed entrance of the original house.



Fig. 50: Back door (DP070337).

It was perhaps during the 18th century that alterations were undertaken to the rooms west of the parlour, principally the excavation of a cellar with a brick floor and steps beneath room 14, the insertion of a small window in the north wall and the insertion of a stack in the east elevation of the cross wing. An additional stack, heating room 14, shown on Doharty's 1750 survey, may also date to this period.

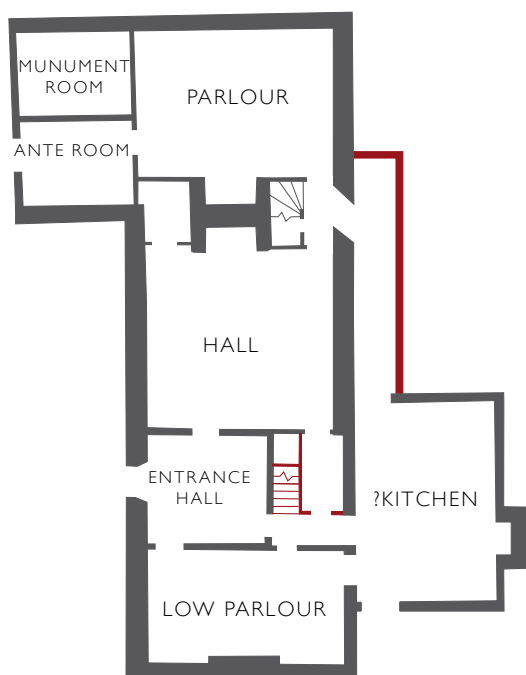


Fig. 51: Phase plan—early 19th century (new work highlighted in red).

Early 19th century

The early 19th century saw major change to the layout, room use and circulation of Manor Farm. This was linked to the hall via an external corridor. The present back stairs adjoining the entrance hall were installed, perhaps replacing stairs in the earlier eastern extension. The first floor layout was reworked and internal details such as window shutters, skirting boards and door architraves were modernised throughout the building. The external render and window sashes were also renewed.

A lean-to corridor was added to the east side creating direct access between the kitchen extension and room 15, via an opening with parallel splays knocked through the east wall of the stairwell.⁷² Access from the corridor to the hall was probably via an enlarged window opening creating the present French windows.

The present back stair to the east of the entrance hall was formed in the early 19th century. It is more likely that this replaced a stair in the former eastern extension than a rebuilding of an earlier back stair at the low end of the hall range. The principal stairs were not modernised at this date. Room 7 (the walk-in cupboard under the back stairs) would have taken its present form as part of this phase of work, as indicated by its door architrave, which has a bead, flat and double convex moulding of early 19th century type. The door itself appears earlier and is probably reused, but evidence of shelf battens remains on the east and west walls, and on either side of the door.⁷³

The 19th-century layout of the first floor is now difficult to reconstruct. The space that became room 33 may have been an open landing at the head of the new back stair. Similarly room 22 may have been an open space. Large landing areas of this type are not unknown in early 19th century houses and possibly served as first-floor sitting areas. The south branch of the stair would have given access to room 20, with the short corridor room 19 created to give separate access to room 21. Room 21 retains its plain two-panelled door from this period.



Fig. 52: The back stair originally divided into two short flights of three steps, leading into lobbies to the north and south (DP070338).

A partially open-fronted brick lean-to enclosing the northwest angle of the cross wing was added in the last third of the 19th century. The lean-to and the inserted stack in the west wall of the cross wing provides an explanation for its much-altered appearance at ground-floor level.

The modernisation of the interior included room 10, which was probably in use as a low parlour by this period, whose windows received new architraves, shutters and panelled reveals. A new fireplace and mantelshelf was installed, both of which survive. The two doorways in the north wall (the southern now blocked) have architraves with early 19th century mouldings, which are the same in style but differ slightly in detail. This may reflect the relative status of the spaces from which room 10 was entered (the entrance hall and a corridor), or that only a short period elapsed between the installation of the architraves. Direct access from room 10 to the eastern extension may have been provided at this date via a door, now blocked, in the east wall of room 10.

Many first floor window architraves were renewed in the early 19th century. Around the same time, wooden casement windows were inserted in the closets on either side of the stack (room 24 and the stairhead) and in the east wall above the back stair. The rooms over the hall were redecorated with green wallpaper which has a pin-prick floral design in black; until 2008, substantial fragments survived in room 23/31/32 and a smaller amount on the north wall of room 22/33.⁷⁴ It may also have been in this period that floorboards in room 23/31, and room 25 were renewed. In room 25 these run east-west and have been laid over earlier floorboards. Room 25 also retains the skirting board from the early 19th century on the east, west and north walls.



Fig. 53: West window of room 23, showing early 19th century glazing bars within an 18th century architrave (DP070336).

The renovations to the exterior of the building included the renewal of the sash windows with fashionable slender glazing bars. Most of these windows have themselves been replaced but early-19th century glazing bars survive in the lower sash of room 22 and the upper sashes of rooms 14, 23 and 25. The first floor studs on the west elevation of the hall range around the site of the former south oriel were replaced. The studs around the large window in the south elevation of the cross wing were replaced by yellow brick infill panels. The west elevation of the hall range and the south elevation

of the cross wing were re-rendered and the pebble dash on the ground floor may be of this period.⁷⁵ The present front door also dates from the early 19th century.

Late 19th century

The work described here largely represents piecemeal alterations by resident tenant farmers. In the early 20th century a veranda was added on the west side of the building with its floor level raised above ground level and tiled. The line of the lean-to roof is indicated by lead flashings inserted into the base of the timber-framed wall. A conservatory was installed in the internal angle of the L plan of the house. Both additions survived to be depicted on a plan of 1933 (figure 89).



Fig. 54: Early 20th century view of Manor Farm, showing verandah (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © Records of the Ewer family).

On the ground floor, the former parlour in the cross wing (room 15) was converted into a large kitchen at this period, representing something of a

reversal of the hierarchy present in the early 16th century house. The windows in the east and north walls were enlarged to form the present three- and four-light casements. The walls were lined with plank panelling just over lintel height, and a tall fitted dresser was installed against the west wall (see figures 75 and 77). The original fireplace was rebuilt as a large cooking hearth. Alterations were also made to the adjacent room (14), probably associated with the parlour's change of use. The room was refloored⁷⁶ and slightly enlarged; the resited southern wall contains a four-panelled door and chair rail.

On the first floor, the rooms of the cross wing were apparently reworked. The doorway at the south end of the east wall (into room 24) was blocked and a new doorway inserted to give direct access to room 28, as indicated by its late 19th century architrave. Also the closet (room 26) was converted into a storage space; its doorway was reduced in width by the addition of a section of reused panelling⁷⁷ and battens were added for shelves.

In the hall range the rooms underwent further subdivision, probably to accommodate large or extended families with servants. Room 23 was created out of the original hall chamber; its inserted partition abutted early 19th-century wallpaper. The partition wall to room 33 was likewise installed against early 19th wallpaper and must have been a later 19th century addition. During this period the back stair was altered so that it no longer divided at the quarter landing. Room 33 was converted either into a bathroom or to a lobby giving access to a small square outshot above the ground floor corridor that housed a WC (shown on a plan of 1933: figure 90).⁷⁸

c.1933

Following the acquisition of Manor Farm by the local authority in 1933, the exterior was significantly modified by the removal of the first-floor render, re-exposing the timber

frame. Internal alterations were also undertaken (figure 90). The first floor was divided into two flats, one in the hall range, the other in the cross wing; each with a sitting room, kitchen or scullery, bathroom and two bedrooms. As a result the doorway from room 31 to the principal stair was unblocked (figure 55). The north-east end of the hall range was sub-divided into rooms 31 and 32 and the outshot WC was removed.

Room 22 was created out of the former landing area, giving the existing L-plan corridor from the stairhead. And the door between rooms 22 and 23 was blocked. The space to the east was modified to create two rooms, 31 and 32, including the creation of a doorway from the corridor.

On the ground floor, the dresser and other fittings were probably removed from the kitchen (room 15), and two small openings were cut through the west wall, perhaps to form a serving hatch to room 14.

c.1960

The house was again repaired and restored in c.1960, the work supervised by Harold J. Wood, engineer and surveyor to the Ruislip Northwood Urban District Council (figure 93).⁷⁹ Major remedial works included the insertion of a boxed-in reinforced steel joist in the hall range to counteract sagging of the first floor, and the correction of spreading in the north wall by the insertion of ties, presumably into the lateral walls.⁸⁰ Inserted buttresses adjoining the northeastern corner of Room 15 and the east wall were removed.⁸¹

Elements of the framing and infill judged to be defective were patched or renewed.⁸² The largest intervention was the complete rebuilding of the east end truss of the cross wing with a pair of two-light windows with leaded lights. The west elevation of the cross wing was given new infill between the original timbers, and rendered. Most of the sash windows on the first floor were renewed and new casement windows with transoms were inserted at either end of the east wall. A single light window immediately next to the 19th century casement in the centre of the east wall was also inserted.

Other changes included the rebuilding of the old kitchen block to the east and the backfilling of the cellar on the north side of the cross wing. The veranda and the lean-to extension on the north-west corner of the house were removed and the affected areas partially refaced on the ground floor and rendered above. The extra-mural stack heating room 14 (shown in a plan of 1933) was removed and the surrounding fabric rebuilt.⁸³



Fig. 55: Sketch of principal stair, dated 1930. On the left, the doorway to room 31 is depicted as blocked (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © Records of the Ewer family).

2007-08

In 2007-08 the London Borough of Hillingdon refurbished Manor Farm and converted it to an interpretation centre. Significant interventions to the ground floor included the underpinning of the north and east walls, the shortening of the c.1960 eastern extension and the rebuilding of the corridor. On the first floor, the partitions forming rooms 23, 31 and 33 were removed, restoring the hall chamber. A partition wall in room 28 was also removed.



Fig. 56: The Manor Farm interpretation centre in 2008 (London Borough of Hillingdon).

Endnotes

1. The Unitary Development Plan can be viewed at http://www.hillingdon.gov.uk/media/pdf/9/0/saved_policies_udp_sep07.pdf.
2. Recent trial pits excavated against the north and east walls revealed mortared flint and ragstone foundations 1.1-1.2m (3ft 7in- 3ft 11in) in depth (Steele 1997). These may either be of 1505, reusing material robbed from demolished medieval buildings, or represent reuse of in-situ footings of medieval Priory buildings. The 1505-06 building accounts, which detail the building of foundations and the simultaneous clearance of medieval priory buildings, support both interpretations.
3. The nine easternmost studs of the north elevation are not pegged into the wallplate, however.
4. Carpenters' marks are visible on the studding that formed the interior wall of the garderobe (figure 75).
5. There are no stave holes, which would indicate former wattle and daub infill.
6. McCann's 1987 classification of nogging patterns is employed throughout.
7. Patterns 5 and 10 alternate on the west elevation, with the exception of a single panel with an elaborate diaper pattern (pattern 11).
8. From south to north: patterns 10; 10; 1; 5; 10 (McCann 1987).
9. Both roofs share the same pitch of 45°, and as the cross wing is slightly narrower than the hall range it consequently has a lower ridge-height.
10. At the east end is a single panel of opposing L-formations, a variant of McCann's pattern 5, thus termed 5v here (McCann 1987). The next six panels, which formed the garderobe interior wall, have horizontally-set bricks. The panels then run (from east to west): 5v (reversed); 10; 5v; 5 (reversed); 3; 5 (reversed); 5; 3; 10; 5; 10; 1; 5; 1; 5. The last two panels of 5 comprise a further variant, in which the direction of the stepped L formations is alternated.
11. The nogging is of pattern 5, although the bottom half of the two western panels has been renewed with horizontal bricks (McCann 1987).
12. Both tie and spine beams are consistently stopped at both ends; the only exceptions are in the north wall of the middle chamber (room 22/32/33) where the tiebeam has stops at either end but not on either side of the spine beam, and in the cross wing, where the tiebeams are not stopped at their north ends within the two closets (rooms 26 and 27).
13. In room 20 the wallplate in the east wall has a stop at the south end, while in rooms 26 and 27 (closets) the wallplate of the north wall is stopped at both ends next to the trusses.
14. Fireplace linings with similar patterns have been recorded in mid-17th century houses at Alhampton in Somerset and Totnes and Buckfastleigh in Devon (Ayres 2003, 28; (John Thorp, pers. comm.). The decoration of the inside of fireplaces was a fashion of the second half of the 17th century and into the 18th century, possibly in imitation of imported Delft tiles (John Thorp, pers. comm.).
15. Charles Brooking, pers comm.
16. A short length of this transverse beam is visible in room 7. The west end of the beam was observed from above when floorboards were lifted during conservation works in 2007-08.
17. Cf Pearson, 1994, figure 155, p159; Roberts 2003, figure 5.53, p111 The wide variation exhibited in recorded roll and hollow mouldings of this period suggests that they were individually designed for each house rather than following a standard pattern, in contrast with later 16th and 17th century mouldings which have far fewer variations.
18. The chamfers on these joists are stopped at the trimmer; but on the other side run straight into the wall. The joists which run into the trimmer have all been cut through at the end and a steel beam inserted, leaving no way of telling if the joists were stopped here or not. The continuous chamfer of the trimmer implies that this was not the case, however.

- 19 No wallpaper fragments were found in this room, however.
- 20 Mortises in the eastern jamb for panelling rails show that it was not originally a doorway, and is therefore reused in its present position.
- 21 There is no evidence in the fabric for the dormer windows depicted in Doharty's 1750 survey (figure 3b).
- 22 The first two joists have the numbers XII and XIII with tags, which means that they were intended to be used on the east side of the spine beam. The numbering then goes back to XII untagged and continues to XX; the south bay joists are numbered XXI to XXXIII. The last joist is a later replacement, being narrower than the others and has no carpenter's mark. There are no carpenter's marks on the two short joists between the spine beam and the trimmer for the stair trap, but the subsequent joists are all correctly numbered. This suggests that the carpenters had nearly finished framing up a complete set of full-length joists, without realising that there was to be a stair trap on the east side, or the incorporation of a stair trap was an afterthought.
- 23 The frame of the trapdoor is late 19th century or 20th century. Its insertion might have been necessitated by the removal of access from the hall range when a bathroom was added in the 20th century. The trap is shown on the 1960 plan (figure 93) but not on the 1933 plan (figure 90).
- 24 The second tie beam from the south is marked II and there is a III on the eastern principal of the third truss from the south (see figures 75 and 76).
- 25 The south windbrace in the north bay has a carpenter's mark, II on the west side and II tagged on the east side. This is in conflict with the numbering of the trusses from the south observed above.
- 26 These are tightly tenoned into the principal rafters at both ends; the common rafters are pegged to these braces.
- 27 The engineer who supervised the repair of Manor Farm commented 'the east gable is almost certainly in its original position and shows evidence of having been "jettied"'. (Unreferenced copy of undated article entitled 'Repair and Restoration of Manor Farm House', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge, page 12). The exact nature of the evidence is now unclear.
- 28 It was not possible to verify this suggestion, as the joists in this area remained concealed during recent works.
- 29 The first floor framing was concealed until it was exposed c.1933, when the render was stripped.
- 30 Martin 1991, 37 (figure 46). Research by David and Barbara Martin has found examples of this type in eastern Sussex by the second half of the 16th century, but in buildings owned by a large institution, such as Manor Farm, an earlier date is quite possible. An oriel with a plaster cove exists at Great Maxfield, Guestling, Sussex, built by Battle Abbey, and dating from c1520 +/-25 years. (David and Barbara Martin, pers comm.). The oriels at Paycocke's House, Coggeshall, Essex date from a rebuilding of the facade in 1910 (see photographs reproduced on p291 of *Country Life*, 2 February 1984). It is not known what evidence the 1910 'restoration' was based on.
- 31 A thermographic survey carried out in 2005 revealed a blocked opening, perhaps a window, in the west wall of room II, but its exact location is not specified (Demaus 2005, 8).
- 32 The small window in the west gable of the cross wing was unglazed, with diamond mullions. Mildmay near Chesham, Bucks has evidence for glazed windows or oriels at the front and unglazed diamond mullions at the back. The date 1571 is inscribed on the door lintel. It is much smaller than Manor Farm, but also has a hall and cross wing and close studding; it may have been an alehouse (Hall and Moir 2003).
- 33 The panel is the same width (1.77 m or 6ft) as the flush window in the middle bay of the west elevation, compared with the oriels, which were 1.4 m (4ft 7ins) wide. There is no evidence that the window was an oriel, although all the studs below the window are missing and the studs on either side have been patched.

- 34 Cherry and Pevsner 1999, 348.
- 35 Wrightson and Brocklebank 2001, 5.
- 36 Unreferenced copy of undated article by Harold J. Wood, engineer and surveyor to the Ruislip Northwood Urban District Council, entitled 'Repair and Restoration of Manor Farm House', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge, page 12. This may refer to the two first floor openings in the north elevation of the cross wing.
- 37 As at Cilewent longhouse at the Museum of Welsh Life, St Fagan's, Glamorganshire.
- 38 The present stack is integral and cannot have once projected further into the room, because it is abutted by the framing of the southernmost truss.
- 39 Shallow vertical grooves cut into the brickwork over the fireplace suggest fixtures such as fittings relating to the occasional use of the hall fireplace for cooking, such as spit racks or a cross beam from which cooking implements were hung. The date of the fixtures is uncertain, and the fireplace in its present form is too small for this to have been the main cooking fireplace, however.
- 40 Original features in the east elevation preclude an original eastern kitchen wing. The northernmost and southernmost bays of the hall range retain evidence for close studding, and the central bay has an original window (figure 73).
- 41 Martin 1997.
- 42 Halls of comparable size can be found in two late-15th/early 16th century fully-floored buildings in Hampshire; both with close studding and brick nogging. The George Inn, Odiham, a large urban inn which is known to have been used as a courtroom, was built in 1486-87. The hall measures 6.1m (20ft) by 6.8. (22ft 3in), including the cross-passage. Abbot's Barton, Winchester (1491-96), has a hall 6.55m (21ft 6in) by 7.4m (24ft 3in) with a lateral stack; it was owned by Hyde Abbey, Winchester, who leased it as a farmhouse, and probably also used it to hold manor courts. The hall of Great Funtley Farm, Titchfield (tree-ring date range 1510-38) is 6.65m (21ft 9in) wide by 5.65m (18ft 6in), unusually large for a farmhouse (Edward Roberts, pers comm.).
- 43 RUI/362. Such a movable screen of early 16th century date is illustrated in Smith 1992, 40.
- 44 See Smith 1992, 39. The present width of the hall is 6.25m (19 ft 9in) wide; the difference is accounted for by 25.5cm (10in) of dry lining adjoining the brick wall face.
- 45 Rigold 1968.
- 46 RUI/349. A first-floor court hall can be ruled out on the grounds that the hall chamber was of one bay only. It would have been problematic to receive large numbers of people on the first floor given the restricted size of the stairwell, notwithstanding issues of privacy and security.
- 47 Harrison 1997. The average number attending the Ruislip manorial courts is unclear. The majority of the villagers were copyholders, and may have been represented in proxy by the chief pledge (Eileen Bowlt, pers comm). Suitors could generally send up to three consecutive essoins (apologies for absence), with the name of a nominated suitor to stand proxy for them (Harvey, 199, 48).



Fig. 57: East wall of room 12 (west wall of principal stack) exposed during works in 2007-08. Note inserted, and subsequently blocked, sockets for stair risers. (DP0070339).

- 48 The brick west wall of the stack contains four vertical sockets for stair risers, rising from north to south (figure 57). Disturbances in the brickwork suggest the sockets were cut into the stack, that is to say, postdate 1505-06. The risers would seem to indicate a newel stair ascending clockwise to a stair head in the eastern side of the closet (ie a mirror image of the present stair). Indeed, such a stair could have been dismantled and rebuilt east of the stack, with each tread turned upside-down and tenoned into a new newel post. This would account for the fact that the present stair is not built into the external wall: the east lobby is slightly larger than the western one. It is difficult, however, to relate this evidence to the central opening, and it is possible that the treads relate to a intermediate phase between the original stair and the present stair.
- 49 Smith 1992, 40.
- 50 There are documented instances of court officials dining together after the day's session (Harrison 1997).
- 51 Graham 2001, 45.
- 52 The studs above and below the rail line up except at the north end where there are two studs below the rail instead of the expected one. The adjacent studs are the only ones pegged at the rail, and may therefore represent the doorframe for a blocked doorway from the parlour. Its lintel height would be 1.67m (5ft 6ins) from the original floor level.
- 53 Edward Roberts, pers.comm.
- 54 For examples, see Roberts 2003, 141 and 156.
- 55 Pearson 1994, 96; Roberts 2003, 133 and 141. Morton Grange, Thornbury, South Gloucestershire is a medieval cruck hall-house in which the lower end was rebuilt in 1594, giving the largest and most important chamber over the kitchen (Hall 1983).
- 56 Barley 1990, 51.
- 57 Roberts 2003, 145. The term solar here refers to a private upper floor room at the high end of the hall.
- 58 The studs were not intended to be plastered over: there are traces of 17th century grey paint on plaster infill, so studs were exposed in C17. Further there are no nail holes for earlier laths.
- 59 The existing doorway between the rooms 28 and 25 is cut into the mid rail of the partition and appears to be inserted, although it is possible that the original doorway was modified when an architrave was inserted.
- 60 The trimmer which runs from the western tiebeam to the third joist from the west has a hollow chamfer to match the joists, and the chamfer on the third joist is stopped on either side of the trimmer, implying that it is an original feature. Unusually, the trimmer is set in a housing in the joist and the first two joists are similarly housed in the trimmer as if it were a secondary feature, instead of being tenoned as would be normal for an original feature. The housings are however very neatly cut, and it could represent a change of plan while the building was being constructed; the original stair trap in the hall range also has evidence of a last-minute change of plan, as if the builder had forgotten to allow for access to the attics (see 'Attic' section) The opening was later closed by two smaller joists which are also housed in the trimmer; at the north end they pass across the partition headbeam.
- 61 The spacing of the attic joists could also have been determined by the width of the available floorboards if the primary concern was to stop grain etc falling through gaps between the boards.
- 62 RUI/2. This represents approximately half of the bricks in the south gable; it is assumed that bricks from the collapsed wall would have been reused.
- 63 This misalignment is followed by the 17th century inserted partition walls of the entrance hall (room 9).

- 64 A survey of 16th century brick buildings established header bond accounted for around 1% of the sample, compared with 75% for English Bond (Brian 1980).
- 65 Mortices in the posts of trusses II and III suggest a storeyed structure adjoining the central bay, with an inserted first floor doorway at the north end of the bay. That the structure suggested by this evidence was a secondary is clear from the fact that it covered an original window opening. The doorway is cut through the studs and obstructs a posited original stair against the north wall of the middle bay (see section).
- 66 A thermographic survey carried out in 2005 revealed that the 17th century wall between the hall (room 11) and rooms 7/8/9 was of vertical stud framing. It was described as 'similar to that at first floor level between rooms 25 and 28. Daub was observed on the south face of the south wall of the entrance hall wall during opening up works. The construction of the inserted walls is the same as those of the primary phase, with studs, midrails and lath and plaster.
- 67 A stud at the east end of the north wall of room 7 is cut back to form a doorway and has a peg for a lintel; the lintel may still be in situ but this area of wall has not been exposed.
- 68 Alcock and Hall 1994; Roberts 2003, 66.
- 69 The faceted finial is most similar to recorded examples in dated houses of the 1590s and the first quarter of the 17th century (Alcock and Hall 1994).]
- 70 Two early modern examples of lattice balustrades are known. East End Farm Cottage, Pinner has a straight length of lattice balustrade of similar construction but with slightly larger timbers and with the same handrail; it has a square newel post with a simple finial, and is of probable 17th century date. The Hospital of St Cross, Winchester has a straight flight stair from the great hall to the gatehouse solar with a pair of lattice balustrades. Unfortunately the Winchester stair resists confident dating. It has a grip handrail of a type common in the early 17th century, although it is not known when the type was introduced. The newel post has the remains of a bird finial, which is shown complete in an early drawing (reproduced in Warren 1889, 77). It is clearly a pelican, the badge of Bishop Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Master of the hospital 1500-17. Fox funded work



Fig. 58: Lattice balustrade to stair in East End Farm, Cottage, Pinner (© Patricia A. Clarke).



Fig. 59: Lattice balustrades to stair at the Hospital of St Cross, Winchester (© Linda Hall).

in the church of the hospital This therefore suggests a date in the first quarter of the 16th century. Edward Roberts, pers comm; Doubleday and Page 1973, pp.193-197.

- 71 The door is made of three planks, two of which are moulded on the left-hand edge to give the appearance of narrow vertical panels with a V-shaped centre. Other doors of this design are known in houses dated 1614, 1618-21, 1624, 1634 and 1655. Hall (2005, 37). It has four moulded battens;

unusually the moulding runs round all four sides. The nails fixing the planks to the battens are arranged in blocks of eight nails in three rows making patterns; a similar feature can be seen on attic doors of 1631 at Kew Palace (Hall 2005, 36) There are two T-hinges with expanded ends and plain base-plates. A small iron latch fastener survives on the east jamb of the doorframe, bent back and concealed behind later plaster. This suggests that the door was at one time hung to open into the room instead of into the stair lobby as now, although the fact that the doorframe is chamfered on the north face and rebated on the south makes this unlikely to be the original arrangement.

- 72 Reference to 1933 plan. Although the RNUDC engineer responsible for the 1950s restoration commented, 'The corridor on the east wall [...] has been installed over an earlier one and the corridor is much older than was at first supposed.' (Unreferenced copy of undated article entitled 'Repair and Restoration of Manor Farm House', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge, page 12.).
- 73 One row of five large iron pegs is set into the 16th century ceiling beam close to the south wall; most of the chamfer on the north side has been cut away to give a vertical surface for the pegs. An extra peg between the two nearest the west wall carries the remains of a bell mechanism and probably dates from the later 19th century. The ceiling is lower in the northern half of the room below the staircase; at the front of the lower section a fascia board with a bead moulding carries another row of five iron pegs.
- 74 The larger fragments included a narrow border paper with black and green scrolls on a red background.
- 75 The pebbledash is presumed to be of an early date due to the absence of cement in the mix that suggests it predates the widespread use of roman cement from the mid 19th century (Demaus 2005). Note, however, that a 1933 drawing associated with works to Manor Farm includes the caption 'new pebble dash' (figure 92).
- 76 Access to the cellar stair is gained by a framed opening near the west wall. This appears to have been cut into the 19th century floor at a later date.
- 77 The presence of wallpaper fragments of late 19th century date on the part of the 16th century doorhead concealed by the panelling provides an terminus post quem for the alteration of the doorway, which may relate to the blocking of the external entrance.
- 78 A similar arrangement exists at the Old Rectory, Slimbridge, Gloucestershire, built in 1821, where a short corridor from the half stair head of the main stair leads to a lobby room and thence to a WC in a turret on the back wall.
- 79 Unreferenced copy of undated article entitled 'Repair and Restoration of Manor Farm House', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge.
- 80 Wrightson and Brocklebank (2001, 6) date the insertion of the RSJ to 1966, but omit the source for this information. Unreferenced copy of undated article entitled 'Repair and Restoration of Manor Farm House', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge, page 12: 'Efforts are to be made to pull [the north wall] back to original position and secure it with ties'.
- 81 These are of unknown date, but are depicted on the 1933 plan as adjoining the house with a vertical straight joint (figure 89).
- 82 Part of the wallplate on the north elevation was faced with a plank section, complete with false pegs set in a zigzag arrangement. It is unlikely that this represents an attempt to express original peg holes concealed or removed. Two false peg holes were also drilled into the remaining section of original wallplate to the west. Another apparent example of a mid-20th century confection is the area of studding with brick nogging above the external doorway in the west gable end of the cross wing.
- 83 Unreferenced copy of undated article entitled 'Repair and Restoration of Manor Farm House', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge, page 12: 'The unsightly convenience at the northwest corner of the building of modern construction, has been demolished. [...] The kitchen extension and boiler house which are also modern will require extensible alterations and rebuilding'.

PART III: TYPOLOGY, TECHNOLOGY & STRUCTURE

Typological discussion

Manor Farm was built as a fully-storeyed hall heated by an integral stack, representing a transitional stage between medieval and post-medieval planning. The retention of the standard late-medieval tripartite plan of parlour, hall and service area demonstrates the continuing importance of the hall as the dominant room of the house, in relation to which the high and low ends of the building are defined, and the hierarchy of the household established.

Pearson interprets the associated innovations of the fully-floored house and the enclosed fireplace as signalling the end of the traditional open-hall plan: 'In terms of the structure and function of medieval homes, the end of the Middle Ages was marked by the insertion of an enclosed fireplace and ceiling into the open hall, twin improvements which coincided with changes to the way dwellings were used'.¹ Both Pearson and Quiney concur that whilst the initial desire was to make better use of the upper storey, the enabling device was the enclosed fireplace, which allowed the hall to be ceiled.²

Fully-storeyed houses with enclosed fireplaces were being built *de novo* from the final years of the 15th century (see Appendix IV). The prestigious upper storey could be articulated through a continuous jetty. The earliest storeyed houses appear to have been built by affluent yeoman, suggesting that the push for modernisation came from this class rather than the gentry and aristocracy, who retained the late medieval hall house model until well into the 16th century.³

What Pearson terms the 'double upper-end fireplace' plan can be considered a first generation post-medieval plan type.⁴ In addition to affording greater privacy, the plan allowed for a greater number of specialised service rooms and a higher ratio of heated to unheated rooms. But medieval traditions in the medieval use of the hall were precluded by these innovations. The placing of the stack between the hall and the parlour would have necessitated a complete reorganisation of the traditional arrangement of the hall (dais beam, draught speres⁵ and/or a high bench at the dais end) and its implicit hierarchy. It would also have had implications for the layout of the manorial court at Ruislip. The upper-end fireplace for cooking would have been equally inconvenient when circulation between the hearth and the low-end service rooms are considered.⁶ Quiney considers that the combination of a back-to-back stack between hall and parlour with entry at the lower end of the hall (sometimes through a residual cross passage) was uncommon for these reasons.⁷

One way in which the plan was innovative was in allowing the parlour to be heated; the status of the room often being emphasised by embellishments such as moulded ceiling beams, as at Manor Farm.⁸ At Ruislip this is no doubt an expression of its principal function as a retiring room for officials of the manorial court, but it would also have been used by the resident tenant, reflecting the increasing importance of the ground-floor parlour, and, more generally, the increasing warmth, comfort and privacy available to the yeoman.⁹

The continuous upper storey allowed a range of smaller, private, specialised first-floor chambers. Indeed, it is possible to see the provision of improved upper storey

accommodation as occurring at the expense of the importance of the hall.¹⁰ There was no customary layout for the first floor, nor was there an established use for the hall chamber; an innovation of the fully-floored house. A certain amount of flexibility became possible in the location of the principal upper chamber. Traditionally this had been located over the parlour, but with the provision of a chimney and ceiling to the hall, a heated hall chamber became possible. Uncertainty about the status and function of this room can perhaps been seen at Manor Farm, where the hall chamber was a small but comfortable single-bay room, lit from the west by an oriel window and heated by the principal stack. It perhaps functioned as the chamber of the demesne lessee rather than the resident farmer.

Notwithstanding the greater freedom permitted in the placement of the superior first-floor chamber, the planning of Manor Farm perpetuates the tradition of the parlour chamber as the principal room.¹¹ Its location in the cross wing enabled it to be used by the steward or other gentlemanly official of King's College as a private suite, where they could retire, entertain privileged guests or sleep.¹² Its superior status is indicated by its position at the high end of the house and its moulded ceiling beams. The well-appointed chamber was lit from both the east and north walls, and provided with wardrobes, garderobe and an external entrance.

The latter was probably served by an external staircase and accessed via a smaller 'inner' room, which may have functioned as an anteroom or accommodation for a servant or court official. The steward would therefore have enjoyed access to his own chambers without having to enter the public space of the court hall. The same arrangement can be seen at the Bishop of Winchester's Court House, East Meon, Hampshire (1395-97). This relationship between parlour chamber or solar and 'inner room' was therefore established by the 15th century, at least in Hampshire.¹³ An 'inner room' is also present at Cann Hall, Clacton, Essex of 1511-12.¹⁴

Roberts observes that when the superior first-floor chamber is located in a cross wing, it is generally at manor farmhouses. Manor Farm, King's Somborne, Hampshire (1504), built by Magdalen College, Oxford, contains a three-bay solar with inner room and projection possibly accommodating garderobe and external stair. The single cross wing of Court Farm, Overton, Hampshire (1505), built by the Bishop of Winchester, also comprised a four-bay solar suite.¹⁵ Institutional landlords also made use of transitional layouts in late 15th- and early 16th-century rebuildings of manorial home farms, of which Manor Farm is an example (see page 18).

Technological and structural Discussion

Some 400 timber-framed buildings are known in the Greater London area; a considerable number are concentrated in the former county of Middlesex.¹⁶ Bond notes that the 15th and 16th centuries 'saw an increasing uniformity in the design and construction of timber-framed buildings in the London region'.¹⁷ He attributed this to itinerant London carpenters practising their trade in the towns and villages in the neighbouring counties. It is interesting to note that London carpenters would have been familiar with floored halls at this date. Urban plan types had always diverged from the

open-hall model; different configurations, including floored halls, were necessary due to building regulations, the space constraints imposed by fixed plots and commercial uses on the ground floor.¹⁸

Unusually for a fully-floored early-16th century houses of this size and status, Manor Farm lacked a jetty. Previous commentators have speculated that the building was continuously jettied on the west and north elevations, and that the present brick walls represent a later underbuilding.¹⁹ But the fabric of Manor Farm contains no evidence that this was the case. For example, the spine beams of both the hall range and cross wing are not offset, as they would be in a jettied house. Nor can mortices, pegholes or other evidence for former ground-floor walls be seen in the exposed ceiling beams. Furthermore, a number of joists in the hall range were found to be stopped at the western junction with the sill beam, indicating that the west wall of the ground floor was flush with that of the upper storey.

The clasped purlin roof with diminished principal rafters was a common type by 1505. It was introduced to England in the late 14th century, and was adopted at vernacular level during the 15th century, supplanting the crown-post roof as the dominant roof type in the London region.²⁰ Aside from the general high quality of its joinery, Manor Farm exhibits certain advanced framing techniques, notably the use of soffit tenons with diminished haunches. These have been described by Cecil Hewett as 'the ultimate joist end joint, believed to afford the maximum possible mechanical efficiency.'²¹ Dendrochronological programmes carried out over the last 15 years have established that the joint was employed in Oxfordshire as early as the 1420s.²² Although the diminished haunch is present in Essex from the last decade of the 15th century,²³ it does not appear to be widely adopted in Middlesex or London until the mid 17th century, so its use in Ruislip is early for the region.²⁴ Some five years after the construction of Manor Farm, the diminished haunch was used in the purlins of the roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1510-12), raising interesting questions about the origins of the Manor Farm carpenters.²⁵

The relatively high status of the building for its size is also indicated by the use of close-studding for all its exterior framing. This represents an expensive form of 'over-engineering', employing timbers of wider scantling, and set closer together, than is structurally necessary. Its use seems more related to 'conspicuous consumption' than structural need. Normally close-studding is restricted to principal elevations, side and rear walls employing widely-spaced open panels. But Manor Farm is close studded throughout (with the exception of the south gable end), suggesting that no expense was spared in its construction. The studding is mirrored in the interior by exposed, close-set, chamfered joists of wide scantling, tenoned into moulded beams.

Manor Farm also preserves evidence for two timber-framed oriel windows. The earliest known timber-framed oriels are of early 15th century date. Projecting windows of any kind were never common, but many surviving examples, or evidence for oriels, date to around 1500.²⁶

Where evidence for garderobes is encountered in manor farmhouses, it is often as part of a lodging suite for visiting officials or dignitaries. Both the Bishop of Winchester's Court House at East Meon, Hampshire (1395-97) and King's Somborne Manor Farm, Hampshire (1504-08), built by Magdalen College, Oxford, contain a garderobe within an inner room adjoining the solar.

Latrine towers are to be found to the rear of the lodging range of the 1440s at St Cross Hospital, Winchester. Garderobes are occasionally found in rectories, such as Kimpton Manor (formerly Rectory), Hampshire of 1444-5 and 1534-5 and Monks' Rest, Littleton, Hampshire of 1500-01. The evidence for timber-framed garderobes is less plentiful, but the former George Inn, Alton, Hampshire (1501) has evidence in the timber framing for two garderobes projecting over the adjacent stream.²⁷

Brick

The combination of brick ground-floor walls and upper floor timber framing is rare. The framing is set back from the brick wall to give a flush inner wall plane; this technique is comparable to the use of masonry plinths in framed buildings. King's Somborne Manor Farm is of similar construction to Manor Farm, having ground floor masonry walls with timber framing, including close studding, above.

In the early 16th century brick was a prestigious material perhaps associated with the royal palaces at Richmond (after 1497) and Greenwich (c.1500-06) and the Bishop of London's palaces at Lambeth (c.1495) and Fulham (c.1500). Its use below the highest social levels was certainly rare: Airs comments that 'very few houses below that of the country house were built wholly of brick during the [Tudor] period'.²⁸ Early examples include Wickham Court, West Wickham, **LB** Bromley (after 1469); Bruce Castle (early 16th century) and Sutton House (1534-35), the latter two built by officials of the Royal court.²⁹ Diaperwork was a similarly prestigious treatment, and may also have held institutional or Court associations: diaperwork was employed at Chenies Manor House, Buckinghamshire (c.1460); Lincoln's Inn Hall, London (1489-92); the west quadrangle of Fulham Palace (c.1500) and the enlargement of Otford Archbishop's Palace, Kent after 1503.³⁰

Early examples of decorative brick nogging include Ewelme almshouse, Oxford (c.1437-42), Hertford Castle gateway, Hertfordshire (1462-63) and Ockwells Manor, Berkshire, which was nearing completion by 1465.³¹ Most dated examples of brick nogging are from the 16th century.

At Manor Farm, a number of structural anomalies resist obvious explanation. The first is the imperfect way in which the principal chimney stack is integrated into the framing. The design of the framing allows a quarter bay between the hall range and the cross wing for the central stack, but as built, it is too deep for this space and straddles the truss, projecting into the cross wing.

This can perhaps be explained by the inexperience of carpenters in accommodating chimneys within framed buildings; in other words, by the transitional nature of Manor

Farm.³² The awkward location of the stack half in the hall and half in the cross-wing can be compared to a contemporary house, Great Funtley Farm, Titchfield, Hampshire (1510-38); here the contemporary brick stack containing the hall fireplace straddles the hall and cross-passage 'as if the bricklayer and carpenter had not yet learnt to cooperate in the erection of a floored hall.'³³

A second anomaly is the structurally independent brick wall which is anticipated by the framing at the south end of the hall range. The presence of a truss against a brick wall suggests that, without the reinforcement provided by a cross wing, carpenters did not trust a solitary brick gable end to provide the required longitudinal stiffness.³⁴ The building accounts confirm that carpenters and bricklayers were working simultaneously on the site, but the lack of constructional integration of brick and framing suggests that the two teams were not integrated or under the control of an overall supervisor of works. Such 'hesitancy' in the use of structural brick in early 16th century timber-framed buildings has been noted elsewhere in southeast England.³⁵

Endnotes

- 1 Pearson 1994, 108. Pearson notes that in some regions open halls were being built until well into the 16th century.
- 2 Quiney 1984, Pearson 1994, Airs 1999.
- 3 Sutton Place, Surrey, built by Sir Richard Weston, is a large courtyard house of perhaps the early 1520s with a probable ground-floor hall (Nairn and Pevsner 1987, 476).
- 4 Pearson 1994, 113. The 'double upper-end fireplace' plan may be the progenitor of the lobby entry type, which emerged in south east England a generation later, perhaps in the 1520s, in which an entrance lobby was contrived against the side of the stack, in a space hitherto occupied by closets or direct access between hall and parlour (Quiney 1984, Pearson 1994, 114, Cherry & Pevsner 1998, 11).
- 5 See Alcock 1999 for a definition of these terms.
- 6 Quiney 1984, 458. See also Barley on kitchens in 16th century yeomens' houses (1990, 49-50).
- 7 Pearson 1994, 113.
- 8 For example, see Pearson 1994, 114-15.
- 9 Pearson 1984, 134.
- 10 Emery 2006, 21.
- 11 This can also be seen at Great Funtley Farm, Titchfield, Hampshire (1510-38), where a 1587 inventory values goods in the two-bay hall chamber at £2.1s.8d. whereas the parlour chamber contained goods worth £11.11s.8d (Roberts 2003, 146).
- 12 A private first-floor room of quality is sometimes termed 'solar' or 'great chamber' with reference to houses of the aristocracy (Roberts 2003, 144).
- 13 Roberts 2003, 144.
- 14 Menuge 1997.
- 15 Roberts 2003, 145.
- 16 Bond 1998. An extensive card index of timber-framed buildings in the Greater London region was developed through architectural investigations carried out by the Historic Buildings Division of the Greater London Council in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is held by the Architectural Investigation (South) team of English Heritage.
- 17 Bond 1998, 21.
- 18 Pantin 1964.
- 19 Wrightson and Brocklebank 2001, 5.
- 20 Bond 1998, 21. Comparable late 15th century examples have been recorded at 3-7 West St, Harrow on the Hill; Addington House, Croydon (1490); 17 Upper Sutton Lane, Heston; 17 Gentleman's Row, Enfield; Manor Court, Harefield; Great Tomkins, Upminster; and 17 Dene Road, Northwood. 17th century examples have been noted at Brockley Hill Farmhouse, Stanmore and Sutton House, Hackney (1538). Bond 2002, 3.
- 21 Hewett (1980).
- 22 Soffit-tenons with diminished haunches are present in the following tree-ring-dated buildings: 26 East St Helen's, Abingdon (a merchant's house of 1429), and Lincoln College Buttery, Oxford (1436-37). The joint has been recorded at All Souls College, Oxford, which has been dated by building

accounts to 1438-42. Source: Dendrochronological database of the Vernacular Architecture Group (http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/resources.html?vag_dendro, accessed 27 March 2008).

- 23 8 Spring Road, St Osyth, (1594-1500), the Grange, St Aylotts, (1500-01), Otley Hall, Essex (west wing: 1511-12), Essex and Cann Hall, Essex (1511-12). Source: Dendrochronological database of the Vernacular Architecture Group. (http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/resources.html?vag_dendro, accessed 27 March 2008).
- 24 Walker 1998, 15; Bond 2000.
- 25 Hewett 1980, 282.
- 26 Pearson 1994, 94.
- 27 Roberts 2003, 146, 199, 234 and 236.
- 28 Newman 1976, 77; Airs 1999, 115.
- 29 Cherry and Pevsner 1998, 11.
- 30 Cherry and Pevsner 1998, 11; Newman 1976, 446.
- 31 Emery 2006, 127. The house was restored in the early 20th century, but nogging is depicted in an illustration of 1859 by J.H. Parker. Other early examples of original nogging have been noted by John McCann (1987, 106-133).
- 32 See Roberts 2003, 161 for a similar example of the early 16th century.
- 33 Roberts 2003, 161 (figure 7.19).
- 34 This has been observed in mixed-construction houses in Hertfordshire (Smith 1992, 184).
- 35 See Pearson 1994, 113 and Roberts 2003, 153-155.

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APPENDIX I: 'LIST OF DEADSTOCK REMAINING IN THE MANOR',

Ministers' Accounts 1435-36 (Bowlt 1989, 70).

Larder:	Large trough Two small trestles Dressing borde Grate
Kitchen:	Watercanne with iron hoops Piece of lead set in a mould
Scullery:	12 quarters coal and wood
<i>Aula:</i>	Trestle Table Three Trestles Three tabuldormands Two benches
Chamber I:	Mattress Coverlet Two basins with ewer Two Candlesticks Two tables Three benches Three small trestles Counting board with an aumbry Two <i>cathedra</i> [<i>chair or throne of an official</i>] Old spoon mended
Countinghouse	Two boxes without wax and nails Small table A whole set of chessmen to play on that table
Bakehouse	Large piece of lead set in a mould Two knedyngetroughs Mouldingboards Large marshfate Small axe Bushel Newly-bought iron
Chamber of the Prior	Small table Small bench Cupboard Old box
Chamber of the Lord	Trestle table of Estrychboard [<i>timber from the Easterlyngs</i>] Other small table Small trestle Two benches
Chapel	Desk

	Laverstock of lead
	[?base of a washing vessel]
Scullery	Dish of pewter
	Four dishes
	Four saucers
	Candle stick
	Salt cellar of pewter old
	Two clothes 'de erip'
	Large cistern of lead in the brewhouse
Room of the forester	Large spoon mended

APPENDIX II: 1817 INVENTORY

The schedule of an 1817 lease between Daniel Wilshin (under-tenant) and Ralph Dean (manorial lessee) gives a picture of Manor Farm as an early 19th century home farm (LMA: ACC/538/2nd dep/3803).

The Hall [room 11]: long table, benches and one form

The Little Parlour [?room 15]: all the shelves in the ['right' inserted] closet

The Kitchen [room 1]: Shelves and Jack and Chimney box Bacon rack [crossed out and 'none' inserted] and shelves in the Pantry;

Wash House Dresser pump and all the shelves

Brewing [room 3]: Copper Mash Tub [crossed out and 'none' inserted]

Dairy: shelves Benches and one form [crossed out and 'none' inserted]

Best room [?room 28]: shelf for the chimney and shelf in the closet [crossed out and 'no closet' inserted]

Yellow Room [?room 25]: shelf and shelf in the closet [entry crossed out]

Green room [?rooms 23/31/32]: shelves in the closet [entry crossed out]

Servants' Room: cupboard and two shelves [amended to 'one shelf']

Ale Cellar: one stand[;] five corn stands consisting of sound timbers only

In the yard late the property of Samuel Edlin and sold by him to Mrs Rogers and left on the premises to be repaired at the end of the term that is to say seventeen ends of oak containing two hundred and forty five feet run[ie end-to-end;] six ends of oak light scantling containing ninety six feet run[;] seven ends of elm containing one hundred and twenty six feet run. One ends of ash [crossed out and 'oak' inserted] containing twenty feet run[;] forty six rick stones and caps.

APPENDIX III: MANORIAL LESSEES & UNDER-TENANTS OF MANOR FARM

Manorial leases from King's College c.1452-1872. From Bowlt 1989, 97 and cited sources.

1452	RUI/366	Nicolas Sharp esq
1463	RUI/367	Thomas Betts
1471		Thomas Betts
1472		John Betts gent
1480	RUI/368	James Edlin yeoman
1505	RUI/321	Sir Robert Drury (d1535)
1529	RUI/20	Roger More
1539	?RUI/21	John Rusell
1549	RUI/320	Thomas Strete esq
1561		John Smith gent (b.1510)
by 1579		George Ashby esq (?1533-1603)
1603		Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury
1618		William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury
1650	RUI/323	William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury
1669		Ralph Hawtrey (renewed 1676)
1683		Richard Hawtrey and Christopher Clitheroe
1690		Richard Hawtrey
1697		Ralph Hawtrey (renewed 1705, 1712, 1719)
1727	RUI/381	James Rogers (renewed 1733)
1741	RUI/381	Elizabeth Rogers (d.1803) (renewed 1747, 1755, 1761, 1768, 1775, 1782, 1789, 1796)
1803		Rev. George Dean and Charles James (renewed 1810)
1817		Ralph Dean (renewed 1824, 1831, 1838, 1845)
1852-72		Francis Deane, Alfred Caswell, John Walters trustees under will of Ralph Deane

Under-tenants at Manor Farm, sub-leasing from the manorial lessees. From Bowlt 1989.

By c.1545 Guy Wade
1561-1579 Manorial tenant (John Smith) resident
By 1594 Robert Hughes
By 1613 Martin Whyte
1651 Thomas Kerby
?By 1640 Captain John Redding (0249/4348)
1719 John Reading, gent.
1748 Joseph Goodson
to 1810 Jason Wilshin (1759-1823)
1810-23 Daniel Wilshin (1783-1864)
By 1851 Samuel Pearce (b.1785)
By 1861 William Lee (b.1806)
By 1871 Frederick Lee (b.1839)
1886-1916 Henry James Ewer (1849-1916)
1916-1932 Richard J. Ewer

APPENDIX IV: CHRONOLOGY OF CEILED, CHIMNEYED TIMBER-FRAMED HOUSES

The following summary considers only rural houses with halls containing integral ceilings and fireplaces. It omits the more numerous cases where open halls are modernised through the partial or entire insertion of floors and stacks, as well as devices such as galleries, smoke bays and smoke hoods. The earliest adaptations of open halls, nevertheless, may predate the first fully-floored halls with integral chimneys. Also not considered here are urban building types, where constraints imposed by commercial ground-floor uses and pre-existing plot boundaries gave rise to early floored buildings.

The earliest located example of a ceiled hall is the stone-built Ashbury Manor in Berkshire (c.1490), part of the estate of Glastonbury Abbey. It is heated by a fireplace located on the long wall.¹ Abbot's Barton Farm, Winchester, Hampshire (1491-6), a manor farmhouse built by Hyde Abbey, contains a two-bay floored hall, as does Great Funtley Farm, Titchfield (built between 1510 and 1538)²

The Old Rectory, Great Hormead, East Hertfordshire, is a continuously jettied, three-unit, late-16th century house with an internal stack at the upper end and a cross passage at the low end, which is heated by an additional stack in the low gable end. The principal stack is accommodated within a narrow bay, which incorporates flanking transverse elements to stiffen the framing. Dated to the late 15th century on stylistic grounds is Redcoats, Wymondley, Herts, a fully-floored, close-studded, timber-framed house with hall, parlour and chambers above heated by lateral stacks on both the long sides.³

Pearson cites an agreement of 1500 for such a house in Cranbrook, Kent. This precedes a sequence of surviving two-storeyed Kentish houses dated by tree-ring analysis to c.1506 (Court Lodge Linton) 1507 (Little Harts Heath, Staplehurst) 1507-08 (Rocks, East Malling and Larkfield, 1512/13 (Place Farmhouse, Kenardington) and c.1514 (Tudor Cottage, Lynsted).⁴ At Little Harts Heath of 1507, an integral back-to-back brick stack separates a two-bay hall and parlour, and there is direct entry to the lower end of the hall, as at Manor Farm. The Priest's House, Smallhythe, Tenterden of perhaps 1514 similarly has an internal brick stack (double-backed in this case), as does the approximately contemporary Town Farm Cottage and Town Farmhouse in Brenchley.⁵

Horselunges Manor, Sussex (c.1500) is a continuously-jettied, close-studded timber-framed house with a ceiled hall.⁶ Whitehall, (1 Malden Road, Cheam, LB Sutton, formerly in Surrey) is a continuous jetty house of c.1500 with close studding and an original brick stack.⁷ In Essex, St Aylotts, near Saffron Walden is a fully floored-grange of 1500-01 with the hall heated by a side-wall stack. The kitchen was attached.⁸ Paycocke's House, Coggeshall, Essex (tree-ring dated to 1509) is a storeyed town house of continuous jettied form with integral stacks.⁹ The house is close studded with bricking nogging and coved oriel windows. Cann Hall, Clacton-on-Sea is a two-storeyed, continuous jetty timber-framed house with an integral stack, dated by dendrochronology to 1511-12. As at Manor Farm, there is a large two-bay hall, an in-line service end and an upper-end cross wing; there is also close studding with brick nogging (now concealed externally by render) and oriel windows.¹⁰

Endnotes

- 1 Emery 2006, 50-53.
- 2 Roberts 2003, 155. A fully-floored, continuously jettied range of artisans' cottages in North Warnborough, dated by dendrochronology to 1477-78, is not considered here, because it was not the residence of a single household (*ibid*, 238). This is also the case for the George Inn, Odiham, probably a purpose-built inn ranged around a courtyard, which contains a ceiled hall of 1486-87 (*ibid*, 149).
- 3 Gibson 1998, 29; Smith 1992, 27.
- 4 Pearson 1994, 112.
- 5 Pearson, Barnwell and Adams 1994, 22.
- 6 Emery 2006, 357.
- 7 Investigated by Anthony Quiney in the late 1960s; see the Timber Framing Index of the Historic Building Division of the Greater London Council, presently held by EH Architectural Investigation, London and South Region. Quiney (1984, 458) mentions another early instance of an integral brick stack, Jenkin's Farm, Fordham in Essex.
- 8 Walker 1998, 15.
- 9 Quiney 1984.
- 10 Menuge 1997.

APPENDIX V: PAINTED DECORATION

No evidence of 16th century painted decoration was found at Ruislip during the present works. In the early 17th century major work to upgrade the interiors was carried out. Lath and plaster ceilings were inserted to conceal the joists, leaving only the principal timbers exposed. Other plaster repairs were carried out to the wall surfaces, in some areas re-skimming the infill panels with a smooth lime rich hair plaster. The first paint scheme of grey on the wall and principal ceiling timbers with white on the plaster seems to have been applied as part of this refurbishment. The paint was applied to the timbers and overlapped onto the adjacent plaster – a typical feature of this type of scheme. It seems likely that the braces were painted white (ie not picked out in the colour). The grey was a suite of decoration use in the living rooms, circulation areas and closets. The overall result would have been lighter, brighter interiors.

The grey has been analysed and is a pigment mixture of chalk and charcoal black. The use of charcoal black results in a grey that is 'bluish' – possibly an intended effect. The same pigment mixture was identified on the newel and lattice stair and the 17th century door into the parlour chamber (room 28). The principal stair and door to room 28 are of probable early-17th-century date, which would be an acceptable date for this type of scheme.¹ The staircase seems to be the only area with embellishment. That is, the timbers were grey as elsewhere, but the infill panels had roughly square indents painted in each corner. Much of the evidence in other rooms was fragmentary, so the precise format is uncertain. It is, however, possible that the staircase was the only area elaborated in this way. Later in the century, the grey was repainted with brownish-red scheme with a slightly different format. This scheme was extremely fragmentary, although traces could be found in a number of rooms, including the staircase and parlour chamber.



Fig. 60: Painted decorative scheme in the infill panels of the framing of the principal stair (DP070340).

Andrea Kirkham

Note

¹ These are a type of scheme which I have termed 'Plain Scheme'. They typically consist of one colour on the timbers and the infill and ceiling panels are white or unpainted plaster. See Kirkham, A., 'Pattern and Colour in Late 16th- and 17th Century Secular Wall and Panel Paintings in Suffolk – an Overview', in Gowing, R. and Pender, R. (eds.) (2007) *All Manner of Murals, The History, Techniques and Conservation of Secular Wall Paintings*, English Heritage, pp33-42 and *Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Secular Wall Paintings in Suffolk*, PhD, University of East Anglia, forthcoming.

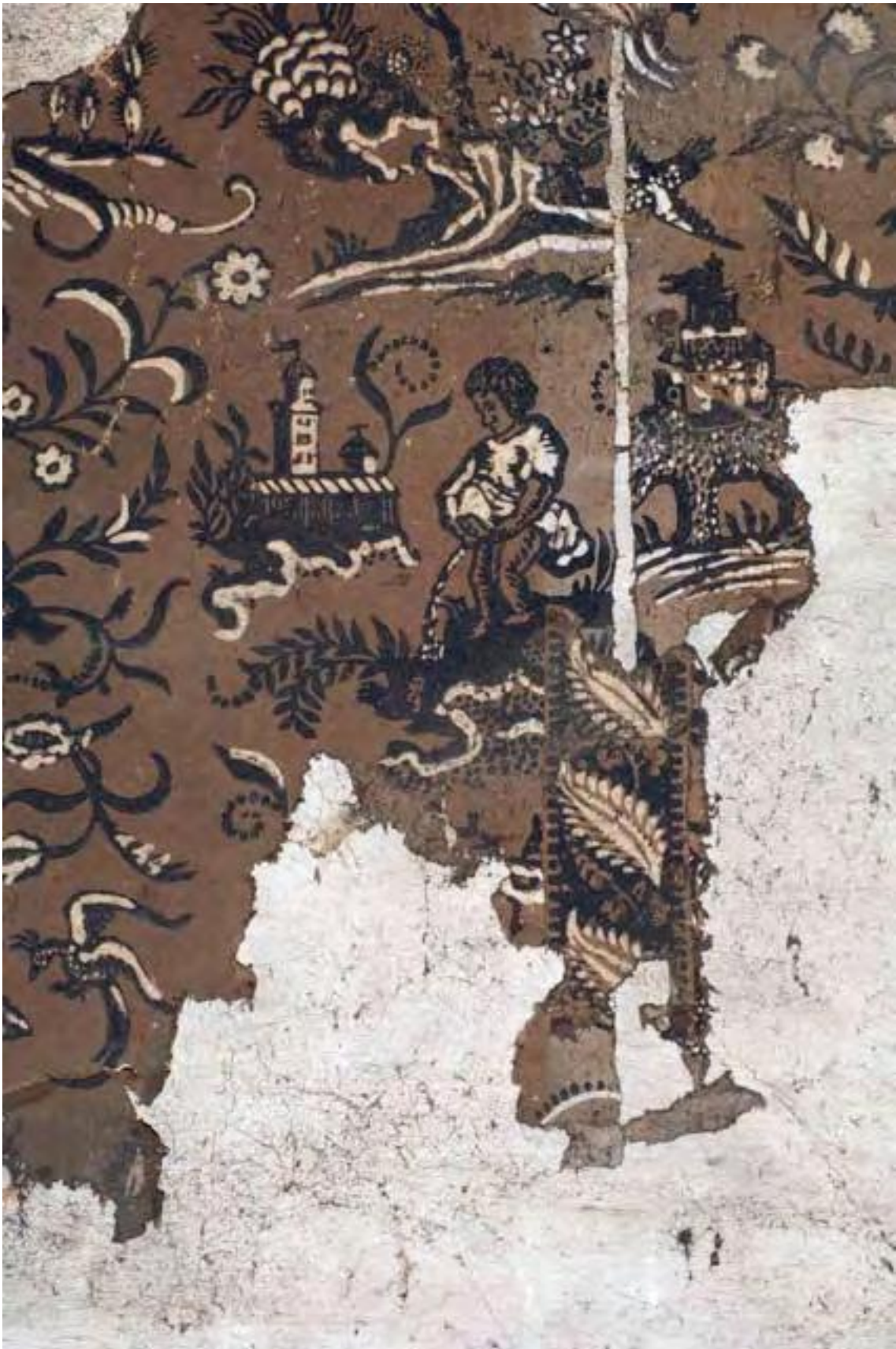


Fig. 61: Wallpaper fragments of c.1700 discovered 2007 behind panelling of the south wall of the entrance hall (room 9) Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP048800).

APPENDIX VI: WALLPAPER

A number of early wallpapers were uncovered during the 2007-08 project to restore Manor Farm, Ruislip. Two papers were of particular significance: one was important in reconstructing the date and room use of the house, whilst the second of considerable importance for the history of wallpaper.

The earliest paper was discovered behind the mid-eighteenth century panelling of the entrance hall (room 9) and is of considerable importance in the history of English wallpaper. It is extremely rare to be able to ascribe a particular manufacturer to a paper that has no maker's label. For a number of reasons it is possible to do so in the case of the paper found in the entrance hall of Manor Farm where the maker was, with an extremely high degree of probability was Abraham Price of Aldermanbury, near to the Guildhall in the City of London.

The entrance hall was panelled out with a fairly plain softwood scheme in about 1740. The wallpaper was discovered behind one fielded panel when removed; what was revealed were two sections of paper hung parallel to each other with the remains of a central border glued between each section. There were further tiny fragments visible further behind other parallel panels; it was not possible to see if there were any other large sections elsewhere.

The design of the paper owes much to textile convention of the late 17th century, ie the designing and printing of fabric. The motifs may also show some influence from the illustrations in pattern books such as those by George Parker and John Stalker in their 1688 publication *A Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing*. Furthermore, the Manor Farm paper displays considerable similarity to another paper in the Collection of English Heritage that believed to have come from Paradise Row, Lambeth. The ground colour is the same and aspects of the simple, two block pattern in black are strikingly similar. The textile origin for the pattern is a derivation of sixteenth century blackwork needlework; the design is executed in needlework using black silk thread. The design elements that are most similar lie in the treatment of the foliage, especially where it becomes a series of curving dots.

The vignettes in the Ruislip paper are more exotic and unusual, in particular the elephant with a howdah and the extraordinary scene of a small boy relieving himself. As only a relatively small section of the paper has survived it is not really possible to determine the pattern repeat but it does seem to be in the order of two feet at least; this compared to the Paradise Row paper where the repeat is about ten inches. The block size, however, is quite comparable; probably each block is about six to eight inches long and around four to six inches high. Another design difference between the two papers is that the Manor Farm paper has a border of a stylised oak-leaf pattern and what is of great significance is that the border runs down the middle of the surviving section which indicates that the paper was 'paned', that is hung after the fashion of embroidered fabric panel with a gimp, or border separating each panel.



Fig. 62: c.1720 trade card of Abraham Price (Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Gough Maps 45 (f.173).

The two papers have the same colouration. The brown ground colour, whose appearance at first suggests a discoloured grounding—perhaps originally an off-white—is common to both the Manor Farm and Paradise Row papers. However a comparison of the two papers seems to indicate that it is the original, intended colour. Onto this buff-coloured ground the design is printed in black with a secondary block to apply white highlights.

The Manor Farm paper was pasted directly onto the plaster wall and then nailed down at the edges for safety; this was common for the period and has its origins in the putting up of fabric wallcoverings.



Fig. 63: c.1700 Abraham Price trade card. (British Library, Harleian Manuscript 5942(40). © British Library Board. All rights reserved).

In determining the age and possible maker of the two papers it was the coming together of pattern, size of block, colouring, method of hanging and the survival of two trade cards that enabled an attribution to be decided upon. In the Bagford Collection of the British Library and the Gough Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, were two trade cards advertising the wares of Abraham Price whose shop was at the Blue Paper Warehouse, Aldermanbury, in the City.

The two large engraved sheets reveal a considerable amount about the early history of wallpaper manufacture in London. However, for the purposes of the history of the Manor Farm paper the most important of the cards is the one in the Gough Collection. The trade card has the arms of William III above a description of the range of goods sold, and that each piece, or roll, of paper will be stamped with the name 'Blew Paper Society's Manufacture' to confirm its authenticity. Below this are instructions on how to hang the paper and which coincides with the Manor Farm method. Finally at the bottom of the card is an illustration of the hung paper. The border on the right side of the illustration is virtually identical to that of the Ruislip paper and the manner in which it is hung replicates the trade cards description. The furniture historian Peter Thornton has written about the fashion for textile hangings in his book, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France & Holland*. The mode for empaned or paned wall hangings goes back at least to mid-seventeenth century Holland and by the end of the century it was highly fashionable to hang fabrics in panels separated by wide borders. A fine example may be seen in the Drawing Room, Penshurst Place, Kent, where the appliqué work wall hangings



Fig. 64: Wallpaper fragments discovered in 2007 on the north wall of the hall chamber when partitions formerly dividing rooms 23, 31 and 32 were removed.
 Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042394).



Fig. 65 Detail of wallpaper fragment.
 Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042432).

may have been made for the Lord De L'Isle's London home, Leicester House when it was re-decorated c.1698-1700. As wallpaper design was always following textile precedent the Ruislip paper was extremely *avant garde*. The Trade card in the Gough Collection has been dated to c.1700.

In conclusion the paper found behind the entrance hall panelling of Manor Farm is almost certainly made by Abraham Price's Blew Paper Warehouse and it dates to c.1700-1710. It is of great importance.

A second paper was uncovered in the upstairs hall chamber (room 23/31/32) behind an inserted partition. It is an early nineteenth century paper with a design that is often described today as a pin print. The design consists of a stylised floral pattern in light green on a darker green ground and the space between the flowers is filled with a myriad of tiny black dots – each 'dot' is the imprint of a small brass nail set into the block, hence the term 'pin print'.

The design has similarities to papers held by English Heritage's Architectural Study Collection, principally two papers, one from 48 Manchester St, Marylebone and the other from 1 Thames St Kingston, Surrey. The Thames St paper is of especial interest in that it has the maker's mark of William Harwood. Harwood was a manufacturer with a considerable business based in an old coach-making factory on George St, Marylebone. Due to the similarity of design of the three papers and the proximity of Harwood's

factory to Manchester St, there is a strong possibility that the Manor Farm paper was also made by 'the Great Mr Harwood'. The green colour and use of a pin-prick pattern can also be seen at Kew Palace.

There was also a strip of border attached to the paper just above the skirting board. The pattern was a pale green coloured gadrooned edge below a very dark ground at the base with a stylised running guilloche above on a rose ground. Borders were nearly always used as they both finished-off the edges of the paper and also hid the nails that were often used to partly fix up the wallpaper.

The border and the 'pin print' were both printed onto hand made rag-based paper produced from a laid paper mould. The green is almost certainly an arsenic-derived colour due to its pale shade and similarity to verdigris, from which it is derived. It is not a material that is a danger to health despite its origin.



Fig. 66: Wallpaper fragments discovered in 2007 over the mantelpiece of the inserted fireplace on the west wall of room 25. Photograph by Derek Kendall (DP042410).

The pin-print comes complete with its lining paper and also the rough, coarse hessian scrim that was stretched over the wall before applying the lining paper. It is interesting that the three layers seem to have been glued onto the plaster rather than stretched over it as was the normal practice.

There is an especially interesting entry in the house archives which may help in the dating of the paper. The 1817 sub-lease to Daniel Wilshin (Appendix II) refers to a 'green room' and it is entirely possible that this is a reference to the 'pin print'. These papers were certainly in vogue from c.1785 but appear to have become highly fashionable in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. They are often associated with the family or domestic quarters rather than grand state rooms.

Above the mantle-shelf in Room 25 lie fragments of an early nineteenth century floral wallpaper; other small fragments were attached to the wall elsewhere in the room. The paper was a rag-based product with a hand-blocked floral pin-print pattern. The design appears to be based on a blue bellflower, or campanula, and various trifoliate ivy leaves and pinnate foliage. The shade of the blue colour used for the flowers and the pin-print pattern indicate a manufacturing date of c.1840.

Treve Rosoman

MANOR FARM
RUISLIP
London Borough of Hillingdon

Ground Floor Plan

drawing based on surveys by
Linda Hall
and Westwaddy ADP

July 2008

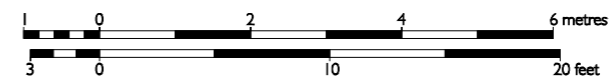
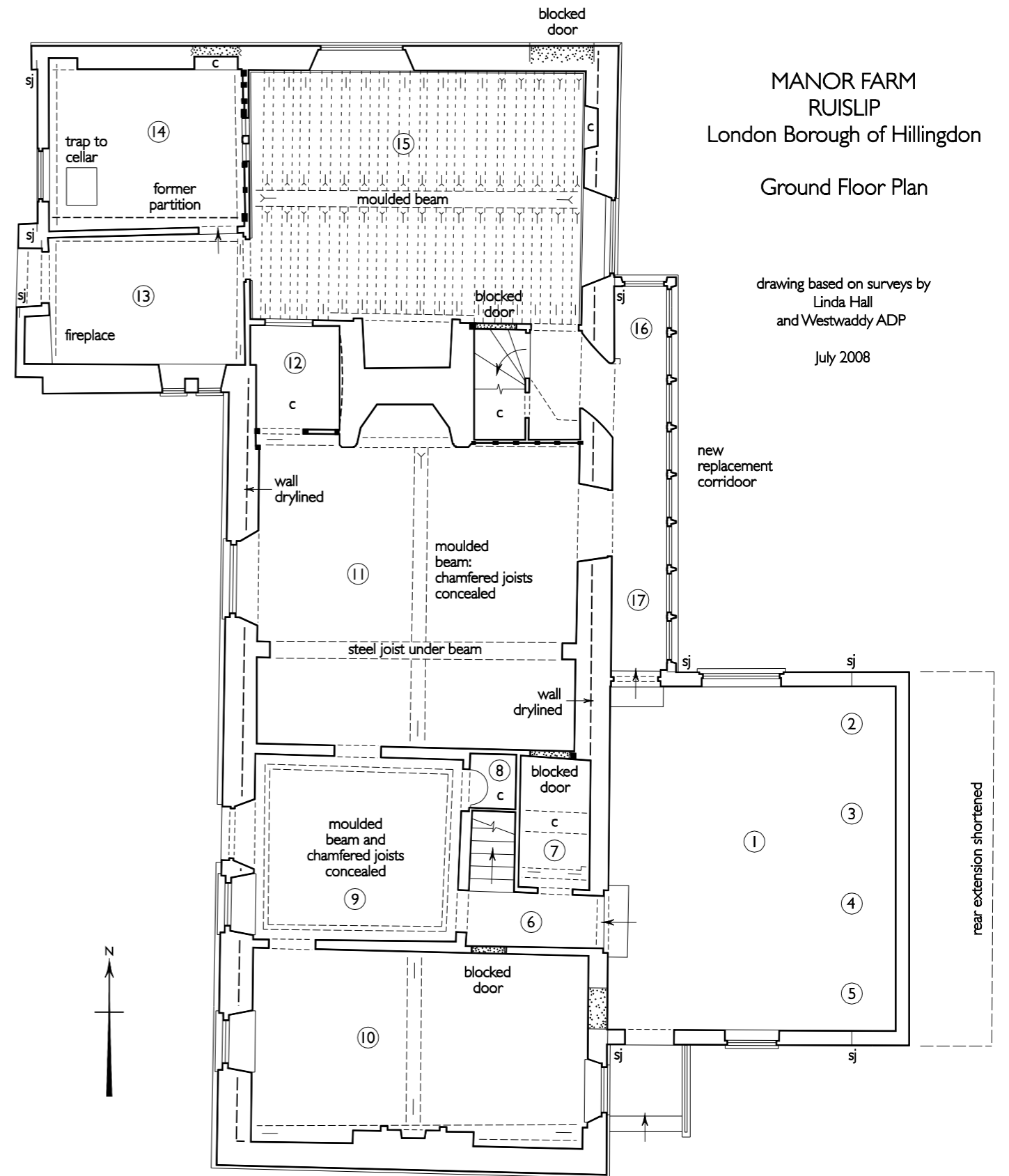


Fig. 67: Ground floor plan

MANOR FARM
RUISLIP
London Borough of Hillingdon

First Floor Plan

drawing based on surveys by
Linda Hall
and Westwaddy ADP

July 2008

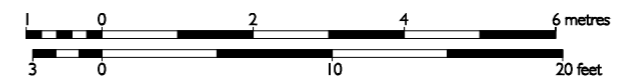
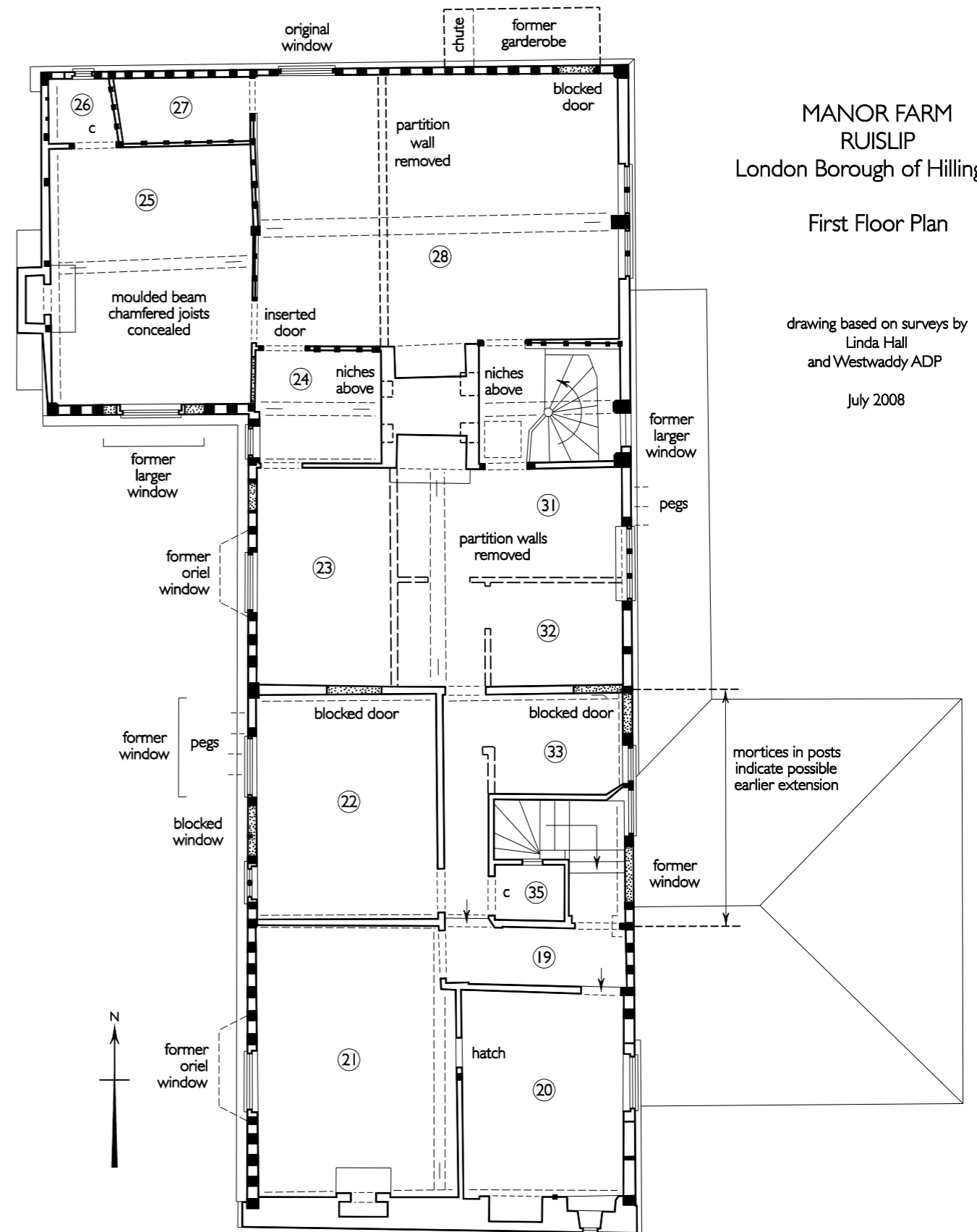


Fig. 68: First floor plan

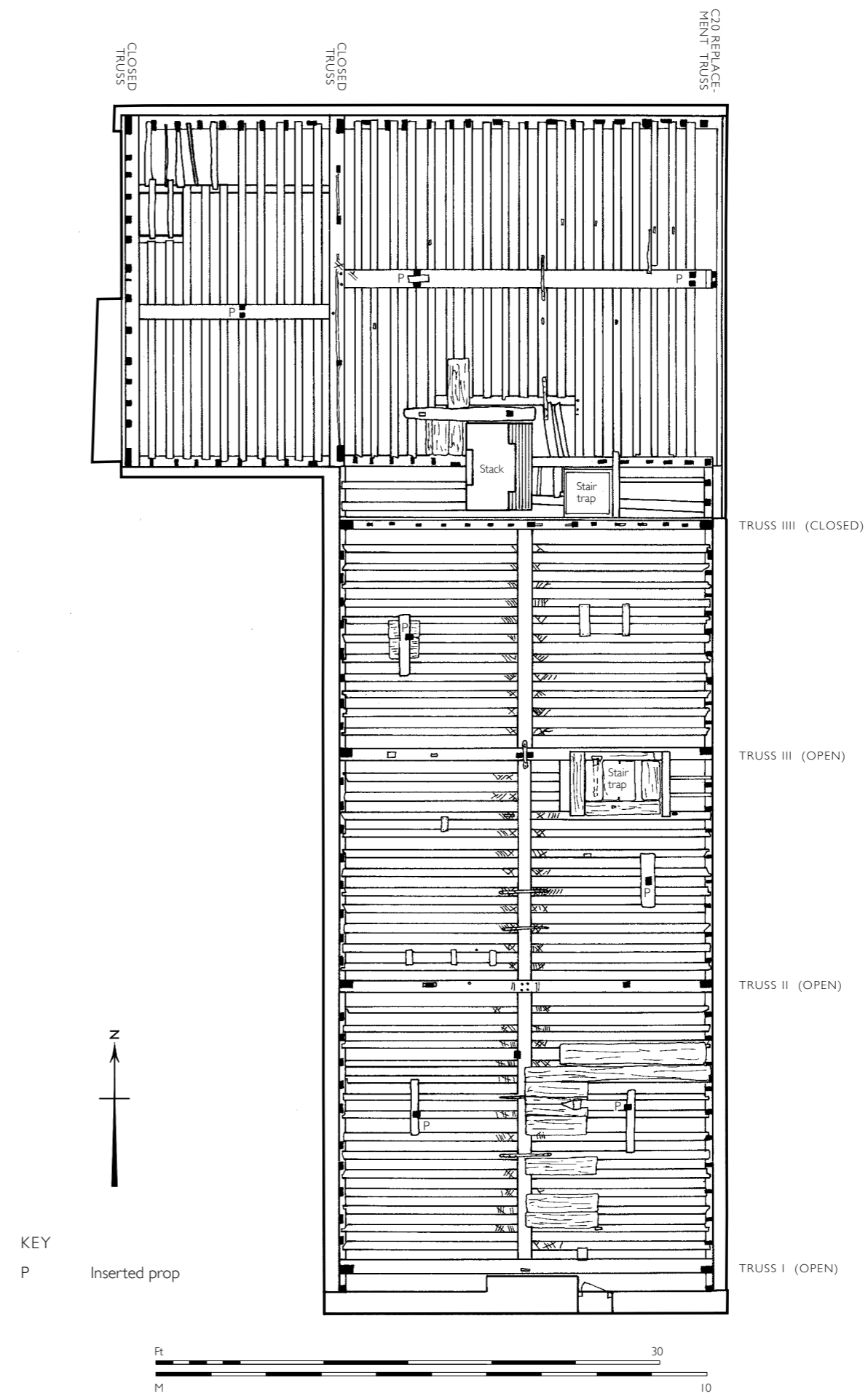


Fig. 69: Floor plan of attic. (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).

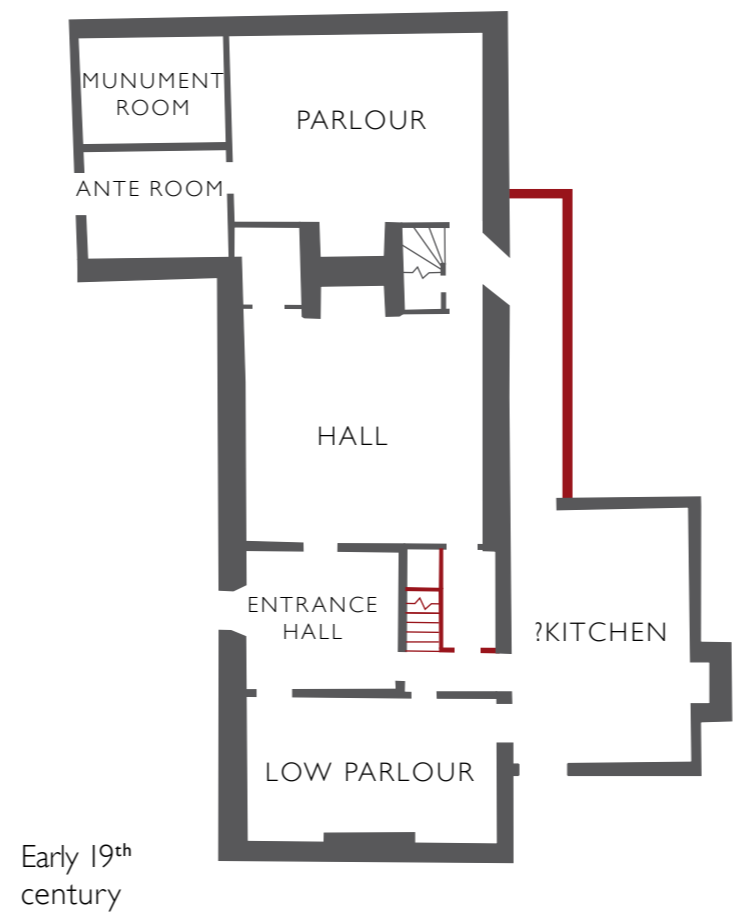
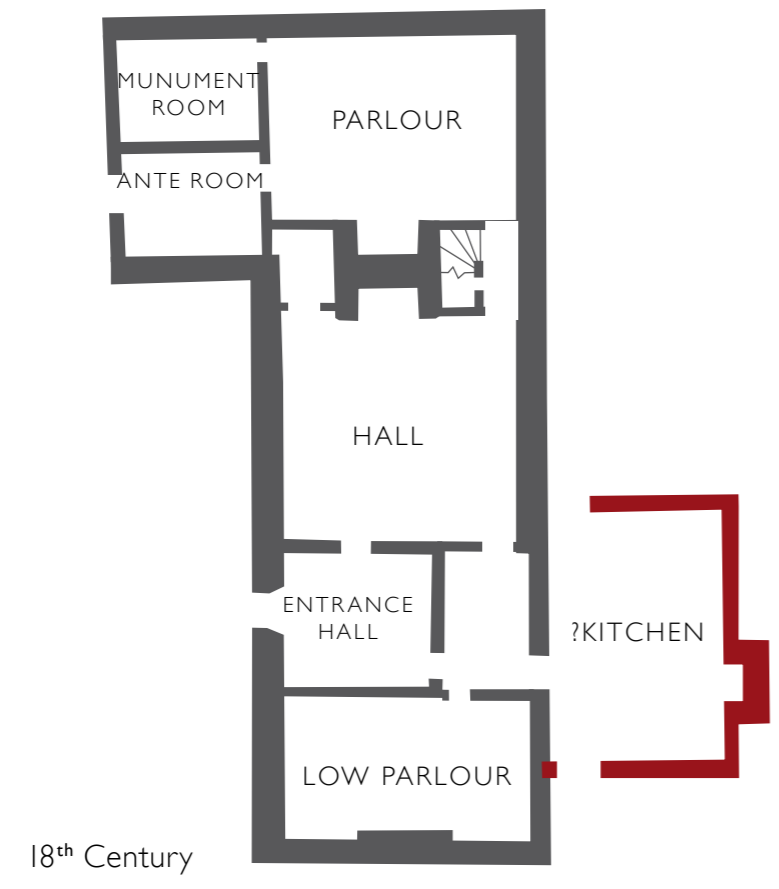
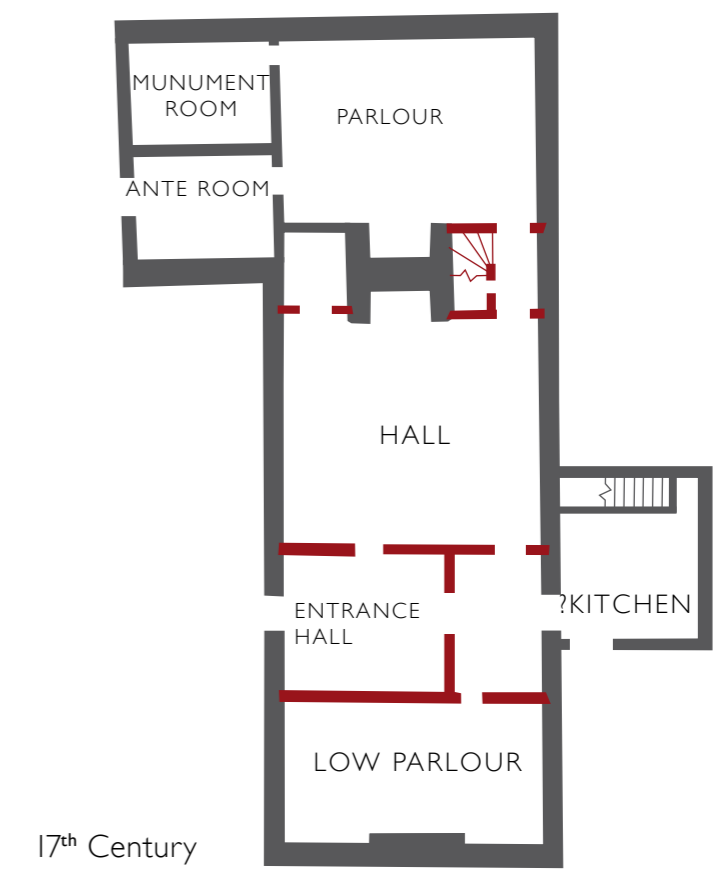
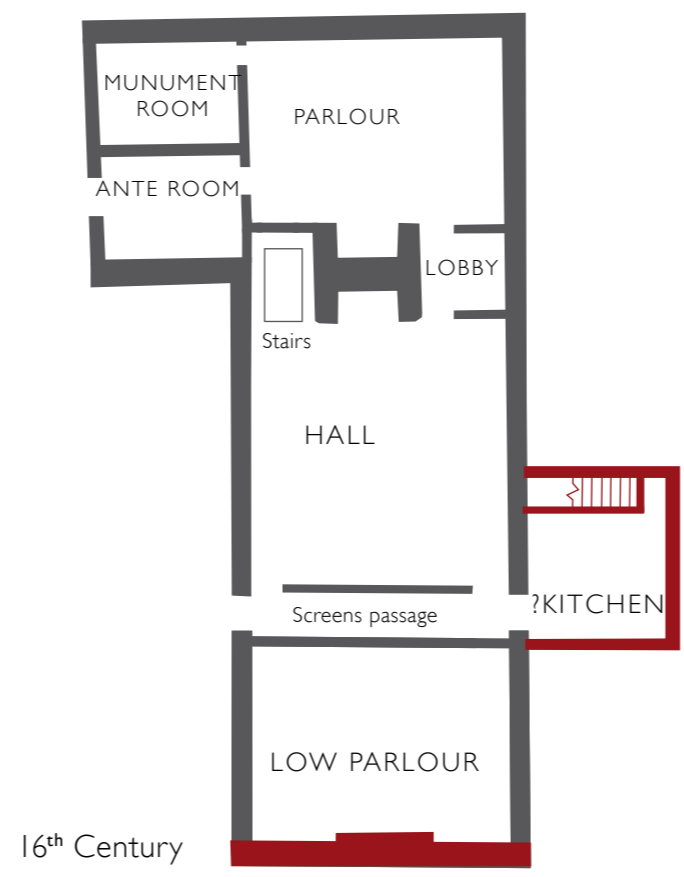
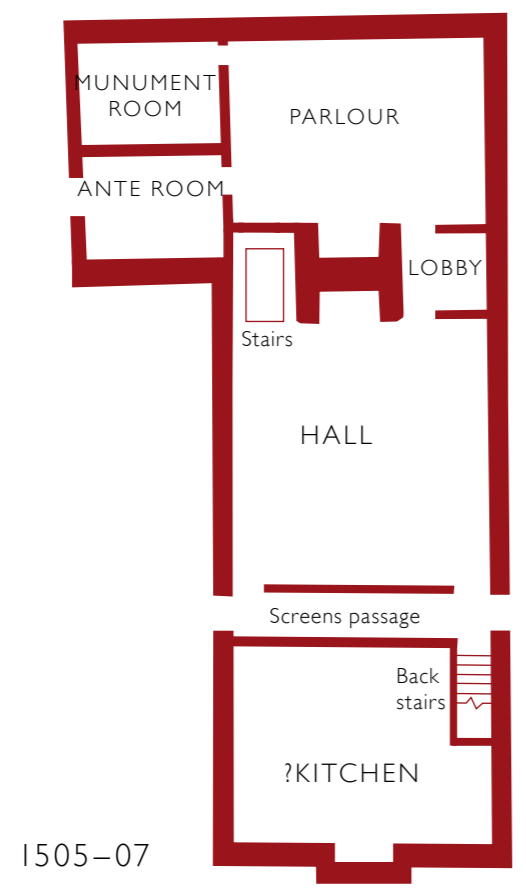


Fig. 70: Phase reconstructions



Fig. 71: West elevation of hall range, with cross section of cross wing. (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



Fig. 72: West elevation of hall range, with cross section of cross wing. Conjectural reconstruction of original window openings shown in blue. (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).

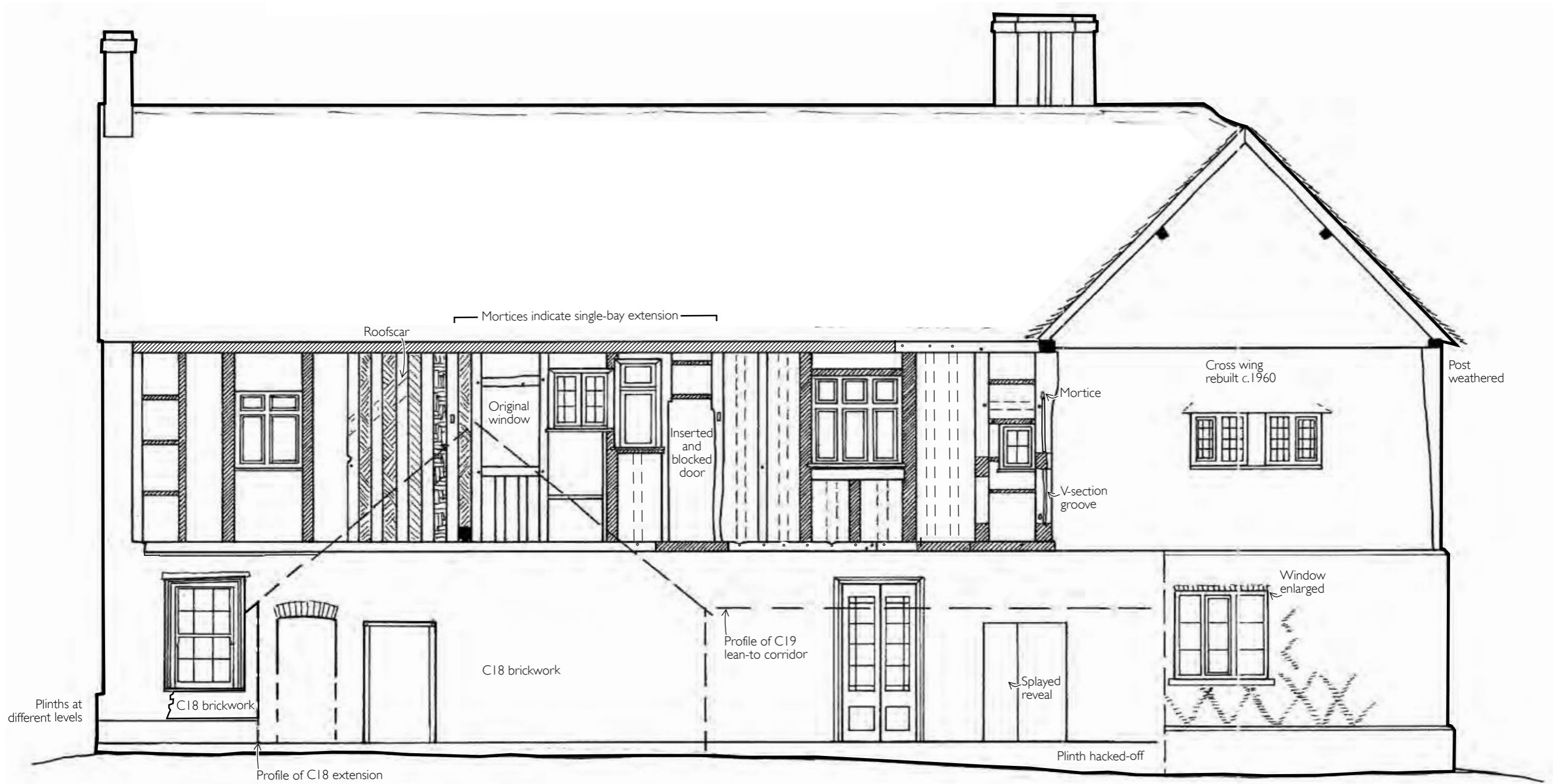
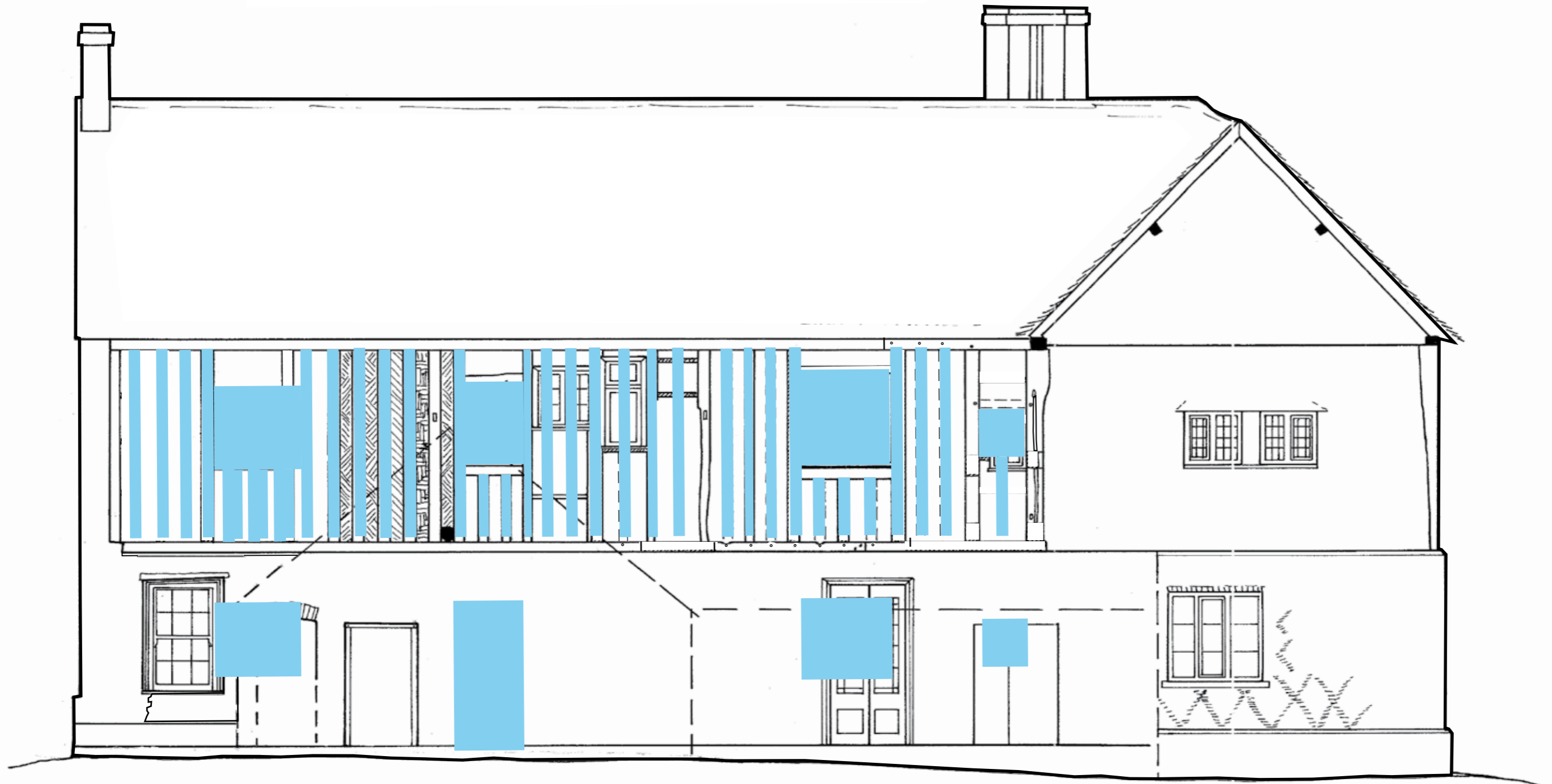


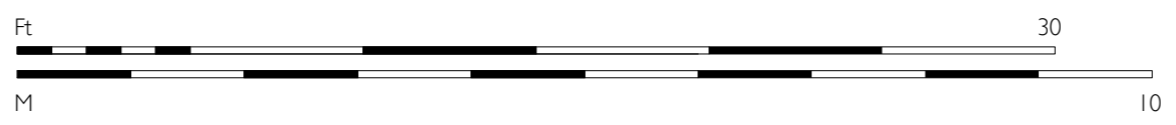
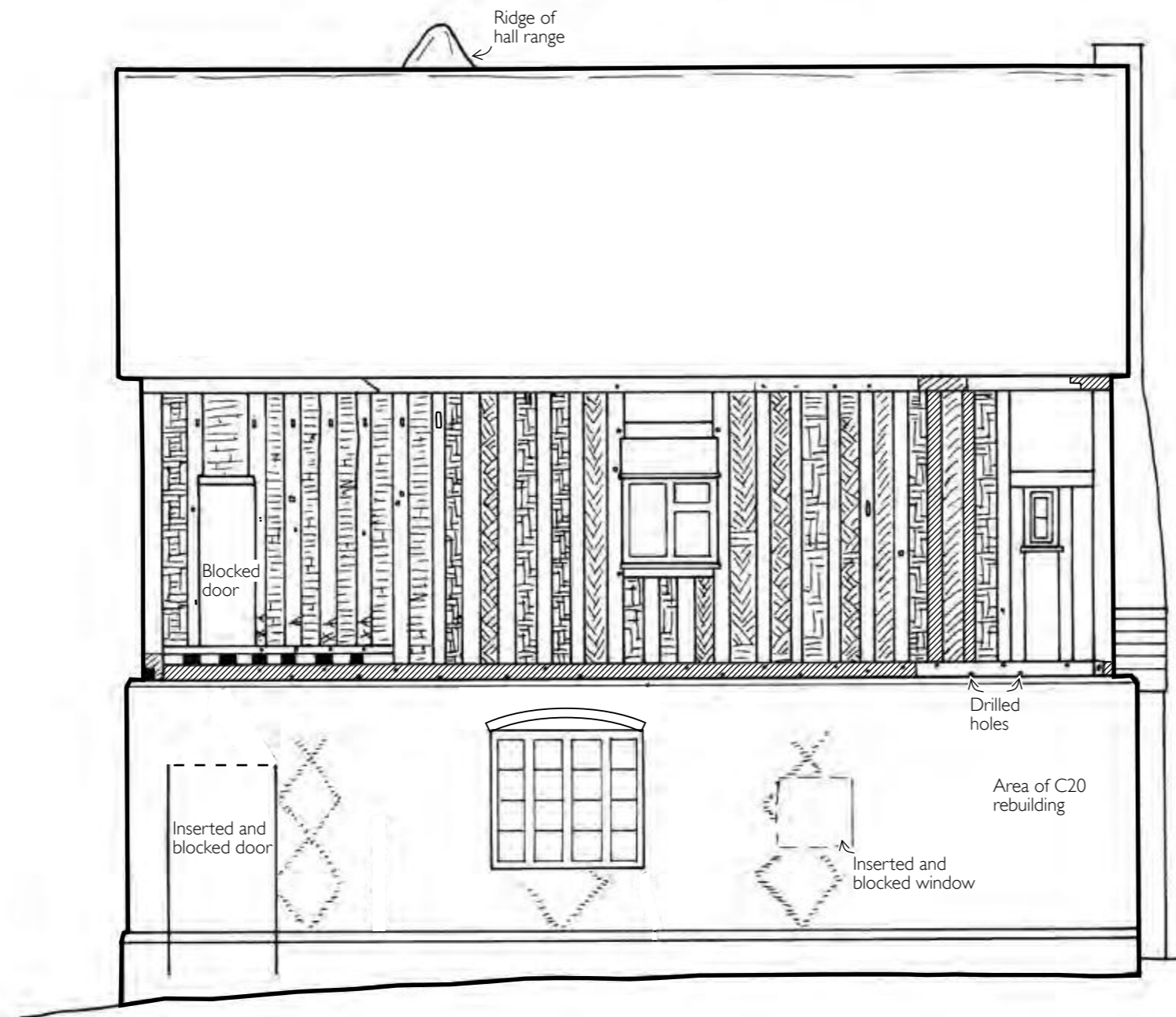
Fig. 73: East elevation (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



KEY
■ Original openings
(ground floor conjectural)

Ft 30
M 10

Fig. 74: East elevation. Conjectural reconstruction of original window openings shown in blue.
(Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).




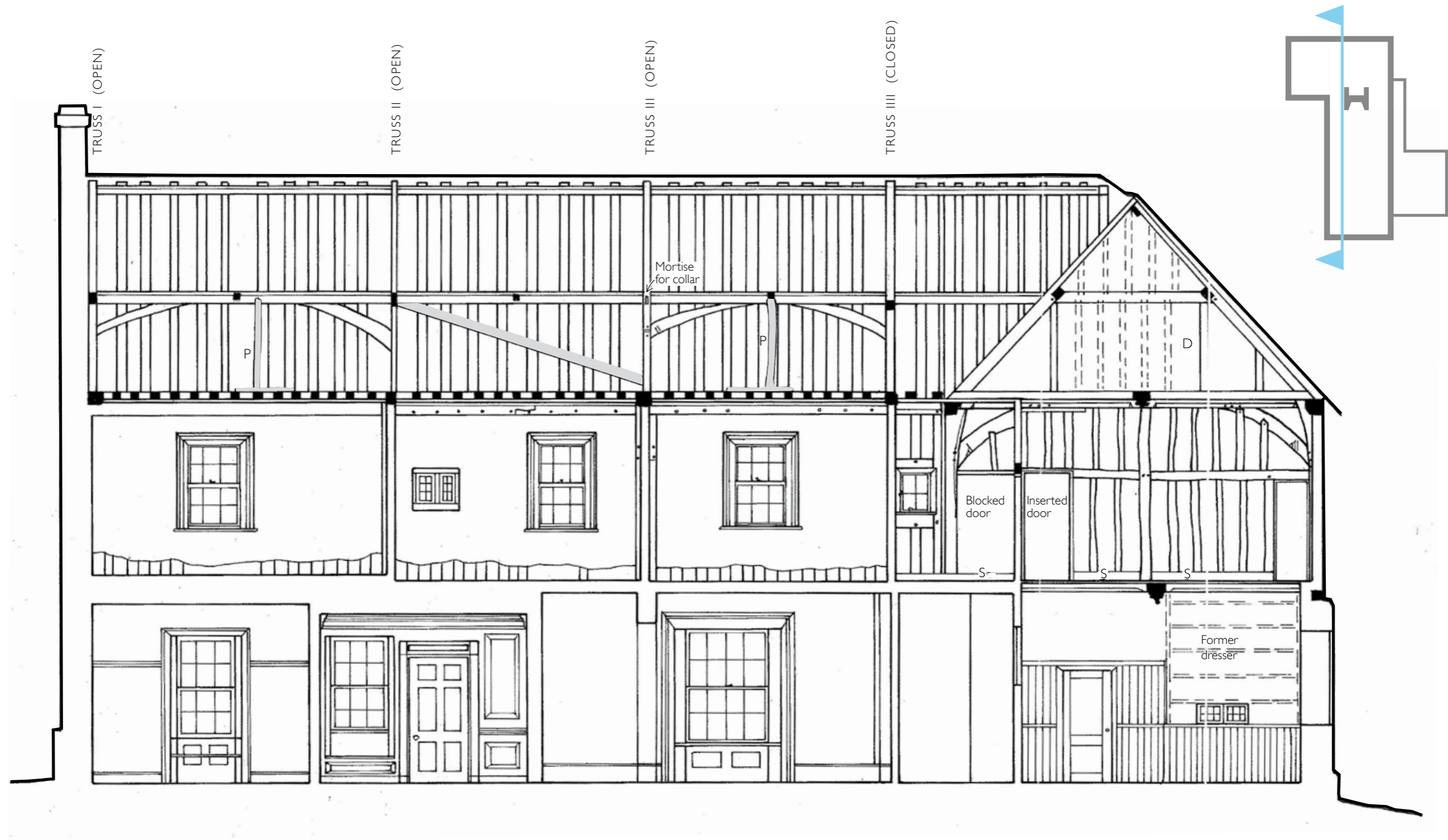
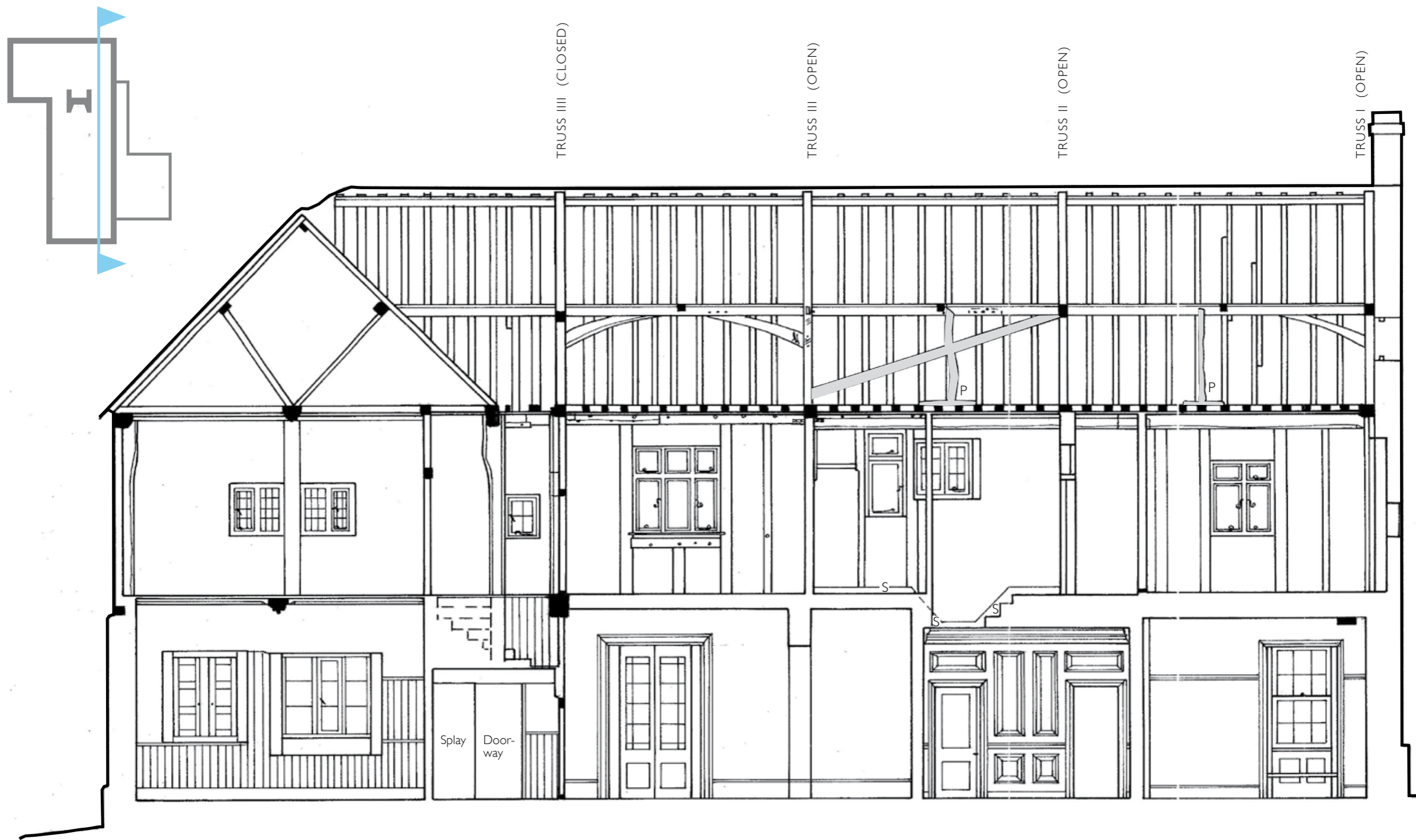
KEY
 C20 replacement timber or plank-section patch

Fig. 75: North elevation (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



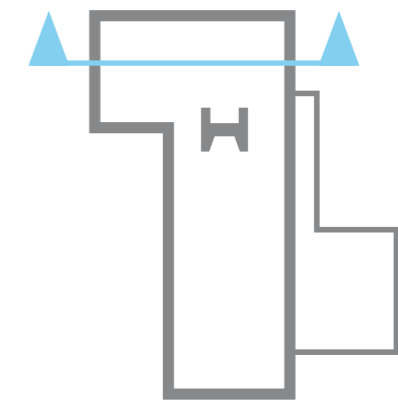
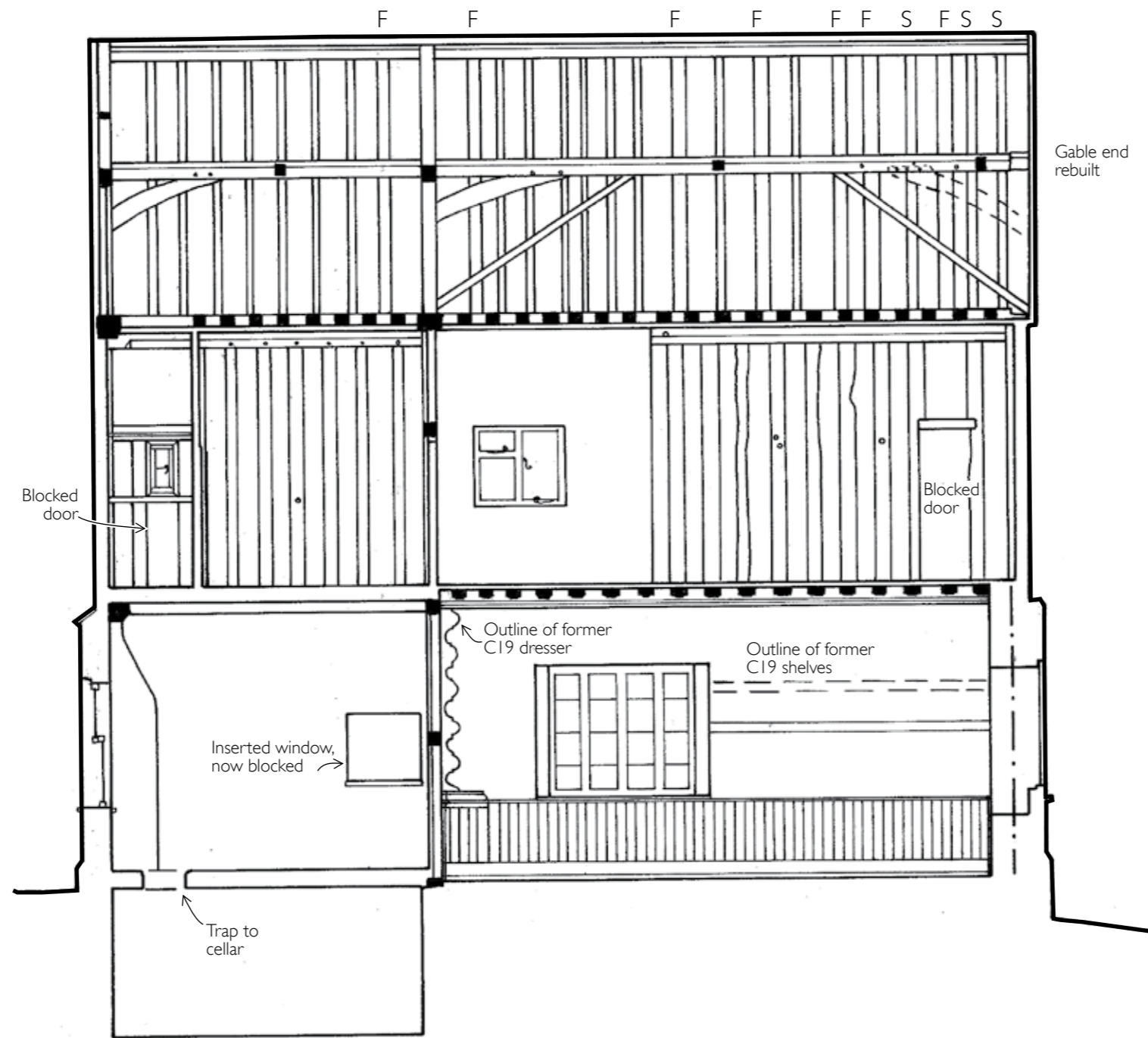
- KEY
- S Skirting board
 - D Former doorway
 - █ Inserted timber

Fig. 76: Long section, looking west (stack omitted). (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



- KEY
- S Skirting board
 - █ Inserted timber
 - P Inserted prop

Fig. 77: Long section, looking east (central stack omitted). (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



KEY
 F Rafter laid flat
 S Square-sectioned rafter

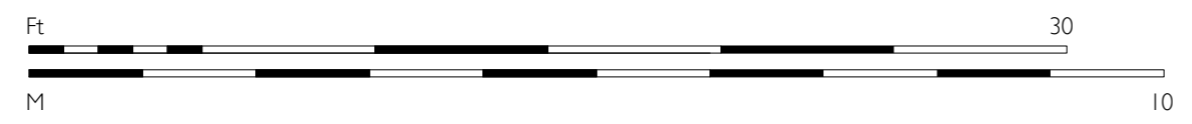


Fig. 78: Long section of cross wing, looking north. (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



KEY
 F Fireplace

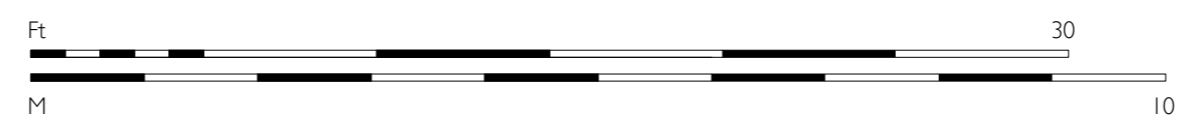


Fig. 79: Long section of cross wing, looking south (stack omitted). (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



Fig. 80: Cross section, through hall range, looking north, with south elevation of cross wing.
 (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).

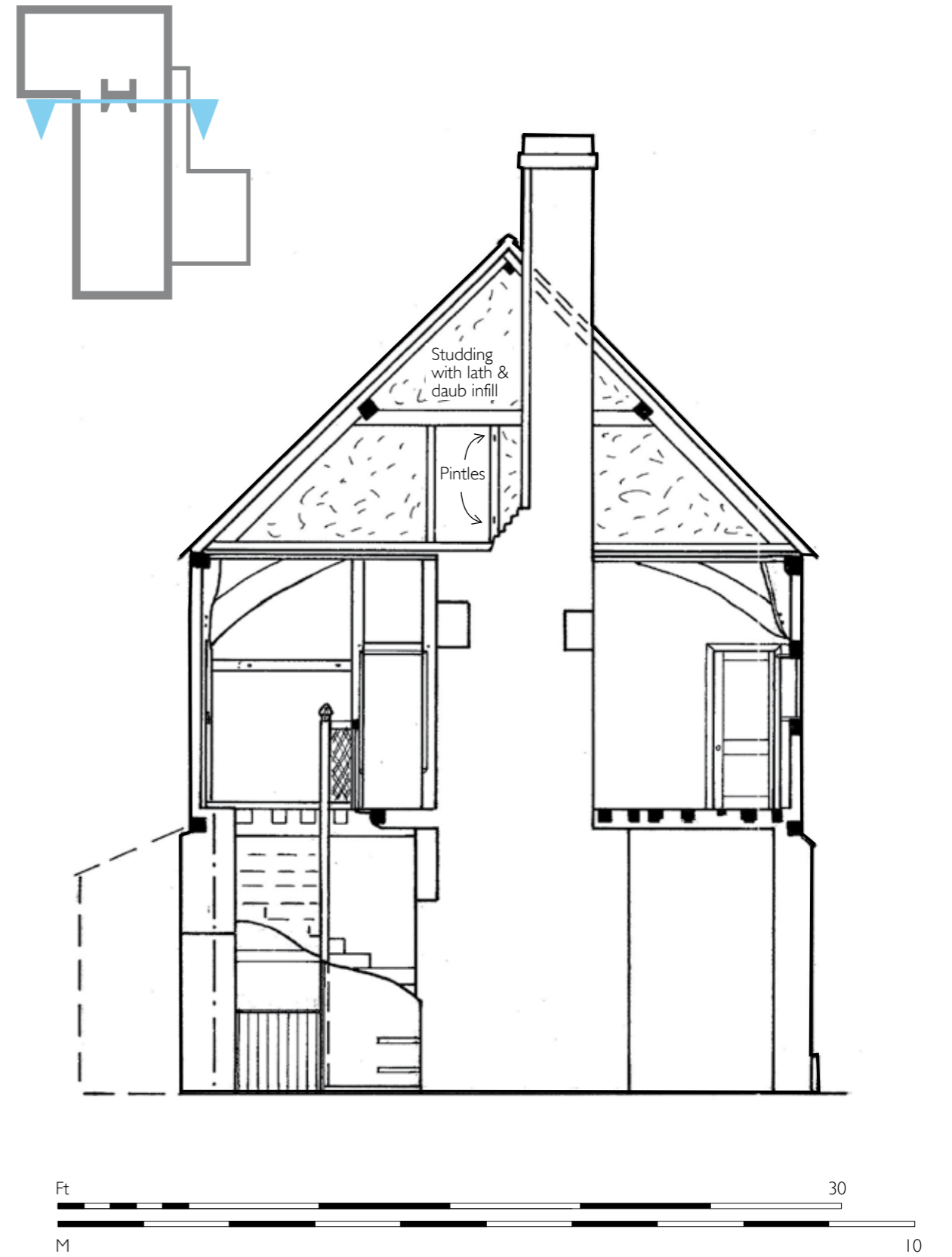


Fig. 81: Cross section through hall range and stack.
(Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).

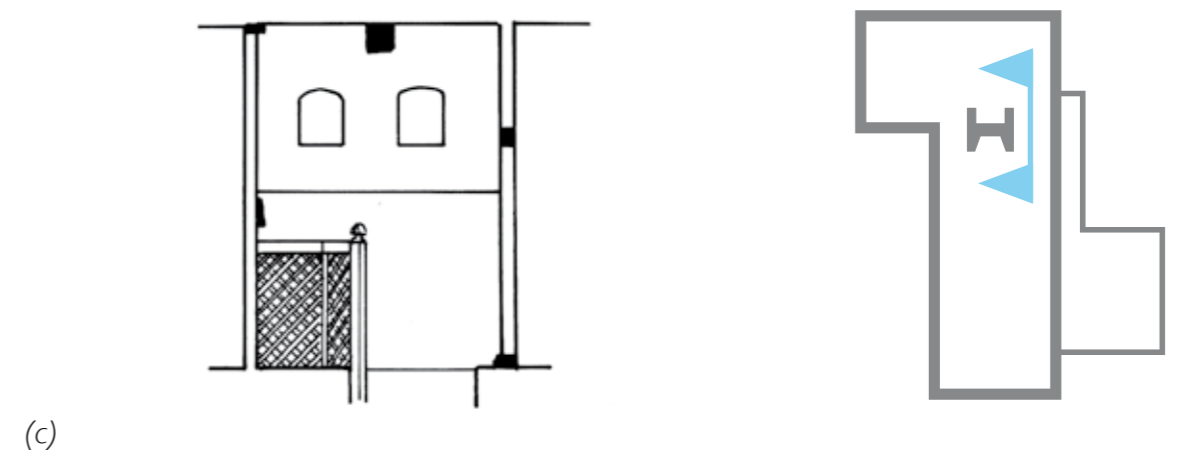
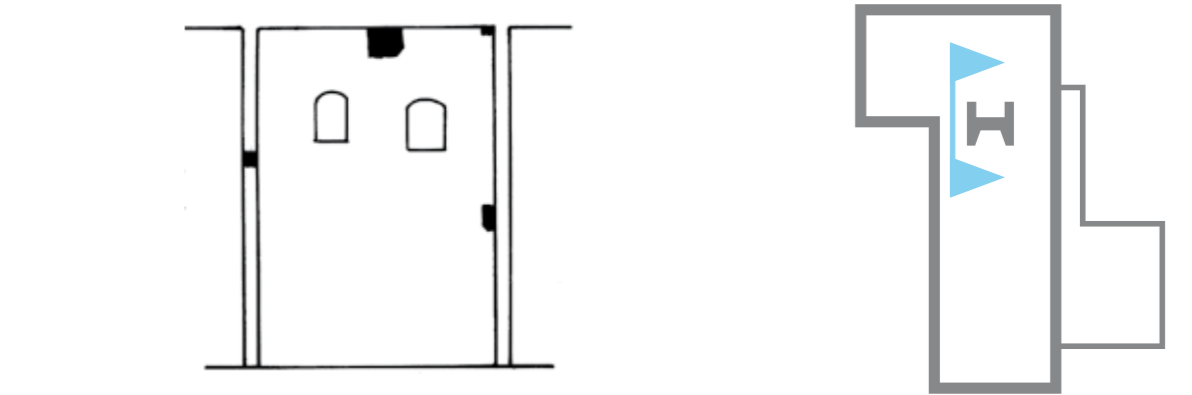
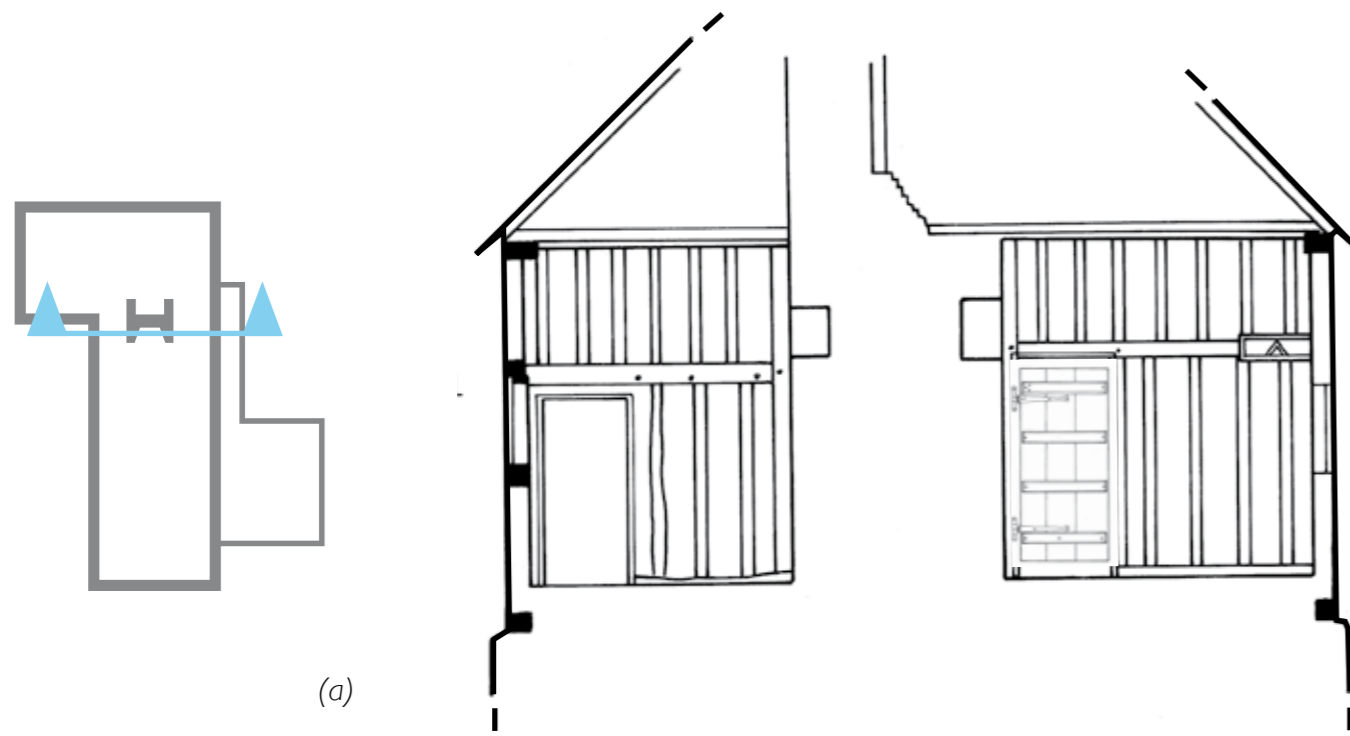
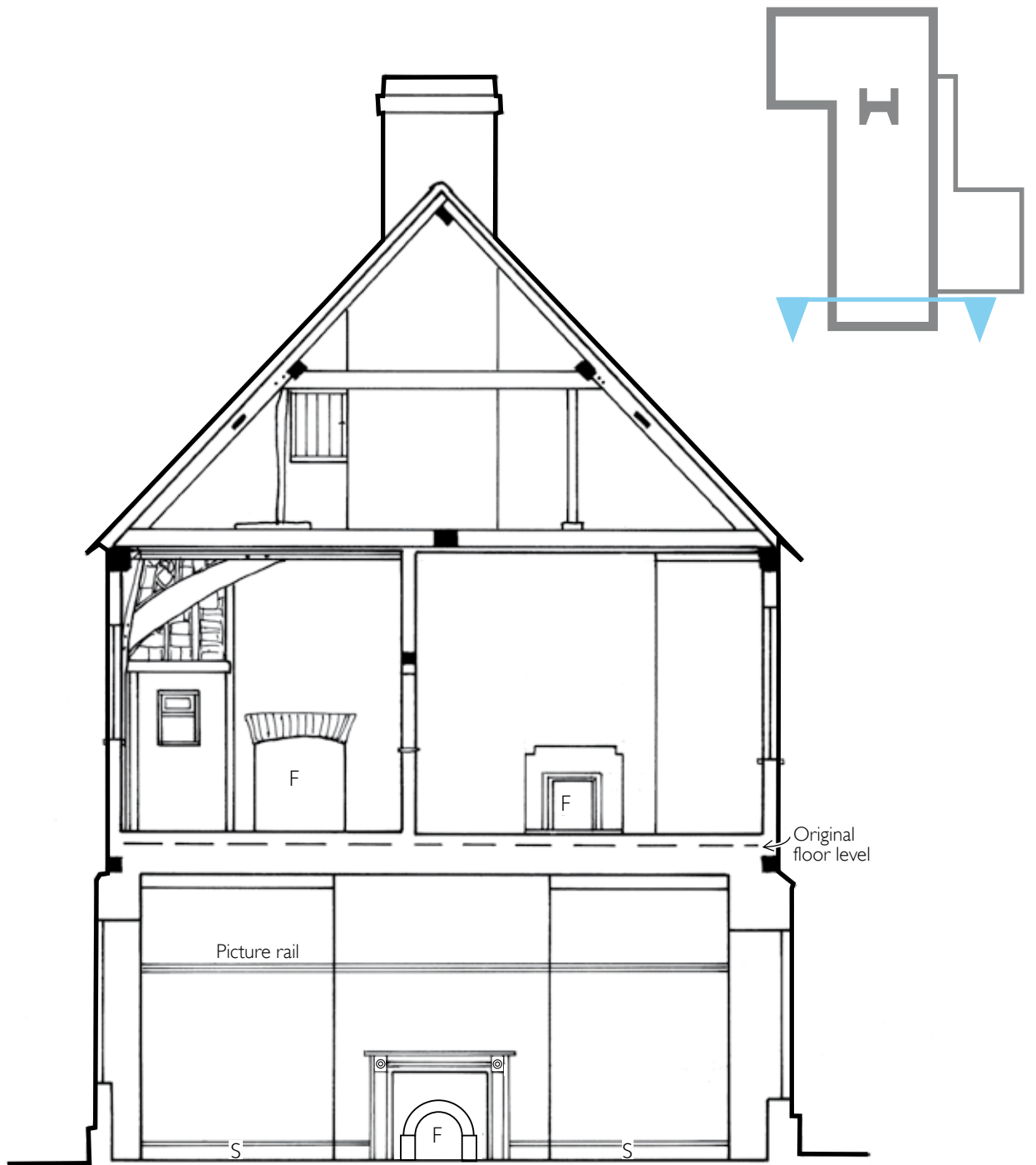


Fig. 82(a): Partial cross section of hall range, looking north to stack.
 Fig. 82(b): Cross section of room 24, looking east to stack.
 Fig. 82(c): Cross section of landing, looking west to stack.
 (Drawings by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).





KEY

- S skirting board
- F fireplace

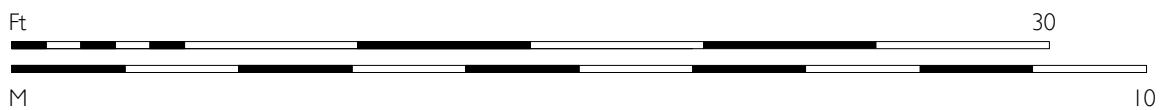
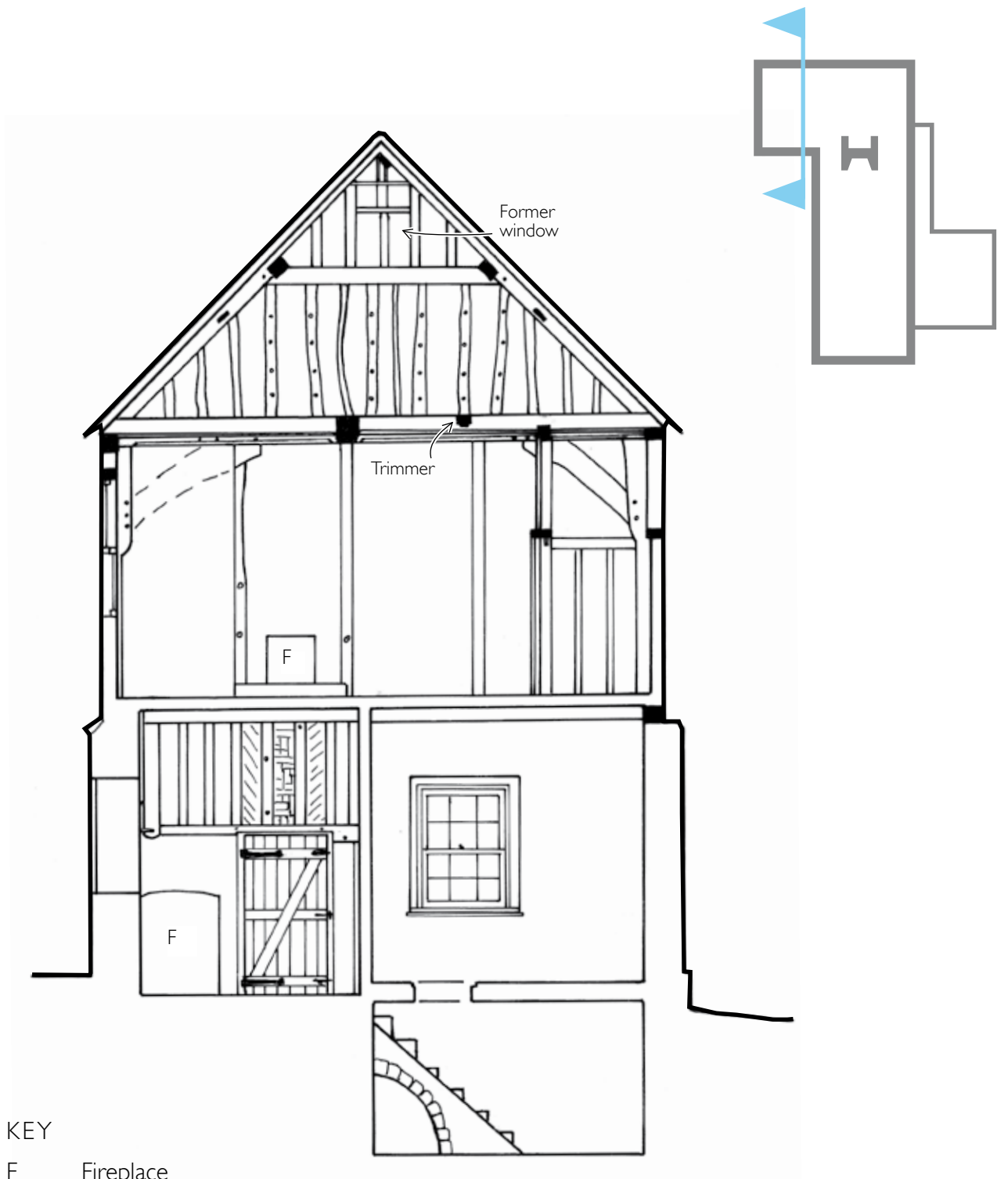


Fig. 83: Cross section through hall range, looking south to gable end
(Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).



KEY
 F Fireplace

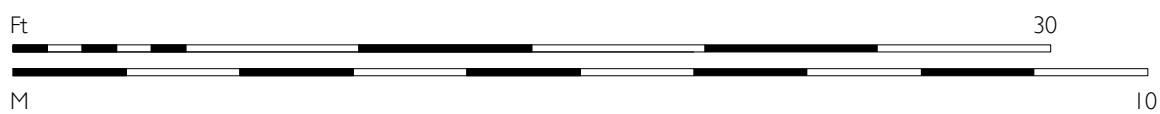


Fig. 84: Cross section through cross wing, looking west to gable end.
 (Drawing by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).

Fig. 85 : CEILING BEAMS. 1:8 scale.

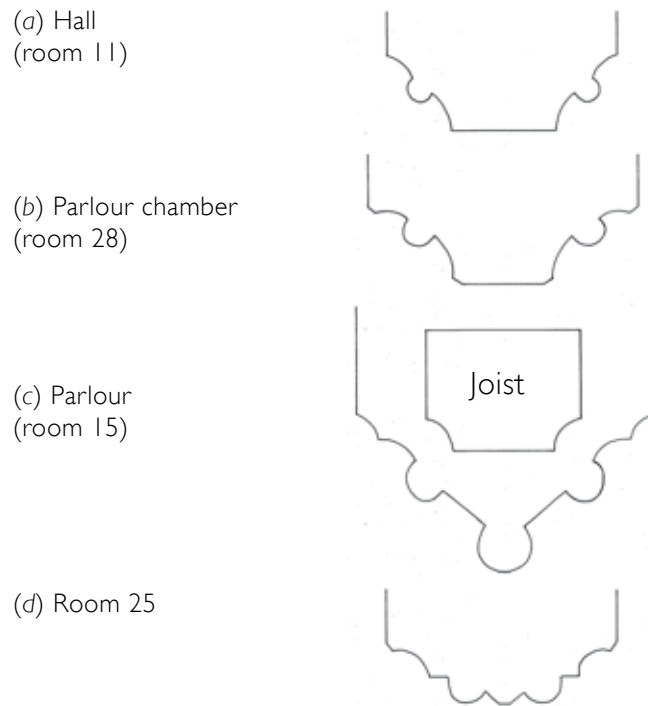
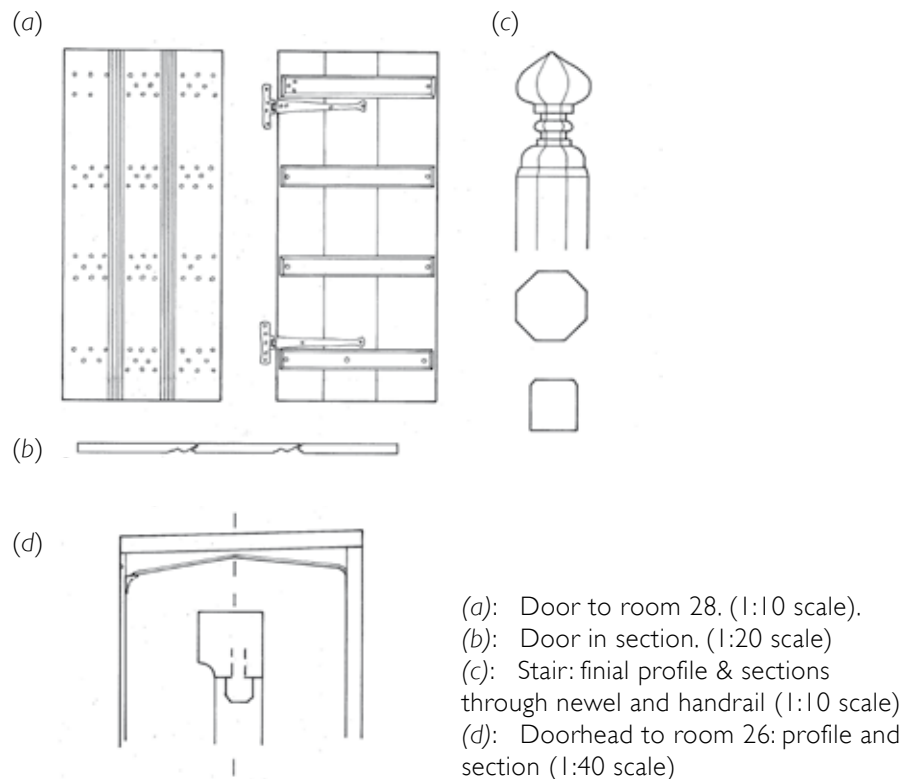


Fig. 86 : DOOR & STAIRCASE DETAILS.



Figs. 85–86: Details.
 (Drawings by Linda Hall; © English Heritage).

Fig. 87 : ARCHITRAVES (LEFT) & PICTURE RAILS. 1:4 scale.

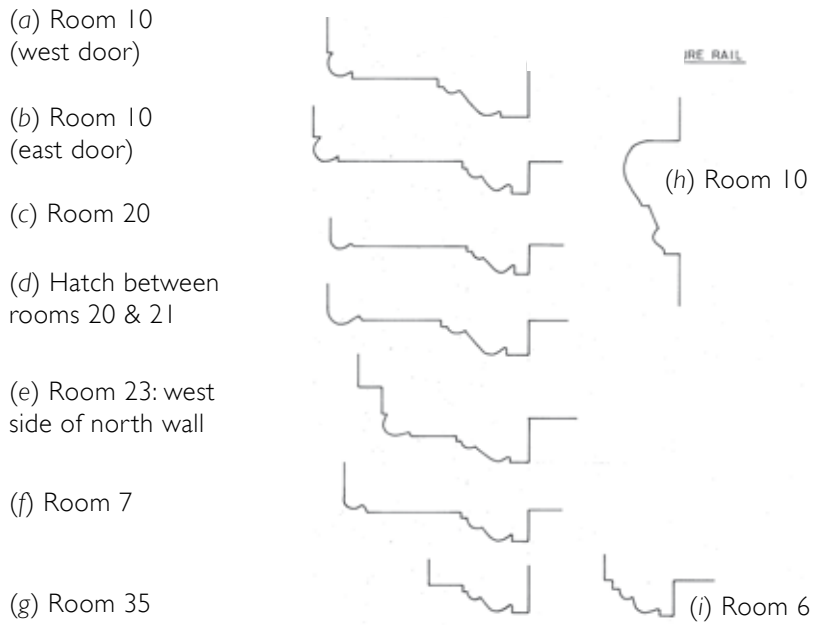
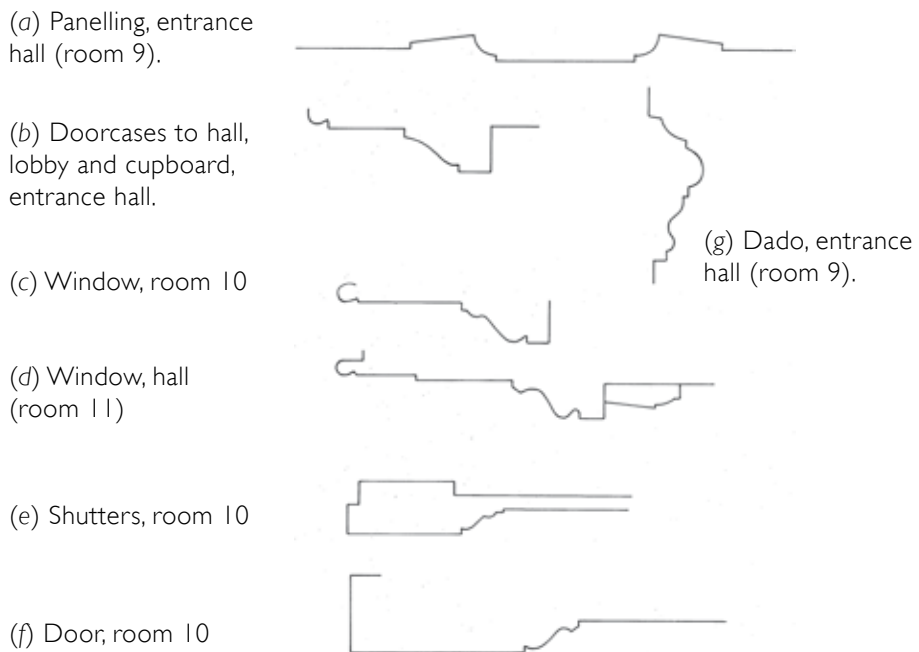


Fig. 88 : ARCHITRAVES ETC. 1:4 scale.



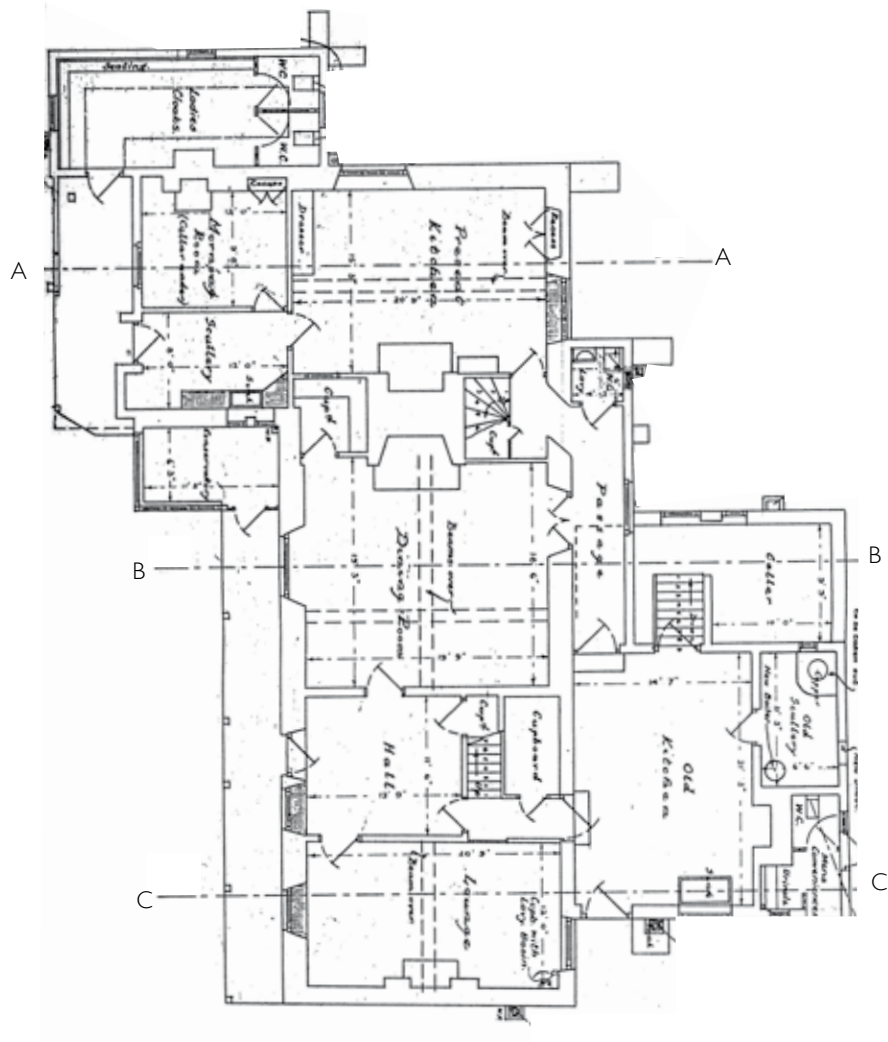


Fig. 89: 1933 ground floor plan, by H.R. Metcalf, for the Ruislip Northwood Urban District Council (rescaled to 1:200 from 1:96). (© London Borough of Hillingdon).

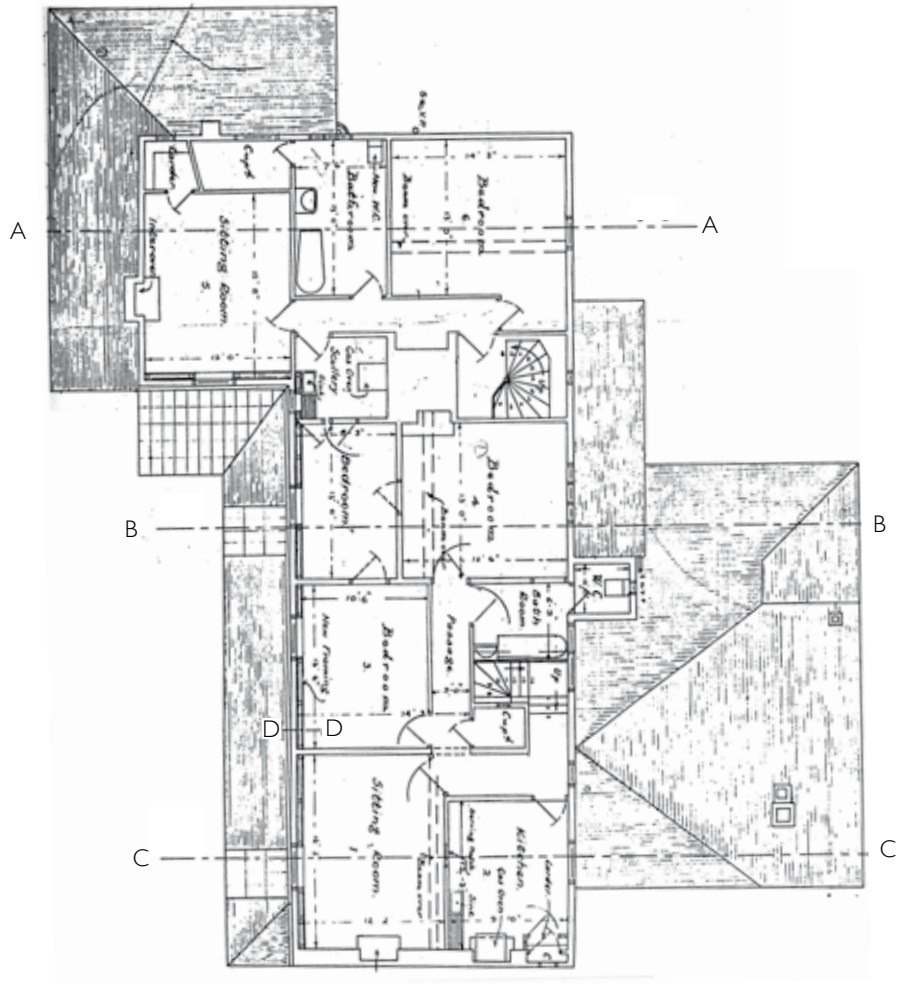
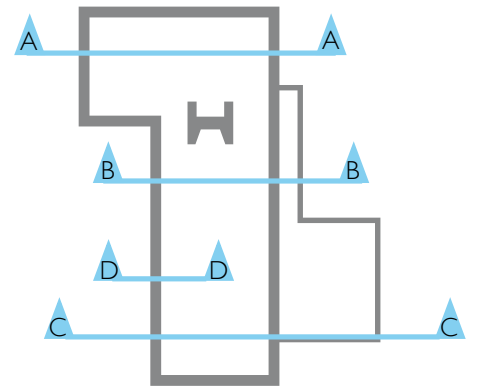
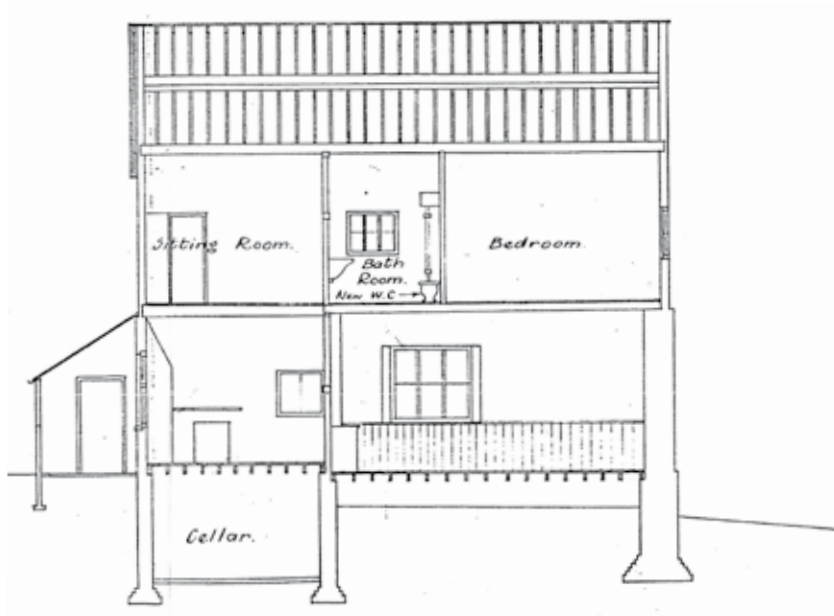


Fig. 90: 1933 first floor plan, by H.R. Metcalf, for the Ruislip Northwood Urban District Council (rescaled to 1:200 from 1:96). (© London Borough of Hillingdon).



LOCATION OF SECTIONS

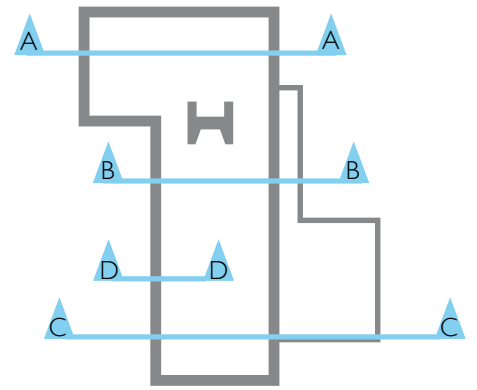


SECTION A-A

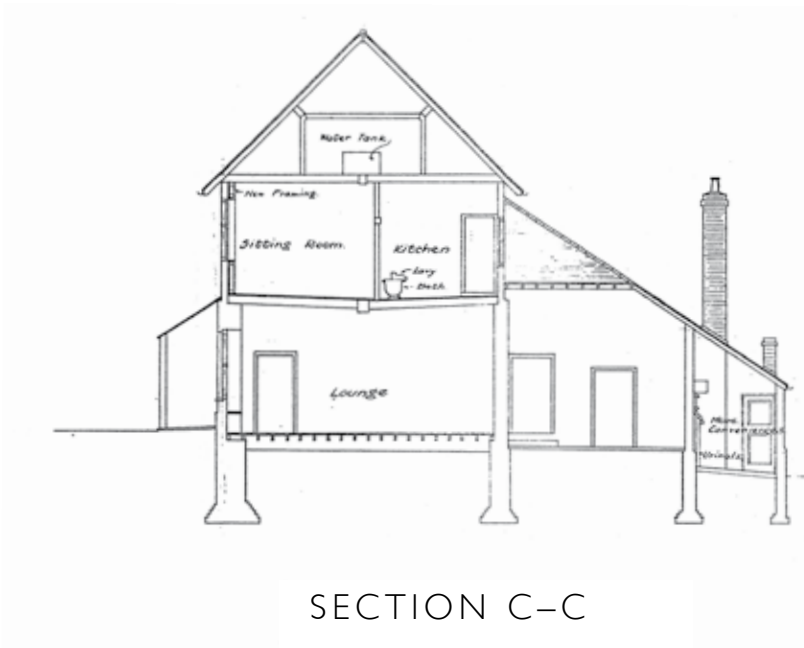


SECTION B-B

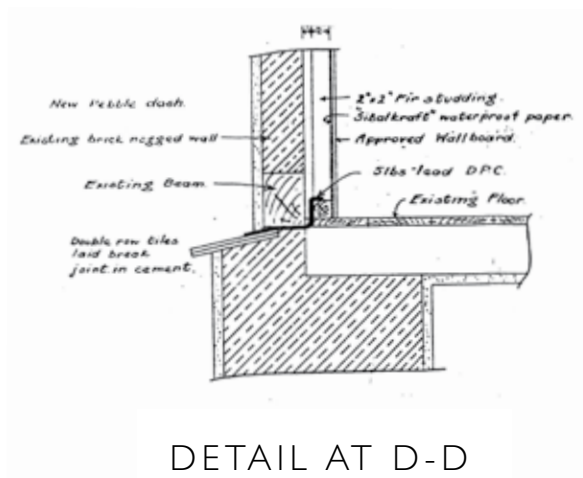
Fig. 91: 1933 Cross sections A-A and B-B, by H.R. Metcalfe for the Ruislip Northwood Urban District Council (rescaled to 1:75 from 1:96). (© London Borough of Hillingdon).



LOCATION OF SECTIONS



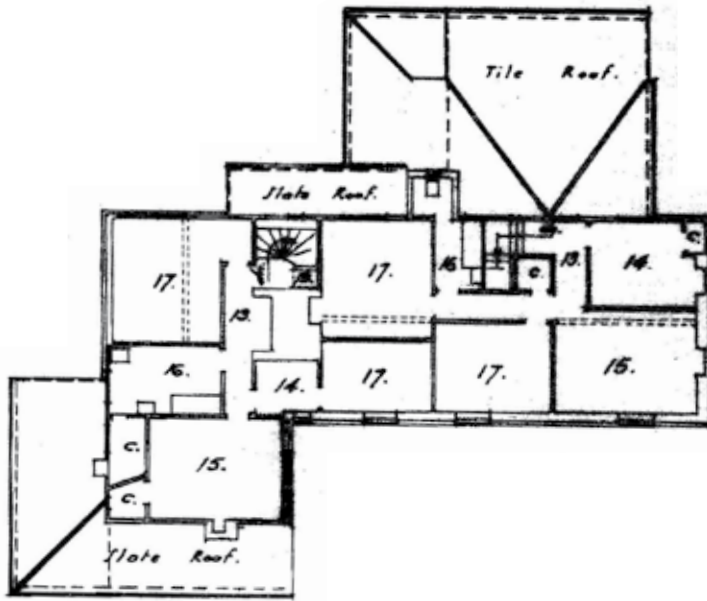
SECTION C-C



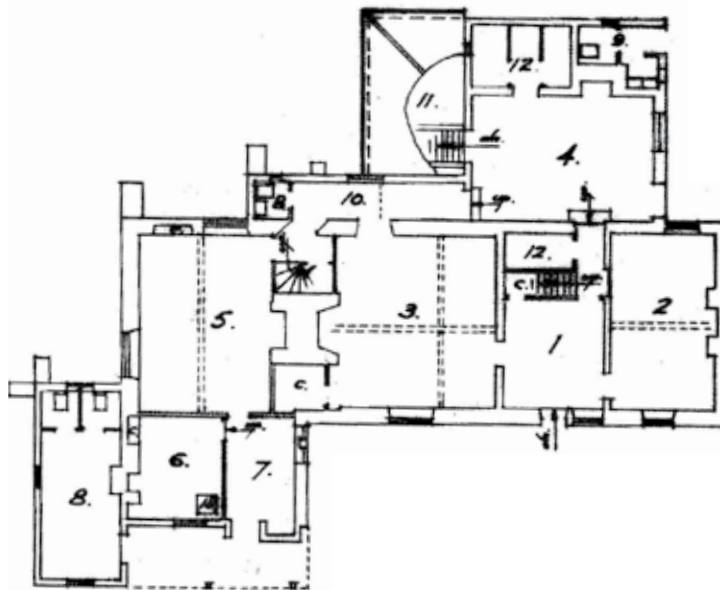
DETAIL AT D-D
(not to scale)

Fig. 92: 1933 Cross sections C-C and D-D, by H.R. Metcalfe for the Ruislip Northwood Urban District Council (rescaled to 1:75 from 1:96). (© London Borough of Hillingdon).

FIRST FLOOR



GROUND FLOOR



KEY

- 1. Hall
- 2. Old lounge
- 3. Old dining room
- 4. Kitchen
- 5. Old Kitchen
- 6. Old morning room
- 7. Old scullery
- 8. Ladies' WC
- 9. Gents' WC
- 10. Passage
- 11. Boiler House
- 12. Stores
- 13. Landing
- 14. Kitchen
- 15. Living Room
- 16. Bathroom
- 17. Bedroom
- 18. Cellar Access
- 19. Trap door to roof

Fig. 93: 'Plan as existing at March 1960' (Local History Room, Manor Farm Library, Hillingdon; © London Borough of Hillingdon).



ENGLISH HERITAGE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

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The Research Department provides English Heritage with this capacity in the fields of buildings history, archaeology, and landscape history. It brings together seven teams with complementary investigative and analytical skills to provide integrated research expertise across the range of the historic environment. These are:

- * Aerial Survey and Investigation*
- * Archaeological Projects (excavation)*
- * Archaeological Science*
- * Archaeological Survey and Investigation (landscape analysis)*
- * Architectural Investigation*
- * Imaging, Graphics and Survey (including measured and metric survey, and photography)*
- * Survey of London*

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