# After the Stamp Collecting: The Context of Vernacular Architecture

by

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With characteristic modesty, Ron Brunskill once described his studies of small buildings, exemplified by his Vernacular Architecture an Illustrated Handbook (fourth ed. London, 2000) as 'only the stamp-collecting phase'. The term is not entirely inappropriate as a description of the concentrated summaries of the physical character of vernacular houses and their broad distribution in this book, but these are complemented by the examination of their detailed structure in, for example, Timber Building in Britain (London, 1985). These facets of vernacular architecture are crucial to the interpretation both of its overall pattern and of individual houses; they begin to answer the 'What' and 'Where' of the subject. The 'When' has always been difficult, at least for houses built before about 1600, after which enough carry date inscriptions for individual features to be assigned date ranges.2 The chronology of the earlier period is now being transformed by tree-ring dating, with some 1,000 building dates reported so far.3 Our new knowledge has shown the need to revise one of Brunskill's most informative insights, the concept of the 'Vernacular Zone' (Fig. 1) in which vernacular buildings can be found, between the Vernacular Threshold, below which earlier and smaller buildings do not survive, and the Polite Threshold, above which buildings cannot be considered vernacular. In particular, we now know that some small buildings survive essentially intact from as early as the mid-thirteenth century, while true cottages, identified as such in documentary sources have been found in the mid-fifteenth century (see below). Thus, although low status examples may be sparse, this Vernacular Threshold can be dropped to include houses at almost every level back into the medieval period.

The 'Who' and the 'Why' are still more difficult, where the building itself does not give the answers but other evidence has to be sought. Documentary sources

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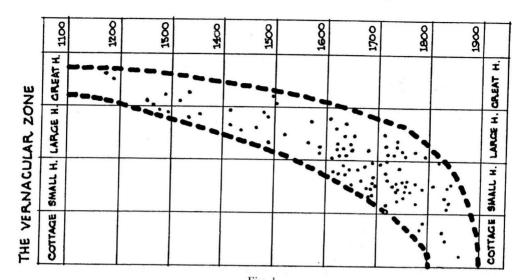


Fig. 1.
The 'Vernacular Zone'
From Brunskill, R. W., Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture (London, 1970)
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may be able to supplement physical evidence of date, to indicate the economic and social context, and in favourable cases even to identify both the client who commissioned a particular house and the craftsmen who carried out the work. In the following sections (arranged roughly chronologically), a few individual houses are examined to see whether such contextual information can provide insights into the choices made by the client and his builder in respect to the style of house, its size or decoration.

# THE DATING AND CONTEXT OF CRUCK HOUSES

Cruck construction (Figs 3, 4) is generally recognised as one of the most significant styles of vernacular architecture in Britain. Many structural techniques, such as the aisled truss, or the use of crown posts are found in a wide range of buildings that have little in common. In contrast, cruck houses have long been considered to be broadly uniform in date and status, at least at a regional level.<sup>4</sup>

### THE CLAY DABBINS OF CUMBRIA

One distinctive group of crucks are the 'clay dabbins', the clay-walled houses of the Solway Plain in Cumbria (Fig. 2), which were first investigated systematically by Brunskill.<sup>5</sup> These simple buildings appear generally to have been 'long-houses' in which the cattle used one end and the people the other, with their 'house-body' containing an open hall and a chamber. Although little has yet been published relating directly to their context, a dating programme has yielded striking results.

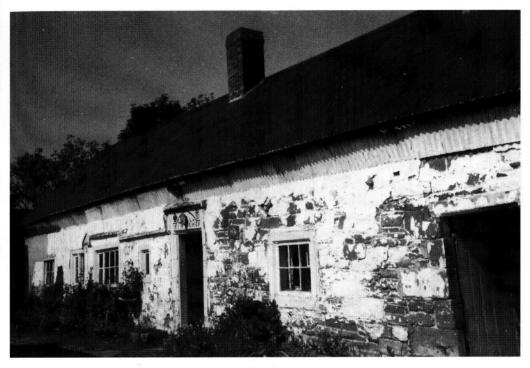


Fig. 2.

Ratten Row Farm, Durdar, Cumbria. A 'clay dabbin' including cruck trusses tree-ring dated to 1505; the front wall was later cased in stone, probably in 1689 (as on the datestone)

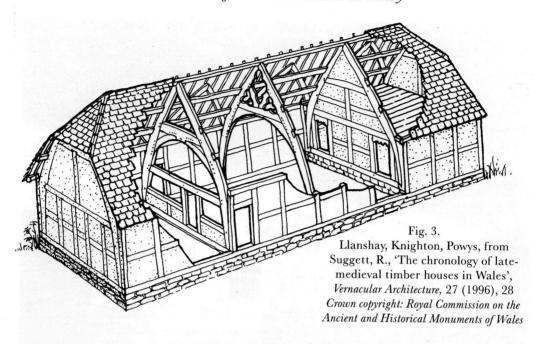
(Howard, R., et al., Vernacular Architecture, 29 (1998), 108)

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\*\*Photograph, N. Jennings\*\*

For the majority of examples, the accepted dates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been confirmed, though one house has crucks felled as late as 1742. However, the earliest dates found have been a considerable surprise: 1489, 1491, 1505 and reused timbers of 1462 and 1376-1401 (felling date range). Thus, the earlier suggestion that *perhaps* some of these cruck buildings might be sixteenth century has proved highly conservative. Rather, the existing buildings are clearly the last examples of a remarkably homogeneous and long-lived type that proved so well suited to local needs that little change was made in 350 years, apart from the insertion of fire hoods. Of their social rather than temporal context, little has yet been published. They seem to relate to very stable customary holdings; one was associated with thirteen acres in 1589 and if this size is typical, they correspond to a modest economic milieu even allowing for their probable access to unstinted rough grazing.

The social coherence of the builders of cruck houses in southern Britain is less clear. Does the two-bay hall spanned by an arch-braced open cruck truss decorated with cusping at Llanshay, Knighton, Radnorshire built in 1432 (Fig. 3)<sup>8</sup> correspond



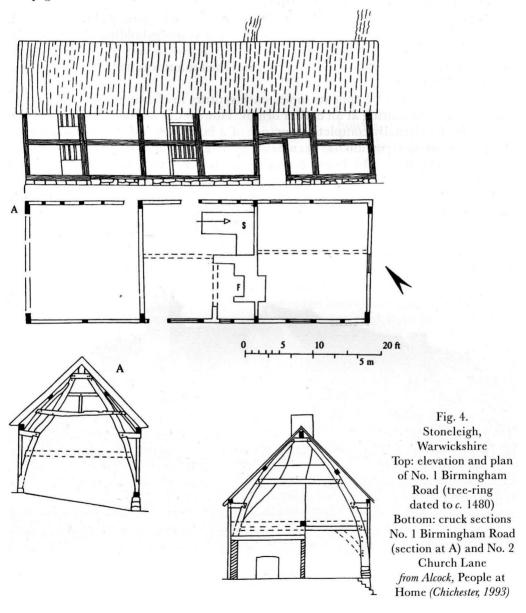
to the same level of village society as the single bay defined by the plainest of cruck trusses dated to 1482 in Stoneleigh, Warwickshire (Fig. 4)? Surely not, but yet in size and accommodation the two houses are closely similar, each with three domestic bays, one lofted over; Llanshay has a fourth bay but the structure strongly suggests that this was a byre. Can we make a distinction between the accommodation in the house reflecting the composition of the family, and its decoration reflecting their wealth and social pretensions? The social evidence for such Welsh houses is that they were built for an emerging gentry class, who might dominate their parish (even though some parishes contain several such houses).

# THE CRUCK BUILDINGS OF STONELEIGH, WARWICKSHIRE

The identification of social context for medieval village houses of less than manorial level is usually impossible, but in Stoneleigh the exceptional survival of documentary evidence allows us to trace back the six cruck houses in the village to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Only one of these houses was a proper farm, with a half-yardland (about fourteen acres) in the open fields; a seventeenth-century house incorporating three cruck blades reused as tiebeams (perhaps therefore rebuilt from a cruck house) had a full yardland (about twenty-eight acres). For the remainder, their only land-holdings were the half-acre crofts on which they stood; thus, these were true cottages despite their solid construction. As a specific example, No. 1 Birmingham Road (Fig. 4) was built from trees felled in about 1480. It was occupied from 1533 (or before) to 1551 by John Hodgkins, almost certainly a farm labourer, and then until 1571 by his widow Joan; when she died, her most valuable

possession (forfeit to the lord as a heriot) was her spit, worth just 4d.

The cruck-built farmhouse, No. 2 Church Lane, is identical in plan with No. 1 Birmingham Road: three bays with a central hall flanked by a chamber with solar above and a kitchen; the only obvious distinction between the two houses is the more elegant curve of the former's cruck blades (Fig. 4). But Robert Dene, its tenant, owned six silver spoons worth 2s each as well as 110 sheep, thirteen cattle, ten pigs and a mare, when he died in 1551.<sup>12</sup>



# THE CORRELATION OF HOUSE SIZE AND STATUS

By the later sixteenth century in the Midlands, the correlation between house size and economic status is becoming more marked, even at village level. This can be seen by comparing two houses in the village of Wilmcote in Aston Cantlow parish, Warwickshire, whose documentary history has recently been investigated in detail.<sup>13</sup>

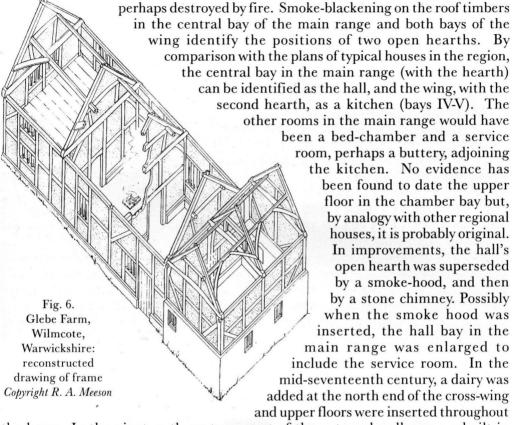
# GLEBE FARM, WILMCOTE, WARWICKSHIRE

This house has been identified as the home of a husbandman, Robert Arden (d. 1556), and his widow Agnes (d. 1581). In 1587, it was a copyholding with four-anda-half yardlands of open-field land (about 130 acres), a very substantial farm. However, it paid a significant rent (£2 4s), and the tenant was liable for a large fine whenever the tenancy was renewed.<sup>14</sup>

Glebe Farm (Fig. 5) appears nineteenth century in character, only its timber-framed west wall hinting at an earlier origin. However, it has been found to retain internally the virtually complete structure of a late medieval box-framed house, whose original construction has been dated by dendrochronology to 1514 or shortly thereafter (Fig. 6).<sup>15</sup> The house comprises a main range of three bays oriented east-west adjoining a two-bay cross-wing; the wing has almost identical framing to that of the main range, apart from the stone walling, but it seems to be slightly later in date, replacing an additional bay at the end of the main range which was



Fig. 5. Glebe Farm, Wilmcote, Warwickshire



the house. In the nineteenth century, most of the external walls were rebuilt in brick.

Although slightly larger than the standard cruck houses of the region (with five rather than three or four bays), it shares their character as late medieval openhall houses. It remained a tenant farm and underwent very little improvement for three centuries after its original construction.

### PALMER'S FARM, WILMCOTE, WARWICKSHIRE

The second house, Palmer's Farm, was a freeholding with two-and-a-half yardlands (about seventy-five acres) in the later sixteenth century, when it was the home of Adam Palmer (d. 1584). However, his will reveals that he had substantial further property interests, including a lease of the manor of Aston Cantlow and of a water mill and another farm near-by, as well as owning various other houses and cottages. Indeed, Adam seems to have regarded his leasehold interests as more valuable than the freehold, in that his eldest son was left the manorial lease, while his second son received the Wilmcote farm.

Palmer's Farm (Fig. 7) is considerably more impressive as a historic building than Glebe Farm. The showy principal elevation uses a combination of herring-



Fig. 7.
Palmer's Farm, Wilmcote, Warwickshire
Photograph, N. W. Alcock

bone framing in the cross-wing and close-studding in the main range, but the rear elevations have simple square panels. The earliest part of the existing structure is the cross-wing, one timber giving a felling date of winter 1568/9. This two-storey wing must have stood against an earlier hall range and provided service rooms with chambers over. In summer 1580 the new hall (central bay) was built, and a year or so later (one felling date of summer 1581), the kitchen bay was added. Evidence of light smoke-blackening in the roof confirms that the hall originally had an open hearth, probably situated against the stone west wall as a fire-back, which was rapidly superseded by the present chimney (when the floor was inserted). However, the kitchen was constructed with both an original chimney and an original floor. The structural similarity between the two units indicates that they were planned together, even though their construction was not simultaneous.

Both Palmer's and Glebe Farm were occupied by tenants from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, and neither house was substantially rebuilt. However, their farmyards were modernised and the ranges of farm buildings greatly enlarged, probably in the mid-eighteenth century. The landlords were happy for their tenant's houses to be old-fashioned and have no more than basic levels of comfort, but made sure that the infrastructure for successful farming was in place.

The first phase of rebuilding at Palmer's Farm followed a few years after Adam Palmer bought the freehold (apparently in 1561) and the second phase after he acquired clear title to it in 1575. In understanding the contrast between Palmer's and Glebe Farm, this distinction between owner-occupied and tenanted houses must be at least as important as the half-century difference in date.

### THE IDENTIFICATION OF CLIENTS AND CRAFTSMEN

# HALL COURT, MUCH MARCLE, HEREFORDSHIRE

Identification of the context for this timber-framed house of 1608-12 (Fig. 8) throws considerable if surprising light on the circumstances of its building. The builder was John Coke (1563-1644), in 1608 only a gentleman (though knighted in 1624); he had served as an estate manager to Fulk Greville and then when Greville was Treasurer to the Navy he became his Deputy Treasurer, posts which they lost in 1604, victims of corrupt administrators. Coke (now forty-one) retired to the country and married Marie Powell of Preston, Herefordshire in 1604. In early 1608, they bought Hall Court and began building a new house there. The design they settled on is purely vernacular in character, using the regional combination of ground-floor close-studding with square framing above, and the house has a straightforward three-room and cross-passage plan, enhanced only by small rear extensions at each end. Without direct knowledge of the builder, it would be identified as no more than a large farmhouse but surely not the home of a nationally significant administrator. It may be that the circumstances of his retreat to Herefordshire disposed him to follow simple country traditions rather than adopt Court styles.



Fig. 8. Hall Court, Much Marcle, Herefordshire *Photo, N. H. Cooper* 

After he returned to favour, he sold Hall Court and bought Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire. His instructions for improvements there suggest a man of old-fashioned tastes; a new hall screen was to be 'handsomely wrought without carving or curious

charge', and old materials were to be reused whenever possible.

At Hall Court, Coke's records of the day-by-day payments made by him and his wife give insights into both the progress of the work and their life; the accounts are supplemented by annual overviews which reveal the cost of the work to the last penny. Letters from Mary when John was in London have also survived (in an elegant italic hand, much clearer than his).<sup>17</sup> In January 1608, a mason visited them 'to view the stone at Hales Court' needed for the cellar, chimneys, etc., and the carpenter, James Alcot of Bosbury (six miles away) came to view the old house. By April they had contracted with the latter to provide the frame for a total of £76; this was paid him in weekly or monthly instalments for a surprisingly long period. In January 1609, Mary found that James Alcot had 'almost done framing all ye outsides ... [he] told me he thought to have done rearing before Candlemas [2nd February] since that he hath laid ye silles', but the masons were giving trouble and 've end of ye cellar is just as you left it [in November]'. By 27th October 1609, some of the servants seem to have occupied the new house, though 'there they are without any glasse on ye windowes'. However, the accounts show that the family did not move in until August 1610. The total cost recorded for the three years was £308 17s, of which the carpenter received £101, significantly more than originally contracted. The last year saw the only payments for wainscot, to be installed in the parlour chamber.

# EASTCOTE HOUSE, BARSTON, WARWICKSHIRE

A knowledge of the social context of a house does not always explain its architectural choices. Eastcote House at Barston, Warwickshire (Fig. 9), 18 dated 1669, shows the very early use (for Warwickshire) of decorative brickwork with simple pilasters, window pediments, an eaves cornice and a hipped rather than traditional gabled roof.<sup>19</sup> The house carries a reset datestone (GF TF 1669).<sup>20</sup> The house was the home of one branch of the numerous local Fisher families and the copyhold succession can be followed in the court rolls and books for Temple Balsall manor; the 1670 and 1671 Warwickshire Hearth Tax assessments include 'Mr George Fisher, junior', three hearths. On 13th June 1673 George Fisher and his son Thomas surrendered the house and fields to the use of Thomas and Mary Fisher, and on 7th October, Mary was admitted (Thomas having died). On 6th November 1706, she surrendered the same property for the use of her son Thomas; he, reserving one cubiculo for his mother, then surrendered it all for the use of himself and his intended wife Elizabeth Evetts. By 1842, the farm comprised 205 acres. 21

Thus, the house belonged to a prosperous local family, though the only indication of a status beyond that of a yeoman is the 'Mr' of the Hearth Tax. By the mideighteenth century, the family had prospered further and built themselves a new and much larger house, Eastcote House becoming a tenant farm. What led George

and Thomas Fisher to choose an innovative design remains obscure.



Fig. 9.
Eastcote House, Barston , Warwickshire
Photograph, N. W. Alcock

# GROVE FARM, WARMINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE

The earliest four-square double-pile house yet known in Warwickshire is Grove Farm, Warmington (Figs. 10, 12), datable both from the structure and by inference from its deeds to very close to  $1700.^{22}$  It retains something of the feel of an earlier house type in which the front door led directly into the main living room, as it has a very wide entry hall dominated by a decorative open-well staircase. It is notable also for its liberal service provision. Not only is there a kitchen on the main floor, with a spit rack on the chimney breast, but the cellar provides two more rooms with fireplaces, one with an oven and a copper (both apparently original), as well as a dairy and several storage rooms.

The deeds survive from 1615, showing the build up of an original three yardland farm to seven yardlands by the Claridge family.<sup>23</sup> From 1674, the farm was the property of Richard Claridge, clerk and schoolmaster of Upton Snodsbury, Peopleton (1678), Worcester and St James, Clerkenwell, London (1699). In 1699, he sold it to his brother William, who thereafter occupied the farm, and this probably indicates the building date. It comprised 319 acres at enclosure in 1777.<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 10 Grove Farm, Warmington, Warwickshire Photograph, N. W. Alcock

# HINES HOUSE, CLIFFORD CHAMBERS, WARWICKSHIRE<sup>25</sup>

About twenty years after Grove Farm was built, Edward and Martha Clopton<sup>26</sup> decided to develop an area of former heath land which their family had owned for some seventy years and which was being used as rough pasture. The house they built for the new tenant of the 160 acre farm (Figs. 11, 12) shares the four-square double-pile plan of Grove Farm (Fig. 12), but otherwise shows a remarkable contrast with that house. It has a brick 'front', but otherwise is of timber-framing, with a considerable amount of reused timber. It measures only thirty-eight feet by twenty-eight feet externally, compared to the forty-five by thirty-seven feet of Grove Farm, and it has only small cellars and attics, rather than the fully functional spaces of Grove Farm.

The most surprising feature is that what was clearly the front, with its smart if plain brick elevation, reasonably enough faces away from the farmyard; but it also faces away from the access road to the farm and would have been unusable for all practical purposes. The modest amount of 'show' that the Cloptons provided for their tenant must have been invisible in the house's daily use. Overall, the difference between this house and the high-quality accommodation and elegant fittings of Grove Farm reflects very clearly their standing as respectively a tenanted and an owner-occupied farm, as well as the larger size and probably more fertile land of the latter.



Hines House, Clifford Chambers, Warwickshire, front Photograph, N. W. Alcock



Hines House, Clifford Chambers, Warwickshire, rear c. 1900 WCRO 2199/4/7, reproduced with permission

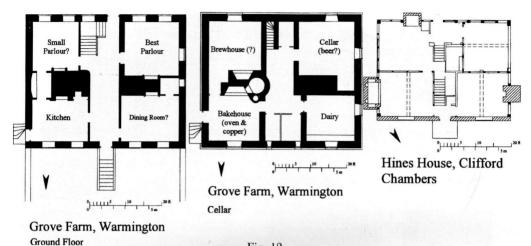


Fig. 12
Grove Farm and Hines House, comparative plans
N. W. Alcock

The original plan is not entirely clear because of alterations made when the house was divided into two cottages in the nineteenth century, but it presumably had a passage through the house in the centre; the two later stairs may well have replaced one original staircase at the rear of the hallway which could have been larger and more decorative.

### **CONCLUSIONS**

We can expect dating evidence and documentation to reveal the circumstances in which a particular house was built. Whether it fits into the local norm or is exceptional as a structure can only be discovered by the examination of numbers of examples, to identify the range of local house types and their variation, by rapid area survey, by detailed recording or by a combination of both techniques. For houses that are 'typical', such as the two regional manifestations of crucks discussed above, it may not be necessary to identify specific stimuli for the construction of an individual building; they exemplify the normal expectation of the social group in the community that commissioned them. Economic questions may remain to be answered, still in general terms: why were resources available when they were built but not before, or why were their predecessors replaced but they were not?

Understanding the rationale for later change may also be a general rather than a specific problem. In *Housing Culture* (London, 1993), Matthew Johnson examined houses in an area of west Suffolk and identified the process he termed 'closure' – the conversion of houses with medieval open halls to those with floored halls and the changes to their plans reflecting increased privacy; his observations match the post-medieval improvements found in most areas. He went further, in suggesting that these changes can be associated with other structural changes,

including the abandonment of jettying and the use of joists with their larger dimension vertical rather than horizontal – and that these developments represent an individual preference for 'closure' over 'openness', this being a reflection of newly developing puritan ethics. Here, such explanations run into difficulties, especially that of distinguishing between temporal association (phenomena occurring at the same time) and causality, so that such over-arching rationales for changing house design remain controversial.

Documentary contexts can perhaps give most help for those houses that do not conform to the local norm, indicating what sets off the builder of an innovative house from his contemporaries. Even here, the causal relationship is likely to be elusive. We can perhaps see the sort of person who would choose (or not choose) to build a new style of house. Only very rarely can we go beyond this, to understand some of the circumstances lying behind the building of a house; cases such as John and Mary Coke of Hall Court should be greatly cherished for their insights into past mind-sets.

Without the 'stamp-collecting' to establish the norms, contextual studies have little to say about housing styles but, equally, contexts can add significance to what may otherwise become a dry recital of different walling materials and plan forms. The two approaches to vernacular buildings are complementary in their revelation of former life.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1. Kelsall, F., personal communication.
- 2. Hall, L., and Alcock, N. W., Fixtures and Fittings in Dated Houses 1567-1763 (York, 1994).
- 3. See Pearson, S., 'Tree-ring dating: a review', Vernacular Architecture, 28 (1997), 25-39, and the on-line index provided by the Archaeological Data service (http://ads.ahds.ac.uk see 'special collections').
- 4. Alcock, N. W., Cruck Construction: an Introduction and Catalogue (London, 1981).
- 5. Brunskill, R. W., 'Clay construction in Cumberland', Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc., 10 (new series) (1962), 57-80.
- Howard, R., Laxton, R. R., Litton, C. D., and Jennings, N., 'List 89: Cumbria mud-walled buildings dendrochronology project', Vernacular Architecture, 29 (1998), 108-10, esp. Jennings, N., 'Comment', 110; ibid. 'List 97', Vernacular Architecture, 30 (1999), 91-2.
- 7. Alcock, Cruck Construction, 80.
- 8. Suggett, R., 'The chronology of late-medieval timber houses in Wales', Vernacular Architecture, 27 (1996), 28-35.
- 9. Relevant here are the small but very well carpentered and decorated Monmouthshire houses identified by Fox, Sir C., and Raglan, Lord, Monmouthshire Houses (Cardiff, 1951-4), II, 48-58.
- 10. Alcock, N. W., People at Home (Chichester, 1993), 40ff.
- 11. As well as this house, two others have been tree-ring dated, to c. 1457 and c. 1503 respectively.
- 12. He must have had access to more land than the half-yardland belonging to the house, probably by a lease of some of the demesne fields, a resource only accessible to villagers already equipped to farm on a substantial scale.
- 13. Alcock, N. W., 'Discovering Mary Arden's House: Property and Society in Wilmcote, Warwickshire', Shakespeare Quarterly, forthcoming.
- 14. By the mid-seventeenth century, it had been converted to leasehold, but effectively this left

the conditions of tenure unchanged.

15. Meeson, R. A., 'Glebe Farm, Wilmcote, Warwickshire: an architectural analysis', Report for Shakespeare Birthplace Trust (2000).

 Cooper, N., Houses of the Gentry: 1480-1680 (New Haven, 1999), 216. For Coke's career, see Young, M. B., Servility and Service (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1986).

17. British Library Add Mss. 69869 (letters) and 69874 (accounts).

- 18. Alcock, N. W., 'Innovation and conservatism: the development of Warwickshire houses in the late 17th and 18th centuries', Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeol. Soc. Trans., 100 (1996), 133-54.
- 19. It apparently originally had a lobby-entry plan, though in the nineteenth century the large central stack was cut through to give a central passage flanked by shallow chimneys. Combining a good quality staircase and a lobby entry plan was extremely difficult, and the incentive for replacing the stack was almost certainly improvement of the staircase, *Ibid.* 141.

20. The terminal of the G is broken, so that it appears to read C.

21. Hearth Tax: Warwickshire County Record Office (WCRO), QS11/20, 32; c. 1740 estate memorandum book, Birmingham Reference Library, Keen 28; court rolls: WCRO CR112; 1842 Tithe Map WCRO CR328/4.

Wood-Jones, R. B., Traditional Domestic Architecture of the Banbury Region (Manchester, 1963), 202;
 Alcock, 'Innovation', 151-2.

23. WCRO.CR457/box 6.

24. Map, ibid.

- 25. See Alcock, N. W., 'Hines House, Clifford Chambers', unpublished report for Mr D. Rowe, 2000.
- 26. The Cloptons were a prominent gentry family of Stratford-upon-Avon, which adjoins Clifford Chambers to the north.