MANOR FARM, RUISLIP[1]

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SUMMARY

Manor Farm, Ruislip is an early 16th-century building which combined the twin functions of manorial court house and home farm of King's College, Cambridge. The building, of mixed timber-frame and brick construction, is a rare example of a sub-gentry, early modern building where both building accounts and fabric survive, enabling an insight into a building culture in transition. This paper sets out the circumstances and tenurial contexts under which Manor Farm was constructed in 1505–6.

INTRODUCTION

Manor Farm is today islanded in the suburban landscape of Ruislip, in the London Borough of Hillingdon (formerly within Middlesex). 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 (Fig 1).[2] The demesne later became part of the estate of King's College, Cambridge, who leased it to an absentee manorial tenant, who in turn subleased to a resident farmer. From the mid-15th century, the complex was thus a home farm, although manorial courts continued to be held at Ruislip. The rebuilding of Manor Farm in 1505–6 represented an improvement of the accommodation and replaced some (although not all) of the medieval priory buildings, which had fallen into disrepair.

The building of 1505–6, comprising a two-storeyed hall and cross-wing, is an early example of a fully-floored hall house with an integral brick stack (Figs 2–4). It is thus something of a 'missing link' in Middlesex between the medieval hall-house (comprising parlour, hall and service area) and post-medieval vernacular plan types. Also indicative of a transitional character is Manor Farm's mixed construction and lack of a continuous jetty: unusually, a close-studded upper storey is recessed from a brick ground floor. The house incorporated a number of prestigious features such as timber-framed, canted oriel windows and a garderobe, close-studding with patterned brick nogging, brick diaperwork,

Fig 1. Detail of estate map of 1750 by John Doharty (RUI/450) (By permission of the Provost and Scholars, King's College, Cambridge)

Fig 2. West elevation of Manor Farm in 2007 (DP040077; © English Heritage)

and heavily moulded ceiling beams to the principal rooms. The manorial court was held in the two-bay hall. The cross-wing at the 'high end' of the hall may have functioned as a suite for the use of the visiting provost or steward, with a large heated parlour in which to convene between court sessions and an 'en suite' parlour chamber above, complete with garderobe.

A sequence of building accounts relating to Manor Farm, recently located in the archives of King's College, provides rare detail about the construction of a surviving 16th-century building, the processing and transport of materials, and the wages and working conditions of the craftsmen.[3] The accounts reveal that Manor Farm was erected in 1505–6, over the space of two building seasons by a team that included both masons and carpenters. The decision to rebuild may relate to the incoming manorial lessee Robert Drury (d.1535) of Hawstead, Suffolk, previously speaker of the House of Commons. The dated documents correspond with a date range of 1506–11 established by a recent tree-ring survey.[4]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANOR FARM

Whilst the settlement and development of Ruislip has been set out in a number of accounts, from J J Roumieu's *History* of 1875, through Braun's *Earliest Ruislip* of 1937 to Eileen Bowlt's *The Goodliest Place in Middlesex* (1989), a brief summary is necessary here to set the documentary evidence in context. After Edmonton, Ruislip was the largest medieval parish in Middlesex, comprising an area of some 6,350 acres encompassing the modern areas of Ruislip, Northwood, Eastcote, Ruislip Manor and South Ruislip.[5] The growth of medieval Ruislip can be attributed to a number of factors: its size, proximity

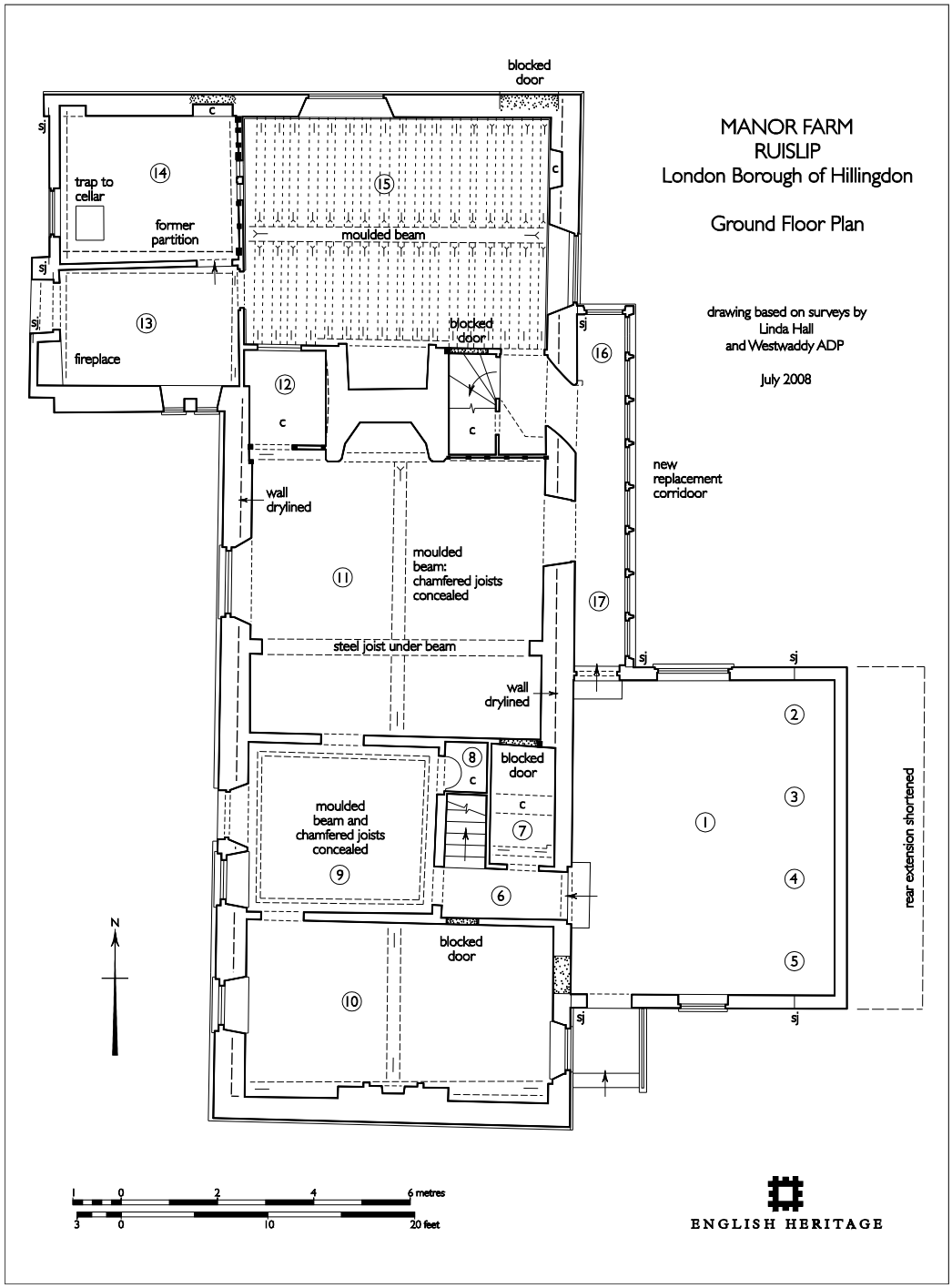

Fig 3. Ground floor plan (Drawing by Andrew Donald based on surveys by Linda Hall and Westwaddy ADP; © English Heritage)

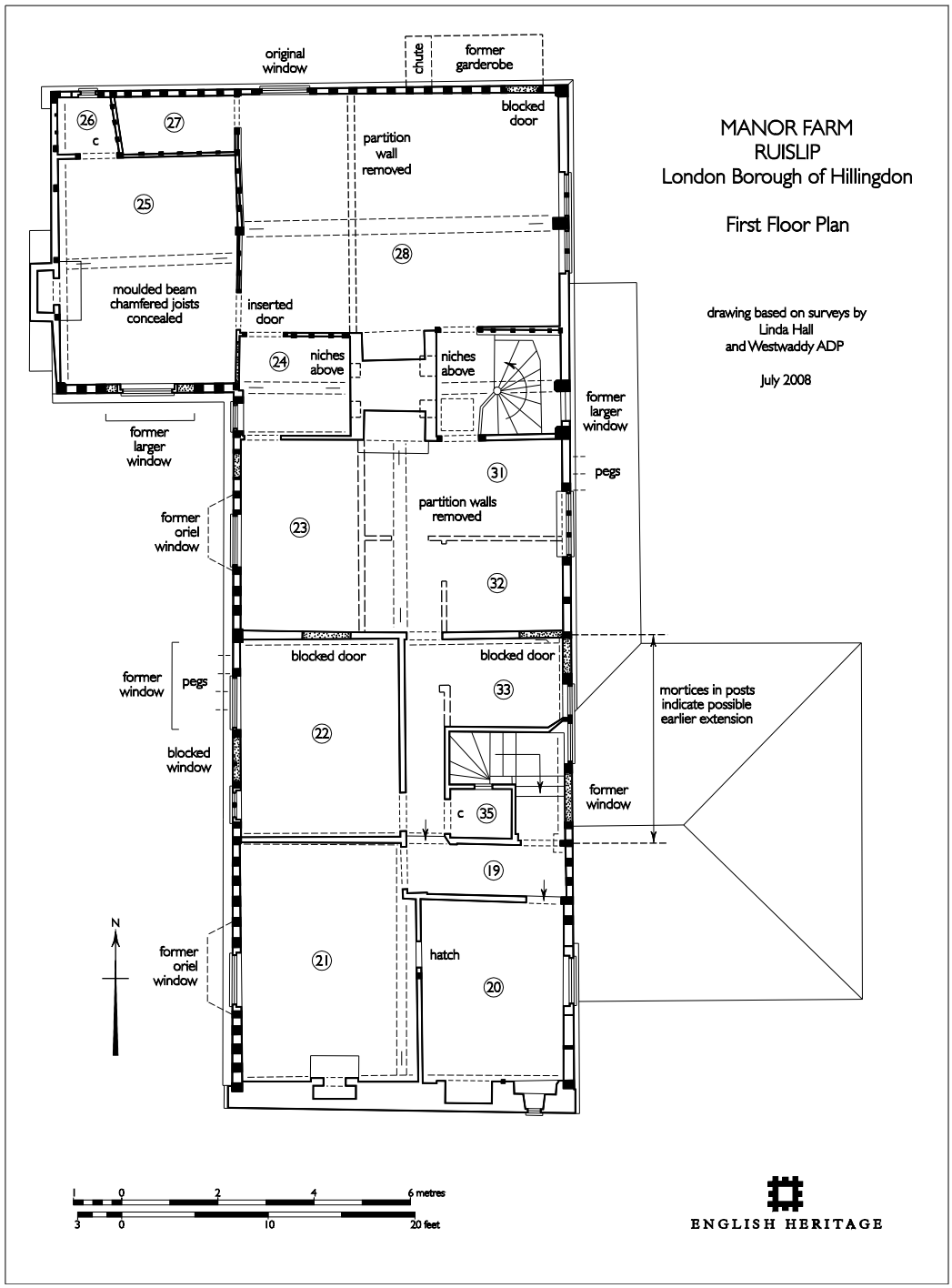

Fig 4. First floor plan (Drawing by Andrew Donald based on surveys by Linda Hall and Westwaddy ADP; © English Heritage)

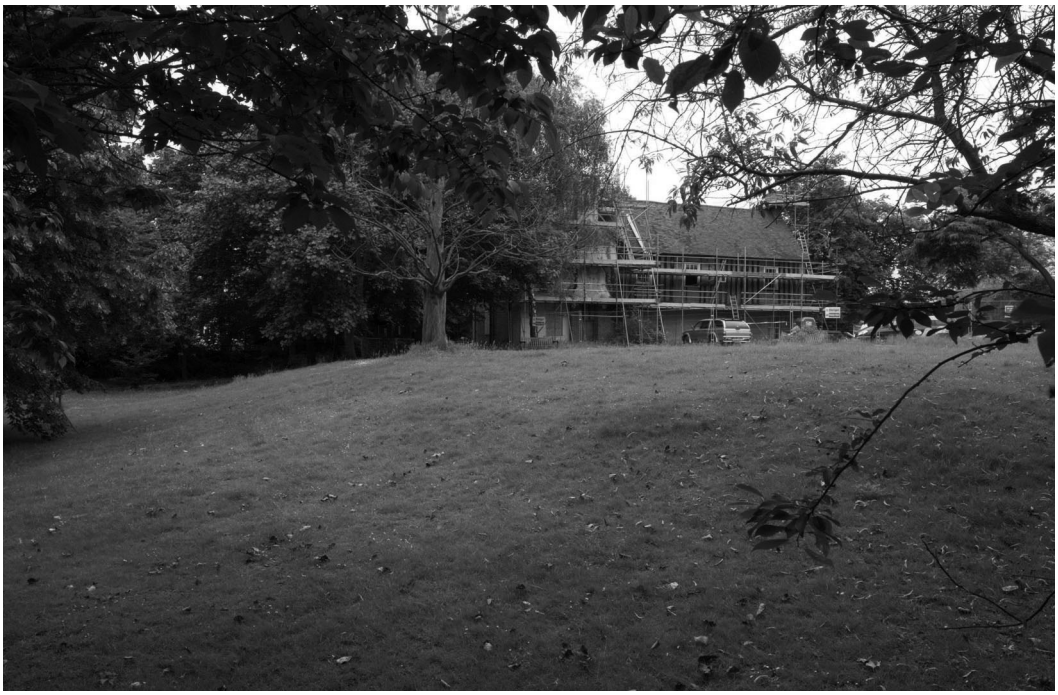

Fig 5. The ditch circuit to the north-west of Manor Farm, infilled in 1888, but still visible (Photograph by Derek Kendall; DP042389; © English Heritage)

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.

Prior to the Conquest the entire manor belonged to a thane of Edward the Confessor, Wlward Wit, who held land in 11 counties.[6] 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. To the north was a wooded common, 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. In 1086 Ruislip manor was 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.

Manor Farm is located within the bailey of a motte and bailey complex of early Norman date, on ground sloping down to the former ditch circuit (see Fig 5). 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. It probably had a small wooden castle. The motte and bailey represented 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 Mymmes.[8]

Shortly after the making of Domesday book, Hesding granted Ruislip to the Benedictine abbey of Bec Hellouin in Normandy.[9] 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 1434 inventory.[10] The manor was farmed by the Priory, although the demesne was occasionally leased in the 13th century.[11] By 1250 the demesne had been divided into three parts, managed from the manor house at Ruislip and from granges

at Northwood and Bourne in the open fields to the south.[12]

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,[13] the principal evidence for this being 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.[14] The annual centralised audit was held at Ruislip, where a counting house and counting board were recorded in 1435. The Priory also constituted the venue for Ruislip's manorial courts.

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.[15] In 1324 the customary tenants included four men employed in carrying goods between Ruislip and London.[16] 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. In the 16th century, wood and timber were carted from Ruislip Wood to Brentford wharf, from whence it was transported downriver to London.[17] It is likely that this was a long-established route. Brick and tile manufacture was also a significant element of the economy of Ruislip (see p 263, below).

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.[18] 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.[19]

The temporary sequestration of Bec's lands in England in 1211, 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 was partially unroofed during this period of neglect.[20]

The discovery, during the present works, of a fragment of 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.[21] 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, although knowledge of 'French Friars' remained in the oral lore of Ruislip and Cambridge for many generations.[22] 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. An inventory of that year, entitled 'List of deadstock remaining in the Manor', suggests that the house remained partially furnished but disused. By this time, the majority of the villagers were paying money rents rather than rendering labour services.[23]

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.[24] 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.[25]

From the beginning, King's College farmed out the demesne, the woods and other land and holdings, sometimes together and some-

times separately.[26] The first lease occurs in 1452, to Nicolas Sharp esquire.[27] 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.[28] 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: Robert Drury, the manorial lessee from 1505 to 1529 was resident at Hawstead, Suffolk.[29] 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, excessive admission fines and other abuses of manorial custom.[30] Further disputes resulted after King's College leased profits of court to Robert Christmas of Lavenham, Suffolk, in 1566.[31]

This system of tenure, whilst disadvantageous to villagers, seems to have been beneficial to the upkeep of the manorial buildings. The College invested in construction, rebuilding and repairs as they became necessary. A significant building campaign of 1505–6, which included the rebuilding of Manor Farm, probably relates 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 the 'mansion house' and the right to dig marl) and the woods were granted to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury in 1602.[32] In 1608, Cecil cleared 568 acres of the Common Wood (probably for the construction of Hatfield House) and enclosed and coppiced the remaining portion.[33] In 1669, the lease passed from the Cecil family to Ralph Hawtrey JP (1626–1725) of Eastcote House. 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.[34]

The demesne was farmed by the Hawtreys and their descendants, the Rogers and Deane families, until King's College took direct control of the manor in 1872.[35] Thereafter the farm was leased directly from King's College to the demesne farmers; the last tenants were the Ewer family, who resided at Manor Farm from 1886 until 1932.[36]

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, a process that accelerated in 1904 with the opening of Ruislip Station, on the Metropolitan Railway's Harrow–Uxbridge extension.[37] Manor Farm came under threat in 1914 with the approval by the Local Government Board of a municipal plan the implementation of which would have entailed the clearance of the entire site (Fig 6).[38]

The plan stalled due to the outbreak of war and post-1918 economic conditions, but instead the site became islanded by piecemeal 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 renewed threat.[39] This prompted a campaign by the Ruislip Association, who consulted the Royal Society of Arts and petitioned King's College for its preservation.[40] 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.[41] The buildings were then restored by Ruislip-Northwood Urban District Council (RNUDC) for community use.[42] The building was again refurbished in 2007–8, when the London Borough of Hillingdon converted it to an interpretation centre.

MANOR FARM *c.*1500

Immediately prior to the construction of Manor Farm House in 1505–6, the site comprised a group of moated medieval domestic buildings, with outbuildings to the south-west. The residence of the Prior of Ruislip was probably located on the flat ground of

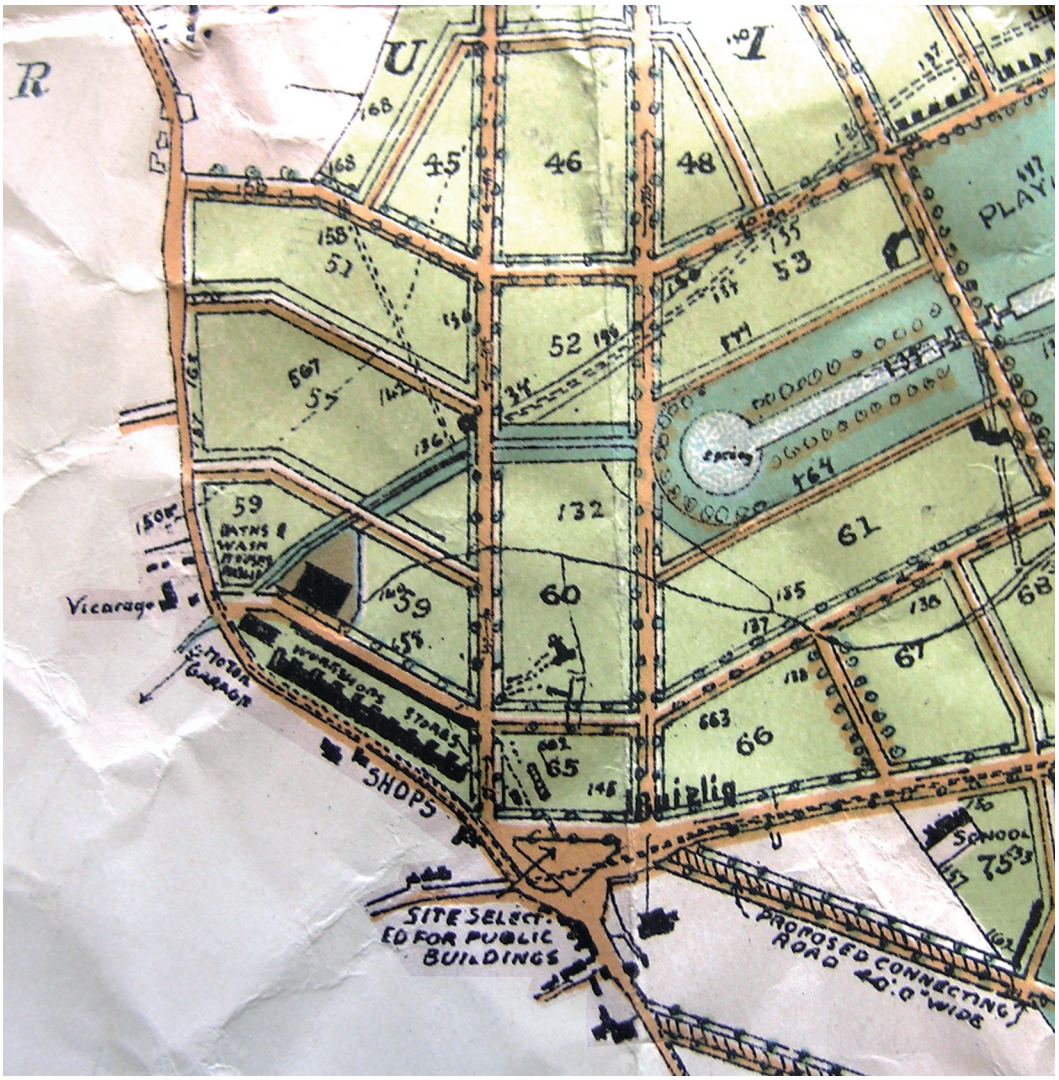

Fig 6. Detail of A and J Soutar's successful entry in the Ruislip Town Planning competition, c.1911, showing the removal of Manor Farm and its site (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; reproduced by kind permission of Woodbridge & Sons, Uxbridge)

the bailey. This would explain the awkward location of Manor Farm on a site near to the bailey ditch.[43] An early 20th-century map, however, depicts an east–west-aligned foundation wall adjoining the moat ditch and some 12m (40ft) north of, and aligned with Manor Farm.

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. The chapel was extant by 1272, when Edmund, 2nd Earl of Cornwall, married Margaret de Clare.[44] A second, more extensive, valuation of 1324 mentions further buildings: a guest house (*hostellum*), stables and three barns: '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'.[45] A 1435 inventory lists a kitchen, two sculleries, *aula*, chamber, counting house, bake house,

prior's chamber, lord's chamber, forester's chamber, brew house and chapel.[46]

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.[47] 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'.[48] The roofing material of the principal buildings was probably locally produced tile; in 1394 a tiler and his servant were hired for seven days at the cost of 2s 4d.[49] 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.[50] As late as 1500–1, 18 days were spent on repairing the 'gabilend of the hall'.[51]

Outbuildings

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 barn (probably aligned north–south), south barn,[52] coalhouse, woodhouse[53] and dovecote.[54] The documentary evidence suggests that minor repairs to and maintenance of the outbuildings during this period were opportunistic in character, allowing a largely itinerant workforce to be kept on during occasional stoppages in the construction of the house and other major works.

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. The reference is 'Item payd to ye carpynter for makyng ye sowth barne 10s'. The south barn was already in existence at this time, but given the quantity of timber that appears to have been used, it may have been rebuilt. A smith provided 'two hanges [hinges] two stapelys and one haspe' for a door. These references may correspond to the small barn converted to a library in 1937, which was dated to *c.*1600 by Cecil Hewett on the basis of carpentry techniques.[55]

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 1293 and 1328.[56] Two episodes of 18th-century repairs to the Great Barn may be noted. In 1707/8 the barns were refloored and 'raising pieces and groundpinning [inserted] in ye further barn where it is wanting'.[57] Elizabeth Rogers funded further repairs to the barn floor in 1787.[58]

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. Undated, early 16th-century accounts refer to substantial works carried out on the College stable, taking a carpenter 26 working days and using 800 'plankes studdes plates and other byldyng tymber', comprising seven loads. The same accounts record the purchase of a 'dogge of iron', implying that the grooms' chamber was heated.[59] During the summer of 1506, a carpenter was paid 3s 'six dayes werke yn grouncelyng of the grete stabull and makyng of the manger', and a tyler 4s 8d 'tylar for seven dayes tylyng on the sayd stabill'.[60] Further alterations undertaken in 1513 included 'fenyshyng of the chamber in the stabill in the coryt that is to say pynyng lathyng dawbyng and counterdawbyng and parfillyng and a litill wyndow to the same'.[61] In 1541 the carpenter Thomas Mellyngton was paid for 'takyng done the stable howse ende and settyng up agayn'.[62]

A terrier undertaken on behalf of King's College in 1565 stated that 'the Demesne Farmer holds the Mansion House of the Manor of Ruislip with barns, stables, dovecots, gardens, orchards, with the courtyard and one close called the Ortyearde'.[63] 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. It was repaired in 1513, referred to as a 'pigeon house' *c.*1727, and survived to be depicted in John Doharty's 1750 survey (Fig 1).[64]

The King's College accounts suggest that the bailey ditch was intact and water-filled in the late medieval period, when it was regularly dredged. Leases from the 16th century specify that it was the tenants' responsibility to 'clean out a certain ditch called "le mote"' and £5 was spent 'making clene the grete dyke with 90 rodde' in 1506/7, this being a length equivalent to 452m (495 yards).[65] Access to the former prior's residence was via a 'drawbryg' across the moat, which seems to have been an elaborate structure including a porch.[66] This was probably on the site of the present gates to Manor Farm House and the same building as the 'gateway through which one enters into the main house', mentioned in the 1324 extent. A 'new Byrge at ye corte' was constructed in 1546/7 by a carpenter named John Barenger. The gate of the bridge was substantial and topped with 14 'rege tyle', implying a drawbridge or similarly substantial structure.[67]

THE BUILDING OF MANOR FARM HOUSE

Manor Farm was built in 1505–6, over the space of two building seasons generally lasting from Easter to Michaelmas (although the preparation of building materials occurred outside this period). The new building adjoined the medieval priory buildings, part of which were retained and repaired (including the old hall and a tower), others (such as the chapel) demolished.[68] The high price of materials and wages in the opening years of the 16th century may have provided an incentive to re-use extant buildings in the course of rebuilding.[69] It is possible that the retained medieval buildings served a new function as a service range, or farmer's accommodation.

Building started in June 1505, when 53 oaks were felled and stripped of bark in advance of framing.[70] Later in June, 46 loads of timber, plus additional 'scafold tymber', were carted 'owt of the wode'. Labourers spent two days 'lettying owte the watter of the mote', presumably to lower the water table and avoid flooding during the excavation of the foundations.[71] Masonry buildings, including the chapel of the Benedictine priory were dismantled, presumably to accommodate Manor Farm, which was intended to adjoin the retained portion of the priory buildings. Four workmen were employed in 'havyng owte the old mortar and stone owte of the old chapell'. Demolition continued for two weeks, as Thomas Foxsentt was paid 7s 2d for 'takying down the old wall on the northe side of the chapell and the rydding of the old stuffe' on 21 July.

Excavation of the foundation commenced at the same time. From 12 June 1505, teams of labourers and masons spent around a month excavating and constructing the foundations, for which purpose two wheelbarrows were purchased. A carter spent four days bringing in sand for the mortar-rich foundation and 'carrying away of the erthe from the ffundation'. In early September a labourer spent six days 'makyng the fundacion of two seges and for slaking of five lode lyme and makyg it yn morter'. The former reference describes a single cesspit for two latrines; it probably relates to a detached privy rather than the garderobe for which architectural evidence remains.[72] A privy is depicted on an early 20th-century plan in a position north-east of Manor Farm, perhaps discharging into the moat.

Construction of the ground floor walls probably began on 13 September 1505, when the presence of a team comprising a master mason, two masons and two labourers is first recorded. 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. A load of 2,000 bricks had been acquired 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 of 22½d on 9 October to 'a man for four dayes and an halfe yn thakkyng and covering the walles at 5d the day'.[73] This refers to the practice of covering the unfinished wall with thatch, furze, or similar material as protection against frost.[74]

20 loads of timber were felled in November, and transported to the site, along with 4,000 bricks.[75]

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 fourpenny nails. John Wever, probably the master carpenter, was paid 3s 5d to make four ladders, presumably necessary because the frame was reared on a brick wall. Two carpenters and their mates seem to have been employed for approximately four weeks at Easter 1506, perhaps in timber conversion, for which a total of 36s 5½d was paid. 49 oaks were felled in May, although these may have been used in building work carried out on the outbuildings that summer. 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. Other documents confirm that two to three carpenters were on site at the same time, perhaps working in an adjacent framing yard. Because they were either waged or fulfilling a contract they were documented in a separate series of accounts, considered below. Generally two or three bricklayers and one or two tilers (each usually accompanied by a mate) were simultaneously employed at any one time, although the first week of this period saw four masons and five labourers.

From July a 'clayman' and his mate were employed on site, and from 16 August a second was taken on. Although a clayman usually describes a brickmaker, it could also be interpreted as a term for a dauber, 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.[76]

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. 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': that is, applying mortar to the lowest courses of tile to provide additional protection against water ingress.[77] 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.

Other documents confirm that two to three carpenters were on site at the same time, perhaps working on internal joinery. At Michaelmas 1506 a series of large sums was paid, presumably representing a mixture of wages and large contracts.[78] '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 mentioned.

A second document, dated 22 June 1507, records the wages for Wever for the previous year's building season. Wever was paid at 4d per day, his two mates at 2d each and the accommodation of the group at 14d per week per man.[79] The reason for this apparent duplication of payments to Wever is unclear, as both documents can be dated with reasonable confidence. The payment, which totalled £14 18s 6d, was divided into four parcels: from Easter to the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September); from Hallowmas (1 November) to the feast of St Andrew (30 November); from 1 December to the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December); and from 9 December to Christmas day. Wever received a final payment of £6 19s 4d for 'fynishing of the howses cregges dores wyndows and thend of the hows'. The final 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.[80]

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 were 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 the high daily rate of 8d and his assistant 4d, it still represents over five weeks' work. A mason was paid 12s around the same

time for 'amendyyng of the towre wyndowe and of the halle walle'; this probably relates to retained priory buildings, as 'the towre and the old hall' are mentioned in earlier accounts.[81]

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. The carpenter Richard Marten was employed for two weeks, probably nailing laths to the rafters. He was joined by two tilers for a single week. 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. Included amongst payments for 2,800 bricks, 2,000 tiles, 30 'regge tyle', lime, and seven oaks (probably for floorboards and laths) is 25s 8d for 'nale planchon [plank] nale dore nale & wyndowe nale', 40s to John A Deen the smith 'for hynge stapes smetchis lachis and pce of nale' and a further 26s 8d to Deene for 'henge hooke and barres'. 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.

THE HOUSE OF 1505–6

Manor Farm was built as a fully-storeyed hall heated by an integral stack, representing a transitional stage between the medieval open-hall house and post-medieval plans. 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.

The original entry was into the southern or low end of the hall, probably via a screens passage. The principal staircase was formerly to the west of the principal stack. Separate access for servants would be expected in a house of this size, status and date. A second stair would also have been necessary for the tenant when the court was in session and during the periods when court officials were accommodated. No evidence for an original back stair has been observed, 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.[82]

The building accounts of 1506 list a hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery and entry.[83] 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.[84] 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 the north-western room, 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 extramural stack.[85] 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.[86] There is no evidence that the 1505–6 building extended further to the south or east.[87] One possibility is a detached kitchen, sited near to the house, perhaps at the southern or lower end. Detached kitchens were not uncommon in south-east England between 1450 and 1550.[88] Alternatively, the priory kitchen may have been kept or some other part of the retained buildings converted for such a use.

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 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.[89] 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.

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, probably for the periodical use of the steward (see p 271). The presence of an original oriel lighting the south chamber is consistent with an undivided and important space. 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. It may have functioned as the tenant's bedroom.

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 (Fig 2). The principal west elevation had two canted oriel windows flanking a central window, indicating a preference for symmetry over purely functional considerations. Unusually for a fully-floored early 16th-century house of this size and status, Manor Farm lacked a jetty.[90]

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 all the upper floor which survives from the 1505–6 phase is close studded, 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.

The outer bays of the principal (west) elevation of the hall range contained projecting oriel windows, central to the rooms they lit (Fig 7). The presence of oriel windows

Fig 7. 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)

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 and lit by a smaller window. 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, a shallow horizontal groove is cut into both studs and brickwork. This housed a rail which formed the base of the oriel. Above this, five upright brackets, tenoned into the studs, supported the projecting sill. 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.[91] 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.[92]

At the east end of the north elevation was a projecting garderobe, accessed from the parlour chamber via a narrow doorway (Fig 4). Its position and construction is indicated by a row of mortises and peg holes (into which ceiling beams were tenoned and pegged) and a secondary sill beam set above the main sill beam, on which sits the sawn-off ends of six cantilevered joists. The infill within the former garderobe interior is plain, horizontally-set bricks, as decorative nogging was not required where it would not be seen. The sawn-off joists extend as far as the fifth stud, while the plain infill continues to the seventh stud, marking the position of the garderobe seat and shaft.[93] Where evidence for garderobes is encountered in manor farmhouses, it is often as part of a lodging suite for visiting officials or dignitaries.[94]

BUILDING AT RUISLIP

Craftsmen

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, with payday usually falling on a Saturday. Discrepancies between dates of commencement/termination and durations of work suggest the observance of key religious festivals as holidays, again normal 16th-century practice.[95]

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 were drawn from the local workforce. A workman digging the foundations of Manor Farm House was 'to his owne borde', suggesting he lived nearby.[96] Two carpenters working at Manor Farm in the second quarter of the 16th century, Henry Cogge and John Barenger may also have been from Ruislip parish.[97] The brickmaker, William Amery was local also.[98] 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. Dyer suggests that by 1524, 40% of households lived predominantly on wages.[99]

Materials: brick and tile

The presence of reused Roman brick in St Martin's church is a possible indicator of early exploitation of its clay fields.[100] The earliest documentary reference to tile manufacture in Ruislip records a 1324 payment to a tile counter.[101] Ruislip therefore represents an early centre for brick and tile manufacture in England: most ceramic building materials were imported from the Low Countries at this time.[102] Exchequer accounts of 1366 record that 3,000 flat tiles were purchased from Simon Molder of Ruislip at 3s per thousand, and there is record of a tilehouse or kiln in Ruislip Common in 1387.[103] There is corresponding archaeological evidence for 14th-century tile manufacture in Ruislip.[104]

By the late 16th century a comparatively high proportion of the villagers may have been occupied in brick and tile manufacture. Customary rents in 1565 and 1593 included payments of tiles and bricks. Many of the

tile kilns were located in the neighbouring St Catherine's manor, to the north-west of Ruislip village, where three tenants keeping tile kilns in 1587 had to pay the lord 1,000 tiles annually in consideration of the right to dig brickearth on the common. Seven Ruislip tilemakers were presented at sessions in 1572 for infringing a 15th-century statute governing the preparation of earth for tile making. On Rocque's map of 1754 a brick kiln is marked adjoining the modern Tile Kiln Lane.

Brickearth was dug from nearby clay pits late in the year, where it was usually spread out in fields to be broken up by frost and moisture.[105] Bricks were moulded by hand in wooden moulds, and fired for two or three weeks in a clamp kiln containing anything from 30,000 to 150,000 bricks. Firing bricks in a clamp kiln caused variations in colour, with bricks at the bottom and windward sides frequently over-burnt. Rather than being discarded, these dark blue or grey vitrified bricks were sometimes used, as at Manor Farm, to generate decorative patterns such as diaperwork.

Given the strength of Ruislip's brick and tile making industry, it is perhaps not surprising that bricks were purchased from local brickmakers rather than being manufactured on site. The majority of bricks used to build Manor Farm were supplied by William Amery. The 1505 building accounts of Manor Farm mention in passing a 'brykkyll yn the wode'. In 1516 three brick kilns and a tile kiln were sold, raising the substantial sum of 11s 8d. The accounts are headed 'sale of brikke', suggesting that, having outlived their usefulness, the kilns were demolished and the 'reclamyd' bricks sold as seconds. The clamp kilns commonly in use at this period were temporary affairs of unfired bricks, usually rebuilt at the start of each building season.[106] The majority of the buildings and outbuildings were tiled. The Ruislip tilers also produced 'rofe tyle and hyp tyle' (at ½d each) and 'pavyng tylis' (the latter used to line an oven).[107] 'Tyle sherdes' were also purchased as make-up for ground surfaces or walling infill.[108]

In the early 16th century brick was a prestigious material, perhaps associated with the royal palaces at Richmond (after 1497) and Greenwich (*c.*1500–6) 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'.[109] Early examples include Wickham Court, West Wickham, London Borough of Bromley (after 1469), Bruce Castle (early 16th century) and Sutton House (1534–5), the latter two built by officials of the Royal Court.[110]

Manor Farm features two decorative brickwork techniques common in the early 16th century: diaperwork and brick nogging. Diaperwork is a decorative pattern achieved by incorporating vitrified brick headers into the bond. This technique was certainly prestigious, and may have held institutional or Court associations: diaperwork was employed at Chenies Manor House, Bucks (*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.[111] Brick nogging is the infill between studding in a timber-framed building, laid in Ruislip in a variety of decorative patterns such as chevron and herringbone. Early examples of decorative brick nogging include Ewelme almshouse, Oxford (*c.*1437–42), Hertford Castle gateway, Herts (1462–3), and Ockwells Manor, Berks, which was nearing completion by 1465.[112]

Materials: timber

Ruislip estate accounts give a clear picture of timber processing and conversion in the early 16th century. Timber was felled, preferably in mid-winter when sap levels were low, and stripped of bark ('barkyng'), both jobs being paid by the load.[113] The timber was hewn, presumably with a broadaxe or adze,[114] and transported to a 'sawe pytt'[115] within the woods, then a fairly recent invention.[116] There is a single reference in 1507 to 'for steweng of 2,200 borde', which may describe water seasoning, or the practice of immersing timber in water to remove tannin and sap.[117] The scantling timber was then transported 'from the wode unto the courtplace', which probably functioned as a framing yard.[118] In 1513, 3s 6d was spent on 'the carage of the seid tymber to sawyng and frame the sawyng in to the coryt'.[119] A single felled tree seems

to have generated five cartloads, and carters were paid by the load, rather than by the day.[120]

Timber of lesser scantling, such as larger branches was used as scaffold and lath timber.[121] A scaffold comprising 'polles, fetken and layles' was constructed *c.*1547.[122] In 1505, 9d was paid for 'one hundred and an halfe six penynales one for every bord to make scafolds with all'.[123] Other timber products include laths[124] and 'tyles pynnyes' (oak tile pegs, bought by the bushell).[125] For smaller jobs, the carpenter was sometimes called upon to fell and convert the timber himself. In 1547, John Barenger built a 'new Byrge at ye corte'. He was paid 53s 4d 'to hew saw frame to set yt up exceyte the gate of yt'.[126] Carpenters also supplied fittings and furniture, including four ladders,[127] a rack and barrel,[128] a manger[129] and 12 benches.[130]

Ruislip timber was used in major royal building campaigns, such as 14th-century extensions at the Tower of London, Windsor Castle (1344), Westminster Palace (1346–7) and Hampton Court (*c.*1540).[131] Timber was still in plentiful supply in 1500, as demonstrated by its conspicuous consumption at Manor Farm. Some depletion may have occurred in 1538 as a result of over-felling by royal purveyors requisitioning timber for fencing St James's Park.[132] This is consistent with the thin scantling and wide spacing of the studs in Harker's House, on the edge of St Martin's churchyard, of *c.*1570. Additional woodland was grubbed up during the 17th century, notably much of the Common Wood was cleared in 1608. By 1692, Ralph Hawtrey wrote to the provost that 'there being soe little timber groeing on the manner, which if cutt down every yeare, there would have been by this tyme butt very little tymber left'.[133] Nevertheless a quantity of good quality oak was procured in the first half of the 18th century for the panelling installed in the entrance hall.

Other materials

A variety of nails were purchased from the local smith for early 16th-century building at Ruislip. The smithy is thought to have been located north of the junction between the High Street, Bury Street and Eastcote Road.[134] Nails are usually described according to their function: 'lath nale planchon nale dore nale […] wyndowe nale' and 'rofe nayle'.[135] The size of a nail is sometimes indicated by its price per hundred: fourpenny, fivepenny, sixpenny nails were all used at Manor Farm.[136] Door and window furniture purchased from the smith included hinges, hooks, locks and keys, bolts, hasps, staples and latches.[137] Other ironwork includes a firedog and an 'iron hope for the oven' (perhaps a metal frame for the opening).[138]

Sand and gravel were dug and transported from local pits, a local labourer being paid by the load for the 'castyng and carrydge'.[139] The sand pits were probably located in the area around 'Marlpit fields', to the south-east of Ruislip village; an old sand pit was discovered during works near to Ruislip Manor underground station.[140] Lime was bought by the quarter or bushell and presumably used both for mortar and plaster: there is no evidence that it was graded.[141] Expenses for repairs to the College stables in 1608 included 'six bs [bushells] of hare to pargett withall'. In 1505 a labourer was paid for 'for slaking of five lode lyme and makyg it yn morter'. Mortar is elsewhere described as 'bonde'.[142]

Clay was also supplied by the load, and it is suggested that, given that bricks and tiles were purchased rather than manufactured on site, this was used in the composition of daub.[143] Similarly, it is suggested that the mention of 'claymen' near the end of the Manor Farm building accounts relates to daubers; in 1513 the 'dawbyng and counterdawbyng' of the stable is mentioned.[144]

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 'reparcions' to the house.[145] 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 'makyng of the benchis in the same hall the 12 of'. The 'bolttyng howse' probably refers to a service room for the preparation of flour and bread.

It is likely that the benches were for the use of the jury during the manorial courts.

The following year, a payment of 8s 4d was made to 'Hary Acogges' and his mate for ten days' work on the 'makying of the oven', for which 500 bricks, 500 tiles, paving tiles, lathes, lime and sand totalling 4s 9d were supplied.[146] 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. An allowance of *c.*1537 for, *inter alia*, 'the making of an oven', records nine days' work by 'William Preast and his servant […]uppon the oven and mending the harth in the court', for which he received 8s 8d. Richard Robyns contributed an 'iron hope for the oven'.[147] Lastly, accounts of *c.*1547 document the building of 'a new chimney and a new oven' as part of repairs. No further details are given, and it possible that this reference represents the tenant's attempts to bill the College for earlier work carried out at his own expense.

In *c.*1547 part of Manor Farm collapsed into the moat, necessitating rebuilding. James Webe and Roger Chamber were paid 4s for 'fettheken owt gret stones and brecks that fell in to ye moyte'. The relevant building account is headed 'alowance 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, although the reference to masonry implies that ruinous priory buildings collapsed, or later structures reusing robbed medieval masonry. The accounts suggest that an opportunity was taken to carry out additional alterations at the same time as emergency repairs. 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.

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 spatious and owlde requiringe much fier to be kept therem'. 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.[148] In May 1613 the Provost gave William Smythe the bailiff permission 'for the taking down the old ruinated friars hall in our house at Ruislip', on condition of the assent of the absentee manorial tenant the Earl of Salisbury.[149]

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 (Figs 8–9). The motives

Fig 8. Wallpaper fragments of c.1700 discovered in 2007 behind panelling of the south wall of the entrance hall (Photograph by Derek Kendall; DP048800; © English Heritage)

Fig 9. Fielded panelling of entrance hall (Photograph by Derek Kendall; DP042329; © English Heritage)

Fig 10. Sketch of principal stair, dated 1930 (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © Records of the Ewer family)

for the late 16th- or early 17th-century rebuilding of the principal stair (Fig 10), and hence altering the access between hall range and cross-wing, are less clear, but may relate to changes in the way the manorial court was held.[150]

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.[151]

The insertion of the present back stairs and the erection of a large kitchen extension

Fig 11. The earliest located photograph of Manor Farm, c.1886 (Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museums Service; © Records of the Ewer family)

in the early 19th century, however, relate to Manor Farm as a working farmhouse (Fig 11). 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 to a kitchen, and the erection of a veranda 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 gives a picture of Manor Farm as an early 19th-century home farm.

CONTEXTS

Study of the building accounts in conjunction with the fabric of Manor Farm has given an insight into the chronology and the technology of the construction of Manor Farm — the *when* and *how*, so to speak — and an understanding of why subsequent modifications became necessary. But to answer the question of *why* Manor Farm was built, it is first necessary to examine aspects of its tenurial context and its function as a manor court; both predicated by King's College, Cambridge.

From 1441, when King's College 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.[152] 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.[153] 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'.[154] 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.[155] Ralph Hawtrey was granted the lease in 1669, several generations of his family having served the College as bailiffs.[156]

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'.[157] Robert Cecil was a Chancellor of Cambridge University when he gained the Ruislip lease in 1602.[158] 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.

By at least 1505, the manorial lessee was sub-leasing Manor Farm to resident farmers.[159] 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 under-tenant Robert Hughes wrote to the provost Roger Goade in 1596 requesting firewood and timber, the latter in compensation for repairs already carried out.[160] Light is shed on the three-way tenurial 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'.[161]

Leases

The manorial leases were generally short, usually varying from seven, to fourteen and twenty-one 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.[162] The leases set out the extent of the manor and the rights 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, ploughbote and firebote (*ie* the right to take timber with which to repair hedges, buildings and ploughs, as well as firewood).[163] 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 the 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.[164] During the late 16th century, the College provided a housekeeper, although the tenant had to pay their wages.[165]

Building

Landholders generally found they could maximise their rent by maintaining their buildings in good repair, and occasionally financing their rebuilding.[166] At Overton, Hants 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.[167] Similarly, Magdalen College, Oxford rebuilt King's Somborne Manor, Hants 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

Fig 12. Tomb of Robert Drury (d.1535) in St Mary's Church, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk (© Geraint Franklin)

(d.1535) of Hawstead, Suffolk (Fig 12); the rebuilding of Manor Farm started that June.[168] 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.[169]

The final section of the building accounts is written and signed by Drury, suggesting that he directly supervised the rebuilding of Manor Farm.[170] 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 £7,000. Work on the chapel does not appear to have recommenced in earnest until the spring of 1508; this raises the possibility that some of these funds were expended on the College's estate at Ruislip.[171]

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 1452 lease obliged him to 'repair and sustain both the daubing and the roofing at his own expenses'; 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 repairations 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.[172]

Manor Farm as manorial court

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 former role took the form of a manorial court.

It is likely that manorial courts were already being held when Ruislip was granted to the Abbey of Bec in the mid-12th century.[173] The ecclesiastical court for the English manors held by the Abbey, whose written records start in 1246, may also have been held at Ruislip.[174] The earliest surviving manorial court roll for Ruislip is dated to 1334, although records exist for 13th-century courts.[175] Court proceedings were always held in English, but minutes were taken in Latin, from which the court rolls were later written up.

The Abbey of Bec's manorial rolls were composite, and the court rolls at Ruislip are usually headed 'Court Leet, General Court Baron and Customary Court'. Without detailed analysis of court rolls, it is unclear whether this reflects the convening of more than one court in a single meeting, or the elision of the functions of these courts. The Court Baron was generally responsible for the regulation and customs of the manor, and the surrender and admission of tenants to customary holdings, including changes in tenancy. Its rights of jurisdiction were important for manorial tenants and included managing the use of the common fields and settling land and property disputes. A Court Leet was a royal franchise, having special jurisdiction over matters normally the provenance of the King's courts, such as the maintenance of peace, trying criminal matters and local administration.

Courts were held several times a year by the proctor general, the steward or an itinerant bailiff.[176] The sheriff was present at the Manor Court twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, to oversee the view of frankpledge.[177] Morgan explains that 'Ruislip had a particularly large number of courts, possibly because its importance as an administrative centre made it one of the residences of the lord and a court could conveniently be held whenever he was there, and because the size of the manor necessitated a particularly large amount of business'.[178] This can be compared with the Middlesex parishes of Harrow Rectory (up to four courts and the view of frankpledge a year during the period 1349–77), Isleworth (five to nine courts and two views of frankpledge, convened at three to six manorial meetings a year in the early 14th century), Sunbury (five courts and two views of frankpledge during 1356–1376) and Tottenham (ten courts and view of frankpledge convened at one to three manorial meetings a year in the early 14th century).[179]

How the system of manor courts and their administration changed on their acquisition by King's College from the mid-15th century is unclear.[180] What is certain is that 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 leases[181] (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[182]). In the absence of a resident lord of the manor, the holding of regular courts at Ruislip was a perpetuation of its continuing authority. The continuing importance of Manor Farm as the administrative centre of the manor may in part explain its rebuilding in 1506–7.

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, reproduced as Fig 1). 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'.[183] A 1747 sub-lease obliges the tenant to accommodate the steward 'when he keeps the court at the said capital messuage'.[184] 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.

It is likely that the Ruislip manorial court was held in the hall of Manor Farm, a 'semi-public' space with direct entry. (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 requirements of privacy and security). As built, the two-bay hall was a larger and more imposing space than its present appearance suggests, with a four-panelled ceiling and moulded beams.[185] Excluding the presumed screens passage, the original proportions of the hall would have been roughly square, something of a convention in the planning of the late medieval vernacular rural houses.[186]

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.[187] 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.[188] 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.

The entrance to Manor Farm was at the south end of the hall but it is unlikely that a court hall 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', *ie* 'the entry'.[189] 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. The average number attending the Ruislip manorial courts is unclear. The majority of the villagers of Ruislip were copy-holders, and may have been represented in proxy by the chief pledge.[190]

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.[191] The court officials included a clerk who travelled from Cambridge to take court minutes in Latin and write them up into court rolls.[192] This obligation was sufficiently inconvenient for the under-tenant in 1568 for him to secure a release in consideration of a fee.[193]

It is thought that the cross-wing, located at the 'high' end of the house and containing the best-appointed chambers, was given over to the exclusive but occasional use of the steward or other gentlemanly official of King's College when the courts were in session. During court sessions, the heated parlour, with its finely moulded ceiling beams, probably functioned as an 'adjourning room' for private deliberation.[194] 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.[195] The adjourning room was often accessed from the dais-end of the hall, suggesting a domestic analogy with the late medieval parlour.

The parlour chamber — the first-floor room over the parlour — was similarly well-appointed, provided with a fireplace, moulded ceiling beams, wardrobe, and garderobe. Its location in the cross-wing enabled it to be used as a private suite, where court officials could retire, entertain privileged guests or sleep.[196] It was adjoined by a smaller 'inner' room, which may have functioned as an anteroom or accommodation for a servant or court official. This room was in turn served by an external staircase. The steward and his men would therefore have enjoyed access to their own chambers without having to enter the public space of the court hall.[197]

Courts continued to be held at Ruislip Manor Farm until 1925, but their influence may have already been lessening by the 16th century. 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.[198] From the perspective of King's College, however, the courts continued to represent their authority and a regular source of income.

NOTES

[1] This article draws on documentary research carried out by the author as part of an English Heritage architectural investigation into Manor Farm during its conversion to an interpretation centre in 2007–8. This was complemented by a programme of building recording, commissioned by the London Borough of Hillingdon and carried out by Linda Hall. Interpreting our findings with Linda was an invaluable process and the results were combined in Franklin & Hall 2008. The author would like to thank Jeremy Ashbee, Charmian Baker, Eileen Bowlt, Trudi-Lee Daughters, Andy Donald, Linda Hall, Derek Kendall and Joanna Smith for their assistance. The help 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.

[2] 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 (http:/www.hillingdon.gov.uk /media/pdf/ 9 /0/ saved_policies_udp_ sep07.pdf).

[3] The accounts in question are held in the administrative records section of the King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge, hereafter cited as KCAR.

[4] Bridge 2005.

[5] Roumieu 1875, 2; Bowlt 1989, 11.

[6] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.

[7] Bowlt 1989, 38, 52.

[8] Beeler 1956, 586.

[9] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134; Bowlt 1989, 42.

[10] Cockburn *et al* 1969, 202.

[11] Morgan 1946, 45.

[12] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137.

[13] Flower 1954; Bowlt 1989, 44.

[14] Cockburn *et al* 1969, 202; Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.

[15] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137.

[16] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137.

[17] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

[18] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.

[19] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 135; Morris 1957, 14.

[20] Bowlt 1989, 64.

[21] 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.'

[22] Bowlt 1989, 64–5.

[23] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 140.

[24] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.

[25] Morris 1980, 12; Rawcliffe 2004.

[26] Bowlt 1989, 97.

[27] KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/366.

[28] Bowlt 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).
[29] Hyde 2008.
[30] Bowlt 1989, 100.
[31] Bowlt 1989, 98. Robert Christmas was a servant to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester in the 1560s (Pearson 2005).
[32] 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 & Baker 1971, 134). For the digging of marl in Ruislip, see Kiddle 1956.
[33] Bowlt 1989, 99. Hatfield was under construction 1607–12 (Smith 1992, 61).
[34] 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; Bowlt 2002).
[35] Bowlt 1994, 14.
[36] Bowlt 1989, 145; Bowlt 2006a.
[37] 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).
[38] This was based on a 1911 scheme for the King's College estate by A and J Soutar of Wandsworth (Cherry & Pevsner 1999, 345; Bowlt 1989, 256.).
[39] Early 20th-century plan by F H Mansford and A V Gooderson, entitled 'Manor Farm and Surroundings', held at Hillingdon Local History Library, Uxbridge.
[40] Bowlt 1989, 256; Spink 2006, 29; Bowlt 2006b.
[41] 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).
[42] 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 (county architect) and H W Burchett (assistant architect for educational buildings).
[43] The early 20th-century plan by F H Mansford and A V Gooderson depicts an east–west-aligned foundation wall adjoining the ditch and some 12m (40ft) north of, and in-line with, Manor Farm.
[44] Source: http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ENGLISH%20NOBILITY%20MEDIEVAL1.htm.
[45] Bowlt 1994, 14; Morris, 1980, 7; Morris 1957. For the Great Barn, see Hewett 1974a.
[46] The value of the manor in 1435 was £103. Morris 1980, 10; Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.
[47] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339.
[48] Braun 1937, 119.
[49] Bowlt 1989, 51.
[50] NA:C 241/256/27.
[51] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/223.
[52] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339.
[53] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362.
[54] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.
[55] Hewett 1974b.
[56] Tyers 1997; see also Hewett 1974a.
[57] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362.
[58] LMA:ACC/0249/2703.
[59] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362.
[60] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.
[61] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.
[62] KCAR:6/2/133/18/RUI/361.
[63] Bowlt 1989, 103. The position of the dovecote on the 1750 map corresponds with the present St Martin's Approach car park (Bowlt 1989, 132).
[64] LMA:0249/2288; KCAR:6/2/133/13/RUI/450.
[65] KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/366, lease of 15.10.1452 to Nicholas Sharp, *Armigarium.*
[66] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/222.
[67] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.
[68] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339.
[69] Dyer 2003, 338.
[70] The building account for the first building season is KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/ 1. It is dated to the 20th year of the reign of Henry VII, *ie* 22.8.1504–21.8.1505.
[71] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339.
[72] ME *sege*, latrine. See Salzman 1952, 283.
[73] From the Middle English *thacchen:* to roof with thatch or other materials; to cover a wall.
[74] Airs 1995, 173.
[75] These represent the first building related entries in bound document KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2. 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 CC101/1 and CC101/2 record payments to common individuals, as well as having similar scribal hands and paper dimensions.
[76] Source: http://www.geocities.com/sinistraltyger/SCA/med_occupation.html#v.
[77] Salzman 1997, 233.
[78] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/3, accounts 'for the yere endyd at Mykhelmes anno 22': the 22nd year of Henry VII's reign, *ie* 22.8.1506–21.8.1507.

[79] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362, 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 (KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/321).
[80] See Airs 1995, 122.
[81] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.
[82] It was not possible to verify this suggestion, as the joists in this area remained concealed during recent works.
[83] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362.
[84] As at Cilewent longhouse at the Museum of Welsh Life, St Fagan's, Glamorganshire.
[85] 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.
[86] Shallow vertical grooves cut into the brickwork over the fireplace suggest fixtures 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.
[87] 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.
[88] Martin & Martin 1997.
[89] Emery 2006, 21.
[90] 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.
[91] Martin & Martin 1991, 37. 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 *c.*1520 +/-25 years. (David & 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 p 291 of *Country Life*, 2 February 1984). It is not known what evidence the 1910 'restoration' was based on.
[92] Pearson 1994, 94.
[93] The presence of diaperwork on the ground floor below the garderobe rules out the possibility that the structure extended to the lower storey.
[94] Both the Bishop of Winchester's Court House at East Meon, Hants (1395–97) and King's Somborne Manor Farm, Hants (1504–8), 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), Hants (1444–5 and 1534–5) and Monks' Rest, Littleton, Hants (1500–1). The evidence for timber-framed garderobes is less plentiful, but the former George Inn, Alton, Hants (1501) has evidence in the timber framing for two garderobes projecting over the adjacent stream (Roberts 2003, 146, 199, 234, 236).
[95] Salzman 1997, 64–5; Airs 1995, 172.
[96] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339.
[97] Eileen Bowlt, pers comm.
[98] A will of a local man named John Amery, dated 1493, specifies that his debts should be settled from the profits of his lime kiln in Harefield. William Amery was one of the witnesses (Guildhall: MS 9171/8 fol 65v.) An Amery held property in Sharps Lane in the 1565 Terrier (E Bowlt, pers comm).
[99] Dyer 2003, 364.
[100] Potter 2001, 136.
[101] Cockburn & Baker 1971, 134.
[102] Salzman 1997, 140.
[103] Morris 1980, 49; Kiddle 1956.
[104] Cotton *et al* 1986, 84.
[105] Airs 1995, 115.
[106] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.
[107] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2; KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.
[108] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.
[109] Newman 1976, 77; Airs 1995, 115.
[110] Cherry & Pevsner 1999, 11.
[111] Cherry & Pevsner 1999, 11; Newman 1976, 446.
[112] 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, 106–33).
[113] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339.
[114] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.
[115] Airs 1995, 122.
[116] Airs 1995, 122.
[117] KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362; for another 16th-century instance of this see Airs 1995,

120. In Ruislip the limitation of this practice to boards may reflect concerns about the use of green timber in internal joinery work, where a higher tolerance was required. The large scantling of the structural members and studs seems to have resisted the tendency of green timber to warp.

118 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362.

119 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

120 Based on seven oaks converted to 37 loads of timber in 1517 (KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362).

121 'Item payd to a man for fellyng scaffold tymber by the space of halfe a day': KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/1.

122 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

123 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/1.

124 On 20 June 1605 6d was paid for '1,000 of spring for to count lathe' (KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2).

125 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.

126 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

127 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.

128 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

129 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.

130 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/349.

131 Galloway *et al* 1996, 460; Cotton *et al* 1986, 85; KCAR:6/2/133/18/RUI/361.

132 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 137–40.

133 Cockburn & Baker 1971, 127–40. KCAR:6/2/133/14/RUI/50: letter of 29.5.1692.

134 Bowlt 1989, 114.

135 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/3; KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362; KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

136 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part references CC101/1 and CC101//2. The classification of nails by their price came into usage in the 15th century (Salzman 1997, 315).

137 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362;KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part references CC101/2 and CC101/3. In 1506 a smith supplied bars (probably door bolts) and 'smetchis', the latter probably a phonetic spelling of snatch, *ie* latch (Salzman 1997, 299).

138 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362;KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

139 'Item for the castyng and caryage of 52 lodes of sand every lode at1 1/2d sum 6s. 6d': KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2. The gravel was probably used to surface paths: Sir Robert Drury elsewhere records that he paid for 'gravelyng' (KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2).

140 Bowlt 1989, 117.

141 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362;KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2; KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

142 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/1.

143 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.

144 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

145 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/349. The 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 1505/6 construction of the house, and the flooring of several named rooms, including the hall, is already itemised in KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362. Further, use of the terms 'reparcion' and '*new* bolttes' imply alterations to an existing building. KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/20 suggests that this work was carried out at the beginning of Roger More's tenure, and a tentative date of 1530 has been assigned on this basis.

146 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/349.

147 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/2.

148 KCAR:6/2/133/15/RUI/216.

149 KCAR:6/2/133/15/RUI/49.

150 The position of the original stair was to the west of the principal stack, as shown by a framed and chamfered opening in the ground floor ceiling in this position. That the present stair is a secondary insertion is demonstrated by the beam supporting the stair head on the south side of the present 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 suggests a late 16th- or early 17th-century date for the new stair.

151 KCAR:6/2/133/14/RUI/28; KCAR:6/2/133/15/RUI/49.

152 Roberts 2003; Dyer 2003, 332.

153 Dyer 2003, 331.

154 Dyer 2003, 343.

155 KCAR:6/2/133/03/RUI/355;KCAR:6/2/133/03/RUI/356; KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/367. The origin of Betts is uncertain. A Thomas Bettz, who owned property in Ruislip and Harefield, made a will in 1472 (Guildhall MS 9171/6). But in 1447, another Thomas Bettes was collector of rents in the King's College estate in Coton Burwash, Cambs (KCAR:6/2/042/03/COT/130).

156 Ralph Hawtrey (1494–1574) is recorded as one of the 12 freemen at the court in 1529 (KCAR:6/2/133/01/RUI/84) and was submitting accounts to King's College in 1540–3, probably as bailiff (KCAR:6/2/133/18/RUI/361). His grandson, also Ralph (1570–1638), was bailiff in the early 1620s (LMA:0249/316l; Bowlt 2002).

157 Bowlt 1989, 64.
158 Bowlt 1989, 99.
159 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).
160 KCAR:6/2/133/15/RUI/216.
161 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 (KCAR:6/2/133/15/RUI/49).
162 The lease is for a term of 20 years for the sum of £68, payable in two equal parcels at Easter and Michaelmas (KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/366). *Armiger* is a term of feudal original, approximately equivalent in status to esquire.
163 KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/366; Dyer 2003, 325.
164 Cockburn & 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 the parlour chamber.
165 KCAR:6/2/133/15/RUI/216.
166 Dyer 2003, 331.
167 Roberts 1995, 101.
168 KCAR:6/2/133/09/RUI/321.
169 On 12 March 1509–10 he obtained a licence 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).
170 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/362.
171 Colvin 1975.
172 LMA:0249/2602.
173 Bec also held an ecclesiastical court, whose written records start in 1246 (Razi & Smith 1996, 561).
174 Razi & Smith 1996, 561.
175 Razi & Smith 1996; Morgan 1946, 5–6, 60; Maitland 1889.
176 Bowlt 1989, 61.
177 Bowlt 1989, 47.
178 Morgan 1946, 61.
179 Pat Clarke pers comm; Razi & Smith 1996, 604–5.
180 A detailed study of the court rolls and minutes (the notes from which the rolls are written up) may shed light on this matter.
181 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).
182 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.
183 KCAR:6/2/133/24/RUI/30, quoted in Bowlt 1989, 66; KCAR:6/2/133/13/RUI/450; LMA: ACC/0249/0107, quoted in Bowlt 1989, 101.
184 LMA:0249/2602.
185 In the 17th and 18th centuries the hall was ceiled, the exterior walls dry-lined and an entrance hall inserted. 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 1486–7. The hall measures 6.1m (20ft) by 6.8m (22ft 3in), including the cross-passage. Abbot's Barton, Winchester (1491–6), 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).
186 Smith 1992, 39. The original extent of the hall and the location of the partition wall between hall and service room is confirmed by the presence of hollow chamfers and stops on the joists of the two northernmost bays but not on the bays south of truss II.
187 Rigold 1968.
188 RUI/349.
189 RUI/362. Such a movable screen of early 16th-century date is illustrated in Smith 1992, 40.

190 Harrison 1997; 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 1999, 48).

191 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 (KCAR:6/2/133/16/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).

192 KCAR:6/2/133/16/RUI/339, former part reference CC101/2.

193 KCAR:6/2/133/14/RUI/27.

194 There are documented instances of court officials dining together after the day's session (Harrison 1997).

195 Graham 2003, 45.

196 A private first-floor room of quality is sometimes termed 'solar' or 'great chamber' with reference to houses of the aristocracy (Roberts 2003, 144).

197 The same arrangement can be seen at the Bishop of Winchester's Court House, East Meon, Hants (1395–97). This relationship between parlour chamber or solar and 'inner room' was therefore established by the 15th century, at least in Hampshire (Roberts 2003, 144). An 'inner room' is also present at Cann Hall, Clacton, Essex of 1511–12 (Menuge 1997).

198 Bowlt 1989, 11.

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