

Chantry Priests' Houses and other Medieval Lodgings

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IN a previous article I examined some examples of priests' houses in south-west England.¹ The purpose of the present article is to examine another class of building, namely the houses provided for chantry priests, and to compare these with analogous types of accommodation provided for various classes of persons such as vicars choral, fellows of colleges, and household retainers. We are familiar with the way of life led by lay and ecclesiastical magnates, merchants and yeomen in the halls and solars of the manor houses, farm houses and town houses, and with the life of the religious orders in their cloisters; these are described in most books on social or architectural history. But there were large classes of people, ecclesiastical and lay, in a rather more dependant or subordinate position, ranging from chantry priests to household retainers, whose living conditions and accommodation need more examination.

The constitutional aspect of the chantries has been well studied by historians, particularly by the late Professor A. Hamilton Thompson and by Miss K. Wood-Legh.² A chantry may be defined as the foundation and endowment of a Mass by one or more benefactors, to be celebrated at an altar in a church or chapel, for the souls of the founders and other specified persons. It did not necessarily involve the building of a special chapel. By the end of the middle ages probably almost every church had at least one chantry, and many churches had several. In its simplest form, such a foundation might be only temporary, or might provide for a Mass only on certain anniversaries. But it became increasingly common, especially from the late thirteenth century onwards, to provide permanent funds for the full support of one or more chantry priests; there is one example of such a foundation of a group of chantry priests at Marwell in Hampshire, going back into the twelfth century. The chantry priest might be endowed in one of two ways. He might be put in possession of the endowment, which he would in effect hold and administer as freehold benefice. Or the property might be held by some institution, such as a gild or college, as a kind of trust for the use of the chantry; in such a case the priest would only receive a stipend and would be removable.

¹ *Medieval Archaeol.*, 1 (1957), 118ff. I should like to thank all those who have helped to make this present survey possible, particularly, Mr. E. T. Long, Dr. W. G. Hoskins, Miss K. L. Wood-Legh, Mrs. M. E. Kaines-Thomas, Dr. E. Gee, Mr. J. H. Harvey and the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College (for permission to use plans of Winchester College), and the occupants of the various houses examined, particularly Mrs. Troyte-Bullock, Mr. and Mrs. L. Elmhirst, Mr. and Mrs. F. R. Cunningham, and Mr. W. Pulsford.

² A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their organization in the later Middle Ages* (1947), ch. v, and 'Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England', *Archaeol. J.*, LXXIV (1917), 139-239; K. L. Wood-Legh, *Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III* (1934), ch. iv; M. D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (1953), pp. 41-45, 325-346.

There was a great multiplication of chantries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it was a form of benefaction that appealed to laymen of the later middle ages, especially among the middle class, in much the same way that the foundation and endowment of monasteries had appealed to benefactors in earlier centuries. It had required considerable resources to found even a small monastery, whereas a man of comparatively small means could found a chantry; and unlike the founder of a monastery, the founder of a chantry or a college had a comparatively free hand in framing the constitution and drawing up the statutes of his foundation, even down to prescribing the collects to be used in the Masses. The founder of a chantry must have felt it to be very much his own personal creation, and perhaps we can see here the principle of the *Eigenkirche* at work in a new form.

The multiplication of chantries was one of several factors which helped to transform the parish churches, both architecturally and constitutionally. Instead of numerous small parish churches, worked single-handed, one finds, especially in the towns, large churches, with numerous side chapels and a great preaching nave, rather on the model of the friars' churches, each church being served by a number of priests. A large church served by a community of secular priests—what came to be called a collegiate church—was not a new phenomenon. There had been secular ministers in pre-conquest times, and the number of collegiate churches increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; these often had prebends which could be held by non-residents, and so could be made to provide for ecclesiastical and royal officials. Professor Hamilton Thompson has drawn attention to the emergence of a new type of collegiate church in the later middle ages; the chantry priests attached to a given church were organized into a collegiate body, and these priests, unlike the prebendaries of the older type, were from their nature as chantry priests strictly bound to residence and to some degree of common life. There are several types of these chantry colleges. In some, the collegiate body is attached to a parish church in such a way that the government of the church and the cure of souls is vested in the college, and the warden or head takes the place of the incumbent. In others, the college of chantry priests is attached to a parish church, but without affecting the position of the incumbent or taking over the cure of souls. In others, again, the collegiate body is attached to an extra-parochial chapel and this type included some of the most splendid foundations like St. George's, Windsor, St. Stephen's, Westminster, and the New College at Leicester. The colleges at Oxford and Cambridge may also from one point of view be regarded as specialized forms of the chantry college, some being extra-parochial, others appropriating or absorbing a neighbouring parish church (as with Oriel and St. Mary's, and Merton and St. John the Baptist's). Furthermore, the subsidiary clerics attached to cathedrals, the vicars choral and chantry priests, came to be organized into collegiate bodies, with suitable buildings. Finally it must be remembered that many parish churches came to have several chantry priests, who might perhaps live together, without necessarily becoming formally a collegiate body.

Chantries, even more than medieval priests' houses, have left a good deal

of documentary evidence; there are for instance a good many foundation statutes, and there are the extensive surveys and rentals of chantries made at the time of their suppression in the sixteenth century. In one fortunate instance, Munden's chantry at Bridport, there survive the household accounts kept by a fifteenth-century chantry priest, which have been carefully and instructively edited by Miss Wood-Legh;³ they give us a vivid picture of a chantry priest's daily life during the years 1453-60. The chantry supported two priests, and they lived together in the house in Bridport formerly inhabited by the founder, John Munden. The building does not seem to have survived, but from the accounts it evidently contained a hall, kitchen, pantry, the chambers of the two chantry priests, and probably one or two other chambers as well. It is an interesting example of a private house being converted into a chantry house. The weekly food bills show that the chantry priests constantly fed at their table a number of workmen, carpenters, masons, and so forth; some of these may have been employed in working for the chantry, but it is possible that some boarded at the priests' table for some financial consideration. Again, from time to time, a priest (perhaps serving another chantry) appears as a guest or boarder; and for a time a boy stayed in the house, perhaps as a servant or pupil or both. Since the priests had to keep house and keep a table, it would help to pay for their overhead expenses to take in lodgers or day-boarders, and it may be that this was done by other chantry priests.

The chantry foundations, in all their various forms, from the large collegiate bodies down to the single chantry in a church, had a two-fold architectural effect—on the one hand, through the enlargement and rebuilding of parish churches, as has been said, and on the other hand, on domestic architecture, through provision of accommodation for chantry priests. No doubt chantry priests sometimes lived in rented houses or lodged with laymen or with the parish priest. But sometimes at least the foundation of a chantry included the provision of an official dwelling for the priest or priests. I am not concerned here with the accommodation of the priests in the larger chantry colleges or collegiate churches, where the buildings seem normally to have been ranged round a cloister court or quadrangle, rather like the college buildings of Oxford and Cambridge; these buildings sometimes adjoined the church, sometimes were at a short distance. Curiously enough, the domestic buildings of collegiate churches seem to have survived less than the domestic buildings of monasteries, and have had less attention from archaeologists; they deserve a systematic study.⁴ What I am concerned with here is the accommodation of the smaller groups of chantry priests and of single chantry priests. Chantry priests' houses on this scale are interesting because on the one hand, like parsonages, they have something in common with the ordinary private houses of the period, while on the other hand, they have something in common with collegiate architecture, with college chambers, dwellings

³ K. L. Wood-Legh, *A Small Household of the Fifteenth Century* (Manchester, 1955), especially pp. xix ff., xxix ff. An inventory of 1408 is printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm., Appendix to VIth Report*, p. 477.

⁴ There are remains of collegiate buildings at Arundel (Sussex), Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire), King's Lynn (Thoresby's College, Norfolk), Maidstone (Kent), Manchester, Mettingham (Suffolk), Windsor, Wingfield (Suffolk), and Wye (Kent).

of vicars choral, lodgings of household retainers, and so forth; so that a small chantry priest's house may be rather like a college staircase set down in the country.

SOME TYPICAL HOUSES

We can now turn to examine a limited number of architectural specimens from the south-west of England, all dating from the fifteenth century. They illustrate several constitutional varieties of chantry foundation. Thus the house at Stoke-sub-Hamdon housed a small college of priests attached to a 'free chapel' in a local manor house, a poor relation, so to speak, of the great foundations at Windsor and Westminster; the house at Farleigh Hungerford housed two priests attached to another 'free chapel'; the houses at Mere and at Ilminster probably housed several priests serving chantries in the parish church, living together, but not formally constituting a college; the houses at Trent and at Combe Raleigh each housed a single chantry priest.

1. THE PRIORY, STOKE-SUB-HAMDON, SOMERSET (PLS. XVII, XVIII AND XIX, A-D; FIGS. 79-80)

This building is now known as the Priory, but there was, so far as is known, no monastic house or cell at Stoke-sub-Hamdon, and it is most likely that this is the building which in fact housed the small college of chantry priests which John Lord Beauchamp founded in 1304 and attached to the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas within his manor of Stoke-sub-Hamdon.⁵ Leland writes:

'I saw at Stoke in a botom hard by the village very notable ruins of a great manor place or castelle, and yn this maner place remaynith a very auncient chapelle, wheryn be diverse tumbes of noble menne and wimen . . . Ther is a provost longging to this collegiate chapelle now yn decay, wher sumtyme was good service, and now but a messe said a 3 tymes in the weeke. The provost hath a large house yn the village of Stoke thereby.'⁶

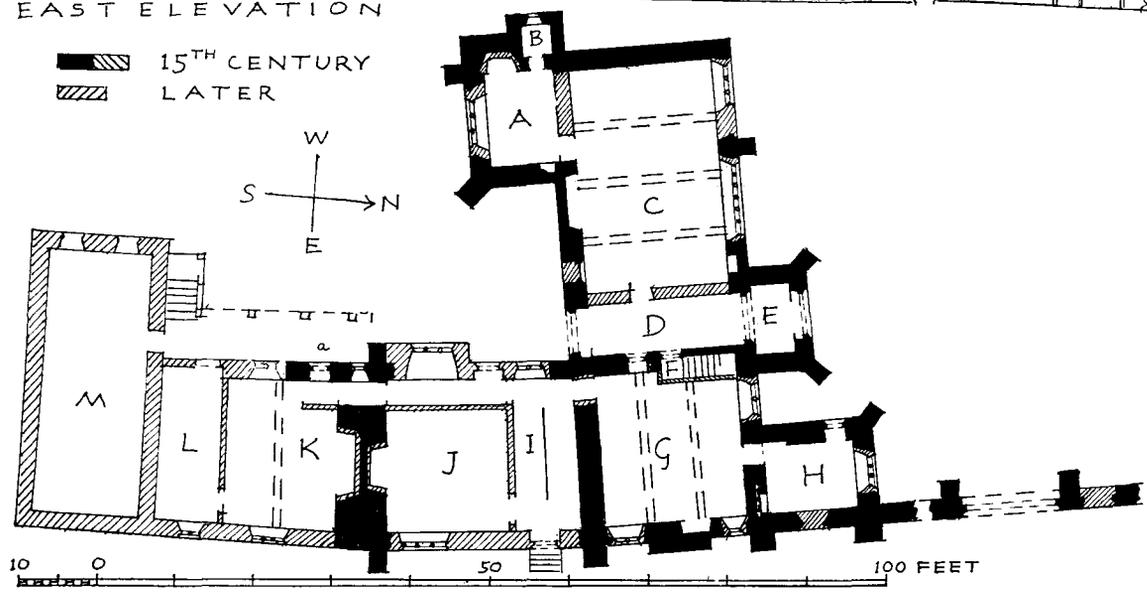
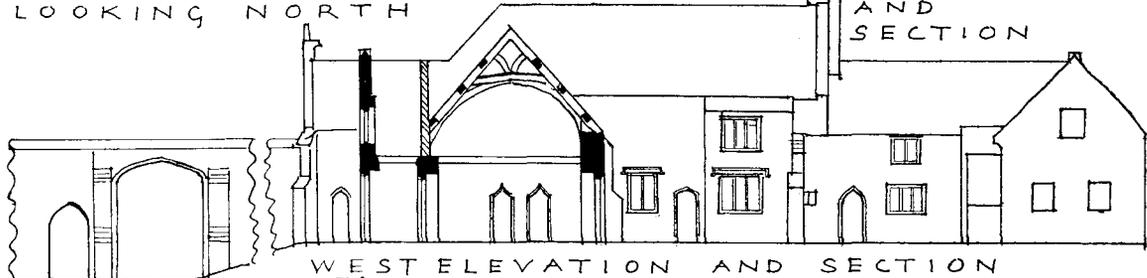
It may be noted that the Priory building does not adjoin the chapel in the manor, but is situated a short distance away, in the village. The college, as originally founded, was to consist of a provost and four other priests; according to the statutes, these were to reside together, to eat and drink in one house, and to sleep in one chamber.⁷ Whatever buildings were originally supplied for their accommodation have not survived. According to an ordinance made by Bishop Beckington in 1444, after a visitation, it seems that the college had suffered from neglect and dilapidation through the bad government of the provost, so that the college was now reduced to a provost and two fellows, and the buildings were ruinous. The management of the chantry was therefore put into the hands of the precentor of Wells, probably as a temporary remedy.⁸ It seems likely that

⁵ *Victoria County History, Somerset*, II, 161; *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XXXII, dt. i (1886), 51-55; XXXV, pt. ii (1889), 127-37; XXXVI, pt. ii (1890), 36-7; LII, pt. ii (1906), 162; J. Collinson, *History of Somerset*, III, 316 ff.

⁶ *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1907), I, 158-9.

⁷ The statutes are printed in Collinson, *op. cit.* in note 5, pp. 316-8.

⁸ *The register of Thomas Bekynnton*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes (*Somerset Record Soc.*, LIX, 1934), I, 23-4; another provost was instituted in 1460, *ibid.*, 337.



GENERAL GROUND PLAN
THE PRIORY, STOKE-SUB-HAMDON, SOMERSET

FIG. 79 (p. 219)

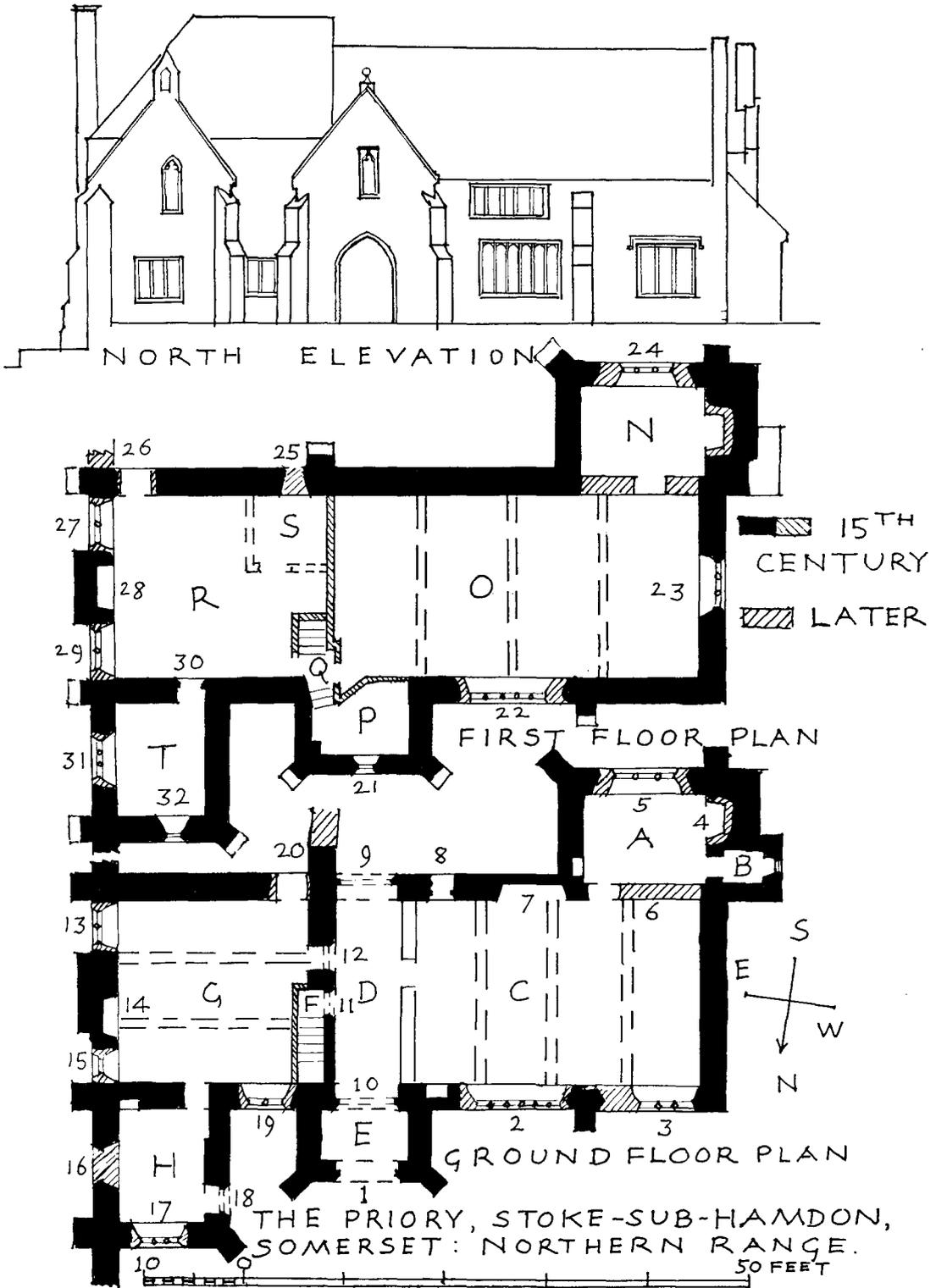


FIG. 80 (p. 219)

the existing house was built as soon as the chantry had recovered from this crisis, say about 1450-60, and was perhaps planned on a smaller scale than before, to suit the reduced staff. It may well be that, quite apart from any 'bad government', the original endowments proved increasingly inadequate. At the time of the suppression the chantry was still further reduced; in the survey of 1548, it was described as a free chapel. The holder of the chantry was Thomas Canner [or Carmar], clerk, who was also parson of the parish; he was a non-resident pluralist, who resided at St. Stephen's Westminster. He provided one curate to minister in the parish church, and one priest 'singing' (i.e., saying Mass) in the free chapel, removable at the pleasure of the aforesaid parson.⁹ In other words, the small college had been now reduced to a benefice held by a single priest, a non-resident, who performed his chantry duty by deputy, just as he performed his parochial duty also by deputy. Perhaps the two deputies lived together in the chantry house. Although the chantry was now diminished, the free chapel served conveniently as a chapel-of-ease to the distant parish church; 'the said chapel is distant from the parish church one mile, and the inhabitants dwellers about the same most humbly beseech to have the said chapel stand for their ease of Divine service and ministration'. The chapel, however, did not survive. The house came into the possession of the Strode family, being leased to Thomas Strode in 1582.

The chantry house as built c. 1450-60 consists of a range about 63 ft. long by 23 ft. wide, lying east and west, at right angles to the village street. It is a stately, well-built structure of ashlar. Most of the original windows have been replaced. The range is entered by a porch (E on plan) with diagonal buttresses and a moulded arch (PL. XVIII), leading into the screens-passage (D), with a moulded arch (9, 10) at each end (PL. XIX, C, D). To the right of this is the hall, measuring 18 ft. wide by 36 ft. long (or 28 ft. long excluding the screens-passage). The hall was originally open to the roof—a fine arch-braced collar-beam roof of four bays. In post-suppression times a floor was inserted and new windows (2, 3, 22) put in on the north side, thus obliterating the medieval windows. On the south side of the hall is a large fireplace (7) and, in the south-west corner, a wide arch (6, now partly walled up) leading into a large bay (A), about 12 ft. by 9 ft. which almost constitutes a separate room, with a fire-place of its own, resembling the large hall bay at Bingham's Melcombe, except that this bay originally went up the full height of the hall, though it was later floored over. The fireplace of the bay (4) and the small closet or garderobe (B) are perhaps later insertions. The bay had originally a large arched window to the south (5), which can still be traced, though it is partly obliterated by later windows (PL. XIX, D). There seems no sign that the medieval house ever extended further west of the hall. On the east of the screens-passage is a pair of ogee-arched doorways (11, 12); the northern one leads to the short, straight stair (F) leading to the first floor

⁹ *The survey and Rental of the Chantries . . . in the county of Somerset . . . 1548*, ed. E. Green (Somerset Record Soc., II, 1888), 116-7; According to this survey, the chantry was worth £11 9s. 5d. and the parsonage £33. According to another survey (1549), the 'college, provostrie, free chappell and personage' were together worth £44 12s. (gross), out of which £8 was paid to the priest for his stipend; Collinson, *op. cit.*, in note 5, pp. 318-9. Cf. also *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, I, 199. The parsonage had been appropriated to the college. The foundation could probably have still supported three priests, if it had not been turned into a sinecure.

(PL. XIX, A); the southern one (concealed or replaced by a modern door) leads into a large room (G), about 18 ft. by 19 ft., which may have served either as a buttery or as a parlour; the fireplace (14) and the windows (13, 15) have been rebuilt after the suppression. Opening out of this room is a small room (H), with another, external door (18) in the north-west corner; this may have served as a small cellar or pantry, or as a buttery or spence, if G was a parlour.

On the first floor, over room G, reached by the stair F, was a large room (R), about 21 ft. by 18 ft. This may have served as a common chamber or dormitory for the three priests who survived *c.* 1450-60, being shared after the manner of a medieval college chamber. In that case, while all three slept in the common chamber, each could have had a separate study; one in the projecting north-east wing (T), another in the room over the porch (P), while a small window (25), now blocked, in the south wall of the common chamber suggests that the south-west corner of the common chamber may have been partitioned off to form a third study. The eastern chimney-stack (14, 28) seems to be an original feature, so that both the common chamber (R) and the room below probably had fireplaces from the first, though these seem to have been rebuilt. The eastern windows of the room R (27, 29) have been rebuilt and the south-east door (26) inserted in post-suppression times; but the door way (30) leading from room R to room T seems original. The northern windows (32, 21) of room T and of the porch room P are original. The northern gable above room T has the remains of a bell-cote (PLS. XVII-XVIII) but there is nothing to show that this room was ever used as a chapel.

This range in its original form, therefore, seems to have consisted of a two-part hall-house, with an open hall and a common chamber (corresponding to a solar) occupying the first floor of the service end. It seems clear that this range originally stood detached and clear of any abutment on the south side; this is shown by the buttress (20), now submerged in a later wall, to the east of the south door of the screens-passage (PL. XIX, B). There was probably a detached kitchen east of the main range (at K on plan, FIG. 79), since the arched doorway (*a*) from the courtyard to the present kitchen and the buttresses east and west of the kitchen chimney-stack seem to be medieval work. The outer courtyard north of the hall range was entered from the street through a lofty four-centred archway flanked by a smaller door; and there are three fine medieval barns standing south-west, north-west and north-east of the outer court, as well as a circular dove-cot.

After the suppression, when the building was converted into a private house for the Strode family, there was a good deal of reconstruction, which may perhaps be roughly dated by an inscription in the panelling of the ground floor eastern room (G): '1585/TS' (for Thomas Strode). Windows were built or inserted throughout, floors inserted in the hall and its bay, and perhaps the roof over the common chamber (R), which is higher than the hall roof, was raised at this time. At the same time the street range (I, J, K, L, M) was built abutting on the south-east corner of the hall range (PL. XIX, D) and filling in the gap between it and the medieval kitchen (K).

The house at Stoke-sub-Hamdon may be compared with some analogous buildings where a normal hall-house is adapted for the use of a small community. The *Strangers' Hall, Norwich*, may first be taken as a typical example of a two-part hall-house used for purely domestic purposes: an open hall with a first-floor solar over the service end.¹⁰ This is the type on which the institutional adaptations are based. *Tackley's Inn, Oxford*, built c. 1320, was another town house early used as an academic hall, and for a few years it housed the first scholars of Adam de Brome's foundation (later Oriel College). Behind a fringe of shops, this consisted of a two-part hall-house: an open hall, 32 ft. by 20 ft. had at its service end a two-storey block, 20 ft. by 18 ft. of which the first floor probably served as a common sleeping chamber for the scholars.¹¹

The *Vicars' Hall, Chichester*, was built in 1397 and at first apparently served as a communal dwelling house for the vicars choral, before they obtained separate houses in the late fifteenth century.¹² The hall consisted of a three-part hall-house, 106 ft. long by 22 ft. wide. In the middle was an open hall, with a parlour at the east end; at the west end, adjoining the entrance to the hall, was a block 40 ft. by 22 ft. apparently divided into two floors; probably the vicars used the upper floor, and perhaps both floors, as a communal dormitory.

It seems likely that some monastic cells and alien priories, served by only two or three monks, and too small to adopt a cloister-plan, were planned like a manor house, with a solar serving as a small dormitory. Salmeston Grange, near Margate, a cell of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, seems to be an example of this. Some of the cells that were used by monasteries as convalescent or holiday homes may have been similar. The prior's house at Finchale, which seems to have housed the visiting monks on holiday from Durham, as well as the prior, was in effect a hall-house.¹³

2. THE CHANTRY, MERE, WILTSHIRE (PL. XX; FIGS. 81-2)

Mere parish church is a good example of a church which accumulated several chantries in the course of time, though they were never formed into a college. They were as follows:¹⁴

- i. The chantry in the north chapel, in honour of Our Lady, founded in 1324 by John de Mere; probably amalgamated with the south chantry by 1399.
- ii. The chantry in the south chapel, in honour of the Annunciation of Our Lady, founded c. 1350 by Sir John Bettesthorpe, lord of Charnage (d. 1398). His daughter Elizabeth married Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone, Gloucestershire; and on 20 November, 1399, Sir John and his wife were licensed to augment

¹⁰ *Archaeol. J.*, LXXX (1923), 331.

¹¹ *Oxonienisia*, VII (1942), 80 ff.

¹² I. C. Hannah, 'The Vicars' Close and adjacent buildings, Chichester', *Sussex Archaeol. Collections*, LVI (1914), 99 ff.; W. D. Peckham, 'The Vicars Choral of Chichester Cathedral', *id.*, LXXVIII (1937), 126 ff.; *Victoria County History, Sussex*, III, 157 f.; F. W. Steer, *The Vicars' Hall, Chichester, and its Undercroft* (Chichester, 1958).

¹³ *Finchale Priory*, Ministry of Works, Official Guide. ed. C. R. Peers, pp. 10-11; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4 ser., IV (1927), 214 ff.

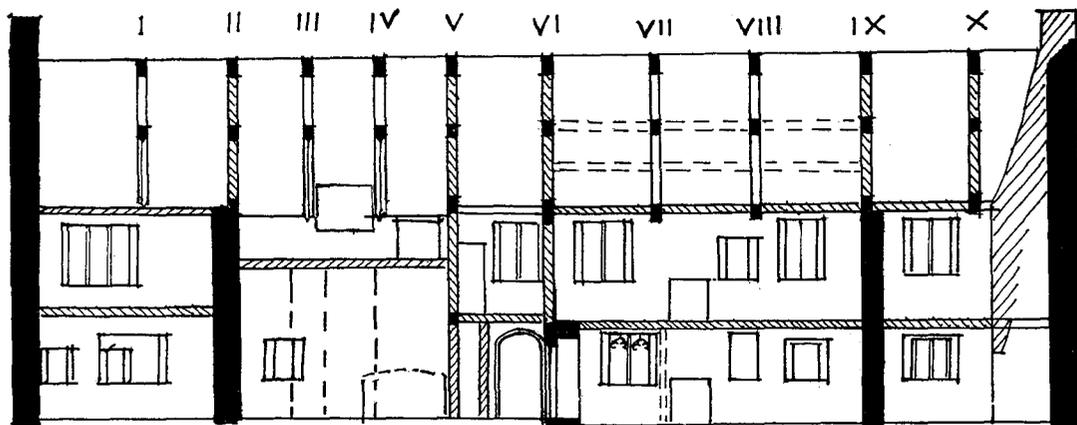
¹⁴ C. J. Godfrey, 'The Chantries of Mere and their priests', *Wilts. Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.*, LV (1953), 153-60; T. H. Baker, 'Notes on the history of Mere', *id.*, XXIX (1896-7), 263 f.

the chantry by a grant of lands totalling 10 messuages and 249 acres in Mere, Clopton and Gillingham, raising the number of chaplains from one to three. The chantry became known as the Berkeley chantry. In 1424 the dean and chapter of Salisbury, the patrons and appropriators of the church, were licensed to give to Richard Chaddesey, Henry Rochell, and John Culpit, chaplains of the chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Mere church, a certain piece of their garden on the south side of the church of about one acre, for the building of houses (*mansiones*) suitable for the common use of the aforesaid chaplains. This was evidently the site of the present chantry house. According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535) there were three chantries, served by Henry Duvall, warden (receiving £5 19s. 1d.), John Smith (£6 6s. 0d.), and Richard Swayne (£7 12s. 2d.); out of the total income 10s. had to be paid to the poor, 10s. fee to Robert Stourton, and 5s. rent to the dean of Salisbury.¹⁵ At the time of the suppression (1547) the chantry, 'Berkeley's chantry', was valued at £21 9s. 9d., and was served by three priests: Richard Swayne (aged 63), John Ferarde or Fezar (aged 40), and John Gelebrand (aged 48); another chantry, 'Forward's chantry' (probably founded recently by a member of the Forward family), was served by Richard Chafyn (aged 20), receiving £5 6d. 4d. All four priests received pensions of £5 or £6. Two of the chaplains apparently continued to occupy the chantry house; it has been suggested that they may have kept a school there.

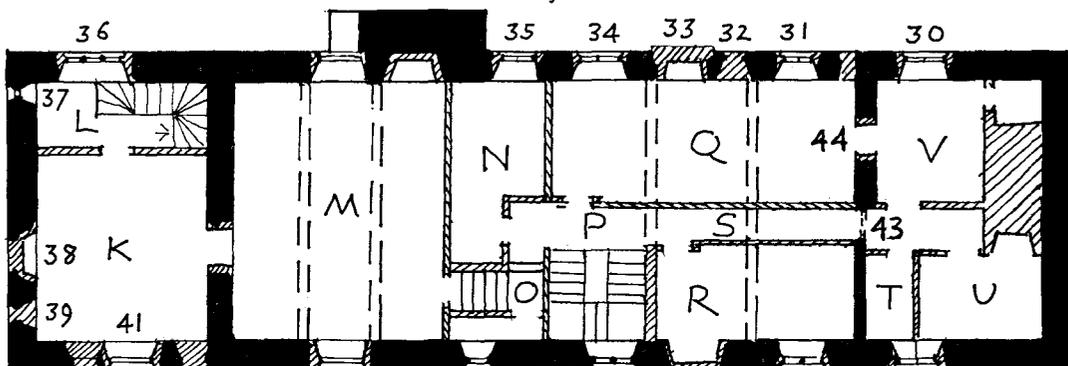
It seems clear that the existing chantry house is built on the site south of the churchyard granted in 1424, though the house can hardly be quite as early as that; it may have taken some years to accumulate the funds necessary for building. To judge by the earliest surviving architectural features, the main structure of the house seems to have been built about the middle or second half of the fifteenth century. It is a stone-built rectangle, lying east and west, measuring externally 90 ft. long by 27 ft. wide. Its original plan consisted of an open hall of three bays, with a two-storied solar block of two bays at the west end, and a much larger two-storied block of six bays at the east, or service, end. There are two large stone chimney-stacks, apparently part of the original building, one on the north side serving the hall, another on the south side (PL. XX, A, D); a third at the east end of the block is perhaps an insertion. The principal cross walls, as well as the external walls, are of stone.

The house is entered by a screens-passage (E on plan, FIG. 81), having at each end a moulded doorway (1, 5) with a flattened, elliptical arch (PL. XX, B), perhaps rather later than the original construction of the house. On the east side of the screens-passage are three arched doorways; the northermost (4: now blocked) probably led to a staircase leading up to the room (N) over the screens-passage; the other two (2, 3) must have led to the kitchen and buttery. The screens-passage is 5 ft. wide, that is to say, some 2 ft. narrower than the bay above it, which must have projected into the hall. The original screen dividing the passage from the hall has been rebuilt. West of the screens-passage is the hall, about 20 ft. by 22 ft.; it was originally open to the roof, which is an arch-braced collar-beam

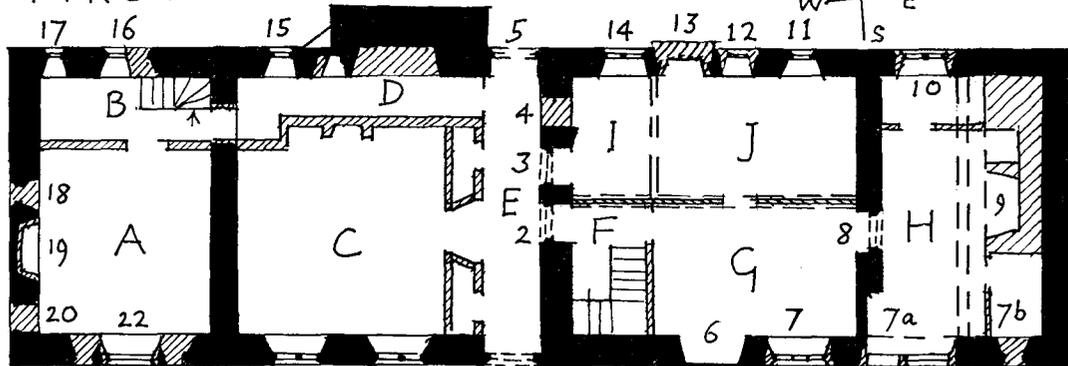
¹⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, II, 102.



SECTION LOOKING NORTH



FIRST FLOOR PLAN



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

15TH & EARLY 16TH CENTURIES
 LATER

THE CHANTRY, MERE, WILTS

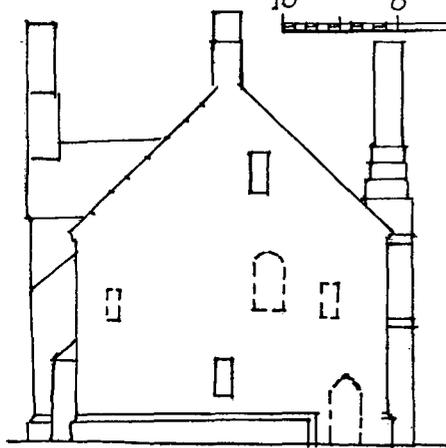


NORTH ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET



WEST ELEVATION

THE CHANTRY,
MERE, WILTS.

roof of three bays. On the south side are two two-light windows (24, 25), probably fifteenth-century, but they have lost their cusping (PL. XX, A). On the north side of the hall is a large chimney, now blocked and cut off by a modern passage (D). West of the hall is the two-story solar block. The ground floor of this is now divided into two (A, B), with a modern staircase in the northern part; it probably originally formed one large room, a parlour, 22 ft. by 14 ft. The windows have been a good deal altered. There is now one large modern window (22) in the south wall, but there are traces of two small early windows, now blocked: one to the west (21), and the other in the south-east (23) corner at a higher level, which may possibly indicate that the original staircase was in that corner (FIGS. 81-2). In the south-west corner is a blocked doorway (20), which may have led to a wardrobe. It is not clear whether there were originally fireplaces in this room and the room above; there is no large projecting chimney-stack at this end of the house. The room above on the first floor (K, L) was the equivalent of the solar; it originally had an open roof, but was later divided and ceiled over. The window in the south wall (41) is modern; there are remains of two early windows (41, 42), now blocked, in the south wall, and of two other early windows (38, 39), also blocked, in the west wall, one being behind the present fireplace (FIGS. 81-2); and there is a seventeenth-century window in the north wall (36).

East of the screens-passage lay the large service block (F-J); the main part of this is divided by a partition wall into two long narrow rooms, each about 23½ ft. by 11 ft., one to the north (I, J), the other to the south (F, G). These open off the screens-passage by two arched doorways, as already mentioned. There is now a later staircase (F), but probably the whole southern half (F, G) formed one long room, and this may have been the original kitchen, as there is a large chimney-stack (6) on the south side. The northern room (I, J) probably served as a buttery; it has an original two-light window (14) and another early single-light window (12) in the north wall (PL. XX, C). At one time the western end (I) has been partitioned off, but I, J probably originally formed one room, as it now does. An original arched doorway (8) in the stone wall to the east of the kitchen (G) gives access to the easternmost part of the service block (H); this now serves as a kind of back kitchen. If G was the original kitchen, this may have served as a bakehouse, brewhouse or dairy. It is possible that the large chimney-stack (9), which occupies the eastern part, is a sub-medieval insertion. The northern part of this room (10) is now partitioned off, and a blocked window (7b) high up in the south-east corner suggests that there was a staircase here. An alternative interpretation of the service block would be as follows: that H was the original kitchen, connected with the screens-passage by a passage running between the buttery (I, J) and the pantry (the southern part of F, G); but it is difficult to see why the pantry should have such a large chimney-stack. On the whole, the first interpretation seems more likely.

The lay-out of the first floor of the service block was as follows. Above the screens-passage was a long narrow room, now divided up (N, O); that this was a separate room and not a gallery open to the hall is indicated by the solid construction of the roof-truss (no. v in section, FIG. 81). This room was probably

approached in the north-east corner by the staircase from the screens-passage below, and there are traces of a further flight of stairs leading up to the roofspace above from the south-east corner. The room must have served as a kind of ante-room to chambers further east, and perhaps also as a sleeping room for a servant; it may be compared with the similar rooms over the screens-passage in the priests' houses at Muchelney and Kentisbeare.¹⁶ The next three bays were divided by a partition into two long narrow rooms, one to the north (Q), the other to the south (P, R, S), corresponding to the buttery and kitchen below. The western part of the southern room (P) has been cut off to form a later staircase; the original window here at first floor level (27) seems to indicate that the staircase is an insertion. A modern passage (S) has also been cut off from the southern room; at the east end of this passage is an early door (43) from which the arched head has been removed. The northern room (Q) has remained undivided; it has one single-light window (fifteenth-century?) now blocked (32), two large windows rebuilt in the seventeenth century (31, 34), and a blocked doorway (44) in the stone wall to the east. For some reason the tranverse wall at this point is half in stone, half timber-framed. Beyond this is the easternmost compartment, now divided up (T, U, V); this was once reached by two doors from the west, and probably also by a staircase in the south-east angle from the back kitchen below.

The roof appears to be all of one build and is probably the original roof; if that is so, the easternmost part of the service block (H; T, U, V) cannot be a later extension. All the roof-trusses have slightly cambered collar-beams. Otherwise the trusses vary as follows. Truss I has an arch-braced collar-beam, forming part of the open roof of the solar. Truss II forms the partition between the solar and the hall. Trusses III and IV have arch-braced collar-beams, with cusped wind-braces; here is the open roof of the hall. Truss V is the partition between the hall and the bay over the screens-passage; it has a tie-beam, king-post and collar-beam, with braces from the foot of the king-post to the junction of the collar-beam and truss. Truss VI is also a partition, with tie-beam, king-post and collar-beam, so that the bay of the cockloft over the screens-passage formed a separate compartment. Trusses VII and VIII have tie-beams and collar-beams, with king-posts now missing; they were not partitions. Trusses IX and X were partitions; their inner faces were for some reason blackened by smoke. There are joists between the tie-beams all the way from truss V to the eastern gable; it seems that the first-floor rooms of the service wing were ceiled over from the beginning, unlike the open-roofed solar. Mortices in the king-posts and collar-beams and a groove along the central joists suggest that between the Trusses VI and IX the roof space was divided by a longitudinal partition into two halves, north and south, corresponding to the two rooms Q and P, R, S below. At the south end of truss VI there seems to be traces of where a stair formerly came up from the first floor.

Like the house at Stoke-sub-Hamdon, the chantry at Mere is an example of a normal house-plan adapted for the use of small group of chantry priests, but with these differences: this is a three-part plan, and unlike Stoke, where

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* in note 1, pp. 121 ff. and 127 ff. respectively.

the three priests probably shared a common chamber, at Mere there would have been room for each priest to have a separate chamber. We may conjecture the allocation of rooms as follows. It would be natural to give to the senior priest (or warden) what would be regarded as the principal room in the house, namely the solar on the first floor at the west end of the hall (K, L), a spacious room, 22 ft. by 14½ ft., with an open roof; he may also have had the use of the ground floor room below, or that may have been used as a common parlour. For the other two priests there would be available the two large rooms (Q and P, R, S), each 25 ft. by 11 ft., on the first floor of the service block, over the buttery and kitchen, entered from the room over the screens-passage. The two divisions of the cockloft over these rooms may also have been for the use of the two priests. The first-floor room at the east end (T, U, V) may have served as a guest chamber or a servant's room; or it is possible that when the Forward chantry was founded in the sixteenth century, a fourth chantry priest may have come to lodge here. The Mere house, though rather less elaborate architecturally than the Stoke house, had more 'modern' and comfortable accommodation. The numerous small windows (now mostly blocked), as in rooms A, B; K, L; I, J; Q, may possibly indicate the existence of studies.

After the suppression, the chantry property passed to Sir John Thynne, who leased it in 1552 to the Chafyn family. The house probably needed little alteration at first. About 1600 the first-floor room on the north side (Q) was panelled, and perhaps new stairs made on the site of the later stairs (P); and at the west end the solar was ceiled over and a new staircase made up to the attic thus formed. The hall no doubt remained open-roofed and undivided. An inventory of damages done to the chantry house by a Mrs. F. Martyn during her tenancy (1639)¹⁷ mentions the hall (C, D); the parlour chamber (=K, L?); the little parlour (=J or G?); the kitchen, with one door into the parlour and a double door leading into the garden (=G or H?); a flight of stairs with rails and 'turne pillars' (=P?); the cockloft over the entry with a passage (=over N, O); the little chamber over the entry with two doors to it (=N, O); the porch on the north with two benches; the porch on the south side with two benches; the little buttery with a door into the kitchen, the windows barred with iron (=I or 10?) a quantity of woodwork and wainscoting throughout the house; a stable with posts, racks and mangers; the barn with four bays made of planks and brushwood and fastened with iron bits into the wall; the backside fenced with posts and rails; the garden fenced with stone walls. In the late seventeenth century several windows were rebuilt or inserted in the north side. In the eighteenth century the existing main staircase was built (F, P), and it was probably then that a floor was inserted in the hall, creating an attic above (M) with dormer windows and steps leading up to it (O), and the present stairs made at the west end (B). Finally in the nineteenth century a connecting passage (D) was cut out of the hall; the cornice in the north-west corner shows that this was later than the insertion of the floor. From 1827 to 1835 the Dorset poet, William Barnes, kept a school in the chantry house. A few yards west of the house stands a range of

¹⁷ From an extract from the Zeals papers, kindly supplied by Mrs. Troyte-Bullock.

out-buildings lying north and south, with a gateway in the middle; it retains an old doorway in the northern half, and may be substantially a medieval building, perhaps the stables referred to in 1639.

3. THE CHANTRY, ILMINSTER, SOMERSET (PL. XXI, B, C, E; FIG. 83)

There were several chantries in the parish church of Ilminster: these are described in the survey of chantries (1547) as follows:¹⁸

i. St. Catherine's chantry, founded by John Wadham; this had property bringing in a net annual income of £9 15s.; it was served by one priest, Thomas Michell (aged 60), who received £6 wages by the hands of the feoffees of the chantry; he had a house worth 12s.

ii. A foundation for three priests celebrating in the church; two chantries being in honour of St. Mary, the third in honour of Holy Cross. The total income was £22 15s. 7d.; the feoffees paid a stipend of £6 3s. 4d. each to the two St. Mary's priests, Thomas Battyn (54) and John Poole (42), and to the Holy Cross priest, Robert Oliver (40); a house had been leased for the use of these priests in 1458.

iii. St. John the Baptist's chantry; the priest, Martin Broke, received a pension of £4 5s. 6d.

The house with which we are concerned is a fifteenth-century building, standing at the north-east corner of the churchyard; it is known as the Chantry. From its size, one might be led to suppose that it housed the largest of these foundations, the three priests of St. Mary's and Holy Cross, but it seems clear that they lived in the two houses on the north side of the churchyard, known as Cross house and Battyn's house, which came to be used as the master's house and the school house of the grammar school, and were rebuilt in Elizabethan times and later.¹⁹ Presumably therefore the house now known as the Chantry, housed the St. Catherine (or Wadham) chantry priest, and perhaps the St. John's chantry priest as well.

The Chantry is a stone-built house, with timber-framed internal partitions; it was originally L-shaped; the main range north and south, with a smaller wing at right-angles at the north-west; modern additions have been made to the south-west. There is a chamfered plinth round the original house. There are two original lateral chimney-stacks on the east side, the southern one retaining its lofty octagonal upper part (PL. XXI, E); there is also a chimney-stack at the northern gable end, and another at the west end of the back wing, against which is a slender buttress (PL. XXI, D). Two of the original two-light windows remain, one above the other, on the north side (9, 26); the windows along the east front were evidently once the same, but have been lengthened and sashed.

The plan of the house is as follows. The main range is of two stories and has three compartments; the middle compartment has always been divided by a floor into a ground-floor hall (E) and an upper room (M). The north-west wing (A, J) constitutes a fourth compartment of two stories with an attic above. The

¹⁸ *The Survey and Rental of the Chantries . . . in the county of Somerset*, pp. 1 ff., 165 ff.; Collinson, *op. cit.* in note 5, 1, 7.

¹⁹ *Victoria County History, Somerset*, II, 451-3.

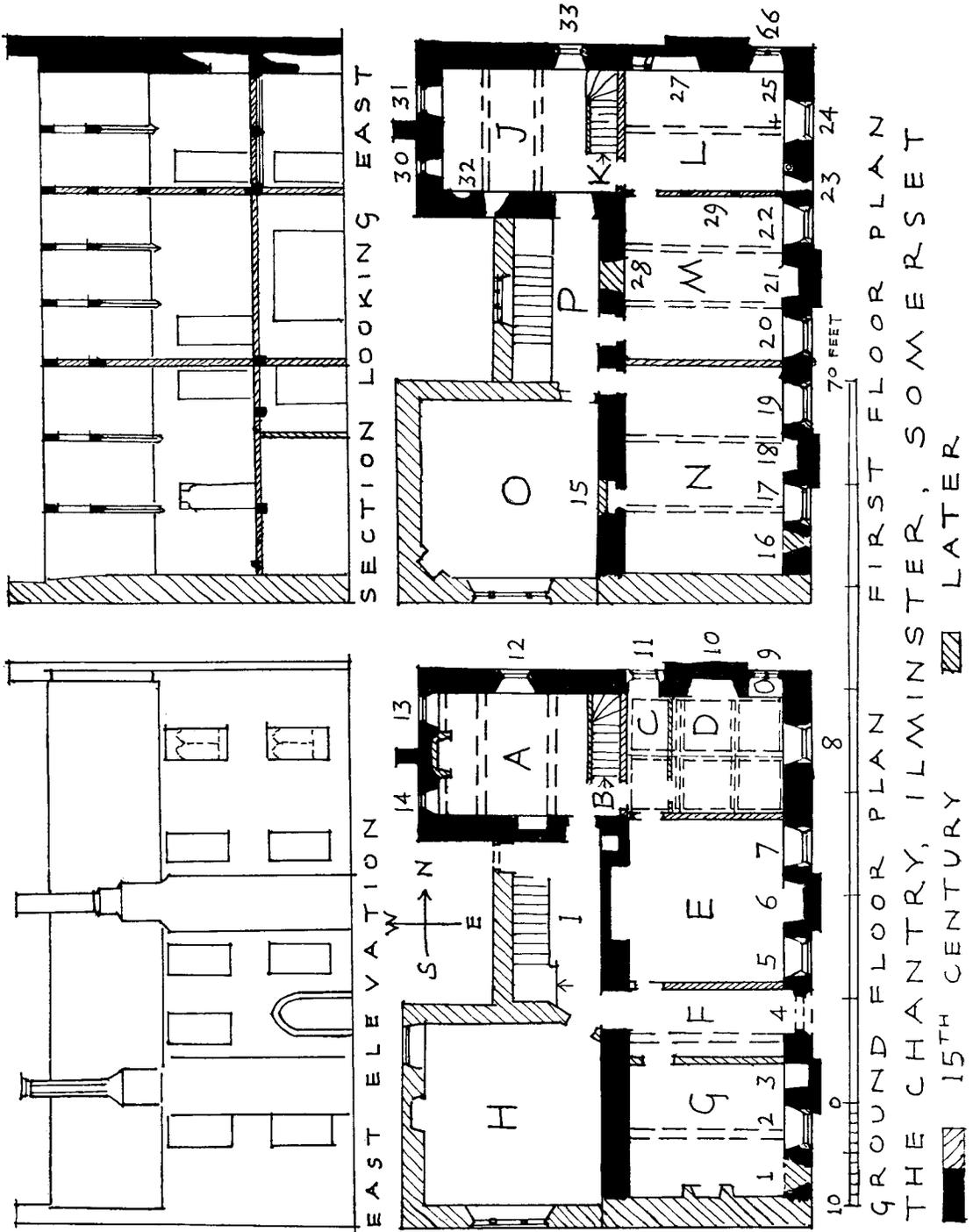


FIG. 83 (p. 231)

screens-passage (F) is entered at the east end by a moulded doorway with a two-centred arch (4: PL. XXI, E); the corresponding archway at the back has been destroyed. The screens-passage was perhaps originally about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. narrower than it is now. The room to the south of it (G), originally 15 ft. square, was perhaps a buttery; the fireplace in the south wall seems to be modern, but there may have been an early one (3) on the east side. North of the screens-passage is the hall (E), about 15 ft. square, with a moulded fireplace with a cambered head on the east side (6). North of this again is a room (C, D) originally 15 ft. by 11 ft., no doubt a parlour. The ceiling is divided into six panels by moulded beams; on the north side is a moulded camber headed fireplace (10) and an original two-light window (9) with a stone basin below it, perhaps an original fitting. The western part of this room is now partitioned off to form a passage (C), with a door (11) cut through the wall at the north end. In the north-west wing is the kitchen (A), with chamfered beams; the fireplace at the west end has been modernized. If this was the original kitchen, as seems likely, it may have been connected with the screens-passage by a pentice along the west wall of the hall. It is not clear where the original stairs to the first floor were; there may have been a stair between the parlour and the kitchen, where there is now a modern stair (B), or there may have been a stair west of the buttery, or there may have been both (compare the two staircases at Stanton Drew rectory).²⁰ The first floor of the main range is occupied by three rooms (N, M, L); all three have fine open roofs with arch-braced collar beams, and two tiers of wind-braces, N and M being of three bays, L of two bays; these are now ceiled over. The southern room (N) covers both the buttery (G) and the screens-passage (F). In the west wall are remains of a shouldered arch (15), which may have led either to a stair-head or to a garderobe. The original fireplace (18) in the east wall has been modernized. The middle room (M), over the hall, has also an original lateral fireplace, now modernized (21); and there seems to have been a window in the west wall (28), now blocked. The northern room (L), over the parlour, is particularly interesting. In the north wall is a moulded square-headed fireplace (27) and an original two-light window (26). In the east wall, north of the window is an image bracket (25: PL. XXI, c), and south of it, a piscina and a small slit window (23); there was evidently an altar here. Between rooms L and M is a plank-and-muntin partition, pierced by four small holes (29) as a squint to view the altar in L from M. The north-west room (J), over the kitchen, is now subdivided, but was probably one room originally; there is a shallow recess (32), perhaps for a wash-basin, in the south-west corner. It is recorded that before some alteration made in the middle nineteenth century, 'there were immediately behind the fireplace in the kitchen and in the room above it two small chambers adapted for concealment';²¹ this probably means that the west gable-wall contained, in the thickness of the chimney-stack, a garderobe at first-floor level and a pit below. Modernized stairs (K) lead up to an attic over J; in the gable are two square-headed windows, now blocked.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* in note 1, p. 131 f.

²¹ *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XIII, pt. i (1857), 41.

If we try to interpret this house as a dwelling for one or perhaps two chantry priests, the ground floor is fairly straightforward: a buttery (G), hall (E), parlour (C, D), with a kitchen at the back (A) in a slightly unorthodox position. The first floor is not so clear. In particular the northern room (L), with its fireplace and piscina, is ambiguous; was this an oratory equipped with the luxury of a fireplace, or a bed-chamber equipped with the luxury of an altar? Or was it, perhaps more probably, a combination of study and oratory? If we should rule this out as a bed-chamber, the principal bedchamber was probably the room over the hall (M), with its squint giving on to the adjoining altar. There remain two other rooms (N) and (J), which could have been used by the second chantry priest (if there was one) and by a guest or lodger, while the attic over J could have been used by a servant. If there were two staircases, one north-west (B, K), the other south-west (behind G, N), all the bed-chambers would have independent access. It is possible that there may have been a first-floor gallery along the north wall of the main range, giving access to rooms M and N.

At some time in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century some additions were made at the back: a south-west wing (H, O) and a staircase (I, P).

4. THE CHANTRY, FARLEIGH HUNGERFORD, SOMERSET (PL. XXI, A, B; FIG. 84)

When Sir Walter Hungerford, later Lord Hungerford (d. 1449) enlarged the castle of Farleigh Hungerford, he turned the parish church, standing in the outer court, into the castle chapel, and built a new parish church on another site. He endowed two chantries in the castle chapel and built a house for the chantry priests immediately to the east of the chapel,²² in a picturesque position on the edge of the hill side (PL. XXI, A). There is a small courtyard between the house and the chapel, and from this the house is entered (PL. XXI, B). The house was probably built about 1440; after the suppression it was used as a farm house, and an addition was built to the north in the early seventeenth century. The house is a stone built rectangle of two stories, about 40 ft. by 22 ft., much the same dimensions as at Trent and Combe Raleigh. On the ground floor, the house has a two-part plan. The northern half no doubt constituted the hall, 17 ft. by 16½ ft. In the east wall, looking out on the valley, are two single-light windows (8, 9); they have plain chamfers and are probably original, though they may once have had arched and cusped heads which are now gone. On the west side is a two-light window, inserted or rebuilt *c.* 1700 (2). At the north end is a large fireplace, modernized (10). There are two arched doorways to this room; one, with elaborately moulded jambs and arch, is in the north-west corner by the fireplace (1); the other, chamfered, is in the south end of the west wall (3). The southern half is occupied by a slightly smaller room, 14 ft. by 16½ ft.; it has a chamfered window, now blocked (7), like the ones in the hall, on the east, and on the south, a two-light window, inserted or rebuilt *c.* 1700 (6). In the north-west corner is an external arched doorway (4), making a pair with the adjoining

²² 'Ther longgid 2 chauntre prestes to this chapelle: and they had a praty mansion at the very est end of it'. *Itinerary of John Leland*, I, 138; cf. Collinson, *op. cit.* in note 5. 361; *The Survey and Rental of the Chantries . . . in the county of Somerset*, pp. 95, 278; *Farleigh Hungerford Castle* (Ministry of Works, Official Guide).

hall doorway. In the south-west corner is a newel stair (5b) leading to the first floor; the wooden steps are a modern replacement. This staircase may perhaps have been partitioned off from the rest of the room to form a lobby, though there is no sign of this now visible. Between the hall and the southern room is

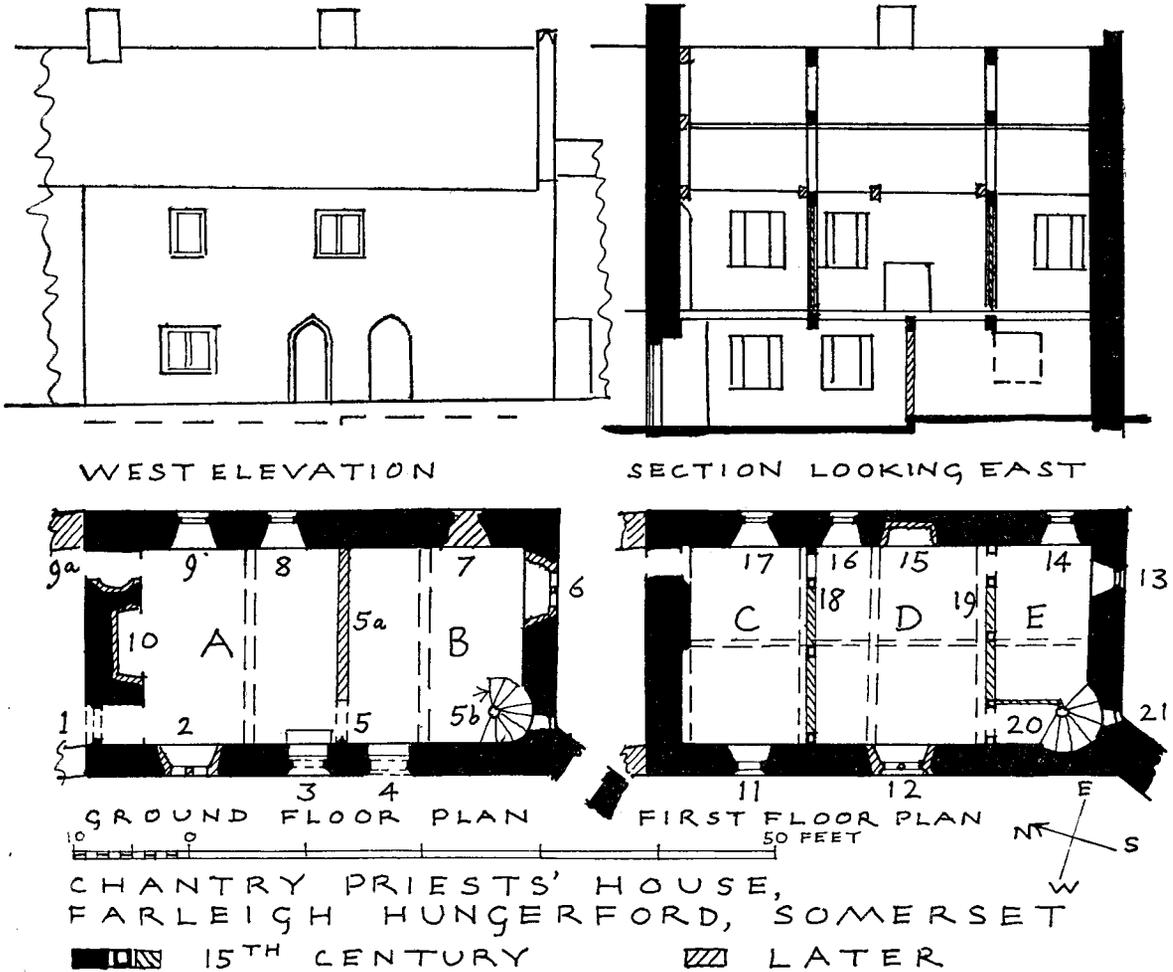


FIG. 84 (p. 234)

a moulded beam, supported by a moulded arch-brace and pilaster (5) at the west end; the east end is concealed in modern plaster-work. The space beneath this beam is now partly filled by a plank-and-muntin partition (5a), which is placed up against rather than mortised into the beam; it may therefore be a later addition, though there was probably always some sort of partition between the two rooms, to judge from the existence of the two external doors side by side,

which is in itself a curious feature. It seems difficult to interpret this plan as an orthodox hall-house; there is no sign of a screens-passage. Was the main entrance to the hall by the elaborately moulded door at the north end, with the southern room serving either as a service room or a parlour, though there is no sign of fireplace in it? Or was the hall entered by the south-west door, in which case the southern room is most likely to have served as a service room, buttery or spence? The two doorways (3, 4), side by side in the west wall (PL. XXI, B), leading into the hall and southern room, may possibly be later insertions, made, say, in the sixteenth century, in which case the hall must have been entered originally by the moulded north doorway (1). Again it should be remembered that this chantry house is in the outer court of the castle: the chantry priests may have been supplied with liveries of food from the castle kitchen and in that case there would not be much need for cooking to be done in the house itself.

The first floor was reached by the newel stair in the south-west corner. In contrast to the ground floor, this floor has a three-part plan, being divided into one large and two small rooms by two moulded tie-beams. Mortises and holes for studding in the under side of these beams show that there were partition walls here; judging by the position of the studs, the southern partition probably has a door at each end (19, 20), the northern one at the east end only (18). All three rooms have a waggon-roof, based on collar-beams and curved braces. The two tie-beams carry king-posts and braces reaching to the junction of the collar-beam and truss; by filling these in, the cross partitions were no doubt carried up to the roof-trusses. A central purlin runs along the middle of the waggon-roof from one king-post to another. At some later date, perhaps in the early seventeenth century, plain beams were added to reinforce the original tie-beams, a third plain tie-beam added in the middle and another at the north end. At the south end of the first floor is a small room, 16½ ft. by 8 ft., into which the staircase comes; in the east wall is a chamfered window (14), probably original, like those below, and in the south wall another window (13), perhaps also original, now blocked. A small slit (21), now blocked, lit the stairs. As there seems to have been two doors in the partition, one at each end, it is possible that the stair-head at the west end of this room was partitioned off (20), though this has left no traces. The main room was in the middle, 16½ ft. by 14 ft. In the east wall are a chamfered single-light window (16), probably original, and a modern fireplace (15) which may occupy the place of an ancient one; in the west wall is a two-light window (12), inserted or rebuilt in the early seventeenth century. At the north end is another small room, 16½ ft. by 11 ft., with a chamfered single-light window, probably original, in the eastern and western walls (17, 11). It seems likely that the large central room with the fireplace served as a common chamber for the two priests, and that the two smaller rooms served as separate bedchambers or studies. The plan has an interesting resemblance to the gate-house lodging at Whatley, Somerset (see below, p. 251 and FIG. 89).

As has been mentioned, the house was built on to at the north end in the early seventeenth century, and it was probably at this time that the battlements were added on the east side (PL. XXI, A), running continuously along both the

original part and the addition. The later extension has cellars, as the ground falls away to the north; the original house seems to have had no cellar.

The next two chantry houses, Trent and Combe Raleigh, are examples of the smallest type of such a dwelling, intended for a single chantry priest, though containing more than one chamber. It is these houses in particular that seem to have analogies with college chambers, vicars' lodgings, and similar small units of accommodation.

5. THE CHANTRY, TRENT, DORSET²³ (PL. XXII, A-C; FIGS. 85-6)

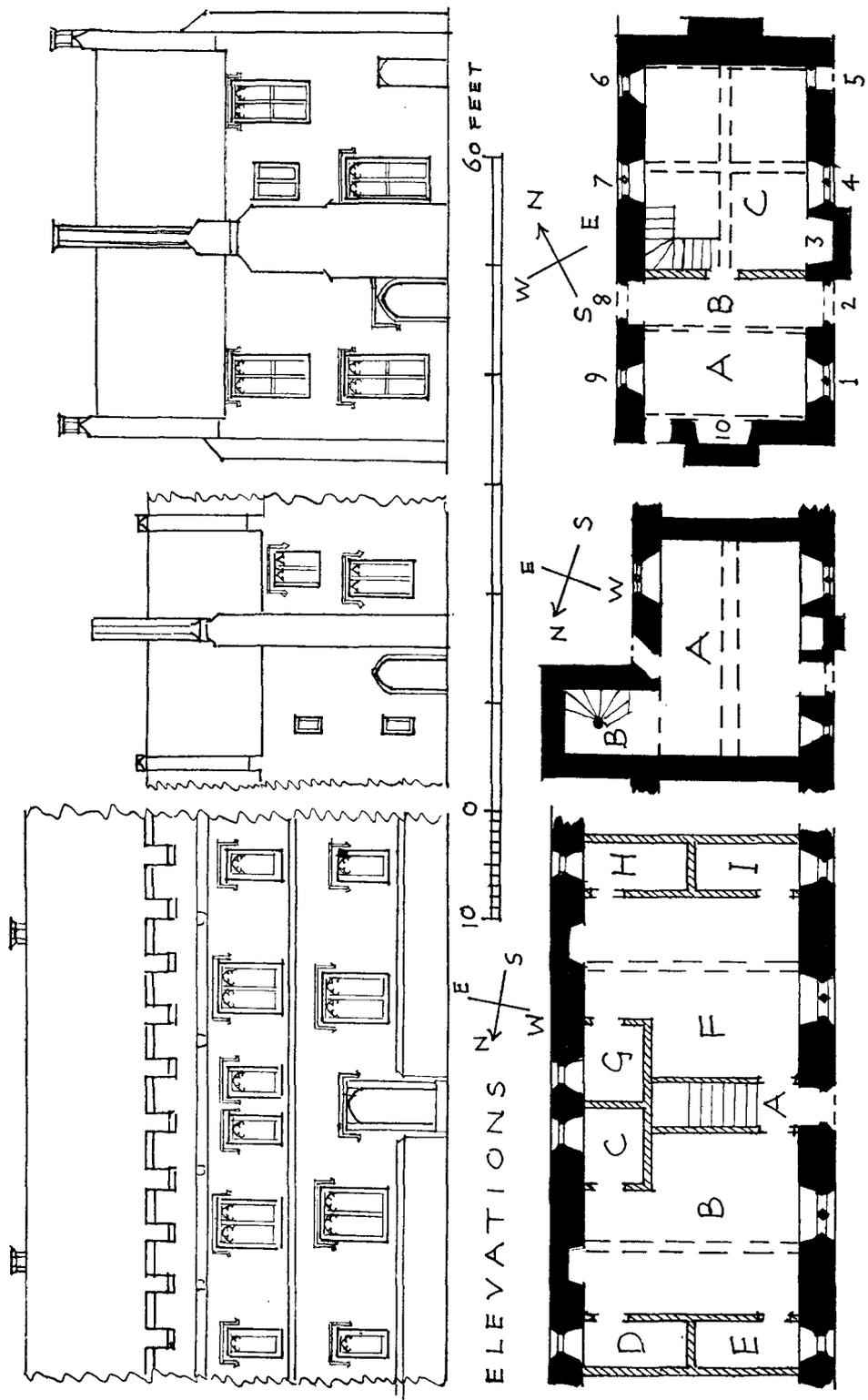
The chantry in the parish church of Trent was founded by John Frank, Master of the Rolls, who was a native of Trent. John Frank combined the foundation of the chantry with establishment of four additional fellowships at Oriel College, Oxford, to be held by natives of Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset and Devon. The royal licence was granted on 9 January 1441 to Oriel College and to Frank's executors for the foundation of the four fellowships and for the endowment of one chantry priest to celebrate Mass daily in the parish church at Trent for the good estate of the king and the executors and for the soul of John Frank and his relatives and of all the faithful departed. On 14 February 1441 the college was licensed to acquire the manor of Wadley, Berks., for this purpose.²⁴ The college was to pay £8 annually to the patron or rector for the support of the priest. Out of this, according to the chantry survey at the suppression (1547), £7 6s. 8d. was for the priest's salary, the repair of his house and the ornaments of the chapel, and 6s. 8d. for an annual obit; after the suppression the 'mansion house' of the chantry, together with a stable and garden, continued to be occupied by the last chantry priest, John Shete, who paid 2s. rent.²⁵

The chantry house stands on the eastern edge of the churchyard, into which its western door directly opens (PL. XXII, B). It was probably built in the middle or second half of the fifteenth century. It is a stone-built gabled rectangle, about 37 ft. by 20 ft. externally, of two stories; it is the best preserved of the chantry houses here examined, for it has preserved all its original doorways, windows and chimney-stacks, and has not been added to, except for a small outbuilding on the south side. There are chimneys in the two gable-ends, and there is a third chimney-stack on the east side with a lofty octagonal funnel (PL. XXII, A). In each gable-end there is an original quatrefoil opening and below this a small rectangular window, the latter probably inserted when the open roof was ceiled over to form an attic, perhaps *c.* 1600. The house has a simple two-part plan. The south part, now thrown into one, was probably originally divided into a screens-passage (B) and a small kitchen (A), 15 ft. by 8 ft. The kitchen has a large transomed two-light window with cinquefoil heads under a label on the east side (1), and

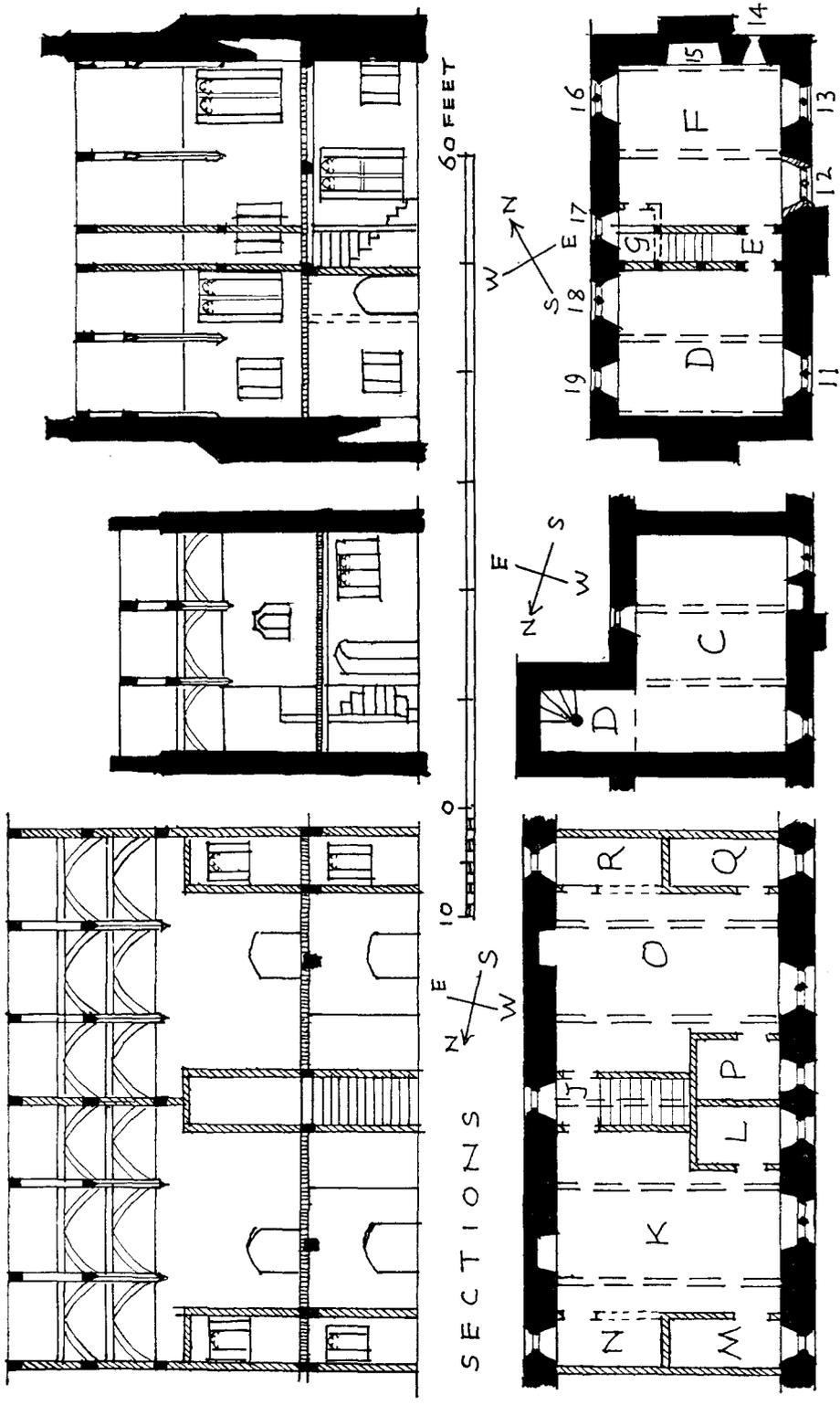
²³ Trent was formerly in the county of Somerset; it is now in Dorset.

²⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1436-41, pp. 497, 541.

²⁵ *The Survey and Rental of the Chantries . . . in the county of Somerset*, pp. 146, 326; *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xx, pt. ii (1874), 135; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1, 205; *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: Dorset*, 1, 258, pls. 38, 46 (showing the hall fire-place).



GROUND FLOOR PLANS
 ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD
 VICARS' CLOSE, WELLS
 CHANTRY HOUSE, TRENT



FIRST FLOOR PLANS
 ALL SOULS
 COLLEGE, OXFORD

VICARS' CLOSE,
 WELLS

CHANTRY HOUSE,
 TRENT

FIG. 86 (pp. 237, 246, 248)

a small low window on the west (9). The screens-passage has a moulded, two-centred arched doorway at each end; the doorway at the east end (2), from the garden, has a square label, and was probably the principal entrance (PL. XXII, c); the back door (8) led straight into the churchyard. The northern part of the ground floor, 15 ft. by 18½ ft., no doubt served as the hall. The ceiling is divided into four compartments by moulded beams. On the east side is an original fireplace (3) with moulded jambs and a square head, with a row of three quatrefoils above. In the east and west walls are two large transomed windows (4, 7), similar to that in the kitchen, and a small low window (6) in the north-west corner. In the north-east corner is a small door (5), perhaps originally leading to a garderobe; it cannot have led to a staircase, as there is no sign of a door above. In the south-west corner of the hall are the stairs, modernized but probably in the original position, leading to the first floor; they may have had a shorter, steeper, straighter flight than now.

On the first floor, the stairs come up between two partition walls into a narrow lobby (E) opening right and left into chambers, as in a medieval college staircase. Both chambers have an open roof, now concealed by a ceiling, below which only the springs of the trusses are visible; the roof is probably of arch-braced collar-beam construction. There are two bays over each chamber, and a narrow bay over the stairs. The north chamber (F), about 15 ft. square, has a fireplace (15) in the north end wall, and two large original transomed windows, one looking east (13), the other west (16), similar to those in the hall below. There is also a small two-light window in the east wall (12), which may be an insertion or enlargement of *c.* 1600, and a very small trefoil-headed window right of the fireplace (14). In the south-west corner there is a small low window (17) now cut into by the partition wall; this probably indicates that there was originally a recess here extending over the stairs, perhaps partitioned off and used as a study (G). The south chamber (D), 15 ft. by 13½ ft., over the kitchen and screens-passage, apparently had no fireplace. It has two large original windows, east (11) and west (18), like the ones in the north chamber, and a small low window in the south-west corner (19), perhaps also to light a study. Here was ample accommodation for a single chantry priest: a small kitchen and hall on the ground floor, and above, two chambers of almost equal size; probably the chantry priest would occupy the northern room with the fireplace, while the other may have housed a lodger. At the time of the suppression we know that the parson of Trent employed a curate to serve the church there, and he may possibly have lodged with the chantry priest.

The ground floor plan is typical of the small house of the period; compare Abbot Selwood's houses at Mells, Somerset, or Bishop Veysey's houses.²⁶ The first floor has analogies with a college staircase, in the arrangement of the stairs between the chambers, and in the two types of window (PL. XXII, B), which resemble the large chamber windows and small study windows which are such a characteristic feature of the medieval college plan.

²⁶ P. B. Chatwin and E. G. Harcourt, 'The Bishop Veysey Houses,' *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* LXIV (1941-2).

6. THE CHANTRY, COMBE RALEIGH, DEVON (PL. XIX, E; FIG. 87)

A chantry for one priest in the parish church of Combe Raleigh was founded by William Denys and Joan his wife about 1463.²⁷ The chantry house stands a short distance east of the church; it was probably built in the late fifteenth century. It is a small rectangle 37 ft. by 22 ft. externally, gable-ended, built of flint with ashlar dressings. There are chimney-stacks in the gable-ends and two projections (a staircase and a garderobe) on the east side. The windows have been modernized except for two at the back on the east side (13, 14) and perhaps one in the south end (12). The original structure is well preserved; there is a modern wing which only touches it at the north-west corner. The plan is of two parts; one half is divided into two stories, the other into three, but with a single roof-level over all. On the ground floor is a screens-passage (C) leading to a newel stair (D) at the back. To the left were two small rooms, presumably a kitchen (A), about 9 ft. square, and a buttery (B), 9 ft. by 7 ft.; there are traces in the ceiling beams of the dividing partitions, but the whole space, A, B, C is now thrown together. To the right of the screens-passage is the hall (E), about 17 ft. square. This has a fireplace with a square stone frame (5), and a fine ceiling divided into nine panels by moulded beams with carved bosses at the intersections; there are traces of barber's-pole colouring on the beams and gilding on the bosses. There are two modernized windows (3, 4) in the west wall and a blocked window (6) in the east wall. Dividing the hall from the screens-passage is an original plank-and-muntin partition, with a moulded cornice and a central camber-headed doorway; this partition is part of the timber-framed transverse wall which divides the house from top to bottom. On the first floor two rooms open off the staircase at different levels. To the south, over the hall, is a lofty chamber (I) with an open roof (probably arch-braced) of two bays, now ceiled over, but with the springs of the roof-trusses showing. The fireplace (11) and the window on the west side (10) have been modernized, and the south window (12) partly so; on the east side is an original timber framed, transomed, two-light window (13). Off the south-east corner opens a garderobe (J). The northern chamber (H) is at a slightly lower level and less lofty; it has a ceiling divided into six panels by moulded beams, and a square-framed stone fireplace (15). In the west wall is an original timber-framed, transomed, two-light window (14), like the one in the southern chamber, but with the lower lights now blocked; the sill must originally have come within a foot or so of the floor. Above this room is a cockloft (N), with a roof of two bays, originally lit by a window in the north gable-wall. A small closet in the thickness of the wall (perhaps a second garderobe) opens off the stairs half-way between the first floor and the cockloft (L). So far as we know, this house never had to accommodate more than one chantry priest; perhaps the lofty chamber over the hall (I) served as a kind of solar or great chamber, and the room over the kitchen (H) as the principal bed-chamber, with a servant in the cockloft above. This two-part house is similar to the house at Trent in general plan and overall height and dimensions, but with this important difference that in the 'service' half three stories are got into the

²⁷ G. Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (Exeter, 1846), p. 477; the annual value was £7 6s. 8d.

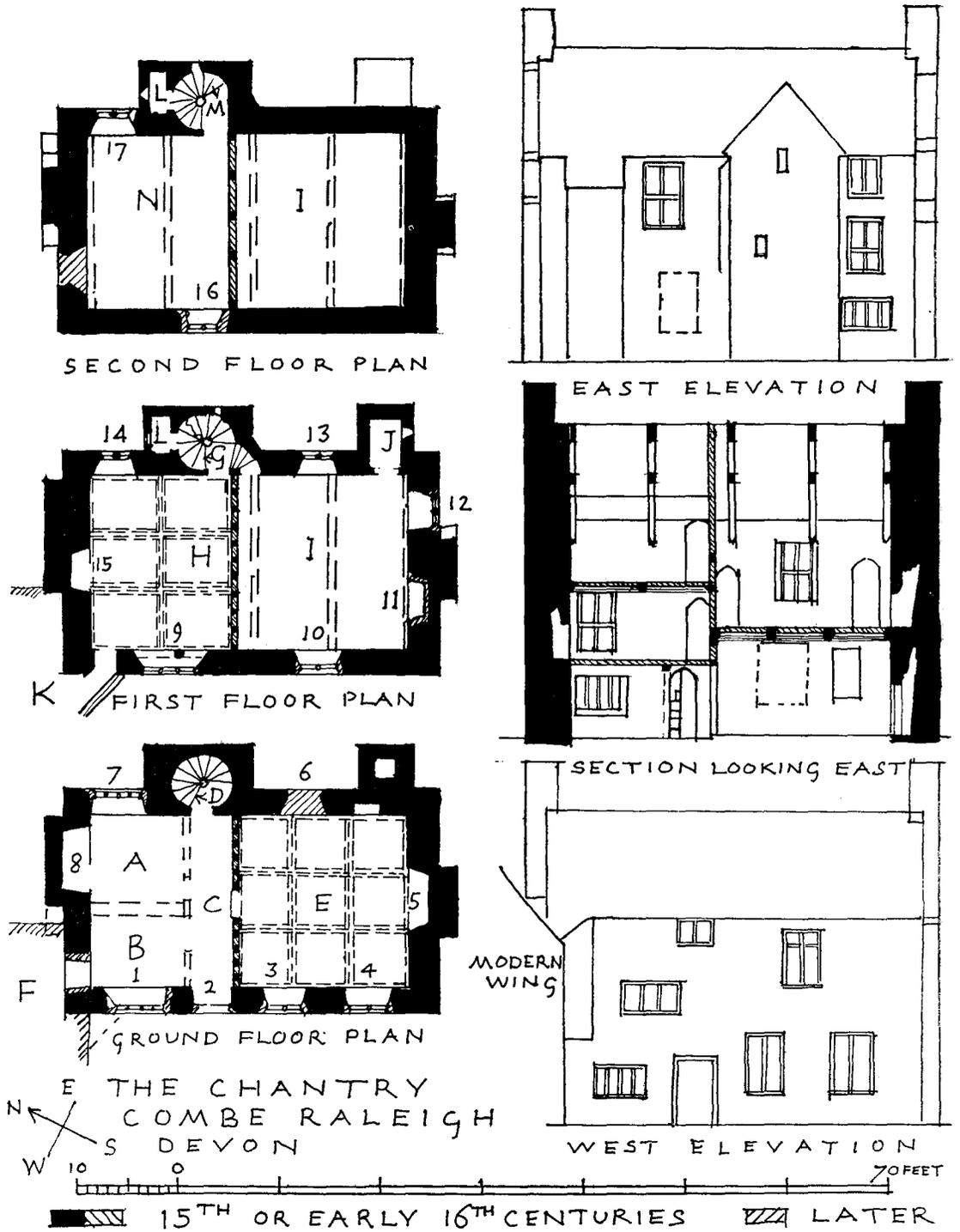


FIG. 87 (p. 241)

space occupied by two loftier stories in the other half, thus creating an extra room; also the stair is placed in a newel at the back, as was more convenient for serving three stories at varying levels. Altogether it is an ingenious, rather more sophisticated piece of planning. While the Trent house, as we have seen, resembles the traditional type of college staircase, the Combe Raleigh house, with its newel staircase, resembles another type of chambers, such as the vicars' lodgings at Lincoln and Wells, the Old Court at King's College, Cambridge, and (to take a more domestic example) the houses built by Abbot Selwood at Mells, and the retainer's lodgings at Thornbury (Gloucestershire).

SOME ANALOGOUS TYPES OF LODGINGS

We have already compared one of our larger houses, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, which housed a small collegiate body, with some of the larger houses, such as the Strangers' Hall, Norwich, Tackley's Inn, Oxford, and the Hall of the Vicars' Choral at Chichester. It will be useful to compare some of the smaller chantry priests' houses, like Trent, Combe Raleigh and Farleigh Hungerford, with certain other smaller units of accommodation provided for such people as fellows of colleges, vicars choral, almsmen, and household officials and retainers.

i. COLLEGE CHAMBERS (FIG. 88)

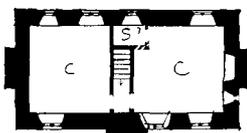
The type of accommodation—chambers and studies—provided in the medieval colleges at Oxford and Cambridge has been well studied, notably in Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*. There are certain general features common throughout the medieval period. In the first place, no one except the head of a college or a wealthy and dignified lodger expected to have a room to himself. Each chamber was meant to be occupied by several persons, two, three or four 'chumming' together, and this applied to both fellows and such undergraduate scholars as there were. There would be a large chamber, often furnished with a fireplace, which served as a common bed-sitting room, and partitioned off this would be a number of small studies, one for each inmate. It seems clear from medieval accounts that the studies had doors and locks, for the safe custody of books, etc. Two types of windows were used: large two-light ones to light the chambers, and smaller single-light ones to light the studies. The internal arrangements have generally been much altered—studies amalgamated to form bedrooms or thrown into the sitting room, open roofs ceiled off to form attics, new forms of staircase inserted; but it is possible in most cases to trace the original plan. Secondly, almost always the chambers were built in ranges of two stories only, the upper chambers having open roofs, or, if the roof space was ceiled off, it was used for storage only; it was not until the late sixteenth or seventeenth century that the attics or cocklofts were made into inhabitable rooms. Consequently, according to the medieval plan, the two stories could be served by a single short, straight, steep flight of stairs, running between two parallel partition walls, with chambers opening right and left on each floor; this becomes the classic staircase arrangement of the medieval college plan. It made it possible to fit in one or

two studies under the stairs, for the ground floor chambers, and one or two studies over the stairs, for the first-floor chambers. Thirdly the chambers were normally built in ranges only one room thick, so that there could be windows on both sides; this was important when windows might be unglazed, and had to be shuttered on the side of the prevailing wind, and it continued long after, down to the mid-seventeenth century. It was no doubt for this reason—to allow for a range lit on both sides—that each staircase had to be entered separately from the outside; there seems to have been no attempt in the medieval colleges, except at Eton, to adopt the plan that was common in medieval inns, namely rows of chambers entered from two or even three stories of galleries, a plan which might have made the rooms too dark for academic purposes. At Magdalen College, Oxford, however, the staircases do open off a ground floor cloister, and the first floor is two rooms thick.

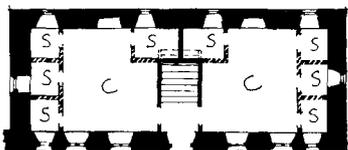
The origins of the college-chamber plan are obscure. It should be remembered that the medieval colleges only housed a tiny privileged minority, mostly graduate fellows; the vast majority of the university, both graduates and undergraduates continued to live as they had done from the beginning, scattered about the town in lodgings or in academic halls; and it was probably in these lodgings or halls that the typical living conditions of the medieval scholars were worked out. A rich, well-beneficed scholar might hire a house for himself, but most scholars would have to share a room; unfortunately, the only recognizable architectural remains of a medieval hall at Oxford, Tackley's Inn, are too scanty to show whether the chamber had studies partitioned off or not. In some cases, at least, even the colleges had to begin by occupying existing houses or halls, before they could erect proper buildings. It may be therefore that college chambers represent a rationalization or standardization of earlier domestic arrangements. I now come to specific examples:

1. *Merton College, Oxford*.²⁸ The north and east ranges of Mob Quad were built c. 1304-7 and are probably the earliest surviving examples of college chambers at Oxford or Cambridge. The internal partitions have been altered, and some of the windows, especially the large ones looking on to the quadrangle, have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century and later; but judging from the general structure and surviving early features, and from analogy with later, better-preserved examples, we can conjecturally reconstruct the plan as follows. The north range is of two stories, stone built, measuring about 50 ft. by 17 ft. internally. It is divided into two by a staircase 5½ ft. wide, now rebuilt, but probably originally a straight, steep flight, like that in the east range. On either side is a chamber about 22 ft. by 17 ft. On the ground floor four original narrow windows can be traced in the back (north) wall, another in the east wall, and in the west wall is a blocked ogee-headed doorway, which might possibly have been a window originally; the south wall may perhaps have been originally lit by similar windows, three on each side of the door, but these have been replaced. Judging by the windows, the beams and the evidence of the plan in W. Williams, *Oxonia Depicta* (1732), each chamber probably had three small studies in the end furthest

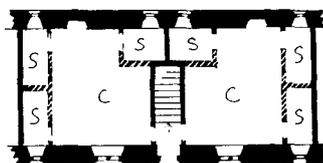
²⁸ *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; England: City of Oxford* (1939), pp. 81-2.



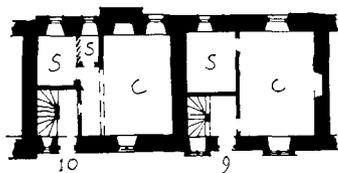
CHANTRY HOUSE, TRENT,
(FIRST FLOOR)



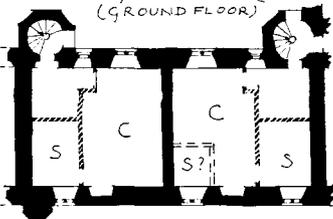
MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD:
NORTH RANGE OF MOB QUAD
(GROUND FLOOR)



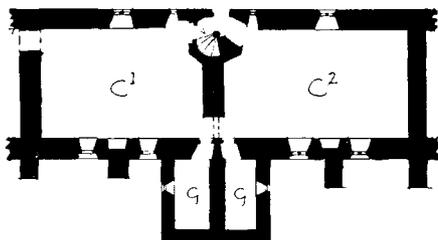
ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD
EAST RANGE (GROUND FLOOR)



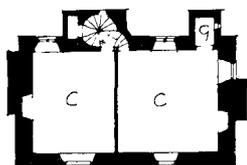
WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD:
MONASTIC CAMERAE IN SOUTH
RANGE (GROUND FLOOR)



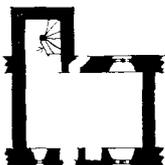
KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
WEST RANGE OF OLD COURT
(GROUND FLOOR)



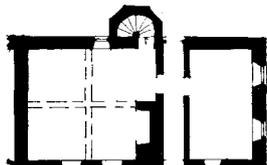
VICARS' COURT, LINCOLN: PART OF
SOUTH RANGE (GROUND FLOOR)



THE CHANTRY, COMBE
RALEIGH, DEVON
(FIRST FLOOR)



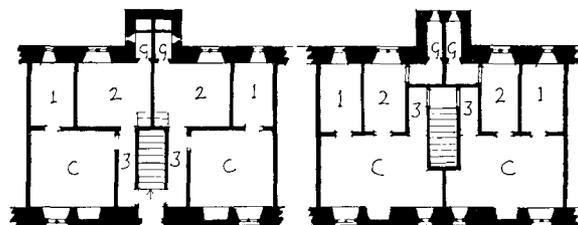
VICARS' CLOSE, WELLS
(GROUND FLOOR)



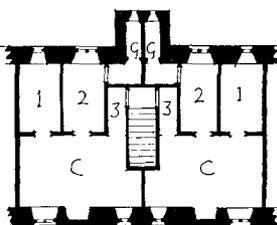
HOUSE AT MELLS,
SOMERSET (GROUND FLOOR)



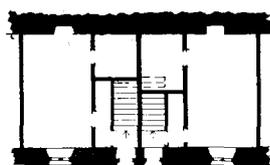
CHANTRY PRIESTS' HOUSE,
FARLEIGH HUNGERFORD,
SOMERSET (FIRST FLOOR)



GROUND FLOOR
HOSPITAL OF ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER:
BRETHREN'S DWELLINGS



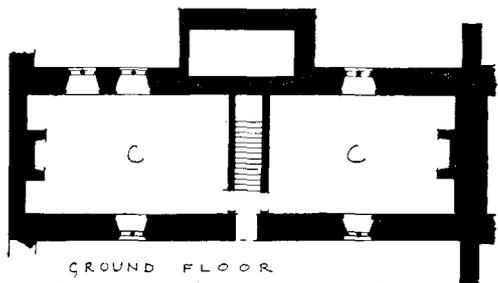
FIRST FLOOR



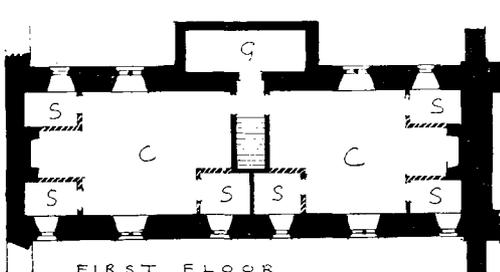
WINDSOR CASTLE:
POOR KNIGHTS' LODGINGS
(GROUND PLAN)



WINDSOR CASTLE
VICARS' HOUSES
(GROUND PLAN)



GROUND FLOOR
(SCHOLARS' CHAMBERS)



FIRST FLOOR
(FELLOWS' CHAMBERS)

WINCHESTER COLLEGE. EAST RANGE OF CHAMBER COURT
C = CHAMBER S = STUDY G = GARDROBE // PARTITIONS RESTORED
CHANTRY PRIESTS' HOUSES & OTHER LODGINGS PLANS COMPARED

from the stairs and a fourth partly under the stairs at the back. The two chambers on the first floor probably had an open roof, now ceiled over. There are five original windows at the back and two over the door at first-floor level; the rest of the windows have been altered. Each of the first-floor chambers probably had two or three studies at the ends and another study half over the staircase. The eastern range is also stone-built of two stories, about 50 ft. by 18 ft., divided into two by a straight steep stair of the original type. Rather more of the windows of this range have been altered, but a few of the original narrow windows can be traced; the chambers and studies probably followed the same arrangement as in the north range, except that there can hardly have been three studies at the northern end, as the abutment of the treasury building precludes any central window there. Each of the chambers in these two ranges could have housed three or four fellows.

2. *All Souls College, Oxford.* The front quadrangle, built *c.* 1438-42, contains some of the best-preserved examples of the normal type of medieval college staircases and chambers in the fully developed form.²⁹ Part of the east range is here illustrated (FIGS. 85-6). There are two-storied ranges; straight steep stairs are flanked right and left on each floor by chambers measuring about 20 ft. by 22 ft. (inclusive of studies). Each chamber was planned to contain three studies, two at the end away from the stairs and a third partly under or partly over the stairs. The ground-floor chambers were each to contain three fellows; but in each of the eight best first-floor chambers there were to be only two fellows, who would need only two studies. The chambers have fireplaces and two-light windows, the studies single-light windows. The first-floor chambers had an open roof of arch-braced collar-beam construction, though this has later been floored over to provide attic rooms reached by secondary stairs.

3. *King's College, Cambridge.* In the Old Court, built *c.* 1441, and demolished (except for the gateway) *c.* 1835,³⁰ the ranges of chambers were unusual in several ways. First, there were three stories, instead of the usual two; secondly they were served by a series of newel stairs projecting into the court, instead of the usual straight stairs, which could only serve two stories; thirdly the chambers on the first and second floors were so lofty that there was an *entre-sol* above the studies serving as a gallery or upper study (cf. the chambers in Tom Quad, Christ Church, Oxford). The end of each chamber opposite the staircase was partitioned off to form a vestibule and a study.

4. *Worcester College, Oxford.*³¹ The south range, built in the fifteenth century, formed part of the Benedictine Gloucester College, which was organized on a federal basis; each monastery owned and built a separate block, known as a

²⁹ *Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, III, 187-9.

³⁰ Willis and Clark, *Archit. Hist. Univ. Cambridge*, I, 321 ff. According to the unrealized project, laid down in the Founder's 'will' (1448), for a great court south of the chapel of King's, there were to be chambers 22 by 25 or 29 ft., in three-story ranges, served by stair turrets on the court side, as in the Old Court, and having turrets (no doubt for latrines) on the outer side. At Eton the Founder's 'will' prescribed chambers varying from 18 by 26 ft. to 24 by 35 ft.; as executed, the Eton plan contained chambers 17 by 25 or 27 ft., in two-story ranges, entered from cloisters below and galleries above, and having external latrine turrets. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 350-375, and plans.

³¹ *Op. cit.* in note 29, p. 305.

camera or *mansio*, for the use of its monk-students; hence the plan differs slightly from the ordinary college staircase. In the examples illustrated (staircases 9 and 10; FIG. 88), each *camera* is stone-built, of two stories, measuring internally about 17 ft. by 21 or 22 ft. The stairs and some internal partitions have been rebuilt, but it is possible to conjecture the original plan. The whole floor of each *camera* probably formed a single chamber, with one study (as in no. 90) or perhaps two studies (as in no. 10) in the south-east corner, and probably some form of newel staircase in the north-east corner. The first floor would have had an open roof (now converted into attics); the arch-braced collar-beam truss dividing the roof of no. 10 into two bays can still be traced. The chambers have two-light windows, the studies single-light ones.

5. *Winchester College*.³² Chamber Court, built *c.* 1387-1400, is an interesting example of the college-chamber, already used by William of Wykeham at New College, Oxford, here adapted for the use of a school. The two-storied ranges on the east and north sides of the court contain three pairs of chambers on each floor. The staircases have been altered, but there was probably originally the usual straight stair between each pair of chambers. Each chamber measured 20 ft. wide by 30 to 35 ft. long. The scale is much larger from that of other college chambers, including even that of New College, Oxford; this was probably due to the need to provide large ground floor chambers to house the boys. The first-floor chambers were each occupied by three fellows; each chamber probably had three studies, two at the end farthest from the stair and one partly over the stair, as seems indicated by the alternating types of two-light and single-light windows. There are references to 'galleries', perhaps entre-sols over the studies. The six ground-floor chambers lodged the seventy scholars, holding from 10 to 13 each; there was clearly no room for each boy to have a study of the normal type, and there can only have been some kind of desk, more like the present 'toys'.

ii. VICARS CHORAL (FIG. 88)

1. *Vicars' Court, Lincoln*, built *c.* 1310,³³ was apparently planned to consist of ranges round three sides of the courtyard, though it is not clear whether this was completely carried out. There are traces of a pentice running round the courtyard, connecting the lodgings at ground-floor level. The best preserved part is the range in the south side. This contains three chambers. The two eastern ones (C¹, C² on plan) evidently formed a pair, served by a newel staircase; a doorway, now blocked, led to the stair foot, from which the two chambers were entered. There are two floors; the upper chambers apparently had open roofs with trusses of cambered, arch-braced construction. Each chamber on each floor had a garderobe; these were arranged in pairs, projecting from the south side, where the ground falls away. Each chamber measured 18 ft. wide by 27 (=C¹) or 30 (=C²) ft. long; each had one window towards the courtyard and two on the south side, with a fireplace probably between the southern windows. The chambers were probably not originally subdivided to form studies,

³² *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, v, 14 ff; W. F. Oakeshott and J. H. Harvey, *Winchester College* (1955).

³³ M. E. Wood (Mrs. Kaines-Thomas), in *Lincolnshire Historian* (1951), pp. 281 ff.

etc., the existing subdivisions being post-medieval; so far as we know each vicar had a chamber to himself.

2. *Vicars' Close, Wells*, FIGS. 85-6.³⁴ Building was begun by Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury, *c.* 1347, but the two ranges containing the dwellings of the vicars, twenty on the west side and twenty-two on the east side, were probably rebuilt by Bishop Beckington (1443-65) or his executors; his arms appear on them. These dwellings represent a superior kind of accommodation; each vicar has not merely a separate chamber, but a separate two-storey house, stone-built, measuring internally 20 ft. by 13 ft., with a newel staircase at the back, each floor constituting one room. The entrance door opened straight into the lower room, which probably served as a kind of hall; the upper room, which had an open roof of three bays, probably served as a combined bed-chamber and study. Both rooms have fireplaces and two types of windows, some two-light, others narrow single-light ones, rather like the chamber and study windows of college chambers, though there is no reason to suppose that any part of the upper or lower room was partitioned off to form a study.

3. *Vicars' houses, Horseshoe Cloister, Windsor Castle*.³⁵ Built *c.* 1478-81, these, like the Wells houses, are separate, two-storey houses, but timber-framed, and on a smaller scale, each measuring about 15 ft. by 10 to 13 ft.; there are twenty-one of them and they form a polygonal range, connected by the Horseshoe Cloister. Each house has a newel staircase, which also forms an entrance lobby, in the corner towards the cloister, and a chimney-stack in the outer wall. The first floors have been modernized, but probably repeated the ground plan; they did not extend over the cloister. The small space next to the staircase may possibly have been partitioned off to form a store closet on the ground floor and a study on the first floor.

4. *Vicars' Close, Chichester*.³⁶ This close was built in the late fifteenth century, perhaps about the time of the incorporation of the vicars choral (1465-7), to provide the 32 vicars with separate dwellings, in place of the common dwelling which they may have occupied at the west end of their common hall. The houses were built in two long, narrow ranges on the east and west sides of the Vicars' Close, with a third range closing the south end divided by a gateway. The western half of the south range has been demolished, and the remaining ranges have been altered, so that it is difficult even to conjecture the original plan. The western range is now divided into four houses, each measuring about 40 ft. by 12½ ft. internally, and there is a similar block in the south-east corner. These blocks may perhaps represent so many pairs of chambers divided by a staircase, each chamber measuring about 17 ft. by 12½ ft. Four two-storey blocks on each side and two more at the south end would provide forty chambers—one chamber to

³⁴ A. and A. W. Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1895), III, i ff., pls. i-iv. The internal arrangements and fenestration have been much altered, but it is possible to reconstruct a typical original plan, as given in this book.

³⁵ W. H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle: an Architectural History* (1913), II, 517 ff. and plan III; previously the vicars had occupied chambers on the ground floor beneath the canons' chambers in the canons' cloister, *ibid.*, p. 502.

³⁶ See authorities cited in note 12, and *Sussex Views* (Suss. Record Soc., 1951), pl. 40.

each vicar and some to spare, or two to each vicar if the numbers had become reduced.

5. *Vicars' Close, Lichfield*. Here the vicars' houses were built round two quadrangles to the west of the cathedral. One of the best preserved parts consists of the north range of the north quadrangle, a two-storied timber-framed range, apparently of the fifteenth century, containing what were originally four houses. The upper floor projects towards the quadrangle, and there are brick chimney-stacks projecting from the northern or outer side. The plans of the houses may have varied, but from one specimen at least it seems possible to conjecture the original plan as follows: the house would have consisted of a single room, about 15 ft. square, on the ground floor, flanked by an entrance lobby and a straight flight of stairs leading up to a similar room on the first floor, which apparently had a projecting bay-window towards the quadrangle and a smaller window which may have lit a closet or study over the lobby. The first-floor room now has a ceiling of moulded beams with a carved boss in the centre; it is not clear whether this is original or replaces an open roof. In effect each house was thus like one half of a college staircase; the Poor Knights' lodgings at Windsor have a similar plan (see below).

iii. MISCELLANEOUS (FIG. 88)

1. *The Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester*.³⁷ The brethren's dwellings, probably built by Cardinal Beaufort *c.* 1445, are arranged in pairs, on two floors, with a straight stair between, like the typical college staircase, but with this important and unusual feature, that the range is two rooms thick. Each set consists of one large room in front (C), measuring 14 ft. by 13 ft., on the ground floor and 17½ ft. by 12 ft., on the first floor, with two small rooms at the back (1, 2), and a garderobe, the garderobes being grouped in pairs over a stream at the back. The stairs open, not directly into the main room, but into a short passage (3); this and the other internal partitions seem to be original. At present room C is used as a sitting room, 1 as a bedroom, 2 as a scullery; according to the original plan, perhaps C was used as a bed-sitting-room, a 'chamber', 1 as a store-room, 2 as a spence or buttery. It is remarkable that the dwelling of the brethren at St. Cross are so much more elaborately subdivided than most other types of lodging, which often consist of a single large chamber.

2. *The Poor Knights' Lodgings, Windsor Castle*.³⁸ These are contained in two mid-sixteenth-century ranges, one newly built, the other reconstructed from a fourteenth-century building. They are small two-storied houses, built in pairs; each house has a straight stair with one room, 11 ft. by 19 ft., and a small closet at the back, partly under the stairs; the plan may perhaps have been repeated on the first floor, with a closet over the stairs. These dwellings resemble those of the vicars choral at Wells and Windsor in being self-contained two-storey houses, but instead of having newel stairs, they have the straight stair characteristic of college chambers.

³⁷ F. T. Dollman and I. R. Jobbins, *An Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture in Great Britain* (1861), pp. 9 ff., pls. xvi, xvii, xx; *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, v, 66 ff.

³⁸ W. H. St. John Hope, *op. cit.* in note 35, II, 531 ff.

3. *Houses at Mells, Somerset*;³⁹ late fifteenth century. Abbot Selwood of Glastonbury laid out the street leading to the church with two rows of more or less uniform houses, apparently intended for clothiers. Each house is stone-built, of two storeys. One typical house has a screens-passage with front and back door; a small room (perhaps a buttery), 18 ft. by 10 ft., on one side, and on the other side a large room with a fireplace, about 22 ft. by 18 ft. (probably a combined hall and kitchen), with a newel stair at the back. On the second floor are two rooms and a closet. Another house has roughly the same plan but slightly larger, with a small extra room (perhaps a parlour) beyond the hall, and a similar extra room above. These Mells houses, unlike the other lodgings considered here, are ordinary private houses, intended for a family; but as a piece of uniform planning, they are interesting to compare with the other lodgings.

4. *Lincoln's Inn, London*.⁴⁰ Ranges south and south-west of the Old Hall, containing chambers (nos. 16, 18, 19 and 20, Old Buildings, and nos. 12 and 13, New Square), were built partly in 1524 and partly in 1534; the west wing is of three stories with attics, and the south wing of four stories; they are built of brick, and served by polygonal newel-stair turrets. The internal partitions have been much altered, but there may perhaps have originally been a series of large chambers about 20 ft. square.

IV. HOUSEHOLD LODGINGS

A great household in the later middle ages needed accommodation in the form of a series of chambers or lodgings for various classes of people: household officials, servants, retainers and guests. Comparatively little attention has been given to the architectural aspect of this problem. Admittedly material remains are scanty or not easy to identify. There is however a good deal of documentary evidence, such as household regulations, accounts surveys, and inventories.⁴¹ A medieval household was rather like a miniature civil service, with heads of departments, steward, butler, chamberlain, marshal, and under them the various grades, esquires (*armigeri*), yeomen (*valetti*), grooms (*garciones*), and pages, chaplains and children of the chapel, and boys being trained in 'urbanity and nurture' (like the 'henxmen' in the royal household).⁴² Histories of domestic architecture sometimes seem to give the impression that apart from the lord and lady in their solar, the rest of the household had to doss down on the straw of the great hall. Whatever may have been the case in the early middle ages, I doubt if this was true of a large household in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An important household official would need a room to himself, a combination of bed-sitting room and office, to work in and keep his records in as well as to sleep in; such a man, if in orders, might well own a parsonage elsewhere, and might reasonably

³⁹ *Country Life*, 30 April, 1943, pp. 792 ff.; *Itinerary of John Leland*, v, 105.

⁴⁰ *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: London II (West London)*, pp. 47-8.

⁴¹ Cf. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1790); *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, Orig. Series, xxxii, 1868).

⁴² *A Collection of Ordinances* (*op. cit.* in note 41), p. 45; A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV* (1959), p. 126.

expect suitable accommodation in his lord's house, at least as good as that of a chantry-priest or vicar-choral. Lesser persons, squires, yeomen, grooms, might expect to chum together, several in a room, or in a bed, like dons or schoolboys, but still they needed chambers. Again liveries of candles and firewood imply chambers to be lit and heated. Guests also would need lodgings according to their rank, at least as good as the spacious, self-contained chambers to be found in inns by the fifteenth century. An important guest would need at least one chamber for himself and his suite; lesser guests might have to chum together. We may expect therefore to find in a large manor house or castle a series of self-contained chambers for lodging these various classes of persons. Quite a lot of such chambers could be stowed away in what may be called the basic structure of a castle or great house. If for instance one examines the plan of one of the four-towered quadrilateral castles that became fashionable in the late fourteenth century, like Bolton in Wensleydale,⁴³ or the interesting hexagonal equivalent at Wardour (Wiltshire), it is clear that such a building contained a considerable number of self-contained chambers, with independent access provided by an ingenious disposition of newel stairs and wall passages. Again, the ground floor under a range of state apartments (as at Minster Lovell, Oxon. and probably at Eltham, Kent) or the upper storey over a range of offices could serve as such chambers; at Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire,⁴⁴ the chambers over the offices on the north and west sides of the inner courtyard are served by projecting newels which remind one of the staircase system at King's College, Cambridge, described above. The towers that punctuated the curtain walls of a castle could provide a series of chambers, each with its chimney and garderobe, as at Kirby Muxloe⁴⁵ and elsewhere. The lofty gatehouse, which was a favourite feature in late medieval houses (as at Lambeth, Buckden, Hunts., and Layer Marney, Essex), often had two projecting newel stairs, which would give independent access to a number of chambers. A humble example of a gatehouse lodging is at *Whatley, Somerset* (FIG. 89). Here there is a detached gatehouse belonging to a house on the north side of the churchyard. An external flight of steps leads up to the first floor, which has a roof of four bays. The two end bays were formerly partitioned off, as is shown by mortises in the tie-beams, one bay apparently serving as a vestibule and the other perhaps as a bedroom or storeroom; the two middle bays formed the principal chamber, with a fireplace and window on one side, and the traces of a small bay window on the other. The plan resembles the chantry priests' house at Farleigh Hungerford (p. 234). But apart from all these chambers, fitted into otherwise necessary structures, we can in some cases find buildings specially designed to provide ranges of household lodgings or chambers, not unlike college chambers or the lodgings of vicars choral or chantry priests.

1. *Dartington Hall, Devon* (PL. XXII, D; FIG. 89). Built by John Holland, Duke of

⁴³ *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, N. Riding*, I, 272 ff., and plans opposite p. 270.

⁴⁴ A. and A. W. Pugin, *op. cit.* in note 34, II, 28 ff., pl. viii (XXVII); an Elizabethan survey speaks of 'five chambers for ordinary lodging' over the offices.

⁴⁵ *Kirby Muxloe*, Ministry of Works, Official Guide, ed. C. R. Peers, p. 18. The Edwardian castles in north Wales have similar chambers.

Exeter, half-brother to Richard II, *c.* 1385-90,⁴⁶ this has a very remarkable and well preserved set of household lodgings, contained in a stone-built, two-story range about 250 ft. long, along the north-west side of the courtyard, between the

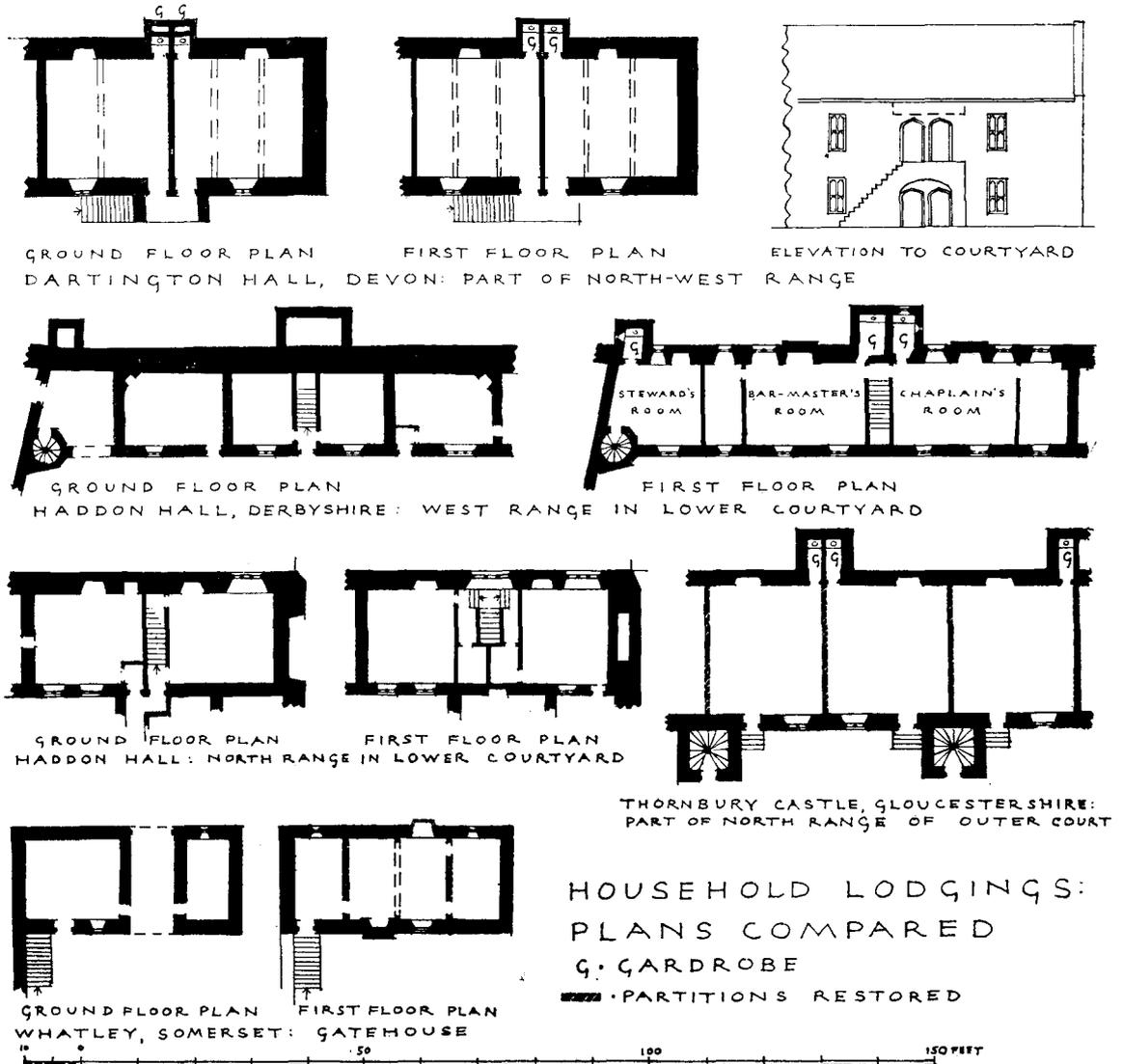


FIG. 89 (pp. 250-55)

gatehouse and the great hall. The two chambers nearest the hall probably formed part of the lord's apartments. The rest of the range contains eight chambers on each floor, and these are arranged in pairs. The two doorways of each ground

⁴⁶ *Country Life*, 27 Aug., 1938, pp. 204 ff.; 3 Sept., 1938, pp. 228 ff.; *Archaeol. J.*, cxv (1958), 184.

floor pair are under an arched porch, and those of the first floor open on to a projecting landing on top of the porch (what would probably have been called an oriel), reached by an outside stone staircase,⁴⁷ which may have been covered by a pent-house roof. Each chamber measures about 22 ft. by 21 ft., and has a large transomed two-light window towards the courtyard and a fireplace and garderobe in the backwall, the garderobes being arranged in pairs. Each first floor chamber has an open roof of three bays, of arch-braced collar-beam construction. The range underwent some alterations in the sixteenth century and later, but the whole of the original plan can be traced. There was a similar range along the opposite side of the courtyard, of which half has been demolished and the rest much rebuilt; old drawings show that it was planned on the same lines with pairs of chambers. The two ranges together could have provided between thirty and forty chambers.

2. *Haddon Hall, Derbyshire* (FIG. 89).⁴⁸ There are two ranges of lodgings in the lower courtyard. One is built against the curtain wall on the west side; it is a stone-built, two-storied range, probably of the late fifteenth century, planned like a college staircase. There is a single straight flight of stairs, off which there open right and left, on the ground floor, two single chambers; the rest of the ground floor is occupied by other chambers, entered from the courtyard, perhaps also serving as lodgings. On the first floor, at the head of the stairs, there open right and left two larger chambers, of a superior kind; each has a fireplace, windows on both sides, and a smaller room opening off it; each set perhaps consisted of a sitting room and bedroom. There are two garderobes, one for each chamber, behind the stair-head. Another chamber, over the vestibule to the chapel, is reached by a newel stair; this also has a garderobe. These rooms apparently served as lodgings for officials such as the steward, the chaplain and the bar-master. The other range (early sixteenth-century) is on the north side of the courtyard between the gate-tower and the kitchen. This also is planned like a college staircase, with a straight stair and chambers opening right and left; the rooms are rather smaller than in the western range. The first floor has short passages and small closets over the stairs, rather like studies, but without windows. In the seventeenth century this range lodged members of the family; it may perhaps have been originally intended for guests.

3. *Raglan Castle, Monmouthshire*.⁴⁹ On the west side of the Fountain Court is a curved two-storey range (now much ruined), in plan rather like the western range at Haddon Hall, but grander, and perhaps serving as state guest-rooms. In the centre is a broad, straight flight of stairs, with a projecting garderobe block beyond; on either side of the stairs is a series of chambers, two on the right and two on the left, each about 18 ft. by 30 ft.; the outer chambers on the first floor would have had separate access from newel stairs at the far ends.

⁴⁷ The view of Dartington Hall in S. and N. Buck's *Views*, x (1734), 19, shows four projecting landings complete with their stairs, and more of the original two-light windows than now survive, as well as the roof of the opposite range in the foreground.

⁴⁸ D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia* (1817), v, p. ccxxxvii and plans; F. H. Cheetham, *Haddon Hall* (1904), pp. 71, 128 ff., 152; T. Garner and A. Stratton, *The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor Period* (1911), II, 133 ff.; *Country Life*, 2-23 December, 1949, pp. 1651, 1742, 1814, 1884.

⁴⁹ *Raglan Castle*, Ministry of Works, Official Guide, ed. A. J. Taylor, pp. 31 ff.

4. *Ewelme, Oxfordshire*. The 'south-east view of Ewelme-Palace' in S. and N. Buck's *Views* (v (1729), pl. 6) shows a long two-story range with a row of alternate doors and windows in each floor, the upper ones no doubt once served by a projecting and covered gallery, the post-holes for which are shown. The view suggests that there was a row of six chambers on each floor, each chamber having a door and a window on the south or gallery side, and a row of chimneys is indicated along the north side, though the westernmost first-floor chamber seems to have a louvre. The chambers would perhaps have measured on an average about 12 to 15 ft. by 15 ft., except that the easternmost chamber seems to have been of double size, or to have consisted of two apartments. At the west end there was an extra door, probably serving a staircase or a garderobe or both. It seems very likely that this was a range of household lodgings forming part—perhaps in the outer courtyard—of the great house of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1450). It seems to be an interesting example of the use of galleries similar to those found in late medieval inns.

5. *Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire* (FIG. 89).⁵⁰ This was built by Edward, Duke of Buckingham (d. 1521), but never completed. The great outer court, about 150 ft. square, was probably intended to be surrounded on three sides by ranges of lodgings. The best preserved part is the eastern half of the northern range. This is now in ruins, the floors, internal partitions, upper part of the outer walls and roofs are missing, and were probably never completed. But it is possible to conjecture the plan from what survives. The range contained a series of chambers averaging about 25 ft. by 21 ft. The ground-floor chambers were raised up over a low basement (probably used for storage); each ground-floor chamber was entered by a separate external door and steps, and had a window towards the court, and a fireplace and a garderobe in the back wall, the garderobes being grouped in pairs. The first floor is missing, but it was evidently intended to be reached by a series of projecting stair-turrets, each stair serving two chambers.

6. *Eltham Palace*. A plan by John Thorpe (1590)⁵¹ shows the great outer court, about 190 ft. by 280 ft. surrounded on three sides by ranges of buildings, about 17 ft. wide internally, probably of the early sixteenth or late fifteenth century. These ranges are partly occupied by offices, the spicery, the pastry, etc. (with perhaps lodgings above), and in one corner is a complete house marked 'my lord chancellor his lodging' (which still survives). The rest is marked 'decayed lodgings'; these are chambers of various sizes (mostly about 17 to 18 ft. by 15 to 25 ft.), with straight stairs at intervals, very much like a series of college staircases, except that while some stairs give on to a lobby serving a ground-floor room, others give directly on to the courtyard, and in one corner an external flight of stairs seems to be indicated rather like those at Dartington.

Late-sixteenth-century plans, like those attributed to John Thorpe, show that

⁵⁰ A. and A. W. Pugin, *op. cit.* in note 34, II, 30: the Elizabethan survey mentions 'the fair Bace Court, containing by estimation Two Acre and an Half, compassed about with Building of Stone for Servants' Lodging to the Height of 14 or 15 Foot, left unfinished without Timber or Covering, set forth with Windows of Freestone, some having Barrs of Iron in them and some none'. Cf. the view by S. and N. Buck (1732), VIII, 7.

⁵¹ A. W. Clapham and W. H. Godfrey, *Some Famous Buildings and their Story* (London, n.d.), pp. 49 ff., fig. 21; *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: London*, v (East London), pp. 103 ff.

large houses continued to provide a series of 'lodgings', though these were perhaps by now more often intended for guests than for household officers or retainers. Such lodgings sometimes consisted of two or three rooms: a principal chamber, and inner chamber, and perhaps an ante-chamber. These lodgings were specially necessary if the house might have to receive a visit from the Court. At *Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire*, built 1570-5, the entrance range and the hall range were linked by two long ranges, about 160 ft. long by 15 ft. wide, and Thorpe's plan⁵² shows that these were intended to contain a series of lodgings; each lodging could be entered separately from the courtyard, but there were also intercommunicating doors through the range, so that several lodgings could if necessary be thrown together to accommodate a large suite. The Kirby plan, with its flanking ranges of lodgings, is the exact equivalent, in a more sophisticated form, of the Dartington plan two hundred years earlier. Other late-sixteenth-century plans show much ingenuity in providing sets of lodgings in projecting wings or in corner pavilions.⁵³ The habit of providing a series of self-contained suites continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was perhaps reinforced by French examples, where it was common to provide a series of *appartements*, each containing an *antichambre*, *chambre*, *cabinet* and *garderobe*. But that is a far cry from the oecology of chantry priests.

* * * *

In conclusion one may attempt some classification and comparison of the examples we have been considering, and some assessment of their standards. First, different types of stairs are used: straight stairs are used in almost all the college chambers, in the lodgings at St. Cross and Windsor (Poor Knights), in the household lodgings at Haddon Hall, Raglan and Eltham, in the chantry houses at Stoke-sub-Hamdon and (at least partly straight) at Trent; and external straight stairs are used at Dartington and Whatley. Newel stairs are used in vicars' lodgings at Lincoln, Wells and Windsor, in college chambers at King's College, Cambridge, and (probably) at Worcester College (Gloucester College), Oxford, at Lincoln's Inn, in household lodgings at Thornbury, in the houses at Mells, in the chantry houses at Farleigh Hungerford and Combe Raleigh, and probably at Merc.

In comparing the accommodation, it must be remembered that the chantry priests' houses (with the possible exception of Farleigh Hungerford) were complete self-sufficient houses providing their own hall, kitchen, etc., whereas the other types of lodging, college chambers, vicars' and household lodgings and so forth, were all supplemented by the use of a common hall and kitchen, etc. The most primitive standard of accommodation—a common chamber shared by several persons—was almost universal in the colleges, and no doubt for lesser persons in the households, and probably obtained in the early stages at Chichester and at Stoke-sub-Hamdon (though here a single priest ended up in sole possession,

⁵² J. A. Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England* (1901), pp. 60 ff., fig. 46, pl. xviii; J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830* (1953), pp. 36-8, fig. 6.

⁵³ J. A. Gotch, *op. cit.* in note 52, pl. lxxxv, fig. 220, 221; J. A. Gotch, *The Growth of the English House* (1909), fig. 99, 102.

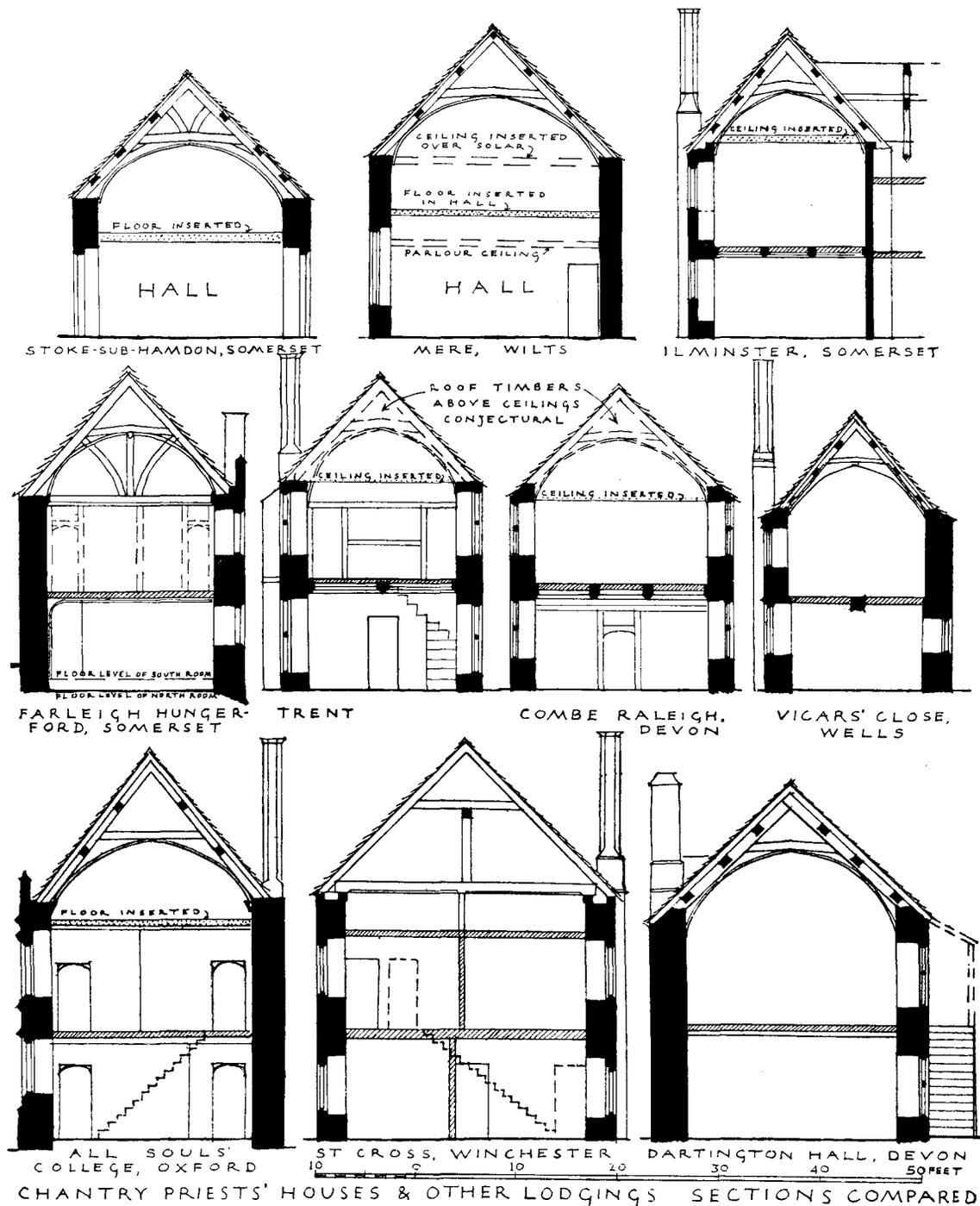


FIG. 90

with perhaps a lodger). At Farleigh Hungerford there was probably a common chamber with two small bedrooms. A single chamber, unshared, was apparently enjoyed by the vicars' choral at Lincoln, and probably by senior members of the households. In some cases the chamber had small studies partitioned off, as in all the college chambers, and perhaps at Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Trent, Mere and Farleigh Hungerford. Separate studies were obviously more or less a necessity for academic persons in a college, but may also have been desirable for chantry priests. One of the purposes of the much disputed 'low side windows' that are found in the chancels of churches was probably to provide a well-lit 'study place' where the priest could sit and read, and say his office, comparable to the study, lit by a similar low, small window, which one finds in college chambers. And conversely the low, small window, like a study window, that one finds in some of the chantry houses (as at Trent, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, and Mere) was so to speak the domestic equivalent of the ecclesiastical 'low side window'. In the west range at Haddon Hall a small inner chamber was partitioned off, and at St. Cross and Whatley the apartment was partitioned into three rooms. Sometimes the lodging was on two floors, as for the vicars at Wells and the vicars and poor knights at Windsor, and this applied to the chantry houses. A private garderobe attached to each lodging or chamber was almost unknown in college chambers,⁵⁴ but it is found with the vicars at Lincoln, at St. Cross, and in the household lodgings at Dartington, Haddon Hall (west range) and Thornbury, and at the chantry house at Combe Raleigh, and perhaps at Trent, Mere and Ilminster. No doubt the provision of garderobes was partly determined by the site, and perhaps also by the availability of labour for clearing (which would explain the more generous supply in great households). On the whole, while college fellows come low in the scale of accommodation, chantry priests seem to come rather high; perhaps a generous allowance of accommodation was regarded as a useful perquisite, since it might make it possible to take in a lodger. It must be remembered that we are only arguing from a very limited number of examples, and that there may have existed more primitive forms of lodging for chantry priests which have failed to survive. In some cases an upper chamber over a church porch or vestry is popularly known as a 'priest's chamber', but it seems difficult to find substantiation for this.

The dimensions of the various chambers and lodgings are tabulated on p. 258. Average large chambers of rather over 20 ft. square are represented by All Souls (including studies) and by Dartington and Thornbury. Among the largest undivided chambers are those of the vicars at Lincoln, 18 ft. by 27 or 30 ft., almost exactly the same area as the two floors of the Wells vicars' house put together. Among the chantry houses an average size for a chamber was perhaps about 15 ft. square (Trent, Ilminster), or 17 ft. square (Combe Raleigh), though the best chamber at Mere may have been as much as 22 ft. by 14 ft.

⁵⁴ Garderobes attached to medieval college staircases seem unknown in Oxford, except in the north range at Magdalen (now rebuilt), which may have been a survival from the pre-existing buildings of the Hospital of St. John; but in several college staircases of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at Cambridge there are traces of garderobes, adjoining the stair-head, as at Queen's, King's Hostel (now part of Trinity College), Christ's, Magdalene (*Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: Cambridge*, I, 34, II, 144, 173, 233); cf. also the garderobe adjoining the stair-head at Winchester College.

APPENDIX

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ACCOMMODATION IN VARIOUS TYPES OF LODGINGS

The following table shows the approximate overall dimensions of the chamber space (including studies, etc.); '×2' means that the occupant had two such rooms; '×½', '×⅓' means that the room was shared by two, or three, occupants; the final figure shows the approximate floor space in square feet for each occupant. In calculating these dimensions, I have for the sake of simplification ignored some irregularities of plan, as, for instance, where a study projects a few feet over or under a staircase.

Chantry priests' houses

Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somerset

$$21 \text{ ft.} \times 18 \text{ ft.} = 378 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{3} = 126 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Mere, Wilts.

$$(i) \quad 14 \text{ ft.} \times 22 \text{ ft.} = 308 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

$$(ii) \quad 25 \text{ ft.} \times 10 \text{ ft.} = 250 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

$$(iii) \quad 25 \text{ ft.} \times 11 \text{ ft.} = 275 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Ilminster, Somerset

$$(i) \quad 20 \text{ ft.} \times 15 \text{ ft.} = 300 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

$$(ii) \quad 15 \text{ ft.} \times 15 \text{ ft.} = 225 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Farleigh Hungerford, Somerset

$$33 \text{ ft.} \times 16\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft.} = 544\frac{1}{2} \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{2} = 272\frac{1}{4} \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Trent, Somerset

$$15 \text{ ft.} \times 15 \text{ ft.} = 225 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Combe Raleigh

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 17 \text{ ft.} \times 17 \text{ ft.} = 289 \text{ sq. ft.} \\ + 14 \text{ ft.} \times 17 \text{ ft.} = 238 \text{ sq. ft.} \end{array} \right\} = 527 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

College Chambers

Merton College (Mob. Quad.), Oxford

$$22 \text{ ft.} \times 17 \text{ ft.} = 374 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{3} = 124\frac{2}{3} \text{ sq. ft.}$$

$$\text{or } \times \frac{1}{4} = 93\frac{1}{2} \text{ sq. ft.}$$

All Souls College, Oxford

$$22 \text{ ft.} \times 20 \text{ ft.} = 440 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{2} = 220 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

$$\text{or } \times \frac{1}{3} = 146\frac{2}{3} \text{ sq. ft.}$$

King's College, Cambridge

$$22 \text{ ft.} \times 20 \text{ ft.} = 440 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{2} = 220 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Worcester College, Oxford

$$21\text{-}22 \text{ ft.} \times 17 \text{ ft.} = 357\text{-}374 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{2} = 178\frac{1}{2}\text{-}187 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Winchester College

$$30\text{-}35 \text{ ft.} \times 20 \text{ ft.} = 600\text{-}700 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times \frac{1}{3} = 200\text{-}233\frac{1}{3} \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Vicars choral

Lincoln

$$27\text{-}30 \text{ ft.} \times 18 \text{ ft.} = 486\text{-}540 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Wells

$$20 \text{ ft.} \times 13 \text{ ft.} = 260 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times 2 = 520 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Windsor

$$10\text{-}13 \text{ ft.} \times 15 \text{ ft.} = 150\text{-}195 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times 2 = 300\text{-}390 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Chichester

$$17 \text{ ft.} \times 12\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft.} = 212\frac{1}{2} \text{ sq. ft.} \text{ (or } \times 2 = 425 \text{ sq. ft.)}$$

Lichfield

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 15 \text{ ft.} \times 15 \text{ ft.} = 225 \text{ sq. ft.} \\ + 15 \text{ ft.} \times 16\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft.} = 247 \text{ sq. ft.} \end{array} \right\} = 472 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Miscellaneous

St. Cross, Winchester

$$18 \text{ ft.} \times 24 \text{ ft.} = 432 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Poor Knights, Windsor

$$15 \text{ ft.} \times 19 \text{ ft.} = 285 \text{ sq. ft.} : \times 2 = 570 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Household lodgings

Dartington Hall, Devon

$$22 \text{ ft.} \times 21 \text{ ft.} = 462 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Haddon Hall, Derbyshire

$$(i) \quad 30 \text{ ft.} \times 14 \text{ ft.} = 420 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

$$(ii) \quad 19 \text{ ft.} \times 16 \text{ ft.} = 304 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire

$$21 \text{ ft.} \times 23 \text{ ft.} = 483 \text{ sq. ft.}$$

Corrigendum: In the section on the Chantry House, Trent, in FIG. 86, the transoms have been accidentally omitted from the large first-floor windows (16, 18).

NOTE

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