AULA COMMUNITATIS:

THE COMMUNITY HALL IN ENGLAND, *c.* 1400–1640

VOLUME I: TEXT

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

James Weir

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University of Oxford

Michaelmas 2020

Abstract

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This thesis examines the architectural and contextual connections between twenty-nine extant late medieval and early modern community buildings to establish whether they are sufficiently similar to be identified as a single building type. The buildings are located across different regions of England, the South West and East Anglia, and demonstrate a whole range of historical and modern designations, including ‘church houses’, ‘guildhalls’, ‘town halls’, and ‘market houses’. Though the buildings are predominantly in rural settings, several in small towns are included. Together with the more frequently studied town halls and market halls of larger towns and cities, particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, these permit an assessment of whether the building type can be applied across the town/country divide. Though buildings remain the primary source, the value of documentary and historical visual records is considered for their ability to provide images of lost or altered buildings, or details as to construction, plan-form, and use.

Previous research was found to be too narrow in scope to appreciate connections beyond artificial limits, such as analysis of individual buildings without reference to their wider architectural context, or buildings grouped by dint of their shared name (e.g. ‘Church Houses in…’) or their location in towns (e.g. urban ‘civic halls’). The study found a set of overarching characteristics relating to

architectural form and plan with which the selected buildings across the towns and villages of South West and East Anglia conform, followed by a shared set of sub-areas in which variations occur. In addition, it was found that all the buildings are spatially, and most likely functionally, related to an extant or vestigial open space, such as a village square or marketplace. Not only does this have implications for function and use, but also for linking them to the similarly-sited buildings in larger towns.

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Abstract

The springing point for this study was a particular type of community building in Devon, collectively known as ‘church houses’. The literature relating to these buildings from all periods since the seventeenth century was universally confident in stating that church houses were once everywhere. In describing ‘Cornish mens [*sic*] recreations which consist principally of feastes and pastimes’, Richard Carew’s *Survey of Cornwall* (1603) describes the use of the ‘Church house’ for these activities. At the end of the century, John Aubrey could write on Wiltshire in his *Miscellanies on Various Subjects* (1696) that ‘in every parish is (or was) a church house’. And yet, as this author tested these statements by looking for such buildings in other counties, it became clear that buildings in villages and small towns which matched the typical ‘church house’ in form and plan in fact had other names and usages, particularly ‘guildhalls’ or ‘town halls’. By extension, it appeared that these buildings were also architecturally comparable with the town halls, guildhalls, market halls etc. in large towns.

Based on these informal observations, this thesis set out with the primary objective of comparing a selection of extant buildings across as wide a geographical canvas as possible, ideally in small towns and villages with hitherto minimal scholarly interest. The hypothesis was that the ‘church house’ in the South West was in fact only one instantiation of a widely spread building type, which could be applied equally well to the typical town halls and market halls prominently sited in the centre of marketplaces in larger towns.

For convenience, and to ensure compatibility with all community uses, the terms ‘community hall’ or ‘community building’, attested in historical sources, has been employed to refer to this hypothetical building type. In the long process of long-listing buildings for study, it emerged that, as well as the buildings in the South West, a reasonable number of buildings in villages and small towns of East

Anglia has also survived, thus happily providing the sought-after geographical spread across southern England.

It was established that research in this area to date was too narrow by itself to address the central questions and suffered from a number of conscious, or unconscious, limitations. One was to attach the building type to the current or historical name of the building and/or to focus purely on rural areas. Therefore Patrick Cowley's small book, *The Church Houses*, was unable to encompass any building beyond that attested or assumed label. Similarly, the studies of 'Church Houses in…', by Gustave Copeland, Joanna Mattingly and E. H. D. Williams remained tied to rural areas without forging a connection with buildings in towns. On the other hand, Robert Tittler's study on urban town halls, *Architecture and Power*, and smaller study of Dorset's 'civic halls' stopped at the gates of the larger towns and, though certainly beginning a typological study, did not link up with the buildings of rural communities. The second limitation has been to focus on individual buildings which, though taken together might cover all the necessary bases, exist without reference to wider architectural patterns or, predominantly, to each other.

The limitations of using buildings as a primary source is dealt with in some detail: many have been considerably altered to the point that their original form is irretrievable and even more have been lost altogether. In this regard, the importance of documentary records was considered as a complementary source which can both highlight the presence of a community building in a given town or village, and also, though much more rarely, provide details as to construction, plan-form and use. The interplay of these two sources is examined by comparing the intensive and extensive document-based approach, epitomised by the detailed parochial histories of the *Victoria County History* in Somerset, with the more time-consuming and haphazard process of visiting each parish to find

extant buildings, as exemplified by Copeland's work in the 1960s. The documentary records used in this thesis range from parochial records (churchwardens' accounts, guild accounts, wills, and diocesan visitation records), to civic records (town books and the accounts of town officers), to state records (including Charter and Patent Rolls, Insquisitions Post Mortem and State Papers). Considered with the overlying purpose of drawing information on the buildings' form, plan and use, the overview concludes that, whilst documentary records are useful in contributing to the wide range of names given to community buildings, they cannot replace buildings as a source for typological study.

In drawing up a list of buildings for detailed study, it was inevitable that a working set of characteristics – beyond simply the building's current or historical name, although this was considered secondarily – would be needed. Therefore, a broad set of attributes was drawn up from what had been noted from previous observations. Therefore the buildings would be two-storeyed and have a first-floor hall, a fully storeyed ground floor (i.e. not a partially or fully subterranean undercroft) and evidence for an external staircase, or otherwise an internal staircase which bypassed the ground floor entirely. On this basis, the thesis excludes numerous buildings from the two regions, ranging from urban guildhalls, such as those in Exeter, Totnes, King's Lynn and Norwich, to single-storey rural community buildings such as Salisbury House (former church house) in Shepton Beauchamp (Somerset) and the Trinity Guildhall in Wisbech (Cambridgeshire). Also excluded were buildings which, though reasonably identified as a community building, had simply been too greatly altered for the original form to be certain. During the process of identifying buildings, a further observation was made that all seemed to be located on an identifiable open space, such as village square, marketplace, or simply a widened thoroughfare. As this tallied with the typical position of urban community buildings, such as the classic island-site

market hall, it was adopted as a further characteristic, one which hitherto has not been specifically linked with rural community buildings.

Using the above characteristics, a long-list was drawn up of one hundred and forty-six buildings across Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, but only ninety buildings across Cambridgeshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. Given this discrepancy among buildings of ostensibly the same multi-purpose and adaptable type, factors affecting survival and loss in both regions are considered. The buildings themselves do not explain this, but it was suggested that their ownership could. In the South West, there was a high incidence of community buildings retaining their community uses beyond the period of this study, typically as poorhouses or, in Devon in particular, as inns. It was suggested that this was made possible by the fact that the buildings were typically erected by parishioners or lay landlords. In East Anglia, where the name ‘guildhall’ was historically more prominent, it was suggested that it was guilds that primarily drove the acquisition or construction of community buildings. Therefore, far greater numbers of community buildings were confiscated at their dissolution and in the frenzy of searches for concealed lands through the late sixteenth century. Though in some cases communities could reacquire the building or possibly excuse its existing use as secular, it seems that many lost their community connection at this point and therefore became private real estate, developed and demolished as resources and tastes subsequently required.

An overview of the twenty-nine selected buildings, comprising seventeen in the South West and twelve in East Anglia, sets out the current state of knowledge about each from primary or secondary sources, in particular relating to their historical designations, ownership and historical and current uses. Bearing in mind the limitations of survival, in each region an attempt was made to achieve as wide a geographical spread throughout each county as possible in order to

encompass differing topographical and landscape characteristics, which are summarised for each county. One common feature arising from these overviews is that almost all the buildings are found to be outside the 'Central Province' as delineated by Roberts and Wrathmell's *Region and Place* and *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*. The defining features of these areas are landscapes of dispersed settlements, medium-sized fields of ancient enclosure and pastoral farming, thereby contrasting with the nucleated settlements of the 'champion' central belt of England. This observation is recognised as pertinent to that of W. G. Hoskins, recorded by Cowley as stating that church houses 'were not necessary in a country of compact villages.' Usefully, the selected buildings in the thesis contain some exceptions. In Somerset, all the buildings are within the Central Province, with those at Crowcombe and Martock located on the frontier with Devon, or the North and Western Province. Similarly, in East Anglia, the Cambridgeshire buildings are also located in the Central Province and also in a frontier zone, there with the South-Eastern Province. Furthermore, nothing emerges from the buildings to suggest that these locations affect their correspondence with the building type being suggested. Therefore, though landscape issues are not held centrally in this thesis, this topic is taken to the conclusion that, though community building type was not totally absent from the Central Province, extant buildings (at least) are less in evidence.

The connection of community buildings with open spaces is taken forward in both regions in turn, primarily to assess their relationship with the parish church and manor-house and to establish how their position affects access to the first floor (through the position of the external staircase or doorway to an internal stair bypassing the ground floor) and the ground floor. The open spaces themselves are divided into 'primary' (i.e. the principal village square or marketplace) or 'secondary' (i.e. a secondary marketplace or a plot seemingly

associated specifically with the community building). In the South West, it is noted that the majority (just over two-thirds) of the buildings are located on the churchyard-edge, or with at least one elevation adjoining it, with the remainder entirely detached from it. But whether attached to the churchyard or not, all the buildings face an extant open space, or one which can be more or less reconstructed through morphological regression of the surrounding area. In some buildings this emphasis is pronounced: the Church House at South Tawton (Devon) presents a blank elevation to the churchyard with external staircase and ground-floor doors all positioned onto the village square. At Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon) the Church House presents a gable (with no door) to the churchyard, but a full-length pentice towards the village square on one side, and the external staircase to the village green on the other. It was also found that, in just over half of those buildings with first-floor access from the churchyard, the staircase was positioned so as to provide access from the churchyard *and* the open space. The evidence from the South West therefore suggested that the open space, if not the primary consideration, was certainly a significant factor in how buildings were positioned and accessed. Given that the corresponding churches and, in some cases, manor-houses were also found to be close to the same open space, an additional question was raised as to whether the position of the church itself also followed the open space, rather than dictated it. In East Anglia, these characteristics are generally even more apparent as a greater proportion of buildings are detached from the churchyard. As in the South West, all are orientated towards primary or secondary open spaces, whether extant or traceable, although this was more difficult to establish in Great Yarmouth owing to the early date at which the settlement developed around the Tolhouse. Only three of the East Anglian buildings had first-floor access from the churchyard, giving a clear preference for external staircase, or doors to internal staircases, to

be located towards the open space in front or behind the various community buildings.

The characteristics of location and access shared between the buildings in the two regions, particularly in their relationship to open spaces, which were posited as official or unofficial marketplaces or as locations for fairs, are evident. They provide a clear contextual linkage between these rural buildings and the civic/administrative or commercial buildings in towns which are associated with marketplaces etc., such as the Cornish buildings in Fowey and Looe, and provide a basis for a comparison of plan-forms. Following detailed analysis of the plans of the seventeen South West buildings, a set of overarching characteristics was established which appeared to link each one, irrespective of name; known or assumed use; or location in town or village. These comprised the provision of a first-floor hall which occupied the whole or the majority of the first floor; an external staircase to access the first floor; the position of first-floor doorways at one end of the hall; and horizontal separation between each floor. The latter is given much attention throughout the thesis given that it implies a multiplicity of uses and flexibility to operate differently on each floor independent of the other. However, notwithstanding these characteristics, a number of variations were noted. It was considered whether these variations ran counter to any of the overarching characteristics, or were sufficiently numerous to justify being added as a fifth. They were identified as including: the size of the first-floor halls; the position of the external staircase; the provision of a *secondary* internal stair; the provision of a fireplace; the number of ground-floor rooms; and the provision of a pentice. The latter sub-variant was not evidenced among the East Anglian buildings, but otherwise it was found that not only do the East Anglian buildings conform to the overarching characteristics, but the evident variations fit within one or more of the established sub-categories.

The variations evident in the provision of fireplaces and division of ground-floor spaces were particularly relevant to interpreting buildings across the region. Fireplaces large enough for cooking and brewing were all but universal in the South West buildings, absent only from the two town buildings (Fowey and Looe) and at Poundstock and St Tudy. Fireplaces are typically associated with the use of the building for feasting. In contrast, only three East Anglian buildings had evidence for such a provision within the building, but the survival of a detached kitchen at Hadleigh points to the possibility that not only the majority of East Anglian buildings had one, but also those rural buildings in the South West without a fireplace. This was considered to be a further reason to connect the buildings in the two regions. Regarding the uses of the ground-floors, a number of East Anglian buildings are explicit in their historical commercial use in the provision of shop units within the building. This is less evident in the South West, even though these uses emerge for certain buildings in the documentary record (e.g. Stratton, Cornwall). Along with their position on open spaces/marketplaces, the provision of pentices and in some cases ornate carpentry of ceiling timbers in large ground-floor rooms, it is suggested that these buildings too could have been venues for official or unofficial commercial activity. Such commercial usage of community buildings in both regions further unites them with the aforementioned buildings of comparable purpose in large towns.

Acknowledgements

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Any study predicated upon access to buildings therefore rests upon their owners' willingness to provide access. In this regard, my special thanks are due to those who permitted me to explore every nook and cranny of their own homes, often altering plans to be available. Their questions on my research and interim findings, always with genuine pleasure and interest, assisted in shaping my thoughts into something approaching a reasonable set of conclusions. For those buildings which remain in some form of public use, my thanks are due to staff and volunteers at the following: Landmark Trust; National Trust; Fowey Town Council; East Looe Town Trust; Poundstock Gildhouse; St Teath Community Centre Association; The Chew Magna Old Schoolroom Charity; the Management Committee of the Church House, South Tawton; the Church House Charity, Crowcombe; the churchwardens at Drewsteignton, Lamerton, St Tudy, and Swimbridge; Aldeburgh Town Council; The Fox and Goose Inn, Fressingfield; Finchingfield Guildhall Trust; Hadleigh Market Feoffment Charity; the Friends of Matching Church and the Ancient Marriage Feast Room; and the volunteers at Laxfield and District Museum.

In an age where an ever-increasing amount of information is available

online, which certainly greatly assisted the research for this thesis, it is even more important that the work and enthusiasm of those managing, curating and making available physical records is recognised. In this regard, my thanks go to staff at: Bodleian Library; Cornwall Record Office; Devon Heritage Centre; Dorset County Museum; Dorset Heritage Centre; East Sussex Record Office; Essex Record Office; Historic England; National Archives; Norfolk Record Office; North Devon Record Office; Pembroke College, Cambridge; Penlee House Gallery and Museum, Penzance; Plymouth and West Devon Record Office; Somerset Heritage Centre; and Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich).

Chance or arranged encounters with many people have been instrumental in shaping ideas, particularly in honing the good, banishing the bad and suggesting the new. First are those who permitted me to pass through the key stages of Transfer and Confirmation to get to this point: Professor Malcolm Airs (Kellogg College), Dr Clive Burgess (Royal Holloway), Dr Christine Jackson (Kellogg College), and the late Dr Cathy Oakes (Department for Continuing Education). Second are those with whom informal discussion at events and other rendezvous, particularly in the early days of research, provided encouragement and reassurance that this was a path worth treading: Dr Kate Giles (University of York), Dr Joanna Mattingly, and John Thorp (Keystone Historic Buildings Consultants).

Finally, and yet foremost, my everlasting and unrepayable thanks are due to my family. My parents have been a source of enduring support and encouragement, without which this whole project could not have been. But it is my wife who has borne the full brunt of eight years of this enterprise, which is only four months older than our other, lifelong enterprise: our twin daughters. It is only because of her unsurpassable abilities as a mother that she could overcome my frequent absences – in body and mind – to keep them at the fore.

List of Abbreviations

ACRA	Association of Commons Registration Authorities
AH	Architectural History
AHR	Agricultural History Review
AJ	Archaeological Journal
BGAS	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
BRS	Berkshire Record Society
CAC	Carlisle Archive Centre
CCR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CMDCW	Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CRO	Cornwall Record Office
CRR	Curia Regis Rolls
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
DevHC	Devon Heritage Centre
DCM	Dorset County Museum
DCN&Q	Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries
DCRS	Devon and Cornwall Record Society
DHC	Dorset History Centre
EAH	Essex Archaeology and History
EAN&Q	East Anglian Notes & Queries
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	English Historical Review
ERO	Essex Record Office
EUS	Extensive Urban Survey
HEA	Historic England Archive
HENHL	Historic England National Heritage List
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JBS	Journal of British Studies
JDANHS	Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JHG	Journal of Historical Geography
JRIC	Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall
LEN	List Entry Number (Historic England)
LISSS	List and Index Society Special Series
LPFD	Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic
LRS	Lincoln Record Society
NA	Norfolk Archaeology
NAM	Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany
NDRO	North Devon Record Office
NHER	Norfolk Historic Environment Record
NPA	National Park Authority
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
NRS	Norfolk Record Society
ORS	Oxfordshire Record Society
PCC	Pembroke College, Cambridge
PDAS	Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society

PDNHAFC	Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club
PDNHAS	Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society
P&P	Past and Present
PSIA	Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology
PWDRO	Plymouth and West Devon Record Office
RCC	Reports of the Charity Commissioners
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)
REED	Records of Early English Drama
RSEH	Records of Social and Economic History
SDN&Q	Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries
SEH	Studies in Essex History
SHC	Somerset Heritage Centre
SRS	Somerset Record Society
SfROB	Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds
SfROI	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
SfRS	Suffolk Records Society
SuRS	Surrey Record Society
SxRS	Sussex Record Society
TCHAS	Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society
TCWAAS	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
TDA	Transactions of the Devonshire Association
TEAS	Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society
TEHAS	Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
TWNFC	Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club
VA	Vernacular Architecture
VCH	Victoria County History
WANHM	Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine

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1 Introduction

Many villages of the South West are home to a distinctive building, a church house, which is usally sited in the centre and/or near the church.[1] When these came to my notice in the 2000s, the survival of a community building other than the church from the late medieval and early modern periods was a source of excitement: I read how they existed in at least 'thirty-four counties'; how they 'played an integral role in the broad sweep of religious and political changes' of the Tudor and Stuart periods; and how they 'lay at the heart of these struggles for the soul of England's parishes'.[2] The church house has come to be associated with several architectural and functional characteristics: a two-storey building located near a church, with an extant or evidenced external staircase to a first-floor hall and a large ground-floor fireplace, which played host to the parish revelries known as church ales. These features are sufficiently consistent that they have come to be understood as as a building type.[3] The best examples in the South West reinforce this dual understanding by their retention of both the architectural features and some form of community use (**Plates I.1** and **I.2**).

However they are far from being a 'West Country possession and peculiarity':[4] as recently as 2019, a building in Guildford (Surrey), dated dendrochronologically to 1416/7 is suggested to be of a 'church house' type owing to broadly similar characteristics in plan.[5] Indeed a wider observation of similar buildings across England offered up numerous examples of extant buildings in rural East Anglia which appear to share these broad attributes.[6] Like

[1] The term 'South West' in this study refers to Dorset, Devon, Somerset and Cornwall.
[2] C. Stanford, 'Cakes, Ale, Cash - Church Houses Revealed', *Cornerstone: The Magazine of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*, 29(1) (2008), pp. 50-3
[3] J. Mattingly, 'Church Houses: An Under-Recognised Building Type', *Local History News*, 93 (2009), 16-17.
[4] P. Cowley, *The Church Houses* (London, 1970), p. 15.
[5] N. Alcock and C. Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Date Lists 2019', *VA*, 50 (2019), p. 94-124 (p. 98).
[6] The term 'East Anglia' refers to Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire.

the stone of the South West, the timber-framing of these rural East Anglian buildings reveals alterations large and small over many centuries, the best examples here nonetheless reinforce the similarities (**Plates I.3** and **II.1**). Unlike in the South West, however, no collective and representative designation as a building type has either come down to us in the buildings' current designations or is represented consistently in the historical terminology. Today, and in historical sources, the East Anglian buildings are known variously as guildhalls, town halls, moot halls and many others. These observations pose some immediate questions:

- is a 'building type' a valid object of study?
- does terminology conceal similarities of actual or potential historical function?
- do the similarities between the buildings' forms in the two regions go beyond the outward and superficial?

Further questions arise when the extant buildings are considered in their settings. Though most are in rural villages, others are to be found in small and large towns and one can also question whether the answers reveal similarities or differences between town and country in their form or use. On a wider scale, one can question to what extent these buildings can contribute to a wider understanding of community-level responses to macrosocial and macroeconomic environments.

In addressing these questions, the weight of evidence proffers a hypothesis: the building type represented by the church house in the South West is also represented in East Anglia and is therefore not to be restricted to the South West. Furthermore, the type is linked to community uses to an extent that one is justified in understanding them as a 'community building' type, which is found in both town and village settings. Of course, neither the posing nor the acceptance

of this hypothesis excludes the existence of other locations and other buildings which could host communal activities, not least the church itself.[7]

This study pursues these questions through detailed analysis of twenty-nine selected buildings, comprising seventeen in the South West and twelve in East Anglia. The focus is on the physical record of their architecture and setting, supplemented where necessary by visual and documentary sources. As a historical source, the physical record can often be 'overwhelmed', with buildings divorced from 'their topographical and morphological position' in towns and villages.[8]

Although the majority of community buildings in the South West and East Anglia identified for this study date from the sixteenth century, the selected period begins in *c.* 1400. The fifteenth century provides some of the earliest examples of surviving buildings and any discussion of community halls and buildings would be incomplete without encompassing the beginnings of the physical record.[9] It should be noted that the Tolhouse, Great Yarmouth (Norfolk) stands alone among the extant community buildings as being datable architecturally to the early thirteenth century. However, it did not seem appropriate to extend the starting point of this study to the thirteenth century owing to the lack of extant buildings between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries and the fact that the nature of the Tolhouse might prompt some debate as to its inclusion. It has been thought appropriate to follow others in ending this study at the beginning of the turbulent period of the English Civil War, a time when traditional urban and rural community life might reasonably be understood to have been disrupted.[10]

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[7] J. G. Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (London, 1968), esp. pp. 50-51.
[8] R. Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c.1500-1640* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1, 4; K. Giles, 'Public Space in Town and Village', in *Town and Country in the Middle Ages, 1100-1500*, ed. by C. Dyer and K. Giles (Leeds, 2007), pp. 293-312 (p. 297).
[9] Buildings dated through dendrochronology to the fifteenth century include Church House, South Tawton (Devon) and 7 West Street (former market house/guildhall), Coggeshall (Essex).
[10] Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p. 5.

However, it should not be assumed that this terminus represents the end of the community building: many such buildings, particularly in major towns, were rebuilt during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as grander structures, such as the Guildhall in Poole (Dorset), rebuilt in 1761, though they maintain the basic form of these earlier community buildings (**Plate II.2**). Therefore at this end of the spectrum references to later extant buildings are included where required for illustration. For researchers of later periods, any such later references will provide a useful bridge from the late medieval and early modern periods to the typological studies of later forms of public building.[11]

Building Types as an Object of Study

It is clear from the above that this study is predicated upon the notion, however general, that one can conceive of these community buildings as a 'building type', whose similarities and differences can be analysed under an overarching concept. The term 'building type' can be problematic, not least because, as Peter Eden once rightly observed, buildings are 'rarely without the peculiarities which encourage us to think of them as deviations from their type.'[12] Robert Tittler's study of the 'civic hall' found three 'types', whilst Stuart Rigold's earlier classification of the 'court hall' identified two.[13] To take more recent examples, the 'railway station' is a readily understandable building type, yet studies are compelled to deal with 'major city stations', 'large town stations, 'small town stations' and 'country and suburban stations', each highlighting implicit or explicit differences within the umbrella type.[14] Even a building type as specific

[11] For example, J. Schmiechen and K. Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven; London, 1999), pp. ix-xi.
[12] P. Eden, 'Smaller Post-Medieval Houses in Eastern England', in *East Anglian Studies*, ed. by L. M. Munby (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 71-94 (p. 72).
[13] Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, pp. 27-28, 31-32; S. E. Rigold, 'Two Types of Court Hall', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 83 (1968), 1-22 (pp. 1-2).
[14] *Railway Architecture*, ed. by M. Binney and D. Pearce (London, 1979).

and niche as a Victorian fernery demands an assessment of different 'types'.[15] Similarly, the defining uses can spread beyond the building type: a train could be caught from a halt or even flagged down; a fernery could be contained in a drawing room; a court could be held outside, in a public house, or in the hall of a manor house.[16] Indeed 'hall' is a significant comparator in the context of this study: the hall is a defining architectural characteristic of 'house' as a building type throughout the late medieval period.[17] Yet myriad differences exist, including size, date, status and arrangement, which neither materially impede our understanding of the concept nor diminish its validity. The form and function of halls can also exist in other contexts, such as the first-floor halls of 'chamber block' buildings like the Manor House at Boothby Pagnell (Lincolnshire) (**Plate II.3**). Though parallels with these can be drawn in basic architectural terms (e.g. large first-floor room and external stair), such buildings are now interpreted as high-status *domestic* spaces with storage below, typically associated with castles, episcopal palaces or residential complexes.[18] A notable example is St Mary's Guildhall in Lincoln, which has recently been reinterpreted as a chamber block.[19] These are clearly a different 'type' to the medieval house, yet the sharing of the 'hall' as a feature has not negated its usefulness as an indicator of 'house'.

The above demonstrates that any building type considered secure in its logical determination (e.g. 'railway station') soon collapses into semantic *aporia* with even slight critical interrogation. Yet the fact remains that, in order to have

[15] S. Whittingham, 'Ferns and Fountains and Fishpools; Crags and Caverns and Cascades': The Victorian Public Fernery', in *Living, Leisure and Law: Eight Building Types in England, 1800-1914*, ed. by G. K. Brandwood (Reading, 2010), pp. 33-52 (pp. 33-35).
[16] Whittingham, 'Ferns', p. 33; *VCH Wilts,* V, p. 233; M. Bailey, *The English Manor,* c. *1200* - c. *1500* (Manchester, 2002), p. 169.
[17] E. Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses* (London, 1975), p. 19.
[18] K. Dempsey, 'Understanding Hall-Houses', *Medieval Archaeology*, 61 (2017), 372-99; J. Blair, 'Hall and Chamber: English Domestic Planning 1000-1250', in *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, ed. by G. Merion-Jones and M. Jones (London, 1999), pp. 1-21 (pp. 2-5).
[19] N. Hill and M. Gardiner, 'The English Medieval First-Floor Hall: Part 2', *AJ*, 175 (2018), 315-61 (p. 354).

stable and comprehensive interaction with our surroundings, we typically frame and adopt convenient designations that collect disparate, yet broadly relatable, building types under one conceptually meaningful term. Therefore building types, along with propositions for additions to the received canon, remain a legitimate object of study and, indeed, a necessary one, if connections are to be made.

Historiography of Building Labels

The buildings in this study introduce a wide terminology, which permits some insights into the nature of communal resources in town and country and also to a wider sense in which society was what we might term 'community orientated'. On that note, the collective term adopted as the title of this study appears in historical sources before and during the period of this study and in town and village contexts. Northampton had a 'communis aula' as early as 1285, whilst an early guildhall near the churchyard in Great Yarmouth (Norfolk) appears as the 'common hall' in 1353/4.[20] The will of John Wellam of Hitcham (Suffolk), proved in 1452, bequeaths his mass-pence to the repairing of the 'aule communitatis', whilst the will of John Gowle from Stowmarket (Suffolk), proved in 1460, refers to a 'communis aula called le gylde halle';[21] this instance suggesting that a guildhall could be understood as a conceptual sub-use of a more general 'communis aula'. In the Tudor period, the charter of incorporation of St Albans in 1553 granted a house (formerly belonging to the Guild of All Saints) 'to be used as the Common Hall for the Mayor and Burgesses' and the Guildhall at York is referred to in 1600 as the 'common hall'.[22] However, as highlighted above, no

[20] *VCH Northampton*, III, p. 36; P. Rutledge, 'The Origins and Early Development of Great Yarmouth: Further Evidence', *Yarmouth Archaeology*, (1999), 27-33 (p. 31).
[21] *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474: Wills from the Register "Baldwyne",* ed. by P. Northeast, SfRS, 44 (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 278, 506.
[22] G. P. McSweeney, 'The Moot Hall and Early Topography of St Albans', *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, 13 (1997-2003), 89-92 (p. 89); D. M. Palliser, 'Civic Mentality and the Environment

term is without *caveat* and its historical use to mean *any* space for community gathering is also attested: the 1451 will of John Muriell of Barrow bequeaths his 'house in the green yard for the use of the community of Barrow for a common hall of the guild [*ad proficium comitatis* [sic] *de Barwe pro communi aula gilde*]'.[23] Similarly, in 1517 William Grigge of Greenwich donated his 'barn annexed to the churche yerde' to the parish with the wish that it 'continue as a churche house for euer'.[24] Just as our understanding of the 'church house' type is not materially damaged by these wider applications of the term, neither then is the posited use of 'aula communitatis' to collate church houses and other buildings which display shared characteristics of form and function.

In historical sources consistent terminology for buildings with community functions is elusive, though it can illustrate contemporary ideas surrounding communal activities. The example of 'common hall' above reflects a use which varies through time and space to mean both a specific building for a guild and/or town government and a general communal place, of which 'guildhall' is then used as a more specific qualifier. In the sixteenth century, the term is used in a number of charters of incorporation in the South West to denote the seat of the borough government.[25] Though the term is rare in rural contexts, seemingly absent in those of the South West, the examples from Suffolk provide a connection between the term and guilds, possibily reflecting a place where decisions were made (thus reflecting urban usage) or, more likely, a place where guild brothers and sisters came together for feasting and companionship.[26] A further rural context emerges in other terms given to community structures such as the

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in Tudor York', in *The Tudor and Stuart Town, 1530-1688*, ed. by J. Barry (London, 1990), pp. 206-43 (p. 224).

[23] Northeast, *Wills*, p. 181.

[24] *Testamenta Cantiana*, ed. by L. L. Duncan and A. Hussey (London, 1906-7), p. 31.

[25] *CPR* 29 *Elizabeth I*, p. 54 (East Looe); *CPR 31 Elizabeth I*, p. 125 (Truro); *CPR 32 Elizabeth I*, p. 236 (South Molton).

[26] G. Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast', *JBS*, 33 (1994), 430-446 (p. 431).

communis furni and the *communis pistrine* of Tintinhull (Somerset) in the fifteenth century, where the meaning reflects a resource shared in common.[27]

The term 'guildhall' is attested as early as Domesday Book and the term has early connections with local government in large towns, a use which persists in both the South West and East Anglia through the period of this study and up to the present.[28] 'Moot hall' occurs in similar contexts.[29] In rural areas, however, there is regional discrepancy. 'Guildhall' is common in sources for rural community buildings in East Anglia, suggesting straightforward connections with ownership and/or use by religious guilds.[30] By contrast the term is not common in the South West unless in urban contexts. Again this is not definitive: in Dorset, a 'Richard atte Yeldhouse' is recorded in Gillingham as early as 1354 and the court rolls for the manor of Okeford Fitzpaine record a 'guildhall' in 1564, when any local guilds would have been dissolved.[31] Therefore, though the use of 'guildhall' for pre-Reformation rural buildings in any area could refer to a simple guild connection, its retention after the Reformation could relate either to the memory of its earlier guild use, or to its repurposing as a place for wider community decision-making in a sense that echoes that found in large towns. A clearer example of this nominal repurposing occurs in Cratfield (Suffolk), where the 'guildhall' mentioned in 1534 becomes the 'town house' (a name it retains) by 1639.[32] These cases illustrate that historical labels were adaptable to wider societal contexts, with changes in use either subsumed within the same

[27] E. Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, SRS, 4 (London, 1890), pp. 183, 205.
[28] See below, p. 23.
[29] See below, p. 71.
[30] See below, p. 108.
[31] A. D. Mills, *The Place-Names of Dorset*, 3 vols (Nottingham, 1977-2010), III (1989), pp. 10, 180.
[32] *Cratfield: A Transcript of the Accounts of the Parish, from A.D. 1490 to A.D. 1642*, ed. by W. Holland and J. J. Raven (London, 1895), p. 66; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Cratfield, 1640-1660*, ed. by L. A. Botelho, SfRS, 42 (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 34.

unchanging designation, or reflected in a new label, but all without fundamentally changing the building itself.

If the ‘guild-’ element was typically used for a place for decision-making or for buildings of religious guilds throughout the period of this study, other terms are employed to refer specifically to communities’ commercial activities. These bear a clear signifier: ‘market hall’ and ‘market house’ are the clearest, but other cognate terms, such as ‘booth hall’, ‘tollbooth’ and ‘tollhouse’, are common and again span time and space. Further thoughts on these terms, particularly their regional distribution, are offered in the wider discussion of documentary sources in Chapter 2 below.

The term ‘church house’ differs from those above insofar as it offers no built-in signifier to denote the activities within. In this case, its historical use therefore points away from denoting what goes on inside and instead towards an ostensible connection with the church, be it spatial, functional or other. Though more common in rural areas, the term can be found in urban contexts: the records of the London parishes of St Andrew Hubbard and St Mary-at-Hill each contain references to a church house in the 1470s and the 1540s/50s respectively.[33] Similarly, its use was sufficiently broad to be used in East Anglia: buildings described as ‘church houses’ appear in the churchwardens’ accounts of a number of villages in the region, such as Beccles and Walberswick (both Suffolk) and Tilney All Saints (Norfolk).[34] The term is similarly general to permit conflation: the community building in Wendover (Buckinghamshire) was referred to in a Commission of Charitable Uses in 1630 as ‘the Church House, otherwise

[33] J. Crosthwaite, 'Ancient Churchwardens' Accounts of a City Parish', *British Magazine*, 31 (1847), 526-37 (p. 534); H. Littlehales, *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St Mary at Hill), 1420-1559* (London, 1904-5), pp. 385, 411.
[34] W. J. Ashby, 'Beccles Churchwardens' Accounts', *EAN&Q*, 2 (1887), 218-20 (p. 218); R. W. M. Lewis, *Walberswick Churchwardens' Accounts*, A.D. 1450-1499 ([Walberswick], [1947]), pp. 11, 69, 73; *The Transcript of the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk, 1443-1589*, ed. by A. D. Stallard (London, 1922), p. 167.

called the Market House, otherwise the Town House'.[35] An exception to this is the Kentish peculiarity of the 'Give Ale House', such as that which survives in Fordwich and is recorded in at least 1555.[36] Notwithstanding its lack of functional signifier, the above confirms that 'church house' could also be used generally.

In the broadest sense, this overview suggests that historical terms were indicative of the general activities which the buildings housed. Crucially, however, this differs from today insofar as it is clear that the labels did not fix to an immutable use, nor to a fixed building type *per se*. The explicit flexibility of labels reveals an implicit suitability of the buildings for a variety of communal uses. In turn, this reflects a period before the proliferation of specialised buildings and a period when limited resources forced communities to make more use of the built spaces available. The historical flexibility of architectural language contrasts with the present, when labels generally require less flexibility owing to the profusion of proprietary buildings for specific functions; a description of any building in the same way as the aforementioned Church House in Wendover in the seventeenth century would result in confusion.

The labels encountered from the eighteenth century to the present tend to reflect either uses current at the time or one derived from the known history of the building. In Matching and Little Hallingbury (both Essex), buildings called 'Marriage Feast Rooms' are recorded in the 1760s, described as having been 'designed for the entertainment of poor people on their wedding day'.[37] This term does not appear to be based on a recorded label and suggests perhaps the influence of late-eighteenth-century perceptions. In some cases modern labels prompt questions; the Gildhouse in Poundstock (Cornwall) has acquired a

[35] F. W. Reader, 'Discovery of a Drawing of Wendover Market House', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 13 (1934), 69-76 (p. 72).
[36] C. E. Woodruff, *History of the Town and Port of Fordwich* (Canterbury, 1895), p. 185.
[37] P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols (London, 1768; repr. East Ardsley, 1978), II, p. 499; *VCH Essex*, VIII, p. 30.

modern name that neither reflects its earliest documented name (the 'Church House'), nor its subsequent use as a poorhouse. The changes here suggest that the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century stigma surrounding poorhouses made it less likely to survive as a building name; this is reflected in the fact that none of the buildings known to have had this use retains the name today.[38] On occasion, the journey of a label can be traced through the records to a modern-day result which is either unevidenced or entirely fanciful. The former church house in St Tudy (Cornwall) is referred to in the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1715 as both the 'church house' and the 'parish house', in 1773 as the 'poorhouse', but today as 'The Clink', though no evidence is known to support use as a gaol.[39] More detailed exploration of the changing designations of the buildings selected for this study is offered in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

Historiography of Community Buildings

No significant studies relating to community buildings in town and rural settings in the South West and East Anglia have been published in the last quarter-century at least and none have drawn on the wider connections contended here. This section therefore offers an overview of the current state of affairs. In the South West studies of urban buildings have tended to be restricted to guildhalls, and more so in Devon rather than Cornwall or Dorset. The earliest studies focussed on the guilds themselves, rather than the guildhalls: in the nineteenth century, articles appeared on the early guilds of Barnstaple, Exeter, Plymouth and Totnes, but with only marginal interest in their buildings.[40] It was

[38] See below, p. 102.
[39] CRO P 219/5/1.
[40] For example: W. Cotton, 'Some Account of the Ancient Guilds of the City of Exeter', *TDA*, 5 (1872), 117-38; J. Brooking Rowe, 'Devonshire Gilds. Plymouth and Totnes', *TDA*, 6 (1873), 101-6; P. F. S. Amery, 'The Gild Merchant of Totnes', *TDA*, 12 (1880), 179-91; and J. R. Chanter, 'Vestiges of an Early Guild of St Nicholas at Barnstaple', *TDA*, 11 (1879), 191-212.

not until the twentieth century that the focus shifted somewhat onto guild buildings, most notably the Exeter Guildhall and Tuckers' Hall (both still extant) and the numerous phases of guildhalls in Dartmouth, but again without comparing these with other community buildings of a similar architectural form.[41] There has been relatively little scholarly interest in Cornish community buildings and nothing which addresses them on a county-wide level. The records of Truro before 1300 refer to a hall called 'Anhell' which stood in the centre of the town alongside a market house, but its use is not clear from the documentary evidence and suggestions range from a guildhall to the Lord's original court hall.[42] In 1989 and 2005, Mattingly addressed the origins and practices of Cornish guilds.[43] The buildings used by the Cornish guilds are mentioned only briefly in the 1989 article, which states how 'members of the Helston guild were exhorted to "eat and drink in worship of the Trinity" after holding their dirges, in a separate house, possibly the church house'.[44] The article also concludes that 'there is little separate evidence of separate guild houses in addition to the church house, as found in Chagford in Devon, although the term "yeld house" also occurs.'[45] Other buildings emerging from the documentary sources include the 'Trinite house' in the Kilkhampton Churchwardens' Accounts of the 1560s and a guildhall called 'Taprell House' in Lostwithiel, to which members 'probably' repaired after the St George's riding, but the nature of these buildings is unknown.[46]

In nineteenth-century studies, Dorset guildhalls are mentioned only as a small part of the history of specific towns, most notably Weymouth and

[41] H. Lloyd Parry, *The History of the Exeter Guildhall and the Life Within* (Exeter, 1936)*, passim*; J. A. Youings, *Tuckers Hall, Exeter* (Exeter, 1968); and I. H. Smart, 'The Many Ancient Guildhalls of Dartmouth', *TDA*, 123 (1991), 15-40.
[42] C. Henderson, 'Records of the Borough of Truro, Before A.D. 1300', *JRIC*, 23 (1929-32), 106-7.
[43] J. Mattingly, 'The Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall', *JRIC*, n.s., 10 (1989), 290-329 and J. Mattingly, 'Going a-Riding: Cornwall's Late Medieval Guilds Revisited', *JRIC* (2005), 78-103.
[44] Mattingly, 'Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall', p. 301.
[45] Mattingly, 'Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall', p. 301.
[46] Mattingly, 'Going a-Riding', pp. 79, 81.

Melcombe Regis.[47] In these contiguous towns (now unified as Weymouth), a twentieth-century study of Tudor buildings makes further brief references to the town hall at Weymouth and the guildhall in Melcombe Regis.[48] The paucity of studies was remedied somewhat by Tittler's survey of 'civic halls' in Dorset, which sought a chronology for the appearance of any form of public building, regardless of architecture or plan, in numerous Dorset towns.[49] Some important suggestions were made, however, as to the coincidence of 'civic halls' with charters of incorporation, economic growth and market charters.[50] However, none of the original buildings from Tittler's chosen period survives in Dorset.

In East Anglia, there have been no studies of urban community buildings on a regional or county level, but many on individual 'guildhalls' in large towns, such as King's Lynn, Norwich (Norfolk) and Lavenham (Suffolk), in which the wide range of labels used for such buildings is also borne out.[51]

Moving to rural settings, the earliest historical works which refer to the church houses of the South West have had a profound effect on later studies, particularly in the concept of their once ubiquitous presence. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* describes the church house as if a universal feature of Cornish parishes, and John Aubrey, referring to Wiltshire, records that 'in every parish is (or was) a church house'.[52] Reaffirmations of this on a county basis can be found

[47] G. A. Ellis, *The History and Antiquities of the Borough and Town of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis* (Weymouth: Benson; London, 1829); H. J. Moule, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters, Minute Books and Other Documents of the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis* (Weymouth, 1883), pp. 107-8, 110, 112.
[48] V. L. Oliver, 'Tudor Buildings in Weymouth', *PDNHAS*, 62 (1941), 60-8 (p. 61).
[49] R. Tittler, 'The Building of Civic Halls in Dorset, c.1560-1640', *BIHR*, 58 (137) (1985), 37-45.
[50] Tittler, ' Civic Halls', p. 40.
[51] For example, E. M. Beloe, *The Guildhall Court of King's Lynn* ([King's Lynn, 1923); J. S. Corder, 'The Guildhall of Corpus Christi, Lavenham', *PSIA*, 7 (1891), 113-18; I. Dunn and H. Sutermeister, *The Norwich Guildhall* ([Norwich]: [1977]); M. Statham, 'The Guildhall, Bury St Edmunds', *PSIA*, 31 (1969), 117-57; G. Biddell, 'The Court House, Barking', *TEAS*, 16 (1923), 133-6; J. Arnott, 'Town Hall, Woodbridge', *PSIA*, 9 (1897), 344.
[52] R. Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. by J. Chynoweth, N. Orme and A. Walsham, DCRS, n.s., 47 (Exeter, 2004), p. 68r; J. Aubrey, *Miscellanies upon Various Subjects*, rev. edn (London, 1714).

in sources as diverse in time as Carrington's enquiry into Wiltshire church-ales in 1855 and Mattingly's article on the church houses of Berkshire in 1996.[53] Interest in church houses began in earnest with nineteenth-century antiquarian studies on communal activities, particularly church ales.[54] At that time the buildings were not in focus and indeed the outlook for their survival was bleak: Peacock could not discover a 'solitary specimen' and was led to fear that they had 'quite passed away'.[55] At the turn of the twentieth century, inquiries into Devon buildings emerged, though their architecture remained little explored. Reverend J. B. Pearson identified sixty-one church houses in Charity Commission records which by his time had come to be used as poorhouses. He concluded that they were 'intended to meet the requirements of the poor and to supplement the liberality of individuals, the parson included, in a regular and systematic way'.[56] In 1937, Sheldon's paper on the inns of Devon identified the prevalence of the name 'Church House Inn', although no direct reference is made to Pearson's earlier contribution.[57] However, Sheldon did identify similarities between the Church House Inns, principally their situation on the edge of the parish churchyard, or at least otherwise close to the church, and the presence of a back door which directly communicates with it.[58] The presence of church houses in Devon was by this time well-established, sufficiently so as to be mentioned in subsequent articles on parochial history.[59]

[53] F. A. Carrington, 'Ancient Ales in the County of Wilts and in the Diocese of Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, 2 (1855), 191-204 (p. 192); Mattingly, 'Church Houses in Berkshire', p. 11.
[54] E. Peacock, 'Church Ales', *AJ*, 40 (1883), 1-15.
[55] E. Peacock, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of Saint Mary's, Sutterton', *AJ*, 39 (1882), 53-63 (p. 54).
[56] J. B. Pearson, 'Church Houses in Devon', *TDA*, 32 (1900), 206-11 (pp. 207, 209-11).
[57] L. Sheldon, 'Devon Inns', *TDA*, 69 (1937), 365-90. Inns retaining this name survive at Churchstow, Harberton, Holne, Marldon, Rattery, Stokeinteignhead and Torbryan.
[58] Sheldon, 'Devon Inns', p. 385.
[59] For example, H. R. Evans, 'Broadhempston', *TDA*, 90 (1958), 62-126 (pp. 73, 77, 82).

In other areas of the South West, a series of articles on the four western hundreds of Cornwall in the late 1950s by Charles Henderson recorded three specific references to church houses from documentary sources, namely in Caerhays, Mabe and Kenwyn (only the latter survives), along with passing references to other community buildings of unknown form with different titles such as the 'Welde House' of Lanlivery.[60] As with community buildings in towns, a significant number of studies are restricted to singular buildings.[61]

The connections between Devon church houses were explored more fully in a series of articles by Copeland in the 1960s.[62] These sought to provide a gazetteer of surviving church houses in the county, underpinned by such similarities as a rectangular footprint, two-storey plan, stone construction, external lateral stone steps, a large fireplace with an oven on the ground floor and a first-floor room open to the rafters.[63] This broad survey, whose methodology is discussed further in Chapter 2, has become the benchmark on which later articles on church houses have been based and has been used as a rubric by which to identify further surviving examples in the region.[64] Thus Copeland's articles cemented the connection between church houses and church ales, long previously recorded by Carew and Aubrey, with his specific linkage between this use and the buildings' architecture.[65]

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the study of church houses had progressed sufficiently for a dedicated, but brief, synthesis on the subject by

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[60] C. Henderson, 'The Ecclesiastical History of the Four Western Hundreds', *JRIC*, n.s., 2 (1953-56), 1-210 (p. 75); 3 (1957-60), 211-497 (pp. 254, 292, 316).
[61] B. Hull, 'The Early History of the Church House and Church Ales at Poughill, 1525-1746', *Cornwall Association of Local Historians News Magazine*, 8 (October 1984), 3-6.
[62] G. W. Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses', *TDA*, 92 (1960), pp. 116-41; 93 (1961), pp. 250-65; 94 (1962), pp. 427-39; 95 (1963), pp. 135-55; 96 (1964), pp. 202-7; 98 (1966), pp. 157-68.
[63] Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses', p. 118.
[64] See for example, E. Bishop, 'The Church House, Dartington', *TDA*, 107 (1975), 91-92; E. H. D. Williams, 'Church Houses in Somerset', *VA*, 23 (1992/3), 15-23; J. Mattingly, 'Church Houses: An Under-Recognised Building Type', *Local History News*, 93 (2009), 16-17.
[65] Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses', p. 116.

Cowley, in which architectural and social perspectives were combined with a novel view that the buildings performed a 'most real liturgical function' and were the church's 'annex in both space and purpose'.[66] Cowley also recorded comments from W. G. Hoskins, given in personal correspondence, which have also influenced later thinking. Hoskins sought to link the abundance of church houses in the South West with the region's dispersed settlement pattern, opining that they 'were not necessary in a countryside with compact villages'.[67] This question is explored further in this study.

Built largely on Henderson's articles, Mattingly's brief overview of Cornish church houses in the 1980s identified only three standing buildings in Cornwall with a form readily comparable to the Devon type, along with a handful of documentary references to lost buildings. However, there was no discussion of a broader type of community building in the county or beyond.[68] Similarly, studies in the 1990s remained focussed in scope. E. H. D. Williams explored the internal plan-forms of a number of Somerset church houses, whilst a number of Dorset church houses were gathered by Conklin Hays in the process of identifying spaces used for the performance of drama, although their architecture was not specifically discussed.[69] Interestingly, her wider purpose of searching for performance venues in Dorset did necessitate a broadening of the scope beyond church houses, as the documentary sources showed that the guildhall in Blandford Forum was also used for performances in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[70] Although not a purpose or conclusion of that particular

[66] P. Cowley, *The Church Houses* (London, 1970), pp. 15-17.
[67] Cowley, *The Church Houses*, p. 16. See also Mattingly, 'Church Houses in Berkshire', p. 7; E. H. D. Williams, 'Church Houses in Somerset', *VA*, 23 (1992/3), 15-23 (p. 15).
[68] J. Mattingly, 'Church Houses in Cornwall', *Cornish Buildings Group Review* (1988), pp. 1-2. The buildings mentioned are the Gildhouse at Poundstock and the church houses at St Teath and St Tudy, all of which are discussed in this study.
[69] Williams, 'Church Houses in Somerset', p. 15; R. Conklin Hays, 'Dorset Church Houses and the Drama', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 31 (1992), 13-23.
[70] Conklin Hays, 'Dorset Church Houses and the Drama', p. 16.

Dorset study, it does reflect an implicit broader understanding of the suitability of buildings with different titles (i.e. guildhalls and church houses) for community entertainment, a fact which for practical reasons tentatively points to similarities in plan and design.

The cumulative effect of the above studies has been to reinforce the image of the 'church house' as an exclusive building type, one which, following Carew and Aubrey, should be universal because of the universal custom of church ales. However, the difficulties of exporting this model lock, stock and barrel became apparent in my own earlier attempts to identify church houses among extant buildings in Kent.[71] Though here the term was evidenced in documentary sources and in some buildings, the actual elements which had come to define the building as a type were more regularly seen in buildings with 'other' uses and labels (past or present), such as the Town Hall in Fordwich (**Plate III.1**) and the Court Hall in Milton Regis (**Plate III.2**). The phenomenon of an extant building with a comparable form, but with current and historical labels and uses which pointed in a different direction to the church ale, was found elsewhere, such as the Courthouse in Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire) (**Plate III.3**) and the Moot Hall in Elstow (Bedfordshire) (**Plate IV.1**). These, like those in Kent, expanded not only the building type beyond the South West, but also the range of community uses they accommodated, in these cases for juridical and commercial activities.

However, in none of these counties was there a sufficient crop of buildings, nor published studies, to provide a meaningful comparison with the South West. In this regard, East Anglia provided the most suitable collection of buildings, but remained poor on existing studies: there are none comparable with those in the

[71] J. Weir, '"An Howse Ther Callyd The Churchehowse": Church-Houses in Kent' (unpublished PgCert dissertation, University of Oxford, 2011).

South West looking specifically at church houses or even guildhalls as a wider type in the region, nor in any county of East Anglia. Published studies tend instead to relate to individual buildings, guildhalls, or buildings with other designations.[72] This situation reflects the fact that, despite the clear similarities, in modern conception the 'guildhall' in East Anglia has not coalesced into a form comparable with the 'church house' of the South West. Even when the uses also tally, the connections have not been drawn: the use of guildhall in Fressingfield (Suffolk) – now the Fox and Goose Inn and discussed in detail in this study – for church ales was highlighted in an article over a century ago.[73] Both its form and use therefore combine to provide a building which in the South West would be understood today as a 'church house'.

The above overview of the current state of knowledge illustrates some issues which the central questions of this study hope to address, namely the lack of widely cast architectural studies which draw together localised observations to identify how a particular type of community building type was employed for similar purposes in different areas; the prevailing focus on buildings of either town *or* country; and the limitations of using ancient or modern building labels as starting points instead of buildings. Indeed, it may be fair to say that, whilst social and economic historians have not been similarly constrained in drawing wider national or regional patterns for their respective contexts for the period of this study, historians of vernacular buildings have tended to have a narrower focus. In this regard, the vernacular thrust of this study prompts further comment on the state of play.

[72] C. G. Holland, 'Kelsale Guildhall', *PSIA*, 30 (1965), 129-48; H. and D. Austin, 'The Woolmarket, Horndon-on-the-Hill', *Panorama*, 16 (1972-3), 6-15.
[73] J. J. Raven, 'A Parish House for Church Ales and Other "Drynkyngges"', *East Anglian, or Notes and Queries*, 6 (1895-6), 49-50.

The Progress of Vernacular Architecture Studies

Any academic study of historic buildings drops headlong into a charged atmosphere before it lands and can be examined. The particles assailing this study on its descent are forceful: not only does it issue under the banner of 'architectural history', but it deals with 'vernacular architecture' – to some a logical subset of the former, to others an entirely different element. Not only is there a long-standing tension between documentary history and architectural history, but there is even a tension between these two approaches to historic architecture; put crudely, they are separated by time period and by the involvement of architects working to national or international formalised styles. Any definition of 'vernacular architecture' will slip out of too tight a grip. Ron Brunskill divided it into three categories of building – domestic, agricultural and industrial – but all sharing the fact of *not* being 'professionally designed or relatively sophisticated'.[74] For others it is the opposition to 'polite' architecture or indeed to the very concept of 'architecture'; or the 'architectural language of the people'; or 'the ordinary, often small-scale and mostly anonymous'.[75] As a modern and somewhat vague phrase, some would argue that the very concept impedes our understanding of contemporary attitudes and perceptions.[76] Notwithstanding Brunskill's categories, a focus on domestic buildings is a notable element throughout vernacular architecture studies in Britain.[77] Indeed the 'relatively narrow boundaries…around the study of medieval and post-medieval domestic architecture below the level of great houses' was recently highlighted

[74] R. W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture: An Illustrated Handbook*, 4th edn (London, 2000), p. 22.
[75] E. Mercer, 'The Unfulfilled Wider Implications of Vernacular Architecture Studies', *VA*, 28 (1997), 9-12 (p. 11); D. Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries: Revisiting the Thresholds of Vernacular Architecture', *VA*, 41 (2010), 10-14 (pp. 10-11).
[76] A. Green, 'Confining the Vernacular: The Seventeenth-Century Origins of a Mode of Study', *VA*, 38 (2007), 1-7 (p. 5).
[77] S. O. Addy, *The Evolution of the English House* (London, 1898); C. Fox and Lord Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses*, 3 vols (Cardiff, 1951-54); Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses;* N. Alcock and D. Miles, *The Medieval Peasant House in Midland England* (Oxford, 2013).

as a notable difference between the Vernacular Architecture Group in the UK and the Vernacular Architecture Forum in the USA. As a result, the latter advocate the term not as a category, but as an 'approach to the built environment… characterised by its humanism, attention to the social and cultural history of communities and its grounding in architectural fieldwork.'[78]

This dichotomy between 'architectural history' and 'vernacular architecture' is discernible in academic journals. The last ten years of one of the foremost British journals on the former, *Architectural History*, feature not one article which deals with historic 'traditional' buildings. Articles do approach modern building types which are somewhat cognate with themes touched upon in this study for community buildings (e.g. entertainment and commerce), but otherwise any relevant papers tend to focus on the influences of the historical 'vernacular' on more modern formal architectural styles.[79] In terms of period, the closest candidate does not focus on buildings, but rather the communication between patron and master mason as revealed through contracts of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.[80] Papers relating to 'vernacular' matters are therefore typically issued in the dedicated journal of the Vernacular Architecture Group or in journals of archaeological or county-based historical societies.

The tension between documentary history and 'physical' history has not gone unnoticed in the historiography of vernacular architecture; indeed, neither have tensions between the former and archaeology, and the latter and landscape

[78] J. E. Klee, 'Separated by a Common Language: The VAG and The VAF', in 'Vernacular Architecture at 50', ed. by M. Cherry and A. Green, *VA*, 50 (2019), 1-17 (p. 9).
[79] J. Nott, 'Dance Halls: Towards an Architectural and Spatial History', *AH*, 61 (2018), 205-33; P. Dobraszczyk, 'Victorian Market Halls, Ornamental Iron and Civic Intent', *AH*, 55 (2012), 173-97; A. Lepine, 'The Persistence of Medievalism: Kenneth Clark and the Gothic Revival', *AH*, 57 (2014), 323-56; J. Kelly, 'Vulgar Modernism: J. M. Richards, 'Modernism and the Vernacular in British Architecture', *AH*, 58 (2015), 229-59.
[80] G. Byng, 'The Dynamic of Design: "Source" Buildings and Contract Making in England in the Later Middle Ages', *AH*, 59 (2016), 123-48.

archaeology.[81] This tension has provoked much lamentation, introspection and self-justification among the pages of *Vernacular Architecture*, all notably absent from *Architectural History* and historical journals. A frequent charge is that vernacularists work in isolation, with scant regard for broader historical themes or wider landscapes and settings; very good at assembling 'raw materials' for a cake, but forgetting in the end that they are only ingredients.[82] Occasionally this is observed of historians too: their understanding of the past is 'impoverished' by ignorance of vernacular architecture; they have treated architectural history as a mere 'handmaiden to the documents'; and they 'find it easier to understand the work of historians than…evidence that is unfamiliar to them'.[83]

All this is, as Adam Longcroft noted in 2009, 'quite perverse and rather sad.[84] It is perverse because of the unassailable fact that an understanding of history cannot be reduced to one approach: all – buildings, documents, landscapes, archaeology – are ingredients to this particular 'cake'. It is also inevitable that historical specialisms each have their own internal questions and dicussions which need not demand a wider linkage. For example, discussions of technicalities of cruck carpentry are valid with or without reference to their origins or socio-economic explanations as to 'why' crucks exist.[85] It is sad because simplistic and artificial divisions do a disservice to *bona fide* attempts to 'cross-fertilise' the historical written word with the historical physical world, whether through historians using buildings to illustrate historical themes, or building

[81] D. P. Dymond, *Archaeology and History: A Plea for Reconciliation* (London, 1974); S. Pearson, 'Vernacular Buildings in the Landscape', in *The Archaeology of Landscape*, ed. by P. Everson and T. Williamson (Manchester, 1998), pp. 66-82 (p. 179).
[82] C. Dyer, 'Vernacular Architecture Studies and the Historian', in Cherry and Green, 'Vernacular Architecture at 50', p. 4; M. Johnson, 'Vernacular Architecture: The Loss of Innocence', *VA*, 28 (1997), 13-19 (p. 13); A. Longcroft, 'Local History and Vernacular Architecture Studies', *Local Historian*, 39 (2009), 90-108 (p. 91); Pearson, 'Vernacular Buildings in the Landscape', p. 169.
[83] C. Dyer, 'History and Vernacular Architecture', *VA*, 28 (1997), 1-8 (p. 1); Mercer, 'Unfulfilled Wider Implications, p. 11; Pearson, 'Vernacular Buildings in the Landscape', p. 169.
[84] Longcroft, 'Local History', p. 91.
[85] N. W. Alcock, 'Introduction', in *Cruck Construction: An Introduction and Catalogue*, ed. by N. W. Alcock (London, 1981), pp. 1-2.

historians using historical themes to interpret them individually and in a wider context. The former approach extends as far back as the beginnings of the study of vernacular architecture itself. W. G. Hoskins' first exposition of the 'Great Rebuilding' concept in 1953 linked with wider social, economic, agricultural and technological changes in the period 1570 to 1640.[86] Many later historical studies have continued to use buildings and archaeology as indicators of social and economic change.[87] The second approach has been successfully adopted in recent publications relating to specific building types, where wider historical links are variously dealt with as an introduction, interspersed through the text or as separate contributions to edited volumes.[88] Indeed the building types in this second approach need not be historical: even in the modern period, when documentary sources abound, buildings have been found nonetheless valuable in interrogating aspects of historical life in a way which is not possible through documents alone.[89] Equally, both approaches have seen studies which perhaps could have benefited from greater use of either buildings or documents, particularly when dealing with specific building types, such as alehouses, inns and shops.[90] Of these two broad approaches, this study issues from the second, shaped by a career in surveying and investigating historic buildings in way that demands the use of documentary sources to inform the archaeological interpretation of form and fabric. Outside academia, these interpretations are the

[86] W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England', *P&P*, 4 (1953), 44-59 (pp. 50-57).
[87] Tittler, *Architecture and Power*; C. Dyer, 'The Housing of Peasant Livestock in England, 1200-1520', *AHR*, 67 (2019), 29-50; C. Dyer, 'The Material World of English Peasants, 1200-1540', *AHR*, 62 (2014), 1-22.
[88] Alcock and Miles, 'Medieval Peasant House'; E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses, 1250-1700* (Winchester, 2003); D. and B. Martin, *Farm Buildings of the Weald, 1450-1750* (Oxford, 2006); *The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare's Stratford*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne (Farnham, 2012).
[89] P. S. Barnwell, 'An Extra Dimension? Lincolnshire Farm Buildings as Historical Evidence', *AHR*, 46 (1998), 35-46; *Working Class Housing*, ed. by P. S. Barnwell and M. Palmer (Donington, 2019).
[90] P. Clark, *The English Alehouse, 1200-1830* (London, 1983); J. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350-1600', *JMH*, 39 (2013), 477-97; D. F. Stenning, 'Timber-Framed Shops, 1300-1600', *VA*, 16 (1985), 35-49.

basis for shaping the actual changes to our historic environment that happen *today* and determine what will be left for future historians – documentary or architectural – to study.

Historical Context – Government, Religion and Economy

This study sits astride a period of considerable change throughout all levels of society in both regions. Yet it is during this period, and amist these changes, that all but one of the extant community buildings forming part of this study were built. It is also during this period that references to buildings with community functions proliferate, though, as indicated above and expanded upon in Chapter 2 below, documentary references rarely specify details of the buildings themselves. Recognisable terms begin early in the record, with references to guildhalls occurring as early as the eleventh century, such as the *gihalla* of Dover (Kent) recorded in Domesday Book.[91] By the twelfth century, the South West and East Anglia have recorded guildhalls; Exeter by 1160 and Colchester by about 1189, after receiving its first charter, both probably connected with guilds merchant or some other form of local governance.[92] The institution of the guild merchant, as it appears in the records in the twelfth century, begins a long-running association between guilds of various forms and local government until incorporations proliferated during the late sixteenth century. The granting of a guild merchant to incipient boroughs was a valuable advantage to those communities seeking to increase and regulate trade and daily business outside of manorial control. Though they were primarily instituted for commercial ends, they were adaptable, and the right to exact fees and elect officers in places where

[91] *Domesday Book. Kent*, ed. by P. Morgan (Chichester, 1983), §D,8; M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), p. 177; Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p. 29.
[92] Lloyd Parry, *The History of Exeter Guildhall*, p. 1; P. Crummy, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester* (London, 1981), p. 61; Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p. 13.

there was little difference between membership of the guild and the coexisting governmental apparatus would have 'invested the community with wider powers'.[93] In these cases, it was understandable that the two bodies could gradually merge, as happened at Southampton during the thirteenth century, and how, slightly later, local government could come to be dominated by a guild or fraternity, as at Norwich, where the Guild of St George rose to prominence in local affairs in the 1420s.[94] In a quest for greater independence, towns without a guild merchant were able to use the 'corporate apparatus of a religious guild as a means for obtaining some measure of self-government'.[95] It is no coincidence that it was after the dissolution of the guilds in the late 1540s that the number of incorporations began to increase; this being the legitimate successor for town communities to maintain, perhaps increase, the self-government to which they had been accustomed by other means for some time previously.[96]

The form of guildhalls mentioned in this earlier period is rarely recorded, but it has been suggested that 'they need hardly have differed from substantial domestic halls' and indeed two guildhalls in Winchester passed into private use in the thirteenth century, reminding us that then, as now, communities used what was available and within their resources to achieve.[97] However, we should not doubt the desire for ostentation and practicality: the room in Winchester known as *le Gildehalle* in the thirteenth century was on the first floor and a rare twelfth-century example from France, at Dol-de-Bretagne (Ille-et-Vilaine), suggests a building where guilds merchant could conveniently regulate trade and conduct

[93] J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936), pp. 225-26.
[94] A. T. Patterson, *Southampton: A Biography* (London, 1970), p. 24; B. R. McRee, 'Religious Gilds and Civil Order', *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 69-97 (p. 69-70).
[95] McRee, 'Religious Gilds', p. 73; M. Bailey, 'Self-Government in the Small Towns of Late Medieval England', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages,* ed. by B. Dodds and C. D. Liddy (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 107-28 (pp. 110-11).
[96] See below, p. 68.
[97] M. Biddle and D. J. Keene, 'Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by M. Biddle (Oxford, 1976), pp. 241-448 (p. 335).

business under one roof (**Plate IV.2**).[98] In 1278, the Fraternity of St Nicholas at Truro (Cornwall), which incidentally had no recorded guild merchant, owned property in the town, including an open-sided market house with a first-floor guildhall supported on pillars.[99] These sketchy details, notwithstanding the lack of extant buildings from these centuries, suggest a possibility that the community building type was already being employed, two centuries or more before the period of this study, to collect space for administration, or even governance, and trade in one building. To these we might add the social activities – the drinkings – that went hand-in-hand with guilds of all periods. The twelfth-century Winton Domesday confirms drinkings in the guildhalls of Winchester and their reputation, even at this relatively early date, is indicated by Walter Map's satirical description of the 'bibatorias, *ghildhus* Anglice dictas'.[100]

In rural communities, before and in the early part of our period, the broad picture is one of rural communities governed through the mechanism of manorial courts. Written records arising from the latter appear from the mid-thirteenth century and proliferate from the 1270s, reflecting the culmination of a shift from oral to written procedures in the management of estates, the administration of local justice and the recording of payments and fines.[101] Within the manorial system at this early period, distinctions existed between free and unfree tenure and in personal freedom (e.g. serfdom), which determined the extent to which service was owed to a manorial lord, but the distribution of these tenures and services varied greatly throughout the country.[102] The existence of regional differences is illustrated well by the South West, where 'borough' status –

[98] Biddle and Keen, 'Winchester', p. 336.
[99] C. Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History* (Oxford, 1935), p. 76.
[100] Biddle and Keen, 'Winchester', pp. 34, 120; *Walter Map De Nugis Curialum*, ed. by M. R. James (Oxford, 1914), p. 75.
[101] Z. Razi and R. Smith, *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 36-37; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2013).
[102] Bailey, *English Manor*, pp. 25-30.

whether through charter or level of taxation – was already common in the thirteenth century, particularly in Devon, but also in Dorset, Cornwall and Somerset.[103] However, the general observable pattern is that unfree tenure and serfdorm declined from the late fourteenth century and during the fifteenth century in what has been called 'the most important social development of the era';[104] even if this change was already underway, it was undoubtedly catalysed by the social and economic impact of the Black Death. Given that the numbers of both surviving community buildings and references to buildings with these uses proliferates in rural areas from the mid-15th century onwards, their rise is undoubtedly associated with these social and economic changes. Just as the guildhalls of the earlier urban scene demonstrated a physical expression of a quest for some measure of independence of action, the presence of community buildings in the village was a *de facto* symbol, whether consciously or not, of community power and identity; a single building outside the manorial complex and church where the necessary social, commercial and administrative activities could take place. Indeed in almost all cases where this is recorded, it is the *community*, not the lord of the manor, who construct the buildings, though the land itself is typically donated by the latter.[105]

So what buildings were there in rural villages before the rise of the community building? Evidence for non-domestic buildings other than churches in rural areas during the period leading up to our study is not extensive and is dependent on the extent to which they existed and, if they did, the existence and

[103] M. W. Beresford and H. P. R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Hand-List* (Newton Abbott, 1973), p. 35; J. F. Willard, 'Taxation Boroughs and Parliamentary Boroughs, 1294-1336', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. by J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Fraser (Manchester, 1933), pp. 417-35 (pp. 430-31).
[104] Bailey, *English Manor*, p. 34; M. Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 285.
[105] Mattingly, Stratton Churchwardens Accounts, p. 44; J. Fowler, 'Sherborne All Hallows Churchwardens' Accounts', *SDN&Q*, 23 (1939-42), 249-52 (p. 250).

survival of written records. Other than agricultural buildings, the only other non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical structures in any village would have been those for the preparation or provision of food and drink. Ale-selling was common in both town and country by the early fourteenth century, although at this time it did not need a specific building, being sold either within or from homes.[106] Buildings which appear with regularity in documentary sources from these periods are 'common ovens', such as at Barford St Martin (Wiltshire) in 1395.[107] The community at Tintinhull (Somerset) built a 'communem furnum' for 26*s* 8*d* in 1436/7, supplemented by a 'domus pistrine' the following year for an additional 34*s* 3*d*, for which they paid a quit-rent to Montacute priory and which, notably, had a chamber to let by 1459/60.[108] Interestingly, this presents one of the earliest documentary references to a community building in a village setting suggestive of the type under discussion; indeed Katherine French has referred to it as their first 'church house'.[109] For the total outlay the building must still have been relatively modest; the church house in St Ewen's, Bristol, had cost £26 11*d* to build between 1491 and 1501, broadly comparable with the £29 2*s* 7*d* paid for the church house in Stogursey (Somerset) in 1515 and the £28 14*s* 4*d* paid at Winkleigh (Devon) in 1535.[110] It is broadly contemporary with the construction of the church house at Yatton (Somerset), for whose construction donations were received in 1445, and Chagford (Devon) which had already been built by 1484.[111] The above buildings show that some daily communal activities in villages

[106] Clark, *English Alehouse*, p. 21-23.
[107] *CIPM*, *XVII*: *Richard II*, p. 232.
[108] Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 177, 188.
[109] K. L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 112.
[110] *The Church Book of St Ewen's, Bristol 1454 - 1584*, ed. by B. R. Masters and E. Ralph, BGAS, 6 (Bristol, 1967), p. 11; B. A. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400 - 1560* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 60; Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses. Part IV', p. 153.
[111] Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 81-82; *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Church, Chagford, 1480-1600*, ed. by F. M. Osborne (Chagford, 1979), p. 5.

necessitated proprietary structures in which to carry them out. However, it can also be seen that, before the rise of the community building, the buildings appear to have been small and functional, with a more restricted purpose.

Alongside the manorial officials in this period were the churchwardens, whose origins appear to be lie with a need to maintain property gifted to the church and to provide 'for the multifarious needs of a system of public worship…which included the keeping of the fabric in repair'.[112] Originally the role had no civic dimension and was sufficiently centralised to overcome organisational difficulties occasioned by the fragmentation of manors within parishes.[113] However, the practical reality of administering the necessary funds and activities to raise funds, such as church-ales, managing church flocks and soliciting donations of money and land, spurred an inevitable rise in their prominence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, beginning what has been termed the 'rise of the parish'.[114] Though their ability to hold land as 'corporate bodies' was not officially sanctioned, ways and means were found to circumvent this, including the increasing utilisation of 'enfeoffment to uses' through the Court of Chancery during the fifteenth century, a court which operated on 'conscience' rather than common law and had no qualms about unincorporated bodies holding land.[115] According to Kümin, it was these favourable conditions that led to the rise in status and resources of 'the parish' and, we might add, hints at parallel developments regarding local governance in both town and village. These developments reveal the context in which rural parishes with greater resources and greater day-to-day administration of finances

[112] E. Carlson, 'The Origins, Functions, and Status of the Office of Churchwarden', in *The World of Rural Dissenters: 1520-1725*, ed. by M. Spufford (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 164-207 (p. 169); J. Charles Cox, *The Churchwardens' Accounts* (London, 1913), p. 1.
[113] Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, xv; A. Jones, *A Thousand Years of the English Parish* (Moreton-in-Marsh, 2000), p. 125.
[114] Kümin, *Shaping of a Community*, p. 26.
[115] Kümin, *Shaping of a Community*, p. 26

and events sought to provide their own buildings. The process continued into the sixteenth century with the well-documented additional responsibilies placed on parishes under the Tudor state, such as the requirement to have a surveyor of highways and to maintain a militia; the increasingly parochial role of the constable; and, by the end of the century, the appointment of overseers of the poor to administer the Elizabethan Poor Laws.[116] Though manor courts continued to function, with varying regularity depending on local circumstances, the inflexibile and uninstitutional nature of the manorial structure did not weigh in its favour in applying these centrally driven changes to local administration and justice.[117]

As well as changes to local governance, this study straddles the changes of the Reformation, through the dissolution of guilds and monastic houses, the reshaping of traditional religion, the brief resurgence of Catholic practices, and the Elizabethan settlement. The pattern of change in urban settings was summarised by Tittler as having two principal themes: i) the 'pressing desire' for governing bodies to procure the urban property of the dissolved guilds and monastic institutions, leading to 'greater formalisation of local governing authority'; and ii) the loss of the 'underpinning' Catholic belief which had shaped traditional means of interactions both within society and between society and authority, resulting the 'search for a new civic political culture'.[118] These themes played out against a backcloth of economic growth and the increasingly centralised power of the Tudor state to engender a shift 'away from the sense and form of the communal ideal and towards a more formalised, hierarchical,

[116] H. R. French, 'Parish Government', in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. by S. Doran and N. Jones (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 147-64 (pp. 148-49).
[117] M. McIntosh, 'Social Change and the Tudor Manorial Leet', in *Law and Social Change in British History*, ed. by J. A. Guy and H. G. Beale (London, 1984), pp. 73-85 (p. 76).
[118] R. Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540-1640* (Oxford, 1998), p. 9.

rigid, and decidedly oligarchic pattern.'[119] While the extent to which pre-Reformation urban relations truly conformed to a 'communal ideal' might be debatable, it seems beyond doubt that the Reformation resulted in more sharply defined and consolidated urban governing institutions, encouraging the move towards incorporation or the aforementioned amalgamation of parallel institutions, such as guilds, with the governing body.

The impact of the Reformation in villages is typically portrayed through changes to traditional religion and the festival calendar, considered in some detail respectively by Eamonn Duffy and Ron Hutton.[120] Whilst this would clearly impact upon those rural guildhalls of East Anglia which had plain associations to religious guilds, the suppression of church ales, especially in the South West, is also often cited as an effect;[121] the journey being traced from fifteenth century popularity, through declining numbers after the Reformation and brief resurgence under Mary, to terminal decline under Elizabeth.[122] As a 'lynchpin of social life and the *raison d'être* of the church houses', one would expect this to have an impact on community buildings that would be reflected in the physical record.[123] Indeed, the impact would be especially keen if the 'spritual and the material were interwined so tightly' in the South West church house, a view held by both Duffy and Cowley; but less so if we understand them as 'part of the creeping secularisation of the parish'.[124] The effects of the religious reformation on communal festivities have an equal, or perhaps greater, counterpart in the contemporaneous 'reformation of manners'. The latter saw an increasing gulf

[119] Tittler, *Reformation and the Towns*, p. 19.
[120] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London, 2005); R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994).
[121] M. Ingram, 'Who Killed Robin Hood? Transformations in Popular Culture', in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. by S. Doran and N. Jones (London and New York, 2014), pp. 461-81 (p. 474).
[122] Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 87, 99, 119.
[123] E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven and London), p. 120.
[124] Duffy, *Voices,* p. 126; Cowley, *Church Houses*, p. 17; N. J. G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 266.

develop between the élites and the masses in terms of social and behavioural fashion, with the former less ready to engage with the latter in popular activities and more ready to condemn it. The changes were religious and social, two themes epitomised in such diatribes as Philip Stubbe's *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583). The process were complex, but relate to the wider themes which have been explored above: the religious Reformation sought to create a more 'godly' society; steep population growth resulted in fears of disorder; and the 'rise of the parish' as a local administrative unit demanded more secure, regular sources of revenue.[125] This 'godliness' was not entirely new-found: the resistance of the established church to secular activities in churches and churchyards, such as markets, fairs, courts, games that was apparent since the thirteenth century at least.[126]

During the period of this study, and notwithstanding localised variations, the picture of the economy is one of growth following the devastation of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, notwithstanding a downturn by the mid-fifteenth century.[127] The sixteenth century in particular saw a surge in agricultural output, but, driven by population expansion, also an increase in non-agricultural economic activities.[128] An anomalous absence of a corresponding proliferation of 'marketing institutions' has been ascribed to a narrower definition of those trading activities which required formal licensing or to the growth in local trade with middlemen who traded over longer distances.[129] The lack of formalisation, and therefore of centralised records, for local commercial activities has resulted in a much less secure knowledge of the nature and extent of rural markets and

[125] Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 111-12; M. Ingram, 'Who Killed Robin Hood?', pp. 472-73.
[126] D. Dymond, 'God's Disputed Acre', *JEH*, 50 (1999), 464-97 (pp. 471-72).
[127] J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530* (London, 1977), p. 35.
[128] R. H. Britnell, 'Urban Demand in the English Economy, 1300-1600', in *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration c. 1300-1600*, ed. by J. A. Galloway, Centre for Metropolitan History, Working Papers Series 3 (London, 2000), pp. 1-21 (p. 19).
[129] Britnell, 'Urban Demand', p. 20.

probably explains the greater academic output on earlier periods and/or market towns.[130] This period therefore offers possibilities for the greater understanding of the continuation of the 'hidden trade' of the Middle Ages identified by Dyer, or the 'exceptional number of unrecorded markets' by Britnell.[131] Therefore the study of rural buildings from this period has much to contribute to this picture, particularly from interpreting their position within settlements and their internal plan-forms, both of which by their very nature lent themselves to commercial activities, howsoever the buildings were called.

As well as adding to the knowledge of a vernacular building type and exploring in detail its distribution across England, this study will therefore contribute to a number of wider topics. The varied range of terminology will shed light on historical and modern perceptions of the buildings and their uses. The wide embrace of documentary sources will lessen the perception of vernacular architecture as a silo, whilst also benefitting from the sharper picture that this permits. Most importantly, the buildings can be viewed against the wider socio-economic backcloth which, ultimately, was their maker.

Beginning in earnest, **Chapter 2** assesses the possibilities of buildings themselves as a source, but also of the documentary (including visual and cartographic) records consulted in parallel. It considers the limitations of these sources, including buildings, in identifying community buildings and interpreting plan-forms, uses and features. **Chapter 3** assesses the general criteria applied for identifying community buildings and how these were applied in selecting suitable buildings for study. In so doing, an overview of survival and loss in the

[130] e.g. R. H. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349', *EHR*, 34 (1981), 209-21; C. Dyer, 'Were Peasants Self-Sufficient? English Villagers and the Market, 900-1350', in *Campagnes médiévales: l'homme et son espace*, ed. by E. Mornet (Paris, 1995), pp. 653-66.
[131] C. Dyer, 'The Hidden Trade of the Middle Ages: Evidence from the West Midlands of England', *JHG*, 18 (1992), 141-57; R. H. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets Revisited', in *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene*, ed. by M. Davies and J. A. Galloway (London, 2012), pp. 49-66 (p. 63).

two regions is provided, as well as brief comparison with the situation discernible in other regions. **Chapters 4 and 5** introduce the selected buildings in the South West and East Anglia respectively, particularly in the light of the limitations of the physical record discussed in Chapter 2. An overview of the geographical distribution of the buildings serves as a context for differing construction methods and materials and, having regard to the discussion of nomenclature above, a summary is provided of the differing labels of the buildings (historic and modern). **Chapters 6 and 7** provide for each region a comprehensive survey of the buildings' position within the settlement and the resulting implications for access. Of particular interest here is the relationship of the buildings to key community spaces such as the churchyard, a marketplace and/or other identifiable open spaces within the respective settlements. The findings of this comparative exercise should indicate whether patterns emerge which cross regional boundaries and the implications for the contrasts between and within the regions discussed above. **Chapters 8 and 9** focus on detailed comparative analysis of the plan-forms of the selected buildings in each region, which will itself bear some relation to the survey of location and access points set out in the previous chapters. Similarities and differences in internal arrangements will be discussed, as well as interpreting plan-forms to indicate possible original uses; this area can be usefully supplemented by documentary sources, which, although not always illustrating the specific building type, give indications of relevant community uses. This chapter also identifies connections between or within regions relating to the plans of the buildings and established or inferred use types. Finally, **Chapter 10** concludes the study, drawing together the evidence established from the two regions for a community building type and what form, or forms, it takes. The conclusion provides an opportunity for addressing the questions posed at the start of this study; drawing any relevant links with wider themes; and posing

questions for further research. If nothing else, this study will provide context and clarity for the previous studies of disparate community buildings in villages (church-houses, guildhalls) and in towns (guildhalls, market halls, moot halls etc.) and to what extent future studies should identify among them instantiations of the community building type.

2 Community Buildings in Historical Sources

The preceding chapter dealt with the difficulties encountered in attempting to identify a building type by its historical or modern label and emphasised the importance of standing buildings for this purpose. Whilst the architectural historian should take comfort in the tangibility which a building offers, this approach is not without constraints. This chapter will begin by identifying gaps in the surviving built record occasioned by building loss, but will also assess the use of visual sources to illustrate lost community buildings in particular in the South West and East Anglia, but ultimately in all parts of the country. Even where buildings survive, the waters can still be muddied through extensive alteration, extension, partial demolition or even wholesale relocation. The section will therefore continue by setting out some examples where this has occurred and the resulting impact on this study.

The limitations of relying upon built fabric necessitate the use of supplementary sources to provide context to a particular building; to provide corroborative evidence for local or regional styles, plan-forms, details and uses; and also to provide evidence for buildings which have not survived. The second part of this chapter therefore deals with documentary sources for community buildings, beginning with a macroscopic view of what current document-based studies reveal about community building distribution in the South West and East Anglia and completing with an evaluative overview of the sources consulted in this study.

Buildings Demolished

Both the South West and East Anglia have suffered a significant number of losses of community buildings in both towns and villages. The loss of buildings unavoidably impacts upon assessment of their distribution and other questions

raised in this study, particularly when losses have left larger gaps in specific areas. It is often difficult, even where the existence of a community building is attested through other sources, to reconstruct its form and plan, especially in the light of the *caveats* relating to differing building types being used for similar purposes or sharing the same labels. However, notwithstanding this *caveat*, a brief examination of the issue of lost buildings repays attention.

In the South West, Dorset seems to emerge – somewhat paradoxically – as a case study as apt for the *loss* of community buildings as it was for Tittler for there being 'so much building of this type'.[132] It has already been noted that not a single one of the sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century 'civic halls' in Dorset survives.[133] Other than the surviving example in Sherborne, Dorset church houses have also not fared well. Documentary references to Dorset community buildings are generally fleeting, such as Hutchins' mention of the great fire in Milton Abbas in 1658 which destroyed the 'upper part of the town from the middle of the main street to the church' and which, as is known from an Exchequer suit of 1667, also destroyed the market house.[134] Similarly, little is gleaned from the description of the (undated) 'very ancient but mean market house' in Abbotsbury; the 'ancient and spacious townhouse' recorded by John Norden in 1617 in Cerne Abbas; or indeed the 'town-house or church-house of Evershot' converted into a school in 1628.[135] In Shaftesbury, such fragments reveal more than one lost potential community building: the present Guildhall of 1827 sits on the site of the 'New Guildhall', built in 1568/9, which in turn was on the site of the 'Old Guildhall' of an even earlier date.[136]

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[132] Tittler, 'Civic Halls', p. 38.
[133] See above, p. 13.
[134] J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd edn, ed. by W. Shipp and J. W. Hodson, 4 vols (Westminster, 1861-70; repr. Wakefield, 1973), III, pp. 382-83; I. Paul de Castro, 'Fire at Milton Abbas', *SDN&Q*, 20 (1930-32), 17.
[135] Hutchins, II, pp. 646, 715; DHC, photocopy no. 248.
[136] C. H. Mayo, 'Shaftesbury', *PDNHAFC*, 15 (1894), 36-51 (p. 47).

References do occasionally permit at least a general assessment as to whether the building in question qualified as a community building type under discussion here. The 'handsome market house' in Beaminster, built in the reign of James I and destroyed by fire 1684, was raised 'on freestone pillars', suggesting a building with an arcaded ground floor and, possibly, a hall above.[137] On the other hand, the old market house in Dorchester, which stood at the junction of Cornhill and High Street until its demolition in 1782, is described as being 'built in the form of an octagon, supported by eight handsome stone pillars'.[138] So, although it also had a little room above, it appears to have been more akin to the aforementioned polygonal market cross buildings, such as the Yarn Market in Dunster. In at least two Dorset towns the lost community buildings resulted from conversions of redundant churches, in both cases dedicated to St Peter: the churchwardens' accounts of Wimborne Minster record a conversion in 1544 to replace an older church house in the churchyard, and that in Wareham was converted at some time after the Dissolution.[139] These two church conversions are particularly interesting as the resulting buildings, so far as can be deduced from documentary records, resembled purpose-built community buildings with their dedicated first-floor stairs and first-floor chambers: in Wimborne a payment for mending 'ye stayers' of the church house was made in 1594, whilst by 1636 the upper floor was in use for public meetings as it had been 'heretofore'.[140] In Wareham, Hutchins described the town hall as having, on the ground floor, butchers' shambles and, on the first floor, 'a large but not very lofty apartment, used for public business' etc.[141] The low ceiling of the first-floor

[137] Hutchins, II, pp. 118-19.
[138] Hutchins, II, p. 337.
[139] C. H. Mayo, *A History of Wimborne Minster* (London, 1860), p. 102; Hutchins, I, p. 109.
[140] Mayo, *History of Wimborne Minster*, p. 110; Conklin Hays, 'Dorset Church Houses and the Drama', p. 15.
[141] Hutchins, I, p. 109.

chamber probably reflected the insertion of a floor into the body of the old church to divide it horizontally.

Visual sources perhaps have some advantage over the documentary sources in understanding lost community buildings, for they provide an impression of the building's architectural form and permit deductions regarding access and plan. For example, the Guildhall in Melcombe Regis (Dorset), which was constructed after the union of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis in 1571 and demolished in 1836, is recorded in a painting of 1830 (**Plate IV.3**).[142] In other parts of the region, visual sources attest the former presence of many community buildings with the commonly encountered names of church house, guildhall, market house, etc. An anonymous and undated engraving showing the west end of the Old Market House in Penzance (Cornwall), demolished in 1836, reveals a building with stylistic and functional similarities with the Old Guildhall in Melcombe Regis (Dorset) represented by the covered arcade (**Plate V.1**). In Ashburton (Devon), two community buildings existed in the village and both are now lost, although both are shown on the Tithe Map (1840) (**Plate V.2**). The market house was situated in the centre of the widened southern end of North Street and was recorded on an engraving of 1829 (**Plate V.3**). The building can be seen to have had the key elements of the community building type, namely a fully-storeyed ground-floor, in this case an open arcade, and a dedicated stair to a first-floor hall. However, no such image survives for the church house and therefore direct comparison of the building type is not possible. Extensive references to the church house survive in the churchwardens' accounts, but these offer only snippets of information as to form and plan; little to supplement the basic rectangular form shown on the Tithe Map. For example, the building

[142] Oliver, 'Tudor Buildings in Weymouth', p. 61.

was used for brewing as early as 1486, had two hearths and was used for marketing in 1491, and had a 'spence' (pantry), which was separately locked, in 1564/5.[143] There is no unambiguous indication that the building had a first-floor hall, which only be inferred from the expenditure for tablecloths and trestles (normally suggestive of feasting chambers); the occasional use of the building as a schoolhouse (attested elsewhere for upper chambers of community buildings); and the provision in a lease that the parish could use the building when required.[144]

In East Anglia, visual sources again illustrate lost buildings and their architectural, spatial, and/or functional similarities with those in other areas. Essex in particular has a number of visual records of lost community buildings in a way that Dorset, by contrast, does not. An engraving of the old market house in Rochford (Essex), demolished in 1861, shows a building almost identical to both the Market House in Ashburton (Devon) and also the Church House/Market House in Wendover (Buckinghamshire), echoing the location on an island site, an open ground-floor, first-floor chamber(s) and a dedicated enclosed staircase (**Plate VI.1**).[145] A nineteenth-century painting of the bustling market at Waltham Abbey records the old market house in full use, standing on an island site with the typical arcade and covered area, a first-floor room and, most likely, an enclosed external stair (**Plate VI.2**). Furthermore, this market house, which was demolished in 1852, appears to have replaced an earlier 'moot hall' mentioned in 1456 and 1553.[146] Both the Court House in Barking (Essex), built in 1567-8 and demolished in 1926, and the old Market House in Rochford (Essex) are recorded

[143] *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton, 1479-1580*, ed. by A. Hanham, DCRS, n.s., 15 (Exeter, 1970), pp. 8, 17, 154.
[144] Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 50, 128, 149, 158, 164.
[145] W. Walker, *Essex Markets and Fairs* (Chelmsford, 1981), p. 14.
[146] *VCH Essex*, V, p. 165; *CPR Edward VI*, V: *1547-1553*, p. 58.

in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs taken prior to demolition.[147] In the former case, the photograph of the heavily altered building can be usefully compared with historical visual sources to enable the original building to be read behind the later alterations, illustrated further by a detailed description on a drawing of 1595 and from the original building accounts which survive (**Plates VI.3** and **VII.1**).[148] The considerable extent of information pertaining to the lost Court House in Barking (Essex) is therefore sufficient to permit the comparison of the building's form, plan and usage with the extant buildings discussed in this study.

Visual sources also play their part in recording community buildings lost from areas outside of the South West and East Anglia. The grandiose timber framing of the three-storey market hall in Hereford (constructed *c.* 1596, demolished 1862) can be contrasted with the squat, simple masonry of the Old Moot hall in Cockermouth (Cumberland), demolished in 1829; yet the buildings retain clear architectural and functional connections with both each other and the other buildings previously illustrated (**Plate VII.2** and **Plate VII.3**).[149] Such sources can help fill gaps in other areas of England areas where community buildings were either always few on the ground, or are simply not known, for example in Darlington (County Durham), where the Old Tolbooth (demolished 1808) on the marketplace, complete with its external stair, is recorded on a contemporary engraving (**Plate VIII.1**).[150] Through images these lost community buildings can even be directly compared with images of others outside of

[147] ERO D/DS 526/1; *VCH Essex*, V, p. 218.
[148] TNA E 178/843; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinsoniani A.195 c (6).
[149] N. Drinkwater, 'The Old Market Hall, Hereford', *TWNFC*, 33 (1950), 1-13 (pp. 1, 3); T. Dingley, *History from Marble. Compiled in the Reign of Charles II*, ed. by J. Gough Nichols, 2 vols (London, 1867-68), I (1867), p. 217 [ccxvii]; CAC DX 154/23.
[150] *VCH Durham*, IV, p. 111.

England, such as the Town Hall in Ruthin (Denbighshire) (**Plate VIII.2**) and the Tolbooth in Broughton (Edinburgh) (**Plate VIII.3**).[151]

The preceding discussion of visual records highlights a bias towards community buildings in towns where the buildings typically formed prominent landmarks to which the eye of the artist was unavoidably drawn. Using the identified varied nomenclature, the buildings most frequently recorded in visual images are thus commonly referred to as 'town halls', 'moot halls', 'court houses', 'market halls' etc. There are far fewer examples of engravings or paintings of lost 'church houses' or, perhaps more accurately, community buildings in village settings. Buckler's engraving of 1830 showing the former church house, later the free school, in Somerton (Somerset) clearly depicts an external stair and fully-storeyed ground floor and thus strongly indicates that the building was of the community building type (**Plate IX.1**). However, such conclusions are not always possible: a drawing of *c*. 1845 depicting the former church house in Westonzoyland (Somerset) shows a building with an irregular and confusing array of doorways and window openings which, if accurate, do not permit easy assessment (**Plate IX.2**). Similarly, a watercolour of 1877 shows the church house in Hullavington (Wiltshire), demolished in the late nineteenth century as a building of indeterminate form, significantly altered and extended (**Plate IX.3**). The lack of visual sources for lost community buildings in villages does therefore force a greater reliance upon extant buildings and other documentary sources to widen the range of comparative evidence to its greatest possible extent. However, notwithstanding this disparity, and even allowing for some artistic licence or error on the part of engravers and painters, the evidence afforded by visual sources has value in permitting comparison with surviving buildings and

[151] D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1848), II, p. 152.

drawing inferences as to their distribution and their architectural, functional and locational relationships.

Buildings Altered

Alterations to community buildings, which include 'restorations', can confuse their interpretation or render it impossible. There are three principal categories within which altered buildings and their contribution to this study can be considered: first, those which have been altered, but which can be compared with historic visual sources; second, those which have been altered but have no comparable source; and third, those which have been completely dismantled and re-erected in an entirely different context. In the first category is the former church house (now the Fleur de Lis Inn) in Stoke-sub-Hamdon (Somerset), where comparison of a recent photograph with a drawing from 1848 reveals a modern restoration and, at least externally, changes to fenestration and doorways which confuse their importance and lessen the visibility of the extended southwest end (**Plates X.1** and **X.2**). Such changes can be even more extensive: comparison of a recent photograph of the Old Market House in Tetbury (Gloucestershire) with a lithograph of *c*. 1857 reveals that the building has lost an attic storey and pentice roofs on at least two sides, and has been extended (**Plates X.3** and **XI.1**).

Buildings which have no known corroboration in visual sources represent the greatest proportion of surviving buildings in both East Anglia and the South West. Church Farmhouse in Blo' Norton (Norfolk) has vestiges of a first-floor hall arrangement internally and is located 80 m north of the church on the edge of a large green, but the seemingly early sixteenth-century core of a jettied rectangular range has seen several phases of alteration and extension dating

from the eighteenth century onwards (**Plate XI.2**).[152] Alterations can often be so extensive as to shroud any outward sign of conformity to a community building type. In Essex, only detailed building recording, which accompanied extensive stripping out, could reveal the non-domestic plans of 7 West Street, Coggeshall (the former Cricketers public house) and 8 Spring Road, St Osyth, each of which emerged as a former market house or guildhall with external staircases to first-floor doorways (**Plates XI.3** and **XII.1**).[153] In these two cases the original buildings behind the alterations were brought into sharper focus by dendrochronological dating, which gave a felling date range of 1494-1500 for 8 Spring Road and, significantly for understanding the dating of community building types, 1403-29 for 7 West Street.[154]

Known examples of relocated community buildings are restricted to areas where timber-framing is the predominant construction method, though even in East Anglia few certain examples are known. Essex has a number of buildings recorded in list descriptions as 'court halls' or 'guildhalls' which are situated not in village or town centres, as is typical of such community buildings, but within the curtilage of disparate farmsteads and in use as much altered agricultural buildings or farmhouses.[155] Given the ease of dismantling and moving a timber-framed building, some or all of these could indicate relocated and repurposed community buildings. Alternatively, they represent a tradition in Essex of

[152] LEN: 1077441.
[153] D. Stenning, R. Shackle, and D. Andrews, '7 West Street, the Former Cricketers Public House', in *Discovering Coggeshall 2. The 1575 Rental Survey and the Dated Buildings*, ed. by D. Andrews (Coggeshall, 2013), pp. 221-26; B. Watkin, M. Bridge and C. Thornton, 'St Osyth, 8 Spring Road', *EAH*, 3rd ser., 35 (2004), 181-3 (p. 182).
[154] N. Alcock, 'Tree-Ring Date Lists 2005', *VA*, 36 (2005), 73-102 (p. 90); N. Alcock and C. Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Date Lists 2012', *VA*, 43 (2012), 78-106 (p. 97).
[155] Examples include: barn at Fingrith Hall Farm, Ingatestone (LEN: 1297287); Woodhouse Farmhouse, Bradwell (LEN: 1123883); outbuilding at Hill Farm, Gestingthorpe (LEN: 1123077); granary at Heron Hall, Brentwood (LEN: 1205471); ancillary building at Bridgefoot House, Kelvedon (LEN: 1123766).

constructing manorial court halls in the grounds of large houses, potentially at some distance from the community centre.

More definite examples of relocated community buildings are to be found in other regions. The Market Hall in Titchfield (Hampshire) was originally located on an island site in the High Street, but had already been moved to a different location by the early nineteenth century.[156] Changes wrought during this period can be seen in a photograph of the building before its dismantling in 1971 (**Plate XII.2**). The extent of subsequent alterations required to return it to an approximation of its original form at the Weald & Downland Open Air Museum in 1974 can be appreciated by comparison with a recent photograph (**Plate XII.3**). The Market Hall in Leominster (Herefordshire), constructed by John Abel in 1633, also originally stood on an island site in the town, but was sold at auction in 1853 and thereafter re-erected in an altered form as a dwelling known now as Grange Court (**Plate XIII.1**).[157] Notwithstanding the changes to both these buildings in their relocation, both remain legible as examples of the community building type and so the ability for comparison with some or all of the buildings mentioned in this study.

Documentary Sources I

Whereas visual sources have an advantage in providing an image of an existing, lost or altered building, documentary sources typically contain little more than singular details, which precludes their inclusion in a general assessment of community buildings. Nevertheless, these mentions are important for both identifying the existence of a community building in a certain place, even if the exact building type is rarely clear, and in providing supplementary details as to

[156] C. Bartlett and G. Watts, *Titchfield: a History* (Titchfield, 1982), p. 54.
[157] RCHME, *Herefordshire*, III (1934), p. 115.

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

Figure 1. Current coverage of Somerset by Victoria County History (reproduced from *VCH Somerset,* XI, facing p. 1)

ownership, construction, plan and usage.

Notwithstanding these setbacks, the possibilities offered by documentary sources are well illustrated by the particularly detailed volumes of the *Victoria County Histories* of Somerset and Gloucestershire which do at least indicate that the distribution of extant buildings is down to survival rather than their not having been present at all. In Somerset, for example, the eleven published volumes of the VCH currently cover – in whole or in part –nineteen of the county's forty-two historic hundreds, in total containing one hundred and sixty-four parishes (**Figure 1**).[158] Of these parishes, one hundred and six (nearly two-thirds) have one or more recorded community buildings which were either constructed or present

[158] NB. Volume XII, indicated on the map in the area around Dunster and Minehead, is in progress and not yet published.

during the period of this study. Of the total number of community buildings recorded (one hundred and seventeen), all but fourteen are called church houses in the records consulted, with four court houses or halls, four guildhalls, four market houses or halls, and four town halls.

Hundred	Parishes covered	Parishes with community buildings	Percentage
Kingsbury (East) (part)	1	0	0%
Pitney	3	2	67%
Somerton	9	8	89%
Tintinhull	8	6	75%
Crewkerne	4	2	50%
Martock	1	1	100%
South Petherton	15	6	40%
Whitley	23	16	70%
Williton & Freemanors (part)	22	20	91%
Andersfield	6	5	83%
Cannington	10	9	90%
North Petherton	8	6	75%
Bruton	7	4	57%
Horethorne	9	5	56%
Norton Ferris	7	5	71%
Taunton & Taunton Deane (part)	1	0	0%
Huntspill and Puriton	2	2	100%
Glastonbury Twelve Hides	6	6	100%
Catsash	20	3	15%

Table 1. Tabulated distribution of community buildings in Somerset hundreds covered by VCH

Taking a broad view of these data, the extensive distribution of community buildings throughout the parishes of a significant portion of Somerset can be discerned: Table 1 reveals that only four of the hundreds have less than half of their parishes with recorded community buildings. This distribution is plotted on the map of Somerset hundreds in Figure 2. The removal of Kingsbury (East) and Taunton and Taunton Deane, which are perhaps anomalous as in each case only

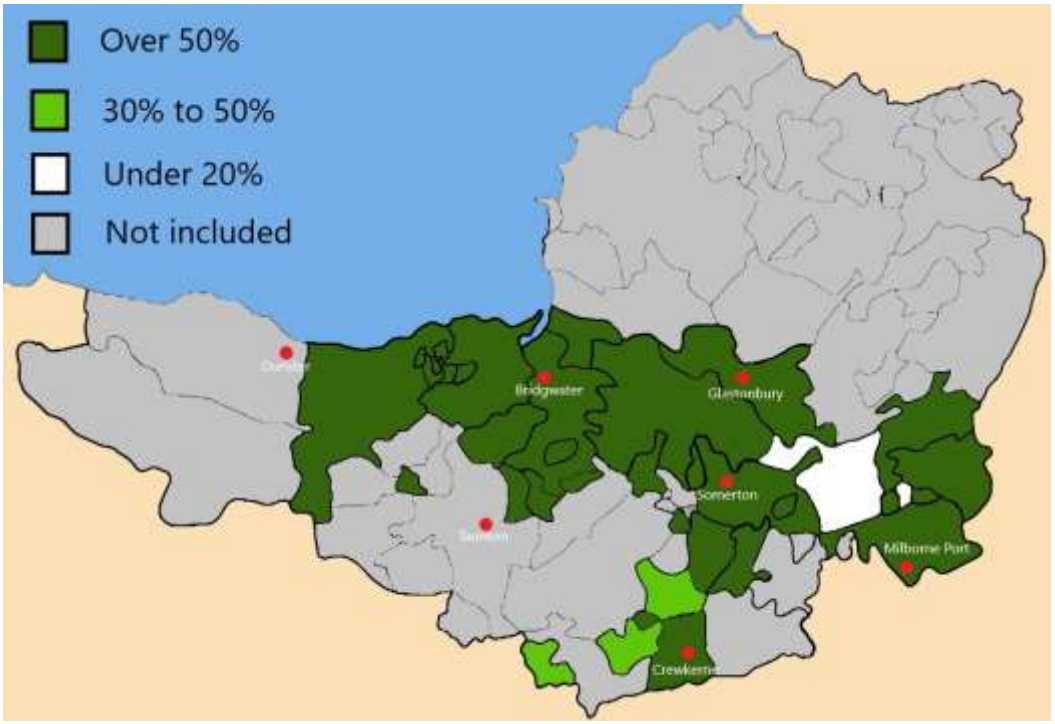


Figure 2. Map of Somerset hundreds covered by VCH showing proportion of parishes with recorded community buildings

one parish is covered in much larger hundreds, would reduce this number to only two and reveal a relative scarcity of records for community buildings, if not the buildings themselves, only in Catsash hundred and the southern part of South Petherton. Even if a proportion of these buildings be discounted as being of a different building type or not purpose-built, this suggests that the community building type could have been widespread in Somerset. Yet of the one hundred and seventeen buildings recorded, only eight surviving examples can currently be identified (with varying degrees of certainty as to original type),[159] and of these only three have survived to an extent sufficient to be included in detail in this study.[160] Even if a small number of additional examples could be identified following more extensive research or building recording, this conservative

[159] Fleur de Lis Inn, Stoke-sub-Hamdon; Court House, Martock; Church House, Crowcombe; the Brewhouse, Stogumber; Henry Rogers Almshouses, Cannington; The Guildhall, Milborne Port; Pilgrim's Rest, Moorlinch; and the Parish House, Baltonsborough.
[160] Court House, Martock; Church House, Crowcombe; and the Brewhouse, Stogumber.

survival rate of seven per cent indicates nonetheless that loss has been considerable.

The Somerset example illustrates the usefulness of documentary evidence for establishing numbers and distribution of community buildings, even if their precise form is hidden in the sources. The fruit of this approach can be usefully compared with that gathered from the building-based approach taken by Copeland in the 1960s, though his exact method of identifying buildings remains obscure. Community buildings are recorded in twenty-six of Devon's thirty-two hundreds and, more specifically, in one hundred and thirty of the county's four hundred and eighty-four parishes. It is not known whether this tally was the result of a systematic visitation of every parish or merely a circumstantial collection. In addition, Copeland does not typically offer a date for the buildings identified, nor, of those where dates are offered, is the evidence presented. Therefore, unlike the Somerset example where documents typically provide a temporal context, it cannot always be certain that Copeland's Devon buildings fall within the date range with which this study is concerned. Still, some broad observations are possible from Copeland's data, which are summarised in the table in **Table 2** and in the distribution map in **Figure 3**. The generally lower percentages of distribution, which could at least partially be explained by a combination of Copeland's method and building loss, is nonetheless notable: only four of the thirty-two hundreds show a distribution of more than half the parishes, compared to only four which had *less than* half in Somerset. Even taking into account the limitations, Copeland's building-based dataset highlights particular concentrations of community buildings in the southeast of the county (Haytor, Stanborough and Teignbridge hundreds) and in the hundred of West Budleigh southwest of Tiverton. Only a comprehensive parish-by-parish study of parochial and manorial documents would establish the accuracy of this overall trend.

Hundred	Parishes	Parishes with community buildings	Percentage
Axminster	16	2	13%
Bampton	7	3	43%
Black Torrington	35	7	20%
Braunton	22	6	27%
Cliston	5	1	20%
Coleridge	20	5	25%
Colyton	11	2	18%
Crediton	6	1	17%
East Budleigh	22	4	18%
Ermington	13	2	15%
Exminster	17	4	18%
Fremington	11	0	0%
Halberton	3	0	0%
Hartland	5	1	20%
Hayridge	16	6	38%
Haytor	24	12	50%
Hemyock	7	0	0%
Lifton	20	4	20%
North Tawton & Winkleigh	22	5	23%
Ottery	1	0	0%
Plympton	8	2	25%
Roborough	19	5	26%
Shebbear	25	2	0.08%
Shirwell	12	4	33%
South Molton	14	4	29%
Stanborough	19	13	68%
Tavistock	3	0	0%
Teignbridge	13	10	77%
Tiverton	5	0	0%
West Budleigh	7	4	57%
Witheridge	21	7	33%
Wonford	55	14	25%

Table 2. Distribution of community buildings in Devon hundreds as identified Copeland

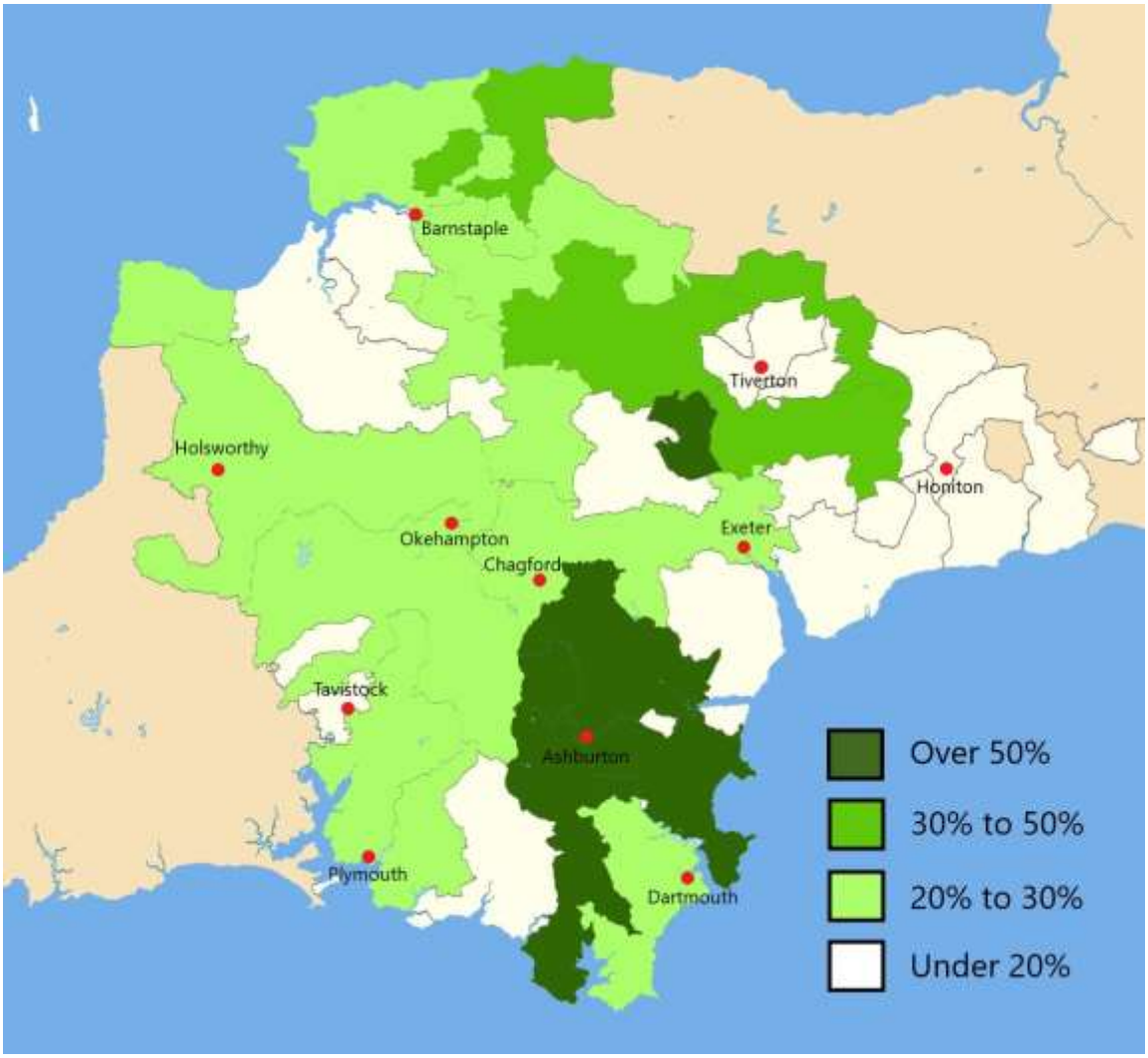


Figure 3. Map of Devon hundreds showing proportion of parishes with community buildings recorded by Copeland

In East Anglia, a similar case could be made for Norfolk, which has a fairly low distribution of surviving community buildings despite references to over twelve hundred guilds in the county in the period between *c*. 1300 and 1550.[161] It is not clear how many would have had guildhalls, but, as an example, of the twelve guilds recorded in Wymondham parish at some point during the medieval period, eight are known to have had guildhalls.[162] After the Reformation, the town took possession of at least three of these guildhalls, one of which was the town's 'guildhouse' (also called the 'town hall' in the town accounts), which was used as

[161] K. Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c.1470 - 1550* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 30-31, 94.
[162] K. Farnhill, 'The Religious Gilds of Wymondham, c.1470-1550', *NA*, 42 (1996), 321-31 (pp. 325-27).

the meeting place of the body known as the Seventeen and, when required, the inhabitants of the town until it burned down in 1615.[163] None of these guildhalls now survives in Wymondham. In other areas of Norfolk, the lack of surviving buildings also necessitates some measure of reliance upon the number of recorded *guilds* in order to posit at least some proportion as having had associated guildhalls. Among the larger towns with more than one parish, King's Lynn had more than one hundred guilds and Norwich more than sixty, but even one-parish towns seem to have had accommodated relatively large number of guilds: Great Yarmouth had twenty-three, East Dereham sixteen and Swaffham fourteen.[164] In the case of King's Lynn, the two guildhalls which survive, the Trinity Guildhall and the St George's Guildhall, have halls over undercrofts. In addition to these 'semi-public halls of the merchant guilds', Parker found evidence for at least three 'public halls' in King's Lynn, all of which have been demolished and whose architectural form is not clear.[165] Even with this total of five known guildhalls (of whatever type) in the town, the proportion of guildhalls is inescapably low, suggesting a lack of survival or a lack of requirement, both of which inferences would impact upon the present study with its focus on buildings.

Widening the gaze to county level in East Anglia presents not only a similar picture, but also a similar preponderance towards identifying *guilds*, not their buildings. Farnhill found that four hundred and forty-five of Norfolk's eight hundred parishes and two hundred and sixty-five of Suffolk's five hundred and six parishes had at least one guild, each county therefore showing over fifty per cent coverage.[166] Bainbridge found that seventy-three per cent of the towns and

[163] J. Wilson, 'The Wymondham Town Book, 1585-1620', in *Country and City*, ed. by J. Wilson, P. Howard and A. Hickley, NRS, 70 (Norwich, 2006), pp. 1-177 (pp. 5-6).
[164] Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community*, p. 31.
[165] V. Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century* (London, 1971), p. 141.
[166] Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community*, pp. 30-1.

villages in Cambridgeshire had at least one guild in the period between 1350 and 1558.[167] Ultimately, whilst one can posit that any given proportion of these guilds would have had associated community buildings of the type identified in this study, the conclusion remains that using documentary sources to establish the number of guilds in East Anglia does not permit a concrete notion of the number and distribution of community buildings. This stands in stark contrast with the ongoing comprehensive documentary survey of Somerset, which provides references, and the building-based study of Devon, which provides buildings themselves. This study therefore employs a combination of these two approaches, although with an acknowledged bias towards the latter, in order to attempt to fill in some of the blanks in the East Anglian record and provide some basis for comparison of those community buildings which do survive in the two regions.

A broad range of documentary sources underpin this study, used to identify the location of community buildings and to draw upon any information as to their form and usage. Whilst this method of investigation certainly bears fruit for both purposes, there is a clear disconnection between extant community buildings and buildings recorded in the sources; very rarely do the two coincide. The sheer breadth of sources and their geographical spread necessitates an emphasis on printed sources, though *caveats* arising from transcriptional errors and/or editorial preference must be acknowledged as a limiting factor to some extent. The documentary sources have been categorised as parochial/diocesan, civic and state, each of which merits brief evaluation.

[167] V. R. Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire* c. *1350 - 1558* (Rochester, NY, 1996), p. 33.

Documentary Sources II – Parochial/Diocesan

The records here include churchwardens' accounts, guild accounts, wills and, to a lesser extent, records arising from episcopal and archidiaconal visitations. Not unlike the buildings themselves, the problem of survival is acute: for example, relatively few sets of **churchwardens' accounts** survive for the period of this study, although the figure increases as the sixteenth century progresses. It has been suggested that around seven hundred and fifty sets survive for England and Wales for the period 1558 to 1600, equating to approximately eight per cent of the total number of parishes.[168] The value of these accounts as a historical source has been much debated: as long ago as 1940 Drew sounded the warning that it is 'unsafe' to assume that churchwardens' accounts contain a complete picture of parochial finances.[169] The existence of other accounts at large within parishes is clear: in Ashburton (Devon) a payment was made by the churchwardens in 1538/9 to a scribe 'for making this account and all other accounts of the church'.[170] These 'other accounts of the church' may include guild or store accounts, as at Louth (Lincolnshire) where chests held two account books of the Trinity guild, three of Our Lady Guild, two of Our Lady Light, one each of the Sepulchre and Lamp light and two of the Wever light.[171] The significance of these 'other accounts' in any one parish, including their reflection of churchwardens' shared responsibilities with other parochial bodies, has been noted in recent studies; any could contain information relating to community buildings.[172] However, the debate as to whether these accounts 'fall short of

[168] A. Foster, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: Some Problems to Note, but Much to be Gained', in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. by K. French, G. Gibbs and B. Kümin (Manchester, 1997), pp. 74-93 (p. 77).
[169] *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts, 1504-1645 and Vestry Book, 1610*, ed. by C. Drew, SuRS, 40 (Frome, 1940), p. xvi.
[170] Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 104.
[171] *The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth, 1500-1524*, ed. by R. C. Dudding (Oxford, 1937), *passim.*
[172] G. Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 47, 153

doing adequate justice to the parish community', or whether they 'offer an almost complete record of the monetary transactions of the main parish office' does not paralyse the efforts of the architectural historian.[173] Though the latter might well flounder 'under a welter of minutiae of planks, laths, nails and hinges', any surviving account referencing a community building is of some use.[174] The possibilities offered by churchwardens' accounts in the South West and East Anglia can be appreciated where they illuminate elements of community buildings which, as described above, are either lost and recorded only in visual sources, or survive but have been heavily altered. The church house in Chagford (Devon) stood on the village square and is recorded only in an etching by Samuel Prout in 1811 (**Plate XIII.2**), but the churchwardens' accounts record payments relating to the 'stears' [stairs, most likely external] and that the building was divided into a 'higher church house' and an 'under church house'.[175] In Molland (Devon), where the church house survives extended and much altered, the churchwardens' accounts record that the building had a 'sellar', a 'chemblye' [chimney] and, importantly, an external stair which required 'hellying' [covering/roofing] (**Plate XIII.3**).[176] In Metfield (Suffolk), national pressures of the time are reflected in the change from 'guildhall', as it is called in the accounts until 1557, to 'town house'. The building does not survive, but, as well as recording expenditure for repairs indicating that the building was timber framed and thatched, the churchwardens' accounts reveal that the building had a timber chimney in 1556, a brick oven in 1557, and a fenced yard in 1590. Moreover, the first-floor room was referred to

[173] C. Burgess, 'The Broader Church? A Rejoinder to "Looking Beyond"', *EHR*, 119 (2004), 100-16 (p. 115); B. A. Kümin, 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government', *EHR*, 119 (2004), 87-99 (p. 99).
[174] C. Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *EHR*, 117 (2002), 306-332 (p. 308).
[175] *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Church, Chagford, 1480-1600*, ed. by F. M. Osborne (Chagford, 1979), p. 241.
[176] J. Phear, 'Molland Accounts', *TDA*, 35 (1903), 198-238 (pp. 220, 224).

as the ‘toune chamber’ in 1634 and the stairs to it were called the ‘toune stayers’ in 1659.[177] The Town House in Cratfield (Suffolk) still survives, but appears to have been much altered during conversion into a dwelling (**Plate XIV.1**). The churchwardens’ accounts record in 1556/7 that the building had a kitchen which could be let out; a first floor room known as the ‘town hall chamber’ by 1639; and an oven by 1657.[178] By piecing together these small pieces of information, along with others which indicate the building’s location, a meaningful comparison can be made with the architecture and use of extant buildings elsewhere in the region.

Guild accounts generally survive in far fewer numbers than the accounts of churchwardens and, moreover, there has been no publication of a comprehensive set in either the South West or East Anglia. However, where accounts have been uncovered they have been put to use. The guildhall in Bardwell (Suffolk) has already been mentioned as a possible domestic conversion, but the accounts reveal further that in 1517 the guild received large numbers of dishes, platters, saucers and cups, as well as three iron spits, suggesting the use of the building for feasting.[179] Similarly, the references to the aforementioned guildhalls in Wymondham (Norfolk) are largely drawn from the various guild accounts, although the information is insufficient to visualise the buildings in full.[180] Some sets of guild accounts from areas outside the South West and East Anglia survive in a fuller form and the information in them can be useful in achieving some notion of the lost building, although this typically falls

[177] N. M. Bower, 'Extracts from Metfield Churchwardens' Account Books', *PSIA*, 23 (1938), 128-48 (pp. 145-6).
[178] Holland and Raven, *Cratfield*, p. 85; Botelho, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 35, 110.
[179] F. E. Warren, 'The Gild of St Peter in Bardwell', *PSIA*, 11 (1901), 81-133 (p. 82).
[180] G. A. Carthew, 'Extracts from Papers in the Church Chest of Wymondham', *NA*, 9 (1884), 121-52; G. A. Carthew, 'Wymondham Gilds', *NA*, 9 (1884), 240-74.

short of a clear identification as a community building of the type under discussion here. The accounts of the Guild of the Holy Trinity in Luton (Bedfordshire) provide extensive references to rooms and spaces within the timber-framed 'Brotherhood Hall': in 1528/9 the building has an 'upper buttre' and a 'sellar', a 'kylne' in 1532/3, a 'buttre in the lofte' in 1535/6 and, in the same year, a rare mention of a 'galary'.[181] In Reading (Berkshire), the accounts of the Guild Merchant record a timber-framed building with a portico in 1425/6, a 'communis baie' in 1426/7 and rooms referred to variously as a 'litill chamber' and a 'grete chaumbre'.[182] One particularly useful set of guild accounts are those of the Guild of the Holy Cross in Stratford-upon-Avon (Warwickshire), which relate not only to the surviving building, but also to its predecessor, which it replaced in 1417/8 (Plate **XIV.2**). The current building is recorded as having an 'aula desuper' and an 'aula inferior' in 1440/1, possibly each having their own service rooms, described as a 'botrie' in 1455/6 and an 'overbotrey' in 1494/5, the latter serving the 'overhall'.[183]

In much the same way as for churchwardens' and guild accounts, 'the historian relying upon **wills** never enjoys certainty' and 'all the ingenuity of the historian must be applied to this as to any other historical record.'[184] But again, wills can prove useful for identifying community buildings in the two regions, either as pre-existing buildings in need of repair or equipment or as buildings yet to be constructed. Although the architectural form of the buildings is rarely

[181] *The Accounts of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, Luton, 1526/7-1546/7*, ed. by B. Tearle (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 33, 83, 118, 120.
[182] *Reading Gild Accounts, 1357-1516*, ed. by C. F. Slade, BRS, 6 (Reading, 2002), pp. 74, 80, 143, 146.
[183] *Stratford-on-Avon Corporation Records: The Guild Accounts*, ed. by W. J. Hardy (Stratford-on-Avon, [1886(?)]), pp. 25, 35, 53.
[184] C. Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. by M. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-33 (p. 15); M. Zell, 'Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources', *Archives*, 14 (1979), 67-74 (p. 74).

discernible, they occasionally provide information pertaining to their use. In East Anglia, examples of bequests to existing buildings can be found in the will of Thomas Berne, who bequeathed forty shillings and four bushels of malt to the fabric of 'le cherchehous' in Felsham (Suffolk) as early as 1449, whilst a Henry Smith bequeathed twenty shillings towards the reparation of the church house in Connington (Cambridgeshire) in 1521.[185] Testators leaving money towards the building of new community buildings in East Anglia include Robert Cook of Kersey (Suffolk), who bequeathed eight of his best oak trees to the building of a new church-house in 1490, and Margaret Wilkyn of Burwell (Cambridgeshire), who in 1476 left land close to the church to build a guildhall for the use of two parish guilds.[186] References to 'common halls' and guildhalls in other Suffolk wills were also discussed above.[187] In the South West, pre-existing buildings are evidenced in the 1539 will of the vicar of Lanlivery (Cornwall), Stephan Knyght, who bequeathed a kettle and a pan to the use of the church on the condition that they remained 'in the yelde [guild] house and not to go abroad within the parish.'[188] In 1510, the will of John Jeffreys of Bath bequeathed a whole host of items 'unto the church house of Brewton' [Bruton] (Somerset), including twelve silver spoons, twelve platters, twelve cups and saucers, a cloth and a towel.[189] If these items were intended to be added to the stock of the building, rather than as items for sale, this would leave little doubt as to at least one of the building's uses. Bequests for the building of church houses can be found in the wills of Robert Strete of Mells (Somerset), proved in 1536, and Joan Tedbury of Taunton (Somerset), proved in 1537.[190]

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[185] Northeast, *Wills*, p. 229; W. M. Palmer, 'The Village Gilds of Cambridgeshire', *TCHAS*, 1 (1900-3), 330-402 (p. 350).
[186] Northeast, *Wills*, pp. 328, 365.
[187] See above, n. 20.
[188] *Cornish Wills, 1342-1540*, ed. by N. Orme, DCRS, n.s., 50 (Exeter, 2007), p. 194.
[189] *Somerset Medieval Wills*, ed. by F. W. Weaver, SRS, 19 (London, 1903), p. 148.
[190] Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills*, SRS, 21 (1905), pp. 34-5.

In other regions, wills can prove similarly fruitful for references to community buildings. In Higham (Kent), the will of William Rolff, proved in 1485, reveals not only the presence of a church house in the parish, but also that it was the repository of the parish goods and had a warden/keeper who was at least partially sustained by the parish.[191] Kentish wills also provide another addition to the list of titles given to community buildings: the aforementioned 'give ale house', seemingly analogous to a church house and a place where 'give ales' could be held. The 1528 will of Thomas Bedell of Hoo St Werburgh (Kent) bequeaths his house 'callid the yeveall house at Grenhill' to his wife on the understanding that she suffers 'the wardaynez and bredryn of the yevall off Saynt Warborows to haue y^{e} liberte therein w^{t} frey goyng and fre coming, to occupye in the said howse xiiij days a fore Seynt Warborow day and xiiij days after, to holde therein y^{e} yevall as hit [*sic*] hath been used and customed in tymes past w^{t}owt any interrupcion'.[192] In Lincolnshire, pre-existing guildhalls in Gosberton and Halton Holegate are referenced in wills in 1521, whilst a John Okyse bequeathed money for the building of a 'gyldehouse' in Authorpe in 1530.[193] However, testators did not only bequeath money to those community buildings known as church houses and guildhalls: in Market Harborough (Leicestershire) the will of Robert Smyth, proved in 1613, left money for a schoolhouse which should 'stande uppon posts or Columns over a p[ar]te of the Markett place to keep the markett people drye in tyme of foule wether.' Not only does this describe a fairly typical market house building type as a schoolhouse, Smyth's will goes further than many insofar as it describes the proportions of the building (thirty-six feet long by eighteen feet wide), the fact that the upper room was to have clerestory

[191] Duncan and Hussey, *Testamenta Cantiana*, p. 37.
[192] Duncan and Hussey, *Testamenta Cantiana*, p. 40.
[193] *Lincoln Wills*, ed. by C. W. Foster, LRS, 5 (Lincoln, 1914), pp. 100, 103; 10 (1918), p. 178.

windows and also that each side of the building was to be adorned with specific verses from Scripture.[194]

Diocesan visitation records also cannot be approached without caution. It has been argued that the surviving series have been deliberately preserved owing to their usefulness in jurisdictional disputes both within the established church and also between the church and parish, and so they cannot be held as typical or 'perfect reflections of a mechanistic process.'[195] In addition, the information recorded in them has been described as 'often closer to the rhetoric of complaint literature than to any true picture of diligent reporting.'[196] Fortunately, the mention of buildings – albeit with the usual ambiguity and vagueness – can be taken at something approaching face value and some chance references assist in filling in pieces of the wider puzzle. This is particularly the case where known surviving examples of community buildings are fewer in number. In Stokenchurch (Buckinghamshire, historically in Oxfordshire), the episcopal visitation, dated to either 1517 or 1520, records that the 'domus ecclesie est ruinosa'.[197] For this complaint to be effective, the parishioners must have thought it within the bishop's power to resolve: perhaps in this parish the church authorities were owners of the building or land. In Stonesfield (Oxfordshire) in the same period, the parishioners complained to the visitor that 'rector non edificauit coquinam que vocatur the Chirche howse quam edificare tenetur', which, as well as pointing towards the rector's responsibility for improving the building, also tentatively suggests that the building was used for feasting (perhaps being

[194] *Market Harborough Parish Records, 1531-1837*, ed. by J. E. Stocks (London, 1926), pp. 487-8.
[195] I. Forrest, 'The Survival of Medieval Visitation Records', *Archives*, 125 (2012), 1-10 (pp. 1, 10).
[196] J. S. Craig, 'Co-operation and Initiatives: Elizabethan Churchwardens and the Parish Accounts of Mildenhall', *Social History*, 18 (1993), 357-80 (p. 367).
[197] *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517-31*, ed. by A. Hamilton Thompson, LRS, 33 (Hereford, 1940), pp. 119, 129.

upgraded from a detached kitchen) or that its use was changing to accommodate this.[198]

Documentary Sources III – Civic

Civic accounts include those arising from the institutions of larger towns, but, like the churchwardens' and guild accounts of smaller settlements, still provide only occasional references to buildings. Typical sources for community buildings consulted in this context include town books and the accounts of mayors, chamberlains, treasurers and bailiffs. These accounts are subject to the same constraints of usage and interpretation as any other written account already discussed, as well as to the same vulnerability in editing in printed sources. However, these infrequent references do occasionally identify rooms, spaces and uses.

In the South West, few community buildings in towns have survived, or have at least been left unscathed; most have fallen prey to road-widening schemes or to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rebuilding. The old guildhall in Bodmin (Cornwall) survives in a much altered form and is referred to in the Receiver's Accounts, but, like the surviving guildhall in Exeter (Devon), it appears to have been single-storey or a hall-over-undercroft.[199] In Bodmin, after the dissolution of the Franciscan friary in 1538 other community functions, such as those of market house and shire hall, were held in the disused friary church, which stood on the site of the current Shire House (1837-38) and which had been divided into two storeys;[200] a situation reminiscent of the aforementioned church conversions in Wimborne and Wareham in Dorset. The friary church, which was

[198] Hamilton Thompson, *Visitations*, LRS, 33, pp. 129-30.
[199] LEN: 1206466; S. R. Blaylock, 'Exeter Guildhall', *PDAS*, 48 (1990), 123-78 (pp. 126-28).
[200] Orme, *A History of The County of Cornwall,* p. 156.

one hundred and fifty feet long and sixty feet high, housed the corn market/market at the western end and an Assize Court at the eastern end; the corn market survived the first round of demolition and was still in use in 1873.[201] The Borough Accounts of Launceston (Cornwall) reveal two buildings with community uses, though both are lost. The 'Gilda Aula', in which bread and ale were consumed in 1520/1 on the vigil of Mary Magdalene, might have been the 'hawle for syses [assizes] and sessions' mentioned by Leland and, even earlier, by the Ministers' Accounts of the Duchy of Cornwall in 1338/9; its form is uncertain and it was demolished in 1840.[202] Borough Accounts of Launceston also mention a corn market house in 1640/1 which required repair after damage by a rampaging bull.[203] In Plymouth (Devon), the Receivers' Accounts mention a guildhall in 1491, as well as its rebuilding in 1565 and 1606 and extensive repair or remodelling in 1666/7.[204] The building was demolished in 1800, but, fortunately, an eighteenth-century painting of the guildhall corroborates its form as a community building: by stripping it of some of the Jacobean embellishments, a general notion of the sixteenth-century building emerges with its large first-floor room, fully-storeyed ground floor and external staircase (**Plate XIV.3**). The town's records further reveal some uses of the building, which include yielding up an account of income from church ales and the performance of plays.[205] Theatrical entertainment is a common use of community buildings in other towns of the South West, where the large first-floor space could accommodate a show and audience.

[201] J. Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, 4 vols (Truro, 1867-73; repr. Wakefield, 1974), I (1867), p. 78; J. Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the County of Cornwall*, 4 vols (London, 1873-9), I (1873), p. 191.
[202] A. F. Robbins, *Launceston, Past and Present* (Launceston, 1888), p. 329.
[203] *REED Dorset and Cornwall*, p. 497.
[204] *Plymouth Building Accounts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by C. E. Welch, DCRS, n.s., 12 (Exeter, 1967), pp. viii-ix.
[205] *REED Devon*, pp. 226, 227, 230.

The guildhall in Blandford Forum and the 'common hall' in Dorchester (both Dorset) were the venue for plays in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as recorded in the Chamberlains' Accounts and court records respectively.[206] The former record the use of Blandford's 'yeld hall' for plays in both 1587/8 and 1595/6, dates which straddle its rebuilding in 1593 and therefore show the suitability of both the new and old buildings for the same use. Aside from its position on an island site to the west of SS Peter and Paul Church, little emerges from the records about Blandford's first guildhall, but its replacement was a rectangular two-storey structure with an 'upper hall' and 'lower hall', as well as an attic.[207] The accounts record a pentice supported on pillars, a 'blind house' [lock-up] and a kitchen, the latter an interesting addition as no mention is made of a chimney in the accounts and this feature is unusual in town community buildings. A staircase is mentioned in the building accounts, but it is not clear whether this was internal or external.[208] The accounts therefore provide a valuable record of a building which would be otherwise entirely unknown, as it was to burn down in the great fire which destroyed most of Blandford in 1731. Tittler's conjectural reconstruction shows a building somewhere between what is conceived as a typical church house in a rural settlement and a market house in a town, thereby contributing to a sense that the buildings are linked by their architectural form.[209] Indeed Bridgwater (Somerset) had both a church house *and* common hall/guildhall, which were two separate buildings with large first-floor rooms and external stairs and both also
played host to plays and entertainments.[210]

[206] *REED Dorset and Cornwall*, pp. 127, 137, 193-4.
[207] R. Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540-1640* (Stanford, 2001), p. 73.
[208] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, pp. 74-76.
[209] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 73.
[210] *VCH Somerset*, VI, pp. 202, 224, 233; *REED Somerset*, I, pp. 48, 51-53.

In East Anglia, a similar use for a 'common hall' can be seen in Norwich (Norfolk) where, in 1548/9, the chamberlains' accounts record a performance by the King's Players.[211] Although it is not certain owing to the vicissitudes of community building designation, in this case it is likely that the term refers to the extant St Andrew's Hall (1470), the former church of the Blackfriars, reused as a community space after the dissolution of the friary in 1538.[212] By the time of Blomefield's history of the city in 1745, the building was being used for the assizes and municipal feasts, thereby fulfilling much the same functions as the purpose-built community building.[213] Echoing the suitability of converting churches into community buildings, as already discussed above in relation to Wimborne, Wareham and Bodmin, the Moot Hall in Ipswich (Suffolk) was also a conversion from a former church (St Mildred's), which had an upper floor inserted, an external stair added and a council chamber later added to the eastern end.[214] The Chamberlains' Accounts, whilst referring to the features of the building in cognate terms (hall, chamber, stairs, cellar, etc.) do not reveal the fact that the building was not purpose-built and thus provide a further *caveat* to the use of documentary sources alone.[215] In this case, a drawing of the building survives from the early nineteenth century and, although it shows more clearly that the building is a conversion, the visual record also illustrates key features: prominent external stair, large first-floor room and fully-storeyed ground floor (**Plate XV.1**). Therefore the documentary and visual sources combine here to reveal that townspeople converting existing buildings brought them into line with

[211] L. G. Bolingbroke, 'Pre-Elizabethan Plays and Players in Norfolk', *NA*, 11 (1892), 332-51 (p. 351).
[212] H. Sutermeister, *The Norwich Blackfriars* (Norwich, 1977), pp. 8-9.
[213] F. Blomefield, *The History of the City and County of Norwich* (Norwich, 1745), p. 731.
[214] G. R. Clarke, *The History and Description of the Town and Borough of Ipswich* (Ipswich and London, 1830), pp. 170-71.
[215] *The Town Finances of Elizabethan Ipswich: Select Treasurers' and Chamberlains' Accounts*, ed. by J. M. A. Webb, SfRS, 38 (Woodbridge, 1996).

the community building form evidenced by those which were built for that purpose.

The combination of civic records and visual sources also bears fruit in Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk). Although the extant guildhall, also referred to in town records as the 'common hall' and 'towne house', is of the single-storey type, the town also had a market house, which was constructed in 1583 to replace a simple cross.[216] Although the newly-rebuilt market house burned down in a fire in 1608, it was described as a covered space 'wherein [corn-sellers] may stande to their great ease very comodiouslye in the heate of somer and also in the tyme of reyne and cold wet winter'. Although it not clear, the large sum (of over £121) recorded in the accounts for its construction suggests that this structure was two-storeyed and of the community building type.[217] The replacement market house, which was not completed until 1620 (and demolished in the 1770s), is shown in a painting of the early eighteenth century as having an open ground floor with a staircase rising to what appears to be a first-floor room (**Plate XVI.2**).

Outside of the South West and East Anglia, a few brief examples will suffice to illustrate how civic accounts contribute to identifying examples of the community building type. In Woodstock (Oxfordshire), the Chamberlains' Accounts survive for the first half of the seventeenth century and provide numerous references to a building known variously as the town hall, guildhall and, seemingly, the schoolhouse.[218] The accounts also record that it was located in the wool market (later Market Place/Street) and was most likely sited on the same island site as the current town hall (1766); the building had a 'cage' or lock-up in 1618/9 and, in the same year, had a 'nether hall' and an 'upper hall'; a

[216] *Accounts of the Feoffees of the Town Lands of Bury St Edmunds, 1569-1622*, ed. by M. Statham, SRS, 46 (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 14, 19, 44.
[217] Statham, *Accounts of the Feoffees*, p. xxxviii.
[218] *Woodstock Chamberlains' Accounts, 1609-1650*, ed. by M. M. Maslen, ORS, 58 (Stroud, 1993), *passim.*

'sellar' in 1630/1; and in 1634/5 a locked 'dore under the stayer', almost certainly the external stair and the door to the lock-up (cf. Titchfield Market Hall).[219] Although no image of the building is known, these references at least suggest a two-storeyed building with an external stair and upper and lower halls akin to the rebuilt guildhall in Blandford Forum (Dorset) and, significantly for the purposes of this study, a building such as the aforementioned lost church house in Chagford (Devon).

The Town Book of Lewes (Sussex) provides information on various community buildings, providing a place where the town's government met and held courts, a court for the assizes, and the market house, which was the focal point for commerce. The distinction between these buildings, if indeed they were all separate for the period for which records survive, is not forthcoming.[220] In 1564, the Town Book records a bequest from an Alice Holter for the building of 'our Market and Session howse', a figure supplemented by donations from the 'Twelve', the town's governing body. In 1588, the accounts recorded expenditure for 'newe lofting over of the Townehawle', whilst the old market house was pulled down in 1648 and a new one built in its place. In 1595, a general assembly of the inhabitants of the Borough was held 'in the Townhouse upon Whitson daye'.[221] The various details imply two community buildings: a market house with a court above and a separate town hall. However, George Randoll's 1620 plan of Lewes reveals that the market house was in fact a single-storey polygonal structure, similar to the contemporary example in Dorchester (Dorset) or the extant Yarn Market in Dunster (Somerset). The map also clearly shows the two-storey town hall with its external staircase in the High Street (**Plate XVI.3**); presumably this

[219] Maslen, *Woodstock Chamberlains' Accounts*, pp. 76-77, 134 159.
[220] Godfrey, 'Lewes Market House', p. 1.
[221] Godfrey, 'Lewes Market House', p. 2; *The Town Book of Lewes, 1542-1701*, ed. by L. F. Salzman, SxRS, 48 (Lewes,1946), pp. 15, 34, 73, 130.

was the Session House referred to in Alice Holter's will and the 'Townehawle' and 'Townhouse' in the Town Book. The faint detailing on the elevation of the Town Hall reveals an arcaded ground floor for covered trading, meaning that this building also had a commercial function and, at least by Alice Holter, was also referred to as a 'market house'.

The above brief overview of the possibilities afforded by printed civic accounts from the towns of the South West, East Anglia and other areas reveals a clear similarity with the parochial accounts of churchwardens and guilds insofar as one is reliant upon occasional mentions of buildings and their constituent external and internal elements within what are essentially lists of income and expenditure. It is rare for these mentions to be sufficiently varied, or in sufficiently great numbers, for a true picture of the building to emerge and there is often a need for supplementary sources, such as visual sources. Thus the sketchy documentary records can be set alongside historical images in order to establish whether a lost building, whether historically called a guildhall, town hall, common hall, moot hall, etc., was in fact of the community building type. Moreover, where the building is extant and demonstrably not of this type (e.g. St Andrew's Hall [the 'Common Hall'] in Norwich, or the Guildhall, Bury St Edmunds), the use of the same designations and architectural language in documentary sources unavoidably reinforces the need for a cautious approach to a reliance on building labels.

Documentary Sources IV – State

State records have been construed as those arising from legislation and royal business. The sheer scope of records created by the machinery of government means that full, detailed sets of records relating to one place, let alone one building, are not typical and therefore the occasional sparse mentions

of singular buildings are even more in evidence. Still, a selection of sources has been found to contribute in some way to the understanding of community buildings, most often only by their existence, but occasionally in more illuminative details. Therefore the sources for brief overview include Patent and Charter Rolls, Inquisitions *Post Mortem*, guild ordinances (arising from the returns of the 1389 Chancery enquiry), chantry certificates of 1546 and 1548 and State Papers. It should be noted that these sources are treated here in broad chronological order of their scope.

The **Charter and Patent Rolls**, which begin the early thirteenth century in their published calendars, have been consulted in this form up to the end of Elizabeth I's reign in the latter case and to 1516 – the last published calendar – in the former. Generally, these sources are best used to establish the presence, more than the form, of buildings with appropriate contemporary designations (guildhall etc.) and uses. Therefore to some extent they are useful in ways which other sources – not to mention the surviving built record – might be wanting.

Before the 1350s, the Charter Rolls contain occasional references to guilds merchant, usually in larger towns, but few mentions of guildhalls or other community buildings. From the mid-fourteenth century, the term appears with greater frequency, although still only twenty-six references to buildings – exclusively relating to the seat of town government – were noted between 1356 and 1485. Twenty-one of these references are to 'guildhalls', which are mentioned in what appear to be stock phrases relating to their use as the venue for juridical business and the choosing of officials. The fact that nearly identical phasing is used over at least a century suggests a centralised understanding of the word 'guildhall' and so does not perhaps relate *per se* in each case to a particular building or to the local terms given to such buildings. However, two points are relevant. First, the Rolls do use the term in relation to juridical-

administrative buildings in both Ireland (Waterford [1356], Dublin [1363] and Drogheda [1412]) and in Wales (Tenby [1446]), which extends the reach of such terminology beyond England.[222] Secondly, there is some indication of awareness of different local terminology: in Derby (Derbyshire) in 1459 the various courts etc. are to be held 'in the Guyhalda of the town called le Mote Halle', a term also used for the administrative buildings in Colchester (Essex) in 1462, and Pontefract (Yorkshire) in 1484.[223] Similarly, a grant to the people of Llandovery (Carmarthenshire) in 1485 gives permission to 'build in the said borough a gaol and a guildhall [*Guyhaldam*] commonly there called a "Bothall" for the keeping of prisoners and the holding of a hundred or court';[224] an entry which suggests some regional preference for certain terms. However, beyond one statement relating to the Waterford guildhall having the 'needful chambers' and a 'gaol', in no cases are the buildings described and the familiar uncertainty as to their form is to be noted.[225]

The great majority of references to community buildings in the Patent Rolls are to be found in the 1580s and 1590s and arise from two particularly prevalent contexts: charters of incorporation and the uncovering of concealed lands and property. The proliferation of incorporation from the mid-sixteenth century onwards has been noted: the charters in the Patent Rolls record only fifty-five incorporations between 1485 and 1540, but then eight between 1540 and 1547, twelve between 1547 and 1553 and twenty-four in the reign of Mary.[226] Tittler's suggested link between the building of 'civic halls' and the charters of incorporation has been mentioned above and, furthermore, he has suggested that 'over half the roughly six hundred and fifty towns' built one in the period

[222] *CCR*, V: 1341-1417, pp. 151, 182, 450; *CCR*, VI: 1427-1516, p. 53.
[223] *CCR*, VI: 1427-1516, pp. 134, 150, 263.
[224] *CCR*, VI: 1427-1516, p. 262.
[225] *CCR*, VI: 1427-1516, p. 173.
[226] R. Tittler, 'The Incorporation of Boroughs, 1540-1558', *History*, 62 (1977), 24-42 (p. 24).

between 1560 and 1640.[227] Of the two hundred and eighty-five references to community buildings of varying labels gathered for this study between 1553 and 1602, only twenty-six are contained within charters of incorporation. However, it must be emphasised that, as this number represents only those which specifically mention a building, the total number of actual incorporations will be higher. Of the remaining entries during the same period, two hundred and fifty-five Patent Roll entries relate to grants or leases of land; this tally itself provides useful information regarding the ownership of the buildings in question. Typically the grants and sales follow the recovery of concealed lands after extensive searches carried out under the aegis of private individuals: this process of obtaining licences from the Crown to undertake these searches was well-established by the 1560s and concealment hunting boomed throughout the 1580s and 1590s.[228] A contemporary estimate put the annual rental value of the Crown lands sold during Elizabeth's reign at £25,599 with a total sum of £817,472.[229] In entries where the former owners are recorded, these typically comprised dissolved religious houses, guilds or other foundations. The Patent Roll entries relating to community buildings largely correspond to this period of increased activity: of the two hundred and fifty-five entries found, only five are dated outside the 1580s and 1590s.

The references relating to the South West are tabulated in **Table 3**, which shows the distribution of the various terms employed for the buildings found in the Patent Rolls between 1553 and 1603. In Cornwall, the Patent Rolls record five charters of incorporation and one grant of concealed lands, all dating between 1585 and 1590. The incorporations, which by definition relate to towns,

[227] Tittler, 'Civic Halls', p. 37.
[228] C. Kitching, 'The Quest for Concealed Lands in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 24 (1974), 63-74 (pp. 68, 72-73).
[229] R. B. Outhwaite, 'Who Bought Crown Lands? The Pattern of Purchases, 1589-1603', *BIHR*, 44 (1971), 18-33 (p. 18).

County	Total References	Guildhall	Church House	Town Hall/House	Market House	Moot Hall	Court House	Common Hall
Cornwall	**6**	2	1		1			2
Devon	**9**	3	3	1			1	1
Dorset	**2**		1			1		
Somerset	**7**	3	4					
	24	8	9	1	1	1	1	3

Table 3. Terms used in Patent Rolls for community buildings in South West

for the most part refer to buildings already present in those communities which are to be the seat of the town's administration. In Liskeard's charter of 1587, the council is to sit in the 'hall house', whilst the term 'guildhall' is used in Helston in 1585.[230] Helston's charter also specifically grants the fee-farm of the market house 'lately built there by the inhabitants' to the mayor and commonalty.[231] Truro's charter of 1589 records a 'provision for a Common Council Hall', either confirming an existing use or signifying that permission was granted to erect a new structure. The one grant of concealed land relates to 'a cottage and church house' in Lawhitton in 1590.[232] This general pattern is also found in Devon, Dorset and Somerset, where the charters of incorporation of towns, all dating between 1587 and 1602, refer to community buildings using the familiar lexicon; dates of the charters are given in parentheses. In Devon, the charters for Totnes (1596) and Plymouth (1601) refer to a 'guildhall' which, in both cases, seems to have already been standing.[233] In South Molton (1590) and Plympton St Maurice (1602), the governing body is to meet in the 'council house', which is also referred to as the 'common hall' in the charter of the former.[234] In Somerset, the three charters of incorporation (Bridgwater (1587), Bath (1590), and Axbridge

[230] *CPR 29 Elizabeth I*, p. 142 (Liskeard); *CPR 27 Elizabeth I*, p. 169 (Helston).
[231] *CPR 27 Elizabeth I*, p. 169.
[232] *CPR 32 Elizabeth I*, p. 11.
[233] *CPR 43 Elizabeth I*, p. 68 (Plymouth); *CPR 38 Elizabeth I*, p. 167 (Totnes).
[234] *CPR 32 Elizabeth I*, p. 246 (South Molton); *CPR 44 Elizabeth I*, p. 70 (Plympton St Maurice).

(1599) refer to guildhalls. In Bridgwater, the guildhall has a 'council chamber'.[235] The single entry arising in relation to Dorset, the charter of incorporation of Lyme Regis in 1591, is significant as it provides for the use of a 'certain guild house and council house commonly called le moutehall'.[236] The term 'moot hall' has already been encountered as occurring mostly in town buildings in the East Anglian region and indeed no other instance of that term for a community building in the South West has been found in any of the documentary sources consulted for this study.

In common with Cornwall – albeit with its singular record – the eight records of grants of land in Devon, Dorset and Somerset all relate to church houses. The three recorded villages with church houses in Devon, in Ottery St Mary, Lifton, and St Giles (either St Giles in the Wood or St Giles on the Heath), are not to be found among the pages of Copeland as having a suitable surviving building.[237] The aforementioned church house in Evershot (Dorset) was mentioned in Hutchins, who also called it the 'town-house', but no building survives.[238] In the Somerset villages of Stoke Trister and Wincanton, church houses are recorded in the rolls, both in the same grant of 1592, and are also attested in other documentary sources.[239] The other Somerset church houses referred to in grants, in Shepton Mallet (1588) and 'Harty *alias* Hartey Tylley' (1592), are again not described in sufficient detail to enable a reconstruction.

A rather different picture emerges when looking at the records pertaining to East Anglia, summarised in **Table 4** above. A total of forty-three references to community buildings have been found in the period between 1553 and 1603,

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[235] *CPR 29 Elizabeth I*, p. 15 (Bridgwater); *CPR 32 Elizabeth I*, p. 47 (Bath); *CPR 41 Elizabeth I*, p. 47 (Axbridge).
[236] *CPR 33 Elizabeth I*, p. 159.
[237] *CPR 27 Elizabeth I*, p. 39 (Ottery St Mary); *CPR 34 Elizabeth I*, pp. 29, 34 (Lifton, and St Giles).
[238] *CPR 38 Elizabeth I*, p. 60. See above also, p. 27 n. 90.
[239] *CPR 34 Elizabeth I*, pp. 32, 34; *VCH Somerset*, VII, pp. 207, 228.

County	Total References	Guildhall/ House	Church House	Town Hall/ House	Market House	Moot Hall	Court House	Common Hall
Cambridgeshire	**2**	2						
Essex	**4**	2	1			1		
Norfolk	**25**	22		2	1			
Suffolk	**12**	11	1					
	43	37	2	2	1	0	0	0

Table 4. Terms used in Patent Rolls for community buildings in East Anglia

although all but one date between 1584 and 1599. The remaining entry, dating from 1553, refers circumstantially to a grant of a cottage and land 'opposite le Motehall' in Waltham Abbey (Essex), the only instance of that term in the entries found.[240] Of the remaining forty-two references, forty relate to grants of land, one to a charter of incorporation and one to a lease: a significant inversion of the proportions found in the references from Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset, where charters of incorporation represented over half the total. It is also noteworthy that, whilst the entries relating grants of land – the minority – in the southwestern counties all related to buildings called 'church houses', in East Anglia the grants of land – the majority – relate to thirty-six called 'guildhalls', two relate to the 'shire house' (in Norwich) and, as already mentioned, one 'moot hall': only two relate to buildings called 'church houses'. The only place where the term 'church house' is used without qualification is in Henham (Essex), the other entry refers to 'houses or guilds called guildhalls or Churchhowses' in Withersdale (Suffolk).[241] The cumulative picture afforded by these entries and their comparison with the entries from the South West suggests that the term 'guildhall' was commonly, though not exclusively, used in East Anglia to refer to community buildings which, in the South West, would be called 'church houses'. Similarly, the entries from East Anglia often record the former owners of

[240] *CPR Edward VI*, V: *1547-1553*, p. 58.
[241] *CPR 31 Elizabeth I*, p. 127 (Henham); *CPR 30 Elizabeth I*, p. 61 (Withersdale).

concealed guildhalls as religious houses, guilds or brotherhoods, but do not record any significant architectural information on the buildings.

The single charter of incorporation which mentions a guildhall is that of Beccles (Suffolk), dating from 1584. The entry refers to the setting up of 'the Beccles Fenne court, for pleas concerning the Fen, to be held each Tuesday before the reeve, surveyors and pronotary at the guildhall there.'[242] The references suggests that the guildhall already existed, although the direction that a gaol was also to be set up, suggests that it did not, at that point, include a lock-up. The building is likely to be that of the Holy Ghost guild, which was vested in thirteen feoffees in 1544/5 and for which some records survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[243] The Patent Rolls contain no information on the building's type, but the records of the feoffees state that the quarter sessions were held there and also mention a 'house', a 'lower house', a 'shop', and a 'chamber', a 'jury chamber' and a 'hall', terms which almost certainly overlap in their designations of the spaces within the building.[244] There seems to be sufficient here to posit a community building of the type with which this study is concerned, although as with documentary sources, such confirmation is rarely possible from documents alone.

Looking at areas outside of the South West and East Anglia, a further two hundred and fifteen references to buildings in England with the typical community labels were found in the Patent Rolls dating between 1583 and 1602; a tabulated summary of the distribution is given in **Table 5**. One particular feature of this table is the very large proportion of buildings referenced in Lincolnshire, all of which relate to the granting or leasing of concealed lands. Moreover, all but

[242] *CPR 26 Elizabeth I*, p. 170.
[243] N. Evans, 'The Holy Ghost Gild and the Beccles Town Land Feoffees in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'*, PSIA*, 37 (1989), 31-44 (p. 31).
[244] Evans, 'Holy Ghost Gild', p. 38.

County	Total References	Guildhall	Church House	Town Hall/House	Market House	Moot Hall	Court House	Common Hall
Berkshire	**3**	1	1				1	
Buckinghamshire	**2**	1				1		
Derbyshire	**1**	1						
County Durham	**3**	3						
Hampshire	**2**	2						
Herefordshire	**1**	1						
Hertfordshire	**3**		3					
Huntingdonshire	**1**	1						
Kent	**3**	1	1	1				
Leicestershire	**4**	2	2					
Lincolnshire	**155**	151	3	1				
Middlesex	**1**		1					
Northamptonshire	**2**	1	1					
Northumberland	**1**	1						
Nottinghamshire	**4**	2		1		1		
Shropshire	**2**	1		1				
Staffordshire	**3**	2	1					
Surrey	**1**				1			
Sussex	**3**		1	1	1			
Wiltshire	**1**		1					
Yorkshire	**19**	18	1					
	215	189	16	5	2	2	1	0

Table 5. Terms used in Patent Rolls between 1583 and 1602 for community buildings in other areas

sixteen of these grants are contained in the same two batches of grants: one set of sixty-nine in a lease of twenty-one years to Matthew Scothrop in 1586, and another of seventy-two in a grant in fee simple to Henry Mapleton and Thomas Jones in 1587.[245] Of the total number in Lincolnshire, it is notable that all but four refer to guildhalls, the vast majority in rural areas. Although the three references to church houses are also in such settings, the prominence of the former term inin Lincolnshire villages at least seems clear. Even discounting some proportion

[245] *CPR 29 Elizabeth I*, pp. 48-49, 82-83.

of these buildings as converted dwelling-houses or buildings of other types, the Patent Rolls here do plug a significant gap in the built record: this study identified only one extant building (considerably altered) in Lincolnshire which could fit the community building type.[246]

In areas outside of the South West and East Anglia, the general value of the Patent Rolls is comparable insofar as settlements which had community buildings are identified. In the cases of grants and leases, which are by far the overall majority, the building is typically identified without further information other than the occasional reference to a former owner (a guild, religious house etc.). In a small number of cases, the entry confirms some of the issues of parochial ownership that were encountered in the State Papers (see below) when the building in question is noted as being 'late in the tenure of the inhabitants' of a particular village, such as the guildhall in South Ormesby (Lincolnshire), and the church houses in Rickmansworth and Hertingfordbury (Hertfordshire).[247] In the charters of incorporation, which number only eleven out of the two hundred and fifteen references, the buildings mentioned are invariably referred to as guildhalls, although the terms 'council house' and 'common hall' are also found as qualifications, and the only insight provided is into their use as places of courts and meeting places for the governing body, again echoing the uses encountered in the South West and East Anglia.

The **Inquisitions *Post Mortem* (IPMs)** cover two unbroken sequences from 1236 to 1447 and 1485 to 1509. They could be seen as 'a vast and systematic source for late medieval England that has the potential to light up many topics', though they have limitations and 'to be best exploited they need to be set in the

[246] 6-7 Red Lion Square, Stamford (LEN: 1062212); RCHME, *Stamford*, pp. 113-14.
[247] *CPR 31 Elizabeth I*, pp. 12, 30, 127.

context of other sources'.[248] The reliability of the IPMs as a source has also been questioned: not only do the quality and comprehensiveness of the calendars vary, but also the information contained within the IPMs themselves is unlikely to be consistent from period to period, area to area or indeed in the level of detail recorded by the escheators.[249] For our purposes, however, the impact of these uncertainties is somewhat lessened, as the concern is simply to find mention of buildings with community uses in order to add to the overall picture which has been forming from the other various documentary sources above. Therefore the main limitation, as with other sources, is that buildings seldom require specific mention and, where they do, they are rarely described sufficiently to identify their type.

Although the IPMs have yielded few significant results, the records do enable a search for the common terms used for community buildings at a relatively earlier period than the extant buildings generally permit: the earliest reference mentions a 'tolbooth' in the market of Bishop's [King's] Lynn (Norfolk) in 1296/7.[250] The IPMs also record tolbooths in the Suffolk villages of Bildeston and Bungay in 1347/8 and 1361/2 respectively. In the case of Bildeston, the entry records that the 'portmansmotes' were held in 'le tolhus', and similarly 'the court' is said to be held in 'le Tolhous' in Bungay.[251] Although the buildings are not described, the IPMs reveal a noteworthy continuity in usage between these 'tolbooths' or 'tolhouses' and the town halls and church houses described as being used for such courts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[252] The term 'church house' is not recorded in the IPMs at any of the periods covered,

[248] M. Hicks, 'Introduction', in *The Later Medieval Inquisitions Post Mortem: Mapping the Medieval Countryside and Rural Society*, ed. by M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 1-6 (pp. 1, 5).
[249] M. Holford, 'Fairs and Markets in the Inquisitions Post Mortem', in Hicks, *The Later Medieval Inquisitions Post Mortem*, pp. 100-14 (pp. 100-1).
[250] *CIPM*, *III*: *Edward I*, p. 268.
[251] *CIPM*, *IX*: *Edward III*, p. 72; *CIPM*, *XI*: *Edward III*, p. 133.
[252] See below, p. 84.

although the records do shed some light on communal facilities available in rural areas. The 'old hall on the north side of the church' recorded in West Rasen (Lincolnshire) in 1336/7 could possibly be a dwelling or some form of community building.[253] Throughout the IPMs there are plentiful references to common ovens, common bakehouses and common brewhouses in most areas of England ranging from Somerset to Middlesex to Yorkshire and Cumberland.[254] References to these structures are particularly prevalent in rural areas in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and, although the form these structures took is not described, they do provide a useful backcloth against which to see the formation of community activities. The term 'guildhall' is frequently encountered as the venue for the inquisitions, but almost entirely in relation to the London Guildhall, or those in Exeter, Lincoln and York. A similar case may be made for 'le Shirehous' in Norwich, mentioned in an inquisition of 1419 and which refers to the building otherwise known as the Guildhall.[255] A 'great hall of the town' is mentioned in reference to Calais (France) in 1378/9 and, significantly, as a place *under* which 'the wools should be weighed'.[256] The significance lies in the fact that the use of community buildings in England for wool-weighing or as a place to keep the parish weights is attested: in Stratton (Cornwall), the church house is the venue for the 'keeping of the tolswylt' in 1529, where the wyytys [weights] are kept in 1531 and where the 'wyztyng [weighing] of yerne' takes place during the fair in 1534 and at least until the 1570s.[257] Similarly, the guildhall in Wimborne Minster (Dorset) houses the parish weights, from the use of which income is

[253] *CIPM, VIII: Edward III*, p. 91;
[254] *CIPM, VIII: Edward III*, p. 478; *CIPM, XIV: Edward III*, p. 118; *CIPM, XII: Edward III*, p. 366.
[255] *CIPM*, *XX*: *Henry V*, p. 53.
[256] *CIPM*, *XV*: *Richard II*, p. 6.
[257] Peacock, 'On the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Stratton in Cornwall', p. 210; *Stratton Churchwardens' Accounts, 1512-1578*, ed. by J. Mattingly, DCRS, n.s., 60 (Martlesham, 2018), pp. 64, 137.

recorded, in 1526, 1581 and 1590.[258] In Barking (Essex), the open arcade of the corn market on the ground floor of the Court House is shown in a drawing of 1595 as containing 'the bushell' with which corn was weighed (**Plate VII.1**). This detail from the IPMs is certainly small, but nonetheless indicates connections in uses between community buildings in towns and villages. Other terms commonly found in other documentary sources are not widely attested in the IPMs. The terms 'court house' and 'market house' are not recorded, although the rent from a plot called 'commune market' is mentioned in relation to a 1371/2 inquisition in Wighton (Norfolk).[259]

A search for guildhalls in particular was undertaken among the **Guild Returns of 1389**. In terms of the distribution of surviving returns, the South West is certainly poorly served: Somerset and Dorset each have one, Devon and Cornwall have none. When this is compared with East Anglia, where one hundred and sixty-four returns survive from Norfolk, sixty from Cambridgeshire, thirty-nine from Suffolk and eight from Essex, the unsuitability of the ordinances as a comparative base – let alone for the specific mention of buildings, which was, however, a requirement on the return – becomes all too evident.[260] The returns for Dorset and Somerset, respectively from the Guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Swanage and the 'Common Chantry of Bath in the Church of St Mary de Stalles', are silent on any buildings belonging to them, which is perhaps not surprising as the returns seem to imply that both were

[258] Mayo, *History of Wimborne Minster*, pp. 95, 106, 110.
[259] *CIPM*, *XIII*: *Edward III*, p. 89.
[260] H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), pp. 137-238 (tabulated appendix of 1389 guild returns); C. B. Firth, 'Village Gilds of Norfolk in the Fifteenth Century', *NA*, 18 (1914), 161-208 (p. 167); G. H. Martin, 'Medieval Essex Gilds', in *Essex Heritage: Essays Presented to Sir William Addison*, ed. by K. N. Neale (Oxford, 1992), pp. 31-46 (p. 39).

based in the parish church.[261] In Norfolk, the large number of guild returns does not result in an equally large number of references to guildhalls. The most numerous come from the guilds of King's Lynn, where ordinances of thirteen of the town's guilds refer to a building. However, the ordinances typically refer to 'the house where the guild is held' or some similar phrase which is too vague to be of use. In fact, the similarity of the wording between the King's Lynn guild returns strongly suggests formulaic expression.[262] Although the wording therefore suggests that any house could be assigned to be the meeting place of the guild, the King's Lynn returns, again with uncanny similarities, do make frequent reference to the misdemeanour of unauthorised access to the 'chamber where the ale lies', which possibly hints at a room with a specific function within a dedicated guild building.[263] Where more detail is recorded in the 1389 returns, the resulting impression is of buildings more closely related to the chamber block type, as opposed to the community building type: for example, the Guild of Corpus Christi in Coventry (Warwickshire) contains in its return an inventory of equipment for their hall, including benches, tables, trestles and forms, as well as mention of a 'botellerie et panterie', rooms more typical of the domestic hall-house plan.[264] In the later ordinances of the Tailors' Guild in Exeter, dated 1466, the guildhall is described in terms which seem to confirm it as a hall-over-undercroft or single-storey type: as well as a hall, it has a parlour, spence (buttery), a chamber next to the hall and an 'outer chamber', all with no qualifications suggesting an upper storey.[265]

[261] Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp. 150, 224; J. C. Stevenson, 'A Dorset Parish Guild', *PDNHAS*, 61 (1939), 86-8 (p. 87).
[262] Compare for example the Lynn returns in *English Gilds*, ed. by J. Toulmin Smith, EETS, 40 (London, 1870; repr. 1963), pp. 45-109.
[263] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, pp. 45-109.
[264] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 233.
[265] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 327.

If the specific evidence for guildhalls in the large towns is fairly scant, then references to guildhalls in smaller villages and towns in the 1389 returns are close to non-existent and then not without ambiguity; an observation which certainly has some bearing on understanding the temporal contexts of the community building type. The return for the Guild of the Assumption in Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire) refers to a messuage and fifty acres of land given to the guild under royal licence, but more common are meetings held 'at a certain place' or 'at any honest place'; this has led to a conclusion that guildhalls of the community building type were a later development in villages.[266] The 1389 returns do perhaps permit this suggestion, but exceptions must be acknowledged: a guildhall (of unknown type) is recorded in South Elmham (Suffolk) in a deed of 1362 which, although recorded in a Chantry Certificate of 1548, is not mentioned in 1389.[267] These exceptions could be related to ownership if guilds were able to avoid disclosing property which they did not legally own, but merely rented; churchwardens' and guild accounts are rife with references to the payment of rent for their buildings. If nothing else then, the references to guildhalls in the guild records arising from the 1389 enquiry serve a twofold purpose: they provide evidence that community buildings in use as guildhalls were present before 1389, but that they were not ubiquitous. In addition, they provide further evidence that the term 'guildhall' could refer to any building type and thus reiterate the difficulties inherent in relying solely upon documentary sources in the service of architectural history.

To the above discussion of the 1389 guild returns might be added a brief, but related, note on the **chantry certificates** of 1546 and 1548. The two Acts

[266] Palmer, 'Village Gilds', p. 338.
[267] Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community*, p. 24.

pursuing the dissolution of chantries also resulted in the completion of standardised returns, which have been sampled to establish whether community buildings were commonly, if at all, related to these foundations. The South West is particularly well served by published transcriptions, with considerable attention having been paid to surviving certificates from either or both surveys in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset.[268] However, in these areas the shortcomings of survival are also laid bare: in Devon only the certificates from the 1546 enquiry survive, whilst in Somerset only those from 1548.[269] Certificates do survive from some parishes where known or suspected community buildings survive, including Stratton and St Teath (Cornwall) and Combeinteignhead, Harberton, Sampford Courtenay, Stoke Gabriel and Winkleigh (Devon), but in none of these parishes do the certificates refer to a church house, or any other building which could indicate a surviving community building. Although references to free chapels, hospitals and almshouses can generally be found with some regularity, there is perhaps more interest in the recording of school foundations, given that some sixteenth-century examples (such as Somerton in Somerset, known through visual sources as discussed above) appear to have been of the community building type. Towns with chantry schools include Bodmin and Launceston (Cornwall), Barnstaple (Devon) and Wimborne Minster (Dorset), but unfortunately in no cases are such mentions attended with information on specific buildings.[270] The chantry certificates from Somerset, however, record church houses in seven

[268] L. S. Snell, *The Chantry Certificates for Cornwall* (Exeter, 1953); L. S. Snell, *The Chantry Certificates for Devon and the City of Exeter* (Exeter, 1961); E. A. Fry, 'Dorset Chantries', *DNHAFC*, 27 (1906), 214-33; 28 (1907), 12-29; 29 (1908), 30-79; 30 (1909), 13-57; 31 (1910), 85-114; *The Survey and Rental of the Chantries, Colleges and Free Chapels &c. in the County of Somerset, A.D. 1548*, ed. by E. Green, SRS, 2 (London, 1888).
[269] A. Kreider, *English Chantries: the Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1979), pp. 11-12.
[270] Snell, *Chantry Certificates for Cornwall*, pp. 12, 29; Snell*, Chantry Certificates for Devon*, p. 69; Fry, 'Dorset Chantries', 28 (1907), 20.

parishes that were given or used for the maintenance of lights or obits.[271] Although the buildings themselves are not described and the number is admittedly small, something of their tenure and use can be inferred: the buildings are invariably described as being held by the wardens or by the inhabitants as feoffees and, by virtue of their inclusion, housed uses that raised funds for the relevant foundation. Furthermore, the lack of comparable entries in the certificates of Cornwall, Devon and Dorset suggests that the use of community buildings to service parochial chantries was, in the South West at least, common only to Somerset.

In East Anglia, the survival rate is similarly poor. In Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, the certificates have not survived other than in a small number recorded in Duchy of Lancaster records and, in the case of Norfolk, copied into later land sales.[272] In Suffolk, the two hundred and seventy one certificates from 1548 enquiry contain only a small number of relevant mentions: a 'town house' is recorded as the venue for the Trinity Guild in Westhall; an obit was 'appointed out of the Towne House' in North Hales [Covehithe] and part of the profits of the 'Towne House' in South Elmham supported an obit there. The guild in Hawley held a 'guild house' copyhold of the manor and a guildhall is recorded in Nayland. As in the South West, schools are also recorded in a small number of places, including Melford and Stoke-by-Clare.[273] In Essex, the surviving 1546-1548 returns record twenty-one schools, although this number has been questioned.[274] In these cases of buildings in East Anglia which, in their supposed use at least,

[271] Green, *Survey and Rental, passim*. The parishes with church houses are: Charlton Adam, Dunster, Easton-in-Gordano, Long Ashton, Selworthy, Shepton Beauchamp and 'Weston-iuxta-near Bath' (now Upper/Lower Weston).
[272] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 11; R. E. Ward, 'The Chantry Certificates of Norfolk: Towards a Partial Reconstruction', *NA*, 43 (1999), 287-306 (p. 288).
[273] V. B. Redstone, 'Chapels, Chantries and Gilds in Suffolk', *PSIA*, 12 (1904), 21-88 (pp. 34, 41, 44, 51, 52, 66).
[274] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 62.

could have been examples of the community building type, there is again no certainty. And yet, these brief mentions do at least reveal a little more about the various terms by which community buildings, particularly in rural areas, were known in the two regions: the popularity of 'church house' in the South West and 'guildhall/house' or 'town house' in East Anglia.

The variety of community building labels also emerges from the **State Papers**, which are accessible in Victorian catalogues and calendars and are also readily searchable online for the years between 1509 and 1714. For all that the State Papers enable inspection of the activities of the Tudor and later monarchs in 'microscopic detail', the familiarly 'critical and appraising eyes' are required when using these records.[275] As with other printed records, so it is here that thought must be given to the editorial process: in the case of the calendars of the State Papers, not only were the early editions subject to 'drastic abbreviation', but there is also the more general *caveat* that 'we view them through a Victorian lens'.[276] Moreover, a search of the State Papers for the usual assortment of community building labels has yielded only thirty-eight references in the period of this study, and of those none occurs before 1530. The fact that an extension of the search beyond 1640 yielded only eleven more references confirms that, as a source for community buildings, the State Papers are not particularly fertile. However, some interesting information can still be gleaned in the pursuit of community buildings in the South West, East Anglia and in other regions.

[275] S. Alford, 'Introduction to *State Papers Online* and the Sixteenth Century State Papers, 1509–1603', *State Papers Online, 1509*-1714 (Cengage Learning EMEA Ltd, 2008) <https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online > [accessed 21 November 2018].
[276] Alford, 'Introduction'; C. S. Knighton, 'The Calendars and their Editors, 1856-2006,' *State Papers Online, 1509-1714* (Cengage Learning EMEA Ltd, 2007) <https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online > [accessed 21 November 2018].

In the South West an inventory taken by the King's Commissioners in 1549 revealed that the St Gluvias' Church in Penryn (Cornwall) had 'twenty pounds in hand from jewels sold for building a market house at Penryn', which raises questions about the involvement of the churchwardens or other parochial officials in the project.[277] Other references simply reveal or confirm the existence of a building, such as the 'fair market house' at St Austell (Cornwall), or details as to the usage of the buildings: the Town Hall in St Ives (Cornwall) was used for the court of Admiralty Sessions in 1637, probably supplementing its typical use as a court house.[278] It is significant that it was not only town halls and court houses that were used to house courts: in 1654/5 the church house in Wedmore (Somerset) was 'employed to no use but the keeping of a Court once in three weeks'.[279] The use of church houses for courts appears to have been common in Somerset, for example at Langport and Muchelney, but is also attested in Devon, such as the church house at Cruwys Morchard.[280] The church house in Wedmore is described further as having a 'middle room on the second story [*sic*]';[281] the building type is not known, but as a typical community building this would indicate either a subdivided first-floor room or, perhaps, a building which by that point had an attic and so the first-floor room was conceived as the 'middle room'.

At Wedmore in 1654/5, non-conformist parishioners sought leave to use the church house as a meeting place, which was granted without delay 'when it is not wanted for public service.'[282] The use, and thus suitability, of the Wedmore church house for non-conformist meetings echoes other similar examples of community buildings in Somerset being used for this purpose. Although beyond

[277] *CSPD Elizabeth I*, VI: *1601-1603, with addenda 1547-1565* (1870), p. 397.
[278] *CSPD Charles I*, XI: *April-November 1637* (1868), p. 488.
[279] *CSPD Commonwealth*, VIII: *January-October 1655* (1881), pp. 61, 68.
[280] *VCH Somerset*, III, pp. 28, 33, 46, 48; Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses: Part III', p. 430.
[281] *CSPD Commonwealth*, VIII: *January-October 1655* (1881), pp. 61, 68.
[282] *CSPD Commonwealth*, VIII: *January-October 1655* (1881), pp. 61, 68.

the period of this study, it is nonetheless illustrative that in 1672 several licences were requested for various Presbyterian preachers to meet in the 'Court House' in Wellington, the 'Town Hall and 'Church house' in Taunton and the 'Church House' in Trull.[283] Other records show that this was not unique to Somerset: the Moot Hall in Elstow (Bedfordshire) and the Market Hall in Llanidloes (Montgomeryshire) were also used for this purpose in the seventeenth century.[284]

As well as illustrating the uses of community buildings in the South West, the State Papers also provide occasional insights into ownership, such as in simple grants of leases to private individuals of the 'court hall, chamber and orchard' of Marksbury (Somerset) in 1543 and the market house at Newton Abbott (Devon) in 1638/9.[285] However, more informative perhaps is when ownership was a proving to be a bone of contention between parishioners and a landowner. In Weston (Somerset), the vicar and parishioners petitioned the Queen in 1558 for the return of the church house, which had been taken over by Sir Thomas Dyer of Sharpham though 'erected by them on a plot of ground leased to them by the Abbott of Glastonbury, for 12*d*.a year and two capons' for maintaining the church fabric and its ornaments and for supporting a priest of a local brotherhood.[286] The problem reoccurred at Weston seventy-five years later: in 1634/5 the vicar and parishioners complained to Archbishop Laud that Sir Edward Powell had unilaterally taken possession of the church house, which had been built by the parishioners and used it 'for above a hundred years for the benefit of the church', and had built there 'a very large oven for a common bakehouse'.[287] Although disputes of ownership of community buildings are not

[283] *CSPD Charles II*, XII: *December 1671-May 1672* (1897), p. 446.
[284] Bedfordshire County Council, *The Moot Hall, Elstow* (Bedford, 1974), pp. 8, 11; C. E. Vaughan Owen, 'Llanidloes Market Hall', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 61 (1969-70), 58-64 (p. 59).
[285] *LPFD Henry VIII*, XVIII, Part 1: *1543* (1901), p. 360; *CSPD Charles I*, XIII: *September 1638-March 1639* (1871), p. 426.
[286] *CSPD Elizabeth I,* VI: *1601-1603, with addenda 1547-1565* (1870), p. 483.
[287] *CSPD Charles I*, VII: *May 1634-March 1635* (1865), p. 506.

specifically recorded in examples from East Anglia, they do occur elsewhere. In 1634 in Tadley (Hampshire), various 'poor people' of the parish complained that a Henry Ludlow had pulled down a number of houses in the village including the church house, 'the rent whereof went towards repairing of the parish church'.[288] In Gatcombe (Isle of Wight), a petition of the churchwardens to Archbishop Laud in 1637 revealed that a certain wealthy parishioner had not only refused to pay the recently-enacted parish rate, but had 'usurped' the church house and 'converted it to his own purpose', even though the building and its garden had been theirs 'for time beyond the memory of man'.[289] It is significant that the Council passed the matter onto the diocese with the recommendation that the church house and land be restored to the parishioners.

Generally the State Papers are not an informative source for community buildings in East Anglia, but for other areas of England the records add in multifarious ways to the overall picture of the distribution of buildings and their uses. Moreover, on occasion this links to themes illustrated in other records from South West and East Anglia, such as the suitability of converted churches for community use, which was discussed above in relation to buildings in Bodmin (Cornwall), Wareham and Wimborne (both Dorset) and Ipswich (Suffolk). The State Papers record that, in Reading (Berkshire), John London recommended to Thomas Cromwell that the church of the dissolved Grey Friars 'be given to the town of Reading as their town hall is small and inconvenient' and that, now it had been rid of 'parcloses, images and altars, it would make a very good town hall'.[290] The use of community buildings for worship, described above in relation to Wedmore (Somerset) and buildings in other parts of the South West, is also

[288] *CSPD Charles I*, VII: *May 1634-March 1635* (1865), p. 291.
[289] *CSPD Charles I*, XI: *April-November 1637* (1868), p. 539; *CSPD Charles I*, XII: *December 1637-August 1638* (1869), p. 446.
[290] *LPFD Henry VIII*, XIII, Part 2: *1538* (1893), p. 143.

attested at the 'parish house' in Marshfield (Gloucestershire) in 1672.[291] In Wantage (Berkshire), licence for non-conformist worship at the town hall and the 'village house' [church house?] in nearby Grove was granted in 1653 provided that 'the said places are not made use of for courts and other necessary services.'[292] References from other documentary sources confirm typical uses of town community buildings, for example as lock-ups in Horncastle (Lincolnshire) and Penrith (Cumberland) and shops in Dover (Kent).[293] The use of community buildings in villages as lock-ups is not well attested in any documentary sources; any such instances, such as the record of malefactors being kept under guard overnight at the church house in Dartington (Devon) appear to reflect one-off, *ad hoc* uses.[294] However, as places of trade there are some significant references. In Stratton (Cornwall), income was received in 1519 and on two fair days in 1531 for 'stondings' [standings] in and by the church house, as well as in 1523 from a mercer with a standing 'against' the church house.[295] Similar income was received in Ashburton (Devon), where 'stallage in the church house' was received in 1491/2 and 1497/8.[296] Community buildings used as places of trade also appear in small provincial towns: for example, rent from shops in the Church House at Sherborne (Dorset) is recorded in 1533/4 and at the guildhall in Woodstock (Oxfordshire) in the sixteenth century.[297]

To conclude this overview of the value of State Papers as sources for community buildings, three other particular uses are significant to note. First is a reference in 1538 to the church house in Cumnor (Oxfordshire) which suggests

[291] *CSPD Charles II*, XII: *December 1671-May 1672* (1897), p. 528.
[292] *CSPD Commonwealth*, V: *December 1652-June 1653* (1878), p. 380.
[293] *LPFD Henry VIII*, XI: *1536* (1888), p. 321; *CSPD Charles II*, VIII: *1667-68* (1893), p. 52; *LPFD Henry VIII*, IV, Part 3: *1529-30* (1876), p. 3110.
[294] Bishop, 'Church House, Dartington', p. 92.
[295] Peacock, 'On the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Stratton, pp. 206-07, 211.
[296] Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 17, 24.
[297] J. Fowler, 'Sherborne All Hallows Churchwardens' Accounts', *SDN&Q*, 24 (1943-46), 80-85 (p. 81); *VCH Oxfordshire*, XII, p. 389.

that the building was the venue for a church ale; it is not entirely specific, but seems clear from the context.[298] Notwithstanding the previously-mentioned acceptance that church houses were venues for church ales, it is surprisingly rare for any accounts to state it specifically and unambiguously. The second use is thus far unique in the documentary sources: in 1536, the diplomat and Dean of Westbury, John Barlow, related to Thomas Cromwell that on his way to the quarter sessions at Gloucester he 'found at the church house of the parish of Yate, Gloucs., where the lady Anne Barkley dwelleth, fourteen evil-disposed persons playing at the unlawful game of tennis during morning service.'[299] As medieval tennis was generally played in an enclosed area, it seems plausible that it was being played inside the building, almost certainly in the first-floor room which would be large enough for the purpose.[300] The reference also suggests a horizontal division of the building, with the other floor being used as a dwelling. Short-term tenancies of community buildings appear to have been common and are recorded, for example, at Ashburton and Kilmington in Devon, where the tenancies are occasionally granted with provision for the churchwardens to have use of the building for making ale or for any other relevant use.[301] Other tenancies occur in relation to the guildhall in Mere (Wiltshire), the chamber of which is let out for forty weeks in 1562/3, and in East Anglia, the church house in Great Hallingbury (Essex) in the 1520s and early 1530s, and the church house in Boxford (Suffolk) at various periods between the late 1520s and the 1550s.[302]

[298] *LPFD Henry VIII*, XIII, Part 2: *1538* (1892), p. 278.
[299] *LPFD Henry VIII*, XI: *1536* (1888), p. 418.
[300] E. B. Noel and J. O. M. Clark, *A History of Tennis* (Oxford, 1924; repr. London, 1991), p. 2
[301] Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 128; *Kilmington Church Wardens' Accounts, 1555-1608*, ed. by R. Cornish (Exeter, 1901), p. 79.
[302] T. Baker, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Mere', *WANHM*, 35 (1908), 24-92 (p. 33); J. F. Williams, 'Great Hallingbury Churchwardens' Accounts', *TEAS*, 23 (1942-45), 98-115 ; Boxford *Churchwardens' Accounts, 1530-1561*, ed. by P. Northeast, SfRS, 23 (Woodbridge, 1982), *passim.*

The third use emerging from the State Papers relates to a specific fundamental architectural element of the community building type: the external staircase. Although the reference at hand pertains to the Town Hall in Amsterdam (Netherlands), it is nonetheless instructive for the potential significance of the staircase to these buildings. A letter to Gilbert Sheldon, then Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Thomas Coventry, 1st Baron Coventry, in 1635 mentions marriages in the Town Hall and the fact that 'the banns are published by the cryer upon the stairs'.[303] Although not entirely unambiguous, this suggests that the external stairs to the Town Hall are used as a place from which important announcements are made. The detailed discussion of various community buildings in subsequent chapters will suggest that the positioning and orientation of staircases responds to their convenience for just such a purpose. Although no specific reference to this is found in the records consulted, a similar usage for community buildings in large towns can easily be envisaged and, moreover, similar instances could be found in parochial buildings: for example, the stone 'Kyngges stere yn the cherche howsse' in Sherborne (Dorset) is likely to have played a role during the festival of the 'King of Sherborne', also called the 'king ale', throughout the 1520s.[304]

In summary, then, the above evaluation of a wide range of documentary sources has indicated that they cannot serve as the primary vehicle of information relating to architectural form. The majority of references simply record the existence of the building or, at best, identify one or more of the spaces within the building. However, the documentary sources have not only identified a wide range of uses for community buildings in both towns and villages, but, more

[303] *CSPD Charles I*, VIII: *April-December 1635* (1864), p. 28.
[304] Fowler, 'Sherborne All Hallows', pp. 25, 41.

importantly, have provided a reasonable foundation to posit a crossover of uses between town and country, specifically between the traditionally commercially- or judicially-focussed buildings in towns and the church houses of villages. The lexicon used to describe the rooms within the buildings, albeit far more limited in their occurrence, supports this crossover and yet seems to suggest regional preferences: for example, the prevalence of the term ‘church house’ in the rural areas of the South West contrasts with the preference for ‘guildhall’ in rural East Anglia; or the prominent use of ‘guildhall’ for urban buildings contrasted with the use of ‘Boothall’ in Wales, or ‘Moot hall’ in Essex and the Midlands. Documentary sources can thus provide an important stepping-off point for any hypothesis which seeks to identify one building type concealed among a disparate set of buildings.

3 Identifying Community Buildings

The previous chapters emphasise that a typological study of extant community buildings should not rest solely on their historical or current designations. In addition, notwithstanding references to buildings in antiquarian literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, any semblance of such studies for rural or urban buildings only appeared in the middle of the twentieth century. It was noted how Pearson did not draw any architectural conclusions between the church houses he identified in Devon in 1900, and, in 1937, Sheldon made only brief mention of some incidental similarities between Devon inns which had been church houses. It was not until 1960 that Copeland identified a rectangular footprint, two-storey plan, external staircase, large chimney and first-floor room as defining characteristics of a church house.[305] For buildings other than church houses a similar situation can be observed. Rix's description of the guildhall at Diss (Norfolk) in 1849 describes only changes in ownership and use of the building.[306] Arnott's very short description of the town hall in Woodbridge (Suffolk) in 1897 contains only the detail that the first floor had a hall and the ground floor was arcaded.[307] But, as has already been discussed, it was only in the 1960s that Rigold attempted to classify Kentish court halls and in the 1990s that Tittler expanded this to a typological study of urban community buildings, from which criteria for what constitutes a 'civic hall' began to emerge.[308] The principal attributes of the 'civic hall' – first-floor hall and dedicated (i.e. with direct access) internal or external staircase – have not previously been recognised as being nearly identical with those put forward by Copeland for rural church houses. As a result, typological studies have not encompassed these two 'sets'

[305] See above, p. 15.
[306] S. W. Rix, 'Account of the Guildhall at Diss', *NA*, 2 (1849), 11-18.
[307] Arnott, 'Town Hall', p. 344.
[308] Rigold, 'Two Types of Court Hall', *passim*; Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, pp. 25-29.

of buildings, or by extension the urban and rural contexts.

In order to address this divide, and as outlined in the introductory chapter, this study takes a simple and broad view of these shared characteristics and seeks buildings in town or village which

(i) are two-storey;

(ii) display a surviving or legible original first-floor hall;

(iii) have a fully-storeyed ground floor, not an undercroft for storage; and

(iv) have a surviving or vestigial external staircase or an internal staircase which provides direct access to the first-floor hall from the outside.

These fundamental criteria underpin the selection of the buildings for this study. In applying these attributes, two points merit reiteration. First, the South West and East Anglia emerged as *loci* for groupings of surviving buildings. Secondly, where these characteristics are present in buildings in both town and village contexts, they were also found to correlate very strongly with a position on, or in very close proximity to, a public open space, such as a marketplace or widening of a principal thoroughfare. Notably this seemed to be the case for church houses even when they are also sited on the edge of churchyards. The location of the buildings therefore became a criterion *a posteriori* and is treated in detail in the following chapters.

Finally, as a general note, in order that the geographical location of buildings might be more closely aligned to the historical sources, parishes have been construed within the county boundaries which existed before the reforms of 1889.

Buildings Excluded

It will do briefly to evaluate this process and highlight some extant buildings which, though perhaps fulfilling one or more of the criteria and thus almost

certainly of the community building type, were not selected as primary case studies. Typically, and in keeping with the aforementioned limitations of standing buildings as historical sources, such buildings display a high degree of external or internal alteration, which can result in uncertainty as to the building's original purpose, use or form. While many of these buildings could be understood more clearly with detailed investigation, time and access necessitated investigation of only the more certain examples, balanced with a desire for a wide geographical spread. Notwithstanding these limitations, it is thought that, by dint of their meeting certain criteria, such buildings can be informative nonetheless. The continuing development of the community building type beyond the mid-seventeenth century endpoint of this study was mentioned in the introductory chapter and, as indicated there, extant buildings from these later periods have not been studied in detail. However, in broader architectural-historical terms any such temporal boundaries are artificial.

As might be expected for buildings which have survived demolition, but have been adapted for differing uses and standards of occupation, a high degree of alteration can preclude detailed study of buildings which are otherwise known to be community buildings through documentary sources, or are assumed to be on the weight of their external form and/or location. The church house in Stratton (Cornwall), which has already been mentioned with regard to its documented use for trade and wool-weighing, is located on the west side of the marketplace and, now subdivided into two properties, has no obvious external sign of a community building (**Plate XVI.1**).[309] However, depositions from a case concerning the ownership and use of the building in 1583 provide a wealth of information which confirms not only that it was known as the 'church house' at that time, but also a

[309] See above, p. 77.

number of other significant details. One witness describes how 'he doth remember there was a stair builded out from the said Church House, reaching out into the street 6 or 7 feet or thereabout, to go up into the upper room of the said house', a fact confirmed by several other deponents who remember stalls being set up alongside it.[310] The building, which appears from other testimony to have been built in *c*. 1513, therefore originally had an external staircase alongside the front elevation which had been removed by 1583;[311] its removal is confirmed further by a contemporary sketch of the marketplace in the same case bundle, which shows the church house with no stair (**Plate XVI.2**). The description also suggests a single first-floor room to which the stair provided access. The use of the ground-floor does not emerge specifically from the testimony, but witnesses describe a space of fourteen feet in front of the building, marked out with three boundary stones, which was used for market stalls, thus indicating that the building was a focus for commercial activities, much like the market house in urban settings.[312] The trading function was improved by the addition of a pentice roof in *c*. 1569, after which rental income increased.[313] Other uses of the first-floor room are also vague in the depositions, although mention is made of 'church drinkings upon Rogation Sunday and such like days' and all agreed that it was built 'to the use of the parish'.[314] The churchwardens' accounts record that the building was a place of entertainment, being hired by 'Egyppcions' on numerous occasions between the 1520s and 1580s, 'bear-keepers' in 1526 and 'players' in 1538.[315] This case therefore illustrates the dichotomy mentioned

[310] CRO P216/25/140.
[311] Churchwardens' accounts confirm that it was removed in 1574: Mattingly, *Stratton Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 188.
[312] Mattingly, *Stratton Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 188.
[313] Mattingly, *Stratton Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 8.
[314] Mattingly, *Stratton Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 8.
[315] Peacock, 'On the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Stratton', pp. 207-08, 214, 225-26.

above. On the one hand, though this building can be positively identified as a community building historically in both form and function, the extent of internal alterations was thought sufficient to discount the building from fuller internal investigation; on the other, the building is still valuable in illustrating the architecture, location and use of a community building in Cornwall and thus the South West generally.

In those instances where additional sources either do not exist or have not proved conclusive, a judgement as to further study must inevitably be made based on current appearance and location, which do not always coincide to provide certainty. The Courthall in Monksilver (Somerset) is prominently located opposite a large village square, but, though suitable in proportion, bears few outward signs of a community building (such an external staircase or visible vestige of a first-floor doorway) and thus little indication as to whether this was the 'church house' mentioned in 1561 (**Plate XVI.3**).[316] In East Anglia, Churchgate House in East Bergholt (Suffolk), which has been identified as a probable guildhall, is similarly located on a widened section of roadway, but has been much altered in conversion and any sign of external staircase with first-floor doorway, or even a doorway to an internal stair, has been obscured or lost (**Plate XVII.1**).[317]

Happily, in many cases both external form and location *do* combine to permit the building to be read with some certainty as a community building, but restrictions as to time and access have precluded fuller inspection. In Devon, the former church house (now the Old School Rooms) in Braunton is situated on the edge of the old village square on one side and the churchyard on the other. It retains an external staircase on one gable, as well as vestigial openings on the

[316] *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 110.
[317] LEN: 1033454.

ground floor which comprised a covered trading area akin to an urban market house (**Plate XVII.2**). The former church house in Abbotskerswell is situated on an island site within the former village square, a location which also bears comparison with urban community buildings, and retains an external staircase to a first-floor doorway on slightly higher ground on one side (**Plate XVII.3**). An external staircase also remains on the former church house (now the Tally Ho Inn) in Littlehempston, which also makes use of the higher ground level to the front of the building (**Plate XVIII.1**). In most cases, the external staircase has been removed, but first-floor doorways testify to their position, as at the former church houses in Ilsington (Devon) and Yatton (Somerset), both of which are situated on open spaces/widened thoroughfares (**Plates XVIII.2** and **XVIII.3**).

The presence or trace of an external staircase and/or a first-floor external doorway has been taken as a primary factor in identifying possible buildings, which other sources do not illuminate. Applying this in East Anglia, however, uncovered relatively few surviving community buildings: the only three retaining external staircases, none of which is original, are the Guildhall in Whittlesford (Cambridgeshire), the Moot Hall in Aldeburgh (Suffolk) and the Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth (Norfolk). However, a number of buildings retain blocked first-floor doorways which indicate that an external stair had at least been present. The former guildhall in Ashdon (Essex), although situated on the edge of a churchyard somewhat removed from the village centre, has traces of a first-floor doorway (**Plate XIX.1**). The former guildhall, now Guildhall Cottage, in Yaxley (Suffolk) (**Plate XIX.2**) has similar traces, but, though similarly located at slight remove from the village centre, does not seem to be located on a widened road or open space. One of the clearer examples is Brackendale, probably a former guildhall, in Palgrave (Suffolk), which has traces of an external stair on the rear

elevation and fronts a wide green off the main thoroughfare (**Plate XIX.3**).[318] These examples serve to illustrate the care needed in identifying community buildings externally, certainly in East Anglia, principally for two reasons. First, there seem to be fewer cases than in the South West where the criteria set out above are met with ease, and, secondly, traces of doorways can easily be erased from timber-framed buildings with the replacement of only a small number of rotten timbers. Furthermore, the limitations of time and access have meant that the detailed interrogation of the timber-frame (if visible) required to identify possible doorways in all these cases has not been possible.

A further attribute of timber-framed community buildings has emerged with more instances of a first-floor staircase contained within the building envelope. Generally in these cases horizontal separation between the two storeys was maintained with direct access from a ground-floor doorway. The changes to external elevations, as well as changes to internal circulation routes as buildings adapt, can therefore easily obscure this original means of access. Where first-floor doorway positions are not visible, but the buildings are suspected through form or location to be of the community building form, such as Church Cottage in Cockfield (Suffolk) (**Plate XX.1**) or 17-21 Church Street in Great Shelford (Cambridgeshire) (**Plate XX.2**), then this means of access could have been present. The presence of two adjacent ground-floor doorways could also be an indicator of a direct-access stair within the envelope, as in the case of Old Guildhall in Stoke-by-Nayland (Suffolk) (**Plate XX.3**).

As in the South West, there are surviving buildings in East Anglia which match the expected location of community buildings, but whose external form is either too inconclusive to be investigated further or access was not possible. In

[318] LEN: 1032778.

Norfolk, Church Farmhouse in Blo' Norton fits into this category, into which could also be added The Long House in Hempnall (**Plate XXI.1**) and Old Guildhall in Banham (**Plate XXI.2**). The latter is situated on a notably large village green and is thus comparable with Woodhouse Farm in Pattiswick (Essex), another building which has been identified as having a non-domestic plan-form, probably a guildhall, but which has been altered externally (**Plate XXI.3**).[319] The position of this building is best appreciated in an eighteenth-century pre-Enclosure map, which shows not only the extent of the huge common over which the building presided, but also that its position is relative to those of the church and manor house, all on opposing sides of the common (**Plate XXII.1**). In Suffolk, altered buildings similarly situated on historic marketplaces or widened roadways include Old Guildhall in Wrentham (**Plate XXII.2**) and The Greyhound Inn in Pettistree (**Plate XXII.3**).

On these general considerations for excluding buildings for further investigation, one final point is noteworthy. In some cases both external form and location match the expected attributes and yet the buildings are either not of the proposed community type or are later in date. This point distinguishes this study, based on a particular building type, from a study of *any* building called a 'guildhall', or 'church house', etc. In Devon, this is illustrated by the Village Hall in Poughill, which is situated in a typical location for a rural community building in the South West, namely on the edge of the churchyard on one side and facing a triangular historic open space/marketplace (now infilled) on the other (**Plate XXIII.1**). The building, with its long rectangular footprint, ostensibly matches that shown on the 1840 Tithe map and could be interpreted from an external assessment as a repurposed church house with enlarged windows and its first

[319] LEN: 1123883.

floor removed; this has happened, for example, at Endecott House in Chagford (Devon) or the Village Hall in Cradley (Herefordshire). However, map regression establishes that the original church house was demolished between 1840 and 1888, after which a much smaller building was erected, which was then extended again in the 1930s to its current size. Similarly, the Old Vicarage in Brenchley (Kent) has the appearance of a fully-storeyed community building located on the edge of the churchyard and a green (**Plate XXIII.2**), but has been shown through archaeological investigation to be of a domestic plan-form.[320]

South West Community Buildings – Survival and Loss

To begin with a regional overview, an initial long-list of one hundred and forty-six buildings was compiled from a combination of the following sources: list descriptions which suggest some form of historical community use; buildings retaining appropriate names; the list of possible Devon church houses in Copeland's aforementioned articles; and buildings identified in other secondary sources such as the articles by Mattingly and Williams. This list does not purport to be entirely exhaustive or inflexible. For reasons of facilitating coverage of the largest possible areas, much reliance was placed upon listed building records and therefore an unknown number of unlisted, unrecorded buildings would likely surface from a more thorough, parish-by-parish investigation. However, even with the extensive searches undertaken, only five unlisted buildings (all in Devon) of potentially matching type were identified, so it would appear that any such number of additional buildings would be relatively low and unlikely to alter the general balance of distribution.

Of the one hundred and forty-six buildings on the long-list, sixteen were

[320] D. and B. Martin, 'An Archaeological Interpretative Survey of Old Vicarage, Brenchley, Kent' (Archaeology South-East, 2001), pp. 4-5.

in Cornwall, one hundred and two in Devon, four in Dorset, and twenty-five in Somerset. Even accepting that a proportion of these are unlikely to represent examples of the sought-after building type – even if they may have had congruent community uses and show superficial external similarities – the bias of surviving buildings in Devon is immediately obvious. This contrasts with Somerset, where only twenty-five identified surviving buildings can be viewed against the one hundred and seventeen buildings identified in the documentary sources for only part of the county in the VCH.[321] However, in this contrast there could also be a complement: the surviving buildings lacking in Somerset and the fruits of detailed interrogation of documentary sources lacking in Devon each suggest, when mutually transposed, a generous spread of community buildings in both urban and rural environments in these two counties at least. However, with this suggestion of parity there comes an inescapable disparity: the survival rate of ostensibly once common buildings in Somerset is markedly less than that of Devon.

In general, there were, and indeed remain, some common factors affecting building survival and these applied to both Devon and Somerset. Particularly prevalent was general neglect, followed by decay, followed by dilapidation which, in many cases, must have made the costs of repair prohibitive. In Somerset, the former church house at Huntspill was dilapidated by 1666 and the parish levied a rate for the provision of a new building on the site, whilst the church house in Brompton Ralph collapsed in 1773.[322] Two similar examples from Devon illustrate how this problem is not isolated to the distant past. The church house in Morebath, long disused, dilapidated and relegated to a store, had been reduced to one storey by the time it was photographed by Copeland in the mid-twentieth

[321] See above, p. 46.
[322] *VCH Somerset*, VIII, p. 107 (Huntspill); *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 25 (Brompton Ralph).

century and has now been replaced (**Plate XXIII.3**). Likewise, the former church house in Cheldon, also photographed by Copeland, has also since been demolished since (**Plate XXIV.1**). The loss of community buildings in great town fires, such as those of 1658 in Milton Abbas and 1731 in Blandford (both Dorset), has been discussed, but a number of rural community buildings are also recorded as having been destroyed by fire. The church house in Lopen burned down in the late eighteenth century, whilst those in Alphington, Harpford and Plymtree (all in Devon) were lost at the end of the nineteenth century and that in Whitestone (Devon) as recently as the 1930s.[323] Other buildings are lost simply because of their inconvenient position. Although this particularly affects buildings such as market houses etc. on island sites in towns, such as the previously-mentioned market house in Ashburton (Devon), it might also have affected a number of community buildings in rural villages. The church house in Witheridge (Devon) 'made the main road through the little town so narrow that it was only with the greatest difficulty that an agricultural vehicle could get through', and it was demolished in the mid-nineteenth century.[324]

A general overview does not present an immediately discernible pattern of survival. Both Somerset and Devon record a number of church houses converted into poorhouses and, generally, it seems that these have fared less well. At least thirty-two of the one hundred and sixty-four community buildings mentioned in the VCH for Somerset are recorded as having been converted (or suspected as such) into poorhouses and, of these, only two survive.[325] Adding a further four known from other sources to have this use gives a modest total of six surviving

[323] *VCH Somerset*, IV, p. 170 (Lopen); Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses, Part I', p. 120 (Alphington); 'Part III', pp. 432 (Harpford), 436 (Plymtree), 439 (Whitestone).
[324] Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses. Part IV', p. 154.
[325] Henry Rogers Almshouses, Cannington; Salisbury House, Shepton Beauchamp.

buildings.[326] In Devon, the combined research of Copeland and Pearson, focussing on standing buildings and Charity Commission records respectively, identified sixty-five church houses as having been repurposed as poorhouses, of which twenty-four survive.[327] More examples of such conversions would likely emerge from further research, but this slice of data suggests a better survival rate of community buildings subsequently used as poorhouses in Devon than in Somerset. The suitability of community buildings for the provision of care to the poor, particularly after the various instruments of Tudor legislation on poverty from the 1550s until 1601, is readily understandable owing to their size and large rooms apt for subdivision. However, the disparity between Devon and Somerset suggests that the continuance of community use, in this form at least, was not itself a defining factor.

A number of rural community buildings in both counties appear to have survived long enough into the nineteenth century to be recorded on the Tithe maps of the late 1830s and early 1840s, but had disappeared by the time of the Ordnance Survey maps of the 1870s and 1880s; examples include the community buildings as poorhouses in Ashburton, Berrynarbor, and Chawleigh in Devon, and, in Somerset, North Wootton, West Quantoxhead and Westonzoyland. In these cases, one might expect the redundancy of community buildings long used as poorhouses (and likely in poor condition) following the Poor Law of 1834 and the subsequent building of Union workhouses. However, it would then be difficult to understand why so many more survived in Devon, which was also subject to the Poor Law provisions, and indeed why so many buildings appear to have been demolished long before 1834. One notable factor in Devon

[326] Old School Room, Chew Magna; Church House, Crowcombe; Banksea Cottages, Wick St Lawrence; Lady Florence Stalling Almshouses, Yatton.
[327] Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses. Parts I-VI', *passim*; Pearson, 'Church Houses', pp. 209-11.

is the frequency of known or suspected community buildings which have been converted to inns and remain in such use. Nineteen surviving examples are known in Devon, of which all but two continue in operation and eight of which have the name 'Church House Inn'.[328] Not all these buildings have been investigated in detail, but, applying the general criteria discussed above as to form and location, all are likely candidates for the community building type. Similarly, although it would be hasty to propose that the names of these inns extend back into the early modern period, the continuing use of community buildings in this form appears to have stood community buildings in Devon in good stead for survival. Although the name 'Church House Inn' is not currently attested in Somerset, seven examples of community buildings operating historically as inns are known, though only two remain in use.[329] That such conversion was possible for community buildings at a relatively early date is suggested by the former church house in Creech St Michael (Somerset) possibly being used as an inn as early as 1620.[330] A similar early conversion is recorded for the 'Brotherhood House' in Luton (Bedfordshire), which had become an inn by 1638.[331]

As was seen for poorhouse use, the convenient locations, size and ready adaptability of the large internal spaces render the community building type suitable as a public house and thus increase the chance of survival. But this is not restricted to the South West: in East Anglia, the Fox and Goose Inn in Fressingfield and the Greyhound Inn in Pettistree (both Suffolk) are examples of community buildings of relatively legible form in typical locations close to churchyard and open space. In Essex, the former guildhall (later the Cricketers

[328] Churchstow, Harberton, Holne, Marldon, Rattery, Stoke Gabriel, Stokeinteignhead, and Stokenham.
[329] The Angel Inn, Long Ashton, and the Fleur-de-Lis Inn, Stoke-sub-Hamdon.
[330] *VCH Somerset*, VI, p. 28.
[331] Tearle, *Accounts*, p. lvii.

public house) in Coggeshall has already been mentioned, whilst the Anchor Inn in South Benfleet, although much altered, has its roots in a late fourteenth-century public building.[332] Outside of these regions, the same conversions appear at the Castle Inn in Hurst (**Plate XXIV.2**) and the Bull Inn in Sonning (both Berkshire) (**Plate XXIV.3**). The name 'Church House Inn' could also exist as historical memory in later buildings occupying typical positions, such as in Linkinhorne (Cornwall), Torver (Lancashire) and Bedwas (Monmouthshire).

In contrast to Devon and Somerset, both Cornwall and Dorset are currently poorly served in surviving buildings and documentary research. It is uncertain whether community buildings of any form were ever as prevalent throughout either county, certainly in rural areas, as they seem to have been in Devon and Somerset. The current picture in these counties suggests a bias of community buildings in larger towns more than in rural villages, and therefore that the poor survival rate could reflect a less widely spread initial distribution rather than widespread loss in later centuries. The physical and documentary evidence does not yet support a tradition of conversion of community buildings in villages to poorhouses or inns in either county. The only known possible example of the latter within the historical boundaries of Dorset is the George Inn in Chardstock (now in Devon): the building is suitably located facing the village square (in this case away from the church), but, although seemingly of suitable dimension, it appears to have been much altered and was possibly of a typical open-hall plan (**Plate XXV.1**).[333]

Notwithstanding this example, and the survival of three other buildings in Dorset with known or suspected historical community functions, none has been included for detailed investigation in this study for a number of reasons. The

[332] LEN: 1123689.
[333] Report by R. G. Gilson (August, 1981) [HEA BF032151].

aforementioned Church House in Sherborne, whilst certainly originally a community building in use and form, has been subdivided vertically over both floors into several shops and thus the ability to discern or appreciate the original internal spaces has been judged too greatly compromised (**Plate XXV.2**). The Old Town Hall in Corfe Castle is a diminutive community building and conforms to the proposed architectural type with two storeys comprising a ground-floor lock-up and a first-floor chamber (**Plate XXV.3**). The building makes use of topography with the ground floor entered from street level and the first floor through a doorway directly from the higher churchyard level. However, like the Poole Guildhall (**Plate II.2**) – itself larger, but of similar type – the building is largely a rebuilding of the eighteenth century and so outside the present bounds. Also in Poole, the building now known as Scaplen's Court was possibly the 'fair toune house of stone by the kay' mentioned by Leland and the 'towne house' at which the mayor and brethren were directed to meet weekly in 1567.[334] However, the oldest wing of the building was demolished above ground-floor level following a partial collapse in the 1920s and, although it is likely to have had a first-floor hall, the restoration is largely conjectural (**Plate XXVI.1**).

Therefore, after having applied the general criteria for further investigation set out above, the long-list of one hundred and forty-six was whittled down to eighteen, comprising five in Cornwall, eight in Devon, and five in Somerset. The buildings and their distribution are described in more detail in the following chapter.

East Anglian Community Buildings – Survival and Loss

[334] *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1534-1543*, ed. by L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1906-10), I (1907), p. 254; J. Sydenham, *The History of the Town and County of Poole* (Poole, 1839), p. 175.

The same process was followed for East Anglia in order to obtain a long-list of known or suspected community buildings. The same extensive search for buildings in this region yielded a long-list of ninety buildings, just under two-thirds the number identified in the South West. Of this number, fifteen are in Cambridgeshire, twenty-six in Essex, ten in Norfolk, and thirty-nine in Suffolk. Although greater numbers are evident in Essex and Suffolk, generally these numbers of surviving buildings show no bias towards any one county comparable to that in the South West. Norfolk, however, does seem to have a noticeably lower ratio.

In Chapter 2 an implicit connection was made between the wider use of the term 'guildhall' for community buildings in East Anglia than in the South West, and the relatively high numbers of guilds recorded in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, of which some proportion would have had guildhalls.[335] Even though this proportion cannot be established with any accuracy, the relatively low numbers of surviving buildings present a question as to whether the building of 'guildhalls' was as widespread as one might expect, or if there has been extensive loss. On this and other questions raised by the survival and loss of community buildings in the region, the wide coverage of Cambridgeshire by the VCH provides some insight. Excluding the large towns of Cambridge and Ely, sixty-two parishes are recorded in the VCH as having at least one community building.[336] In at least nine of these cases, the parish is recorded as having multiple guilds, yet only one guildhall emerges from the sources. Whilst not perhaps 'evidence of absence' owing to the incomplete nature of the documentary record, it does suggest that in some parishes either only one guild was bequeathed, or constructed, a guildhall, or that the guilds shared one

[335] See above, pp. 50-51.
[336] What follows is drawn from *VCH Cambridgeshire*, IV-X.

building. The latter practice has been noted, in the form of one guild hiring the hall of another, in Norfolk, whilst bequests in Kentford (Suffolk) in 1457 and Burwell (Cambridgeshire) in 1476 refer to the building of guildhalls for the use of more than one guild.[337] In Hadleigh (Suffolk), the town's five guilds were to share the guildhall after its construction in the fifteenth century.[338] If this practice was widespread for reasons of convenience or economy, then a far lower number of guildhalls than guilds would be expected.

Twenty-one of the Cambridgeshire buildings identified in the VCH have documented uses from some point in their history, though not always the original uses nor necessarily consistent over a long period. The uses are wide-ranging, including as a venue for courts (four); drinking and feasting (four); guild meetings (one) and, more generally, as rented property (two). The guildhall in Fen Ditton survives as a barn, and, in contrast to the South West, there is no record of any having been converted to an inn. However, nine are recorded in use as poorhouses, typically in the period after the Reformation. In his study on poor relief in Cambridgeshire, Hampson noted that 'in not a few cases' the village guildhall became 'the poorhouse of a later age', with particular examples being the 'Town House' at Cottenham and Meldreth and the guildhalls at Linton and Whittlesford studied here.[339] Although these numbers are slight, there is thus some parallel with the church houses of the South West, in particular Devon and Somerset. As in those counties, however, use as a poorhouse was no guarantee of survival: of the nine parishes whose guildhall found later use as a poorhouse, only Whittlesford survives. Indeed only ten of the sixty-two parishes have extant buildings, in varying degrees of altered state, which could match the buildings

[337] Firth, 'Village Gilds', p. 198; Northeast, *Wills*, pp. 319, 365.
[338] S. Andrews and T. Springall, *Hadleigh and the Alabaster Family: the Story of a Suffolk Town* (Ipswich, 2005), p. 10.
[339] E. M Hampson, *The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire, 1597-1834* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 3, 70

recorded in the sources. Perhaps a more significant observation arising from this overview of Cambridgeshire is that, of the fifty-two demolished buildings, twenty-four are recorded as having been confiscated by the Crown, mostly during the Elizabethan quests for concealed lands in the 1560s and early 1570s, and thereafter sold. Only two buildings recorded as having been disposed of in this way have survived; a ratio which parallels on a small scale the apparently near-wholesale loss of the one hundred and fifty-five community buildings uncovered and sold in Lincolnshire between 1583 and 1602.[340] These extensive confiscations suggest that a significant proportion of guildhalls were held or granted by religious houses, or were explicitly founded for religious motives. Examples of similar confiscations in other East Anglian counties include the guildhalls in Belchamp Water (Essex), Diss (Norfolk), Hadleigh (Suffolk), all of which were specifically founded for the use of religious fraternities.[341] The Crown's greater preoccupation with ownership than use can be seen in comparing two previously mentioned community buildings, both now lost, but whose form is readily comparable. The Guildhall in Diss (Norfolk) and the Court House in Barking (Essex) are both recorded as having contained the apparatus for weighing market goods. However, as the Diss building was founded for the use of two religious guilds, it was confiscated, whilst the very construction of the Court House in Barking, with its secular, commercial and judicial use, was *subsidised* by Elizabeth I. [342] Similarly then, the parish of Matching (Essex) was able to retain its (extant) community building with its focus on secular parish use, whilst in Beccles (Suffolk), the hall of the Holy Ghost guild was saved from confiscation by some pre-emptive ownership changes.[343] Confiscation need not

[340] See above, pp. 73-74.
[341] R. C. Fowler, 'The Religious Gilds of Essex', *TEAS*, 16 (1921-3), 59; Rix, 'Account', p. 12; Andrews and Springall, *Hadleigh*, p. 66.
[342] Rix, 'Account', p. 12; TNA E 178/843.
[343] *VCH Essex*, VIII, p. 205; Evans, 'Holy Ghost Gild', p. 31.

automatically condemn to demolition: the guildhall in Burwell (Cambridgeshire) was bought back from the Crown's grantee and retained in parish use.[344] However, if a parish was unable to raise the capital for repurchase and Crown grantees saw their acquisitions as real estate assets rather than community assets, then loss could perhaps be seen as more likely once the connection with community use had been severed.

Further documentary research into ownership of community buildings would shed more light on this connection, but the differing survival rates in the South West and East Anglia appear to have been influenced by differing patterns of foundation and ownership. In East Anglia, guilds seem to have been proactive in acquiring and using buildings to further their activities, possibly also owing to greater input by religious houses. In the South West, where Crown confiscation of 'church houses' is not evidenced at all in the Patent Rolls consulted for this study, it seems plausible that guild activities were confined more to stores or altars, lamps and lights within the church itself, whilst the construction or acquisition of community buildings was driven more by churchwardens and lay landowners. With an ownership structure focussed more on raising funds for the church fabric, or at least other less overtly 'superstitious' purposes, the buildings could escape the worst of the confiscations documented elsewhere.

[344] *VCH Cambs*, X, p. 360.

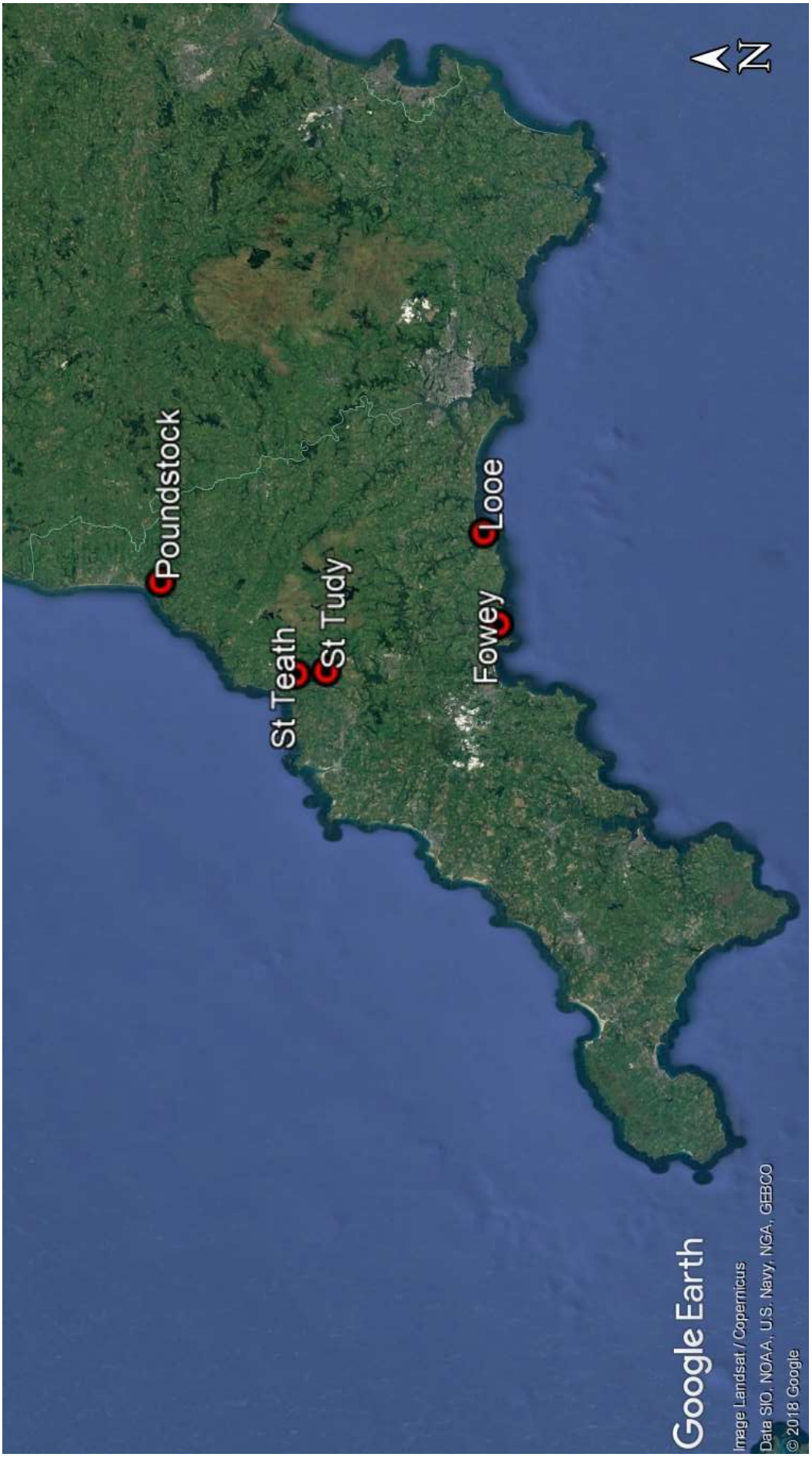


Figure 4. Cornwall - location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)

4 Selected Community Buildings I: South West

The South West sits on the dividing line between highland and lowland zones of England. In the 'pastoral zone' of Cornwall, west Devon and Somerset, where there was a 'dispersed pattern of rural settlements', pastoral farming predominated, supplemented by transhumance, silver, tin and lead mining, the cloth industry and, in Somerset, dairy farming. In the 'lowland zone' of east Devon and Dorset mixed farming and nucleated settlements were more in evidence.[345]

Using the attributes relating to date, form and plan, five buildings in **Cornwall** were selected for further study, whose location is shown in Figure 4. Of the five buildings, two are located in towns: the Old Town Hall (now the Fowey Museum) in Fowey and the Old Guildhall (now also a museum) in East Looe. The distribution represents different landscape characters: Fowey and Looe are estuarine settlements in river systems dominated by sparsely-populated, steep-sided, wooded valleys. The remaining three buildings are in villages: Poundstock sits within the shallow and undulating Bude Basin bordered on the north, south and east by the Culm plateau and by the sea to the west. St Teath and St Tudy occupy higher ground on the slopes of the Allen and Camel valleys. Historically, the latter three share a landscape of dispersed settlements among medium-sized fields of ancient enclosure with a predominance of pastoral farming.[346]

The Fowey Old Town Hall Museum is located between Trafalgar Square and Market Street and is adjoined to the east by the eighteenth-century New Town Hall and to the west by a nineteenth-century commercial building

[345] J. Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* ed. by J. Thirsk and others, 8 vols (Cambridge, 1967-2000), IV: *1500-1640* (1967), ed. by J. Thirsk, pp. 1-112 (pp. 5, 71); T. R. Slater, 'The South-West of England', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, P. Clark and M. J. Daunton, 3 vols (Cambridge, 2000), I: *600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, pp. 583-608 (p. 583).
[346] Cornwall Council, Landscape Character Assessment 2007, https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/cornwall_landscape [accessed 21 March 2019].



Figure 5. Fowey (Cornwall), aerial view showing location of Old Town Hall/Fowey Museum (Photo © Google)

(Figure 5) (**Plate XXVI.2**). The building is located approximately 45 m east-southeast of St Fimbarrus' Church and its situation suggests that it originally sat on an island site within a larger marketplace. The building has been identified the chapel of St Mary the Virgin recorded in 1426 and the distinctive 'ecclesiastical appearance' of the south elevation main window has been ascribed to this original usage.[347] Such an early date for the building is not suggested by the roof timbers, which would suggest more a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth- century date. Fowey was created a parliamentary borough in 1571, although it had been created a free borough by charter of the Prior of Tywardreath in 1190x1225 and was taxed at a borough rate in 1319; [348] it is possible that the need for a town hall arose from this status. Certainly the town's response to a *Quo Warranto* in 1684 stated that they had no specific charter, but that since 'tyme out of mynde' they had enjoyed their privileges, one of which was the keeping of a Court.[349] It

[347] Henderson, *Essays*, p. 34. This view is repeated in J. Keast, *The Story of Fowey* (Exeter, 1950), p. 18.
[348] Keast, *Story*, p. 71; Beresford and Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs*, p. 78; Willard, 'Taxation Boroughs', 1294-1336', p. 430.
[349] Henderson, *Essays*, p. 39.

seems plausible that this building served that purpose. Only one borough account roll survives from the period before the construction of the new Town Hall in the eighteenth century, after which date the references are to that building; the accounts are for the year 1551-1552 and unfortunately do not contain pertinent information relating to the building.[350]



Figure 6. Looe (Cornwall), aerial view showing location of Old Guildhall
(Photo © Google)

Looe, more specifically East Looe, is located approximately 14 km north-northeast of Fowey and occupies a similar coastal position at the mouth of a ria. The borough is listed in the Cornish Assize Roll of 1201 and, like Fowey, is taxed as a borough in fourteenth-century tax records.[351] However, the town was not officially incorporated until 1587.[352] The borough was 'planted' from the land of the parish of St Martin, centred on the eponymous hamlet and church 2 km to the northeast. The Old Guildhall is located among the grid-plan streets of the early town between Higher and Middle Market Street, approximately 40 m northwest of

[350] CRO CA/B47/33.
[351] Beresford*, New Towns*, p. 257; Willard, 'Taxation Boroughs', p. 430.
[352] Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History*, III, p. 159.

St Mary's Church (Figure 6). (**Plate XXVI.3**). There is no firm date for construction of the building and no contemporary reference to connection with a town guild has yet been uncovered. The construction of the building suggests an early sixteenth-century date, although perhaps, as at Fowey, not as late as the town's date of incorporation (1587). Indeed, the Charter of Incorporation records that 'the certain house commonly called the Hall' was to serve as the Council House; if this is to be connected with this particular building, then the building was standing before this date. Along with Fowey, the town had sent representatives to a Parliament of Edward III in 1340 and, after a hiatus of two centuries, resumed doing so in 1571/2.[353] It is therefore conceivable that the building was constructed to coincide with this resumption of burghal privilege. Other than a short fragment from the years 1537-38, the records of the borough do not survive in usable form before the seventeenth century, when the building is referred to consistently as 'the town hall'.[354] The building is still used as the town hall and a museum.

Moving from town to countryside, the 'Gildhouse' is located in the parish of Poundstock in the northeast corner of Cornwall some 16 km northeast of Bossiney and 16 km north-northeast of Camelford, both of which were late medieval boroughs and of which the latter has an extant town hall of later design, but which most likely replaced an earlier building.[355] Thirteen kilometres northeast of Poundstock is Kilkhampton, where the aforementioned 'Trinitie House' was mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts of the 1560s.[356] The village of Poundstock is characterised by scattered dwellings, with nothing more

[353] T. Bond, *Topographical and Historical Sketches of the Boroughs of East and West Looe* (London, 1823), p. 246; Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History*, III, p. 162.
[354] CRO X155/342-344; CRO DCLOO/125.
[355] Henderson, *Essays*, p. 23.
[356] See above, p. 12.



Figure 7. Poundstock (Cornwall), aerial view showing location of Gildhouse
(Photo © Google)

than a loose nucleus around St Winwaloe's Church.[357] Although ancient, the settlement is not mentioned as a borough in any fourteenth-century taxation records and was not incorporated at a later date.[358] The Gildhouse is located 24 m southwest of the church in the southwest corner of the churchyard (Figure 7) (**Plate XXVII.1**). It occupies a prominent site on the eastern side of one of two main routes into the hamlet from the county's principal northerly road (now the modern A39). The churchwardens' accounts do not survive before 1770 and other parochial accounts, such as those of the overseers, only survive after 1742; these record the building variously as the 'Church house', 'School house', 'Parish house' and 'Poor house'.[359] There is no specific historical evidence to connect the building with a parish guild: the earliest reference to any guild-like bodies in Poundstock is found in the will of the vicar, Thomas Haywode, proved in 1434, in

[357] The church was re-dedicated to St Neot after the Reformation and only reverted to its original dedication in the 1970s, as related in J. G. Edwards, *The Story of Poundstock Church and Parish*, 2nd edn (Holsworthy, 1988).
[358] It is not recorded in Willard, 'Taxation Boroughs'.
[359] CRO P193/5/1; P193/12/1.

which he bequeathed 3*s.* 4*d.* to 'cuilibet fraternitati in eadem ecclesia'.[360] The drawings prepared to accompany restoration works in 1907/8 refer to the building as the 'Church House', and the building continues to be used as a community centre-cum-village hall.[361] The Gildhouse can be dated from dendrochronological samples taken in 2007, which returned a felling date of 1543 for the roof trusses and a range of 1536-58 for the first-floor structure.[362]

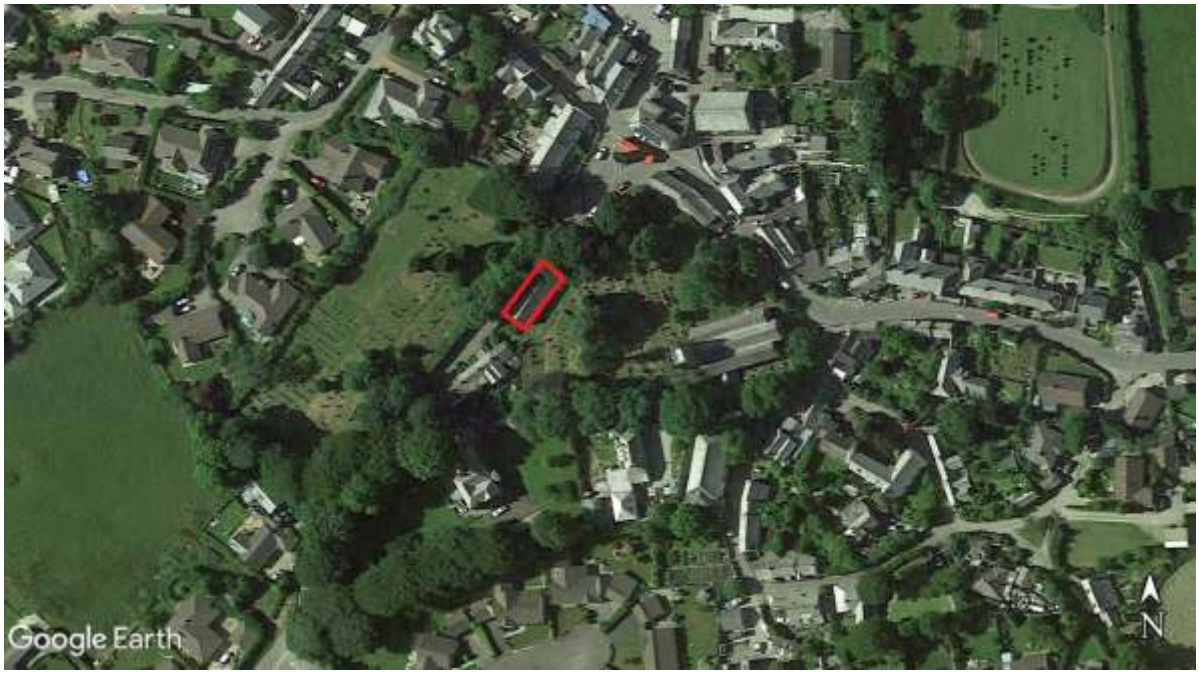


Figure 8. St Teath (Cornwall), aerial view showing location of the Church House
(Photo © Google)

Approximately 24 km southwest of Poundstock is the village of St Teath, which is situated in the ambit of the boroughs of Bossiney, 8 km to the north, Camelford, 5 km to the northeast, and the ancient borough of Bodmin, 13 km south- southeast. Like Poundstock, St Teath is not recorded as a borough in taxation records nor was it incorporated in later centuries. St Tetha's Church is located in the centre of the village and on the west side of the churchyard is the

[360] *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. by E. F. Jacob, 4 vols (Oxford, 1937-47), II (1936-37), p. 501.
[361] CRO X272/63/2.
[362] N. Alcock, 'Tree-Ring Date Lists 2007', *VA*, 38 (2007), 98-138 (pp. 107-08).

Church House, 40 m west-northwest of the church (Figure 8) (**Plate XXVII.2**). Parochial records do not survive before the eighteenth century and the building was not mentioned specifically in a studied sample of churchwardens' accounts from 1773 to 1783.[363] One possible reason for this is that the accounts are abbreviated, with payments for specific repair works – often a good source for mentioning community buildings – are only recorded only in the form 'Paid to X for works as per Bill'. The building is similar in construction to the buildings in Fowey, Looe and Poundstock, particularly in roof structure, and appears to date from the first half of the sixteenth century. The omission of the building from the records conceals its original name, along with any subsequent uses. There is one reference to the building in a nineteenth-century history: 'In the village, in a large room, part of the old workhouse, a school is kept in which about sixty of the sons of farmers, &c., are educated.'[364] From this we might infer that the building was at some point in use as a parish workhouse.



Figure 9. St Tudy (Cornwall), aerial view showing location of The Clink (Photo © Google)

[363] CRO P219/5/1.
[364] Maclean, *Parochial and Family History,* III, p. 120.

The final selected community building in Cornwall is The Clink in St Tudy. St Tudy is located 4 km south of St Teath and is thus also close to ancient boroughs and market centres, with Bodmin 8 km to the south and Camelford 8 km to the northeast. St Tudy's Church is located on the southwest side of the village square and The Clink is situated on the north side of the churchyard, 19 m from the church, with a prominent position facing the square (Figure 9) (**Plate XXVII.3**). The village is an ancient settlement but, like St Teath and Poundstock, was never taxed or incorporated as a borough. The parochial accounts do not survive before the eighteenth century, with the churchwardens' accounts beginning in 1713.[365] Dating the building is reliant upon its general appearance, rather than constructional details, as the roof timbers are hidden above a nineteenth-century ceiling, but there is little to discredit a date of the mid- to late sixteenth century. The building is referred to in the churchwardens' accounts of 1715 as the 'Church house' and 'parish house', and as the 'Church house' again in 1725. By 1773, the building is called the 'poorhouse', possibly reflecting a change of use.[366] These designations suggest that the current name of the building is later, possibly referring to a real or imagined use at some point after the eighteenth century. Whilst the original use is thus not recorded in contemporary parochial accounts, some use for the benefit of the parish, such as meetings or other gatherings, seems a reasonable possibility. The building is still used as a community centre.

In **Devon**, seven buildings were selected for further investigation, the distribution of which is shown in Figure 10. Given the greater number of extant buildings, which are known or thought to be of the community building type in the

[365] CRO P241/5/1.
[366] CRO P241/5/1.

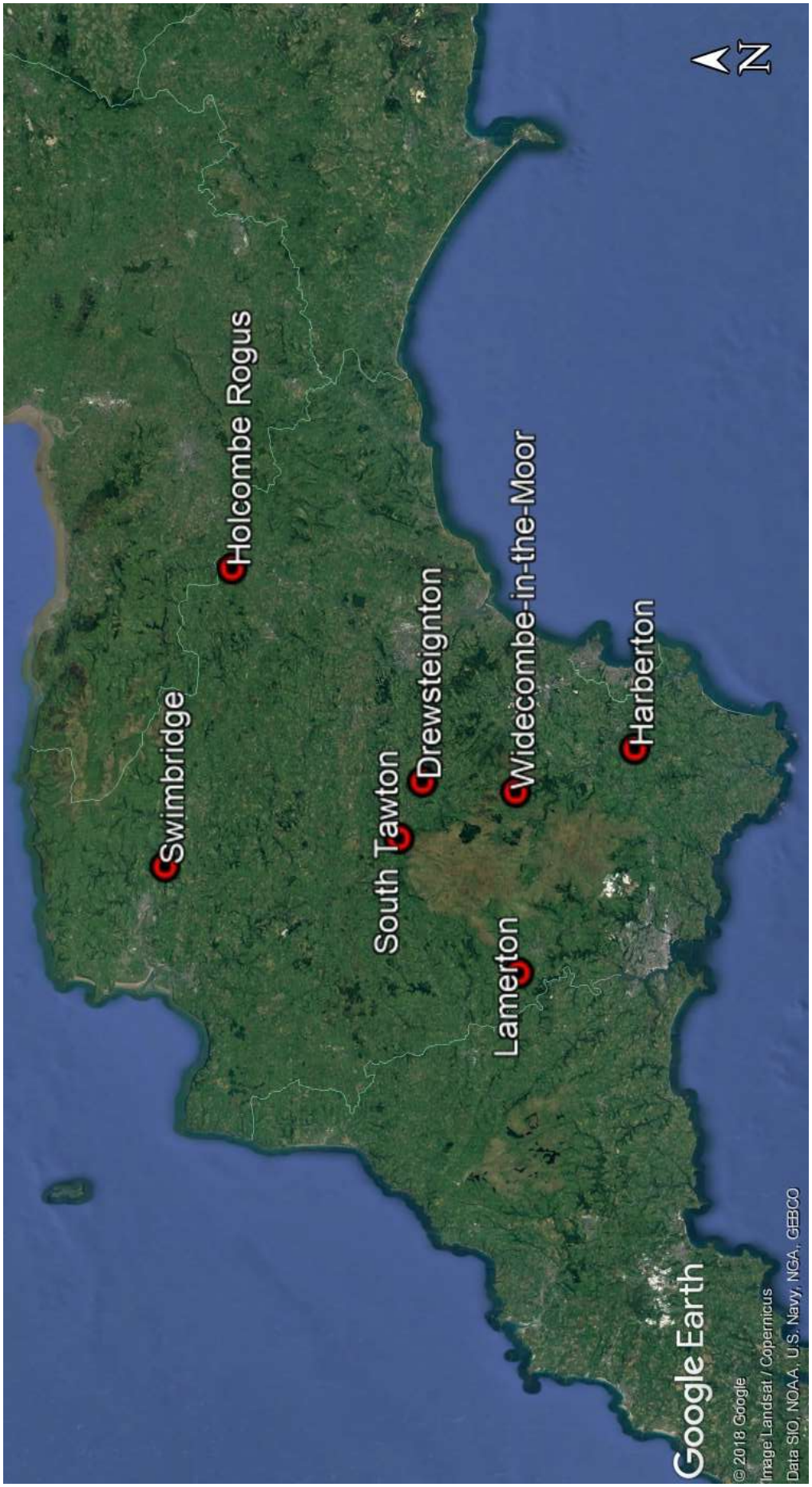


Figure 10. Devon – location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)

county, the selection was influenced by a wish for a wide spread across the county. Therefore, for example, the buildings in Holcombe Rogus and Harberton have been included for their ability to illustrate the community building type in their respective areas of East Devon and South Hams, even though they now have subdivided first floors. As in Cornwall, the whole county shows a general predominance of pastoral agriculture and a historic settlement pattern of dispersed scattered farmsteads and hamlets, with only occasional nucleated villages.[367] However, the distribution represents differing areas of Devonian landscape. In the north of the county, the wooded ridges and hilltops of the areaaround Swimbridge contrast with the lower, rolling farmland and settled valley slopes of Holcombe Rogus. In the centre of the county, north of Dartmoor, the elevated undulating land of South Tawton and Drewsteignton contrasts with the moorland edge slopes of Widecombe-in-the-Moor on Dartmoor to the south. In the west and south of the county, the landscape around Lamerton and Harberton is characterised by river valley slopes and combes.[368]

Beginning in the north of the county, Swimbridge is located 6.5 km southeast of Barnstaple, one of the four boroughs recorded in Devon at 1066 and a significant commercial centre.[369] St James' Church is located in the village centre, although slightly to the east of the modern bridge and square. It is possibly orientated towards an earlier village focus predating the turnpiking of the Barnstaple road in 1763. The Old School Rooms are located on the east side of the churchyard, 15 m from the church, at the junction of Church Lane and High Street (Figure 11) (**Plate XXVIII.1**). The village is not recorded as having

[367] M. Overton, 'Farming, Fishing and Rural Settlements', in *The South West*, ed. by R. Kain (London, 2006), pp. 109-30 (pp. 109-10).
[368] Devon County Council, Devon's Landscape Character Assessment, https://www.devon.gov.uk/planning/planning-policies/landscape/devons-landscape-character-assessment [accessed 22 March 2019].
[369] H. P. R. Finberg, 'The Boroughs of Devon', *DCN&Q*, 24 (1951), pp. 203-9 (p. 203).



Figure 11. Swimbridge (Devon), aerial view showing location of The Old School Rooms (Photo © Google)

been a borough by taxation or incorporation and the churchwardens' accounts survive only from 1721.[370] The building is referred to as 'Church house' in twentieth-century records and a lease of 1632 refers to a 'plot and room called the Church house oven, at the north end of the church house'.[371] Externally the building has replacement window openings and is fully rendered over the stonework, but the surviving original roof timbers suggest a date of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. At the time of writing, the first floor was in use as a village hall and the ground-floor as a pre-school nursery, which prevented full access.

Holcombe Rogus is situated in the east of the county close to the Somerset border, 9 km west-southwest of Wellington and 12 km northeast of Tiverton. All Saints' Church is situated 120 m northwest of the village and adjoins the grounds of the early sixteenth-century Holcombe Court, illustrating here a firm connection between church and manor. The building now known as the Priest's House

[370] NDRO 1621A/PW/1.
[371] NDRO 186 M/T24.



Figure 12. Holcombe Rogus (Devon), aerial view showing location of The Priest's House (Photo © Google)

adjoins the south side of the churchyard and therefore also borders the grounds of Holcombe Court (Figure 12) (**Plate XXVIII.2**). The village is not recorded as a borough and the churchwardens' accounts survive only from 1728.[372] No early documentary sources are known for the building, although the roof structure indicates a date of the early to mid-sixteenth century. The building is referred to in the early twentieth century as 'the old Church House' which 'was the priest's house in Queen Elizabeth's time'.[373] It is possible that the building was at some point used as a dwelling for the parish priest prior to the construction of the vicarage opposite in 1750, but this is not proven and this modern reference could explain the building's current designation. It is currently used as a holiday cottage, having been converted in 1984.

In central Devon, just on the northern edge of Dartmoor and 6 km east of Okehampton, is the village of South Tawton. St Andrew's Church is situated in the centre of the village with the manor house (now Blackhall Farm) located

[372] DevHC 3082A/1/PW/1.
[373] E. March Phillipps, 'Holcombe Court, Devonshire', *Country Life*, 9 January 1915, p. 52.



Figure 12. South Tawton (Devon), showing location of The Church House (Photo © Google)

immediately to its north and The Church House located 20 m to the southeast adjacent to the lych gate (Figure 12) (**Plate I.1**). The churchwardens' accounts survive from 1524 onwards and, although those for 1540-1555 are missing, early references to the building are forthcoming.[374] In 1555/6, payments for 'planches' and 'bordes' and for carrying planks 'ynto ye howse' are likely to refer to the church house, but the first explicit reference is in an inventory of 1558/9, which refers to 'bordes yn ye church hose [sic]', as well as cooking apparatus such as crocks, spits and an old pan.[375] The structural timbers have been dated more specifically through dendrochronology: the roof trusses were felled between 1480 and 1490 and the floor beams between 1468 and 1502. However, the small number of dated samples collected during the analysis was not sufficiently conclusive to rule out a degree of recycling and alteration. Unlike the remaining oak trusses, the westernmost roof truss is elm and has a stylistically earlier face-pegged slip tenon joint on the north cruck, compared with side-pegged and

[374] DevHC 2915A/PW/1.
[375] DevHC 2915A/PW/1.

mortice-and-tenon joints on the south cruck and remainder. In addition, the carpenter's marks on the central trusses are muddled, with differing numbering on the north and south crucks.[376] If the building stood from the late fifteenth century, it is not clear why it is not mentioned in churchwardens' accounts in the period from 1524 to the first gap in the records from 1540 to 1555. It seems inconceivable that a building of some thirty years' standing should not require repairs or minor alterations by this point. In any case, considerable expenditure in the churchwardens' accounts for 1572-3 shows that the building was partially rebuilt; the fabric of the building suggests that the westernmost bay was reconstructed.[377] The building remains in use as a community building.



Figure 12. Drewsteignton (Devon), showing location of The Old Church Rooms
(Photo © Google)

Drewsteignton is situated 9 km southeast of South Tawton and 5 km northeast of Chagford on the north side of the Teign valley. Holy Trinity Church is situated in the village centre with the stone-built building now known as the

[376] I. Tyers, 'The Tree-Ring Analysis of Timbers from Church House, South Tawton', ARCUS Dendrochonology Laboratory (April 2005), pp. 5-6, 17.
[377] DevHC 2915A/PW/1.

Church Rooms situated on the south side of the churchyard 17 m from the church and fronting the principal east-west thoroughfare (Figure 13) (**Plate XXVIII.3**). The churchwardens' accounts begin in 1661 and several documents indicate that the parish owned several properties around the churchyard.[378] On the east side of the churchyard, the extant Lady House is recorded as 'My Lady House', of which a lease was granted in 1542 by the wardens of the parish store.[379] Although dating from the eighteenth century, other documents refer to 'East and West Church Houses' (1741) and the 'Little House by the East church steps' (1729).[380] The 'West Church House' is likely to refer to Church Cottage, a building of typical dwelling-house form, on the west side of the churchyard. The 'East Church House' and the 'Little House by the east church steps' are taken to be the same building, in which case the mention of steps is significant: the topography of the churchyard is such that steps are only present as a means of access from the road on the south side of the churchyard, i.e. adjacent to the Church Rooms. The higher ground level to the east of the churchyard results in level access through the eastern gate into the churchyard with no need for steps. Therefore the Church Rooms appear to be the 'East Church House', an identification which reveals the broad application of the term 'church house' to both a community building of the type under discussion, and also, as is the case for the 'West Church House', any building owned by the church; a further *caveat* for the architectural historian. No documents have been uncovered which provide more specific dating evidence of the Church Rooms, but its form and construction indicate an early to mid-sixteenth century date. The building continues to be used as a community centre for the parish.

[378] DevHC 2165A/PW/1.
[379] DevHC 2165A/PFL/2.
[380] DevHC 2165A/PFT/15; DevHC 2165A/PFL/7.



Figure 13. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), aerial view showing location of The Church House (Photo © Google)

Moving from the edges of Dartmoor to the interior, Widecombe-in-the-Moor is located 14 km south-southwest of Drewsteignton in a steep-sided valley. The village is also close to the stannary towns of Chagford, located 10 km to the north, and Ashburton, 8 km to the southeast. St Pancras' Church is situated in the village centre, with the site of the former manor house, North Hall, understood to be immediately to the north of the village green, 65 m to the northwest.[381] The stone-built Church House adjoins the west edge of the churchyard, 17 m from the church, and fronts onto the village square (Figure 13) (**Plates I.2 and XXIX.1**). There is no secure record of the date of construction as parish records do not survive before 1683. However, a *terminus ante quem* is provided by a lease of 1608 which refers to the church house and the green behind it ('butpark') and a condition that the tenant, John Baker, allowed the parishioners 'to keep ale once or twice a yere and to use the said house and butparke att convenient times as they have bin accustomed'. This reference is highly significant in interpreting the

[381] *Things New and Old Concerning the Parish of Widecombe-in-the-Moor*, ed. by R. Dymond (Torquay, 1876), p. 57; Oakford Archaeology, 'An Archaeological Evaluation of land at North Hall Manor, Widecombe-in-the-Moor' (2016), pp. 1-2.

building's historic community use as it specifically links the use of the green, onto which the rear steps face, with the use of the building by the parishioners when they 'keep ale'.[382] In addition, implements for brewing and baking are included in the lease, as Baker was permitted to use the 'chittle, two pans, a trendle and keeves, a brandice, a barrel a cooler…and a bynche' as long as he 'leve it a gaine unto the said parish as he received it'.[383] Later churchwardens' accounts reveal subsequent uses: those for 1713/4 include entries for repairs on the 'workhouse', though the building continues to be referred to as the 'church house', which suggests subdivision. A further use is implied rather than stated, with annual payments for dinners for the 'ministers' and churchwardens; the Church House would seem a convenient location for such a gathering.[384] The building is now owned by the National Trust and, as well as being used for community events, is also a visitor attraction.



Figure 14. Lamerton (Devon), aerial view showing location of The Old Priest's House (Photo © Google)

[382] DevHC 2955A, Acc. 2017/66.
[383] DevHC 2955A, Acc. 2017/66.
[384] DevHC 2955A, Acc. D2016/9.

On the western side of Dartmoor is the village of Lamerton, located 4 km northwest of Tavistock. St Peter's Church is situated at slight remove from the village, which itself is polyfocal, and adjoins the site of the old manor house, Court Barton. The stone building known as the Old Priest's House is situated 35 m southeast of the church on the churchyard edge fronting the road (Figure 14) (**Plate XXIX.2**). If the building's diminutive size recalls The Clink in St Tudy (Cornwall), then the name of the building recalls the church house in Holcombe Rogus and, as there, the building sits directly opposite a later vicarage. The label might therefore represent a local memory of some later use as a permanent or temporary dwelling for the parish priest or, indeed, be a nineteenth- or twentieth-century invention. Documentary references to the building have proved elusive: the churchwardens' accounts survive only from 1748 and no relevant sources have yet been identified in the archival record.[385] Similarly, dating the building is impeded by the wholesale replacement of the roof and floor structure in the 1930s. A plaque on the front of the building proclaims a thirteenth-century origin and Copeland posited a sixteenth-century rebuild using recycled materials.[386] This may be at least partially accurate: the surviving fenestration and door surround suggest a date in the mid- to late-fourteenth century. It is not fully certain that the building was originally two-storeyed: without the modern dormers on the front elevation, the upper floor fenestration would have comprised only the two-light window on the northeast gable. Perhaps this would have been sufficient for such a small space, but, if not, then the building might well be a conversion from a chapel or some other structure. In any case, the building is currently used for storage on the ground floor and a recently fitted-out chapel on the first floor.

[385] PWDRO 889/16.
[386] Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses. Part I', p. 128.



Figure 15. Harberton (Devon), aerial view showing location of Church House Inn (Photo © Google)

The final building in Devon is located in the south of the county in Harberton, a village some 3 km southwest of Totnes, itself one of the four pre-existing boroughs in Devon at the time of the Conquest.[387] St Andrew's Church is situated in the village centre and the Church House Inn is to be found 25 m to the west-southwest on a site not attached to the churchyard, but rather facing into a square (Figure 15) (**Plate XXIX.3**). Harberton is not recorded as having been taxed as a borough, nor was it ever incorporated. The churchwardens' accounts begin in 1611 and so are not contemporary with the construction of the building, which can be recognised as akin to the Church House in Widecombe-in-the-Moor and is likely to date from the first half of the sixteenth century.[388] The conversion of the building to an inn is significant in light of the discussion above on survival, although the date of this conversion is not known. The earliest identified reference to the building in this use is from 1822.[389]

[387] Finberg, 'Boroughs', p. 203.
[388] DevHC 1352A/PW/1.
[389] Dev HC QS/65/2.

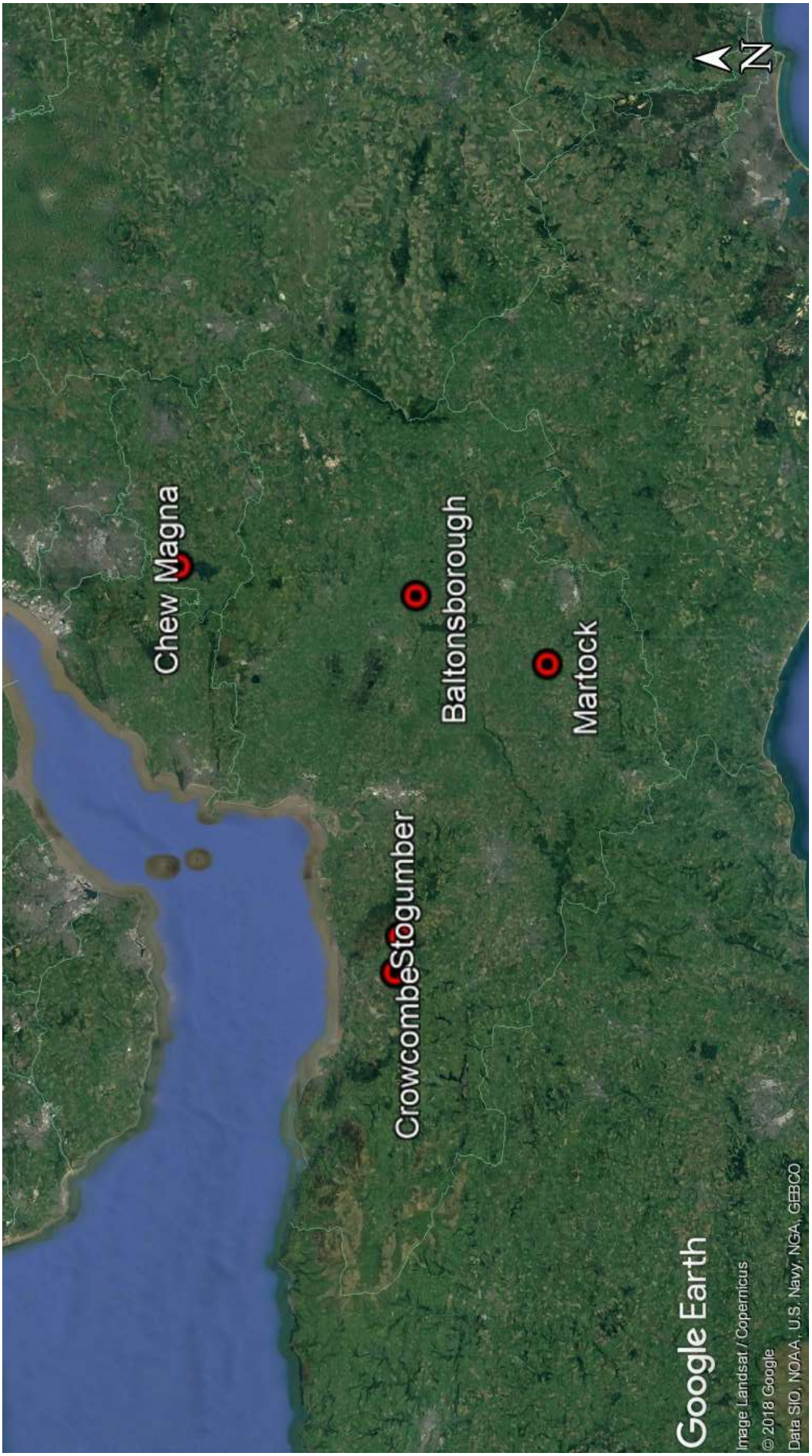


Figure 16. Somerset - location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)

In **Somerset**, five buildings were selected for further investigation, the distribution of which is shown in Figure 16. As for Devon, the selection was the result of a balance between the attributes of the community building type and a desire for a reasonable distribution of buildings throughout the county. However, a few brief comments on the spread of buildings seem worthwhile. First, two buildings were omitted from detailed study even though their inclusion on the above map would have extended the distribution more pleasingly into the northwest part of the county west of Chew Magna. The Lady Florence Stalling Almshouses in Yatton (**Plate XVIII.3**) and Banksea Cottages in Wick St Lawrence (**Plate XXX.1**) have been extensively altered internally owing to their residential conversion. Secondly, there is a notable absence of buildings across the central belt of the county west and north of Baltonsborough. This is perhaps unsurprising as it broadly correlates with the extent of the Somerset Levels, or certainly in the western part of the belt. The low-lying terrain north and south of the Polden Hills was inhospitable to permanent settlement, notwithstanding the various drainage improvements carried out under the auspices of Glastonbury Abbey between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[390] As would be expected, community buildings are attested among the settlements on higher ground in this central zone of the county. For example, documentary sources attest to church houses in settlements along the Polden Hills, such as Ashcott (*c.* 1520) and Shapwick (1594); on 'islands' in the Brue valley floodplain, such as Wedmore (*c.* 1508), Meare (*c*.1516) and Huntspill (*c.*1548); at villages on the island of Sowy south of King's Sedgemoor, such as Westonzoyland (*c.*1516) and Middlezoy (pre-1600); and, finally, among the higher settlements east of the Levels, which would include Baltonsborough.[391] The lack of suitable extant buildings within this central

[390] *VCH Somerset*, VIII, pp. 3-5.
[391] *CMDCW*, II, p. 208; *VCH Somerset*, VIII, pp. 23, 101, 122, 178, 205; IX, p. 138.

zone, at least on the higher ground, seems therefore to be attributable not to their absence, but rather their loss in later centuries.

The distribution of the buildings in Somerset embraces a somewhat different landscape to that of the Devon/Cornwall peninsula. The majority of Somerset falls within the 'Central Province' of Robert's and Wrathmell's study of settlement patterns, generally indicating a greater predominance of open-field, mixed-farming landscapes and a greater degree of settlement nucleation.[392] Within their framework, Chew Magna, Baltonsborough and Martock, although stretching 46 km in a near-straight line across central and eastern Somerset, share characteristics of a wood-pasture area of stock-keeping, with areas of corn-growing and dairying. The western extremity of Somerset, however, straddles this provincial boundary and therefore demonstrates attributes more akin to Devon and Cornwall, particularly relating to dispersed settlements.[393] Crowcombe and Stogumber lie close to this provincial boundary and might therefore, by analogy to Taylor's description of his locality in south Cambridgeshire, be considered to be a 'frontier'; a place where boundaries are far from sharply drawn.[394] As the present study's focus on the South West and East Anglia implies, Roberts' and Wrathmell's Central Province, i.e. the province of nucleation and champion landscapes, has furnished no significant concentrations of extant community buildings in rural areas. This observation can therefore be set alongside received wisdom relating to church houses, for example, which are often understood as indicative of landscapes of dispersed settlement.[395]

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[392] B. K. Roberts and S. W. Wrathmell, *Region and Place: A Study of English Rural Settlement* (Swindon, 2002), p. 133.
[393] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and Place*, pp. 60, 64.
[394] C. Taylor, 'Nucleated Settlement: a View from the Frontier', *Landscape History*, 24 (2002), 53-71 (p. 53).
[395] See above, p. 16.



Figure 16. Stogumber (Somerset), showing location of The Brewhouse (Photo © Google)

Continuing the north-eastward advance through the South West brings one first to Stogumber in western Somerset. The village is located 6.5 km south-southeast of the coastal town of Watchet, recorded as a borough in the thirteenth century and certainly a commercial centre by that time.[396] St Mary's Church is situated in the centre of the village with the churchyard adjoining the east boundary of a property now known as the Old Vicarage, a fourteenth-century open-hall house of considerable size which was clearly a significant dwelling in the medieval village, possibly a manor house. Supporting the latter suggestion is the fact that the community building, known as the 'Brewhouse', is situated with its curtilage, specifically 10 m to the south, and has its eastern gable adjoining the churchyard (Figure 16) (**Plate XXX.2**); the proximity of community building and church/manor house has already been seen in Lamerton and Holcombe Rogus (both Devon). The churchwardens' accounts survive only from 1743, but a church house in Stogumber is mentioned in an undated rental, known

[396] *VCH Somerset*, V, pp. 157.

contextually to be no later than the late fifteenth century, in which it is held by the churchwardens for 6*d*.[397] It appears to have suffered a fire in *c*. 1616 and, though clearly repaired, was thereafter incorporated into the glebe and had become a kitchen and stable for the Old Vicarage by the 1626.[398] The building is currently used as a store.



Figure 17. Crowcombe (Somerset), aerial view showing location of Church House
(Photo © Google)

Crowcombe is located just over 4 km east-southeast of Stogumber and the parish church, dedicated to the Holy Ghost, stands in the village centre. The manor house, Crowcombe Court, which is situated 200 m north of the church, was constructed in 1724-39 to replace an earlier manor house, which is mentioned in 1295 and is understood to have been nearer to the church.[399] Church House is situated opposite the church at a distance of 35 m to the southwest and therefore, like Lamerton, Holcombe Rogus (both Devon) and Stogumber, historically formed a group with the church and manor house (Figure

[397] SHC D/P/stogm/4/1/1; *CMDCW*, I, pp. 520-21.
[398] *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 189.
[399] *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 57.

17) (**Plate XXX.3**). Although no charter survives, the area to the northwest of the church-manor-church house cluster was laid out as a borough in the thirteenth century.[400] The planned, linear form contrasts with the area surrounding the church and, over time, the focus of the settlement has shifted along this axis. Although the churchwardens' accounts survive only from 1723, the beginnings of the building can be established.[401] In 1514, Robert Biccombe, the lord of the manor of Crowcombe-Biccombe, granted his half-portion in a house and garden opposite the churchyard to the parish for the upkeep of the church. At the same time, the Prioress of Studley, the lady of the manor of Crowcombe-Studley, donated her moiety of the same building to the same purpose. The condition of this agreement was that the building they had donated be rebuilt within four years. The nature of this early building is undeterminable, but it may have already been ancient by the time of its donation.[402] Therefore it seems not only that Church House resulted from this grant and was likely completed very soon after, but also that it might have replaced an even earlier community building, which had been used for the benefit of the two conjoined manors. In the seventeenth century, the building, referred to as the church house, is recorded as having been used as a poor house and schoolhouse, indeed the latter use continued into the early twentieth century.[403] The building is currently used as a community centre and exhibition space.

Martock is located in south Somerset, 10 km northwest of Yeovil and close to a number of ancient borough foundations, including Ilchester. The latter lies 7 km to the northeast and was one of eight boroughs recorded in Somerset at the time of Domesday Book, and Montacute, which was a borough by 1102.[404] All

[400] *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 58.
[401] SHC D/P/crow/4/1/1.
[402] *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 63.
[403] *VCH Somerset*, V, p. 63.
[404] *VCH Somerset*, I, p. 421; III, p. 213.



Figure 18. Martock (Somerset), aerial view showing location of Court House (Photo © Google)

Saints' Church is situated towards the southwest of the current village, which has since expanded northeast of the church; the medieval marketplace is thus to be found 185 m northeast of the church. The earliest settlement is likely to have been around the area around the church and manor site, located 160 m west of the church.[405] The stone-built Court House is situated 35 m south of the church fronting onto Church Street (Figure 18) (**Plate XXXI.1**). Constructional details indicate a late sixteenth-century date for the building, although its history before 1661 is not clear: a plaque on the building records the building's foundation as a school at that date, along with the arms of William Strode of Barrington. In that same year, hundred courts were being held in the 'school-house' and it is possible that the building is the 'parish house' that was being used as a school in 1644. The court rolls for the manor have not survived and the churchwardens' accounts survive only from 1733.[406] The building is now a private residence.

[405] M. Richardson, 'An Archaeological Assessment of Martock', English Heritage EUS (2003), p. 6.
[406] *VCH Somerset*, IV, pp. 100, 102, 108; SHC D/P/mart/4/1/1.



Figure 19. Baltonsborough (Somerset), aerial view showing location of Parish House (Photo © Google)

Baltonsborough is located 18 km north-northeast of Martock and 6 km southeast of Glastonbury. As a chapelry of nearby Butleigh, the village appears to have developed as a dispersed settlement along the low-lying, east-west ridge which carried the road between the manors of East Pennard and Butleigh, both of which were held of Glastonbury Abbey.[407] St Dunstan's Church lies 90 m south of this route, bordering the thirteenth-century mill stream on the south and close to the crossroads between this east-west route and the north-south route represented by Martin Street. The stone-built Parish House is located on the north side of the churchyard, 19 m from the church (Figure 19) **(Plate XXXI.2**). The churchwardens' accounts survive from 1663, but earlier references confirm that the 'church house' was built *c*. 1530 after the land on which it stands was leased by the chapel wardens from the manor. By the late sixteenth century, it was let out by the parish.[408] The building has been extended at the western end to form a separate dwelling (Church View) and on the north side, whilst a further

[407] *VCH Somerset*, IX, p. 59.
[408] SHC D/P/balt/4/1/1; *VCH Somerset*, IX, p. 72.

range, known as Clerk's Cottage, has been added to the south side; all these additions appear to be from the first half of the seventeenth century. The building now contains a holiday cottage on the first floor and in the rear (north) extension, whilst the ground floor remains in use as a parish hall.



Figure 20. Chew Magna (Somerset), aerial view showing location of Old School Room (Photo © Google)

The final building included in Somerset is situated in Chew Magna in the north of the county, 10 km south of Bristol. The settlement appears to be polyfocal insofar as it illustrates both a dispersed settlement pattern along the east-west road through the village, as well as an irregular and 'amorphous' cluster around the church.[409] There is some debate as to whether the village ever obtained the status of a borough, although, owing to its past prosperity as a market town, it was referred to as such in the eighteenth century.[410] St Andrew's Church is located in the centre of the settlement adjacent to Chew Court, the site

[409] N. Corcos, 'The Affinities and Antecedents of Medieval Settlement: Topographical Perspectives from Three of the Somerset Hundreds' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2001), p. 301.
[410] E. La Trobe-Bateman, 'An Archaeological Assessment of Chew Magna', Avon EUS (1999), pp. 3-4; J. Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, 3 vols (Bath, 1791), II, p. 94.

of the medieval palace of the Bishops of Bath and Wells.[411] Situated 65 m south-southwest of the church, the building now known as the Old School Room is situated within this church/manor-house cluster and thus recalls the situations of the community buildings in Lamerton and Holcombe Rogus in Devon and, in Somerset, Stogumber and Crowcombe (Figure 20) (**Plate XXXI.3**). The building has a date-stone of 1510 along with the arms of the St Loe family above the door in the western gable, suggesting that it was built at their instigation.[412] The building was originally known as a 'church house', or it certainly was by 1594 when it is mentioned in a deposition which also implies that part of the building housed a jurat.[413] Possibly the building played some part in the church ales and 'hogling' celebrations, the latter recorded in Chew Magna in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and comprising house-to-house singing by the men of the parish.[414] By 1735 the building was in use as a poorhouse, at which time the vestry minutes refer to it as the 'church house', and, by 1829, the building was used partly as a poorhouse and partly as the venue for courts leet and baron.[415] Attendant upon the latter use is the suggestion of a lock-up in a sketch of the building of 1848 showing 'the old schoolroom and blind house'; [416] a use which has been attested for town buildings as well as, occasionally, for church houses. The building was used as a school in the nineteenth century and possibly as early as 1684.[417] It is currently used as a community centre.

[411] La Trobe-Bateman, 'Archaeological Assessment', pp. 18-19.
[412] F. A. Wood, *Collections for a Parochial History of Chew Magna* (Bristol, 1903), p. 279
[413] *REED Somerset*, I, p. 158.
[414] J. Stokes, 'The Hoglers: Evidences of an Entertainment Tradition in Eleven Somerset Parishes', *SDN&Q*, 32 (1986-90), 807-17 (p. 809).
[415] Wood, *Collections*, p. 280; J. Rutter, *Delineations of The North Western Division of the County of Somerset* (Shaftesbury and London, 1829), p. 202.
[416] La Trobe-Bateman, 'Archaeological Assessment', p. 29.
[417] La Trobe-Bateman, 'Archaeological Assessment', p. 29.

This overview of seventeen selected buildings in the South West confirms the variety of nomenclature which the documentary sources had suggested as a common feature. Thirteen of the seventeen buildings, just over three-quarters, have a current or historical designation as 'church house', making it the most widespread term in evidence. Historical names for the buildings in Fowey (Cornwall) and Lamerton (Devon) have not been established. However, of the thirteen, all are to be found in non-urban environments, suggesting that the term 'church house' is more likely to be found in rural settings than in large towns. Nine of the thirteen buildings, or just over two-thirds, are located on the churchyard edge and these are found in all three counties.[418] The two former observations therefore suggests that any references to the community building in Lamerton (Devon) which remain to be discovered are likely to include the term 'church house' since the building is in a rural setting and on the churchyard edge. Of the remaining four buildings with a current or known 'church house' label, two adjoin the churchyard but are not within it, and two do not adjoin the churchyard at all and are sited in the current or historic village centre, although they are close to the churchyard.[419] The location and orientation of the buildings will form the basis of Chapter 6, but it seems clear that, whilst community buildings located on churchyard edges in the South West were more likely to be called a 'church house', it does not follow that *all* church houses had to be on the churchyard edge, or even connected to it.

From the remaining four buildings the community building in Lamerton can be excised on the reasonable assumption that it will be recorded as a 'church house'. Therefore three community buildings have no documented title as a

[418] Cornwall: Poundstock, St Teath and St Tudy; Devon: Drewsteignton, South Tawton and Swimbridge; Somerset: Baltonsborough, Chew Magna and Stogumber.
[419] Adjoining churchyard: Holcombe Rogus and Widecombe-in-the-Moor (both Devon); Village centre: Harberton (Devon), Crowcombe (Somerset).

church house: those in Fowey and Looe in Cornwall and Martock in Somerset. Of these three, none is connected to the churchyard and, in the case of Fowey and Looe, are at some considerable remove from it. The Court House in Martock is close to it, but, like the buildings in Fowey and Looe, orientates towards a village-centre feature (Chapter 6). The Cornish examples are located in urban settings and, in the case of Looe and a reasonable assumption for Fowey, thus bear historical names such as 'guildhall', 'town hall' and 'council house'. This corresponds with the designation of other documented, but non-extant, buildings in the South West, such as the 'guildhalls' in Launceston and Liskeard (Cornwall); Barnstaple and Plymouth (Devon); and Blandford Forum (Dorset).[420] Therefore the picture is emerging that, in the South West, the term 'guildhall' was applied more regularly to community buildings which were a) in urban settings, and b) *not* attached to a churchyard. However, the position of the building in a central location was of itself clearly not a determinant of its historical designation. Further chapters will examine in more detail whether this distinction extends towards the architectural form of the buildings.

[420] *REED Devon*, pp. 46, 227; *REED Dorset and Cornwall*, p. 49, 127.

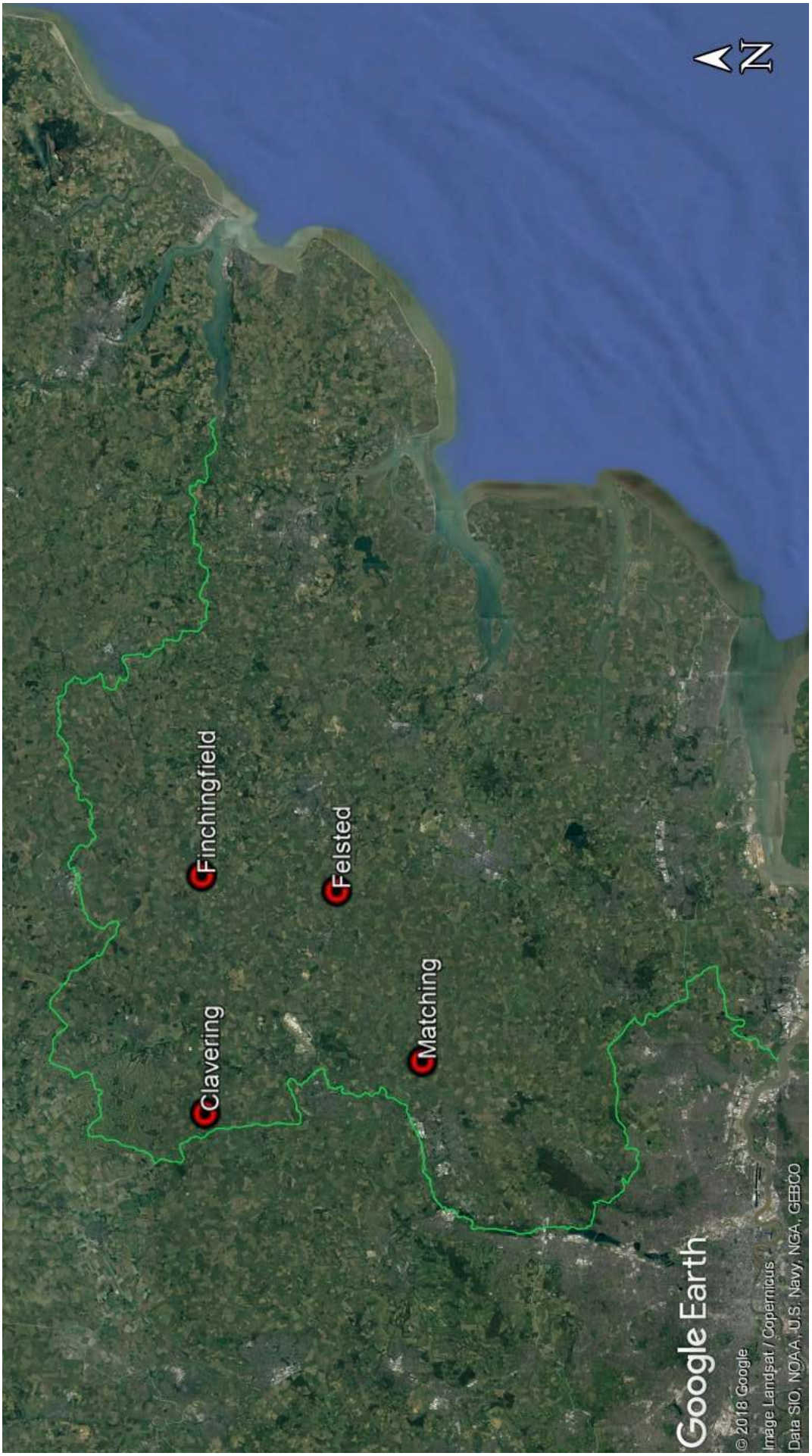


Figure 21. Essex – location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)

5 Selected Community Buildings II: East Anglia

This chapter applies the same identification process to buildings in East Anglia, which supplied a total of twelve buildings. Lower than in the South West, this number is best understood in the context of survival and loss discussed in Chapter 3, but also as a result of greater difficulties in gaining access to buildings. Indeed, not all of the buildings included have been inspected internally, but are included where floor plans or other information is available to an extent sufficient to provide comparative information.

Although entirely in the 'lowland zone', East Anglia also has areas of contrasting landscapes and settlement patterns: with mixed sheep and corn farming and nucleated settlements predominant in most of Suffolk and the north and northeast of Norfolk, but with grassland and wood-pasture areas in central Suffolk and southeast Norfolk, areas where settlement was historically more dispersed. The cloth industry was also in evidence in Suffolk, particularly in the southern part of the county and in the northeast. Similarly, Essex had the contrasting landscapes of the marshes along the Thames estuary and the champion lands of the northwest of the county, both specialising in mixed husbandry, and the pastoral areas of the southern half of the county and the northeast.[421] These two regions also display varying building traditions: the ample resources of good building stones in the South West ensure the predominance of masonry construction in the surviving community buildings, contrasting with the predominantly timber-framed buildings of East Anglia.

In **Essex**, four buildings have been selected and their location is shown in Figure 21. The study area is included in Roberts' and Wrathmell's South-Eastern Province, containing 'a mixture of farming types, the majority based upon wood

[421] Thirsk, 'Farming Regions', pp. 41-48, pp. 53-4.

pastures, grazing sheep and other stock amid open commons and woodlands'.[422] The landscape, much like the South West, is of pre-seventeenth century enclosure; a historic settlement pattern of dispersed farms and hamlets; and, significantly when comparing to certain building clusters in the South West, church/manor-house complexes.[423] This brief summary serves to note a distinctive similarity in landscape and settlement patterns of the area in which community buildings are found in Essex with those in the South West.

Matching is located 8 km east-northeast of Harlow and comprises a hamlet, much akin to the church-towns of the South West insofar as it contains only St Mary the Virgin Church, Matching Hall (the moated manor house), the Vicarage and the Marriage Feast Room. The village has always been modest in scale and is not recorded as a borough. The Marriage Feast Room is situated on the west side of the churchyard, 11 m from the church itself (Figure 22) (**Plate XXXII.1**). There are no known records for the early history of the building,



Figure 22. Matching (Essex), aerial view showing location of the Marriage Feast Room (Photo © Google)

[422] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and Place*, p. 62.
[423] Essex County Council, 'Essex HLC Project' (February 2011), p. 12.

though its crown-post roof is typical of a late fifteenth-century date. It was described in the eighteenth century as ‘designed for the entertainment of poor people on their wedding day’, for which a similar building is also recorded in Little Hallingbury, 7 km to the northwest.[424] By 1715, the buiding had been converted to a poorhouse with two occupants and, by the nineteenth century, to a school.[425] It is currently used as a parish hall.



Figure 23. Felsted (Essex), aerial view showing location of the Old School Room
(Photo © Google)

Felsted is situated 18 km northeast of Matching and 8 km west-southwest of Braintree. The village also appears to have developed around a church/manor-house cluster: the site of the manor house, now known as Felsted Bury is situated 85 m north of Holy Cross Church, itself in the village centre.[426] The village is not recorded as a borough, nor was it ever incorporated. The Old School Room is situated on the south side of the churchyard, only 8 m from the church, and fronts the crossroads formed by the principal east-west and north-

[424] P. Morant, *History*, II, pp. 499, 517.
[425] *VCH Essex*, VIII, pp. 204-5.
[426] A. Clark, ‘Copyhold Tenure at Felsted, Essex’, *EHR*, 27 (1912), 517-22 (p. 517).

south routes through the village (Figure 23) (**Plate XXXII.2**). The building, to which access has not been possible, now forms part of Felsted School, continuing the building's association with the original school founded by Richard Rich in 1564, having converted his original chantry foundation of 1555 for the purpose.[427] The building appears to have already existed: not only does its construction suggest a late fifteenth-century date, but a memory of its previous usage is also recorded in a 1576 survey of the manor referring to the building as 'le Guild hall'.[428] Significantly, the building adjoining the east end of the Old School is referred to as the 'church house', which did not belong to the chantry or the school foundation.[429] This building, with its elongated form and its front and rear jetties proclaiming a fully storeyed first-floor, also has the appearance of a community building.



Figure 23. Finchingfield (Essex), showing location of the Guildhall (Photo © Google)

[427] M. Craze, *A History of Felsted School, 1564-1947* (Ipswich, 1955), p. 20.
[428] ERO D/DCw M158/1.
[429] Craze, *History*, p. 29.

Finchingfield is located 12 km north of Felsted and 12 km northwest of Braintree. The village appears to have developed around a large, roughly rectangular green on a valley floor alongside a brook, located 70 m west of the church. The village is not recorded as a borough and was never incorporated. St John the Baptist Church is situated on the hillside above the green and, situated 25 m to the west at the edge of the churchyard, is the Guildhall (Figure 23) (**Plate XXXII.3**). The building's construction suggests a date in the second half of the fifteenth century, although no relevant documentary sources from this period have been traced. Writing in the 1780s, Morant records the existence of a Trinity Guild in Finchingfield founded for the purpose of supporting a guild priest and endowed with lands in the parish and the 'Yeld Hall upon the hill'.[430] The 1548 guild returns record that the Finchingfield guild kept a school and, by 1627 at least, the building contained a lock-up.[431] In 1630 Sir Robert Kempe of nearby Spain Hall refounded a school in the guildhall with an endowment of lands, whilst a feoffment in 1658 provided that it continue in use as a school house on the upper floor, with the remainder to be used as a poorhouse for five men or women.[432] The building has a two-bay extension on its eastern end dating from the first half of the seventeenth century and thus probably dates from the period of Kempe's foundation of the school. The building is currently a museum.

In the northwest of the county lies Clavering, 9 km southwest of Saffron Walden and 10 km north-northwest of Bishop's Stortford. The village developed along the southern bank of the River Stort and around Clavering Castle, a pre-Conquest ringwork situated 50 m north of SS Mary and Clement Church, and is not recorded as a taxed or incorporated borough. The Old Guildhall, also known

[430] Morant, *History*, I, p. 695.
[431] Martin, 'Medieval Essex Gilds', p. 41; T. Webster, *Stephen Marshall and Finchingfield*, SEH, 6 (Chelmsford, 1994), p.7.
[432] ERO D/Dk T109/2; D/DRs Q1.



Figure 24. Clavering (Essex), aerial view showing location of The Old Guildhall
(Photo © Google)

as Guild House, is situated 30 m southwest of the church at the entrance to the churchyard (Figure 24) (**Plate XXXIII.1**). The proximity of the building to the church and manor-house (Clavering Castle site/The Bury) recalls examples of similar clusters discussed above. The Old Guildhall fronts onto Church End, a lane which connects the church with Pelham Road, the main east-west route through the village. The building fabric suggests a date of the late fifteenth century and yet documentary sources relating to the building have proved entirely elusive, not least owing to the poor survival of parish records. The building is currently a private dwelling.

In **Suffolk**, four buildings have been selected for this study, the location of which is shown in Figure 25. The landscape over which these buildings are distributed perhaps shows greater variation than for Essex, although, like the latter, all the selected buildings are found in the South Eastern Province of Roberts and Wrathmell; the associated patterns of settlement, farming and

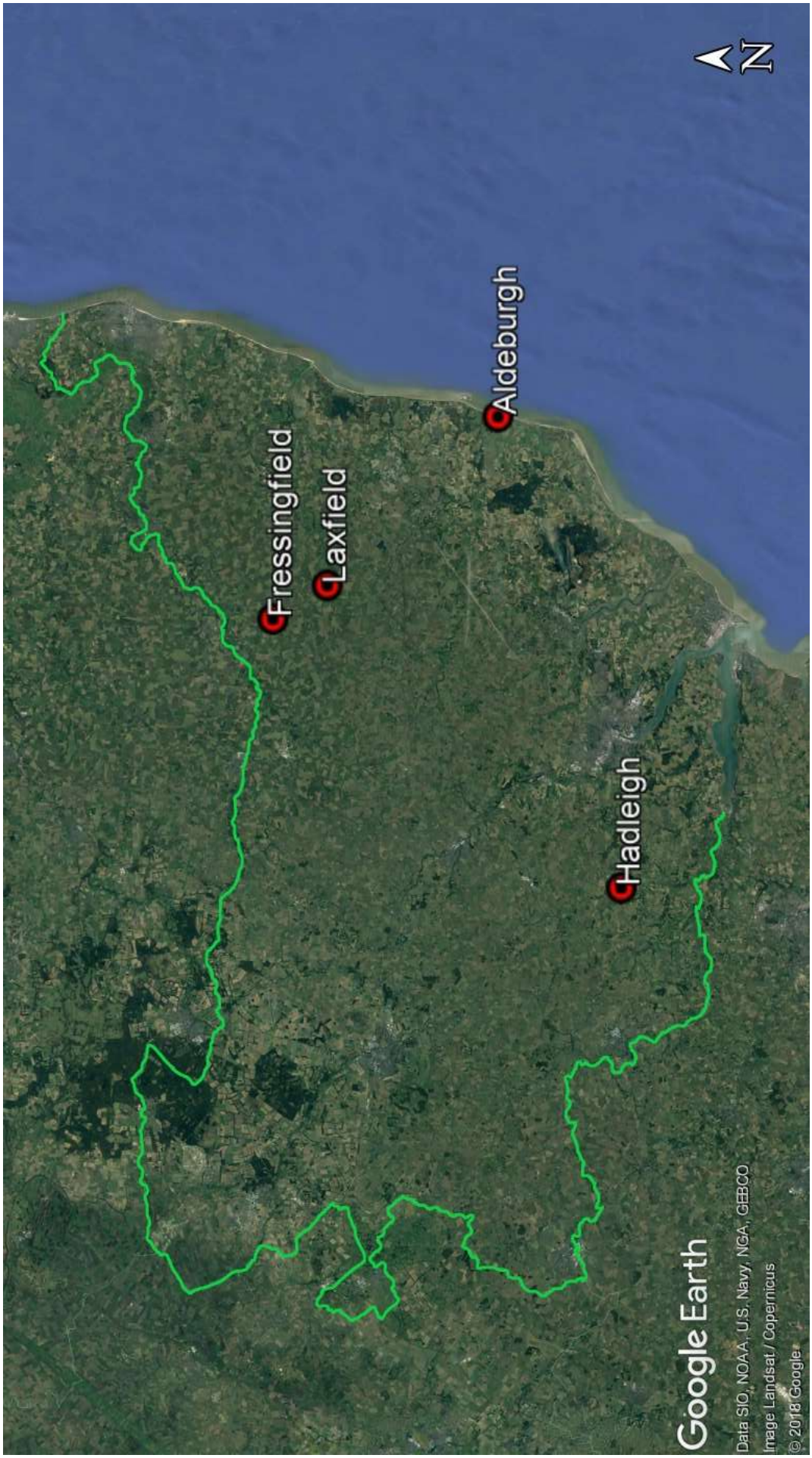


Figure 25. Suffolk – location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)

ancient enclosure still predominate.[433]



Figure 26. Hadleigh (Suffolk), aerial view showing location of The Town Hall (Photo © Google)

Proceeding north from Essex into south Suffolk brings one first to Hadleigh, located 13 km west of Ipswich. The town had a market by 1252, confirmed in an *inspeximus* of 1432.[434] Attempts at incorporation were made in 1571, 1580 and 1586 and were successful in 1618.[435] St Mary's Church is located in the centre of the town 60 m southeast of Hadleigh Hall (now Hadleigh School), the site of the manor house. The Guildhall is situated on the south side of the churchyard 30 m south of the church at a significant location between the churchyard and the marketplace to the south (Figure 26) (**Plate XXXIII.2**). The site is more complex than other buildings in this study in that it does indeed form a 'complex'. The evidence for buildings on the site, historically called 'Cherchecroft', occurs early: in 1419 'the whole building standing upon it' was being leased out and, by 1433,

[433] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and Place*, p. 62.
[434] Andrews and Springall, *Hadleigh*, p. 7.
[435] Andrews and Springall, *Hadleigh*, p. 240.

‘le markethows’ and the ‘almessehouses’ in the chambers below were described as having been newly-constructed. This refers to a now-demolished wing which adjoined the west side of the current three-storey ‘Market House’ of *c*. 1451. Soon afterwards, a further wing for use by the town’s guilds (’the Guildhall’) was constructed to the south.[436] Having been confiscated by the Crown after the guilds’ dissolution, by 1571 it was in private hands, but was regained by the town as a public building after a dispute ended with a judgement in their favour. From this point onwards the building, though almost certainly a *de facto* centre of local administration before the dissolution of the guilds, became the seat of the town’s government, whilst part of the guildhall wing functioned as a workhouse.[437] The building was subsequently also used as a courthouse and is currently used for civil ceremonies and local events.[438]



Figure 27. Aldeburgh (Suffolk), aerial view showing location of The Moot Hall
(Photo © Google)

[436] Andrews and Springall, *Hadleigh*, pp. 8, 10.
[437] Andrews and Springall, *Hadleigh*, pp. 66-7.
[438] Andrews and Springall, *Hadleigh*, p. 269.

Aldeburgh is located on the east coast, 13 km south of Dunwich and 8 km northeast of Orford. The town has seen considerable change owing to coastal erosion and, like Dunwich, the eastern part of the town has been lost to the sea. Pre-Reformation wills record the town's reliance upon the fishing industry, although the town remained in the economic shadow of Dunwich and Orford until the sixteenth century, by which time both had suffered from adverse coastal changes.[439] The town's subsequent importance underlies the grant of a charter of incorporation in 1547, although it did not send burgesses to Parliament until 1571.[440] SS Peter and Paul Church is located in the town centre and, situated 185 m to the east, is the Moot Hall (Figure 27) (**Plate I.3**). The date for the construction of the building is not recorded in the surviving town books, but the structural details and timber-framing (e.g. the raking queen-strut roof trusses, close-studding, four-centred arch door heads, carved door spandrels) is consistent with a mid-sixteenth century date and so a date around or before the town's incorporation in 1547 seems likely. It had certainly been built by 1568 when an entry in the town's books records a payment for 'makynge clene ye town's house.'[441] The differing designations for the building, mentioned in the introductory chapter, include both 'guildhall' and 'town house', but it was certainly the seat of the town's administration as it was the starting point for an annual procession of burgesses and bailiffs to the church.[442] The building remains the seat of the Town Council, with the council chamber still used for that purpose, whilst the ground floor contains a museum.

Laxfield is located in the north of the county, 23 km northwest of Aldeburgh.

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[439] V. B. Redstone, 'Aldeburgh. Its History', *PSIA*, 12 (1905), 202-211 (p. 204); B. Brodt, 'East Anglia', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, P. Clark and M. J. Daunton, 3 vols (Cambridge, 2000), I: *600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, pp. 639-56 (p. 653).
[440] Clodd, *Aldeburgh*, pp. 13-14, 27.
[441] Clodd, *Aldeburgh*, p. 37.
[442] Clodd, *Aldeburgh*, p. 27.



Figure 28. Laxfield (Suffolk), aerial view showing location of The Old Guildhall
(Photo © Google)

The village developed in irregular plots along a road junction around the centrally-located All Saints' Church, which is situated on the north side of the marketplace, and is not recorded as a borough by taxation or incorporation. The Old Guildhall fronts the south side of the marketplace, 45 m south of the church (Figure 28) (**Plate XXXIII.3**). Housing the Guild of St Mary, the current building dates from *c*. 1520, as bequests in wills of 1513 and 1519 were made towards its construction.[443] The guild is recorded as having a chapel in the church in 1480 and, the same year, it appears that it already owned the site of the Old Guildhall and possibly an earlier building upon it: the Court Roll of the manor of Laxfield Rectory refers to the admission of three tenants to 'one messuage with garden opposite the church, to be held for the use of the Guild of St Mary'.[444] It seems possible that this earlier building might have been 'Le Cherchehous', which is mentioned along with a parcel of land in a Court Roll of 1461.[445] No guild records are known to survive, but, following its dissolution, the guildhall was

[443] S. Colman, *The Guild of St Mary and its Guildhall in Laxfield, Suffolk* (Laxfield, 1986), p. 4.
[444] Redstone, 'Chapels, Chantries and Guilds', p. 82; SfROI FC80/L1/2.
[445] SfROI FC80/L1/1.

granted by the lord of the manor of Laxfield Rectory to the churchwardens to be held in trust for the town.[446] The first floor of the building now houses a museum, whilst the ground floor is partially subdivided and let out as commercial premises.



Figure 29. Fressingfield (Suffolk), aerial view showing location of The Fox and Goose (Photo © Google)

Fressingfield is located 6 km northwest of Laxfield and comprises an irregular settlement centred on SS Peter and Paul Church and, just to the north of the church, a triangular marketplace. The village is not recorded as a taxation borough, nor are there records of incorporation. On the southwest edge of the churchyard, 30 m from the church, is the Fox and Goose Inn or 'Old Guildhall' (Figure 29) (**Plate XXXIV.1**). The building can be fairly closely dated: an indenture conveying two pieces of town land south of the church in February 1508/9 to new feoffees refers in a memorandum to one of these pieces being 'newly edified'.[447] The building appears to have replaced an earlier guildhall in the village, although the site is not certainly established: a piece of land called 'the

[446] SfROI FC80/L1/3.
[447] SfROI FC90/L/3/8.

Old Guildhall' is recorded in conveyances of 1510 and 1547.[448] However, it seems to have been on a different site, as no building is specifically mentioned in the description of the land south of the church, on which the current building was to be built, when it was granted to a group of feoffees in 1491.[449] In common with other East Anglian guildhalls after the Reformation, for example in the case of Metfield 4 km to the northeast, the guildhall in Fressingfield became known as the 'Town House', at least by 1615.[450] In a rare instance of an East Anglian community building converting to a public house, the building had become the Fox and Goose by 1894.[451] Also rare, the building's original purpose and use is recorded in the text from the 1508/9 indenture, worth citing in full:

> '…for the more reu[er]ence of God & in avoydyng of etyng & drynkyng & other abusions in the chirch of ffresyngfeld aforesaid shal suffer the chirch wardeyns of the seid chirch ffresyngfeld & eny of the p[ar]ishons of ffresyngfeld aforseid co[n]venyently to use & occupye the seid two pecs of lond & all housis thereupon bylded in to and for the kepyng of all chirchalis gildis yerdayes buryenggs & other drynkynggs nescessary to the p[ro]fyte of the seid chirche or p[ar]isshe and that the seid housis nor any other of the p[re]miss be not letyd to ony p[er]son yerly soo that therby the kepyng of the seid chirch alis yerdayes thurty dayes vijth dayes or buriells myght be lettid or abusid.'[452]

The text goes on to state that the revenue from the use of the building was to be put towards its maintenance and rents in the first instance, with the remnants to be put to the use of the church as the feoffees advise.[453] This description

[448] SfROI FC90/L/3/9; FC90/L/3/11/1.
[449] SfROI FC90/L/3/1.
[450] For Metfield see above, p. 54; SfROI FC90/L/3/14.
[451] SfROI FC90/L/3/42.
[452] SfROI FC90/L/3/8.
[453] SfROI FC90/L/3/8.

therefore embodies the accepted purpose and use of a ‘church house’ and could thus just as well be applied to a significant majority of rural community buildings in the South West.

In **Norfolk**, which generally provided the lowest number of suitable surviving buildings, only two buildings have been selected (Figure 30). The inclusion of the Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth is discussed further below, and it has been included to provide a greater breadth of distribution in the county. Like Suffolk and Essex, Norfolk is entirely contained with Roberts’ and Wrathmell’s South-Eastern Province, and shares the broad settlement and enclosure characteristics of those counties.[454] Methwold can be seen to sit right amidst the ‘transition zone’ between the east and west divisions of their Wash sub-province, which delineates not only differing landscapes, but also the greater tendency towards settlement nucleation.[455] Great Yarmouth is situated on the east coast, along a sand-spit which has extended southwards over the mouth of the River Yare estuary. Like many North Sea settlements in East Anglia, the town thrived from the fishing industry, particularly herrings, throughout the medieval period. A Herring Fair, lasting from Michaelmas to Martinmas and administered by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, was in existence by the thirteenth century.[456] The Tolhouse is situated on the west side of Tolhouse Street, 750 m south of the former priory church, now the parish church, of St Nicholas (Figure 31) (**Plate XXXIV.2**). The main fabric appears to be thirteenth-century and it has been suggested that its construction is contemporary with the creation of the borough

[454] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and* Place, p. 60; B. K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in Britain* (London, 2000; repr. 2003), pp. 40-1.
[455] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas*, pp. 40-41.
[456] A. Saul, ‘Great Yarmouth in the Fourteenth Century: a Study in Trade, Politics and Society’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1975), p. 146.

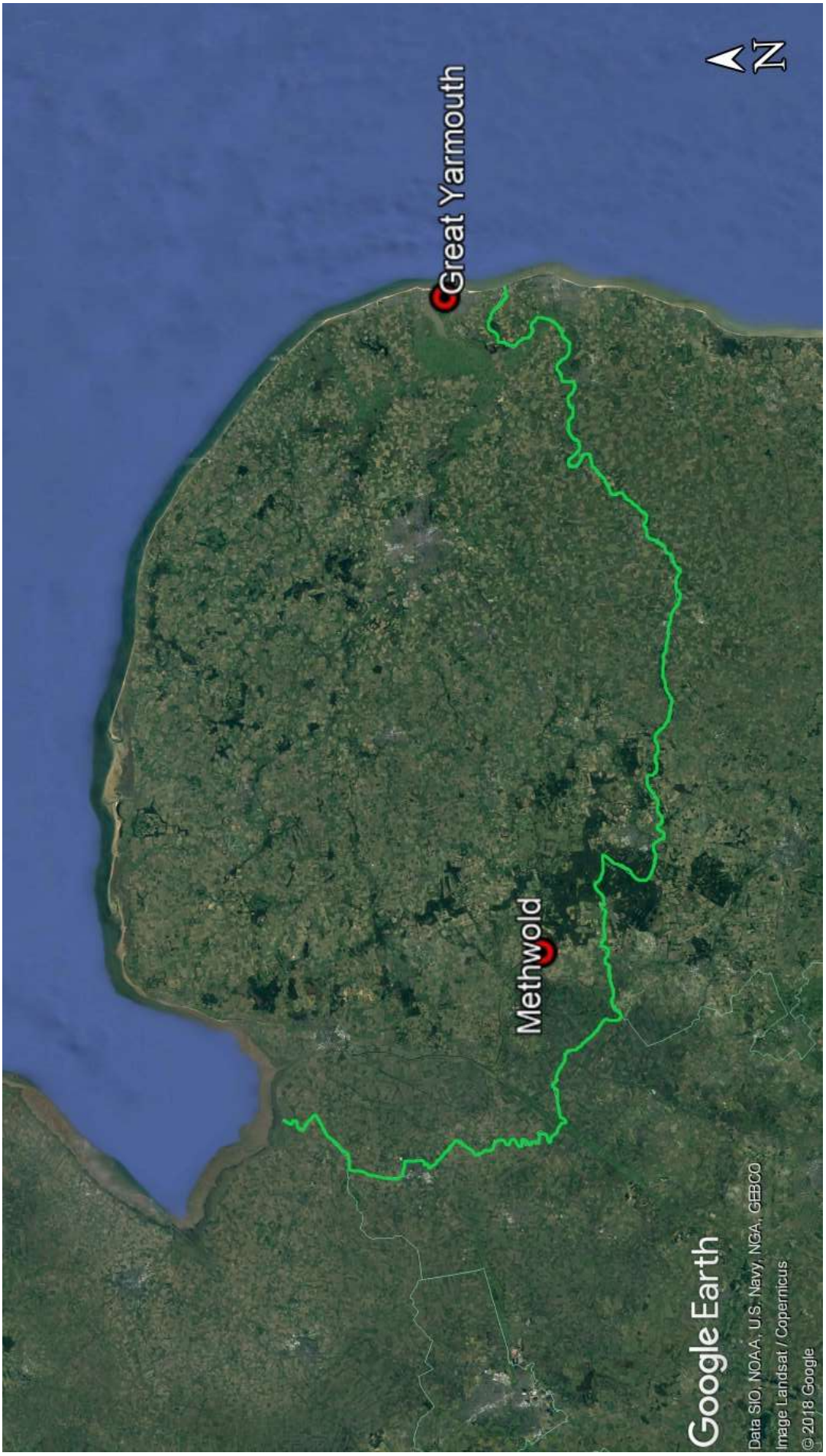


Figure 30. Norfolk – location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)



Figure 31. Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), aerial view showing location of The Tolhouse
(Photo © Google)

in 1208.[457] In 1229, the bailiffs of the town called a meeting of soldiers and merchants 'apud tolbotham', which plausibly refers to the building, whilst Henry III's charter of 1261 conferred the right to have a gaol which, in 1619 was understood to be at the Tolhouse.[458] By 1301-2 the building held the borough court.[459] The building is mentioned in a will of 1362, in which it was bequeathed by Stephen de Stalham to his wife, indicating that it was then in private hands, a fact which has prompted some to identify it as a domestic building.[460] However, others have made the point that the building was likely used by the town long before this time; indeed, the name 'Tolhouse' has etymological connections with market usage and, put with the earlier references, this suggests a long-standing usage as a commercial/public building long before 1362.[461] At around this date another community building in the town, a 'common hall', is mentioned in a

[457] F. Meeres, *A History of Great Yarmouth* (Chichester, 2007), p. 21.
[458] *CRR*, XIII: *1227-30*, pp. 305-6; *The History of Great Yarmouth by H. Manship*, ed. by F. D. Palmer (Great Yarmouth, 1854), p. 60.
[459] NRO Y/C 4/23.
[460] NRO Y/C 4/79; Meeres, *History*, p. 21.
[461] F. D. Palmer, *The Tolhouse, Great Yarmouth* (Great Yarmouth, [1884]), pp. 6-7.

transaction of 1362 which places it in or near the churchyard of St Nicholas, and it is the place of issue of a decree of disenfranchisement in 1395.[462] It seems likely that this building was the 'guildhall' repaired in 1544, which Palmer took as the building constructed at the time of the borough grant in 1208 and described as 'built upon arches, allowing a free passage under it to the churchyard'.[463] In any case it was the Tolhouse which certainly played a central role in the Herring Fair: in 1588 the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports were in dispute with the burgesses as to the order of precedence for the procession into, and seating within, the Tolhouse at the time of the Fair.[464] The building also functioned as a court house, holding the Borough Court, the Port Court and, from 1559, the Admiralty Court.[465] The building continued in use as a court-house, gaol and town hall until the late nineteenth century and is now a museum.

A brief note on the inclusion of the Tolhouse seems relevant, given that it was classified by Rigold as a form derivative of a first-floor hall and the building certainly bears considerable similarity with what might be considered to be a free-standing chamber block.[466] However three related reasons perhaps justify its inclusion. First, the ground floor is fully-storeyed and therefore does not appear to have been an undercroft for storage alone; the external ground level has risen three or four feet since the building was constructed.[467] Secondly, the building's form is so obviously related to other later community buildings in this study that its inclusion must be thought relevant to understanding their origins and the medieval designations for them. Thirdly, the building's uses are cognate with

[462] NRO Y/C 4/79; Y/C 4/105; also see above, p. 14.
[463] Palmer, *Manship's History*, p. 52; C. J. Palmer, *The Perlustration of Great Yarmouth*, 3 vols (Great Yarmouth, 1872-75), I (1872), p. 64.
[464] W. L. Rutton, 'The Cinque Ports and Great Yarmouth. Bailiff's Report, 1588', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 23 (1898), 161-83 (p. 163).
[465] Palmer, *History*, p. 61.
[466] See above, p. 5.
[467] R. F. E. Ferrier, 'The Toll House at Great Yarmouth', *JBAA*, n.s., 31 (1925), 100-6 (p. 100).

those of other community buildings and documented at least as early as the fourteenth century or, if the building is connected with the 1229 reference or the 1261 charter, even the thirteenth century. This extraordinarily long period of documented community usage certainly contributes to the understanding of later community buildings.



Figure 32. Methwold (Norfolk), aerial view showing location of The Old Vicarage
(Photo © Google)

Moving from the east coast of Norfolk to its western border, Methwold is located 14 km southeast of Downham Market and 18 km northwest of Thetford. The village appears as an irregular cluster around St George's Church and a manor house site to its immediate northwest.[468] The Old Vicarage lies 48 m south-southwest of the church on the south side of Crown Street which leads westwards towards Methwold Hythe (Figure 32) (**Plate XXXIV.3**). Although the building can be stylistically dated to the late fifteenth century, with the brick gable added in the very early sixteenth century, documentary sources relating to the building have thus far proved elusive. Blomefield refers to a vicarage in Methwold

[468] NHER 4935, http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk [accessed 10 April 2019].

at the time of the dissolution of the priory of Castle Acre, but it is by no means certain to which building he refers.[469] A guild of the Holy Trinity is recorded in Methwold and it seems plausible that the building was associated with this group.[470] Whatever its original history, it seems likely that the building had been converted to other uses by the close of the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century, the southern end was partially rebuilt and then, probably in the eighteenth century, the building was extended by an additional bay to the south. One final point to note about Methwold is the presence of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century, two-storey building to the northeast of the church on Globe Street, which fronts the partially-infilled marketplace, called 'Church House'. The building is extant and retains this name and, though it appears to have been entirely rebuilt, it reuses earlier stonework. The first floor was removed to create a church hall in the nineteenth century, indicating some continuation of community usage.[471]

In **Cambridgeshire**, only two buildings were selected for this study, owing much to the joint hurdles of extensive alteration to surviving buildings and gaining access (Figure 33). Indeed, for the latter reason neither building has been inspected internally, but sufficient information survives from other sources for them to provide useful examples. The majority of selected buildings outlined so far are contained within Roberts' and Wrathmell's Northern and Western or South-Eastern Province and thus found in landscapes of dispersed settlements and piecemeal, ancient enclosure of predominantly pastoral farmlands. Both

[469] F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 5 vols (Fresfield, 1739), I, p. 512.
[470] R. C. Taylor, *Index Monasticus* (London, 1821), p. 73.
[471] NHER 37103, http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk [accessed 10 April 2019].

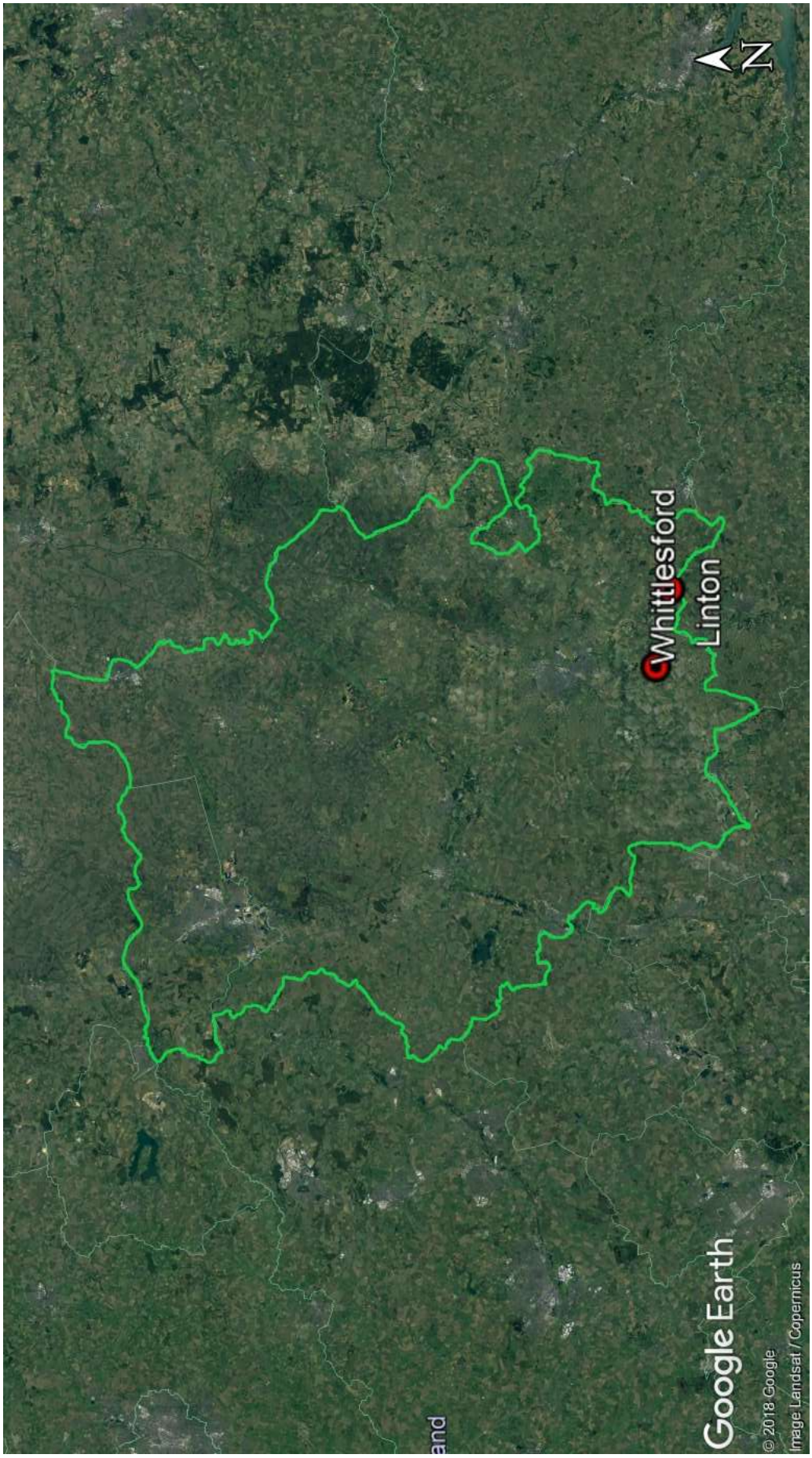


Figure 33. Cambridgeshire – location of selected community buildings (Photo © Google)

predominantly pastoral farmlands. Both Whittlesford and Linton are, however, Whittlesford and Linton are, however, situated at the edge of the Central Province and thus provide a useful comparative situation in the East Anglian region to that seen in the South West in Crowcombe and Stogumber in Somerset, whose marginal position also resulted in a 'frontier' character.[472] Taylor's map of this East Anglian frontier illustrates both its nature in Cambridgeshire and also the proximity of other villages with likely, although less certain, extant examples of community buildings, such as Thriplow and Hinxton and, though not labelled, Duxford and Great Shelford (Figure 34).

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

Figure 34. Detail of boundary between Central and South Eastern Provinces in Cambridgeshire and Essex (reproduced from Taylor, 'Nucleated Settlement', p. 54)

[472] See above, p. 132.



Figure 35. Whittlesford (Cambridgeshire), aerial view showing location of The Guildhall (Photo © Google)

Whittlesford is located 10 km south of Cambridge and 12 km northwest of Saffron Walden. The village, which does not appear to have been taxed or incorporated as a borough, has a polyfocal plan around three nodes. At the northeast end of the village is a four-way crossroads between a north-south route (North Road/Duxford Road) and an east-west route (Church Lane/High Street); the latter has been surmised by Taylor as the original primary route along which the village developed towards a ford over the River Cam.[473] The second node occupies the centre of the modern settlement and comprises a junction between the historic east-west route and its brief southwestern continuation and a route joining from the west. The final node is a small triangular space along the western route which by 1488 is recorded as 'Market Green'.[474] The Guildhall is situated at the first of these nodes, the crossroads, alongside the route leading northeast towards SS Mary and Andrew Church (270 m) and moated manor house site (350 m). The latter two thus form a cluster as seen in other areas of

[473] C. C. Taylor, 'Medieval Market Grants and Village Morphology', *Landscape History*, 4 (1982), 21-28 (p. 25).
[474] Taylor, 'Medieval Market Grants', p. 26.

East Anglia and the South West, although here the community building does not form part of it (Figure 35) (**Plate XXXV.1**). The building dates from the early sixteenth century, although documentary sources from this period are thus far lacking. A guild of St John the Baptist was founded prior to 1389 for the reparation of the church and it had a stock of £3 in the subsidy of 1525.[475] By 1600 it was in use as a poorhouse, a use which continued throughout the eighteenth century and suggests that the parish retained, or regained, use of the building after the dissolution of the guild. Part of the building was also used as a schoolroom in the mid-eighteenth century and by the 1830s the building is referred to as the 'town house' and housed paupers. It continued in the ownership of the parish council and was sold in 1966 to become a private dwelling.[476]



Figure 36. Linton (Cambridgeshire), aerial view showing location of The Guildhall
(Photo © Google)

[475] Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, p. 147; *VCH Cambs*, VI, p. 271.
[476] *VCH Cambs*, VI, pp. 271, 275.

Linton is located 9 km east-southeast of Whittlesford, practically on the border with Essex. Like Whittlesford, the village is polyfocal, with settlement around an infilled triangular green north of the church and westwards along the east-west highway towards a (later?) marketplace on the other side of the River Cam. The town does not appear to have been formally recognised as a borough, even though burgage tenure was introduced at some point in the thirteenth century.[477] St Mary's Church is set back from the principal thoroughfare and these nodal points and does not appear to have attracted settlement around it, but rather loosely along the lane leading north towards the infilled green. The Guildhall forms part of this grouping around the church and is situated 45 m from the church on the opposite side of Church Lane at its junction with Horn Lane, which leads westwards across a ford to join with the continuation of the High Street (Figure 36) (**Plate XXXV.2**). The building can be relatively closely dated: bequests for a new guildhall were coming in as early as 1499, but it was after one for two marks by the parish priest in 1507 that a parcel of rectory land was leased out by Pembroke College, Cambridge, for its construction, which was complete by 1523.[478] The shorter parallel range adjoining the north side seems to be contemporary. The Guildhall was managed by a group of six to eight prominent inhabitants of the town, who transacted their business there, and was in the hands of feoffees by 1564, with the profits maintaining the church and the causeway/ford to the west.[479] Records from the sixteenth century refer to marriage feasts and travelling players in the building and in 1656 it was leased by Pembroke College to trustees for forty years, but became a private dwelling on

[477] J. H. Clapham, 'A Thirteenth-Century Market Town: Linton, Cambs.', *CHJ*, 4 (1932-34), 194-202 (p. 198).
[478] Palmer, 'Village Gilds', p. 350; *VCH Cambs*, VI, p. 98.
[479] *VCH Cambs*, VI, p. 98.

expiration of the lease.[480]

As for the South West, the above overview of the twelve selected buildings in East Anglia prompts a brief summary. First, in terms of the regional nomenclature for community buildings in East Anglia, nine of the twelve buildings have the current and/or attested historical name of 'guildhall', suggesting that it was the more typical designation of community buildings in East Anglia. In the case of Matching (Essex) and Methwold (Norfolk), no historical designation was found owing to the lack of documentary sources. This figure correlates almost exactly with the proportion of buildings in the South West known as 'church houses'.[481] The term 'church house' has not been found to be much in evidence among the extant buildings; possibly only as a fifteenth-century precursor building on the site of the Guildhall in Laxfield. However, it must be reiterated that the term was not entirely alien to the region: a fifteenth-century reference to a church house in Felsham (Suffolk) and a sixteenth-century reference to one in Boxford (Suffolk) have been mentioned above.[482] The co-existence of the terms in East Anglia for rural community buildings stands in contrast to the South West, where the term has been found to be reserved for buildings in towns, which have some economic, judicial or social significance in the region. This coexistence in East Anglia could therefore reflect either a regional preference for the term 'guildhall' for buildings of broadly similar purpose and/or use as church houses, or an implicit and subtle distinction between the terms, which, as yet, remains elusive. Given that a small number of pre-sixteenth-century references to church houses exist in East Anglia, it is tempting to suggest that this was in fact an

[480] *VCH Cambs*, VI, p. 98; R. L. Stevens, *Linton: The Story of a Market Town*, 2nd edn (Linton, 1992), p. 17.
[481] See above, p. 140-41.
[482] See above, pp. 57, 87.

earlier term for community buildings in rural areas before these communities established buildings driven by guild initiatives, but, at this stage, this excessively strains the available evidence.

In terms of general position, five of the twelve buildings are located on the churchyard edge and all, apart from the Marriage Feast Room in Matching, are known to be, or have been, called a 'guildhall.' Similarly, five buildings are not located near the churchyard and are instead located on surviving or historical open spaces or marketplaces; a subject to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. Of these, three are known to have been called 'guildhalls', whilst one is the Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth and one the Old Vicarage in Methwold, whose historical name is not known, but is likely to have been connected with the parish guild. Two are situated in close proximity to the churchyard, but neither within it, nor in a situation which points to an obvious settlement-centre location.

These crude reckonings do not support as clear a hypothesis as did the church houses of the South West: the distribution of guildhalls between a settlement-centre location and a churchyard edge is even and suggests that the term 'guildhall' was equally applicable to community buildings in either location, as well as for the prominent public buildings in urban areas. In addition, there is the possibility of multiple community buildings with multiple designations in the Tolhouse and Guildhall attested in Great Yarmouth and the Old Vicarage/Guildhall and 'church house' in Methwold.

Where the uses of these buildings are attested in historical sources, one finds distinct similarities with those attested for church houses, mainly in feasting/church ales, courts, trading and lock-ups. Now that these connections in terminology and usage have been more clearly established, it remains to undertake a more detailed assessment of the location of, and access to, these community buildings in the two regions, before moving onto their plan-forms.

6 Location, Orientation and Access I: South West

The preceding chapters have established commonalities and distinctions between community buildings in the two regions. First, the building type has been established in general terms as being present in both regions and is discussed in greater depth with regard to plan-forms in Chapters 8 and 9. Second, the historical designations for the buildings are shared in both regions, although with some distinctions as to when and where they were found. Third, it has been seen how community buildings often – though not always – form part of a cluster of buildings with the church and manor house, or are at least in close proximity. This chapter takes a more detailed approach to the location of community buildings and how this relates to their access. In so doing not only will their relationship to churches, manor houses and local topography be addressed, but also another general hypothesis advanced previously: that they are often to be found on, or very close to, a public open space, such as a village square, marketplace or widened road. Whereas the aerial views in the preceding chapters give some indication of the modern context of the buildings, this and the following chapter focus on the historic built environment. Therefore the clutter of twentieth-century development is circumvented by using the first and second editions of the twenty-five-inch Ordnance Survey, published between the 1860s and the early 1900s. Tithe Maps of the late 1830s and early 1840s have also been consulted and used where thought appropriate, but the variations in quality, scale and orientation between parishes do not assist easy comparison. All maps are shown with ‘North’ at the top of the image. For clarity on the maps provided, the community buildings have been highlighted in red, the church in blue and open spaces in green. The identification of open spaces is most cases the result of broad morphological assessment. In each case, more detailed analysis would assist in delineating the full extent of these spaces during the high period of

community building foundation from the late-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. However, a general rule-of-thumb might indicate that these spaces would only ever have been larger, as succeeding centuries tend to bring encroachment rather than enlargement.

In **Cornwall**, the buildings occurred in two broad settings. The Gildhouse in Poundstock, the Church House in St Teath and The Clink in St Tudy are situated in rural settings, villages in a landscape of dispersed settlement where buildings are loosely agglomerated. The Old Town Hall in Fowey and the Old Guildhall in Looe are located in towns, where buildings are closely-packed and have developed around the fishing industry. Beginning with the former, the maps given in Figure 37 show an obvious spatial correlation between the community buildings and the churchyard, although in specific details there are many differences. Not only are the alignments of the buildings all different, but they are all located on different sides of the churchyard. However, the similarities assist in explaining why the churchyard location seems to have been considered important. First, all three buildings could be considered as having their principal frontages *away* from the churchyard. Second, all three are built into sloping ground on at least one elevation, which, on all three buildings, is that which provides direct access via external staircases to the first floor. At Poundstock (**Plate XXVII.1**) and St Tudy (**Plate XXXVI.3**), this is on side elevations (north and east respectively) and in both cases this appears to be the original entrance. At St Teath, although the current first-floor access is from an external stair on the side (northeast) elevation, an earlier blocked doorway, possibly with the vestige of an external stair, is visible in the centre of the rear elevation (**Plate XXXV.3**). The presence of two original doorways to the first floor cannot be ruled out, but this would be anomalous and would suggest a subdivision of the first floor which

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Figure 37. Comparative locations of community buildings in Poundstock (top), St Teath (centre) and St Tudy (bottom)

is not reflected in the internal plan (see Chapter 8). Third, the first-floor doorways are all positioned so as to facilitate access from both the lower (street) level and the higher churchyard. Although the suggested original first-floor doorway at St Teath would stand as an exception to this, the position of the external staircase, assuming it replicates a historical position, still provides that access between street level and churchyard. Finally, in this case none of the buildings bears any kind of observable spatial relationship with a known manor house or site.

The open spaces onto which the buildings face differ in their form and extent, but are nonetheless observable. The Gildhouse in Poundstock is set back from a triangular space which widens out from the thoroughfare, which is one of the two routes leading into the village from the main north-south road (today's A39). The only original access into the ground floor was on this side of the building (**Plate XXXVI.1**). The Church House in St Teath sits at the southwest end of the widening associated with the crossroads, possibly a marketplace, in the centre of the town. The map also highlights the churchyard extension on the west side of the road opposite the building; although the history of this piece of land has not been fully investigated, it is known that it was only purchased for use as an additional cemetery in 1869 and therefore conceivably could have been open ground in the sixteenth century.[483] The Clink in St Tudy lies at the western end of what appears to be a large open space, which, to judge from the buildings on it, had been encroached upon by the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, along with a western projection past the building (**Plate XXXVI.2**). In all three buildings, the ground floor was originally only accessible from doorways facing out onto these open spaces, suggesting some functional and/or practical connection with them. Other Cornish buildings with similar relationships include

[483] Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History*, IV, p. 214.

the aforementioned former church house at 1-2 Church Street, Stratton (**Plate XVI.1**), and the Lych Gate in Kenwyn.

The above similarities between all three buildings suggest that the concept of a 'principal frontage' should perhaps be revised in favour of distinct spaces which, although under the same roof, were intended to be accessed and used separately: therefore the 'frontage' of the ground floor is towards an open space, whilst the 'frontage' of the first floor is towards the churchyard. And yet, notwithstanding this separation, in all cases it was considered necessary to be able to access the first floor from the ground floor *externally*; none of these buildings has any evidence for an original internal staircase.[484] The need for such access could be explained in terms of providing a convenient shortcut from an open space to the churchyard – for all cases have alternative churchyard entrances – but what of a functional connection between the floors? As the opportunity was not taken to connect the floors internally, any functional connection was seemingly secondary to the primary purpose of each floor. Only St Teath has evidence for an original ground-floor fireplace for cooking/brewing and so only in this case could a processional route for food be contemplated with any degree of certainty. At Poundstock and St Tudy this is less likely owing to the lack of original fireplaces.[485] Indeed, one could speculate that the value of these buildings, both in materials and community function, and ever-present risk of fire discouraged provision of internal fireplaces.

A similar exercise can be undertaken between the two 'urban' examples in Fowey and Looe (Figure 38). Neither building is attached to the churchyard: the Old Town Hall in Fowey is located close to the quay, whilst the Old Guildhall in

[484] An internal stair present in the Church House in St Teath is a later insertion.
[485] St Tudy and Poundstock both have inserted chimney stacks providing a first-floor fireplace in the former and two fireplaces per floor in the latter. The Conservation Plan for the Gildhouse in Poundstock (Keystone Historic Building Consultants, 2004, p. 5) argues for an original fireplace at the southern end. However, there is no vestige of such a feature internally.

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Figure 38. Comparative locations of community buildings in Fowey (top) and East Looe (bottom)

Looe is situated in a high part of town between Higher and Middle Market Street. Whilst the buildings perhaps do not form a cluster with the church, each is close to the marketplace. Like the rural examples, there appears to be no specific reason to link the buildings' alignment, which, although west-northwest to east-southeast in both, matches the street pattern in both towns. Neither building adjoins the manor houses in the parish. Although Place House in Fowey (the manor house site) is immediately north of the church and thus forms a group with it, the distance between them and the Old Town Hall separates the latter. In

terms of topography and location, there are few connections. In Fowey, The Old Town Hall is built into a slope so that access from the south side leads directly into the first-floor hall (**Plate XXVI.2**), while the north elevation extends two storeys to ground level The building further makes use of the slope on the north side, where the ground floor, now much altered, appears to have had either small units or an open-sided arcade (**Plate XXXVI.3**). Significantly, the New Town Hall of 1787, forming an extension to the original building on the east side, has an open-sided arcade on the ground floor (now partially infilled), thus possibly replicating on a larger scale a similar space in the Old Town Hall. This ground-floor arcade on the New Town Hall was, and is, used for trading and so the same purpose could be reconstructed for the ground floor of the Old Town Hall, particularly given its location near the quay and an open space.

Like the rural buildings, these town examples are located adjacent to open spaces, although these have been partially built over. In Fowey a remnant of this space can be seen in the widening of the significantly-named Market Street along the north side of the building and possibly included the area on which the New Town Hall now stands, as well as the space on the north side of Market Street where now stands the block of later buildings, which had been constructed by 1779.[486] In Looe, Fore Street and Higher Market Street were the original shoreline thoroughfares of the borough at the time of its foundation in the twelfth century and the roads and lanes west of these represent reclamation of the foreshore.[487] On part of this foreshore was laid out the old market area, which is now almost entirely built upon and difficult to perceive on the ground. However, it is more discernible on historic maps as having been the area bordered by the

[486] BL C.11.b.7.(12.).
[487] The Cahill Partnership and Cornwall Archaeological Unit, 'Cornwall Industrial Settlements Initiative: Looe' (April 2002), p. 33.

current Higher and Lower Market Streets extending northwest as far as the junction with the current Buller Street, which is a continuation of Fore Street; the area enclosed was thus a large tapering shoreline marketplace at the east end of which sat the Old Guildhall.[488]

In both cases, the buildings in Fowey and Looe acted as town halls where town and court business was transacted and so their spatial relationship to the commercial centre of the town reflects these functions. The buildings also played a part in the commercial life of the town: the possible covered trading area on the ground floor of the Old Town Hall in Fowey has already been mentioned, but the Old Guildhall in Looe also retains traces of an area for covered trading. The north elevation facing Higher Market Street retains a vestigial flashing and joist ends for a lean-to pentice roof across three-quarters of the elevation (**Plate XXVI.3**), a feature similar to that discussed above for the church house in Stratton. The current external staircase is a later replacement which cuts through the line of the flashing. Although at first glance it appears that this roof, commonly associated with sheltered trading, is on a secondary elevation, the later buildings along the southern side of Higher Market Street obscure the original plan of the marketplace, which at its eastern end wrapped around all sides of the building. Therefore the pentice and external stair would have had a greater prominence in the marketplace which is not replicated in the modern street pattern.

The Old Town Hall in Fowey also had a prominent external staircase to the first floor. Whilst this now only survives on the south side, i.e. away from Market Street and the main area of the former marketplace, the presence of a blocked doorway on the north elevation indicates that a stair was also present on this side of the building (**Plate XXXVII.1**). Significantly, the adjoining New Town Hall also

[488] 'Cornwall Industrial Settlements Initiative: Looe', pp. 14, 17.

has a staircase on the elevation facing the former marketplace, perhaps reflecting a need to continue means of access from this important commercial space to the first-floor chamber.

Taking the above comparative analysis to the buildings in **Devon** reveals commonalities with the buildings in Cornwall. However, as was also seen in Cornwall, there are differences in alignments and their relationship to manor house sites and the churchyard. In South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor, where each have one elevation adjoining the churchyard, the position of the buildings seems to be dictated not by the church, but by the central open space of the village. In Harberton the building is divorced entirely from the churchyard and occupies a position within this open space (Figure 39). Of the three, only Church House in South Tawton has a long elevation facing the churchyard and here it is entirely blank, but for one small (blocked) window opening (**Plate XXXVII.2**);[489] this hardly seems to indicate a functional, or indeed symbolic, connection with the churchyard or the church. The Church House in Widecombe-in-the-Moor has a gable adjoining the churchyard boundary with a tall, two-light window which, as historic photographs confirm, replaced an earlier window opening (**Plate XXXVII.3**).

The buildings in Widecombe-in-the-Moor and Harberton retain pentice roofs for covered trading (**Plates XXIX.1** and **XXIX.3**). At South Tawton, a similar pentice is recorded in documentary sources, but no traces survive: a shingled pentice roof is mentioned specifically in expenditure for repairs in 1668, 1676 and 1679, but costs for shingles in 1567/8 could refer to this feature at that date as other entries indicate that the church house was thatched.[490] Other examples of

[489] The current small, low-level window is a later insertion.
[490] DevHC 2915A/PW/1-2.

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Figure 39. Comparative locations of community buildings in South Tawton (top), Widecombe-in-the-Moor (centre) and Harberton (bottom)

community buildings in Devon with remaining or vestigial pentice roofs facing an open space occur at the lost building in Chagford (**Plate XIII.2**); 1-3 St Michael's Cottages, Ilsington (**Plate XVIII.2**); The Priest's House in Holcombe Rogus (**Plate XXVIII.2**); and Church House in Combeinteignhead (**Plate XXXVIII.1**). In all cases, the pentice roof is on the side of the building facing into the open space, which, as in the Cornish examples, suggests not only that the open space itself was a venue for trade, even when no specific market charters are known, but also that the building itself played a role connected with that commercial activity.

In none of the three buildings was access possible from the churchyard. In South Tawton, access to the ground and first-floors was possible only from the open space, onto which the external stairs also faced. In Widecombe-in-the-Moor, the ground floor is accessed from the open space on both sides, whilst the external staircase for access to the first floor was on the north side (**Plate I.2**).[491] As in the Cornish examples, neither of these buildings had internal access between floors, implying a distinction between them which, at Widecombe-in-the-Moor at least, is emphasised by the position of the first-floor access on the opposite side of the building. At Harberton, the original means of access to the first floor is less easily discernible. It has been suggested that an internal spiral staircase was present at the northwest corner, but removed in the seventeenth century.[492] Though there are now no traces of a stair here, it is possible as extant examples are known elsewhere (e.g. Drewsteignton). Where internal spiral staircases are found in the South West, they tend to be subsidiary and therefore an external staircase was likely present, either at the rear of the building, which

[491] The current staircase appears to be a mid- to late-nineteenth-century rebuild, but an earlier projecting stair is shown on the Tithe Map.
[492] R. E. Waterhouse, 'The Church Houses of South Devon: an Archaeological Survey' (unpublished HND thesis, Bournemouth Polytechnic, 1991), pp. 23-30.

has now been extended, or at the west end of the front elevation, where the flashing for the original pentice stops 3 m from the end wall.

As in Cornwall, the open spaces adjoining the buildings differ in their form. At South Tawton, the area on the southeast side of the building is readily legible as a 'village square', albeit triangular. Taking a wider view of the village reveals a larger, funnel-shaped area delineated, by the nineteenth century at least, by lanes around the perimeter and a single lane across its centre (Church Ways). Within this large area, only one building (Church View Cottage/Beggars Roost) in the north corner pre-dates the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. Whilst certainly not conclusive of the historical morphology of the village, given the building dates and the distinctive shape of the area it seems at least possible that in the late fifteenth century, when Church House was built, the majority of this area formed a much larger common or green, perhaps a 'town place'. The latter term occurs in numerous Devon villages and appears to have indicated an area of waste historically for common grazing typically in the centre of the settlement; indeed it has been suggested that that the current small square in South Tawton had this historical origin and the name survives in analogous contexts in Higher and Lower Town Place in Lapford, 15 km to the northeast.[493] A similar position could be taken in Harberton where, although the Church House Inn fronts a clear open space on its south side, the street pattern of the village suggests that this in fact formed the southern end of a larger rectangular area which extended northwards to the point shown. The rectilinearity of such a space need not be surprising for a Devon village, as one survives at Chittlehampton. The Henry Wyse almshouses (now demolished) shown at the northern end of this area on

[493] Dartmoor NPA, 'South Tawton Conservation Area Character Appraisal' (2011), p. 7. For other 'town places' in Devon, see Chittlehampton in *RCC Devon*, 2 vols (Exeter, 1826-28), II (1828), p. 276, and 'The Square or Town Place' in Eggbuckland, now a village green registered by ACRA, www.acraew.org.uk [accessed 26 April 2019].

the Ordnance Survey, had been constructed by 1690 on a parcel of land called 'Church Park north of the Church House', suggesting that it was not previously built upon.[494] In Widecombe-in-the-Moor, the open space/marketplace on the south side of the building has been discussed, but the significant extent of land shown on the north side invites comment, particularly as it is considerably larger than the current small enclosed green on this side of the building (**Plate I.2**). This land was mentioned above in the context of a lease of 1608 describing 'Butpark' and was almost certainly therefore the piece of land set aside for archery in 1466 (**Plate XXXVIII.2**).[495] Before the enclosure of the small garden on the north side of The Church House, the building fronted directly onto this large green, now known as the village green, which also plays host to the annual Widecombe Fair and was expressly included in the aforementioned lease as being part of the twice-annual church ale celebrations for which the parishioners required use of the land.

Whilst the above buildings therefore have relatively clear associations with an extant or vestigial open space, others in Devon are not so clear. The buildings in Swimbridge, Holcombe Rogus, Drewsteignton and Lamerton all appear to front narrow roadways and therefore require some explanation. The buildings in Holcombe Rogus and Lamerton, both now referred to as some variant of 'priest's house', are both situated not only on the edge of the churchyard, but also directly opposite current or former vicarages of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively (Figure 40). In both cases, construction of the rectories added to an isolated cluster of buildings and did not form part of a pre-existing context of developed plots, suggesting that they were built on undeveloped land. In both

[494] D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 6 vols (London, 1806-1822), VI (1822), p. 600; *RCC Devon*, II, p. 33.
[495] See above, p. 126; Dymond, *Things New and* Old, p. 57.

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Figure 40. Comparative locations of community buildings in Holcombe Rogus (top), and Lamerton (bottom)

cases a suggested extent of former open space has been shown, albeit as a means of illustrating, rather than perhaps answering, this question, which requires more specific documentary and architectural research focussing on the vicarages and their plots. However, whilst the respective field names on the Tithe Maps of both parishes are not suggestive of a relevant earlier use, it is significant that in both cases the extent of land shown formed part of the glebe by that time and was therefore associated with church ownership.[496] Though ownership by

[496] DevHC DEX/4/a/TA/249Lamerton; DEX/4/a/TA/213HolcombeRogus.

the church is not suggested as a *sine qua non* of community use, the incorporation of community spaces into the glebe was encountered above at Stogumber and it is notable that it was the churchwardens in Widecombe-in-the-Moor who were responsible for leasing out the land associated with the church house.[497] These are tentative suggestions, but, at Holcombe Rogus at least, the surviving flashing for a likely pentice roof across the front (east) of the building suggests commercial activity and, by analogy with other examples such as Widecombe-in-the-Moor, space in which this could take place. Aside from what appear to be three (inserted) windows, the Priest's House in Holcombe Rogus presents an otherwise blank façade towards Holcombe Court on the west side, suggesting that its primary façade was towards the east. At Lamerton, which could be a conversion, or certainly an earlier purpose-built community building than the majority of Devon examples, there is no sign of a pentice.

Both Holcombe Rogus and Lamerton present an elevation towards the churchyard: in the former it is a gable, similar to Widecombe-in-the-Moor, whilst at the latter is a long elevation which, thus far, appears to be the more common form of positioning for rural community buildings, even if access from this elevation is less typically found. In both these buildings, however, it is the churchyard elevation which provides the location for first-floor access. At Holcombe Rogus, the first-floor doorway was reached by an external staircase (now lost) (**Plate XXVIII.2**), whilst at Lamerton the topography permits direct access from the higher level of the churchyard (**Plate XXXVIII.3**), which at least implicitly suggests a more functional linkage between the ambit of the church and the upper floor of the building.

Similar questions can be directed towards the buildings in Swimbridge and

[497] For Stogumber, see above, p. 126.

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Figure 41. Comparative locations of community buildings in Swimbridge (top), and Drewsteignton (bottom)

Drewsteignton, both of which are located on the churchyard edge. Although both are now less obviously positioned towards an open space, gentle questioning of the immediate context raises some possibilities (Figure 41). Swimbridge displays some interesting elements in its morphology: the Old School Rooms is located on the High Street, a north-south thoroughfare which is now a dead-end, but which could represent the remains of the formerly principal thoroughfare through the village, before the east-west route to Barnstaple rose to prominence, culminating

in its turnpiking in 1763.[498] Similar historic changes in settlement alignment have been posited for a number of Cambridgeshire villages, including Whittlesford.[499] Coupled with this, the buildings along the High Street and the large triangular section of land south of the church generally appear to date from the very late eighteenth century or later. Furthermore, by 1840 at least, those on the triangular land south of the church were all in the ownership of either the Dean of Exeter Cathedral or the 'Feoffees of the Poor of Swimbridge.'[500] Therefore here again one might combine the lack of pre-eighteenth-century buildings with both a distinctively-shaped parcel of land and ownership of the church/parish to suggest the location of an open space in the sixteenth century, one associated with parochial activities and therefore the Old School Rooms as the former church house.

At Drewsteignton, the Church Rooms are close to a widening of the roadway before it opens out more fully 45 m to the west of the building. But the buildings located opposite on the Ordnance Survey map, which partly remain, appear to be ancillary buildings contemporary with the early-nineteenth-century Old Rectory and the land itself, a large area, is recorded on the Tithe Map as being part of the glebe.[501] In the sixteenth century, the Church Rooms could therefore have faced a larger open space providing a secondary space for village activities away from the main village square to the northwest in a way analogous to Widecombe-in-the-Moor. Again further specific research of the locality would be needed to attempt a fuller reconstruction of the sixteenth-century land use.

The buildings in Swimbridge and Drewsteignton each present a long elevation to the churchyard and in both cases these façades are generally blank.

[498] W. H. Rogers, 'Barnstaple Turnpike Trust', *TDA*, 74 (1942), 139-67 (p. 140).
[499] C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London, 1979), pp. 106-7.
[500] DevHC 1621A/PB/4/1-2.
[501] DevHC DEX/4/a/TM/Drewsteignton1.

At Drewsteignton, the building is partially terraced into the higher churchyard and so only the first floor is above ground level and only one of the current window positions appears to be original (**Plate XXXIX.1**). At Swimbridge, the building is fully rendered and has been considerably altered externally. However, photographs of the building stripped of render in the early 2000s indicate that only the three first-floor windows facing the churchyard are original window positions; the ground-floor windows appear to be eighteenth- or nineteenth-century insertions (**Plate XXXIX.2**). Stripped of render, the stonework also revealed at least one blocked ground-floor doorway on the east (street-facing) side, even though currently there are no visible openings on this side. In both buildings, the first floor is accessed from an external staircase on a gable end, much in common with the Cornish examples of Poundstock, St Teath (although possibly secondary) and St Tudy, as well as other Devon buildings including the Priest's House, Holcombe Rogus; Church House, Walkhampton; the Old School Rooms, Braunton; and Church House, Throwleigh. As in those buildings, the staircases here are sited in order to facilitate access from both churchyard and street/open space. Owing to the topography of the site, the Church Rooms at Drewsteignton resemble the Cornish buildings in that the staircase also provides not only access between street-level and churchyard, but also the principal means of getting from the ground floor to the first floor.[502] At Swimbridge, the ground is flat and requires no terracing, but the staircase ascends from the lych gate at a threshold position between churchyard and street, and, as discussed above, could have faced a large open space to the south. Again, in both buildings the lack of access to the ground floor from the churchyard suggests that

[502] The Church Rooms in Drewsteignton do have an internal spiral staircase in a corner stair turret, which will be discussed in Chapter 8. However, it will suffice here to say that it is small, tight and clearly not intended for general circulation.

it was only considered necessary from the street-facing side, whilst the position of the external staircase suggests either that access to the first floor was necessary from both street and churchyard, or simply as a means of getting from the ground floor to the first floor.

The community buildings in **Somerset** show the same tendencies and discrepancies as those in Devon and Cornwall. Of the five buildings identified, three are located on churchyard edges and two are separated from the churchyard, although not at great distance. Beginning with the former, the relative locations of the Old School Rooms, Chew Magna, the Old Vicarage Brewhouse in Stogumber and the Court House in Martock are shown in Figure 42. Owing to local topography, all three buildings are on level sites, with no opportunity to make use of higher ground levels for first-floor access, and are on differing sides of the churchyard. At Stogumber and Baltonsborough, the buildings' situation seems related more to the church and churchyard than to a central open space within the villages, whereas at Chew Magna the building is clearly positioned to take advantage of such a space. This immediately might suggest differing uses and functional needs between the buildings, even if all three do present an elevation into the churchyard.

These differences between the buildings' situations do not translate to differences in the means of access. All three buildings had, and retain in the case of Chew Magna, external staircases facing into the churchyard (**Plate XXXIX.3**). The current boundary wall separating the latter from the churchyard is likely a later addition at the time the building was converted into a school. At Baltonsborough, the staircase and doorway position are now lost, but it seems most likely that, given the building's position, the staircase rose from the

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Figure 42. Comparative locations of community buildings in Chew Magna (top), Stogumber (centre) and Baltonsborough (bottom)

churchyard side. Here and at Stogumber, the external staircase was on a gable end and the first-floor doorway is still legible (**Plate XL.1**). Like Chew Magna, the boundary wall separating the churchyard from the spaces in front and behind the Brewhouse was most likely added when the building became part of the Old Vicarage.

In discussing the community buildings in Cornwall and Devon, it was seen that access to the ground floor of community buildings from the churchyard was for the most part not desired or considered necessary. At Chew Magna and Baltonsborough, however, both buildings had ground-floor access from this space. In the former, there appear to have been three doorways on this side of the building, with another at the western end and another on the south side. At Baltonsborough, one ground-floor doorway gave access from the churchyard to a cross-passage and doorway on the rear (north) side. At Stogumber, there are no traces of a ground-floor doorway on the churchyard-facing (east) gable, but the long front (north) and rear (south) elevations each had at least one doorway, again linked by a cross-passage. Ground-floor access from the churchyard into a cross-passage is also in evidence at the Lady Florence Stalling Almshouses in Yatton, where the blocked doorways are visible on either side.

In terms of the spaces around the buildings, the Old School Room at Chew Magna is alone in being placed at the junction between churchyard and central open space of the settlement. The connection of the building with this space is emphasised by its prominent ground-floor doorway on its west gable, a feature not known elsewhere in the region. Although the open space survives in the current village plan, the buildings to the south of the Old School Room all date from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards. Combining this with the form of the development shown on the Tithe Map (1840) and Rutter's engraving of 1829, which shows the south side clear of buildings, suggests that it once occupied a

more detached site within the village than it currently has (**Plate XL.2**). There is no obvious sign of a pentice roof on the building, although, comparing other South West buildings positioned on central open spaces, one might expect one to have been present, perhaps on the south side of the building (now obscured), where it not only would have faced a clear open space, but where its length could be maximised without being truncated by an external stair (cf. Widecombe-in-the-Moor).

Much like some Devon examples, the open spaces surrounding the buildings in Stogumber and Baltonsborough are less readily visible today, but with some reasonable assessment one can perhaps suggest a reconstruction. At Stogumber, this requires the incorporation – admittedly not without some conjecture – of what is today the private property of the Old Vicarage, which includes the Brewhouse. By incorporating the yards to the north and south of the building, as well as the lawn to the west – all formerly part of the glebe – into a reconstructed curtilage, one gains a tentative sense of a context in which it stands less as an ancillary building in the backyard of another and more as one to be used in the round as its multiple entrances suggest (**Plate XL.3**). A similar exercise would be required at Baltonsborough, where clarity of the building's original context has been muddied by the seventeenth-century additions to the front, rear and side, discussed above, as well as a considerable amount of twentieth-century building to the north (see Figure 19 above). Returning to a simple premise that a doorway in the rear (north) elevation suggests not only access from this direction, but also space around the building from which to gain this access, one might posit that the land to the north (and possibly to the west) of the building formed part of its curtilage. This is perhaps more readily appreciable on the Tithe Map of 1843, on which, even though by this time all the

plots around the building were held by various different private landlords, the sparseness of development can be appreciated (Figure 43). Although they are

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the map are given in the caption below.

Figure 43. Extract from Baltonsborough Tithe Map (1843), showing the Parish House (centre) and surrounding land (SHC DD/BT/1/3)

not shown on the Tithe Map, paths to the building cross these areas on the Ordnance Survey and thus perhaps reflect a historical context which existed before the construction of the 'farmhouse' to the north of the building (Plot 360).[503] If the building was situated in essentially open ground to the north of the church in the sixteenth century, then it would have had a greater prominence than it currently enjoys. Furthermore, the fact that the east-west road to the north is still called Church Lane, even though the church is no longer accessible from it, suggests that some changes to the circulation of the village had already taken place before the nineteenth-century, by which time access from Martin Street to the east had become the principal roadway to the church.

In Crowcombe and Martock, the community buildings are, like Harberton (Devon) and Fowey and Looe (Cornwall), detached from the churchyard (Figure

[503] SHC D/D/Tr/A/417.

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Figure 44. Comparative locations of community buildings in Crowcombe (top), and Martock (bottom)

44). As in those cases, this position immediately suggests the buildings' removal, in at least a functional sense, from activities associated with, or carried out within, the churchyard, even when the building is of the same community type. In addition, both buildings share a general proximity with both the church and also, as discussed above, with the manor houses, as well as being on level sites owing to the topography. At Crowcombe, Church House presents its front (northeast) elevation to a triangular area in front of the church and the gates to Crowcombe Court, the relocated manor house. Attached to the northwest end of

the building is the contemporary pound which, by the early 1840s at least, had given its name to the parcel of land behind Church House, 'Pound Orchard'.[504] With the line of the flashing extant (broken in several locations by the enlarged first-floor windows) and several blocked square joist holes, the frontage retains evidence of the pentice roof which hung into the street. This feature connects the building's form and use with the other extant buildings in Devon and Cornwall with pentices and indicates its role as a focus of commercial activity.[505] The distinction between the elevations is communicated, as at South Tawton, by a relatively blank rear (southwest) elevation, where fenestration – since augmented with several inserted openings – was minimal (**Plate XLI.1**). It is unsurprising then that access to the ground floor was only possible on this main elevation, specifically through two adjacent doorways. The external staircase to the first floor remains *in situ* on the southeast gable end, a location which both highlights its prominence and maximises the covered trading space under the pentice.

Though their locations are generally comparable, and although the nature of the open space at Martock will be discussed below, there are some differences between the buildings. Whilst the Court House has at least two original front (east) doorways, one of these extended through a cross-passage to an opposing rear doorway. Access to the first floor appears to have been twofold. At the north end an external staircase provides direct access (**Plate XXXI.1**). Though modern, it now ascends from the rear garden, but the gable stonework retains high-level graffiti down the wall towards the front of the building, suggesting an earlier stair rose from here. The second staircase is situated on the rear (west) elevation towards the southern end and is contained within a stair turret (**Plate XLI.2**). The

[504] SHC D/D/Rt/A/415.
[505] See above, pp. 177-79.

uniformity of the external stonework and the four-centred arches of the upper and lower internal doorways suggest it is an original feature.

The suggested open space opposite Court House in Martock requires further explanation, as this site is currently occupied by a subdivided property (Pattenden/Garden Cottage) which was formerly, as has been seen elsewhere, the vicarage. Stylistically this building appears to be of the early nineteenth century and, to the immediate east, is the Treasurer's House, which has been identified as the former vicarage described in three seventeenth-century glebe terriers.[506] The 1606 terrier describes the property having a 'barton', which, if identified with the Treasurer's House, matches the thirteenth-century description in the gift of land to the 'church of All Saints Mertok [*sic*], and to Hugh the rector thereof' in 1262, on which the property was to be built, more specifically on the east side of the 'barton of the said Hugh'.[507] This reference therefore suggests that the land currently occupied by the former vicarage was not only in the possession of the church, but was also open space associated with the Treasurer's House. Although it does not necessarily reflect the use of the land in the sixteenth-century when Court House was built, the possibility exists of some form of shared space as in the aforementioned 'town places' of Devon.

Several points can be summarised from this overview of location and access of the selected buildings in the South West. One of the main purposes of the analysis of the buildings' contexts was to assess the regularity with which community buildings, particularly in rural areas, were located on or close to open spaces, such as marketplaces and village squares, in the same way that

[506] SHC D/D/rg/222; G. W. Saunders, *Notes on the History of the Hundred of Martock* (Yeovil, 1935), p. 14.
[507] *CMDCW*, I, p. 446.

buildings in towns (guildhalls, town halls, market halls etc.) of the same general building type, were situated likewise. Of the seventeen buildings in the South West, nine are to be found on open spaces which are extant in the current plan of the settlement. Of these nine, five are situated on the churchyard edge, a term which indicates at least one elevation adjoining the churchyard, and four are not attached to the churchyard. However, in *all* the cases, even in Fowey and Looe, the church itself either adjoins or is very close to the open space and therefore clearly formed a prominent element in these open spaces alongside the community buildings.

Of the remaining eight buildings, which, in their current setting, are not so obviously placed, all except the Court House in Martock are to be found on the churchyard edge. In each case, however, analysis of neighbouring buildings, coupled with evidence from documentary sources and settlement morphology, has raised the possibility that these buildings also originally faced historical open spaces. In all cases, except for St Teath (Cornwall) and Baltonsborough (Somerset), the land and buildings on the proposed space have all been found to have been in parochial or church hands certainly by the nineteenth century and, in the case of Martock, as early as the thirteenth century. Further documentary research of an earlier period in St Teath and Baltonsborough could clarify the sixteenth-century land ownership of the spaces in question. If similar patterns were found, then adding these to the total would mean every single community building faced an open space at the time of construction. Even allowing for one or two where this assessment might not prove accurate, the sum-total would still be more than half. The conclusion appears reasonably firm that it was considered desirable, perhaps even necessary, for rural community buildings in the South West to face an open space *other than the churchyard*. Naturally, this has considerable implications for understanding the role of these buildings as simple,

church-focussed venues for church ales. Whilst they are often to be found tucked into one corner of the churchyard, it is clearly no coincidence that it is the corner that also provides access to and from a central open space. This begs the question as to whether the church, with its need for occasional gatherings for fundraising, was the most important element in this arrangement or the open space itself, with its implicitly wider scope of community activities and social organisation. Taking this suggestion one step further, one asks what came first: the open space or the church? Given that the churches are all in prominent locations near these spaces, the churches themselves, like the community buildings, seem to have been consciously located by their founding patrons near these spaces which had emerged in manorial centres. The frequency of the church-manor house clusters in all three counties, arrangements which generally predate the construction of the community buildings, contributes to this question.

7 Location, Orientation and Access II: East Anglia

This chapter continues the analysis of contexts and settings and their relationship to the means of access, specifically the location of external staircases and ground-floor doorways. As in the South West, where necessary the buildings within each county are grouped for convenience into their broadly shared spatial characteristics, such as joined or separated from the churchyard and, if the former, whether by long elevations or gables.

In **Cambridgeshire**, the guildhalls in Linton and Whittlesford are both detached from the churchyard, the latter by a distance of 270 m (Figure 45). The buildings are also detached from the manor house sites. In Linton, at the time of the construction of the Guildhall, a manor house stood in the area of the marketplace off the High Street, 160 m west-northwest of the church; its site is marked on a map of the manor of Barham from 1600.[508] In Whittlesford, the manor house stood on the moated site adjacent to the church and therefore at some distance from the Guildhall. In both cases, therefore, there does not seem to be a particular spatial relationship between the church, manor-house, and community building, although Linton's Guildhall maintains a close spatial relationship with the church.

The 'L'-shaped footprint of the Linton Guildhall wraps around the junction of Church Lane and Horn (formerly Dodges) Lane. The junction itself occupies an odd position within the village as the two thoroughfares are now essentially back-lanes, bypassed by the arc of the High Street to the north and west. The Barham manor map shows at least two marketplaces: one to the northeast of the church in the area between the current Mill Lane and Green Lane, labelled 'the olde market', 250 m east-northeast of the church; and one recessed off the High

[508] PCC, Barham T.I.C.

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Figure 45. Comparative locations of community buildings in Linton (top), and Whittlesford (bottom)

Street near the current junction with Market Lane, the aforementioned house was located.[509] Both are located at some distance from the Guildhall and it seems unlikely that a functional relationship existed between it and either of these market locations. The building's impression on the road junction is strengthened by the jetties on the east and south elevations, but apparently not on the north. The position of the jetties suggests that these two elevations, notably facing the church, were the principal elevations. There is no clear evidence on either of

[509] PCC, Barham T.I.C.

these elevations for an external staircase or first-floor doorway and, though the ground floor is now rendered externally, it seems that the current blocked doorway at the west end of the ground floor was the only means of entrance on these elevations. Interpretation of the original internal plan (discussed further in Chapter 9) suggests that the current doorway on the east elevation is a later insertion. There is a possibility that an external staircase existed on the north side of the building (not accessed): given that the internal plan points to the west end as the 'lower end', it seems analogous with the Guildhall in Whittlesford, where the first-floor doorway is also located at the 'lower end' and, moreover, on the unjettied elevation adjacent to a rear cross-passage doorway. This suggestion leads onto a more specific discussion of the open spaces around the building, for which the Barham manor map will again prove illustrative. The map shows the Guildhall – labelled 'townhouse' – forming part of a small courtyard, with buildings on the east and west and a boundary wall across the north of the plot (Figure 46). To the west are shown almshouses (now demolished) and to the north the 'parsonage barnes of Lynton' forming three sides of a larger plot which, like the Guildhall site, were still the property of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1839.[510] It appears then that, by 1600 at least, the building did not open out onto a large space to the north. However, and assuming the map is an accurate representation, on the south side of the building there is a wider area shown on the south side of 'church brige [sic] Causey', is approximately the area occupied by Church Cottage and its westward plot to the riverbank (cf. Figure 45). The map therefore suggests that the building formerly faced a much larger open space area on its south side than it does now, as well as the existing widened

[510] TNA IR 29/4/45.

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the map are given in the caption below.

Figure 46. Extract from map of Barham manor (1600) (PCC Barham T.I.C.)

roadway on the east. Whilst certainly facing the church, the jetties also notably face these spaces.

In Whittlesford, the Guildhall's situation at an important crossroads within the village remains legible in the streetscape; the junction still provides a sizeable open space in front of the building (**Plate XLI.3**). Like the Guildhall at Linton, the Guildhall in Whittlesford has two jettied elevatiOns, namely those which face into the open space. The distance of the building from the church removes any possibility that these elevations were somehow intended to respond to it. Although restored, the current ground-floor doorway appears to have been the only means of entrance into the building on this elevation; an arrangement which also echoes that at Linton. An opposing doorway on the rear elevation indicates that a cross-passage gave access from front to rear. A replacement external stair on this elevation rises adjacent to this doorway and replicates the original location of the stair, giving access to the first-floor doorway at the northeast end of the rear elevation. As was suggested for the Guildhall in Linton, it seems apparent that the external stair did not rise from the open space in front of the

building. However, although the Guildhall now occupies a fairly small plot with no significant land behind it, as it did by the time of the Ordnance Survey in the late nineteenth century (Figure 45), this might not have been the case historically. A pre-Enclosure map of the village dating from *c.* 1810 shows the Guildhall in the southern corner of a larger rectangular plot extending northwest along North Road (Figure 47). Although developed with a vicarage by the later nineteenth century, the vestigial outline of this plot appears nonetheless traceable in boundaries. The pre-Enclosure use of this land and its specific relationship to the Guildhall is unclear, but it does fit the emerging pattern of community buildings and their relationship with open spaces which might require reconstruction beyond current and even mid- to late-nineteenth-century development.

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the map are given in the caption below.

Figure 47. Extract from map of Whittlesford pre-Enclosure, *c.* 1810 (reproduced from VCH *Cambs, VI*, p. 264)

In **Essex**, all four community buildings are situated on level sites on the churchyard edge, with three of the four presenting a long elevation towards it and one (Clavering) a gable-end. Of the three buildings with one long elevation facing the churchyard, there is no general consistency as to which side they are located: the Marriage Feast Room in Matching is on the west side; the Old School Room

in Felsted on the south side; and the Guildhall in Finchingfield on the north. Given this shared relationship with the churchyard, these three buildings have been grouped in Figure 48 so their respective means of access and relationship to any open spaces can be addressed. Notwithstanding the similarity of the buildings' general relationship with the churchyard, there appears to be a difference in means of access which divides the group into two. At Matching, the staircase to the first floor, which is contained within the building envelope, is situated on the side of the building facing away from the churchyard, i.e. the open space. The inclusion of the staircase within the envelope of the building recalls other examples in timber-framed community buildings, such as the Moot Hall in Elstow (Bedfordshire), the Town Hall in Fordwich (Kent), the Courthouse in Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire), the Market hall in Titchfield (Hampshire), and Church House in Pembridge (Herefordshire).

At both Finchingfield and Felsted the original staircases have been lost. At the former, however, the location of the first-floor doorway is visible internally and thus indicates an external staircase rising from the churchyard side (**Plate XLII.1**). At Felsted, where, unfortunately, internal access has not been possible and the external timber-frame is rendered, it is less clear from external views alone how the first floor was accessed. Descriptions of the building refer to the first-floor hall occupying four bays of the five-bay structure and early twentieth-century photographs of the interior indicate that this was located at the west end of the building.[511] Therefore it seems possible that the easternmost bay contained a service bay, much like the Guildhall in Finchingfield. Given this and other similarities of form and plan with the latter, discussed further in the following

[511] RCHME, *Essex*, II, p. 78.

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Figure 48. Comparative locations of community buildings in Matching (top), Felsted (centre) and Finchingfield (bottom)

chapter, it seems likely that the first-floor doorway would not only have been on the churchyard side, but also entered at the 'lower end' of the hall adjacent to the service bay (**Plate XLII.2**). The situation of the external stair on these two buildings could therefore point either to some symbolic or functional connection with the church and churchyard, or to more practical considerations of not wishing to encroach upon the highway. The latter concern would explain the position of the external staircases at Linton and Whittlesford, where there is no direct connection with the churchyard as an explanation. However, thoughts of impeding traffic seem not to have been present perhaps where the open space was either a larger entity than in Finchingfield or Felsted or the buildings were set back from the highway frontage, such as at South Tawton (Devon) and Stratton (Cornwall), where the external stair was positioned on the 'front' elevations.

The differences in access extend to the general arrangements and ornament of the elevations. At Matching, the building is orientated in a way more akin to the Devon and Cornwall buildings just mentioned. The rear (east) elevation facing the churchyard is, like The Church House at South Tawton, relatively plain (**Plate XLII.3**). The ground floor, though now masonry between the principal posts, has no legible signs in surviving timbers of earlier window or door positions. However, the elevation was not entirely blank: the windows on the first floor, though themselves of early-nineteenth-century date, broadly relate to original positions. Reflecting this orientation away from the church and churchyard, only the west elevation is jettied and faces the large open space which survives on this side. With the staircase also located on this side, it again suggests at the very least that it was not considered symbolically or practically necessary to enter the building directly from the churchyard. By contrast, the guildhalls at Finchingfield and Felsted appear to have had ground-floor access on elevations facing the churchyard. Although both have seen various combinations

of rebuilding and rendering, Finchingfield appears to have had at least one ground-floor doorway into a self-contained room, whilst a similar arrangement is likely at Felsted. In addition, both the latter had jettied elevations facing the churchyard as well as the street, and also have openings permitting the crossing of public paths *through* the ground floors between churchyard and street. This arrangement is perhaps loosely correspondent with those community buildings in the South West where dual-aspect, gable-end staircases permitted access between street and churchyard, such as at Poundstock, St Teath and St Tudy in Cornwall and the Old School Room in Braunton (Devon). The latter is an interesting comparison to these East Anglian examples, as it is one of the few extant community buildings in the South West also to have a covered passageway connecting the street to the churchyard through the footprint of the building (**Plate XVII.2**).

The three Essex community buildings divide themselves along the same line when their surrounding open spaces are analysed. At Matching, the building's apparent functional relationship, interpreted from its orientation, access and external ornament, is towards the large green to the west. This green forms the central focus of the previously mentioned cluster of the Marriage Feast Room, manor house (Matching Hall) and church, supplemented here also by the early-seventeenth-century vicarage. Beyond the obvious relationship with the Marriage Feast Room, two other factors unite this space with this complex of buildings. The Tithe Apportionment refers to the piece of land – in the ownership of the parish – as 'Church Green', which is shown to extend further to the southwest than shown in Figure 48, thus wrapping around the southeast side of the pond.[512] A map of 1777 shows the area with stippled shading used elsewhere

[512] TNA IR 29/12/226.

for the curtilages of houses, as opposed to that used for commons or greens such as that at Matching Green to the southeast.[513] This space was therefore woven into the fabric of the hamlet of Matching: it was in manorial ownership; designated (at least by the nineteenth century, but possibly even earlier) by its spatial relationship with the church; and it had a functional relationship with the community building. Furthermore, the open space, though not at first sight apparent, is bisected by an east-west thoroughfare. However minor this roadway is, or might have been historically, there is therefore some locational continuity between this otherwise isolated, almost farmyard, setting, and the other examples of community buildings at typical road junctions.

The buildings at Finchingfield and Felsted fall into this latter category; neither can be said to be situated on a green comparable to that at Matching. At Finchingfield, the building fronts a thoroughfare of fairly narrow proportions and is opposed by a public house described as having early-sixteenth-century origins, suggesting that the general dimensions of the road are little changed since that period.[514] However, to the immediate west of the Guildhall, and just traceable on the map in Figure 48, the roadway begins to widen before it opens fully into the large central green of the village. With the public house opposite, the Guildhall therefore forms a 'pinch point' in the thoroughfare before this more open space is reached when entering from the east. The green itself is not included in the Tithe Apportionment, suggesting that it was a common. At Felsted, the Guildhall is similarly situated on a thoroughfare, although here the building sits at the head of a T-junction where the east-west route through the village is met by that approaching from the south. There is a slight widening on both these

[513] T. Fransen, Digital *Map of the County of Essex* by J. Chapman and P. André (1777), https://map-of-essex.uk/ [accessed 4 June 2019].
[514] RCHME, *Essex*, I, p. 93.

thoroughfares, but the current street-plan does not approximate a large village square. Either side of the head of the route from the south (today's Chelmsford Road) are buildings with origins in the sixteenth century: on the east side is Boote's House, constructed *c*. 1596, and on the west is the Swan Inn which, though much altered, dates from a similar period.[515] Likely erected in the late fifteenth century, the Old School Room predates these buildings, which, if they were built on vacant plots, suggest infilling of a larger area at the junction of these thoroughfares. More research into the history of these specific plots would be required to establish a date of their earliest development, but it seems plausible that, at the time of its construction in the fifteenth century, the Old School Room presided over a larger open space more akin to a marketplace or village square than the current village plan suggests.

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Figure 49. Location of community building in Clavering

The final Essex building, the Old Guildhall in Clavering, finds itself at this point in isolation as the only building to present a gable-end to the churchyard rather than a long elevation (Figure 49); a characteristic selected more for

[515] RCHME, *Essex*, II, pp. 78.

convenience of establishing a baseline of differentiation rather than for significance *per se*. Indeed, there are two particular similarities with the former guildhalls at Finchingfield and Felsted: the building faces a thoroughfare and has a jettied elevation towards the churchyard. The rear elevation has no jetty. The ground floor retains one original doorway, which leads through to a corresponding doorway on the rear elevation, indicating a cross-passage arrangement and access into the ground-floor of the building from both sides. The position of the access to the first floor is not immediately obvious externally owing to the fully rendered elevations. However, its position can be suggested through comparison with other community buildings with apparent cross-passages. At Whittlesford and Linton (Cambridgeshire), and at Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), the external stair location was adjacent to the rear cross-passage doorway. A similar arrangement is to be found at Martock (Somerset), where the entrance to the 'service' stair turret is from an apparent cross-passage. In these cases, the cross-passage is to be found at the lower end of the building. These comparisons suggest that the external stair at Clavering rose to a doorway above, or very close to, the current rear cross-passage door, which would then indicate that the doorway provided access to the 'lower' end of the hall as at the other East Anglian examples mentioned (**Plate XLIII.1**). Like other buildings with rear access, the Old Guildhall at Clavering was intended to be accessed from both sides, suggesting that some extent of rear curtilage was part of the building's range of functions. The extent of this rear curtilage could have extended as far as that shown on the Ordnance Survey, which approximately corresponds with the current garden. The range of buildings lining the northwest boundary of the plot in the nineteenth century relate to the building's later use as a workhouse and school and have since been demolished. As at Finchingfield, the streetscape to the front (southeast) of the building does not immediately

suggest an open space comparable with that seen elsewhere. Though the Old Guildhall itself was still within the glebe at the time of the Tithe Apportionment in 1839, by this time the neighbouring plots were in diverse ownership and thus were not the adjoining glebe holdings seen in other areas such as Linton (Cambridgeshire), Lamerton (Devon), or Stogumber (Somerset).[516] However, the only building on the southeast side of the thoroughfare in 1777 was Church End Cottage, the earliest part of which appears to be of sixteenth-century date. Though the map scale is admittedly small, it does suggest that the current small triangular space immediately south of the Old Guildhall was at that time larger and extended across much of the area immediately southeast of the building. The historic development of this area of Clavering raises pertinent questions as to its temporal relationship with the other focus of the settlement around Middle Street 260 m to the northeast, an area which has a scattering of sixteenth-century buildings and appears to comprise a rectangular widened street or marketplace (**Plate XLIII.2**). The early date of the Old Guildhall, coupled with the gradual development of a large open space to its southwest, suggests that the area historically comprised a southern approach leading to the manor house via the churchyard, an alternative or predecessor to the eastern approach from Middle Street.

In **Norfolk**, where the field of buildings was smallest, the two buildings at least provide two different contexts for comparison. Situated at some distance from the parish church, the Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth does not form a group with it, though the aforementioned 'common hall' certainly did.[517] The lack of a spatial or functional relationship comparable with the churchyard-edge buildings

[516] TNA IR 29/12/83.
[517] See above, pp. 158-59.

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Figure 50. Location of Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth

is emphasised by the strung-out form of the town's north-south axis. The location of the Tolhouse within the town's sinuous streetscape is shown in Figure 50, whilst the parish church is located off the north edge of the map at the north end of Church Plain. The building's early date indicates that this part of the town had been developed by that time, although 'no doubt less intensively than during the town's peak of population and wealth in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.'[518] Whether or not one accepts its origin as a domestic building, it is therefore conceivable that, with a less densely developed streetscape, the thirteenth-century building could have fronted some form of open space. Indeed, the consistency with which town halls of any period are located on prominent sites where people gathered, as well as the functional connection between 'tollhouses' and markets, would suggest that a spacious vicinity would be a practical prerequisite for the construction, or conversion of, the building for use as a town hall. However, the town's marketplace was, and remains, located at the northern end of the town adjoining Church Plain and therefore any such space in front of the Tolhouse would have been either a space for secondary markets, or one connected with the Herring Fair, in which, as already discussed, the building played a part. The current town plan obscures any vestiges of such a space, and no particular indications are provided by an anonymous sixteenth-century plan of the town (Figure 51). However, the map does show a building in the approximately correct area of the town with a ladder to a first-floor doorway (the only one observable) and a ground-floor arched opening which does correspond to a similar opening in that location. The external staircase is situated on the east elevation and, given the general tendency towards the prominent location of stairs on 'urban' type community buildings, it seems that this has always been the

[518] Rutledge, 'Origins and Early Development', p. 28.

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Figure 51. Extract from plan of Great Yarmouth showing Tolhouse (centre) with ladder to first floor (*c*. 1585) (BL MS Cotton Augustus I.i., fol. 74)

principal elevation. The rear of the building has been significantly altered and extended so its original form is obscured, but an original doorway at the southern end of the first-floor east wall suggests that part of the building extended westwards. The map indicates that the ground floor, now a semi-basement with the street level a number of feet higher than its original level, was accessed through an arched doorway through the stair porch directly beneath the first-floor doorway in the manner seen at South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor. The map also shows a ground-floor doorway on the south gable wall (now lost), access to which is respected by the recessed building line of the structures to the south.

Whatever hypotheses are advanced for open spaces around the Tolhouse at the time of its construction, by the sixteenth century the map shows clearly that a more closely-knit streetscape had developed around the building; a more detailed plan of the seventeenth century seems to confirm this (Figure 52). The latter map also offers a clear picture of the extensive plain (marked out on Figure 50), which extended southwards from the marketplace just inside the line of the

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Figure 52. A Discription of ye Towne of Great Yaremouth, 1668 (BL Maps 187.I.2.(14.))

city walls and formed a continuation of the marketplace with no visible barrier in between. This greater marketplace was the venue for the annual Herring Fair, whose connection with the Tolhouse was mentioned above in the context of disputes between the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports and the town's government during a ceremonial reception.[519] As well as these ceremonies, it seems that the building was to some extent open to all attendant fisherman, who might have come from 'England, France, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand', for Palmer records that 'the entire building was not unfrequently called the "Host House" in consequence of the large number, or hosts, of foreign fishermen who resorted to it at the time of "Free Fair".' [520] The Tolhouse therefore continues the pattern of a functional connection with an open space and the activities within it, though here the space appears not to have been the main marketplace.

In Methwold, the setting of the Old Vicarage returns the study to a rural context. The building is separated from the churchyard by a thoroughfare and it

[519] See above, p. 159.
[520] Palmer, *Manship's History*, p. 178; Palmer, 'The Tolhouse', p. 4.

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Figure 53. Location of community building in Methwold

bears some similarity with the Guildhall in Linton (Cambridgeshire) in its position within the general plan of the village (Figure 53). Though the building fronts an open space, a small adjacent green, it is not the space that forms the village 'centre' (**Plate XXXIV.3**). The latter consists of the rectangular marketplace northeast of the church, labelled as 'The Green' on the 1839 Tithe Map and had already been partially infilled by that time. There is also triangular space to the east which, though historically perhaps a secondary marketplace, had also been largely infilled by the mid-nineteenth century.[521] Perhaps significantly, the aforementioned building known by the nineteenth century as 'Church House' *is* situated on the marketplace.[522] Like the Tolhouse, the Old Vicarage in Methwold therefore appears to be among those community buildings which had proprietary open spaces, rather than being located on the marketplace or other primary public space.

In terms of its orientation, the building presents a gable-end to the road and thus towards the church, whilst its primary elevation, which is further emphasised

[521] TNA IR 30/23/373.
[522] See above, p. 161.

by the provision of a jetty, faces the green. The north gable is also given some prominence with an exuberant, heavily ornamented, stepped, red-brick façade; the relationship of this to the existing timber-frame suggests that it was a later addition, although the style of the brickwork still points to an early-sixteenth-century date. The surviving timber-frame internally does not suggest that this north gable was originally jettied. Owing to the rebuilding of the southern third of the building, probably in the late seventeenth century, the original access points must be reconstructed. What is certain, however, is that the building was accessed from this elevation: there is no visible evidence for ground- or first-floor doorway openings on the east elevation, whose plain framing and lack of embellishment point to its lesser prominence. On the west elevation, it does seem clear that there was at least one ground floor entrance and that, owing to the lack of evidence for a doorway in the surviving sections of framing at the north end of the building, it was located in the rebuilt section, possibly in the general area of the current entrance door. There are no traces of a first-floor doorway in the framing, though the lack of evidence for a primary internal staircase in the floor joists suggests either that the staircase was external, or that an internal stair, perhaps along the lines of that at Matching, existed in the southern section prior to its rebuilding; either way, it is in this rebuilt section that one is compelled to locate the original staircase. A more detailed appraisal of the remaining and conjectural plan-form will be found in Chapter 9.

Though the adjoining open space appears to be secondary within the village, the building's unique alignment suggests that it was positioned on the edge of the plot in such a way that, intentionally or not, maximises the visibility and accessibility of the open space. The majority of buildings in Methwold present a long elevation to the street and, were the intention to emphasise the ornamented jettied frontage, it could easily have been built facing the street. After

all, this would be no barrier to accessing or using the space behind it for associated activities, as has been seen in buildings with covered passageways (e.g. Finchingfield and Braunton), or cross-passages (e.g. Whittlesford, Widecombe-in-the-Moor and Yatton). Two possible interpretations arise: first, that the open space was integral to the function of the building and, second, that the visibility of the open space *together with* the building on the prominent views towards the building contributed to the building's status such as perhaps would not be the case were the space relegated to a concealed backlot. The latter raises further questions for, owing to the inferred pre-existence of buildings to the east of the Old Vicarage, such a viewpoint would only be possible from the church itself and, perhaps more significantly, on the approach to the village from the main east-west thoroughfare (Hythe Road/Crown Street/High Street) entering the village from Methwold Hythe. As its name suggests, the latter, recorded at least by 1251, was an inland landing-place on the fen-edge joined to the River Wissey and therefore was conceivably an important point of access into Methwold in the medieval period.[523] The prominence of the Old Vicarage from this access point might be taken further when the historical development of that part of Methwold west of the Old Vicarage is examined. To the immediate west of the building is New Hall, which appears to date from *c.* 1700 and has a later ancillary block to the rear. Adjoining New Hall to the southwest is No. 27 Crown Street, which is also of eighteenth-century date. Opposite these buildings, i.e. on the northwest side of Crown Street, the land remains open and undeveloped. Therefore, if one assumes that none of these plots was developed at the time of the construction of the Old Vicarage in the late fifteenth-century, then the building would have formed a prominent visual element together with the church across

[523] D. Dymond, 'A Misplaced Domesday Vill: Otringhithe and Bromehill', *NA*, 43 (1998), 161-68 (p. 161).

open ground as one approached the village up the slightly-rising gradient of Crown Street (**Plate XLIII.2**). Therefore, as has been the case with other community buildings, a suggested reconstruction of the contemporary settlement morphology can offer a radically different understanding of the position and prominence of community buildings within their respective towns and villages.

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Figure 54. Location of community buildings in Fressingfield (top) and Hadleigh (bottom)

In **Suffolk**, as is by now typical of the buildings in East Anglia owing to its topography, all four buildings occupy level sites. Dividing the buildings along

similar lines as in other counties provides two groupings: those in Fressingfield and Hadleigh occupy churchyard-edge positions, whilst those in Laxfield and Aldeburgh are detached from the churchyard and front public open spaces in the respective settlement centres. Both The Fox and Goose in Fressingfield and the Guildhall in Hadleigh have one long elevation facing the churchyard and another facing a public open space, as, for example, Widecombe-in-the-Moor and South Tawton in Devon (Figure 54). In both buildings, jetties are used to give prominence to the external elevations. At Fressingfield, jetties are present only to the long elevation facing the churchyard and to the east gable end, where the dragon beam is carried by a stout and ornately carved dragon post. The latter is reminiscent not only of similarly carved posts in the Market House at Hadleigh, but also of other fifteenth-century examples in Suffolk, including the Old Wool Hall in Lavenham (now part of the Swan Hotel) and the Guildhall in Eye, to which can be added the Tudor House in Diss (Norfolk). Today, this east end of the building is the least visible as it fronts a minor lane through the village away from the main thoroughfare, and so the prominence it received when built requires interpretation. First, the east end formed the upper end of the first-floor, four-bay hall, and therefore this external prominence emphasised this internal hierarchy. Second, and certainly not mutually exclusive with the first, both the church and the Fox and Goose occupy high ground, which falls away slightly to the north and east along the Cratfield Road, from which the church spire is still visibly prominent even above the mostly twentieth-century housing along this thoroughfare. It is therefore possible that the east end of the building was visible in long views across open ground towards the church by those approaching along the Cratfield Road. Furthermore, the prominence of this roadway itself appears to have changed. Currently, the main route through Fressingfield is the B1116, which proceeds on a north-south route through the village, passing the

west side of the church and Fox and Goose to the junction with the Laxfield Road. However, the route of the B1116 southwards into Fressingfield along Harleston Hill and Cratfield Road is a Saxon diversion of the Roman road which survives as The Street through Weybread Street and resumes as Roman Road in Little Wittingham Green.[524] The existence of a Roman road on this alignment suggests a primary thoroughfare which was still sufficiently well-used in the earlier medieval period to render advantageous a diversion through Fressingfield. Therefore, if this route through the parish maintained this prominence in the early sixteenth century, then the position and alignment of the Fox and Goose are perhaps explainable.

The Guildhall in Hadleigh is a more complex building than the Fox and Goose in Fressingfield. 'Guildhall' is in fact an umbrella term for a T-shaped agglomeration of ranges of various ages and designations. The two earliest ranges, namely the three-storey 'Market House' of *c*. 1451, and the two-storey Guildhall, adjoining at right angles to the rear and 'newly built' in 1498.[525] Both employ jetties in profusion. Each of the long elevations of the Market House has jetties to each of the upper floors: on the rear (south) side these are now contained within a later extension which joined the perpendicular Guildhall range to it. The visual impact of the building and its high jettied elevations has been much diminished through changes in the eighteenth century, when the canted east end was added to form a new assembly room (now the Council Chamber). At this time the building was much reduced in size, with the second floor removed from part of the building east of the remaining three-storey block (**Plate XLIV.1**). The east gable of the Market House was also jettied: the dragon posts, which

[524] I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, rev. edn (London, 1967), p. 268.
[525] SfROB E3/2/3-4; SfROI HD11/1/1:4291/8.3; Anon. 'Hadleigh', *PSIA*, 11 (1901-03), 209-15 (p. 214).

carried a first-floor jetty, survive contained within the extended ground floor. Any traces of a second-floor jetty would have been removed along with the upper floor, but it seems likely that the east end replicated the prominent treatment of the north and south elevations. In contrast there are no indications of a jetty on the west gable, most likely because it was built against the pre-existing, two-storey market hall. The prominence of the front and rear elevations reflect the high visibility of the building from public open spaces: the churchyard to the north and the marketplace to the south.

Whilst some differences in the surrounding open spaces will become apparent below, there are similarities in the means of access to the buildings. The Fox and Goose has traces of one secondary ground-floor doorway on the churchyard side: as well as bearing the remnants of a structure, possibly a porch, in mortice pairs on the studs framing the opening, the doorway has a date of 1616, a likely alteration contemporary with the late 1615 lease and repair clause.[526] However, immediately adjacent to this blocked doorway is a window opening across what appears to be an original doorway of the same width, indicating that there was only one ground-floor entrance into the building from the churchyard. The present ground-floor doorway at the east end is a later addition. The front (south) and side (west) sides of the building are fully rendered externally and the internal walls are plastered, or otherwise covered, and therefore the location of original doorways is not certain. However, the position of the current entrance into the bar is broadly correspondent with the infilled primary doorway on the churchyard side of the building and suggests a cross-passage arrangement. Although the evidence for the internal layout will be dealt with in Chapter 9, the west end of the building beyond the cross-passage must have had

[526] SfROI FC90/L/3/14.

at least one other ground-floor doorway on one or both sides of the building. Moreover, the presence of an apparently open truss on the west gable wall suggests that at least one bay has been lost from that end; a bay which could have contained one or more doorways. Though a surviving first-floor doorway remains on the west gable, now suspended in mid-air, this appears to be secondary, and its position at the far end of the building from the first-floor hall suggests that it was not the site of a primary external staircase. In keeping with the increasingly prevalent commonalities of community-building design, one expects a dedicated access stair directly into the first-floor hall, whether in the form of an external or an internal staircase accessed from the building's exterior. Although the precise position is not clearly discernible, it seems likely that the building had an external staircase and first-floor doorway on the south (open space) side of the building leading into the lower end of the hall (**Plate XLIV.2**).

Like the Fox and Goose Inn, the main access point into the Market House at Hadleigh reflects its orientation towards the marketplace and churchyard: a wide covered passage, now blocked by the brick underbuilding on the churchyard side, originally provided a link between the two spaces, as well as into the ground-floor rooms, most likely shops, flanking the passage. An original doorway at the west end of the ground floor on the churchyard side, now the visitor entrance through to the Guildhall at the rear, led through a cross-passage to a stair turret with access to the upper floors. The original doorways (now blocked) into the respective rooms from this earlier stair turret remain in use or at least legible internally, even though it was replaced by the current three-storey block, which replicated the jettied upper floors of the Market House, at some point in the sixteenth century (**Plate XLIV.3**).

The late-fifteenth-century Guildhall range to the rear of the Market House has also seen considerable alterations, although its location and style still

indicate its prominence. As the building projected southwards from the Market House into the marketplace itself, it is unsurprising that the elevations were dealt with in a correspondingly prominent fashion. Both long elevations were jettied: although the east side jetty has since been underbuilt, the scar of the jetty plate and the dove-tail joints which connected the tie-beams remain visible. The lack of mortices for teazle tenons on the underside of the tie-beams, which one would expect if traditionally-framed jowl posts had supported the jetty plate, suggests that the ground-floor external walls were originally brick throughout. The west side of the building now forms a semi-private garden and yard, but the provision of a jetty suggests that this side was also part of the marketplace, or at least accessible and free of buildings. Additionally, it faces towards a detached kitchen, which, though much altered and in ruins, is nonetheless a significant survival as an indicator of the facilities attendant upon community buildings (**Plate XLV.1**). Access into the ground floor of the building is difficult to interpret owing to subsequent alterations. However, sufficient remains in the internal framing to suggest at least one ground-floor doorway on the east side of the building, i.e. directly from the main space of the marketplace, possibly into a cross-passage (see more detailed analysis of plan in Chapter 9 below) which was subsequently blocked on the west side by an inserted chimney stack (**Plate XLV.2**). Access to the first floor is evidenced in several ways, having changed along with the building. Changes to the internal floor framing and the sudden cessation of the stopped jetty joists on the east elevation indicate that the Guildhall originally stopped short of the rear of the pre-existing Market House. Judging from the lack of mortices for studs, the girt of the north end wall sat upon a brick ground-floor wall. Pegs along the upper edge of the girt for the base of first-floor studs leave a gap in the centre for, presumably, the first-floor doorway. This would suggest that an external staircase was positioned at the north end of

the building and that it therefore either descended on the east side, which was part of the wider marketplace, or on the west side closer to the rear stair turret of the Market House. The later extension of the building appears to have coincided with the construction of the double-jettied stair turret, which provided a new first-floor entrance into the extended Guildhall through an arched doorway, moulded externally. In addition, there is evidence in the form of an infilled ceiling opening with trimmer joists for an internal staircase towards the south end of the building, though it appears that this was accessed from within the cross-passage and not from the exterior of the building as at Matching (Essex), for example.

Whilst the two buildings therefore occupy similar positions and orientations with regard to the open spaces around them, there some differences in these spaces. The Guildhall complex at Hadleigh is in the heart of a large central marketplace, whose boundaries originally extended as shown in Figure 54.[527] At Fressingfield, the marketplace is situated 90 m north-northwest of the church and bears a clear historical relationship with the formerly prominent north-south route through the parish. Therefore, as was also seen for example at Methwold (Norfolk), Linton (Cambridgeshire), and Stogumber (Somerset), the open space around the community building in Fressingfield was not the primary 'village square' or commercial centre. Rather like the building itself, the two pieces of land which formed its southern curtilage are detailed within the 1508/9 indenture;[528] the dimensions of the parcels permit a fairly accurate delineation in Figure 54 and, as a result, reveal that, at least in the nineteenth century, the plot boundaries had remained consistent. As at Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), the indenture also makes it clear that it was the land *as well as* the building which was to provide a home for the church ales, drinkings, and other associated

[527] Andrews and Springall, Hadleigh, pp. 63-64.
[528] See above, p. 154.

activities. As the land was therefore specifically associated with the activities within the community building, this can now be applied to those other buildings with attached parcels of land which are not the main marketplace and which have no such clearly defined written record of their purpose. More can be inferred from the 1508/9 indenture regarding the building's use, particularly when its purpose is seen against the pre-existing 'Old Guildhall', mentioned above as the name of a piece of land in a conveyance of 1510.[529] The fact that the conveyance appears to relate to a piece of land, and not a building, suggests that the 'Old Guildhall' had been demolished by 1510, soon after the construction of the Fox and Goose. Coupled with the requirement for the new community building partly to be a venue for 'gildis', this suggests that the new building was not only to play host to the drinkings etc. which constituted the 'abusions' to be removed from the church, but was also to combine these with the functions of the old guildhall. By extension, this would suggest that the old guildhall, whether through practicality (e.g. lack of space) or custom, was not the venue for these particular communal activities.

Unlike at Fressingfield and Hadleigh, the Moot Hall in Aldeburgh and the Old Guildhall in Laxfield are separate from the church and churchyard, but retain a clear relationship with public open spaces (Figure 55). However, the church at Laxfield does sit on the opposite side of the marketplace and thus also occupies a prominent position. At Aldeburgh, which was a larger settlement, there is no such obvious relationship between the church and the marketplace, the edge of which is situated 175 m to the east of it. The marketplace itself will be discussed further below, but the Moot Hall sits within the space in a manner similar to the Old Town Hall in Fowey and the Old Guildhall in Looe (Cornwall), both towns

[529] See above, pp. 154-55.

also built on the fishing industry with associated waterside marketplaces. The orientation of the principal façades in both Aldeburgh and Laxfield reflects the buildings' positions with regard to these open spaces, an emerging feature of community buildings in all areas. At Aldeburgh, where the building was experienced 'in the round', both the east and west long elevations are jettied. This contrasts with Laxfield, where the front (north) and west elevations are

The maps originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. The maps were sourced at https://maps.nls.uk

Figure 55. Location of community buildings in Aldeburgh (top) and Laxfield (bottom)

jettied out into the public space, but the rear elevation is comparatively plain, though this is not necessarily indicative of separation from the public realm (cf. **Plates XXXIII.3** and **XLV.3**).

It is becoming apparent that the means of access to community buildings is related to their orientation and location, as well as to the prominence afforded the various elevations, though there are differences in how they were accessed. At Aldeburgh, the ground-floor access is related to the plan which broadly comprised six shops with individual doorways (two each on the long west and east elevations and two on the north gable wall) and at least one doorway at the south end of the east elevation – evidenced on the 1588 map in Figure 56 below – into what was most likely a lock-up. The restored external stair remains in its original location and, as elsewhere, provided access into the 'lower' end of the first-floor hall. As was seen at the Old Guildhall in Looe, the external stair is positioned on the elevation facing the edge of the marketplace rather than into the larger space available on the opposite side, from where the stair would have been more visible. This position is practical as, in order to provide access into the same lower end of the first-floor chamber, an external stair on the east side would have impeded access into the ground-floor shops, whereas, on the west side, the stair could descend alongside the windowless ground-floor of the lock-up.

At Laxfield, notwithstanding the ornamental focus towards the marketplace, points of access were provided on both long elevations. The timber frame retains evidence of one primary doorway, now blocked, which provided access into the ground floor from the marketplace (**Plate XLVI.1**). On the rear wall remains evidence of a corresponding primary doorway directly opposite, also now blocked, indicating that the ground floor had a cross-passage arrangement. The rear wall is also likely to be the location for an external staircase providing access

into the first-floor hall; most likely in the window position adjacent to the lower end partition (**Plate XLV.3**). As other interpretations have placed it within the building, the location of the staircase will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9, but it suffices here to say that it need not follow that it was positioned on the most ornate elevation, as was seen at Clavering.

The open spaces onto which the buildings front broadly correspond to the two types which have been emerging as being associated with community buildings. Aldeburgh has the rectilinear marketplace typical of those found in planned urban layouts, although not exclusively so, as the aforementioned examples in Harberton and Chittlehampton in Devon made clear. The appreciation of the Moot Hall's original siting has been diminished somewhat by the loss of part of the east side of the town to the sea, but it is captured in a map of 1588 (Figure 56). The latter shows the building in its original context within a defined, rectangular, partially-fenced marketplace and as a part of a suite of market buildings, including a covered trading arcade and a market cross. At Laxfield, the open space comprises a widened roadway, seen above in other rural settlements in both the South West and East Anglia. As in other settlements in these regions, the built environment around the community building at the time of its construction in the early sixteenth century can be interpreted from village morphology and the dates of other buildings. As seen in Figure 55, the Old Guildhall occupies a corner site in a prominent bend in the road as it wends through Laxfield; the prospect to the east is 'closed' by the Royal Oak Public House, the earliest parts of which have been said to date from the sixteenth century.[530] Though more precise dating is not available, it is possible that the building post-dates the Old Guildhall. The position of this building within what

[530] LEN: 1352232.

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given n the caption below.

Figure 56. Extract from map of Aldeburgh (Ananias Appleton, 1588), showing the Moot Hall (left) and the Market Place (Aldeburgh Museum)

appears to be a continuation of the wide space in front of the church further to the east along Market Street suggests that it represents a partial infilling of a larger area. If, at the time of the Old Guildhall's construction, the marketplace did extend further to the east, it makes the prominence of the jettied and heavily-timbered east gable (now mostly rendered), all the more understandable.

The above overview of the location of the selected community buildings in the South West and East Anglia has shown this and their orientation affects the means of access and the prominence given to the external elevations. Of the twenty-nine community buildings discussed, eighteen (nearly two-thirds) are situated on a public open space which survives in some form. Of these eighteen, all but three are situated on what might be termed a 'primary' open space, which is to mean a marketplace, village square or green at the focus of the settlement and is intended to be equally applicable to the principal open spaces of larger towns. The remaining three, namely at Methwold, Fressingfield and Great Yarmouth, are situated on 'secondary' open spaces, i.e. spaces clearly associated with the community building but removed from a clearly identifiable

primary marketplace etc. elsewhere within the settlement. For Great Yarmouth, this is a tentative suggestion, but its distance from the marketplace and Church Plain is clear.

For the remaining eleven of the twenty-nine buildings, basic regression of the settlement morphology suggests a primary or secondary open space related to the community building. For the most part in these settlements the primary open space remains legible, meaning that the reconstructed open spaces would appear to be secondary and thus would have acted as parcels of land having a specific relationship to that building. At Fressingfield (Suffolk), the documentary evidence specifically linking a piece of curtilage land to the purpose and use of a community building provides a useful precedent for understanding these reconstructed spaces in other areas. The designation of 'primary' and 'secondary' cannot, however, be construed as fixed concepts: in some settlements, such as Holcombe Rogus and Lamerton (Devon), even today's settlement pattern reveals no clear 'centre' around a marketplace or square that can be seen as a primary space. In others, such as Clavering (Essex), the reconstructed space could represent a primary open space which, even by the sixteenth century, had been eclipsed by the open space which remains today as the 'primary' area. For all these reconstructed spaces, a more detailed examination of the settlement morphology and further documentary research into the development of individual plots of land around the community buildings would reveal more. However, even if a small proportion of these are added to the sixty-two per cent of identifiable open spaces associated with community buildings, the evidence seems to point clearly to the conclusion that community buildings in rural areas, like their counterparts in towns, had uses for which an open space around the building was considered necessary.

Taking into account the wider purpose of this study, the above also has some bearing on both the relationship between community buildings in the two regions and the town-country divide. The fact that over half of the twenty-nine buildings are situated on 'primary' open spaces, with all that implies in terms of its place as the hub for commercial, ceremonial and social activities, points to a clear connection between community buildings in towns and villages of all sizes. Similarly, of the fifteen buildings situated on surviving or identifiable primary open spaces, nine are in the South West, and six in East Anglia. Though a small and focussed sample, the distribution indicates a relatively even spread of community buildings in primary locations in both the South West and East Anglia. This observation therefore lends support to the suggestion that any division created by the various current or historical labels given to this building type should be seen as masking architectural connections.

This chapter has also dealt in some detail with ground- and first-floor access into the buildings, both from the open spaces and from the churchyard. For the eighteen buildings of the total twenty-nine in the two regions which are located on the churchyard edge, twelve (two-thirds) have no evidence for means of access between the ground floor and the churchyard. Although six of these (all in Cornwall and Devon) are built into slopes on the churchyard side, this nonetheless suggests that the majority of community buildings on churchyard edges did not require ground-floor access to or from it. Eight (two-thirds) of these twelve buildings with no ground floor-access from the churchyard *do*, however, have evidence for first-floor access to or from it. By comparison, and regardless of ground-floor access, fourteen (seventy-eight per cent) of the eighteen buildings on the churchyard edge have evidence for first-floor access from the churchyard, whether by direct entrance from a higher ground level or an external stair. The four remaining buildings on the churchyard edge therefore had no access from it

by any means. There is no obvious connection between these four buildings which might suggest why, aside from their position on the churchyard edge, they were otherwise divorced from the churchyard: the buildings are spread evenly between the two regions, with two in Devon (South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor) and two in Essex (Clavering and Matching); two (Clavering and Widecombe-in-the-Moor) have cross-passage arrangements and these same two are positioned gable-end to the churchyard. It seems likely, however, that this orientation relates to the use of the spaces around the building, and indeed three open onto 'primary' open spaces. The status of the open space proposed at the exception (Clavering) is uncertain given the lack of knowledge of the village's form before the sixteenth century. In addition, it cannot be said that a dual churchyard-edge/primary-open-space location demanded this access arrangement, as indeed the majority (nearly three-quarters) of those buildings which occupy such a position *do* have at least first-floor access from the churchyard. Only in six (one-third) of the eighteen buildings on the churchyard edge was both ground- and first-floor access possible from the churchyard and all but one of these have evidence for a cross-passage arrangement; a number which includes Felsted, Finchingfield and Hadleigh with their open-ended passageways through the building.

From this mix of data, it is clear that there is no 'one size fits all' approach. There are differences in location, orientation, and access in both regions, which appear to be based on concerns and needs relative to the communities constructing them. There is no evidence to suggest that these concerns were different in the South West from East Anglia, or different relative to the buildings' contemporary labels as 'church house' or 'guildhall' etc. Some tentative general conclusions emerge across both regions. It is highly likely that a community building in the South West and East Anglia will face some form of open space

and, furthermore, it is marginally more likely that community buildings situated on the churchyard edge will also face a primary open space, such as a marketplace, village square, or green. Not all community buildings on churchyard edges required access to/from it, but these are more likely to have at least access to the first floor. Irrespective of what sort of space the building faced, the horizontal separation between floors, which necessitated separate first-floor access, was clearly considered an important factor. Finally, for those buildings detached from the churchyard, it is more likely that the building will face a primary open space, which therefore aligns them further with those community buildings in towns which typically had judicial and/or commercial functions.

8 Plan-Forms I: South West

In dealing with access into the selected community buildings, the preceding two chapters necessarily touched on internal plans, both in stating where first-floor entrances were located in relation to internal spaces and also where internal features, such as extant or vestigial cross-passages, gave an indication as to stair positions. By using measured floor plans, this and the following chapter seek to understand the internal spaces, so far as they can be reconstructed.[531] The objective of this comparative analysis is to assess similarities and differences, relate these to the findings of the preceding chapter and set them against the overarching hypothesis of identifying a community building type. For continuity, the buildings are dealt with in the same broad groupings as in the previous chapters. Owing to restrictions of access, floor plans are not available for all the buildings selected, nor necessarily for both floors of the selected buildings. However, in these cases every attempt has been made to draw as much information as possible from external inspection and any other available sources. In all cases, sufficient information is available to contribute to the present study.

In **Cornwall**, the first grouping comprised the buildings in Poundstock, St Teath and St Tudy, whose settings were found to differ from those in Fowey and Looe insofar as they are to be found adjoining the respective churchyards.[532] The Gildhouse at Poundstock has both a long elevation and gable-end in the churchyard, with a single primary first-floor doorway from the latter (Figure 57). The doorway leads into a hall which, with no evidence for partitions, originally ran

[531] The floor plans were all drawn by the author, using the drawing conventions in Historic England, *Understanding Historic Buildings* (2016).
[532] See above, pp. 111-18.

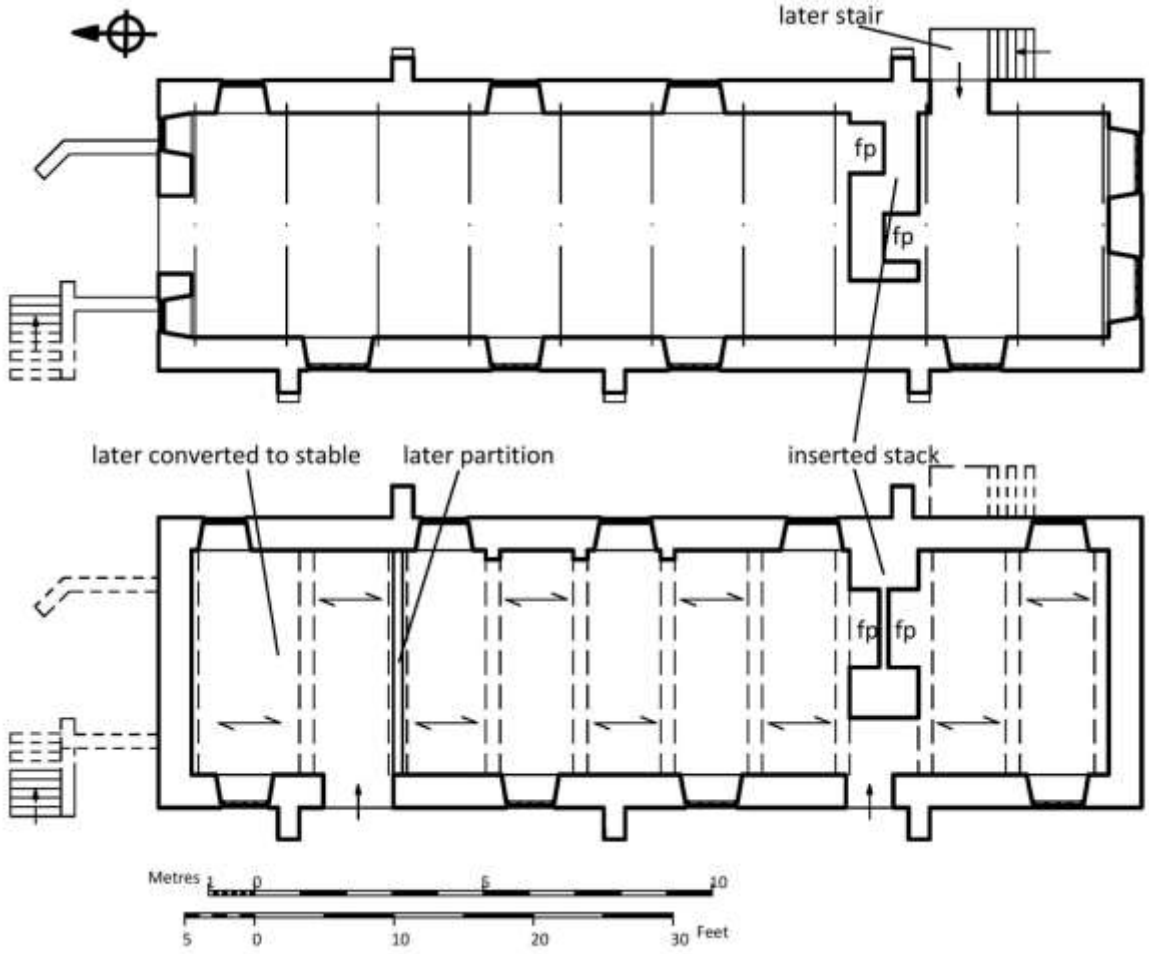


Figure 57. Poundstock (Cornwall), The Gildhouse – plans of first floor (top) and ground floors (bottom)

the full length of the ten-bay structure. With a total length of just over 20 m, and a total floor space of 98 m^2, the hall at the Gildhouse provides the largest space among Cornwall buildings (**Plate XLVI.2**). The suggestion that a fireplace existed at the southern end of the building was discussed above, but again there remains no documentary evidence for such a feature, nor any physical evidence in the masonry of the end wall or the timber roof structure.[533] Indeed the original building appears to have had no heated spaces: the present chimneystack is an insertion of seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century date and has resulted in the southernmost two bays being partitioned off from the main hall. Possibly at the same time, a secondary entrance to the first floor was provided into the room at

[533] See above, p. 173.

the southern end. There is no evidence for an internal stair within the building, meaning that the floors were fully horizontally separate. There are no known contemporary documentary sources which assist with interpreting the original purpose for providing such a large space in an otherwise sparsely populated hamlet. An approximate capacity of the first-floor room can be calculated using modern data for occupation densities. Allowing 0.5 m^2 per person for people standing in a 'general purpose place of assembly', the room could comfortably accommodate one hundred and ninety-six people, or even more if densely packed.[534] For seating, using the same data and assuming people seated along one side of a U-shaped table arrangement providing 35 m linear of benches, the room could accommodate approximately seventy-eight people dining.[535] Without wishing to enter the fraught field of attempting to employ population multipliers, a general notion of the overall parochial population can be gained by comparing the one hundred and seventeen taxable adults recorded in the 1377 Poll Tax and the thirty-eight taxable adult males recorded in the 1525 Lay Subsidy.[536] By any multiplier, it seems therefore that the majority of the adult parish population could be accommodated in the first-floor room standing, but less than half sitting at any one time.[537] These crude calculations are not definitive, but serve to illustrate the possible original uses of the hall.

The potential capacity and uses of the first-floor hall could readily be applied to the ground-floor which appears also to have comprised a single, large room

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[534] *Metric Handbook: Planning and Design Data*, ed. by D. Adler, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1999), § 42-13.
[535] This assumes two 16 m-long tables with one 3m-long top table, in both cases allowing a given space at the ends of the room, with 450mm allowed per person along it. Given the width of the room, it has been assumed that only one side of each table could be occupied comfortably. The U-shaped arrangement is taken from P. Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Tudor & Early Stuart England* (London, 2015), p. 477.
[536] *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381. Part I*, ed. by C. C. Fenwick, RSEH, n.s., 27 (Oxford, 1998), p. 82; *The Regional Distribution of Wealth in England as Indicated in the 1524/5 Lay Subsidy Returns*, ed. by J. Sheail, LISSS, 29 (Kew, 1998), p. 38.
[537] The various suggested population multipliers from the 1377 Poll Tax and the 1524/5 Lay Subsidy and their difficulties in extrapolating wider population are summarised in S. H. Rigby, 'Urban Population in Late Medieval England', *EHR*, 63 (2010), 393-417 (pp. 398-401).

(**Plate XLVI.3**). The inserted chimneystack at the southern end replicates the arrangement on the first-floor, whilst the northernmost two bays have been partitioned to create a stable. The lack of peg holes on the cross-beam above the brick partition forming the stable suggests that there was no partition here originally, or that the current wall, which appears to be early nineteenth-century, replaced an original masonry partition. Furthermore, though the joists in the stable are replacements (most likely from the 1908 restoration), the alignment and spacing matches that in the remainder of the ground floor.

The plan of the building therefore appears to reveal two large rooms which differ only in their point of access. The lack of a fireplace does not preclude the use of any part of the building for dining, as a detached kitchen, such as that at Hadleigh, could well have supplied this need, or indeed diners could well have brought ready-made food. The proprietary use of the hall for feasts and meetings by the fraternity mentioned as being 'in ecclesia' in 1434, even if they were still active, seems unlikely given the building's date of 1543 or soon after, on the eve of total guild suppression and in a pre-existing climate of dissolution.[538] Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Polsue records that the manor held 'an ancient fair' on a Rogation Day and that 'fairs are still held at the Churchtown'; the antecedent of today's annual Poundstock Revel.[539] It seems inconceivable that the Gildhouse played no role in this fair, and the building would readily lend itself to a first-floor space for dining and other festivities attendant upon such fairs, and a ground-floor space for the booths and trading. Use of the ground floor for commercial purposes, even if only occasionally, would support the building's orientation to the small triangular space in front of the building, from which the only access into the ground floor was possible, as well as the area from which

[538] See above, p. 116.
[539] Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History*, IV, p. 89.

rise the steps to the prominent first-floor entrance doorway. The interaction of community buildings with commercial activities was established at nearby Stratton and this study has to this point shown how the architectural and functional distinction between these and more obvious commercial buildings, such as market halls, requires revision. However, it is worth noting that no market or fair is recorded in Poundstock before 1516, which would therefore suggest either a later foundation or one that was below the radar of the Crown.[540] Indeed, the existence of various types of 'hidden' commercial centres, which have left little or no documentary evidence and which include villages and country fairs, has been established.[541] With the possibility of having even fairly regular commercial usage and a prominent role in the Poundstock fair, one might struggle to fill the calendar the whole year round. The remainder of the calendar could be filled by any of the previously discussed community building uses. One need not rest on the assumption of exclusivity for church ales or guild-related activities that would derive from a simpler reading of its position on the edge of a rural churchyard on one hand, or from its current name on the other.

The single-room floor plan at the Gildhouse at Poundstock is replicated at St Tudy, although at a considerably smaller scale (Figure 58). The first-floor hall is, like Poundstock, accessed from a gable-end doorway off steps that connect the churchyard with the lower street level. Compared to the 98 m^2 first-floor space at the Gildhouse, the hall at The Clink extends only to 29 m^2 (**Plate XLVII.1**). Using the same data for occupancy, this would translate to standing space for approximately fifty-six people or, assuming an arrangement around one benched side of a U-shaped table, approximately twenty-one people seated. In

[540] S. Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html [accessed 24 July 2019].
[541] Dyer, 'Hidden Trade', p. 146.

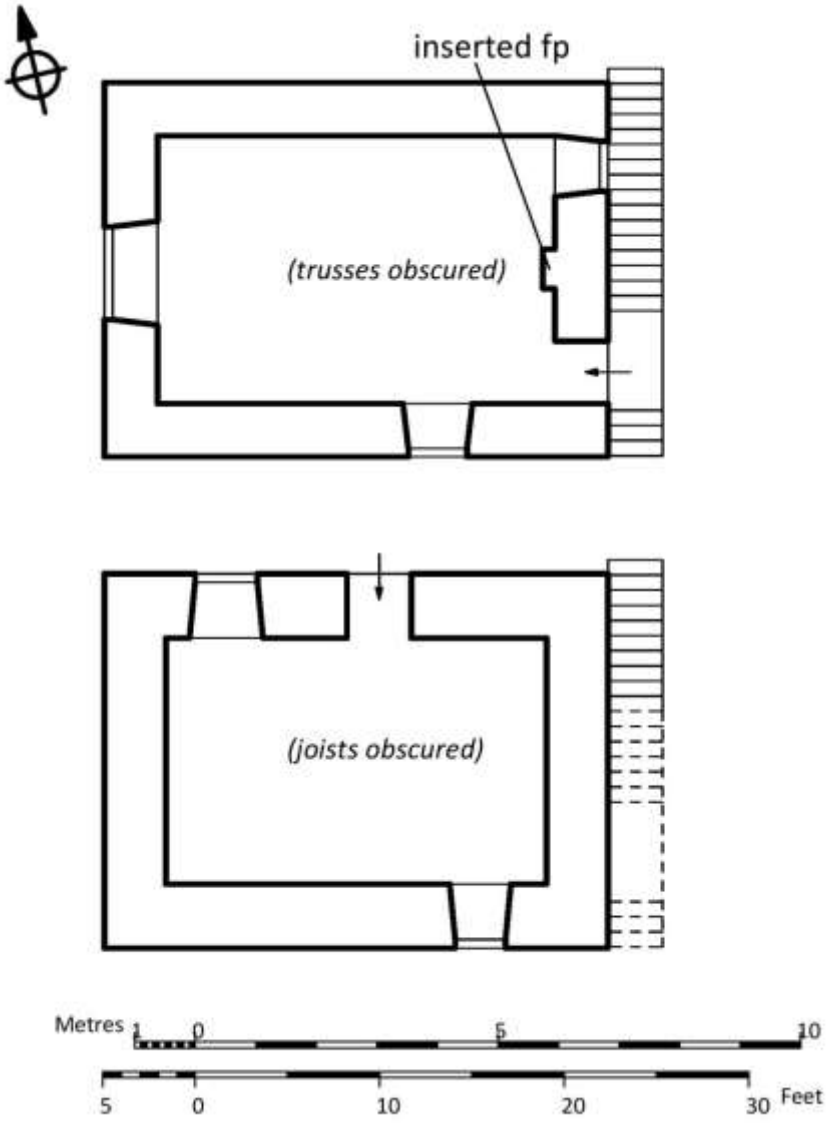


Figure 58. St Tudy (Cornwall), The Clink – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

terms of population, though the Poll Tax returns for 1377 survive, only the total for Trigg hundred is given, but fifty-three taxpayers are recorded in 1525.[542] As the latter is larger than at Poundstock, there seems little to suggest that the building's diminutive size was related to a correspondingly small population. However, it does seem clear that, whereas the Gildhouse at Poundstock could at least accommodate the majority of the adult population of the parish in a standing gathering in one room, this was not possible at St Tudy. Both buildings have at

[542] Fenwick, *Poll Tax*, I, p. 82; Sheail, *Regional Distribution*, II, p. 41.

some point in the past been called ‘church houses’, but it is clear that only one of them could have adequately fulfilled today’s widespread conception of that usage, namely a venue for community-wide church ale feasts. On the contrary, in the case of St Tudy, this ‘church house’ could have sheltered a much smaller group of individuals, such the ‘elite of the parish’ that Burgess identified in All Saints’ Bristol, who had their counterparts in the ‘twelve’ in Lewes (Sussex) and St Columb Major (Cornwall), the ‘eight men’ in Ashburton (Devon) and Launceston (Cornwall), and the ‘four men’ of Hartland and Dartington (Devon).[543]

Like the first floor, which has a later fireplace, the single ground-floor room of The Clink lacked an original fireplace. Given this and its diminutive size, the use of the ground floor cannot have been intended for cooking or brewing, or large groups of people (**Plate XLVII.2**). The only primary window opening on this floor appears to be on the churchyard-side, although the window adjacent to the entrance could represent a widening of a smaller opening. The lack of fenestration could point to two other uses: as a store or lock-up. The latter use for community buildings in rural areas is not widely attested in surviving documentary sources, although if the building was connected with regular trading activities on the open space in front of the building, then this use could be contemplated in line with attested similar uses in town halls and market halls.[544] The use of community buildings for storage is considerably more in evidence: in Bray (Berkshire), the church house was used for the storage of apparatus for May games and Robin Hood plays; in Keswick (Cumberland) part of the Court House was intended to store the Queen’s portion of the locally produced copper;

[543] Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts’, p. 322; Godfrey, ‘Lewes Market House’, p. 1; J. S. Amery, 'The Ashburton of Past Days', *TDA*, 56 (1924), 43-102 (pp. 67-70). For local elites, see also I. Forrest, *Trustworthy Men* (Princeton, 2018), pp. 129-57 and, in towns, S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 173-76.
[544] See above, p. 87.

and in Somerton (Somerset) the church house stored the parish arms.[545] In addition, churchwardens' accounts are rife with miscellaneous references to sundry items or materials being carried to the church-house, presumably for storage, though most regular are references to building materials such as timber and lime rather than high-value goods. Given that the lack of windows and the imposing doorway at St Tudy could point to a secure environment, the ground floor could well have served as a repository for the parish goods and thus be comparable with the aforementioned church-house in Higham (Kent), whose recorded purpose in the fifteenth-century was to store the 'parish church goods.'[546]

The Church House at St Teath shares similarities in location, orientation and access with the buildings in Poundstock and St Tudy. In plan, it shares both the horizontal separation between the floors (there being no original internal stair) and the single first-floor room (Figure 59). The latter, which has now been partly subdivided, originally extended to just under 62 m^2 and thus provided standing space for approximately one hundred and twenty-three people, or seating for approximately fifty-three people; a size and capacity midway between Poundstock and St Tudy (**Plate XLVII.3**). As for St Tudy, the fourteenth-century population data for St Teath are not specifically recorded, but the recording of sixty-nine taxpayers in 1525, which is higher than both Poundstock and St Tudy, indicates again that there is little correlation between the size of community buildings in Cornwall and the general population of the parish, whichever multiplier is selected to calculate it.[547] However, a correlation at least seems clear between the buildings in Poundstock and St Teath insofar as they could at least

[545] B. Tyson, 'Rebuilding the Medieval Court-House at Keswick in 1571', *TCWAAS*, 95 (1995), 119-35 (p. 119-20); Mattingly, 'Church Houses in Berkshire', p. 10; *VCH Somerset*, III, p. 149.
[546] See above, p. 58.
[547] Sheail, *Regional Distribution*, II, p. 41.

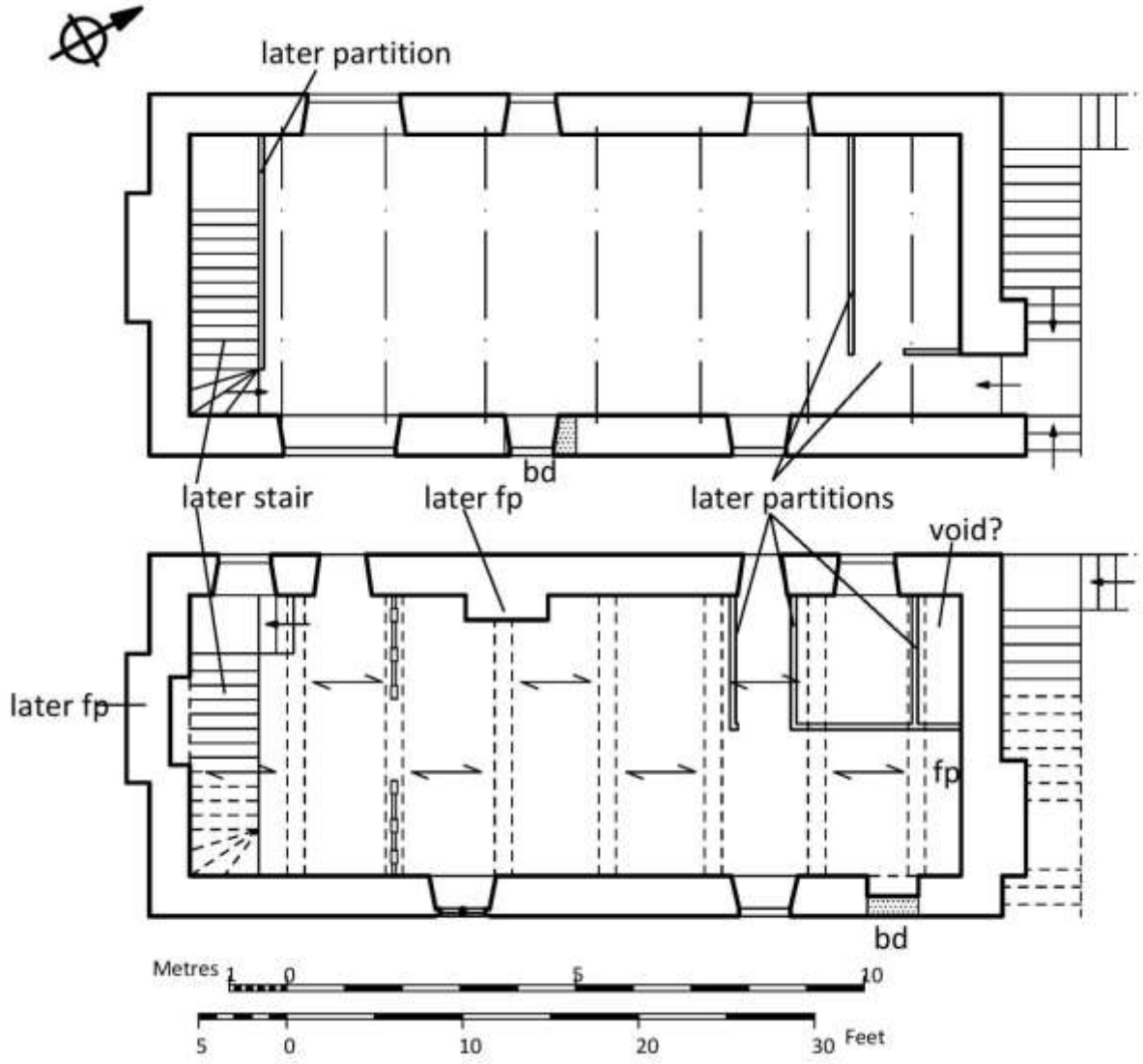


Figure 59. St Teath (Cornwall), Church House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

accommodate a reasonable proportion of the parish in a standing capacity, unlike St Tudy, whose very size dictates that only a smaller number could be accommodated at any one time.

No contemporary description survives of the original usage of the first floor at St Teath's church house, and one is left to contemplate the range of documented uses for other community buildings discussed above. However, features of the ground floor not only distinguish it from The Gildhouse and The Clink, but also give a clearer indication of usage. First, the ground floor has an

original fireplace at the northeast end which, though now partially infilled, ran the full width of the building (**Plate XLVIII.1**). Secondly, the ground floor was divided into two rooms. The fireplace was located in the larger room of five bays, with the second room occupying the remaining two bays screened off by a plank-and-muntin partition with central doorway, evidenced by peg holes and mortices in the underside of the cross-beam (**Plate XLVIII.2**). The cross-beam itself marks out the spaces further by being moulded on the face towards the larger room and a simple chamfer on the side of the smaller room. The treatment of the joists reflect this: the beaded mouldings on the joists in the larger room give way to plain, unchamfered joists in the smaller room. These attributes point to differences in usage and circulation compared with Poundstock and St Tudy. The presence of a fireplace suggests an obvious possibility of food preparation for feasts upstairs, but additional uses for community buildings with fireplaces exist in documentary records. In Nettlecombe (Somerset), the churchwardens' accounts record occasional receipts for use of the church house for baking: for example, in 1517/8, two pence was received from 'Thomas Goher for baking yn the chyrge owyne' (later entries show that this was located in the church house). Similar receipts are to be found for 'bakyn yn the paryshe house oven' in Kilmington (Devon).[548] Neither are ovens restricted to the church houses of the South West: the guildhall in Metfield (Suffolk) had an oven and chimney in 1557, whilst the chimney recorded at the guildhall in Mildenhall (Suffolk) could point to an unmentioned oven.[549] The church house in Nettlecombe also housed brewing apparatus such as the 'church kettle', for the use of which frequent income is recorded.[550] Similarly, 'le olde chetyll' in the church house at Ashburton (Devon),

[548] *Church Accounts, 1457-1559*, ed. by R. W. Dunning and M. B. McDermott, SRS, 95 (Taunton, 2013), pp. 51, 61; Cornish, *Kilmington Church Wardens' Accounts*, p. 9.
[549] Bower, 'Extracts from Metfield Churchwardens' Account Books', p. 145; *Records of the Churchwardens of Mildenhall*, ed. by J. Middleton-Stewart, SfRS, 54 (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 112.
[550] Dunning and McDermott, *Church Accounts,* p. 61.

was a frequent source of income before being sold in 1545/6, and the 'Church Ketell' in the church house at Wimborne Minster (Dorset) was repaired in 1588.[551] At Yatton (Somerset), three separate receipts for 'brewyng in the church howse' are recorded in 1547/8, each of which brought in twelve pence, indicating a standard fee. These may well have been for private consumption, but the following year the churchwardens received over five pounds 'of the west part [of the church house?] M. Irys and J. Stretyng the elder for ye tavern at Hocday', and a further forty-two shillings for a 'taverne Ale at Mydsomer'.[552] As well as private brewing, the church house fireplace could also be used for private cooking, as is recorded for the church house in Sherborne (Dorset) in 1543/4, when three pence was 'received of John Moore for the hire of the church house chimneye to roste his meate there one day'.[553]

In the absence of sixteenth-century documentary records from St Teath, these references give some indication of the range of uses of the fireplace. They reveal a space which did not exist solely to service dining requirements on the upper floor, but rather a contained space which could be separately let on an *ad hoc* basis to those wishing to make use of it as a community facility. When community buildings are conceived in these terms, the horizontal partitioning between the ground and first floors assists in this piecemeal letting-out of the internal spaces. 'Kitchens' are recorded in a number of church houses, such as at Stratton (Cornwall) and Sherborne (Dorset), so the large room with the fireplace in the Church House at St Teath could be interpreted likewise.[554] It is important to note that these are specific examples of kitchens contained *within*

[551] Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 116; Mayo, *History of Wimborne Minster*, p. 109.
[552] Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 159.
[553] J. Fowler, 'The Cost of the Chimney at the Church House, Sherborne', *SDN&Q*, 23 (1939-42), 180-1 (p. 181).
[554] Peacock, 'On the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Stratton', p. 211; Fowler, 'Sherborne All Hallows', p. 81.

the building envelope, as opposed to detached kitchens, such as that at Hadleigh (Suffolk), which could well have existed in greater numbers around community buildings where they were not integrated. Some references to kitchens at church houses, such as at St Ewen's in Bristol and in Spelsbury (Oxfordshire), are not specific as to this distinction.[555]

The smaller ground-floor room at the Church House seems to have had some functional connection with the larger room, given that it could be accessed from it. Although the position of the original entrances along the street-facing elevation are difficult to discern owing to later changes to the masonry, the large stone quoins framing the doorway into this room suggest that the doorway is in its original position. Therefore the small room could be directly accessed from the street, but not the churchyard. Documentary references to ancillary spaces within community buildings provide useful hints at identification. In the South West, the church houses at Stratton (Cornwall), Sherborne (Dorset), Plymtree (Devon), and Langport (Somerset) all had 'butteries'. At Stratton at least, the buttery was occasionally hired out.[556] Other designations emerge elsewhere for ancillary spaces whose uses may have been analogous: the church houses at Ashburton (Devon) and Clawton (Devon) had a 'spence' and 'pantry' respectively.[557] It therefore seems plausible to interpret this small room at the Church House along these lines, not only as a buttery or pantry, but also as another potential space to be let out when needed.

The above concludes an overview of the plan-forms of the three Cornish community buildings grouped in the preceding chapter for the similarities in

[555] Masters and Ralph, *Church Book of St Ewen's,* p. 14; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Marston, Spelsbury, Pyrton*, ed. by F. W. Weaver and G. N. Clark, ORS, 6 (Oxford, 1925), p. 50.
[556] Mattingly, *Stratton Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 137; Fowler, 'Sherborne All Hallows', p. 142; Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses: Part III', p. 436; *VCH Somerset*, III, p. 33.
[557] Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 153; Copeland , *Devonshire Church Houses. Part IV*, p. 141.

location, setting, and access. Their plan-forms can now be usefully compared with the buildings in Fowey and Looe, with their 'urban' settings and marketplace locations. At the Old Town Hall in Fowey, there have been many alterations to the internal plan: an attic and staircase have been inserted above the first-floor hall; part of the ground floor (i.e. the north side facing Market Street) has been subdivided and converted into public toilets, with surfaces entirely covered in modern materials. The other part is used for floor-to-ceiling storage, preventing both access and adequate measurement. On the first floor, now a museum, the evidence indicates a large chamber open to the rafters with a cross-passage at the eastern end which ran through, or was partitioned from, a smaller room on the east side of the passage (Figure 60) (**Plate XLVIII.3**). The chamber has a floor-space of just under 35 m^2, which is only slightly larger than the first-floor of

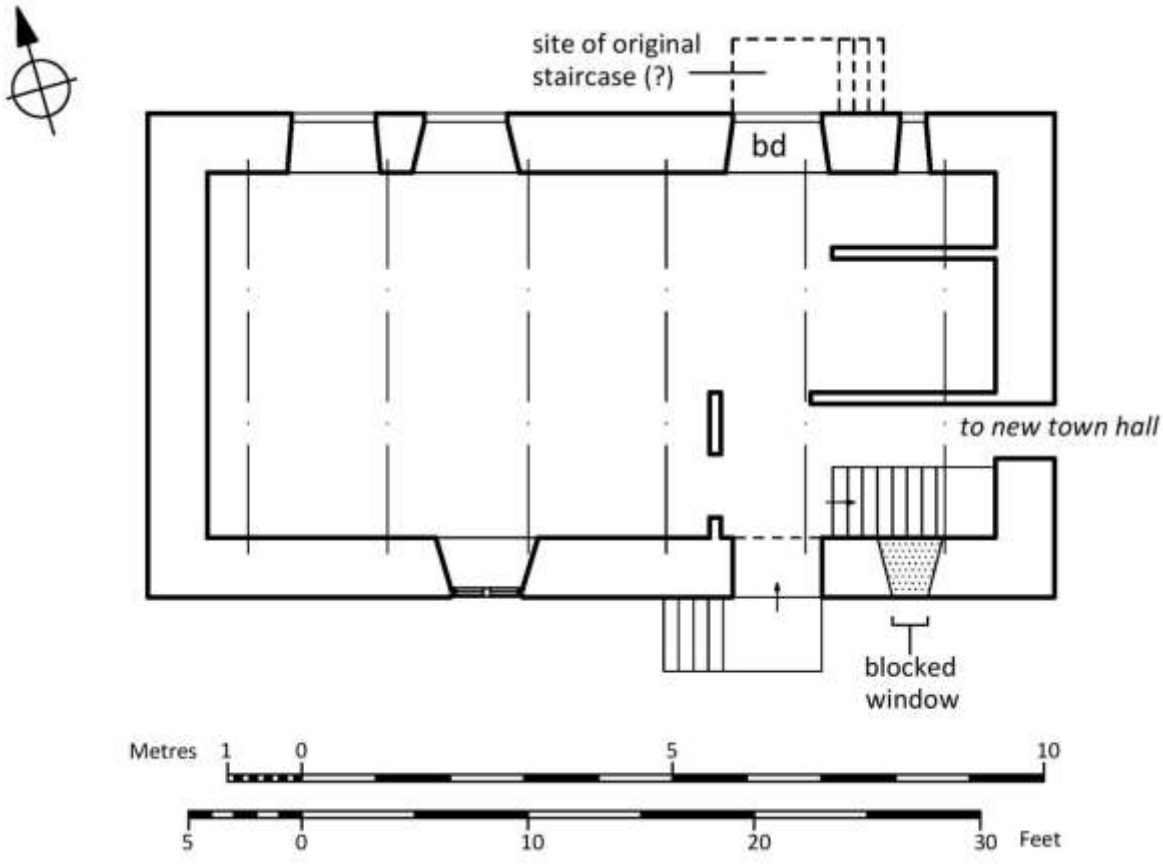


Figure 60. Fowey (Cornwall), Old Town Hall – plan of first floor

The Clink in St Tudy, and considerably less than the rural community buildings in St Teath and Poundstock. Therefore here too the use of the hall was possibly restricted to a small group, or for some other restricted usage that precluded a general mass gathering. In the absence of documentary sources, interpretation of the building's usage arises from both the fabric and analogous structures. In this case, and given the building's size, it seems most plausible that the building served as the court and administrative centre for the borough and market, the latter having been granted by charter in 1316 at the same time as two fairs.[558]

Assuming the primary use of the building for civic and juridical purposes enables interpretation of the remainder of the floor plan. If the large first-floor room was the primary court and meeting room, then the small room off the cross-passage could have existed as a retiring room, such as survives at the Town Hall in Fordwich (Kent). Alternatively, this space could also have been a buttery along the lines of the rural buildings, but also other civic buildings in larger towns. The Moot Hall in Ipswich (Suffolk), though a church conversion, had a buttery in 1592 where the demountable 'frame of the prisoners rayle' was kept when the courtroom was not in use, and could be the same room as the lockable 'wyne rome nere the counsell chamber' mentioned in the same year.[559] The provision of a small room off the first-floor hall, even as a later alteration, was also thought convenient in some church houses: at Langford Budville (Devon) the churchwardens' accounts of 1619/20 record that the parish were to 'inclose a fytt rome from the second cople (? truss) in the north end therof with a dore Lock & key to make ther rates and pass th'accompts in & to put therein such thinges as

[558] Letters, *Online Gazetteer* , http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html [accessed 1 August 2019].
[559] Webb, *Town Finances*, p. 161.

the parish shall think fytt';[560] a description that could also be applied to the small ground-floor room at St Teath.

In common with other civic buildings with town halls/courtrooms on the first floor (e.g. Aldeburgh Moot Hall), the ground floor at the Old Town Hall likely had an area for trading; this was discussed above as inferable from the same provision in the New Town Hall extension of 1787, the ground floor of which was described as the 'market-house' in the nineteenth century.[561] Another town history relates that 'a prison also stood in the old Market Square' and that the New Town Hall was built in front of it;[562] this seems to indicate that the Old Town Hall also contained a lock-up, which again would complement not only other extant buildings, such as the Moot Hall in Aldeburgh (Suffolk), the Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), the Town Hall in Fordwich (Kent), and the Market Hall in Titchfield (Hampshire), but also lost buildings such as the Guildhall in Melcombe Regis (Dorset), and the Court House in Barking (Essex).

The Old Guildhall in Looe shared the same status and purpose as the Old Town Hall in Fowey, as well as a position on the edge of a waterside marketplace. The ground floor of the Old Guildhall retains two gaol cells, with evidence for a third, though this end of the building was heavily restored in 1972, which saw the insertion of the current internal staircase (Figure 61). There is good reason to assume that the building always contained a lock-up: not only does analogy with other community buildings suggest it, but also the keeping of a gaol was permitted in the town's charter of 1587.[563] The access to the ground floor from Higher Market Street appears to have been from the current off-centre

[560] M. B. McDermott, 'Church House at Langford Budville', *SDN&Q,* 29 (1970), 127-31 (p. 128).
[561] Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History*, II, p. 25.
[562] E. W. Rashleigh, *A Short History of the Town and Borough of Fowey* (Fowey, 1887), p. 6.
[563] CRO X155/164.

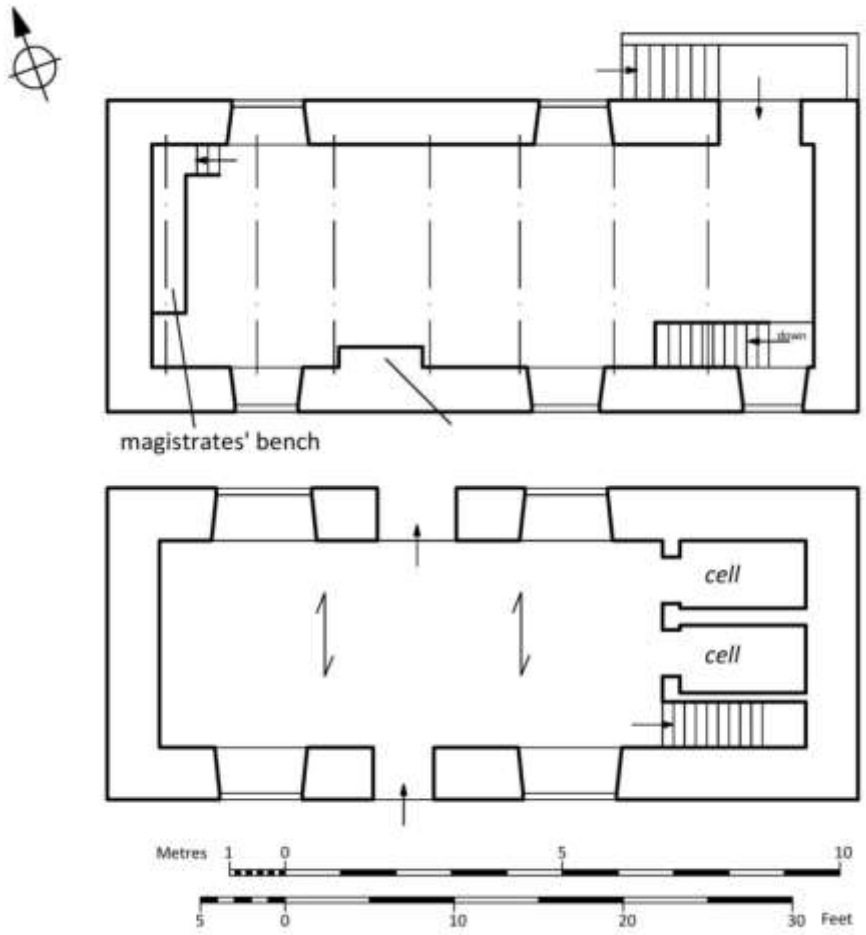


Figure 61. Looe (Cornwall), Old Guildhall – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

doorway. A full front door is visible internally, but is externally only visible as a half-door and is no longer accessible (**Plate XXVI.3**). This arrangement suggests that the ground level, which is slightly higher than that at the rear has been raised further in more recent times; this is confirmed by the position of the ground-floor windows, whose sills now rest at ground level, and the height under the former pentice which, if it were reinstated, would be too small to permit an adult to stand beneath. However, the ground level on Higher Market Street must always have been slightly higher than Middle Market Street, as remains of two stone steps down into the ground-floor were uncovered during excavations in 1972.[564] On the rear elevation (onto Middle Market Street), the window and doorway positions

[564] Recorded in historical information kept at the building.

appear to be broadly in their original locations, although the latter has been enlarged, probably in the eighteenth century (**Plate XLIX.1**). If the doorway is in its original location, then its position opposite the door on the north side results in another cross-passage arrangement as has been seen elsewhere. However, there is no evidence in the form of mortices or peg holes in the adjacent joist for a timber partition alongside the cross-passage, which suggests that the ground floor was a large room with the lock-up at the eastern end. If there was a separate entrance into the lock-up it has not survived. There is no evidence on the ground floor for a fireplace and so the plan is more like the single-room plan-forms seen at Poundstock and St Tudy, than the kitchen/buttery arrangement at St Teath. The position of the Old Guildhall within the marketplace and the pentice roof on the north side suggest that the ground floor might have had a commercial usage, either for market administration or for additional trading. Such a use would be consistent with those community buildings with open-sided ground floors, such as the Old Market House in Tetbury, Gloucestershire, which also originally had pentices, or those with ground-floor shops, such as the Moot Hall, Aldeburgh (Suffolk), or the Moot Hall in Elstow (Bedfordshire), all of which sit on current or historic marketplaces. On the north side, the external staircase provides direct access into a seven-bay, full-length hall open to the rafters (**Plate XLIX.2**). The chamber retains court fixtures and fittings, such as the early eighteenth-century magistrates' bench, and has twentieth-century inserted fireplaces. There is no evidence for any partitions for ancillary rooms and so the hall reflects those commonly found in church houses, even though the historical function was primarily civic and judicial, i.e. not for 'church-ales'.

The above overview of the plan-forms of five extant community buildings in Cornwall permits several observations. First, there was no standard plan that can

be applied to all community buildings in Cornwall and used for their identification. Although four of the five had full-length, first-floor chambers, the case of Fowey, with its small ancillary space or chamber, reveals the possibility for variation. Notwithstanding this variation, the horizontal separation between floors, i.e. having no internal staircases, and the provision of a first-floor chamber taking either the whole or the majority of the first floor appear jointly to be constant and were clearly significant attributes of the community building type. Second, the main variations in plan-form, which can be broadly divided into single- and multi-room floors, do not relate either to the building's designation or, more importantly, its setting within a town or village. Indeed, the interchangeability of these factors is emerging as a characteristic feature which appears to transcend these divisions and thus support the argument for conceiving these buildings as a single building type.

Chapter 6 identified three broad groupings in location and orientation of community buildings in **Devon**.[565] As all but one of the buildings have at least one elevation joining the churchyard, any grouping based on this would be unbalanced, but not so their relationship to the spaces around them. The buildings at South Tawton, Widecombe-in-the-Moor, and Harberton were grouped as they occupy clearly legible village squares or marketplaces. The remaining buildings, at Holcombe Rogus, Lamerton, Swimbridge, and Drewsteignton, are in a setting where a large open space could be reconstructed, but is not immediately legible today. This group was further subdivided into two as the buildings at Holcombe Rogus and Lamerton are both located opposite buildings known to have been rectories or vicarages, which was linked in Chapter 6 to the possibility of former open spaces. As for Cornwall, an overview of the

[565] See above, pp. 177-87.

plan-forms of the Devon buildings within these groupings will reveal whether any correlations can be observed.

The Church House at South Tawton, though on the churchyard edge, had no access to either floor from it, but rather only from the village square it faces. The double-flight external stair is in its original position up to the first-floor doorway which, in common with other community buildings, is not centred, but provides access to one end – presumably the 'lower' end – of the hall (Figure

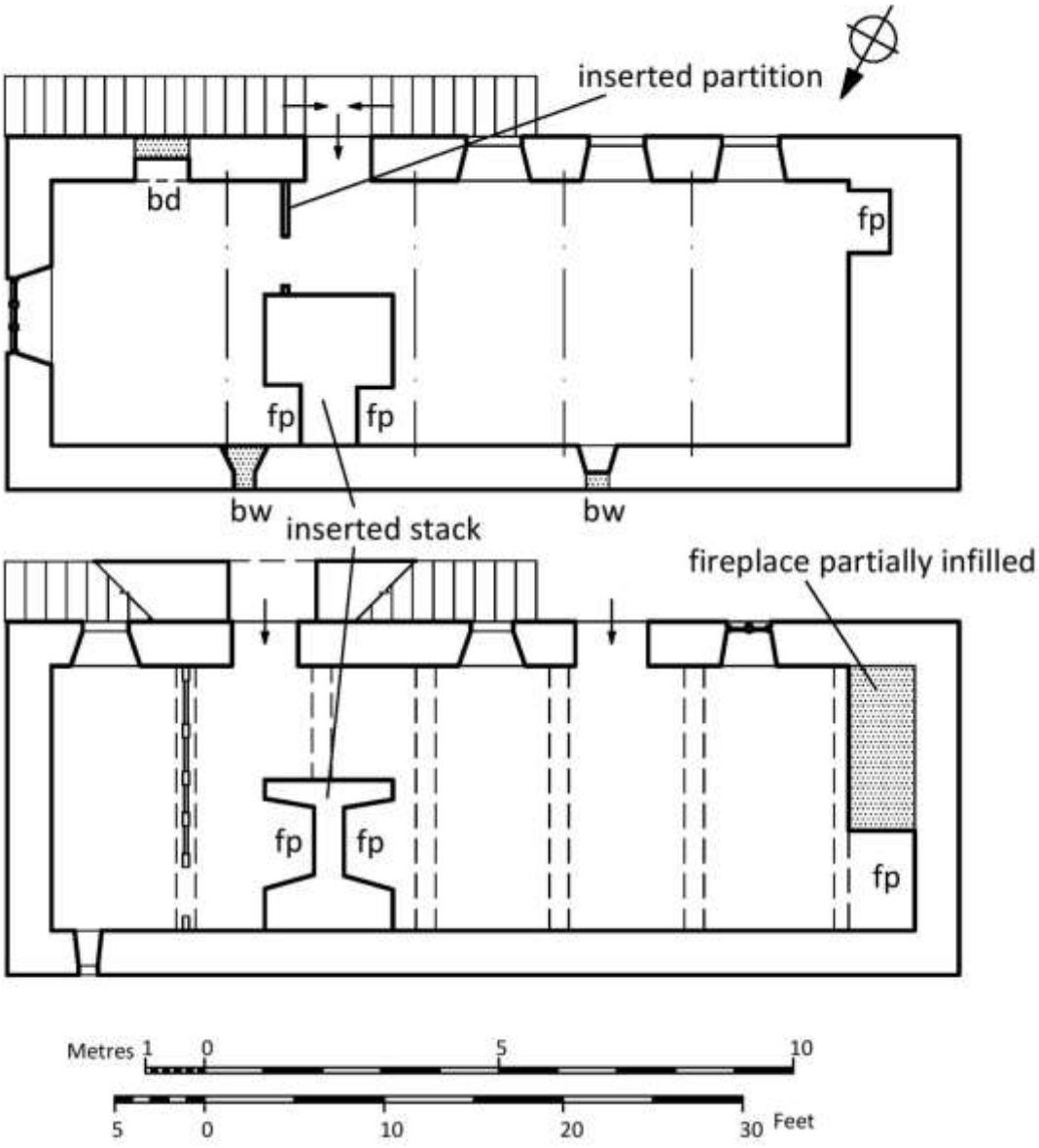


Figure 62. South Tawton (Devon), Church House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

62). Originally this was the only entrance to the first floor, with the current doorway at the eastern end a later addition and there being no evidence for an internal staircase. The hall itself extended across the full five bays: the current internal chimney stack is later, as at Poundstock, and there is no evidence for internal partitions forming an ancillary space or buttery (**Plate XLIX.3**). The available floor space of the hall amounted to 61 m^2, only 1 m^2 less than the hall at St Teath and thus with a comparable standing and seating capacity that points to the potential for accommodation of a relatively large section of the community rather than solely a small, exclusive group. The ground-floor doorway is located directly beneath that of the first-floor and is accessed through the break between the flights of the external staircase; a similar relationship of doorway positions can be seen at Endecott House in Chagford (Devon), formerly St Catherine's Guildhall – though the stair and porch have now been removed – and possibly at Widecombe-in-the-Moor (see below). As at St Teath, this ground-floor doorway entered adjacent to a plank-and-muntin screen dividing off the easternmost bay, whilst the remainder was one open room with a full-width fireplace, now partially infilled, across the east end (**Plate L.1**). The original screen at the lower end has been removed, but mortices and peg-holes reveal both its construction and the presence of a doorway in its northern end; an arrangement broadly replicated in a recently installed screen (**Plate L.2**). There are no indications that this end bay had its own entrance: there are no traces of an opening on the churchyard side, whilst the opening on the south (village square) side is sufficient only for a small window owing to the external staircase. The larger ground-floor room, with its full-width fireplace and vestigial bread oven, therefore points to a use similar to that at St Teath; a kitchen for the preparation of food for consumption above, but also a community facility which could be hired for baking and/or brewing. One other possible use arises from the documented presence of the pentice on the front

elevation facing the village square, which would serve as a covered area for trading. The question to be asked is whether the pentice was solely an outward-looking feature related to the activities within the square, or whether it signifies a 'bridge' between these two spaces, i.e. whether the commercial activities in the square continued under the pentice and thence into the ground floor of the Church House. Similar questions were posed above with the almost identical situation of the church house at Stratton (Cornwall), which was additionally seen to have contained wool-weighing equipment, and a similar question will be posed in the case of the Church House at Widecombe-in-the-Moor below.[566]

The floor plan on both floors of the Church House is therefore nearly identical to that in St Teath, with the only variations being the position of the first-floor doorway and access into the ground-floor service room. Given these similarities, one can begin to draw together the documentary and architectural evidence for the use of both buildings. The use of the first-floor hall for feasting at South Tawton is suggested by the presence of crockery and seating boards, planks and trestles in the aforementioned inventory of 1558/9. The same inventory also includes entries for armour, spears, arrows, bills and a sword, all of which are likely to have been kept in the ground-floor service room, which had no direct entrance from outside and could presumably be locked off from the body of the ground floor.[567] Whether or not the room in the Church House at St Teath served a similar purpose depends partly on whether the external doorway was original, and partly on the needs of the parish. This example shows an additional use to which a community building space could be put, which can be both carried forward to other building in this study, and also compared with other 'types' of community buildings where parish weapons and armour were stored,

[566] See above, pp. 77, 94.
[567] DevHC 2915A/PW/1. See also above, p. 123.

such as the Guildhall in Woodstock (Oxfordshire) and the Court House in Barking (Essex).[568]

As well as sharing a position facing an obvious village square/market place and with only a secondary elevation facing the church and churchyard, there are many similarities in plan-form between the church houses at South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Figure 63). The external staircase at the latter enters towards one end of the hall, which, before the addition of the current partition, extended the full-width of the ten-bay space (**Plate L.3**).[569] With a total floor area of 84 m^2, the hall is the fourth largest extant example in the South West, after

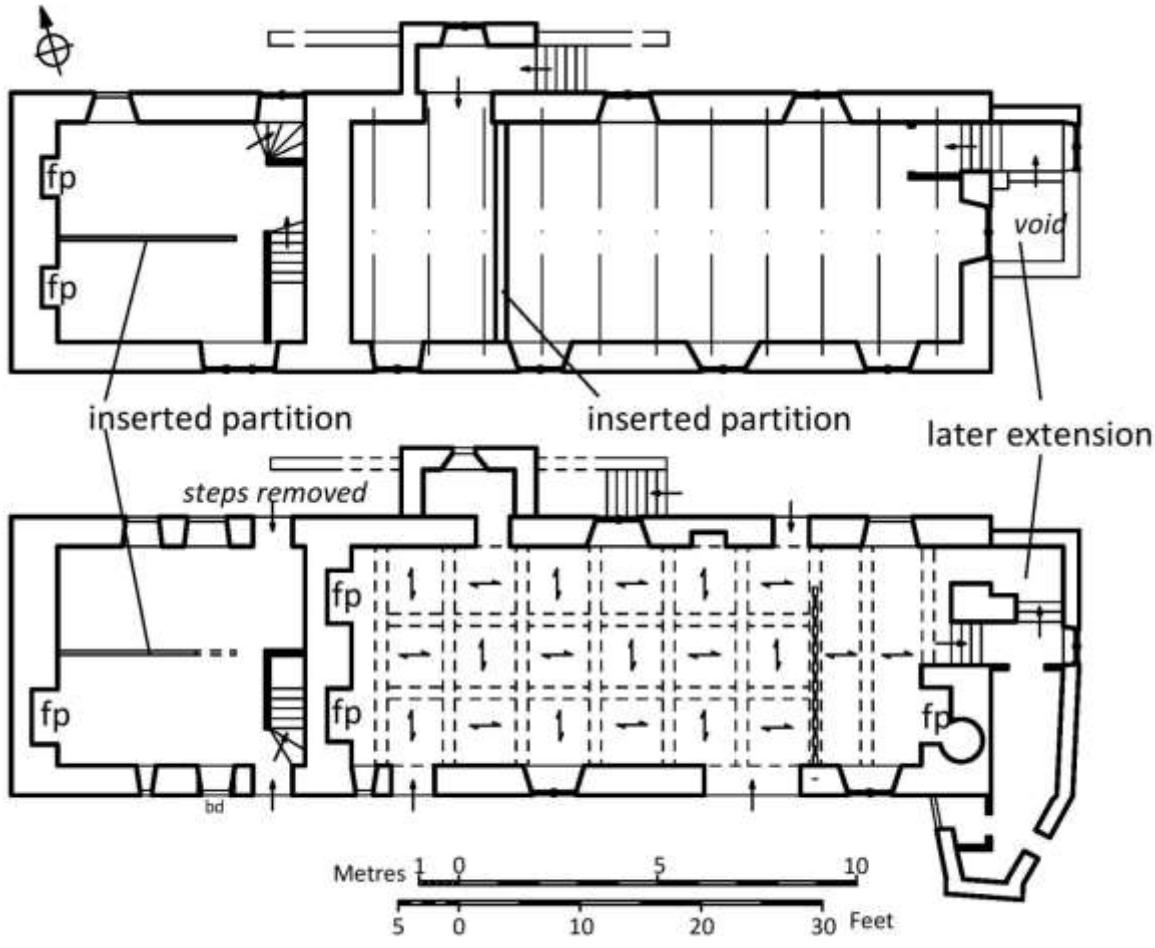


Figure 63. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

[568] Maslen, *Woodstock Chamberlains' Accounts*, p. 59; *VCH Essex*, V, p. 218.
[569] The endmost trusses at the west and east end are set forward of the masonry walls and so two very narrow bays are created at each end, which have not been included in the total count.

Chew Magna (Somerset), Harberton (Devon) and Poundstock (Cornwall), and again points to gatherings of large numbers. In addition, the hall is the second so far discussed to display what appears to be a planned staggering of window positions between the main elevations – a pattern also seen at the Gildhouse in Poundstock – which presumably had some practical function in maximising light levels. The current internal staircase is a later addition and so the building was fully divided horizontally.

The ground floor broadly shares its arrangement with the church houses at South Tawton and St Teath (Cornwall). The space was historically divided into two spaces: the western six bays comprised one room, culminating in a full-width fireplace at the western end; subsequently the latter was infilled to form two fireplaces, but the bressumer defining the full extent of the opening remains *in situ* (**Plate LI.1**). Further definition is given to this space by the elaborate arrangement of heavily moulded ceiling timbers, which combine joists and cross-beams into a series of square compartments. This arrangement ceases along the line of the second cross-beam from the east end, after which the joists are arranged simply in east-west alignment. The cross-beam has peg holes and mortices for a plank-and-muntin screen with a doorway at its north end and is only moulded on the face towards the larger room, the face into the smaller room having only a simple chamfer (**Plate LI.2**). In addition, and unlike the moulded and stopped joists in the larger room, the joists in the smaller room are plain and unchamfered. The fireplace with oven in this room is later with a reused timber lintel and respecting the position of the inserted staircase. Therefore both the general arrangement of the joists and their detailed treatment mark out the hierarchy of the spaces, as was the case at St Teath. At South Tawton, though the general plan matches Widecombe-in-the-Moor and St Teath, the joists in the larger room appear to have been plain and unchamfered from the outset; those in

the smaller room are now concealed above a modern ceiling, but are also presumed to be plain. As well as the doorway from the main ground-floor room through the screen partition, it is possible that the window on the north side of the small room was originally a doorway: the apron panel beneath the window opening appears to be infill and is not as thick as the main wall. On this basis the room would be accessible from the north side of the building facing the village green, suggesting that its function was related more to the activities on that side rather than the marketplace on the south side. If this is the case, then the analogy can be applied to other community buildings with this arrangement, such as St Teath, described above as apparently having an original external doorway into the ancillary room from the street-facing side of the building, which itself faces towards the suggested open space. The availability of external access into these small rooms in community buildings might point to a primary function along the lines of a 'buttery', rather than as a place for secure storage, which would be more vulnerable to interference or theft if the storeroom had an external door. It is undoubtedly relevant that at South Tawton, which has no such external access into the smaller of the ground-floor rooms, there is specific reference to the use of the Church House for storing weapons and armour; this hypothesis can be tested further with the buildings to follow.

The larger ground-floor room, with its large fireplace, has every appearance of being a larger version of the 'kitchens' seen at St Teath and South Tawton, and therefore it seems reasonable to extend by analogy the possibility for food preparation for consumption within the building, as well as private hire for baking and/or brewing. But there are reasons to posit further uses of this space: the room, which has no other evidence for partitioning, is a significantly large space, and considerable attention has been paid to ornament the ceiling timbers. These factors, when combined with the building's commercial connections evidenced by

its location and pentice, point to a commercial use of the ground floor as an extension of the marketplace, as was suggested at Poundstock. Significant numbers of people could be accommodated for covered trading, whilst those attending would be suitably impressed by the expensive timberwork defining the space. Similar conclusions could thus be applied to the other buildings with pentices, such as South Tawton and the documented case of Stratton (Cornwall), where the feature could have provided a 'bridge' between the commercial space outside and the ground-floor room.

The original entrance into the ground-floor room at Widecombe-in-the-Moor remains on the south (marketplace) side of the building at the 'lower' end, under the pentice and adjacent to the plank-and-muntin screen, as was seen also at South Tawton. The current doorway has, however, been widened on its west side, judging from the replaced corbel and stonework on the jamb and plinth below. The door at the western end, which has disturbed the adjacent stonework and has a reused timber lintel, is later. On the rear elevation, the current fire escape doorway is modern and there are no extant external doorways. However, the stonework below the current window in the ground-floor of the projecting external stair at the west end is disturbed, with very different jointing and mortar; it seems possible that this was an original doorway in an arrangement which would thus echo that on the front elevation at South Tawton (**Plate LI.3**). A doorway here would suggest some functional connection between the activities in the room with those on the village green, although this poses questions as to circulation and use when considered with the other rear doorway.

Though the plan and form of the Church House at Widecombe-in-the-Moor is thus directly comparable with the foregoing buildings, there is an additional noteworthy feature. Now known as 'Sexton's Cottage' and housing a shop, the western end of the building forms an entirely separate annex to the main building,

with no evidence for access between the two sections. The current designation appears to arise during the nineteenth century, specifically in 1824 when the recently elected sexton applied to the parish for a house.'[570] It is highly unlikely that the space originally had this purpose, not least because of its original plan, which has been considerably altered. The current entrance into the shop is through an original arched doorway beneath the pentice, which sits alongside a window in a blocked arched doorway, an arrangement which is already suggestive of a certain plan (**Plate LII.1**). The open doorway is matched on the rear of the building by another, which, though square-headed and clearly altered, suggests a cross-passage arrangement along the lines demonstrated above for other community buildings in both regions. The position of this doorway in relation to that immediately adjacent suggests that it led into a separate area, one fully or partially walled off from the space accessed through the other doorway. If this did not lead to a cross-passage, it is unclear what would have been served by such a narrow space. Furthermore, the doorway is ornamented with moulded jambs and decorated spandrels, suggesting it was of some importance when accessed from the village square. It is significant that the opposing doorway opens directly onto the base of the external stair (**Plate LI.3**). It seems plausible that the cross-passage therefore provided a functional circulation link between the south side of the building and the first-floor hall, possibly a route to it from the village square, and/or a route to convey food from the ground-floor kitchen, which had no internal means of access to the room above. Owing to the loss of any partition separating the cross-passage from the ground-floor room, it is not clear whether there would have been access between them.

[570] DevHC 2955A/PV/1.

The ground-floor room of Sexton's Cottage was therefore entered through the blocked doorway. The opening is crossed at high level by the first floor joists, indicating that the latter was a later insertion, one which entailed removal of the cross-passage and insertion of a staircase. A similar situation is found on the first floor, where the joists of an inserted attic floor cut across the three-light window on the south elevation. The creation of the attic also resulted in the two inserted windows on the otherwise windowless west elevation. There is a general lack of evidence for original window openings on Sexton's Cottage: the ground- and first-floor windows on the north side are clearly insertions, whilst the attic-level two- and three-light round-headed windows are also likely to reflect the insertion of the upper floors. The picture therefore emerges of a largely windowless space open to roof level with one entrance on the south side and possibly an entrance into an adjacent cross-passage, all of which points to an additional kitchen. There are several indications that the west gable wall had a full-width fireplace like that in the main 'kitchen': as well as the fact it was originally windowless, there are two small fireplaces set into the wall to heat each of the two rooms which were created on each floor when they were inserted. The insertion of the fireplaces therefore echoes the treatment seen in the main building, where two fireplaces were set into the original full-width opening. Even though there is no obvious trace of a bressumer – unlike in the main building – the evidence suggests that the Church House had two kitchens. Using this interpretation one might suggest that 'Sexton's Cottage' housed the baking/brewing oven which could be rented out for small sums to the community, whilst the main fireplace primarily provided food and brewing facilities primarily for the use of the first-floor hall. Indeed, given that the main fireplace forms part of a large room covering the majority of the ground-floor space, it would be more practical for any area let out to individuals for occasional use to be smaller with its own dedicated access.

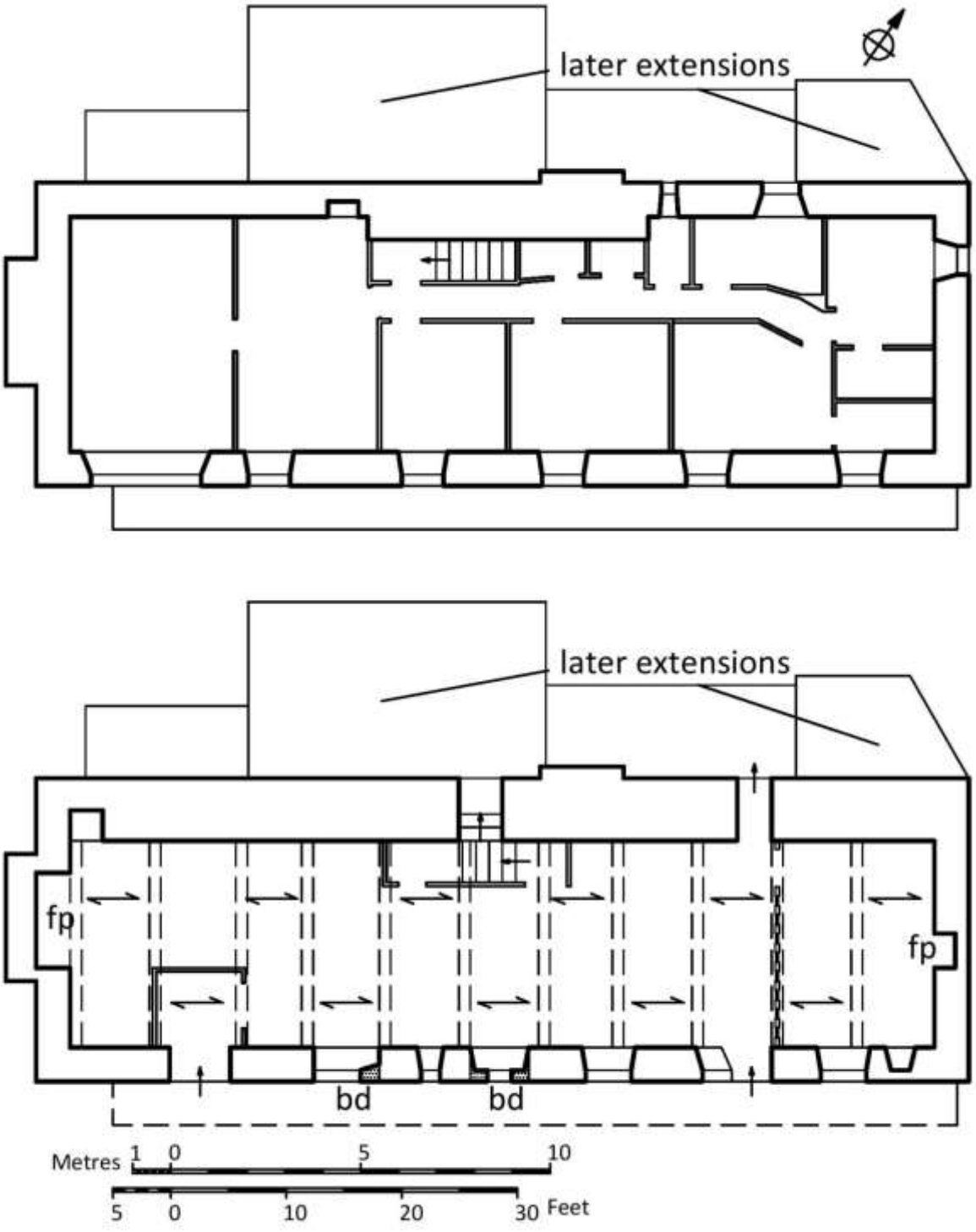


Figure 64. Harberton (Devon), Church House Inn – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

Although it does not have an elevation adjoining the churchyard, from which however it is only separated by a narrow thoroughfare, The Church House Inn at Harberton shares with South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor a position on a

legible open space. In this case the extant space on the south side of the building could potentially be extended northwards to a historical, rectangular marketplace or village square.[571] Along with this similarity comes a considerable correlation in plan-form. Owing to the lack of access for detailed measurement and inspection, the floor plans are redrawn from publicly-sourced planning drawings dating from 2013 (Figure 64). Most clear is the arrangement of the ground floor, where a partially infilled doorway provides access into the building towards the eastern end and alongside an internal plank-and-muntin partition forming a small room at this end; the screen is largely extant and reveals a doorway at its north end (**Plate LII.2**). The ancillary room, with a total floor space of 23 m^2, is considerably larger than the comparable spaces at South Tawton (12 m^2), Widecombe-in-the-Moor (14 m^2), and St Teath (15 m^2). These figures suggest that the size of the community building does not necessarily influence the proportionate size of the ancillary room. However, the provision of this ancillary room, formed by the same means as at these other buildings, does point to a similar usage along the established lines of the buttery or secure store/armoury established. Which of these is more likely depends partly on whether the room had direct access from outside: though the current south window is in a blocked doorway position, it is not clear whether this is primary, as at least two other windows are in blocked doorways and reflect later subdivision.

Though leading to an extension, the opening in the north wall opposite the entrance, if original, plausibly furnishes another example of a cross-passage arrangement along the 'low' end of a ground-floor room. The ground floor beyond the ancillary room at the east end was further divided into two more rooms. The largest space was given over to a central room of six bays, enclosed at the west

[571] See above, Figure 39.

end by a further plank-and-muntin partition, evidenced by mortices in the underside of the cross-beam. There is no break in the screen for a doorway position, but this concurs with the extant screen at the other end where the doorway is formed beneath a transom at lower level than the cross beam. It does mean, however, that the exact position of the doorway between the two spaces is unknown. The latter therefore formed a smaller room of three bays around the west-end fireplace, which has been considerably altered and almost certainly reduced in size from a larger fireplace akin to those at South Tawton, Widecombe-in-the-Moor, and St Teath (**Plate LII.3**). Pevsner surmised that this doorway led 'into the former brewhouse at the western end',[572] which corresponds with the possible uses already highlighted for such spaces. As was seen at the latter two buildings, differences in the joist mouldings are used to illustrate a hierarchy of the internal spaces: in this case the large central room has joists with beaded mouldings, which are not found in the rooms at either end. Although the joists in the east end room are obscured, those at the west end have plain chamfers only. The ornamentation is carried onto the faces of the dividing cross-beam, which has only a plain chamfer on the west face towards the fireplace, but a series of chamfers and stops between the positions of the muntins on the east face towards the central room. The pentice on the south elevation not only prompts further comparison with Widecombe-in-the-Moor, but also raises similar questions as to the possible use of the ground floor as a space of higher status.

Aspects of the first floor also show distinctive commonalities with the buildings at South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor. The building had a full-length, undivided room with a floor area of 141 m^2, which, as the second largest

[572] B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *Devon*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1989), p. 469.

example among the selected buildings, could thus accommodate a large proportion of the parish, whether standing or seated. The point of access into the first-floor hall is somewhat obscured by later alterations, but it seems clear that was not on the south (i.e. pentice side) of the building, where there is no evidence for a first-floor doorway. This and the slightly higher ground level to the rear (north) of the building suggest that the access was on this side, where only a few steps would have been necessary. Such a reconstruction is supported by the analogy with comparable buildings, where first-floor access was often located towards one end of the room, rather than centrally. Moreover, external steps are shown in this location on the Ordnance Survey map of 1887 (Figure 39), where they run alongside the building up into the northeast extension, which could itself have been built over and around the doorway. In this position, the external staircase would provide a further instance of the rear cross-passage door coinciding closely with it, which lends itself to convenient transportation of food and drink to the upstairs room without having to circumnavigate the building externally. However, the suggested turret staircase, mentioned by Waterhouse as having been removed in the seventeenth century, remains a possibility, and could provide an explanation for the niche or doorway adjacent to the west end fireplace.[573] The provision of a secondary staircase in a stair turret, though strictly violating the internal horizontal separation, was perhaps more common than previously thought. Surviving examples at Drewsteignton (Devon) and Martock (Somerset) have been mentioned and will be discussed further below, but further extant Devon examples can be found at the former church house (now the Royal Oak Public House) in Meavy (**Plate LIII.1**), and the Church House (formerly the Church House Inn) in Walkhampton (**Plate LIII.2**). At Drewsteignton,

[573] See above, p. 179.

Walkhampton and, if reconstructed, Harberton, the stair turret is placed towards the fireplace end of the building, perhaps supporting the argument for convenient access for servers. However, the position of the stair turret at the Royal Oak in Meavy, which is located at the opposite end of the building (closer to the positon of the demolished gable-end external staircase), provides an exception to any proposed rule on this basis.

The above discussion of the community buildings at South Tawton, Widecombe-in-the-Moor and Harberton has outlined distinct similarities in their plan-form: full-length first floor rooms were accessed from external staircases positioned at one end, whilst ground floors were divided into a larger room containing a wide fireplace and one or more smaller rooms, separated by a plank-and-muntin screen and a connecting doorway. These features can therefore be added to the previously established similarities in location and orientation, i.e. with the principal elevations, all with extant or documented pentices, fronting open spaces/village squares and away from the church and churchyard. Some or all of these attributes can now be compared with the buildings at Holcombe Rogus and Lamerton, which were differentiated from the above in Chapter 6 on account of any historical open space around them being less discernible today, as well as their having access to the first floor from the churchyard side of the building.

At Holcombe Rogus, the stairs to the first-floor doorway (now blocked) almost certainly ran along the side of the building down towards the front, as is suggested by a faint line along the stonework (**Plate XXVIII.2**). The building is now intersected by a later boundary wall of the churchyard. In avoiding the front (east) elevation, the position of the doorway would have been particualrly

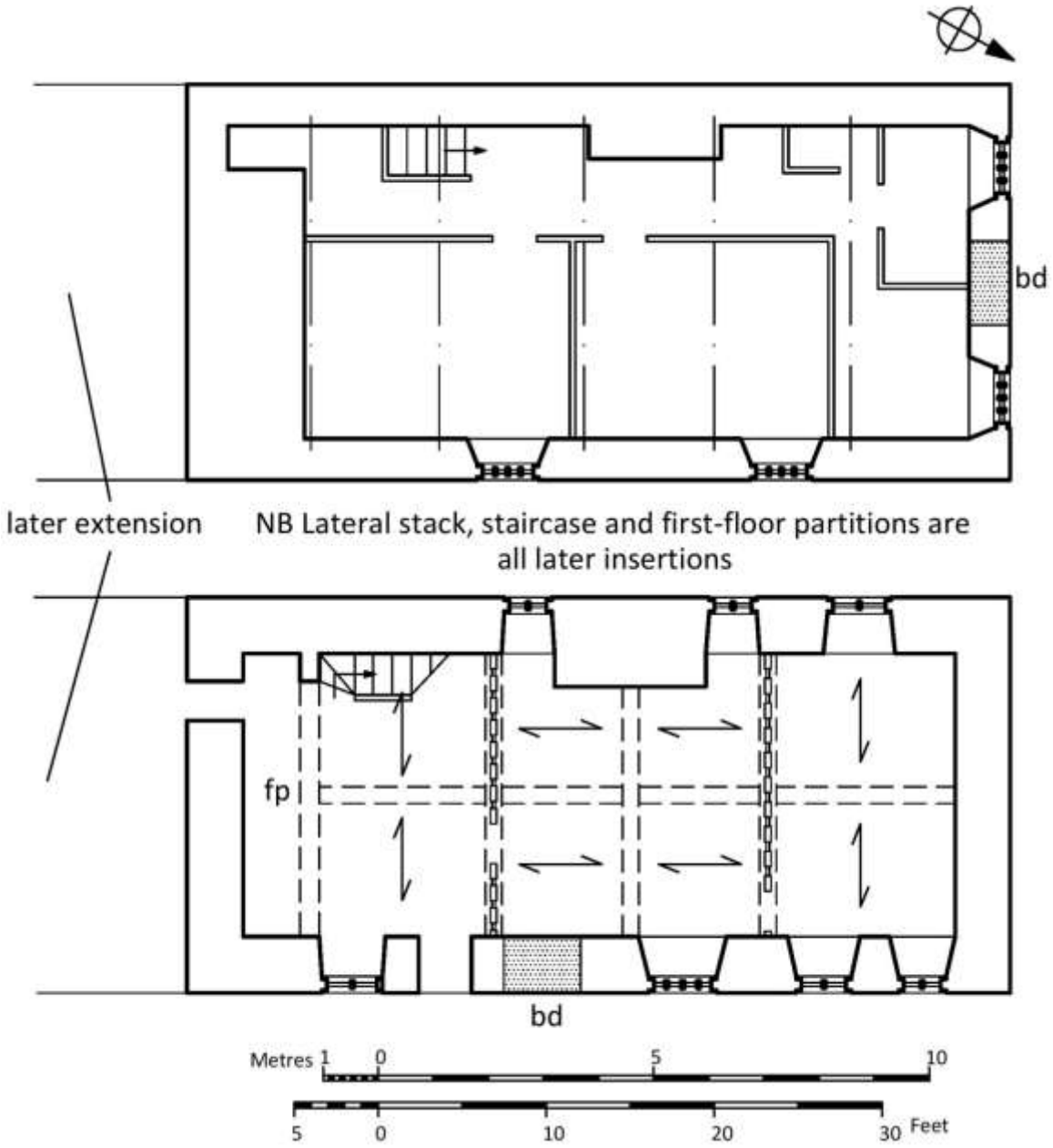


Figure 65. Holcombe Rogus (Devon), Priest's House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

convenient for maximising the length of the pentice roof, which, as the vestigial flashing confirms, extended along the full length of the building as at Widecombe-in-the-Moor. The interior has now been subdivided, but the doorway originally entered a single undivided room open to the rafters, again with no internal means of access between the floors (Figure 65). With a floor space of 68 m^2, the hall is broadly comparable in size with those at St Teath (62 m^2) and South Tawton (61

m^2) and, based on the general calculations at the former, could accommodate large numbers of the parishioners standing.

The ground-floor is accessed entirely from the front (east) side of the building from beneath the pentice. Much like the Church House at South Tawton, the Priest's House presents a relatively blank elevation to its rear, in this case towards the grounds of the manor house, Crowcombe Court. Two primary entrance doorways are discernible on the building, of which one is still in use and provides access directly into the southernmost room (**Plate LIV.1**). The latter contains a particularly large fireplace, one which well illustrates the general extent of those elsewhere which have been fully or partially infilled (**Plate LIV.2**). At Widecombe-in-the-Moor and Harberton in particular, it was noted that the fireplace, on the general assumption that it could be let to individuals for baking and/or brewing, was contained within the larger of the ground-floor rooms and had no obvious means of being screened off into a more contained space. At the Priest's House, this predicament is addressed by means of a plank-and-muntin partition (recently restored) immediately adjacent to the current entrance, which means that this 'kitchen' could be accessed directly from outside and also shut off from the remainder of the ground floor. A doorway in the screen ensured that, when necessary, it could be unified with the remainder of the ground floor. This flexibility extended to the remainder of the ground floor, which is further subdivided by another plank-and-muntin screen (also recently restored) forming a room at the north end, which reflects the ancillary rooms noted at the majority of the preceding buildings. As also seems to have been common, there is no evidence in this room for an external doorway, meaning it could be secured from within the building and so at least occasionally could have stored valuable items. The additional partition forming the 'kitchen' at the south end results in a third, central room, which was accessed through a blocked external doorway (visible

internally), along the lines seen at Harberton above. As at St Teath, Widecombe-in-the-Moor and Harberton, where the ceiling joists in the larger of the ground-floor rooms are more elaborate, the joists in the central room at Holcombe Rogus are aligned at right angles to those in the end rooms and also formed into four compartments by an additional cross-beam. This distinction is enhanced by a greater degree of moulding on the cross- and spine-beam, which is echoed on the cross-beams forming the partitions on either end, with matching mouldings on the faces towards the central room, but plainer cavetto mouldings on their outer faces into the end rooms. As well as this care given to decoration, the central room also has the wider of the two ground-floor doorways and the larger of the ground-floor windows. Therefore, notwithstanding the additional room at the Priest's House, it is clear that here too it was thought necessary to mark out at least one ground-floor space as being 'different' from another. This difference could be understood simply in terms of a desire to delimit an internal spatial hierarchy or, more suggestively, because part of the ground-floor was connected to trading activities under the pentice and the open space beyond, or for related administration. If such activities drew in people from outside the immediate community, then the prestige of greater ostentation would be particularly desirable.

The Old Priest's House in Lamerton shares both access from the churchyard and a tentatively identified historical open space. In terms of plan, there are various similarities and differences, the latter particularly occasioned by the building's much smaller size (Figure 66). As the churchyard to the rear is at a higher level than the street, the first floor is accessed via two steps from it (**Plate XXXVIII.3**). The first floor provides an undivided space amounting to 28 m^2, almost exactly equal to that at St Tudy (**Plate LIV.3**). At this size, and based on the occupancy calculations for the latter, only a relatively small number of people

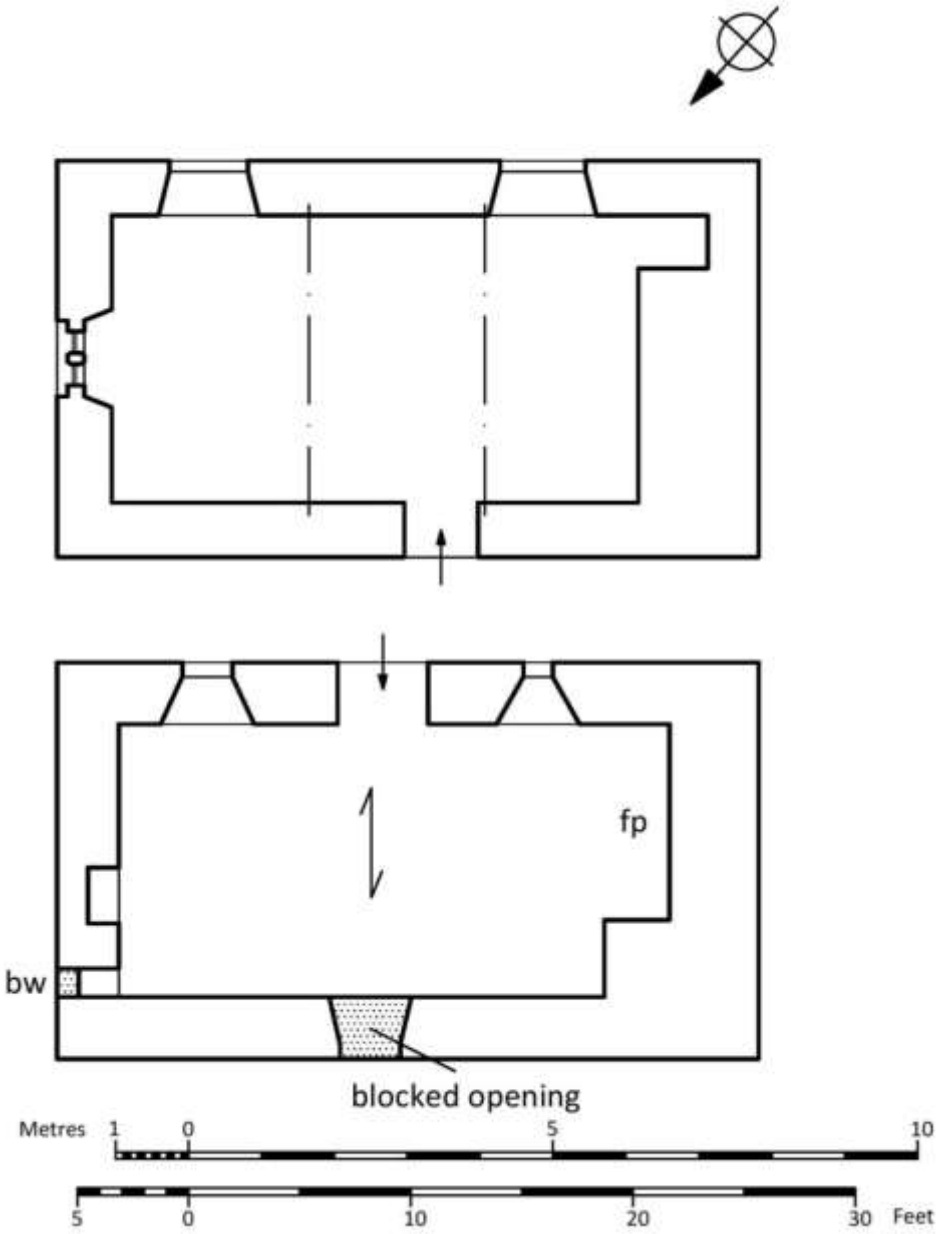


Figure 66. Lamerton (Devon), Old Priest's House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

could be accommodated standing or seated, when compared to those buildings with upwards of 60 m^2. It is possible, therefore, that the first floor was reserved for the use of a smaller group of parishioners than in larger buildings. Unlike St Tudy, however, the Old Priest's House has a fireplace on the ground floor (**Plate LV.1**), which comprises a single room entered through the central doorway. Given its size, it is unlikely that this room was ever subdivided, but this cannot be verified owing to the wholesale replacement of the ceiling structure in modern

times. The space would fit well with the model of occasional letting to the community for baking or brewing, although a sizeable niche in the east wall suggests the possibility of storage for goods or foodstuffs and food could be prepared for small-scale dining in the upper room. In either case, there is sufficient cause toinfer that the building's small size does not necessarily mean that its uses differed much from those of the larger buildings. Although it was suggested above that the building originally faced a large open space prior to the construction of The Vicarage, its size and the lack of a pentice render it unlikely that the building acted as a focus for commercial activity at all, or at least not to the same extent as is proposed for buildings such as Harberton, South Tawton, and Widecombe-in-the-Moor. And yet an obvious spatial, architectural and functional connection with these large community buildings is revealed by the location, general plan-form and the provision of a fireplace, and also with the community building at St Tudy on account of the similarity in size and single, centrally-placed ground-floor doorway.

The buildings at Drewsteignton and Swimbridge are likewise placed on churchyard edges with little outward sign of an adjoining open space. They differ from the buildings in Holcombe Rogus and Lamerton only in having a combination of gable-end entrances and seemingly secondary elevations facing the churchyard, although admittedly the original fenestration at Swimbridge is now difficult to establish. At the Church Rooms in Drewsteignton, the first-floor doorway leads into an undivided room with a floor space of 52 m^2, thus slightly larger than the hall at Looe (48 m^2) and slightly smaller than that at South Tawton (61 m^2), but otherwise broadly comparable in having the capacity for reasonably sized gatherings of just over one hundred people standing, or approximately forty-five people seated (Figure 67) (**Plate LV.2**). The position of the doorway on the gable was clearly thought preferable for practicality or aesthetics, as the

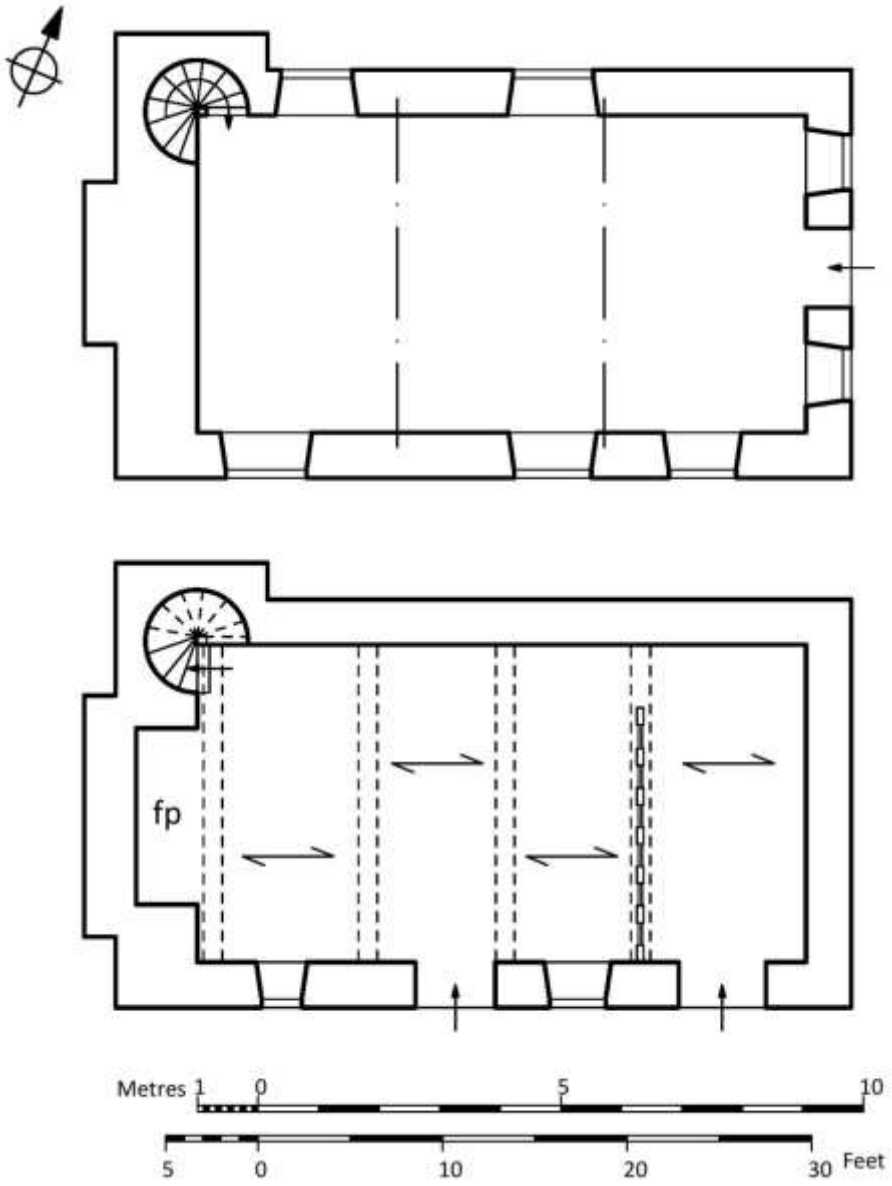


Figure 67. Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

as the higher ground level to the rear of the building would have permitted nearly level access into a doorway on this wall. Possibly it was to facilitate access into the room from both the churchyard and the street: though the current gate and steps up from the road are modern, it seems likely that the staircase originally also descended alongside the building down to the road, thus providing joint access from and between the street and the churchyard as at Poundstock and St Teath. Indeed it is the side (east) and front (south) of the first floor which are emphasised: the doorway is flanked by symmetrical windows, (recalling

Holcombe Rogus and Walkhampton), whilst the street-facing south wall has three original window positions. On the north (churchyard) wall, there seems to be one original window position; the westernmost window sits amidst disturbed stonework and is likely to have been inserted.

In the northwest corner of the first floor is a slim doorway leading to a stone turret with a winder stair to the ground floor. Although unique among the selected buildings for having an extant example, it has been shown above that, although the exception, such stair turrets were not entirely unknown as a means of providing secondary access to the first floor. Such provision reiterates that, whilst total separation between floors appears to have been more common in community buildings, it was clearly not sacrosanct. Indeed the ancillary status of these staircases serves perhaps to emphasise that separation, as it represents a clear choice to avoid what could otherwise be achieved with a single internal staircase for both primary and ancillary uses. Moreover, the need for an ancillary stair indicates a functional link between the two floors for at least part of the time the building was occupied. On the ground floor this function is illustrated by the large fireplace immediately adjacent to the ancillary stair, where food could be prepared and conveniently carried upstairs (**LV.3**). As with all community buildings with fireplaces, it remains possible that the room could be let to individuals for baking/brewing, activities which would ensure some continuity of revenue when the fireplace was not required for events upstairs. There is no evidence for a door at the bottom of the internal stair, though at the top the stair is what appears to be a primary door opening into the hall, retrofitted with an eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century lock case on the stair side, though it is also openable from the first-floor room. The lock arrangements likely reflect later uses of the building, but it would have always been practical to provide a lockable door to prevent access between the floors when the spaces were separately let.

As well as thus having the typical ‘kitchen’, the remaining bay of the ground floor is divided off by an original plank-and-muntin partition (though the top sections of the planks have been cut out) with a doorway in its north end, continuing the pattern of this feature in South West community buildings with fireplaces (**Plate LVI.1**). Like the buildings at St Teath and Widecombe-in-the-Moor, this ancillary room has an original external doorway, here in the south (front) wall. The possibility for access into this room thus provided opportunities for a buttery arrangement with the adjacent kitchen and/or a separate space to be individually let. As the building is partly built into the higher ground of the churchyard, it was necessary for the access points into the ground floor to be on the opposite side, but this is nonetheless illustrative of the similarities with those buildings, such as South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor, where access to the ground floor from the churchyard was possible, but still avoided. Therefore at Drewsteignton, the ground floor was accessible only from the street and the possibly large open space which existed to the south before the construction of the Old Rectory.

Like Drewsteignton, the Old School Rooms at Swimbridge also occupy a churchyard-edge position with one long elevation facing it; have a gable-end entrance to the first-floor; and, though now on a built-up street, can plausibly be shown to have faced a larger open space. Like the first-floor entrance at Drewsteignton, the external stair occupies a liminal position, here at the lych gate (**Plate XXVIII.1**). The doorway enters an undivided first-floor room with three windows along each side (Figure 68) (**Plate LVI.2**). The room has an area of 52 m^2, equal to that at Drewsteignton, although its original size is likely to have been different. Photographs dating from the early 2000s held at the building show it without render and a clear break in the stonework at the northern third, which

suggests that this part of the building, which includes the northernmost windows, has been

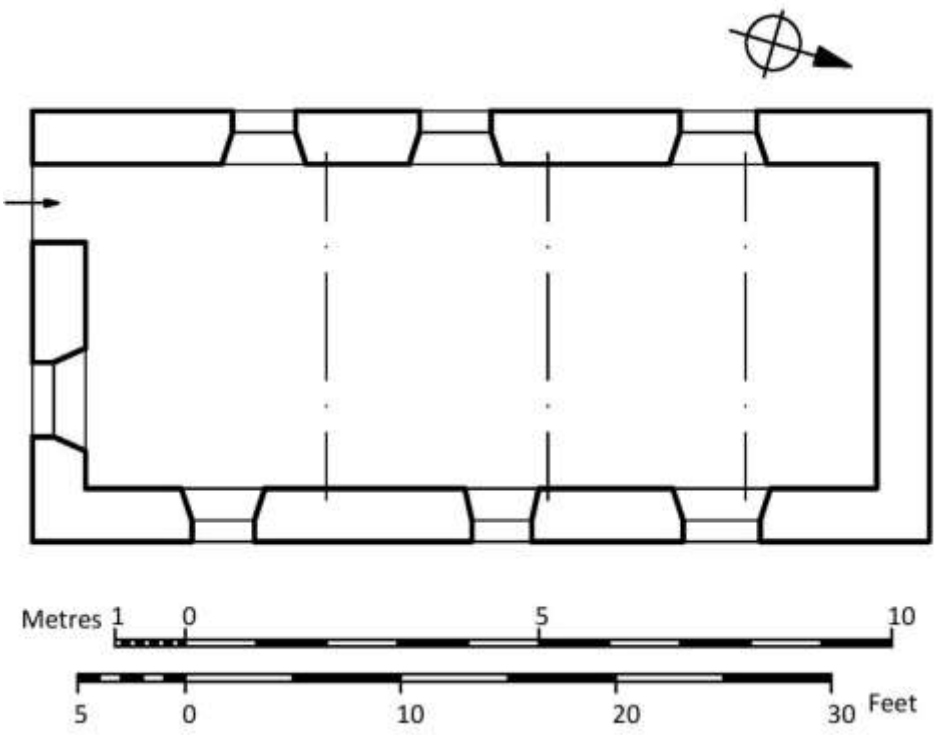


Figure 68. Swimbridge (Devon), Old School Rooms – plan of first floor

rebuilt. Given the resulting shortened bay at the north end of the hall, it seems likely that the building was originally longer to an unknown extent. The current, single-flue fireplace and stack date from these alterations. The truncation of the building has implications for understanding the ground floor spaces. It is known from the aforementioned 1632 lease that the 'Church House oven' was located at the north end of the building.[574] This reference implies that there was a fireplace at its northern end, suggestive of a ground-floor 'kitchen' comparable to those discussed above. As well as the uncertainty as to the size of the original building, it is also not clear whether the fireplace end was contained within a separate room as at Harberton, and whether or not a stair turret like that at Drewsteignton

[574] See above, p. 121.

was present. Although only a cursory inspection of the ground floor was possible, the photographs of the building without render do permit some observations. First, the window positions at the southern the churchyard side (i.e. the section that was not rebuilt) are either inserted or enlarged openings, with the possibility therefore the ground floor was largely blank towards the churchyard in common with other Devon community buildings. Second, there are no traces of infilled ground-floor doorways on the churchyard side, suggesting again that this could only be accessed from the side facing the street/open space. Indeed, an infilled doorway is visible on the east (street-facing) side approximately aligned with the central first-floor window. The lack of any other obvious sign of infilled doorways on this elevation suggests that this was a primary opening rather than the result of later changes to the building. The analogy of other community buildings shows that ground-floor doorways in buildings of similar size are rarely centrally placed, but rather located towards one end of a room. One might therefore speculate that this doorway provided access to the 'lower end' of a room to the north containing the fireplace, whilst the doorway forming the current ground-floor entrance on the east gable led into to a ground-floor room at the south end. The latter survives in part and has two boxed-in timber cross-beams supported on engaged moulded timber pilasters on the external walls; an ornamental feature that points to something more than an ancillary space. In general, though it is therefore currently impossible to reconstruct the building's original extent or form with certainty, there are sufficient indications that it does fit within the emerging pattern for community building plan-forms and uses.

As for Cornwall, the overview of the plan-forms of the seven Devon buildings permits scope for brief observations and, now, comparison with the former. In Cornwall it was observed that there was no fixed, rigidly applied plan-

form. All apart from Fowey had a single room on the first floor, and ground floors varied between the single room of Poundstock and St Tudy and the multi-room floors detectable or suggested in the remainder. In Devon this pattern continues, though there is still a high degree of coincidence. All the selected buildings demonstrate single-room first floors, whilst all have at least two rooms on the ground floor apart from Lamerton. As in Cornwall, there is considerable variation in the size of the first-floor halls, ranging from 28 m^2 at Lamerton and 141 m^2 at Harberton, though both these buildings have fireplaces for cooking and brewing and thus conceivably hosted their consumption. The size of the rooms impacts upon capacity at any one time and it has been suggested above that this could reflect the varying exclusivity of the groups being accommodated. Harberton could thus accommodate a high proportion, if not all, of the parish adults, whilst Lamerton perhaps served a guild, or a comparable body of village elite such as the aforementioned 'Twelve' or 'Eight'. However, one should consider the possibility that the building size was related not to the intended users, but to the availability of resources or the size of the building plot. There seems little reason to discount the possibility that the smallest buildings could have multiple sittings of any meal and thus ultimately accommodate similar numbers.

The most prevalent arrangement of ground-floor rooms in Devon buildings emerges as one large room and one smaller ancillary room separated invariably by a plank-and-muntin screen, though Harberton and Holcombe Rogus display variation with an additional screen forming three ground-floor rooms. The prevalence of the plank screen in Devon, recorded in five of the seven buildings (though unknown for Swimbridge and Lamerton owing to alterations), is noteworthy, and they are recorded in at least five other buildings in Devon.[575] The

[575] Church Steps, Bovey Tracey; George Inn, Chardstock (historically Dorset); Church House Inn, Rattery; St Mary's Cottage, Stockleigh English; Church Cottages, Thurlestone.

single instance of such a screen thus far recorded in Cornwall, at St Teath, which in all respects accords with the predominant community building type emerging in Devon, suggests that the lack of extant buildings is a likely factor, as opposed to a fundamentally different building type.

There is also a tendency for the ground-floor rooms to be distinguished through the treatment of the ceiling joists: in the larger room at Widecombe-in-the-Moor and the central room at Harberton and Holcombe Rogus the arrangement and mouldings on the joists are more elaborate and markedly different from the ancillary rooms at the ends. Like the two-room floor plan, this detail is also seen at St Teath where, though the joists are aligned in the same way throughout, the mouldings are more decorated. There also seems to be a general correlation between the presence of pentice roofs and the hierarchy of the ground-floor rooms; only South Tawton appears to have had a pentice and no visible difference in the joist alignments or mouldings. Although a greater sample of extant buildings with pentice roofs would be beneficial, this does support a notion that the buildings housed some form of commercial function related to activities beneath the pentice and, by extension, in the open space beyond. More broadly, it is also significant that four of the seven Devon buildings had pentices, which suggests it was a common feature in the county. Indeed, extant examples or traces can be found on at least eleven other buildings in Devon, with more likely to be found through wider detailed inspection and/or archival research.[576] In Cornwall this feature was only observed in Looe, a building whose marketplace location demonstrably indicates a part in commercial activity within the town, but

[576] Church House, Abbotskerswell (fragmentary); Church House, Bickington; Church House, Combeinteignhead; Old Church House, Higher Week; St Michael's Cottages, Ilsington; The Jolly Sailor Public House, East Ogwell; Royal Oak Public House, Meavy; St Martin's, Nymet Tracey; Church Cottage, Stockleigh Pomeroy; Church House Inn, Stoke Gabriel; Church Cottages, Thurlestone.

also one which fulfilled the juridical and administrative needs of a typical ‘town hall’.

Common to all the buildings is the predominance of total horizontal separation between the floors. The internal stair at Drewsteignton, echoed by the various stair turrets described on other extant buildings, suggests that only ancillary staircases broke this general trend. In none of the selected buildings is there evidence for a ‘grand’ internal staircase providing principal means of access to the first floor, and thus it seems that external staircases were generally favoured for first-floor access. There are also significant correlations in ground-floor access: none of the Devon buildings adjoining churchyards appears to have had a doorway from it, although in four of the seven buildings the first-floor stair *was* accessible from it. When this is understood with the general lack of attention among the buildings given to elevations facing churchyards, mostly manifested in no or minimal fenestration, there seems more reason to focus the buildings more on the activities within the surrounding open spaces than with the church and churchyard alone.

The final point of comparison emerging from the Devon buildings is the predominance of fireplaces, typically full-width, which are present in all seven buildings, against only St Teath in Cornwall. The further similarity between them and the Church House at St Teath cements a connection and, by extension, points to the presence of buildings of near-identical plan and design in Cornwall. Moreover, the established similarities with the remaining Cornish buildings further point to the need for a wider building type beyond simply ‘the church house’.

The above summary provides a useful departure point for the five buildings in **Somerset**. In Chapter 6, the buildings at Chew Magna, Stogumber, and

Baltonsborough were grouped together as those having at least one elevation facing the churchyard, and this grouping is continued here.[577] The buildings at

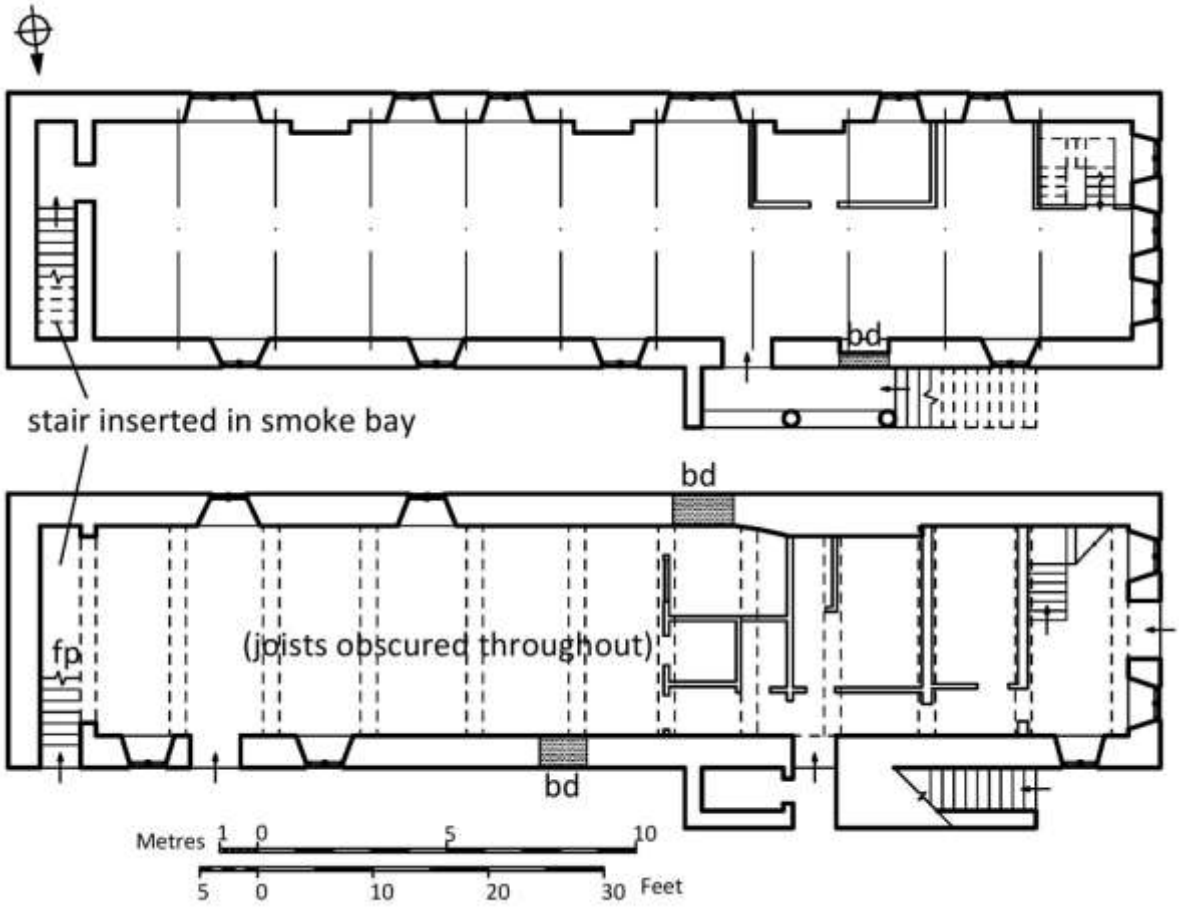


Figure 69. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Room – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

Stogumber and Baltonsborough both had gable-end external staircases, though at the latter it is not certain whether they descended towards the churchyard or towards the open space. At Chew Magna, the external stair survives on the churchyard side of the building, though now walled off from it and likely a later rebuilding, and is a grand example redolent of that at Widecombe-in-the-Moor.[578] The stair rises to a galleried walkway and two adjacent doorways with four-centred arches which are located towards the western end of the first-floor hall (Figure 69) (**Plate XXXIX.3**). The provision of two doorways, which appear to be

[577] See above, pp. 187-91.
[578] The stair projection does not appear to be recorded on the Tithe Map of 1840.

contemporary, is atypical and suggests an internal subdivision which is not reflected in the surviving fabric. Indeed, the line of the western door is partly cut across by the truss above, thus making it unlikely that a partition ever existed beneath it. In the absence of a fixed internal partition, several interpretations seem possible: either both doorways are later insertions reflecting the building's use as a poorhouse and then a school, or some internal partition existed independently of the roof trusses, or there was some form of ceremonial segregation of those entering the building. In any case, the first-floor hall extends without division for the full eleven-bay length of the building and, with a floor area of 156 m^2, is the largest of the selected buildings (**Plate LVI.3**). At this size, the first-floor hall is second only to the church house in Sherborne (Dorset), in which, according to measurements taken in 1986, the first-floor room extended to 35 m and provided a total of 205 m^2 of floor space.[579] The size of the room indicates that it could accommodate an event of considerable size, with comfortable standing room for over three hundred. The floors are now connected internally by later staircases – one at the western end and one at the eastern end inserted into the original smoke bay – but originally the floor was only accessible from the external stair and so reflects the predominant community building type. The fenestration of the hall has been supplemented in later centuries: most original window positions are broadly identifiable by the survival of pintles for internal shutters which are not present on inserted windows.

Interpretation of the ground floor is made difficult by the extent of later alterations, which include the insertion of doorways, alterations and insertion of windows and the replacement of at least six cross-beams at the eastern end. However, one distinctive feature is the full-width fireplace at the eastern end,

[579] Conklin Hays, 'Dorset Church Houses and the Drama', p. 14.

which reflects those of the Devon buildings and at St Teath (**Plate LVII.1**). With the replacement of the cross-beams on the ground floor at this end of the building it cannot be known whether these originally had any partitions. However, the current doorway adjacent to the fireplace and the blocked door further along the wall appear to represent later alterations as the openings are set beneath simple inserted lintels. These can be compared with the doorway beneath the external staircase, which has an external and internal stone frame and is likely to be the only original entrance to the ground floor on this side of the building. The position of the doorway, which would thus provide access to one end of a large ground-floor room, accords with the previously discussed examples of this plan-form, whilst an entrance beneath particularly prominent external stairs reflects the examples at South Tawton and Widecombe-in-the-Moor. On this basis, one would expect a partition close to the doorway on the western side, forming at least one room. However, later alterations also obscure the floor plan at this end. This end of the ground-floor could have contained an ancillary room as in other buildings, or could possibly have housed the jurat mentioned in 1594.[580] The ground-floor entrance and ornate fenestration of the west end provide a further anomaly (**Plate LVII.2**). The arrangement of the central doorway and framing windows recalls the *first-floor* entrances of Drewsteignton, Holcombe Rogus and Walkhampton in Devon, but are not otherwise known for grand ground-floor entrances. Whilst a central doorway with framing windows could have existed, possibly as an entrance to the jurat's lodgings, at least the central first-floor window appears to have been inserted. In addition, the ogee-moulded door surround and window hood moulds smack of later embellishment. One plausible explanation is that, once the external stair on the north side had fallen out of use,

[580] See above, p. 139.

been demolished or downgraded in status, possibly in the early eighteenth century when the building became a poorhouse proper, this became the main entrance, complete with a new lobby and staircase (in the current position). However the plan is interpreted, it seems that the building at Chew Magna represented a variation of the more typical floor plans of smaller buildings, but remained nonetheless within the overall arrangement of spaces.

The remaining two buildings of this churchyard-edge group, at Stogumber and Baltonsborough, represent a return to the lesser-sized community building. Of the three, the Brewhouse at Stogumber is ostensibly alone in being within the curtilage of a non-ecclesiastical building which appears to pre-date it (the fifteenth-century Old Vicarage). Although the case could be made that the Old School Room in Chew Magna has this relationship to Chew Court, at Stogumber the building is tucked away behind the Old Vicarage, at a slight remove from the current main thoroughfare and village centre, but still adjoining the churchyard. This location places the site within that category of open space established in the previous chapter which includes proprietary spaces specific to the function of the building or secondary market places. Like Chew Magna, the staircase to the first floor rises from within the churchyard, though the latter is now walled off from the building (**Plate XLIV.2**). Although not definitive, the position of the doorway on a gable seems to be widespread on smaller buildings and, whether or not this was the intention, would maximise space for seating along the uninterrupted longer elevations. Here the doorway opens into an undivided first-floor hall, which extends to 58 m^2 and is thus broadly comparable with the Church House at South Tawton (61 m^2) (Figure 70) (**Plate LVII.3**). As is becoming typical, there is no evidence for an original internal staircase: the current staircase is a later insertion blocking a ground-floor doorway. The number of ground-floor doorways

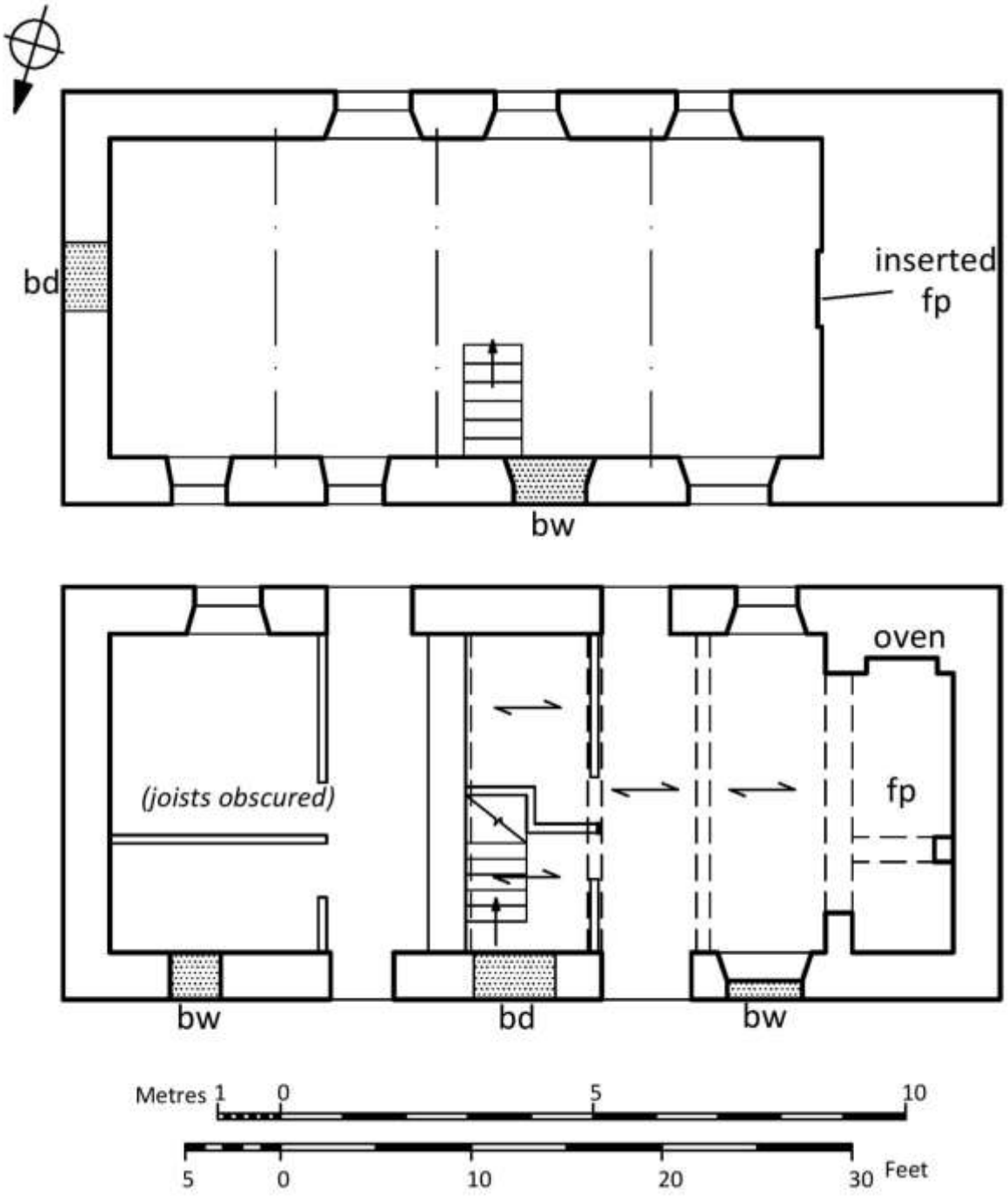


Figure 70. Stogumber (Somerset), Brewhouse – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

is somewhat debatable owing to later extensive alterations when it became a stable for the Old Vicarage. The conversion was particularly extensive at the eastern end (altered further in recent years) where the horses were kept. The present cross-passage at this end likely dates from this period and has a wider (horse) doorway on the south side. The north door is a later insertion, replacing an earlier doorway now blocked by the stairs (**Plate LVIII.1**). The latter is

adjacent to the second primary doorway (still in use) and indicates that the line of the adjacent partition is original. It seems, therefore, that the principal entrances to the ground floor were from the north, i.e. from the yard separating the building from the Old Vicarage and it is also notable that, again, there is no evidence for a ground-floor doorway from, or indeed any windows facing, the churchyard. The partition between the doorways results in the western end of the ground floor comprising a room around the full-width fireplace and oven, which would enable the space to function both as a kitchen for feasts above, as well as a space for letting out (**Plate LVIII.2**). The doorway on the south side opposite the current entrance to this kitchen again provides a cross-passage arrangement; this is possible, but it is not clear whether the opposing doorway is original or a later insertion. Similarly, the nature of the central and eastern sections of the ground-floor is open to two different interpretations. The blocked doorway could have entered either one room which occupied the remainder of the floor beyond the kitchen, or a central room which in turn provided access into a further room at the east end. The latter interpretation would presuppose an original partition along the line of the current wall alongside the east cross-passage. Given the position of the blocked entrance, which appears to be the only one providing access to this end of the building, the second of these interpretations seems more plausible. A tripartite ground floor, with similar means for access and circulation, would therefore broadly reflect that recorded at Holcombe Rogus and suggested at Harberton, where an externally accessible central room provides access into an internal room at one end. In turn, this arrangement does not differ principally from the two-room ground floors seen in the Devon buildings above, where, if it had only an internal doorway, the smaller room could suit secure storage of goods.

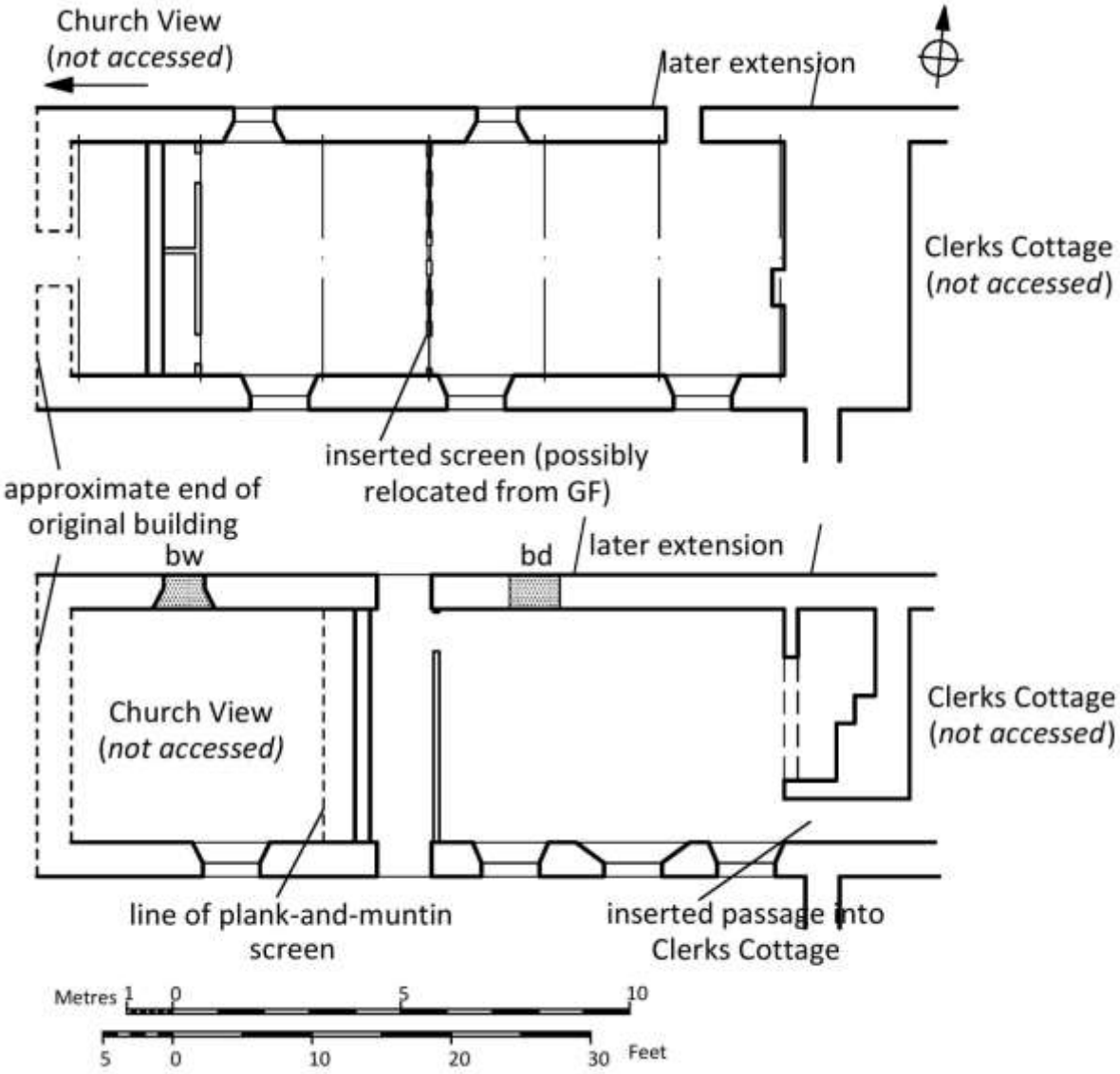


Figure 71. Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

The two-room plan was certainly not unknown in Somerset: it seems to have been present at the Parish House in Baltonsborough, although again alterations to the building, which has been extended on both gable ends and on both long elevations, obscure the full picture (Figure 71). The main result of the extension at the west end was the loss of the original external wall and the incorporation of the westernmost bay of the building on the first floor, and two bays on the ground floor, into a new property (Church View), which could not be accessed. However, sufficient remains on the ground floor to suggest that it comprised at least two rooms. The current entrance on the churchyard side leads

into a cross-passage with a corresponding doorway on the north side (**Plates XXXI.2** and **LVIII.3**). There is a blocked doorway immediately to the east of this doorway, but the lack of evidence for a partition between them suggests only one, or neither, are primary. In any case just beyond the west side of the modern cross-passage wall (i.e. within Church View) is a cross-beam with mortices for a plank-and-muntin screen.[581] It therefore appears that the entrance from the churchyard (and the cross-passage, if original) was, as has been seen elsewhere, alongside this partition. With these fixed in place, the lack of any other partitions suggests that the remainder of the ground floor was one room as far as the fireplace. The latter, in another emerging characteristic, extended the full width of the building, though in later years it was shortened to form an access into Clerks Cottage to the east, and has been partially infilled (**Plate LIX.1**). Therefore the ground-floor plan closely follows other community buildings in the South West with fireplaces.

Common to nearly all community buildings, fireplace or not, is the horizontal separation between floors and, with no evidence for an internal stair, the Parish House is no exception. There is also no vestige of a first-floor doorway on the surviving external walls, which suggests that it was located on the lost gable end; it has been shown in this position on Figure 71. As already mentioned, it is not known on which side of the building the external stair descended, whether towards the churchyard or to the space to the north. The doorway entered a formerly undivided room extending to approximately 80 m^2, though this was reduced to 69 m^2 with the alterations at the west end. In its original extent it was therefore broadly equivalent to the hall at Widecombe-in-the-Moor (84 m^2). In later years, a plank-and-muntin screen, almost certainly relocated from the

[581] C. Haslam and C. Percy, 'The Parish House History Album' (Landmark Trust, 1998), p. 12.

ground floor, was inserted beneath one of the trusses, and this remains *in situ* (**Plate LIX.2**).

The three churchyard-edge buildings in Somerset therefore display the same underlying architectural form as those in Devon and Cornwall, whether on a churchyard edge or not. This form continues to comprise a single-room first floor, a two- or three-room ground floor, horizontal separation between the floors, and a fireplace. However, there are some variations within this form, in particular relating to the ground floor and its access. At Chew Magna, the building's great size occasioned what appears to be a separate use of one end of the ground floor in a manner akin to that at Widecombe-in-the-Moor, although it is not known whether the space was similarly fully separated internally. In addition, the ground floors at both Chew Magna and Baltonsborough seem to have been accessible from the churchyard, which was not typical among the Devon and Cornwall buildings. In their current form, these appear to be more fully orientated towards the churchyard than either Stogumber or the Devon buildings. This orientation might account for the lack of evidence for pentices on either of these buildings, which thus far have appeared only where the building faces a current or historic square or marketplace. The Brewhouse at Stogumber maintains the disconnection between ground floor and churchyard, though here too there is a lack of evidence for a pentice. The latter here is perhaps explainable by the building's orientation towards a proprietary open space that may not have had a primary commercial function.

The remaining two Somerset buildings, at Crowcombe and Martock, are grouped owing to their physical separation from the churchyard, though they remain proximate and orientated towards an open space.[582] In the case of

[582] See above, pp. 191-94.

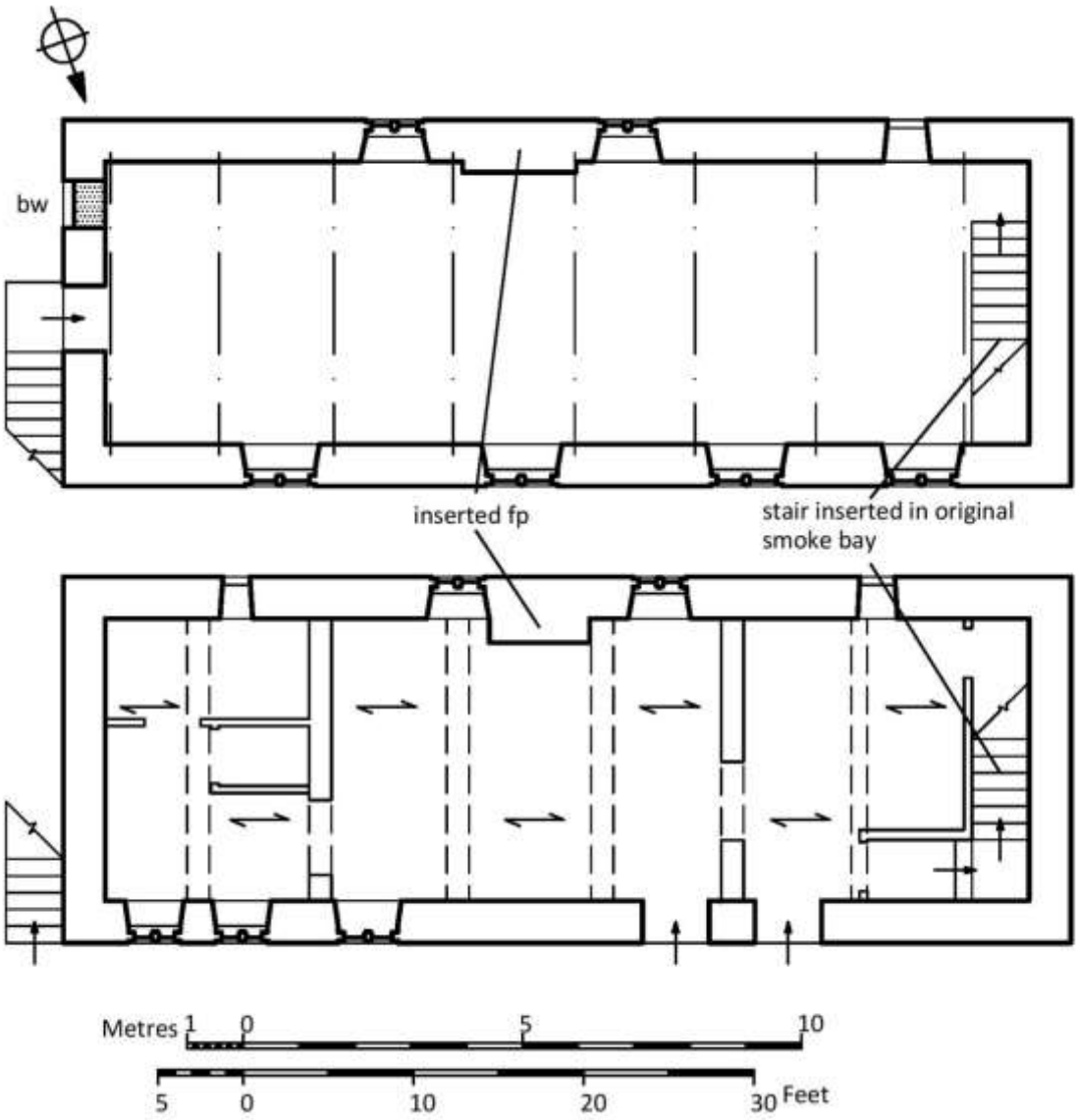


Figure 72. Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

Martock, it was seen in Chapter 6 that this requires the reconstruction of a historic open space, in the form of a possible barton or 'town place', immediately to the east of the building, which is now built upon. Like those buildings in Devon which face a legible marketplace or square, the Church House at Crowcombe is orientated unequivocally towards it, with a relatively blank rear elevation (**Plates XXX.3** and **XLI.1**). Several design features arise from this orientation: the lack of ground-floor access from the secondary elevation; the descent of the external staircase into the open space; and the presence of a pentice roof. The latter, which extended the full length of the building, is indicated by the line of a flashing,

now broken by subsequently enlarged first-floor windows. The gable-end external staircase ascends to a slightly off-centre doorway, here accompanied by only a single (blocked) window rather than the flanking fenestration seen at, for example, Drewsteignton and Holcombe Rogus. The doorway opens into a single first-floor hall with a floor area of 79 m^2, which is broadly comparable with the original space at Baltonsborough (80 m^2) and well within the middling range between the extremes of St Tudy and Chew Magna (**Plate LIX.3**). At this size, the building has a generous capacity for both standing and seating, again suggestive of a relatively inclusive usage. The hall also has a distinctive pattern of staggered window positions, a feature shared with Poundstock and Widecombe-in-the-Moor, although here the pattern is not quite complete as the westernmost window is placed instead on the front elevation, which both gives greater status to this end and ornaments the principal elevation facing the open space.

The ground-floor access was from two adjacent, non-central doorways beneath the pentice, which recall a similar disposition at Holcombe Rogus and Stogumber. As there, this strongly indicates an original internal partition between them. At Crowcombe, the original partition was replaced with a masonry wall during twentieth-century restoration, though a retained doorway shows that the room at the west end was not fully divided. The west-end room contained a full-width fireplace in a smoke bay, though this has now been entirely lost through the removal of the bressumer and the insertion of a staircase in the smoke bay. The other external doorway leads into a central room which, at its east end, led to a doorway into a separate room with no external access (**Plate LX.1**). The partition forming this east-end room has been replaced by a masonry wall, but also retains the doorway. In addition, the partition walls forming these end rooms are

recorded on drawings made before the 1908 restoration.[583] These drawings also make clear the parlous state of the structure and the extent of repairs, which included near-wholesale replacement of the ground-floor ceiling joists. Whilst therefore the tripartite plan-form at Crowcombe was closely related to that at Holcombe Rogus and Stogumber, the replacement timbers render it unclear whether the joists were treated in a different way, for example with more elaborate mouldings, to mark out the space. Though this could also not be established at Stogumber owing to later alterations, at Holcombe Rogus this was interpreted as possibly demarcating the central room as a public, or semi-public, space related to the commercial functions served by the pentice and the open space beyond; it therefore seems plausible that this could have been the case at Crowcombe.

Though sharing similarities in position, the Court House at Martock has been shown to differ in having ground-floor access on both long elevations: the rear elevation, now partially blocked by a nineteenth-century extension, had at least one doorway forming part of a cross-passage from a (now blocked) doorway on the front elevation. However, the combined provision on the front elevation of two main doorways, more extensive fenestration and the original base of the external staircase indicate that this was intended as the primary elevation. The extent of alterations, in particular during the foundation of the school in 1661, adds some difficulties to the interpretation of the ground-floor plan before this date (Figure 73). What is clear is that the southernmost room on the ground floor contained a full-width fireplace and can thus be identified with comparable examples of such 'kitchens' (**Plate LX.2**). This kitchen also had a doorway (extant) on the rear (west) elevation adjacent to the stair turret, but

[583] SHC DD/X/GRDP.

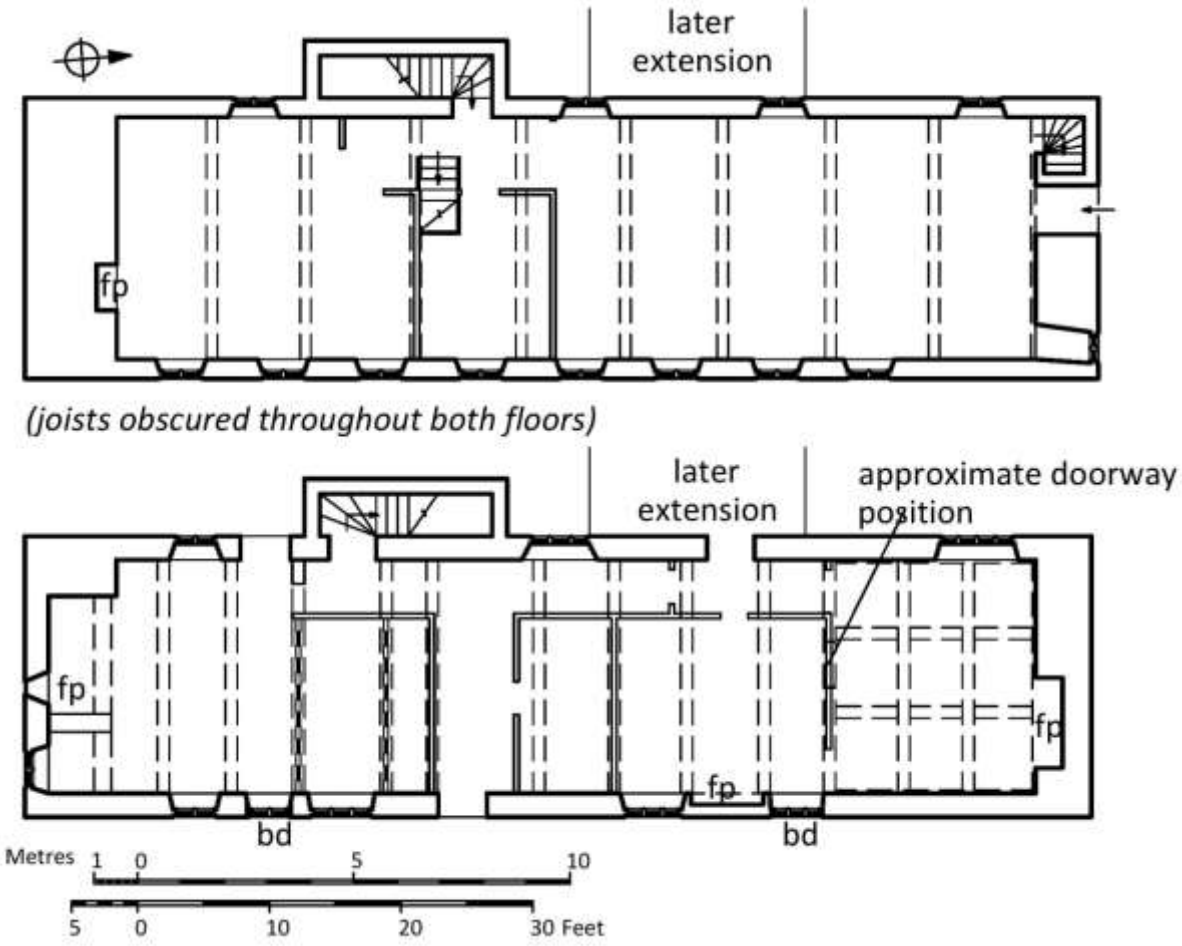


Figure 73. Martock (Somerset), Court House – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

access on the east side is uncertain. There is a blocked doorway immediately opposing the west doorway and entering adjacent to a plank-and-muntin screen (indicated by peg holes and mortices on the underside of the adjacent cross-beam), both suggesting a cross-passage arrangement, albeit one atypically included within the kitchen. This plank screen clearly had a doorway at its west end, i.e. in the position of the current doorway. However, the cross-beam immediately north also has peg holes and mortices for a plank screen, suggesting a second, enclosed cross-passage aligned on the doorway into the stair turret at one end and the three-light window on the front elevation (**Plate LX.3**) This screen also had a doorway at its west end, directly opposite that of the adjacent screen. A cross-passage here would make some practical sense of the

various partition and doorway positions, but there is no obvious evidence for a doorway in the window position: there is no visible straight joint in the external masonry and, more significantly, no sign of a break in the continuous plinth, both features which reveal blocked doorway locations elsewhere on the elevation. Moreover, the weathering on the plinth appears to be consistent with other areas of the wall, seemingly precluding later stonework crafted with a matching profile (**Plate LXI.1**). And yet, if no doorway was present here, the practical purpose for a long narrow room only accessible from the west end seems unfathomable.

However, notwithstanding this complication, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the remainder of the ground floor comprised two rooms, broadly aligning the building with other three-room plans such as Harberton, Holcombe Rogus, and Stogumber. From the line of the plank screen, a room extended for six bays to the north, making it the largest of the ground-floor spaces as in comparable buildings. The current entrance doorway, above which is the Strode arms and foundation date (1661) of his school in the building, is set amidst disturbed stonework, thus seemingly inserted or remodelled at that date. At the northern end of this room is a blocked doorway on the front elevation, which seems to have been the main point of external access into the central room. At the northern end of this room another plank-and-muntin partition forms the third ground-floor room. The partition currently has two inserted doorways at either end, but the peg holes on the cross-beam indicate that the original doorway was fairly wide and almost central on the wall, perhaps akin to the surviving example in the Church House Inn in Rattery (Devon). There are no signs of an external doorway, which indicates that it was only accessible from the central room. The provision of an ‘inner room’ is by now not surprising, but here it is this room, not the central room as elsewhere, which is seemingly marked out as higher status with deeply roll-moulded joists formed into compartments. The room also has a

large stone fireplace with a depressed four-centred arch head on the north gable set towards the east side of the room, the moulded stone surround and arched opening point towards heating for status and comfort than for cooking and brewing (**Plate LXI.2**). Whilst the moulded ceiling timbers are consistent with the mid- to late sixteenth-century, the fireplace seems more clearly to result from the alterations in 1661. For now, the position of the room, combined with the lack of evidence for a pentice and doorway on the east elevation, suggests that it did not have the same purpose as the ornamented central rooms elsewhere, which were typically directly accessible from beneath a pentice. The plan at Martock might therefore be more akin to that at Chew Magna, where a ground-floor room at one end was given over to some other purpose not readily associated with other community buildings. Given the building's plausible identification with the 'parish house' where manorial courts were being held in the seventeenth century, the room might well have been related to this usage, perhaps as jurat's lodgings or for administration.

The first floor of the Court House is more readily intelligible, although there are some questions over the nature of the alterations on the north gable. The considerable thickness of the wall (over 1.3 m) is sufficient to incorporate not only the inserted fireplace of the north ground-floor room, but also a staircase in the northwest corner of the first floor leading up to an attic. There are several reasons for concluding that the attic is a seventeenth-century addition and thus that the original first floor was open to the roof: first, original attics in sixteenth-century community buildings elsewhere in the South West are unattested; second, the cross-beams forming the ceiling of the first-floor room have distinctive scroll ('lamb's tongue') stops which point more firmly towards this date; and third, the second attic staircase is more clearly of seventeenth-century date owing to the style of the newel posts and finials (**Plate LXI.3**). In addition, the

purlins of the west roof pitch (visible from the intramural attic staircase) fall considerably short of the external wall. The latter point and the thickness of the wall suggest that the north gable was extended northwards, most probably in 1661, to accommodate the inserted fireplace flue and the attic staircase.

It seems likely that these alterations were carried around the pre-existing first-floor entrance, broadly in its current position and opening into a hall which originally extended across the whole length of the building, amounting to a total floor space of 128 m^2, the third largest among the selected buildings after Chew Magna and Harberton (**Plate LXII.1**). The room has now been shortened to five bays by a combination of modern and seventeenth-century partitions forming a smaller room, staircase, and a three-bay chamber at the south end. Removing these later additions reveal that the access from the turret stair was located towards one end of the hall, continuing a pattern set in other areas. The features of the building are compatible with the uses suggested elsewhere: the large fireplace suggests the possibility for private baking and brewing, and, with the stair turret, for feasting in the room above. Interestingly, as at Drewsteignton (Devon), there are no traces for door fixings on the ground floor of the stair turret, but only at the top. Though the holding of courts in the building (assuming it is identified with the 'school house') in the seventeenth century is documented, it is not known whether this use extended back into the sixteenth century. Comparison with the plan-forms of other buildings with documented court usage, such as Fowey and Looe, both suggests this as a reasonable assumption, and also reveals the suitability of the community building type for this usage.

By looking in detail at the internal spaces of the seventeen selected community buildings across the South West, this chapter provides an opportunity to draw wider comparisons beyond individual buildings, villages, towns, or indeed

counties. The buildings display a number of headline characteristics, within which are variable elements. Most obviously, the buildings are all constructed in masonry. Given that stone is the predominant construction material in the South West in this period, this does not merit extensive elaboration, but it provides a significant point of comparison with community buildings in other regions, such as East Anglia, where timber-framing is prevalent.

In terms of specific features of their plan, the single-room first-floor hall is the most shared feature of the community buildings in the South West, with sixteen of the seventeen having no evidence for partitions at this level. Even in the one exception (Fowey), the greater part of the first floor is given over to a single, undivided space and so the importance of this provision for a community building is nonetheless observable. It could therefore be argued that in those buildings where a second room is present, it acts as a supplement to the larger space where needs and resources allowed, rather than as a way of subdividing the first floor into multiple smaller spaces. The provision of a large first-floor space for gathering was therefore a paramount consideration to all the communities studied and is found in both rural agricultural communities and the towns of Fowey and Looe. These can be so defined not because they pass an arbitrarily assigned population boundary, but by the fact that both were early borough foundations with economies built largely upon the fishing industry and developed the administrative and juridical needs associated with commercial centres. Within the therefore universal provision of a room which took over the whole or the majority of the first-floor space, there are considerable differences in the area of the space provided. **Table 6** shows that the size across the region ranges from 28 m^2 at Lamerton to 156 m^2 at Chew Magna. On a county basis, there is a less stark, but nonetheless observable, difference in average size, with community buildings generally appearing to become smaller as one proceeds

County	Parish	Building	Area of First-Floor Hall (m^2)	Average Size (m^2)
Cornwall	**Fowey**	Fowey Museum	35	54.4
Cornwall	**Looe**	Old Guildhall	48	
Cornwall	**Poundstock**	Gildhouse	98	
Cornwall	**St Teath**	Church House	62	
Cornwall	**St Tudy**	The Clink	29	
Devon	**Drewsteignton**	Village Hall	52	69.4
Devon	**Harberton**	Church House Inn	141	
Devon	**Holcombe Rogus**	Priest's House	68	
Devon	**Lamerton**	Old Priest's House	28	
Devon	**South Tawton**	Church House	61	
Devon	**Swimbridge**	Old School Room	52	
Devon	**Widecombe-in-the-Moor**	Church House	84	
Somerset	**Baltonsborough**	Parish House	80	100.2
Somerset	**Chew Magna**	Old School Room	156	
Somerset	**Crowcombe**	Church House	79	
Somerset	**Martock**	Court House	128	
Somerset	**Stogumber**	Brewhouse	58	

Table 6. Comparative areas of first-floor halls in South West community buildings and average sizes per county

west and southwest from Somerset. This general pattern holds even when the obvious outliers (Harberton in Devon and Chew Magna in Somerset) are

removed from the calculation. However, it would not do to overstate this difference, for even Cornwall's average size of 54.4 m^2 could comfortably accommodate over one hundred people standing and, depending on the arrangement of seating, approximately forty-five people dining. Whilst the seating capacity might seem small, and could point to exclusive usage by smaller groups, food could simply be consumed in multiple sittings. It does not therefore follow that a small building with a fireplace, even one as diminutive as Lamerton, could not accommodate much greater numbers over the course of a feast. This observation supports the lack of connection between the size of the building and the population of the parish, which was demonstrated above for the Cornish buildings. As highlighted there, this exercise in any case rests on scant and multivalent data, which perhaps already renders it moot. Therefore it seems safer to assume that the size of the building was related not to how many people it could, or needed to, accommodate at once, but rather the resources and/or the size of plot available to the community.

There is universal continuity in external staircases providing access to the first-floor spaces of the community buildings in the South West. As there were no technical barriers to internal staircases, this was a conscious design choice and one clearly considered paramount for any community building of any size and use. There are some practical benefits to this arrangement, such as maximising internal floor space and ensuring horizontal separation between the floors, which is another consistent trait of the South West buildings. Even in the two instances of an internal stair connecting the ground and first floors (Drewsteignton and Martock) not only is it clear that the stairs are ancillary, but they are also contained in stair turrets, thereby preventing encroachment on the floor space available. Similarly, the second internal stair at Martock (connecting the first and attic floors) is contained within the thickness of the north gable wall. Though it

was established above that stair turrets were perhaps more common than the sample here suggests, there seems to be a clear correlation between them and fireplaces, reinforcing the interpretation that there were used to convey food and drink to the upstairs room. The horizontal separation between the floors has been established as a characteristic of the community building in the region and, as well as maximising space through avoiding stair openings, permitted flexibility of usage: separate activities and separate lessees could be more conveniently accommodated at once.

Within the all-encompassing use of external stairs there is some variation in their siting across all counties, with ten of the seventeen (just under two-thirds) being on gables, and the remaining seven on one of the long elevations. There appears to be no definitive correlation between the location of the building and the choice of siting for the staircase: of the five buildings disconnected from the churchyard, three have staircases on a long elevation, two on a gable. However, of the twelve buildings on the churchyard edge, eight have a gable-end staircase, and all of these have a possibility of accessing the staircase from the churchyard, but only three had exclusive access from it (i.e. without simultaneously being accessible from an open space).[584] It seems therefore more likely for buildings to have gable-end staircases when at least partial access was required from the churchyard, but the cases of Lamerton and Chew Magna demonstrate that this was not a rule. No set correlation is observable between the size of the building and the position of the staircase: the size of first-floor rooms with gable-end entry ranges from 29 m^2 (Drewsteignton) to 98 m^2 (Poundstock), and those with long elevation entry from 28 m^2 (Lamerton) to 156 m^2 (Chew Magna). Even where buildings are built into a slope there appears to have been no barrier to choosing

[584] The three are Lamerton in Devon; and Chew Magna and Stogumber in Somerset.

either location for the stair and so this seems to have been a proprietary choice for each building. However, in all cases but one, and whether situated on a gable or a long elevation, the doorway is off-centre and leads into one end of the first-floor room. The possible exception is St Teath, where a centrally-located doorway has been blocked and replaced with a gable-end doorway. This too was then clearly a conscious design, one that recalls the entry into ground-floor halls in contemporary domestic planning and therefore has been interpreted here as demarcating similar 'upper' and 'lower' ends.

Fireplaces, always on the ground floor, provide another unifying aspect of the community building type in the South West and are present in thirteen of the seventeen buildings. Moreover, the four buildings without fireplaces are all in Cornwall, meaning that they are universal among the Devon and Somerset buildings. Fireplaces have been construed as indicating feasting within the building and also the possibility of private hire for brewing or cooking. Ostensibly this would suggest that such uses were not to be found among Cornish buildings and, if it were not for the church house at St Teath, one might infer that fireplaces were entirely absent from Cornish community buildings. The survival of the latter suggests that the prevalent plan-form in Devon and Somerset did extend into Cornwall and that other explanations must be sought for the lack of fireplaces in the remaining buildings. At Fowey and Looe, the explanation likely revolves around the use of the buildings as administrative and juridical buildings serving the needs arising from a more urbanised economy and society. Other examples from similar settings, such as Plymouth's Old Guildhall (**Plate XIV.3**), support a general observation that community buildings in towns (i.e. town halls, guildhalls, market halls etc.) did not require fireplaces to provide cooking facilities. This is understandable, for in towns a greater provision of facilities perhaps exerted less pressure on one building to accommodate such an array of functions, and so the

plan could be adapted to fit more specific commercial and juridical use (e.g. open arcaded ground floors and/or lock-ups). However, this explanation will not do for Poundstock and St Tudy, where no such urbanised setting exists. The interpretation which fits both buildings is that detached kitchens existed elsewhere in the vicinity, or the community was otherwise already well provided for with a communal baking and brewing facility. The survival of such a kitchen at Hadleigh, combined with the survival of others in domestic settings, renders this plausible. An alternative explanation, one which fits better the small size of The Clink at St Tudy, is that it did not function as a place for parochial feasting, but was rather more akin to a town hall insofar as it could provide a lock-up, as well as a place for local administration and decision-making by an elite body or guild.

The presence of fireplaces also relates to the ground-floor plans. Except at Lamerton, where the original plan is not clear, all the buildings with fireplaces have more than one room on the ground-floor. Of the resulting twelve buildings, half have two rooms forming one large room containing the fireplace and one smaller room forming an ancillary room; the latter was interpreted on the basis of documentary sources as either a secure store or buttery.[585] All but two of these two-room buildings are in Devon, giving a strong indication that this was the preferred arrangement here, though the two exceptions (St Teath and Baltonsborough) indicate that this type extended beyond. The remaining six buildings have three rooms on the ground floor, of which all but two are in Somerset.[586] Generally, with a fifty-fifty distribution, there is no overall predominance of either of the multi-room plan-forms. There appears to be no correlation between the number of ground-floor rooms and the provision of

[585] Swimbridge is included here, even though it is not strictly clear whether it had two or three rooms owing to its later shortening.
[586] The exception is Holcombe Rogus; its close proximity to Somerset is perhaps not coincidental.

pentices, which are distributed equally between both types. However, none of the buildings with a single-room ground floor has evidence of a pentice.

Finally, ten of the fourteen buildings with multi-room ground floors either have surviving plank-and-muntin screens, or retain evidence for one or more. These, coupled with the aforementioned surviving examples elsewhere, indicate that this was a consistent and preferred method of creating internal partitions in the South West.

This summary has therefore identified a number of overarching areas of continuity among the floor plans of community buildings in all three counties in the South West:

1. single first-floor rooms or at least the majority of the first floor occupied by a single room;
2. external staircases to access first floor;
3. first-floor doorways off-centre, leading into one end of the space; and
4. horizontal separation between floors.

It was found that the above shared elements are not significantly affected by the setting of the building and reach across rural, agricultural localities and the two urbanised, industrial-commercial settings of Fowey and Looe. In addition, within the above the principal elements of variation have been found in the following areas:

1. size of first-floor room;
2. position of external staircase;
3. provision of internal stair;
4. provision of fireplace;
5. number of ground-floor rooms; and
6. provision of a pentice.

Crucially, none of these sub-areas of variation has been found materially to contravene the shared characteristics or their distribution across town and country. The study suggests that, though some correlations can be found between the choice of variations in these sub-areas depending on factors such as location and orientation, there is no single factor which appears to require or prevent the choice of another. Cumulatively these observations strengthen the case for an overarching building type, at least thus far in the South West. It therefore remains to compare these areas of continuity and variation with the selected buildings in East Anglia in order better to understand whether this was simply an architectural phenomenon of the South West.

9 Plan-forms II: East Anglia

This chapter continues the focus on plan-forms and maintains the loose groupings set out around the elements of location, orientation and access in Chapter 7. Difficulties in gaining access to buildings in this region impact especially upon this chapter. In several instances, identified as they arise below, permission to visit has not been forthcoming and therefore internal spaces could not be accurately inspected, measured and drawn. However, to ensure a suitable crop of buildings was available for this important regional comparison, floor plans have been sought, in most cases successfully, from any other available source. It is hoped that the general impact is therefore somewhat mitigated and that useful comparison and conclusions can be drawn.

The above pertains immediately to the Guildhalls in Linton and Whittlesford in **Cambridgeshire**: in neither case has it been possible to access the interior, nor even the rear elevations externally. In Chapter 7, the commonalities of these buildings were found to lie in their separation from the churchyard, though this is more pronounced at Whittlesford, and first-floor access on the elevation facing away from the open space.[587] Whilst the latter is still legible at Whittlesford, at Linton an historic open space emerged from map regression. The ground-floor plan for the Old Guildhall in Linton has been drawn partly from planning drawings and partly from a drawing in an unpublished report relating to the Guildhall in Laxfield (Suffolk), both dating from 2014 (Figure 74).[588] Advantageously, the latter drawing is based on a measured survey and, though only the ground floor is drawn, it describes the first floor as comprising a single hall across the whole five-bay length, with a further room over the short north range. The drawing

[587] See above, pp. 197-201.
[588] J. Walker, 'The Architecture of the Guildhall of the Religious Guild of St Mary, Laxfield' (2014), drawing no. D2.

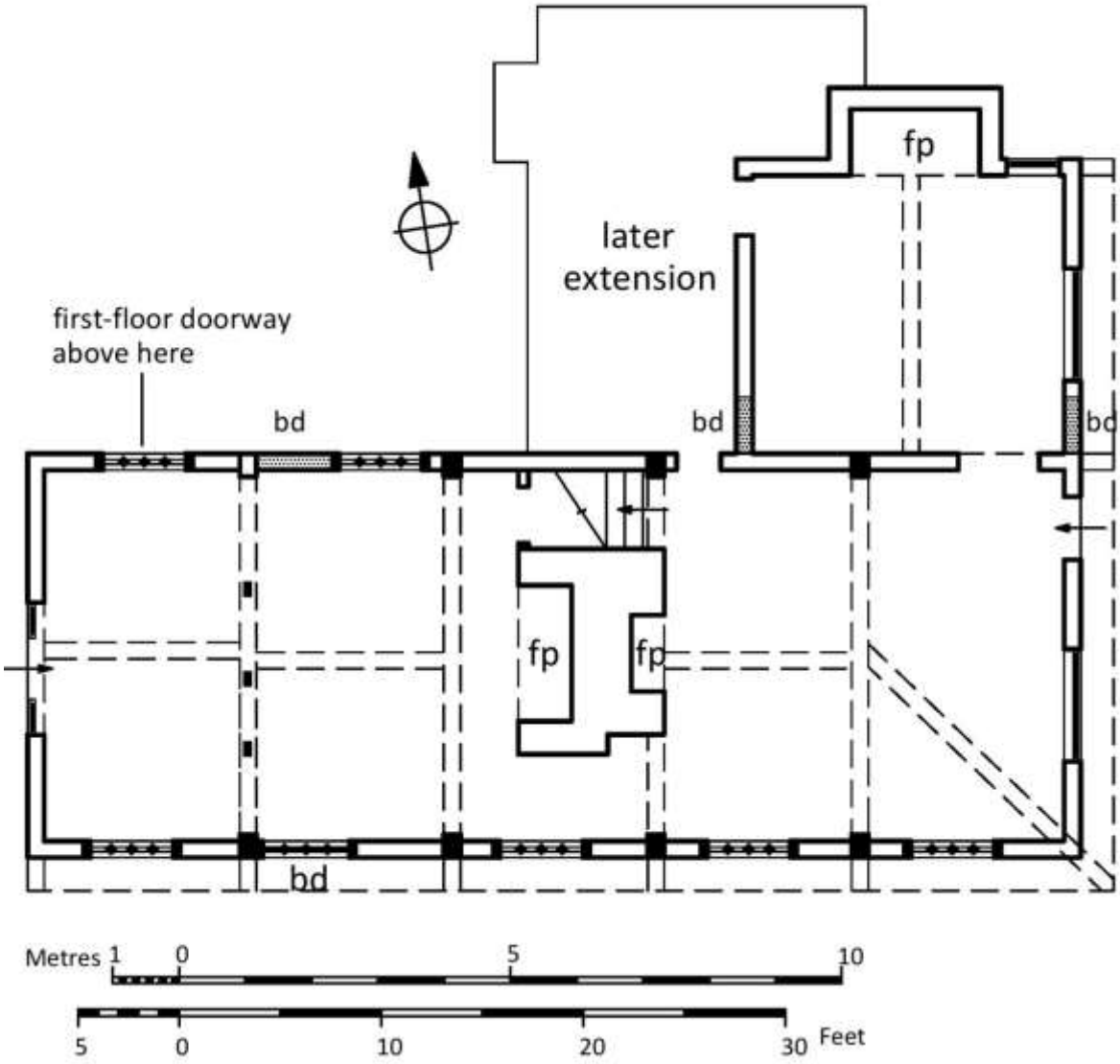


Figure 74. Linton (Cambridgeshire), Old Guildhall – plan of ground floor

further suggests that at least one bay has been lost from the west end of the main range, although this could not be confirmed without inspection.[589] The principal entrance to the ground floor on the south elevation, facing the roadway and open space, remains visible as a blocked doorway (**Plate LXII.2**). The door entered alongside a stud partition on the west side, evidenced by mortices on the underside of the cross-beam. The list description records two four-centred arch doorways of unequal width in this partition, thus leading into two service rooms in this west bay.[590] The lack of evidence for an external door at this end suggests

[589] Walker, 'Architecture', drawing no. D2.
[590] LEN: 1331166.

that these rooms could be entered only from the main ground-floor room. According to Walker's plan, the entrance doorway also corresponded with an opposing doorway on the rear elevation, pointing to a cross-passage arrangement. The remainder of the ground floor comprised one room of four bays with, according to the list description, ogee-moulded cross-beams and joists.

These features combine to form a significant correlation with the buildings of the South West, although here there is no evidence for a smoke bay or fireplace within the main range and the current chimney stack is a later insertion. No evidence is recorded for other door openings on the ground floor, even into the adjoining range to the north, which now contains a large external stack. According to the list description, the latter is also a later addition, which would suggest that the earliest building was entirely without a fireplace. Although the continuity of the framing indicates that the north range is contemporary with the larger range, its purpose is not known, especially if originally it had no fireplace. Walker shows a doorway from the east side - the only one on this side of the building – alongside the partition wall with the main range. Opposing this doorway was another on the west side leading to the back of the main building, thus forming a cross-passage arrangement echoing that within the larger range. The combined presence of a doorway into this range from the east elevation, which was previously identified as a principal elevation owing to the full-length continuation of the jetty, and the lack of internal access into the main range, suggest something more than a space solely ancillary to the ground-floor room of the main range. For comparators, one might turn to the suggested non-ancillary uses of similar spaces at Widecombe-in-the-Moor, Chew Magna, and Martock.

The list description records a blocked first-floor doorway at the west end of the north (rear) elevation of the main range, thus presupposing an external staircase descending in close proximity to the rear cross-passage door. The

position of this doorway at the 'lower' end of the upstairs hall again continues the pattern established in the South West, as does the provision of a single, first-floor room. Here the latter extends to 86 m^2, comfortably within the range established in the South West and approximately equivalent to Widecombe-in-the-Moor (84 m^2). However, if at least one bay has been lost from the west end, as Walker suggests, then this could originally been larger by a minimum of 17 m^2. Given the lack of evidence for another staircase, it seems likely that the first floor of the north range was only accessible through the main range hall. This suggests that, even if the ground floor had some other purpose, the first floor was likely to have provided one or two rooms to service the main hall. The presence of only one staircase indicates that, as became a ubiquitous feature of the South West buildings, the floors were horizontally separate.

The same broad plan-form can be seen at the Guildhall at Whittlesford, although here contained within one range. It also has two jettied principal elevations facing into the open space around the building and a single ground-floor entrance on the long front elevation, with an opposing door on the rear forming a cross-passage (Figure 75) (**Plate XXXV.1**). As at Linton, the principal entrance enters alongside a stud partition with evidence for two doorways into two service rooms divided along the central spine beam.[591] The remaining three bays of the ground floor formed one room which, again like Linton, has no evidence for an original fireplace or internal staircase. The relationship of the rear cross-passage door, external stair, and first-floor doorway matches that at Linton. At Whittlesford, a modern staircase has been reinstated in the position of the original. The doorway to the first floor was thus placed at the western end and led into a single room across the length of the building, amounting to 55 m^2. The size

[591] LEN 1165789.

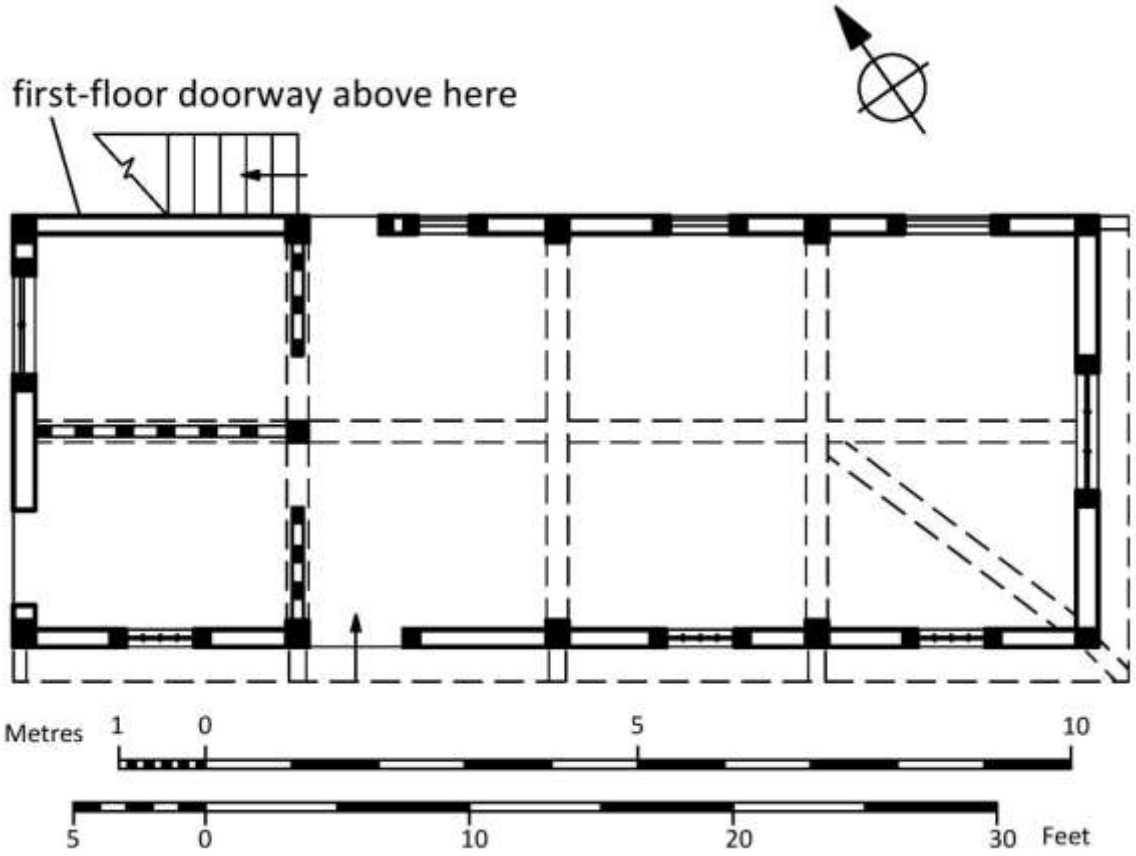


Figure 75. Whittlesford (Cambridgeshire), Guildhall – plan of ground floor

of the first-floor room also thus fits within the range established for the South West buildings, and is broadly comparable with Drewsteignton (52 m^2) and Stogumber (58 m^2) in capacity.

Whilst analysis of a greater number of buildings within Cambridgeshire would naturally sharpen any conclusions, this small sample permits some observations. On a county level, the plan-forms and features of the two buildings show a considerable degree of consistency. In both cases the ground floors are divided into one larger room and one ancillary bay, divided into two smaller service rooms. The latter feature recalls the typical buttery/pantry arrangement common in domestic plan-forms of the late medieval period. It is notable how ancillary rooms in both buildings are formed with stud partitions, rather than the ubiquitous plank-and-muntin screens in the South West. Both buildings have external staircases accessed from a rear cross-passage door, first-floor

doorways positioned at one end of a full-length hall and no original fireplaces. These initial findings point towards a ‘fit’ within the parameters established at the end of the preceding chapter for buildings of the South West, both in terms of the principal characteristics, and the sub-areas of variation.

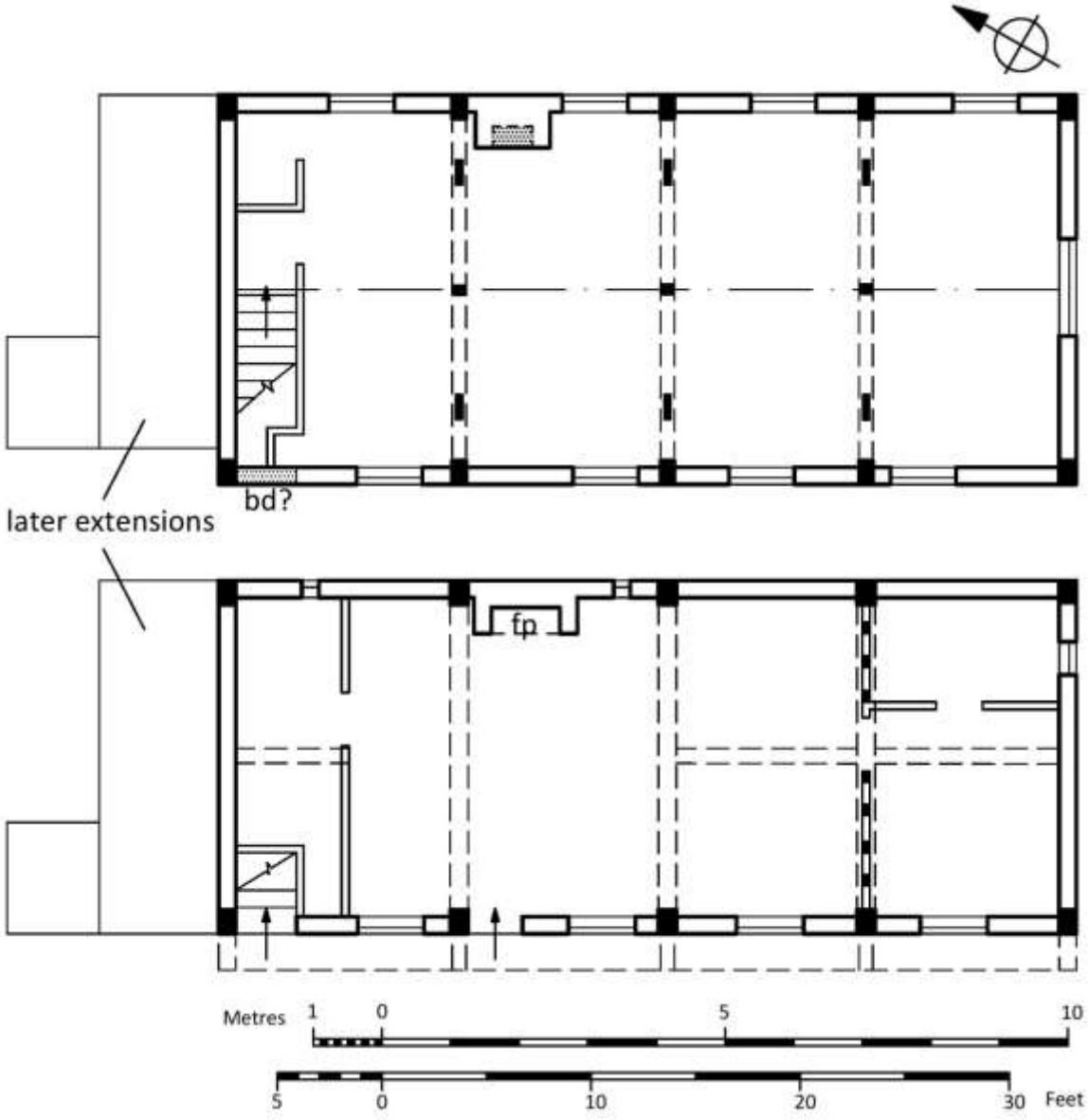


Figure 76. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

In **Essex**, where all four community buildings are situated on the churchyard edge, those at Matching, Felsted, and Finchingfield were loosely grouped owing to their having a long elevation facing it, whereas the Old

Guildhall at Clavering presents a gable.[592] The Marriage Feast Room at Matching was accessed solely from the elevation facing away from the churchyard and towards a large green (**Plate XXXII.1**). The current doorway and windows are later insertions contemporary with the masonry rebuilding of the ground floor between the principal posts. Grooves for shutters along the underside of the front girt confirm the general positions of the latter, though the original doorway position is unknown. However, it is clear that the ground floor comprised two rooms: one large room of three bays, and an ancillary room in the easternmost bay (Figure 76). The latter is formed by an (extant) stud partition under the cross-beam with an off-centre doorway (**Plate LXII.3**); the further subdivision of this room is later, with framing of slight scantling. As was seen in buildings in the South west, the ancillary space is marked out further by a simpler treatment of the ceiling timbers: in the latter the cross-beam is plain and unchamfered, whilst those in the larger room are chamfered with step-and-runout stops. Nowhere on the ground floor is there evidence for a fireplace, thus providing continuity with the Cambridgeshire buildings, but another departure from the South West standard. If there is any vestigial truth in Morant's eighteenth-century description of the building as hosting wedding festivities, and any validity in the analogy with other rural community buildings, then one would expect feasting to form part of the building's function.[593] If this is the case, then food may have been prepared in a detached kitchen, as the aforementioned extant example at Hadleigh.

The small room at the north end contains a stair enclosure for the first-floor staircase, accessed from a doorway in the front elevation; enclosure, doorway and stair appear to be early nineteenth-century in date. It is possible that these replaced earlier items in the same location. However, there is a possibility that

[592] See above, pp. 201-6.
[593] See above, p. 10.

the original first-floor doorway was on the first floor directly above: here there appears to be an infilled opening larger than the current small window, whilst the floorboards of the hall continue up into this corner beyond an inserted cupboard and the north side girt is ledged as if to carry floorboards across the whole stair opening (**Plate LXIII.1**). On whichever floor the doorway is located, the entrance to the full-length first-floor hall was at one end, as in Cambridgeshire and the South West. Discounting the later partition at the head of the stairs, the hall extends to 62 m^2 and is thus larger than that at Whittlesford, and broadly the same size and capacity as those at St Teath and South Tawton (**Plate LXIII.2**).

The churchyard-edge guildhalls in Felsted and Finchingfield differ from Matching in having elevations which 'interact' with the churchyard in terms of both access and having jettied elevations towards it (**Plates XLII.1** and **XLII.2**).[594] The former is characterised in both buildings by one ground-floor bay given over to a covered passageway directly linking the churchyard to the street/open space. At Felsted, lack of both access and suitable measured drawings prevents a full analysis, but various elements of the plan were discussed in Chapter 7 and provide sound reasons for suggesting that the building had a similar plan-form to the Guildhall at Finchingfield, for which full access has been obtained.[595] Owing to the complicated extent of later changes at Finchingfield, the floor plans given in Figure 77 are illustrative reconstructions of the original floor plans drawn from interpreting the visible timbers and do not include the late seventeenth-century extension at the east end. In previous chapters, documentary sources and architectural elements have combined to suggest at least occasional commercial usage of a proportion of community buildings in the South West. At Felsted and Finchingfield this use is made explicit by the incorporation of shops either side of

[594] See above, pp. 206-7.
[595] See above, p. 202.

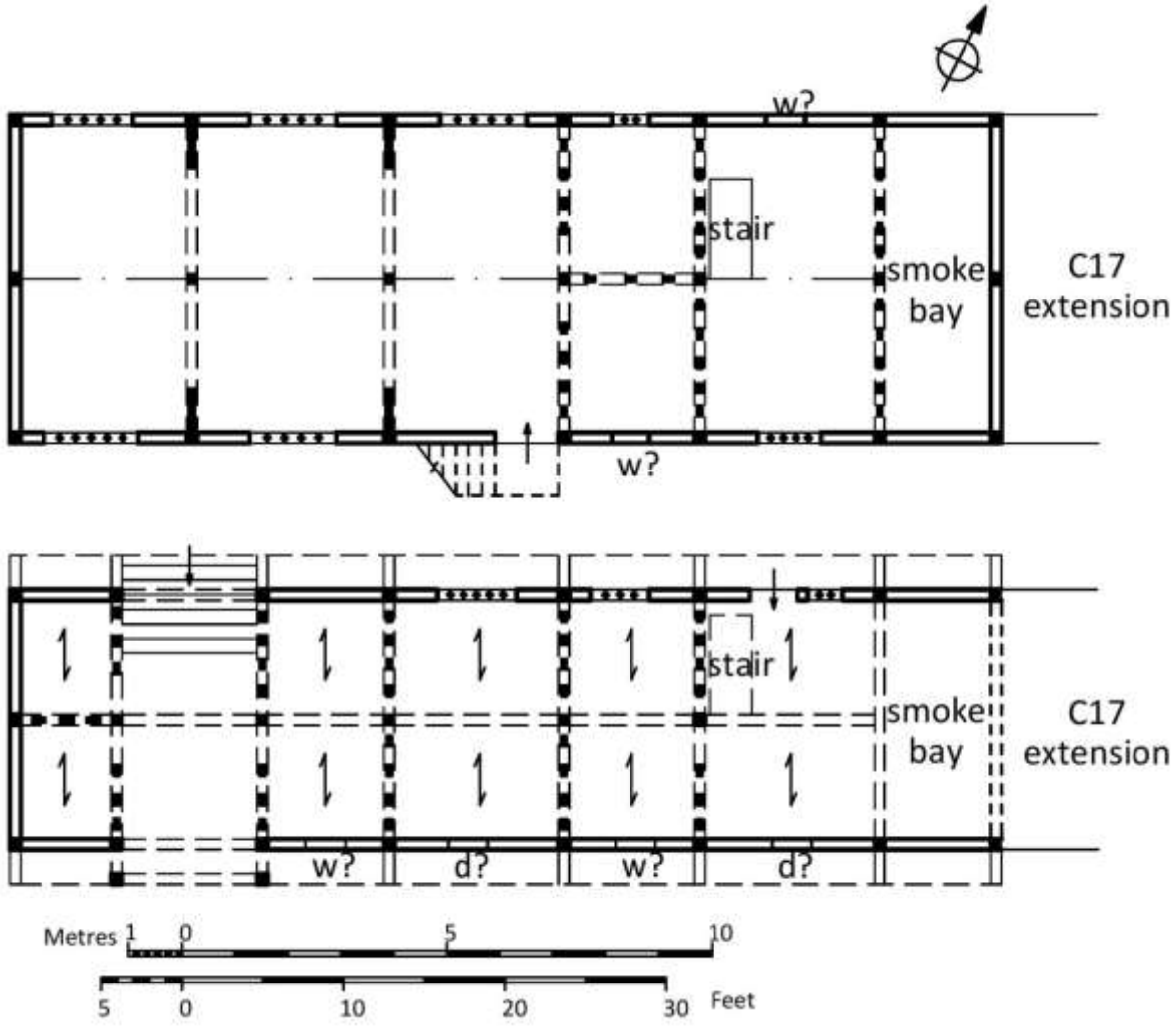


Figure 77. Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall – reconstructed plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

the covered passageway, evidenced by doorways and window positions (Figure 77). At Felsted, the west side of the covered passageway retains two window positions and shutters, possibly shops accessed through lost doorways on the front and rear of this single bay (**Plates LXIII.3**). On the east side, a clear doorway and adjacent window indicate at least one shop accessed from the passageway. At Finchingfield, the west side of the passageway has one doorway into an apparently windowless room on the north side (possibly a lock-up), and a doorway into an equally sized room on the south; the latter might have had a window into the churchyard, but the original wall has been removed and built out (**Plate LXIV.1**). On the east side, the surviving fabric indicates only a single

doorway into a self-contained room which filled the whole bay and had no access through to the rest of the building; possibly this room had a shop window on the rear elevation, but the latter is obscured by plastered finishes. The bay to the east of this was also self-contained with a window in the front elevation and, owing to the lack of a doorway there or in the partition walls, must have been accessed from a doorway on the churchyard side. The three bays at the east end of the ground floor appeared to have comprised a linked suite of rooms entered through a doorway (now blocked, but with door *in situ*) in the front elevation leading into the central bay (**Plate LXIV.2**). This room contained a full-width fireplace which occupied the east-end bay (now filled with a later brick stack) and thus echoes the 'kitchens' of the South West buildings. Through a doorway in the west partition wall, the 'kitchen' also provided access into an ancillary room which occupied one bay. The blocked doorway in the front elevation of this space appears to be later, and, though it is possible a doorway existed in the rear (churchyard) wall, it seems to have been accessed only through the 'kitchen'. This room and the access to it provide a further link to those 'secure' storage rooms broadly identified in the South West buildings. As identified in some of the latter, here the 'kitchen' also has evidence for an internal staircase, a straight-flight rising from between the front entrance door and the partition with the service room. However, whereas in the South West this generally rises to the first-floor hall and therefore seems to have had a direct functional link, here the stair rises to a self-contained room above, bounded by closed partitions on the east (forming the smoke bay/chimney) and the west. There is no evidence for a doorway linking this room with the remainder of the first floor.

The ground-floor spaces at the Guildhall therefore provide a complex picture of multiple uses, which are far from definitively legible. However, there seems sufficient reason to conclude that the building had some commercial

usage, particularly of the rooms at the west end, a conclusion strengthened by analogy with the Old School Room at Felsted. Some other function might be considered for the larger central bay, with a prominent mullioned window on the front elevation, possibly an administrative room related to the commercial activities within or without the building; the latter particularly so if one contemplates the building's position relating to a wider commercial sphere. The ancillary rooms and fireplace at the east end provide the most recognisable element of the ground floor when comparing it with the buildings of the South West.

On the first floor, the general plan reflects many of the identifiable elements of the community building type. The external staircase has been removed, but a doorway is visible in the churchyard elevation (**Plate XLII.1**). The doorway enters alongside a partition to the east, a location which reflects the position of several ground-floor doorways in South West buildings. In the latter, these partitions were found to form ancillary rooms, and the same is apparent here: the two extant doorways in the partition indicate a typical buttery/pantry division. The remainder of this section of the floor is occupied by a three-bay hall open to the rafters in the usual fashion (**Plate LXIV.3**). With a total area of 59 m^2, the hall is comparable with those at Whittlesford (55 m^2) and South Tawton (61 m^2). The provision of service rooms at first-floor level was suggested at Linton above, but was otherwise not commonly encountered in the South West, where only the Old Town Hall at Fowey had evidence of any kind of original first-floor ancillary room. The use of the latter was not decisively established, but it was described as consistent with a buttery arrangement or some form of retiring room, as is present at Fordwich (Kent). As the service rooms at Finchingfield are placed at the east end of the hall, it is likely that this constituted the 'lower' end and thus the doorway position fits the pattern established in the South West and the East

Anglian buildings already discussed. The east wall of the service bay was fully studded and had no door opening into the room into which the internal stair rose. It is possible that a hatchway existed in this partition, meaning that food brought from the kitchen up the internal stair could be passed through into one of the service rooms. However, as the example of other community buildings shows, this was certainly not a prerequisite: users of these buildings were not averse to transporting food outside and up into the hall via an external staircase. With or without a hatchway, the hall and service rooms comprise a distinct, self-contained element on the first floor in the same way that the commercial and/or administrative elements on the ground floor were separate from the 'kitchen' area. This compartmentalising of internal spaces, as well as the prevalent horizontal separation between floors, strengthens the flexibility of the building by permitting even more various activities (or lettings) to be undertaken simultaneously within the footprint. The comparable external physical form and size of the Old School Room at Felsted, where the first-floor hall is described as occupying four bays of the building and was accessed from a similar position from the churchyard, suggest that a very similar floor plan existed there (**Plates XLII.2** and **LXV.1**).[596]

The Old Guildhall in Clavering shares with Matching and the two Cambridgeshire buildings a jettied long and side elevation, marking these out as principal elevations. As discussed in Chapter 7, the ground-floor doorway towards the north end of the front elevation has an opposing doorway on the rear, thus forming a cross-passage (Figure 78).[597] As is found in the two Cambridgeshire guildhalls and those discussed in South West, this cross-passage exists adjacent to a partition wall. At Clavering it is extant on the north side and comprises a stud

[596] See above, p. 202.
[597] See above, p. 207.

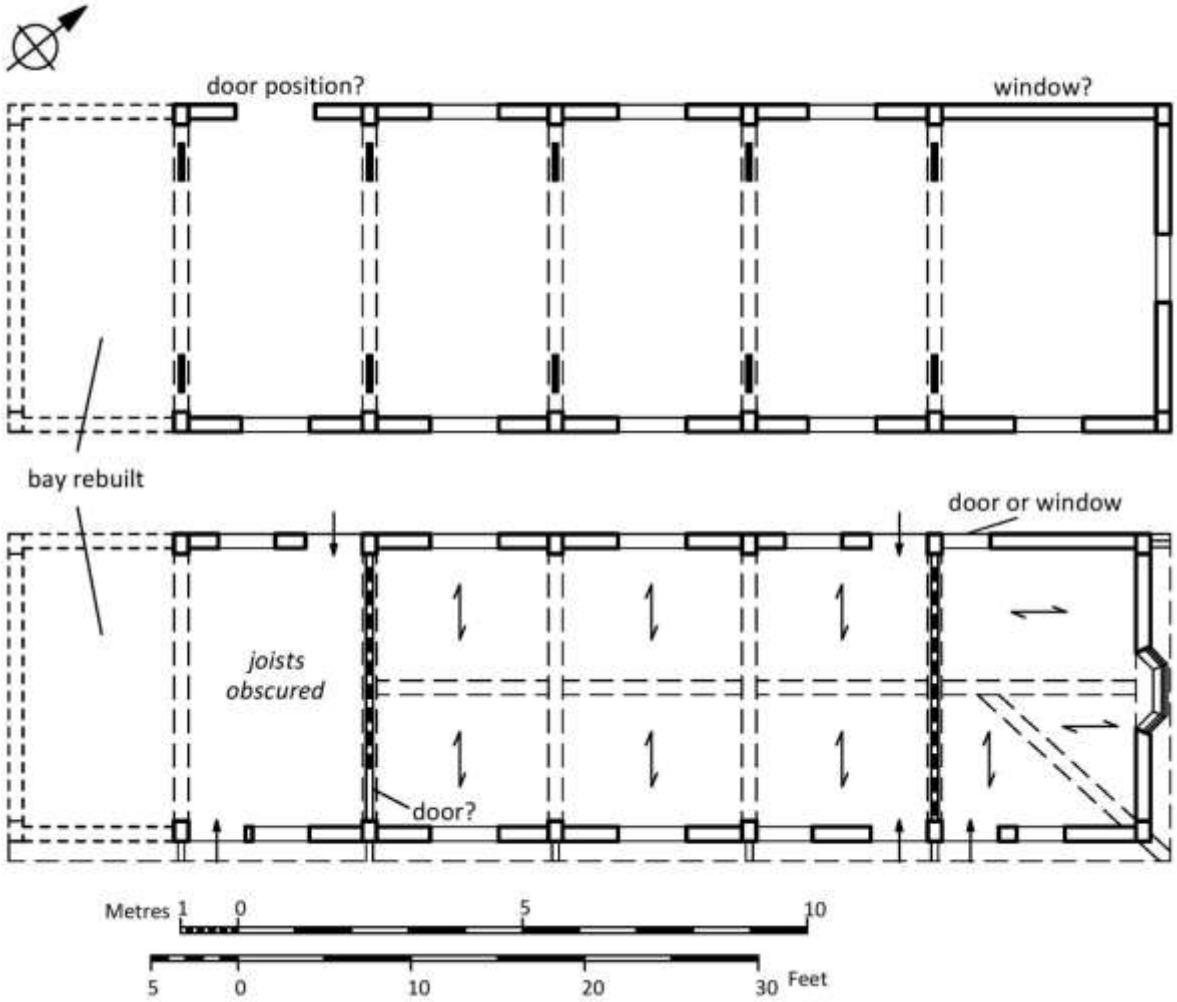


Figure 78. Clavering (Essex), Old Guildhall – reconstructed plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

partition without any openings, unlike at Linton and Whittlesford. The resulting full-bay room at the north end therefore seems to have been a separate, self-contained space, which was entered by a doorway adjacent to the cross-passage, though there is now no trace externally (**Plate LXV.2**). The cross-passage was not divided from the room to the south and therefore ran through the north end of a three-bay room to a partition at its south end. The latter has evidence for a doorway towards its eastern end and led into a further two-bay room, the southernmost of which has been rebuilt and built out under the jetties. Beyond this bay is a nineteenth-century, single-storey extension. The nature of this original south-end bay is unknown and nothing can be gleaned from the roof

structure as this was replaced throughout the whole building after a fire in 1991. Though it is conjectural, it is possible that it contained a fireplace, a feature which would certainly fit other examples of such two-bay ‘kitchens’ such as at Finchingfield and possibly Fressingfield. There is evidence for a blocked doorway on the front elevation into this ‘kitchen’ alongside the cross-beam, though its position is not visible externally (**Plate XXXIII.1**). Additionally, a possible doorway on the rear elevation adjacent to the central room partition would provide dual access to the ‘kitchen’ from both sides, which was posited at Finchingfield. In any case, it seems clear enough that the ground floor exhibits a three-room pattern similar to those in the South West and comprising one large central ground-floor room and a smaller room at each end. At Clavering, the separation of one of these rooms recalls on the one hand the physical separation of the ‘Sexton’s Cottage’ at Widecombe-in-the-Moor, and on the other hand the other uses recorded for similar spaces at Martock and Chew Magna, though in those buildings they seem not to have been fully detached. The provision of an oriel window on the north wall of this room towards the church would seem to confer some status, perhaps again as an administrative space related to the wider activities within the building. Unlike those buildings where joist mouldings were used to demarcate higher status areas, at Clavering it seems that the joists were all plain and unchamfered, though cross-beams throughout have chamfers and step-and-runout stops. Nevertheless the large central room recalls similar spaces in South West buildings, where possible commercial uses were suggested based on the wider spatial relationship of the building to the space beyond. In Chapter 7, the historic space around the Old Guildhall was discussed as possibly a larger extension of the residual triangular area that remains and part of a southern approach to the manor house via the churchyard possibly predating the current rectangular market place and eastern approach. On this

interpretation the building's uses, as derived from its relationship to this space, would be analogous to the comparable church houses in the South West.

The first-floor of the Old Guildhall has no evidence for any internal partitions and thus comprised one single room with braced tie-beams at the bay divisions throughout. In modern times the trusses have all been closed above tie-beam level with modern timbers and pegging. The position of the first-floor doorway must have been on the rear elevation, as there is no evidence for one on the front or north sides. The most likely position, and shown as such on the plan, is an area towards the south end where there is an apparent gap in the stud peg-holes in the wall plate, a gap larger than any of the window positions. Such a position would fit the prevalent tendency for the doorway to be located towards one end of the hall and would correspondingly indicate that the north end was the 'upper end', a fact supported by the presence of a large window in the centre of the north wall above the ground-floor oriel. The first-floor hall would have had an area of 97 m^2, larger than the Guildhall at Linton (86 m^2) and comparable with the Gildhouse at Poundstock (98 m^2), and thus had a large capacity for both seated and standing events.

Even without access to the guildhall in Felsted, the plan-forms of Essex buildings contribute to the overall picture emerging in East Anglia, particularly as they combine the simpler plan-forms of Matching and Clavering with the more complex arrangements at Felsted and Finchingfield. The latter two buildings are particularly significant in their incorporation of shop units and other administrative spaces, as well as their use of open passages through the building uniting street/open space and churchyard; both provide clear evidence of uses which have thus far only been more subtly indicated elsewhere in the region and in the South West. Notwithstanding the more complex plan at Finchingfield, the

provision of a full-width fireplace is a crucial element linking the building's form and use to the buildings in the South West. Though it has not been confirmed, the similarity between this and the Old School Room at Felsted make it highly likely that this also had a fireplace. The lack of fireplaces at Matching and Clavering place them alongside the Cambridgeshire buildings in this regard but, as has already been established, does not rule out a detached kitchen.

The treatment of the first floors differs again mainly at Finchingfield (and assumed at Felsted), where buttery/pantry service rooms are included at one end of the hall, presumably pushed to this level owing to the greater number of uses on the ground floor of the buildings. Yet throughout all the buildings the external doorway is located at one end of the hall and the latter occupies all or the majority of the floor space. Whilst all four buildings had dedicated staircases to the first floor, reconstruction strongly indicates that three had an external staircase accessed from close proximity to a cross-passage (Clavering) or, the fullest expression of a cross-passage, a covered passage through the building (Felsted and Finchingfield). The staircase at Matching is an exception for not being related to a cross-passage, but also being contained within the envelope, although a possible earlier external staircase was suggested on the strength of slight evidence for a blocked first-floor doorway. Even if the integrated stair is in its original position, it is nonetheless significant that it is accessed directly from an external door and, by bypassing the ground-floor spaces, achieves the same objective as an external stair. Other buildings which maintain the horizontal separation in this way whilst having an integrated stair include the Town hall at Fordwich (Kent) and the Courthouse in Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire). In either scenario, these differences in access at Matching reflect is full orientation towards the open space/green, and not the churchyard, whereas the other three

buildings had approaches from both sides, which include the churchyard at Felsted and Finchingfield.

In general, Essex community buildings broadly conform to the overarching features established in Chapter 8. The variations in plan-form fall within the subset of features established for that region, although it appears that, among these sub-variations, the buildings tend to exhibit a different set of correlating features than those in the South West, for example in the lack of fireplaces and pentices.

In **Norfolk**, the Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth was established in previous chapters to be unusual in the context of this study. First, the building predates other selected examples by at least two centuries; second, the building could represent a conversion of a residential chamber block; third, reconstruction of an open space around the building proves difficult as the surrounding streets appear to have been fully developed even by the sixteenth century. However, given that the building's community uses are established by the early fourteenth century and possibly earlier, comparison of the building's plan-form with later buildings with documented or inferred similar uses seems to be of considerable relevance. It must be acknowledged, however, that the building was extensively restored in the nineteenth century and again after bomb damage during the Second World War. The means of access to the first floor via an external staircase to a doorway on the front (east) elevation remains unchanged (**Plate XXXIV.2**). Though the staircase itself is a nineteenth-century replacement, the style of the projecting porch is consistent with the thirteenth-century and likely always received the stair. The doorway, with its pointed arch and dog-tooth mouldings, points again to a construction date in the first half of the thirteenth century. The doorway position is

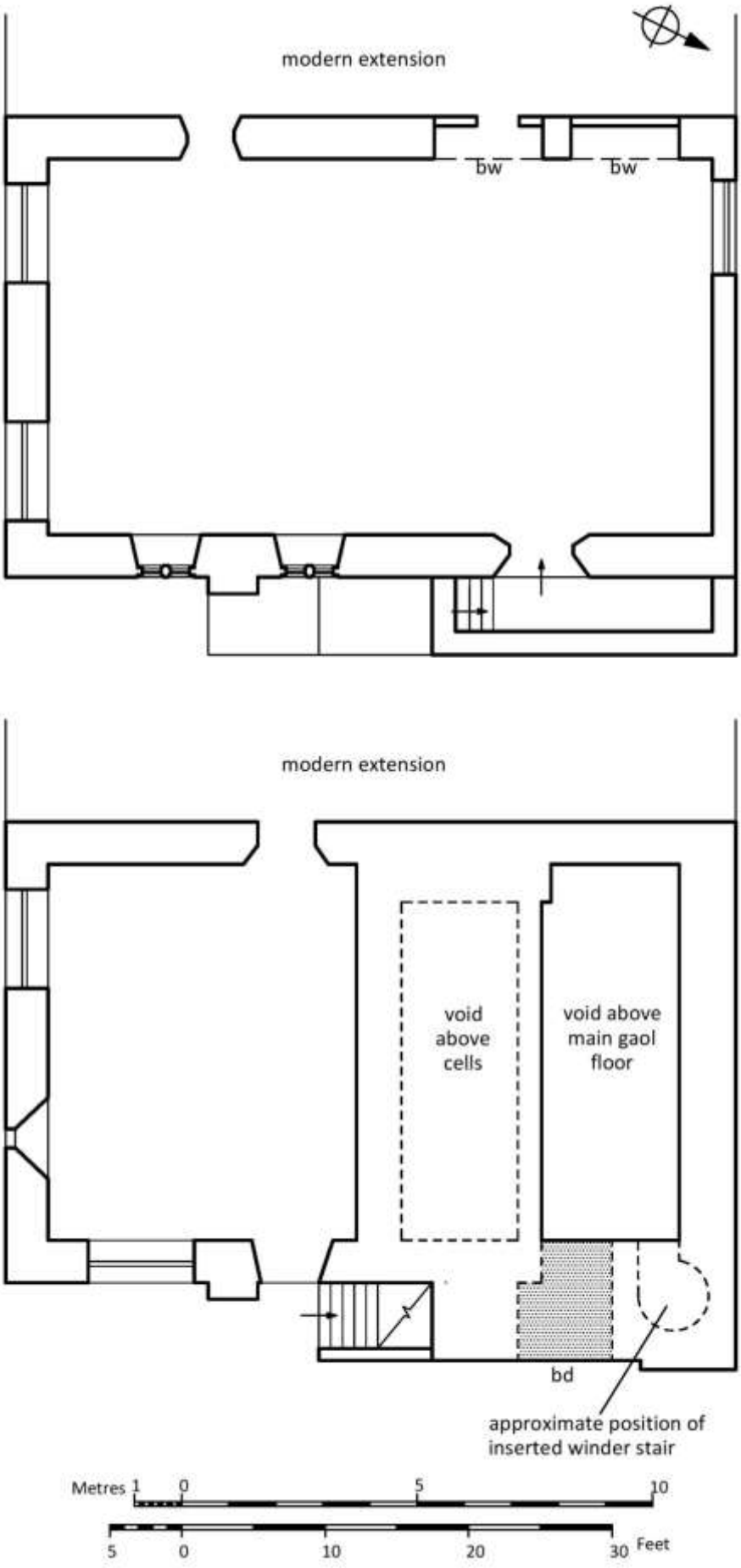


Figure 79. Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

significant in that it enters the single-room hall towards one end, most likely the 'lower end', which prefigures this pattern in community buildings of the principal period of this study. The hall itself extends to 113 m^2 and is thus slightly smaller than the Court House at Martock (128 m^2), though still among the largest in area and capacity (Figure 79) (**Plate LXV.3**). The fenestration has been greatly altered: the two large windows above the modern dais are twentieth-century reproductions contemporary with the rebuilding of the south gable, whilst the two two-light front (east) windows are 1880s replacements of transomed windows which were themselves replacements. However, the location and size of the openings themselves are accurate, as the filled arches were discovered during the alterations.[598] These windows were therefore staggered with the two extant (though blocked) window openings with thirteenth-century pointed arches at the north end of the rear (west) wall (**Plate LXVI.1**). The front and rear walls are similarly balanced by an original doorway at the south (i.e. upper) end of the hall, located diagonally from the main entrance. Given the age of the doorway, it clearly led into a contemporary rear range, possibly the one which survived until the nineteenth century rebuilding. This range must have been smaller than the main building, as it would otherwise have crossed the large rear windows. The doorway is located at the upper end of the hall, a position which relates to some aspect of high status: if the building originated as a dwelling, then this would provide access to some form of private chamber. On a 'town hall' model, this could provide access to a retiring room or some other space related to the status of those occupying the upper end.

The ground floor of the building has also been much altered, particularly at the north end. Possibly as early as the fourteenth century, the northeast corner of

[598] Ferrier, 'Toll House', p. 102.

the building adjacent to the stair porch was infilled to house a winder staircase from the gaol to the court above. The winder staircase is no longer visible, but its newel and some surviving steps were uncovered in the nineteenth century.[599] The insertion of this staircase possibly disrupted the hitherto full separation between the floors, for there is no evidence for any earlier stair. However, as in previous cases, here the internal access between floors is kept to a secondary, ancillary function rather than providing the primary means of access to the first floor. The use of this end of the ground floor is understood to have been a gaol and indeed the brickwork and doors of the cells point to a late eighteenth-century date for their construction, most likely continuing an earlier usage (**Plate LXVI.2**). However, the ground level of the current space is considerably below that of the adjacent ground-floor room (accessed from the street) and has a height of approximately 5 m to the underside of the ceiling joists. It seems likely that the floor level was excavated at the time of the insertion of the prison cells to accommodate a larger, better ventilated space and, judging from the brickwork on the rear wall around the current arched entrance into the gaol, a new means of access from this direction. Taking into account the raised external ground levels, the original access into this space is likely to have been through the shortened archway, taken by Ferrier to be a high-level window to light the gaol.[600] On this basis, the ground level of this section of the building would originally have been much nearer to external ground level. Though the building plausibly contained a gaol since its first use as a town hall, it is not known whether this use extended over the area now containing the cells and the void above, or whether this formed a separate, central room; later changes have obscured any such arrangement. However, the southern room on the ground floor remains relatively

[599] F. D. Palmer, *The Tolhouse Restored* (Great Yarmouth, 1887), p. 13.
[600] Ferrier, 'Toll House', p. 100.

legible. The current entrance doorway, though remodelled and having a later door, matches a pointed-arch doorway set within a matching deep embrasure directly opposite, providing the same cross-passage arrangement noted on later community buildings and, in addition, it enters alongside a partition wall and exits (at the front) at the foot of an external staircase. Whilst this wall is now in later materials, it possibly replicated an earlier wall, possibly one separating the room from a central room which existed on the same floor level in what is now the void over the lower-ground-floor cells. The use of this room is not recorded either in documents or in the fabric, but a single pointed window survives on the south gable wall in a deep embrasure and nineteenth-century accounts record another in the same gable, now replaced by a modern casement. The room could have served as a storage space, but, given the functional prominence of the building, an administrative purpose seems likely. The nature of the room through the rear cross-passage doorway cannot now be ascertained owing to the loss of the rear range, but secure storage of the kind suggested elsewhere for community building ground floors cannot be ruled out.

In Chapter 7 it was established that the Old Vicarage in Methwold, set at right angles to the road and church opposite, could only be accessed from the front elevation facing a small green, there being no evidence for doorways on the plain, unjettied rear elevation.[601] It was also highlighted how, with the later rebuilding of the southern half and subsequent extension, neither the location of the original access points from the principal elevation nor the original plan of the south end are discernible (**Plate XXXIV.3**). Working from interpretation of the internal plan, particularly of the surviving north end, only permits tentative reconstruction (Figure 80). On the ground floor, the extant north section contains

[601] See above, p. 214.

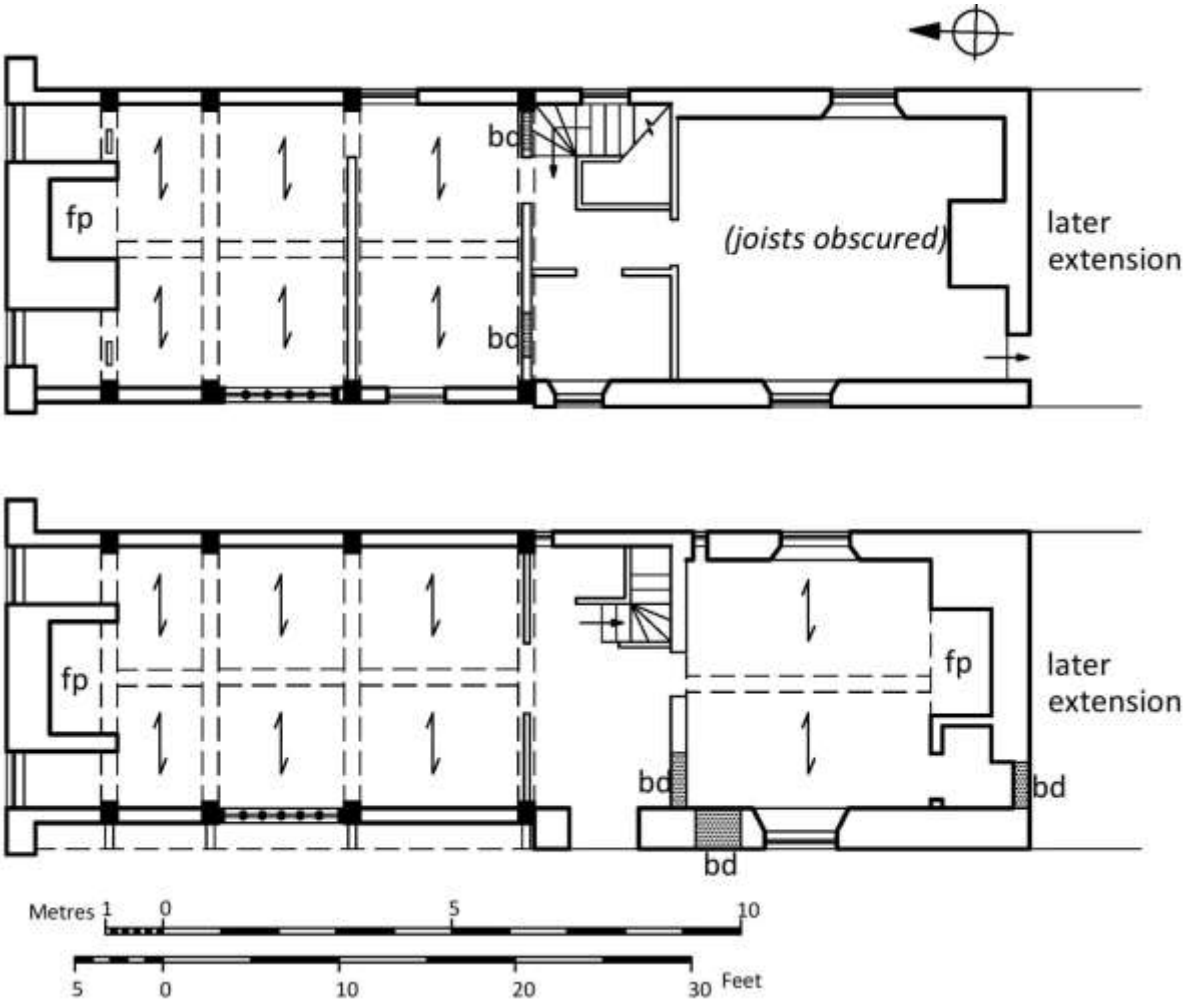


Figure 80. Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

elaborately moulded ceiling joists, cross- and spine-beams, recalling those community buildings in the South West where such treatment was similarly employed to demarcate the status of ground-floor areas (**Plate LXVI.3**). The mouldings extend over three full bays, along with a narrow bay in front of the inserted fireplace at the north end. The current (later) partition wall at the south end appears to mark the end of the decoration, though the cross-beam above has a moulding on the south (entrance hall) side which appears to replicate that on the remainder of the cross-beams. In addition, though the beam is partially obscured by the later partition, there are no obvious signs of peg holes for a partition wall. On the one hand, replication of the moulding and the lack of visible peg holes suggest that the room continued into the present entrance hall, but, on

the other, the cross-beam contains no traces of a joint with a similar spine beam continuing south, which would be expected if this were the case. If the original entrance, placing it approximately in the area of the current doorway, entered the 'lower' end of a ground-floor room alongside a partition approximately along the line of the later one forming the kitchen, then the plan-form would bear a strong resemblance to what has become a common type among community buildings. Moreover, as the original extent of the building appears to be contiguous with the quoins of the southern section, it can be said at least that the ground floor had one large room and at least one smaller room at one end, which again fits well with the preceding examples in both regions.

Where this plan is present in the South West, it is typically accompanied by a full-width gable fireplace in the larger of the rooms. At Methwold, the fireplace is present, but is not full-width and, notwithstanding the presence of a bread oven, does not appear to be of a scale commensurate with the communal baking and brewing requirements of those in the South West; indeed it seems that such a provision was generally less common in East Anglia. A further complication at Methwold is dating the fireplace which, with its ornate brick jambs with chevron mouldings, reflects the exuberant brickwork of the gable. The latter appears to have been added in the very early sixteenth century, which would suggest the fireplace was also inserted at this time. But it is also notable how the roll and ribbon mouldings of the ceiling beams and the crenellations of the jowl-post heads are matched on the bressumer, suggesting they are contemporary (**Plate LXVII.1**). Though the roof has been entirely renewed in later centuries, the surviving timber-framing and decorative elements point to the late fifteenth century. Lloyd noted the clear similarity between the patterning of the gable brickwork at Methwold and that of other early sixteenth-century buildings, such as Layer Marney Tower (Essex), which had been begun by Henry Marney, 1st Baron

Marney not long before his death in 1523.[602] If the gable can tentatively be dated to the 1520s, then it is possible that it was added to the building within a generation of its construction; such a speedy addition might account for the similarities in decorative elements. Even if this interpretation is accepted, it does not assist in reconstructing the original north end: beyond the fireplace a narrow bay extends either side into two deep recesses, this bay is partly timbered externally before it meets the brickwork of the gable, but is fully masonry internally. The obvious interpretation would be that this bay was filled by the gable and fireplaces and its width suggests a smoke bay or fireplace. Whilst a tempting reconstruction, and one which would place the Old Vicarage firmly alongside community buildings with full-width fireplaces in the South West, there is no evidence on the cross beam or principal posts that frame this bay for a bressumer or a partition above it. On the first floor, in the event of a smoke bay one would expect a fully partitioned wall at this point, but again there is no evidence in the cross-beam for it. Yet here the framing does have mortices for braces up from the principal posts to the cross-beam on both sides of the fireplace; these braces would have cut across the window openings inserted with the gable and therefore possibly constitute a small clue as to the original framing of this end (**Plate LXVII.2**).

The original first-floor plan can again only be interpreted with any certainty as far as the rebuilt central and southern sections. At the north end, a four-bay room extended as far the gable and another fireplace with ornately moulded brick jambs, though with a plain bressumer. The ceiling is treated in a decorative manner, though not to the extent of the ground-floor room: ceiling joists are let into central spine beams, which are in turn jointed to the cross-beams at the bay

[602] N. Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork* (Woodbridge, 1983; repr. 2003), p. 70.

divisions. Only one cross-beam, where there now exists a later partition wall, had arched braces up from the principal posts, of which one is extant. The irregular bay widths mean that this feature is not placed centrally within the room, but rather towards its southern end. The latter appears to be marked by the current partition, which has two later (blocked) doorways together with the current doorway, also a later insertion. The position of the wall is further signalled by tension bracing (extant on one side, mortices on the other) between the principal post and window opening. The peg holes in the cross-beam indicate a full-width partition with a doorway position slightly off-centre on the west side of the spine beam where the pegs cease (**Plate LXVII.3**). The position of this partition is a novelty among the buildings so far: as there is no evidence for an external doorway entering this upper room, it seems that any such doorway did not enter the room directly, but either from another room which occupied the remaining part of the floor, or from a lobby from which two rooms could be accessed either side. In both cases, however, the room at the north end was still the largest component of the first-floor plan, and extended to 42 m^2, broadly comparable with the Old Guildhall in Looe (48 m^2) and, with this smaller capacity, possibly intended for more specialised use than general parish entertainments. In the absence of further evidence of the original plan, the only conclusions available for the first floor are that it comprised at least two rooms, of which one was larger, and that, owing to the access arrangements, these rooms did not exactly reflect the hall/ancillary room first-floor divisions seen at Finchingfield, for example.

The interpretation of the two Norfolk buildings offered above appears to raise more questions than answers, not least as neither building can be fully reconstructed in its original form. At first sight, both might be considered to be ‘non-standard’ against the previous community buildings: the Tolhouse at Great

Yarmouth is not only of considerably greater age, but has a setting in which it is difficult to reconstruct an open space; the Old Vicarage at Methwold has the open space and is temporally more cogent with the remaining examples, and yet has an anomalous plan-form in a non-direct entry to the first-floor hall. The Norfolk problem is compounded by either lack of access to those extant buildings which are at least externally and situationally compatible with the community building type, such as the Old Guildhall in Banham or Church Farmhouse in Blo'Norton, or loss of such buildings, such as the Guildhall in Diss. However, it is instructive when even this meagre harvest is compared with the overarching characteristics of community buildings established at the close of Chapter 8. Both buildings demonstrate either single first-floor rooms (Tolhouse), or at least a room occupying the majority of the floor (Old Vicarage). The Tolhouse certainly had an external staircase, whilst this is assumed for the Old Vicarage, though the latter could equally have had a dedicated stair within the envelope such as at Matching (Essex). However the original staircase is reconstructed at Methwold, both buildings had first-floor access located towards one end of the floor. Finally, there is a strong case for arguing that both buildings were horizontally separate internally; whilst this is perhaps more clear at the Tolhouse, even at Methwold there seems no obvious reason, nor evidence, to posit – against the weight of known examples – that the primary means of access to the first floor was via an internal staircase. Notwithstanding the difficulties in interpretation, it therefore seems clear that both buildings share the general characteristics of community buildings that are emerging in both regions. Furthermore, their differences – size of the first-floor room, location of staircase, number of ground-floor rooms – occupy also reflect the broad subset of variations. Between themselves, the buildings contribute further to established elements of this study in two significant ways. First, though the buildings straddle two very different settings and with

ostensibly divergent functions, they nonetheless share the community building characteristics in the same way as buildings in similarly contrasting settings in Cornwall. Second, neither building has evidence for original fireplaces or pentice roofs, corresponding to what seems to have been a prevailing East Anglian pattern.

The final element of this discussion of community building plan-forms relates to the four buildings in **Suffolk**. The Fox and Goose Inn in Fressingfield and the Guildhall in Hadleigh were grouped in Chapter 7 according to their churchyard-edge position, where each has a long elevation facing the churchyard and one facing an open space.[603] In both cases the open spaces remain legible in the streetscape and are recorded in documentary sources. In assessing general means of access at Fressingfield, where later alterations and finishes obscure many original details, it was established with reasonable certainty that the building had a cross-passage access arrangement leading into the ground floor from both the churchyard and open space sides of the building (Figure 81). The two doorways enter alongside a cross-beam which has a modern partition and inserted fireplace beneath it, but which corresponds with an extant partition on the floor above. These details, when set alongside other community buildings with similar cross-passages, suggest that a ground-floor partition existed alongside it. Although the cross-beam is not visible, it seems likely that one or two doorways existed in this partition into a service bay beyond, which would fit the pattern for such service rooms emerging in East Anglia. The service bay on the ground floor is now entirely illegible owing to modern kitchen equipment and finishes.

[603] See above, p. 218.

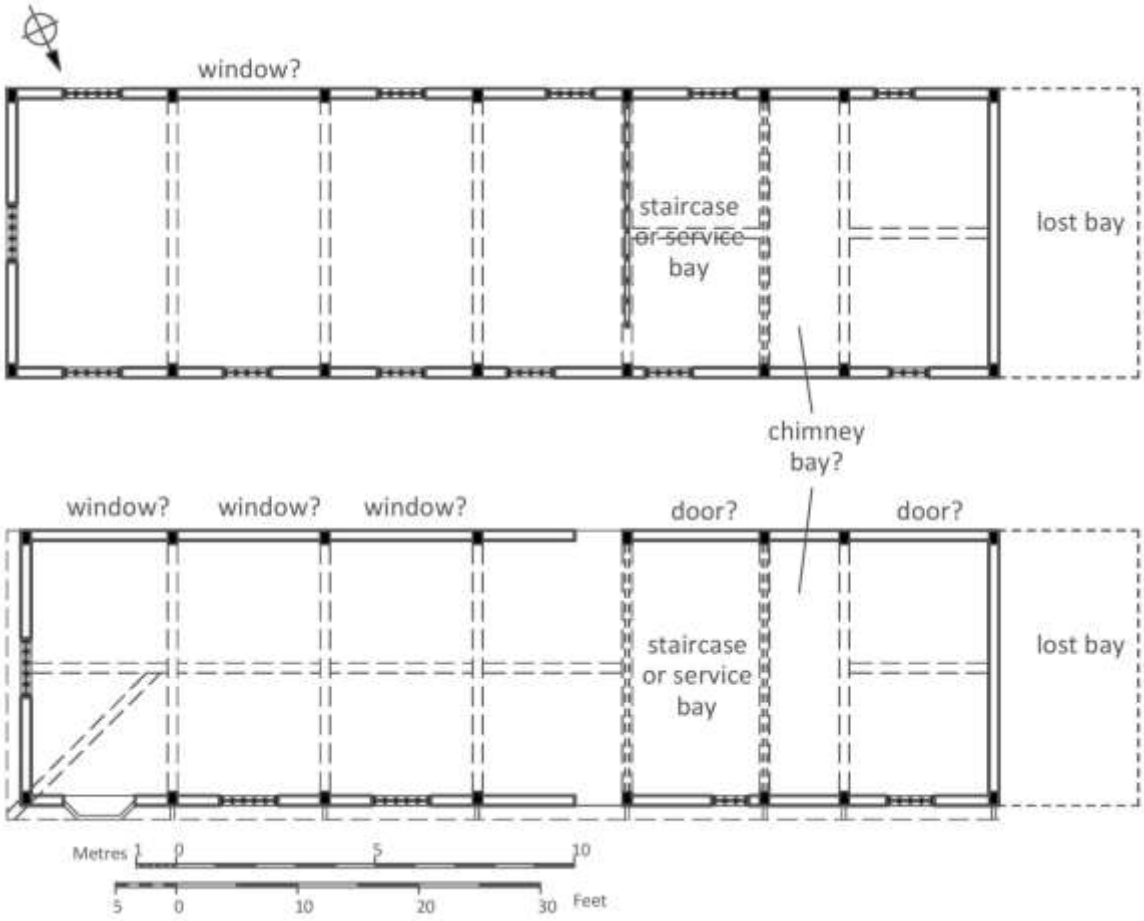


Figure 81. Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn – reconstructed plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

The cross-passage provided access into the lower end of a large, four-bay ground-floor hall extending as far as the east gable. The ornamentation of this gable was referred to in Chapter 7 with its jetty and highly decorate dragon post at the northeast corner, and to this might be added the crenellations and mouldings to the jetty plate (which extent along the whole churchyard elevation), the five-light mullioned window in the centre, and evidence for an oriel window in the position of the current window facing the churchyard adjacent to the dragon post (**Plate LXVIII.1**). These details, combined with the point of access to the ground floor, suggest therefore that this room had a distinct 'upper' end at the east end and, for all intents and purposes, is treated like a first-floor hall. The indenture of 1508/9 focuses the uses of the building almost exclusively on

fundraising activities such as drinkings, church ales and other entertainments, for which the spacious ground-floor room could easily provide. A broader interpretation of the east end provides fertile ground for further suggestions as to the ground-floor space. The dragon post at the northeast corner has figurative carvings in its cartouches, one of which can be identified as St Margaret of Antioch, who stands over a vanquished dragon in line with her typical iconography. Whilst this differs from the church dedication to SS Peter and Paul, it possibly identifies the building with a guild of St Margaret, which is recorded in the parish alongside a chapel with her dedication referred to in 1458.[604] Though approximately two hundred and thirty parish church dedications to St Margaret have been identified in England, their concentration in East Anglia has been identified, along with other records of the cult to this saint generally.[605] More specifically, it has been suggested that her patronage included that of sheep rearing and, by extension, the wool trade.[606] The connection between community buildings and not only general trade, but specifically wool-weighing, has been noted above in numerous cases within the two study regions, including the Church House in Stratton (Cornwall), the Guildhall in Wimborne Minster (Dorset), the Court House in Barking (Essex), and the Guildhall in Diss (Norfolk). Such prominent use of the iconography of St Margaret at Fressingfield raises the possibility that similar activity occurred on the ground floor at Fressingfield, where – presumably for practical reasons – such weighing implements would typically be found. However, a simpler interpretation would identify the ground floor 'hall' with the activities and business specific to the guild itself, and the first-floor hall with the more public activities listed in the indenture.

[604] C. Morley, 'A Check-list of the Sacred Buildings in Suffolk', *PSIA*, 19 (1926), 168-211 (p. 185).
[605] J. Dresvina, *A Maid with a Dragon: the Cult of St Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 141-43; C. L. S. Linnell, *Norfolk Church Dedications*, Borthwick Papers, 21 (York, 1962), p. 11.
[606] G. Jones, *Saints in the Landscape* (Stroud, 2007), p. 204.

If the east section of the ground floor permits the above interpretation, the remainder beyond the hall/service bay unit is less straightforward owing to the extent of alterations, but it seems clear that the service bay was fully partitioned on both floors (and attic) from the bays to the west. These partitions thus formed a self-contained 'unit' on each floor – comprising the four-bay halls and their service bays – and necessitate a different means of access to the remaining bays to the west. A similar arrangement was seen at Finchingfield, where a full vertical break existed between the part of the building containing the ground-floor shops and first-floor hall/service rooms and the ancillary room and 'kitchen' or smoke bay.

The bay immediately west of the service bay is considerably narrower than the relatively equally sized bays in the remainder of the building. The width of the bay, combined with the lack of a spine beam and later infill of the ceiling at first-floor level, suggests that this bay contained a chimney (**Plate LXVIII.2**). Given the full height partition on the east side, this would only have been accessed from the west side. That this was a chimney and not a framed smoke bay is suggested on the first floor, where there does not seem to be evidence for a partition in the cross-beam before the bay, as would be expected. It seems therefore that the room continued to the partition on the east side of the narrow bay and contained the gathering of a stack from a fireplace on the ground floor, or another fireplace. The bay at the west end has an infilled open truss with arched braces to the tie-beam and an inserted doorway from a lost bay to the west (**Plate LXVIII.2**), hinting at a two-bay room on the first-floor at this end of the building. The joists of the surviving bay are treated with chamfers and run-out stops which match those in the service bay and the remainder of the first floor, though in the latter the run-out stops are treated slightly differently, most likely as they are later additions with the formation of the attic. The means of access into this room is unknown

and its purpose is obscure, but it could have served as lodgings or for guild business. On the ground floor, it is not clear whether the two-bays comprised one room (like the first floor) or two single-bay rooms. It is possible, however, that the room into which the fireplace opened served as a 'kitchen' along the lines of the Guildhall at Finchingfield, and also those South West buildings with fireplaces. Analogy with the former would suggest a single-bay kitchen and a single-bay ancillary room accessed from it, but this is conjecture.

In Chapter 7 it was suggested that the building had an external staircase accessed from the open space (south) side (**Plate XLIV.2**). In the suggested position, the doorway would enter alongside the first-floor partition which almost certainly formed a service bay, of which at least one doorway survives at the north end (**Plate LXVIII.3**). The full-height partition at the service end and the high-quality timberwork in the attic, where arched braces curve up from the queen posts to both the tie-beams and the purlins, suggest that the hall was originally open to the rafters. With a total floor area of 103 m^2, this hall had a large capacity and is comparable with those at Clavering (97 m^2) and Poundstock (98 m^2). With the documentary sources being specific as to the intended use of the building, it is clear that this space was thought sufficient to provide for the various drinkings and entertainments mentioned.

Though sharing the general positional characteristics as the Fox and Goose in Fressingfield, the Guildhall at Hadleigh, as described in Chapter 7, is a complex building of several components and periods.[607] The two principal elements, the fifteenth-century Market House and Guildhall, are dealt with separately, not least as they were originally standalone structures, but only the

[607] See above, pp. 219-20.

plan of the Guildhall is included here. The former provides a covered passageway between the churchyard and the marketplace in a manner which recalls a similar feature at Finchingfield and Felsted, described there as a fuller expression of the cross-passage concept. Like all examples of the latter and the passageways at these two Essex buildings, it is significant that it is located off-centre, towards one end of the ground floor. Furthermore, also like Finchingfield and Felsted, at least one side of the covered passage was occupied by a shop, here with a narrow door between two large windows (**Plate LXXIX.1**). On the east side of the passage was a room occupying the easternmost bay of the original footprint. The frontage of the room has been lost, as have the original walls when the jetty was underbuilt on both sides, so it is not clear whether it was a shop or some other space. The dragon posts at the former corners of the room remain *in situ* and reveal outer edges carved with engaged pilasters and capitals. Though not figurative, these mouldings recall the treatment of the dragon post at Fressingfield and the other East Anglian buildings mentioned above.[608] The west wall of the shop on the west side of the passage has been lost owing to the insertion of a stack, but it seems that a partition separated it fully from a room at the west end of the ground floor. This room was seemingly accessed only from the stair turret cross-passage at the westernmost end of the ground floor, which was originally within the room; the current partition and blocked doorway are later additions. The purpose of the room is unknown, but with two prominent windows facing into the part of the market place space later occupied by the Guildhall – and only one original window facing the churchyard – a market-related function could be plausible (**Plate LXXIX.2**). The provision of a stair turret, notwithstanding the obvious benefits in removing the need for spacious internal

[608] See above, p. 218.

stair enclosures, seems to have been less common in East Anglia, but recalls the examples found in the South West and those East Anglian community buildings where one end of a cross-passage opens onto the foot of an external stair (e.g. Great Yarmouth, Linton and Whittlesford). At Hadleigh it is also important to note that the cross-passage was positioned adjacent to the earlier market hall, against which the Market House was built, and thus possibly connected with it in some way.

The extant doorways from the stair turret – retained in the latter's sixteenth-century rebuilding – show at least one point of access to the first and second floors of the Market House, namely in the northeast corner of each floor. However, the loss of half of the second floor and most of the fabric in the surviving first floor prevents accurate reconstruction of these spaces. The first floor has evidence for at least three oriel window positions across the length of the north wall facing the church with smaller window positions in between, but it is not clear whether this represented one long room across the whole floor, or a series of three rooms each with an oriel and smaller window. It does seem clear, however, that there was no internal stair linking the ground and first floors and so the door from the stair turret was the only entry point into this floor; the suite of rooms would in this case only be accessible through each other. The second-floor doorway from the stair turret opens into a more clearly defined room which occupied the two bays at this end of the building. Dominated by an impactful central octagonal crown post braced up on all sides to the collar purlin and collars, the room is likely to have been of some importance (**Plate LXXIX.3**). Beyond this room the second floor has been lost, but the cross-beam before the inserted stack reveals a closed truss and partition with a doorway at its southern end, whilst embedded in the east end wall is an open truss with arched braces between the principal posts and tie beam. The latter suggests that the doorway

led to a room of at least two bays, but beyond that is unknown. The narrow width of this bay could indicate an internal staircase linking the first and second floors, but this again is not clear. Given the fragmentary nature of the upper floors of the Market House, the extent to which it conforms to the established community building type is not entirely fathomable, although sizeable rooms can be posited for the first and second floors and the ground floor accords with the commercial function seen elsewhere. If a discrepancy of general plan did exist with this building, an explanation might be found in the fact that it was built to supplement, not replace, the early fifteenth-century market hall on its west side. As described above, this building was two-storey and clearly had the 'markethows' element on the first floor, with 'almessehouses in the chambers below';[609] it is therefore possible that this building provided the first-floor hall element that might have been absent from the present Market House.

The Guildhall range, added later in the fifteenth century, is more readily legible, as are the principal alterations discussed in Chapter 7 (Figure 82). The first, standalone building seems to have had a first-floor doorway in the centre of the north wall from an external staircase located at this end of the building. The doorway entered a hall that extended to at least four bays (i.e. as far as the current end wall with modern partition) (**Plate LXX.1**). Walker has interpreted a partition forming a half bay before this, citing evidence of a removed jowl and a single vertical mortice, i.e. that a whole structural truss has been removed.[610] However, not only is there no corresponding mortice in the post on the west side, but there is no visible scarring from a removed tie-beam on the wall plate on either side of the hall. Walker interpreted the crown-post roof as an addition of the late sixteenth century; an earlier roof reused from elsewhere. This is not

[609] See above, p. 151.
[610] J. Walker, 'A Guide to the Architecture and Layout of Hadleigh Guildhall' (2004), pp. 7-9.

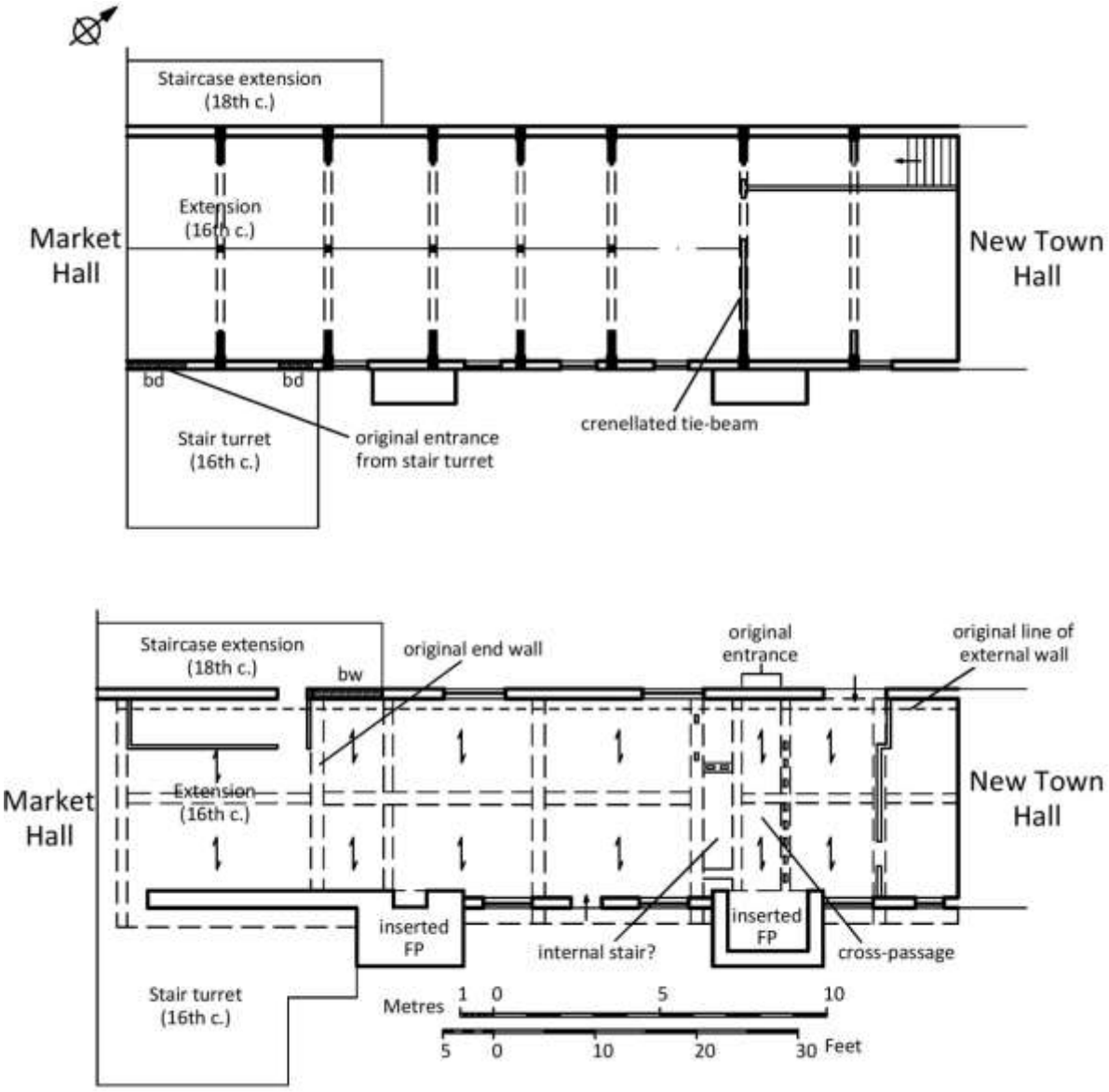


Figure 82. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

entirely convincing as the current roof structure fits with the fifteenth-century construction date of the Guildhall, and yet it *would* explain why crown-post trusses of exactly the same style and decoration continue over the extended section of the Guildhall, supposedly added in the later sixteenth century. Clearly there remain some unanswered questions about the development of the building. Nonetheless, and seemingly unnoted by Walker, the tie-beam embedded in the modern partition wall at the south end is crenellated across its length, much in the same way one would expect at the upper end of a domestic hall. It is possible

that a partition of some form existed beneath this tie-beam with a doorway providing access to the remaining two bays to the south. The reading of this as the upper end of the hall suits its position at the opposite end to the external doorway, which in almost all cases has been shown to enter at an opposing end. Further emphasis was given to this ostensible upper end by increasing the size of the bay width and, though possibly later, traces of painted decoration survive on some of the wall timbers. On this reconstruction the hall would amount to a total area of 86 m^2, the same as the guildhall at Linton and only slightly larger than the church house at Widecombe-in-the-Moor. The sizeable capacity of the upper hall, even more so once extended, makes it suitable for feasts and entertainments and the presence of the detached kitchen seem to confirm this usage for the building, and perhaps for other spaces in the complex.

The ground floor of the Guildhall broadly followed the plan of the upper floor, though access seems to have been from at least one doorway on the east side towards the south end (**Plates XLV.2** and **LXX.2**). Though specific evidence for a cross-passage has been lost with the rebuilding of the west flank wall and insertion of a large chimney stack, the presence of a partition alongside this entry-point combined with analogy with other community buildings, make this a strong likelihood. The partition on the south side of this cross-passage had a single doorway into a bay-and-a-half room at this end. As in other community buildings where joist mouldings were employed to denote the status of individual spaces, the joists in the south-end room – and the suggested cross-passage adjacent – are plain and unchamfered and contrast with the moulded joists of the main body of the hall (**Plate LXX.3**). The cross-passage also appears to have provided access to an internal stair, which rose from the west side of the building and whose position is indicated by trimmers and later joist infills. Not only is this an unusual feature for a community building, but in this position it would have

risen directly in front of the proposed end-wall of the upper hall, which does not seem practical. Though Walker's suggested first-floor partition explains this, it does not address the evidence cited above and so the stair position remains an anomaly, possibly related to some later alteration and changes of use of the upper floor. The use of the ground floor could be interpreted in two ways, which are not mutually exclusive: on the one hand, the space would provide additional feasting space which, in the case of Hadleigh where the town's five guilds were to share the building, could prove particularly valuable. On the other hand, as was the case with other community buildings in prominent marketplace locations, one might suggest a use connected to its commercial context. Care was clearly given to the ornamentation of the ceiling joists, notably contrasted with those in the ancillary room at the south end, and the provision of brick walls, uncommon in the fifteenth century, would demonstrate the wealth of the guilds and town.

Owing to its complexity, the north end of the Guildhall also requires explanation. It has already been stated how the original standalone building was extended northwards to join the back of the Market House, this much is clear from the differences in tie-beams and ground-floor ceiling joists. The first-floor entrance was then replaced by a new arched doorway from a rebuilt stair turret (**Plate LXXI.1**). Assuming that the first-floor hall ended at the same crenellated cross-beam, the additional two bays at the north end resulted in an enlarged hall of 125 m^2. On the ground floor, the position of the original end wall is clear, but there is a noticeable change in the joist mouldings for just over half a bay before this wall, where the more decorative mouldings of the hall joists give way to simple chamfers (**Plate LXXI.2**). This suggests that a wall existed at the break line, forming a short bay at the north end of the ground floor; furthermore the lack of mortices or peg holes in the joist again suggest a brick wall. Walker has suggested that this indicates the position of the staircase down to the brick cellar,

though does not explain how this staircase was dealt with once the Guildhall had been extended and, presumably, both these walls removed to increase the size of the ground-floor hall.[611]

Within their similarities in position, orientation and their access, the differences in scale and complexity between the buildings in Fressingfield and Hadleigh are nonetheless clear. However, the similarities seem to outweigh these differences when related to the internal plan-forms of what are effectively three buildings, the Market House and Guildhall at Hadleigh being connected only later. Both the Fox and Goose and Guildhall are characterised by nearly identically sized ground- and first-floor halls, with the upper hall in both made larger by the addition of jetties. Access to the ground-floor hall in both cases was via a cross-passage (although this might have changed once the Hadleigh Guildhall was extended and the new stair turret constructed). The first floor of both buildings was accessed by an external stair from an open-space/marketplace. There is a relatively clear division forming two first-floor rooms at Hadleigh Guildhall, possibly reflecting the hall/ancillary room divisions apparent at Finchingfield, Fressingfield, Laxfield and Methwold, although it is not certain here that the rooms were interconnected. Fressingfield seems to have had an internal fireplace and, given the building's documented use, it is likely that this provided the food and drink for use in the building. Internal fireplaces, at least for cooking and brewing, are proving uncommon in East Anglian community buildings, though the survival of the detached kitchen at Hadleigh strengthens the *caveat* that these facilities might never have been far away. The Market House at Hadleigh might not have had a first- or second-floor hall of any size, not least as it should perhaps be envisaged as an extension to the pre-existing market hall

[611] Walker, 'Guide', p. 7.

rather than a self-contained unit. However, it is nonetheless clear that the staircase was kept external and that this provided access at one end of each floor. Though the original stair turret will have been accessible from the marketplace side of the building, the cross-passage to the stair turret leads from the churchyard, indicating that this was a required or desired route to the upper floors. That the route was of some importance for accessing the building is clear from the fact that the doorways into the stair turret from the passage and from the turret into the ground-floor hall only have moulded frames on their *outside* faces, i.e. facing the visitor entering the building from this passageway. The same can be said of the blocked, arched doorway from the stair turret into the first-floor hall, which has heavily moulded frames on the stair turret side. In the Market House, the ground-floor covered passage and shops not only recall Finchingfield and Felsted, but provide another instance of community buildings serving as venues for commercial activities.

The community buildings in Aldeburgh and Laxfield were grouped in Chapter 7 owing to their shared position in a central open space, detached from the churchyard.[612] Still their positions were noted to be subtly different: the Moot Hall at the former sits within, and surrounded by, a large rectangular marketplace, whilst the Old Guildhall at the latter sits on the edge of a widened thoroughfare/junction-type marketplace, with its access points and ornament very much orientated in this one direction. At Aldeburgh, the first-floor staircase enters at the south end of a three-bay hall alongside a stud partition, contributing to the growing predominance of this entry arrangement (**Plate LXXI.3**) (Figure 83). The hall extends to 59 m^2, giving it an area – and therefore capacity –

[612] See above, pp. 224-25.

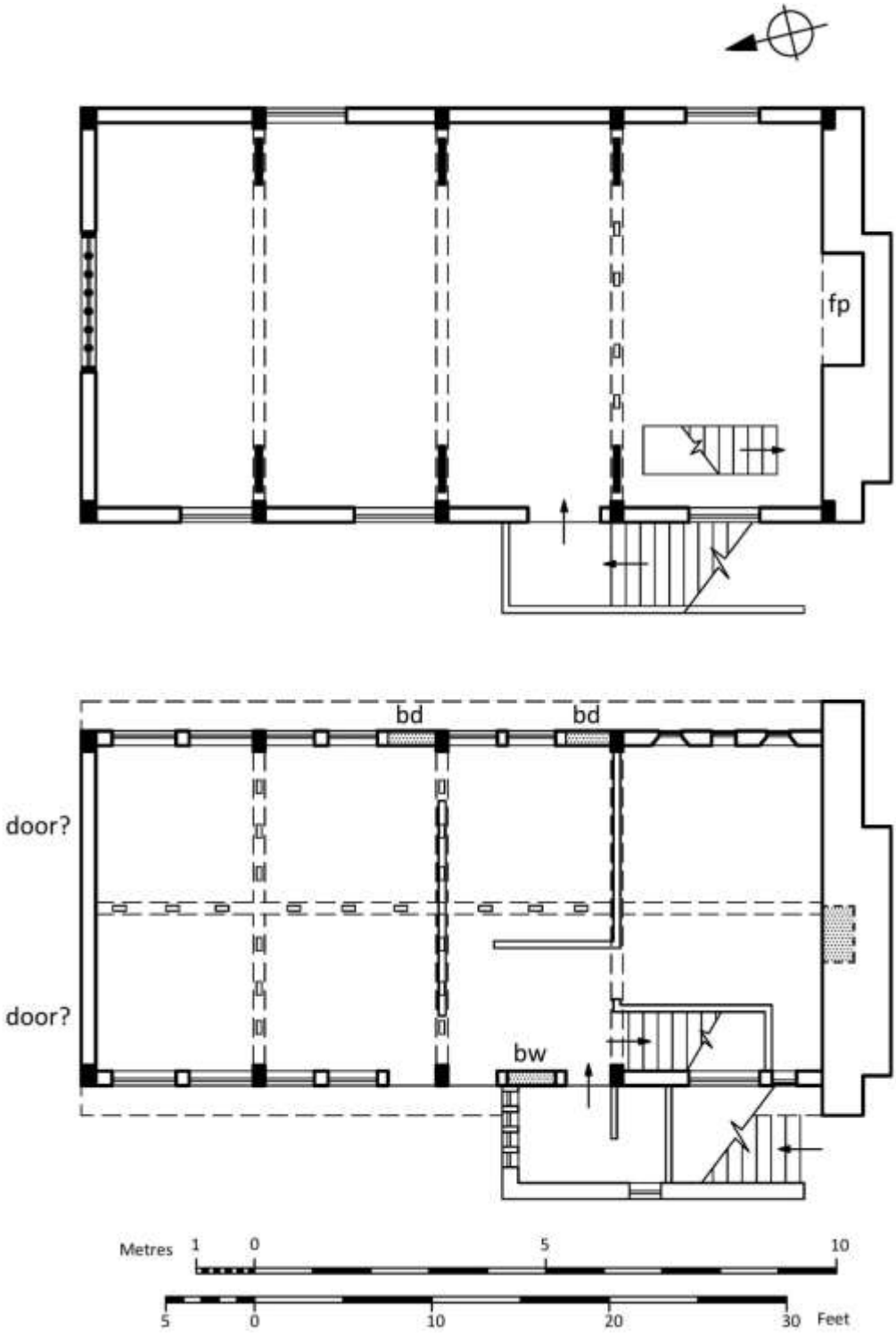


Figure 83. Aldeburgh (Suffolk), Moot Hall – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

broadly equal to the Brewhouse in Stogumber (58 m^2). The position of the doorway indicates that the north end of the hall formed the upper end, emphasised by the large central window positon and, externally, the elaborate framing; the ornately carved bargeboard and ribbon/foliage motifs to the tie-beam

likely date from the 1850s restoration, but could have replaced earlier decorative features. The partition alongside the first-floor door has a gap in the centre for a doorway connecting the hall to a small chamber which occupied the southernmost bay. The building therefore corresponds with those community buildings with a multi-room plan on the first floor; specifically the two-room plan seen at, for example, the Old Town Hall in Fowey. There are a number of features in the small chamber which point to later alterations in access and circulation. The room can now be accessed from a staircase inserted beneath atrapdoor in the floor, whilst the partition has been removed to unite the chamber with the hall. Before this stair was inserted, the two floors appear to have been horizontally separate. The room also has a fireplace, though with a nineteenth-century surround. The current external stack is clearly a nineteenth-century restoration, but there is some debate as to whether the building was constructed with a chimney. The 1594 Darby map of Aldeburgh shows that a chimney was clearly present by this date, whilst the 1588 depiction appears to show the top of a stack, though this could be a bell turret (Figure 56).[613] In addition, the position of the current first-floor fireplace is located in what was clearly an original gap in the studs, given the lack of peg holes and mortices in the tie-beam, and there are no obvious signs of mortices for window mullions, which would be an alternative explanation for such a gap in the framing. It seems likely then that either the building was constructed with at least a first-floor fireplace, or one was added within perhaps a generation of its construction. The former scenario would be unusual, but would suggest the room was of some status – possibly a retiring room or some other meeting space – and not an ancillary room. In any event the fireplace is small and so it seems clear that it was intended for heating, rather

[613] SROI EE1/1/16/1.

than for the cooking/brewing that defined these features in the community buildings in the South West. The equivalence of the floor area with the Brewhouse at Stogumber, which does have such a fireplace, provides further caution that any functional link between floor area/capacity and the presence of a fireplace cannot have been absolute.

The ground floor of the Moot Hall is entirely congruent with its marketplace context. Though partitions have been removed from the northernmost three bays, mortices in the spine beam and cross-beams indicate the presence of six small shops, each with an individual entrance and two windows. The shopfronts on the west elevation are particularly well preserved, with at least one complete unit visible in the centre (**Plate LXXII.1**). The two shops at the north end were entered through doorways in the north gable, but this was underbuilt with brick in the nineteenth century. The east elevation is also much altered, but the openings can be seen to match those on the west elevation. This general arrangement very closely matches that at the Moot Hall in Elstow (Bedfordshire), also situated on an island site within a large marketplace (**Plate IV.1**). The commercial units in the north three bays was separated from the southern bay by a masonry wall which, given the lack of peg holes and mortices in the end girt and jetty plate, extended around the whole ground floor. The present masonry walls in this area date from the nineteenth century, but thus replicate the original construction and likely related to a lock-up. Such a use would explain the insertion of the trapdoor stair to the upper floor as a convenient means of transporting malefactors to the court. As was noted at the Old Town Hall in Fowey and the Old Guildhall in Looe, lock-ups were a common feature in marketplace buildings with administrative and juridical functions. They are seen also in other buildings with these purposes outside the South West and East Anglia, such as the Market Hall at Titchfield (Hampshire) and the Town Hall at Fordwich (Kent). The entrance into this end

bay is now internal, but the 1588 illustration suggests a door on the east side (Figure 56). The presence of a blocked fireplace in this end bay suggests a later addition, as any sixteenth-century lock-up is unlikely to have been heated.

Whilst the buildings at Finchingfield and Felsted in Essex provided an indication of ground-floor trading, the Moot Hall at Aldeburgh comprises the most explicit connection yet between the community building type and commercial activities, particularly as the majority of the ground-floor was given over to it. In this regard, the building inclines towards open-sided community buildings associated with markets. Examples of these in the region include a number of Essex buildings: the Moot Hall/Guildhall in Thaxted and the Moot Hall in Steeple Bumpstead are extant, whilst the aforementioned Court House in Barking and Market House in Rochford are both lost. In the South West, this form was noted in Devon at the lost market house at Ashburton (Devon) and Old Guildhall in Plymouth (**Plates V.3** and **XIV.3**). Outside the two regions, this form has been noted in extant buildings, including the Old Market House in Tetbury (Gloucestershire) (**Plates X.3** and **XI.1)** and the market halls from Titchfield (Hampshire) (**Plate XII.3**) and Leominster (Herefordshire) (**Plate XIII.1**).

The Old Guildhall at Laxfield, though also occupying a village centre/ marketplace site, returns to a more familiar plan-form focusing more on larger internal spaces than the small commercial units seen at Aldeburgh (Figure 84). Chapter 7 discussed the orientation of the building towards the village square, reflected primarily in the jettied north and east elevations, moulded jetty plate and close-studding. The building's opposing ground-floor doorways, which form a cross-passage, were also mentioned along with the position of the staircase insofar as its access point could be interpreted (**Plates XLV.3** and **XLVI.1**). The staircase is the central feature which determines interpretation of the ground-floor spaces and circulation, though some elements are more clearly legible. Walker

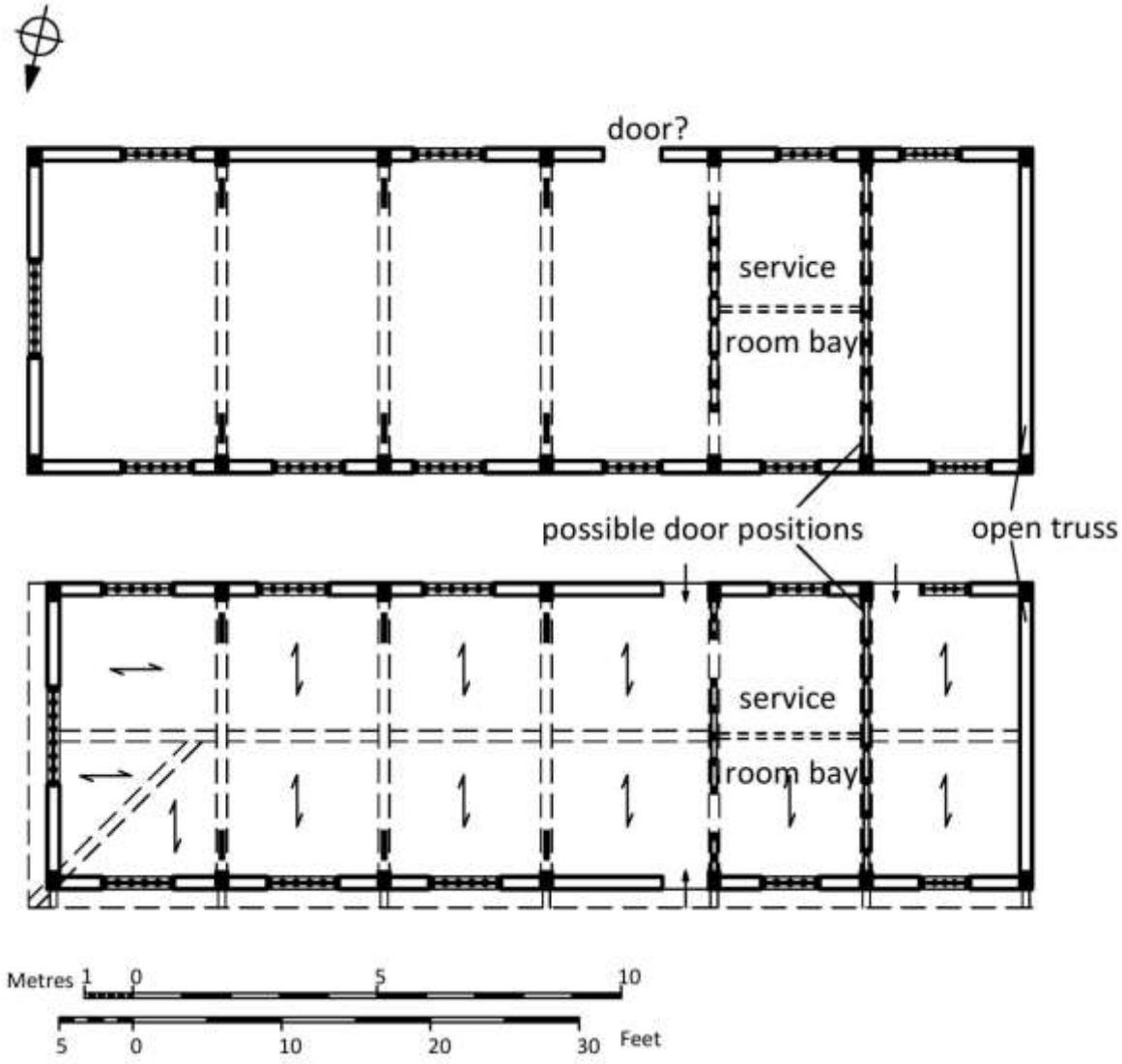


Figure 84. Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall – plan of first floor (top) and ground floor (bottom)

interpreted the staircase as being contained within the bay immediately west of the ground- floor hall, and accessed from the northernmost of the two doorways in the partition.[614] However, there are significant practical and structural issues with this interpretation: first, a staircase filling the whole 3 metre-wide bay seems unfeasibly over-scaled and would require considerable (and unevidenced) structural support beneath it to prevent deflection. Second, access to this grand staircase through a narrow doorway presents structural issues of how to join the

[614] Walker, 'Architecture of the Guildhall', pp. 6-7 and fig. 15.

bottom winder section to it an incredibly short distance; this was either impossible or would create an unnecessarily tortuous climb. Third, the climb of the stair would cut across the top of the southernmost doorway in the partition. Fourth, Walker's reconstruction results in an anomalous and inaccessible void on the north side of the staircase by the front wall, yet one provided with a window. Finally, on simple analogy with other community buildings this plan is anomalous and needlessly complicated. For these reasons, an alternative interpretation involving an external staircase must be sought.

The main ground-floor doorway entered at the west (i.e. lower) end of a four-bay hall whose upper end culminated in the jettied east end. This plan is matched on the first floor, although, with the addition of the jetties, the hall has a slightly larger floor area of 84 m^2, almost identically sized with the guildhalls at Linton, Hadleigh and Widecombe-in-the-Moor. A further similarity with Fressingfield is the roof structure once visible above the first-floor hall, comprising queen posts set on top of the tie-beam and braced up on each side to purlins and a connecting collar. (**Plate LXXII.2**). The provision of these two halls, combined with the similarity with Fressingfield with its documented uses for drinkings and entertainment, provide a useful illustration of the likely uses of these spaces at Laxfield, which was also constructed under the auspices of a guild.

Also like Fressingfield, and other cross-passage community buildings generally, the opposing ground-floor doorways are located alongside a partition. At Fressingfield it was posited that this partition contained one or two doorways into a bay containing lower-end service rooms, seemingly a common feature in East Anglia. This interpretation at Laxfield, with two doorways placed symmetrically either side of a central stud beneath the spine beam, seems unequivocal and implies two service rooms at the lower end of the hall. These

service rooms appear to have been separated from the bay to the west in a way that, as at Fressingfield and Finchingfield, separates the hall 'unit' from another to the west. Walker's doorway position in the west wall of the southern service room is not clearly definable.[615] The west bay now contains one room on the ground-floor, with a corresponding room on the first-floor. On both floors, the front and rear windows appear to have had diamond mullions, which are partly visible and do not appear to be present in windows elsewhere, where there is evidence for either oriel windows (first-floor front) or mullions with other types of moulding. This contrast suggests that the rooms at the west end were of lower status than the two halls to the east. Furthermore, the lack of peg holes for studs in the west wall tie-beams suggests that these walls were open on both floors; the first-floor tie-beam has pegging only for arched braces either side, much like Fressingfield (**Plate LXXII.3**).This indicates that the building has either lost some element at this end, or was constructed against a pre-existing building. Walker's suggestion that this end fronted a 'large chimney' is tempting, but in this case one might expect at least a first-floor partition closing off the chimney bay, for there would be no need for a full-width opening.[616] However, reconstructing this west end as a 'kitchen' – also taking into account its dedicated doorway in the rear elevation – would align it with the similar space at Fressingfield and, even more so, at Finchingfield. Ultimately, however, this question remains answered.

Returning to first-floor access, the problems with the reconstruction of an internal staircase point to an external doorway on the rear elevation (**Plate XLV.3**). Analogy with other buildings strongly suggests a position near the current window adjacent to the partition at the lower end of the hall. Like the ground floor, the partition divided the hall from a service bay, and there appears

[615] Walker, 'Architecture of the Guildhall', figs. 7 and 14.
[616] Walker, 'Architecture of the Guildhall', p. 6.

to be evidence for two doorways, here set at either end of the partition, into two service rooms (**Plate LXXIII.1**). There was possibly a narrow doorway at the north end of the rear (west) wall of the northern service room which gave access to the first-floor of the otherwise separated west bay. Analogy with Finchingfield and Fressingfield would in fact dictate no doorway here, but a fully separate bay. However, without it a question hangs over means of access to this first-floor room: either there was a ladder stair from the ground floor room (no obvious trace survives) or one has to reconstruct access from a lost bay to the west beyond the open truss. In any case the use of this room, which might have been larger depending on how the 'lost bay' is reconstructed, would lend itself to many of the documented functions of ancillary spaces, such as a secure store for items or documents or a retiring room.

It is now possible to draw a brief summary of the twelve East Anglian buildings looking at the same characteristics as the South West buildings at the close of Chapter 8.[617] A first-floor hall encompassing the whole floor or the majority of it remains a dominant element, although in East Anglia there is a bias towards the latter. Of the twelve buildings, five have the single-room first floors which proved the most common arrangement in the South West.[618] Although perhaps arguable, Linton has been included in this number as the second first-floor room was part of an adjoining cross-wing and not strictly formed by a division of the main range footprint. Although in some cases open to interpretation owing to loss of bays or fabric, four of the remaining seven buildings had two rooms and three had three. The two-room buildings – two in

[617] It should be noted that data for Hadleigh relate primarily to the Guildhall range rather than the Market House.
[618] Linton, Whittlesford, Clavering, Matching, Great Yarmouth.

Suffolk and one in Norfolk – differ in their contexts and, possibly, in their related uses. At Methwold (so far as can be interpreted), the second room did not open directly from the hall, but was possibly separated by a staircase lobby. At Aldeburgh and Hadleigh (Guildhall) the second room was directly accessible from the hall. Where second rooms were to act as ancillary spaces such as the buttery/pantry, then practicality would dictate that the rooms were directly accessible from the halls (cf. Finchingfield, Fressingfield, Laxfield). Therefore one might interpret the room at Methwold as having some other purpose, possibly guild-related. At Laxfield, the simpler treatment of the windows suggests that the space was lesser in status than the adjacent hall and the same could be surmised for Methwold. However, it does not neatly follow that the second rooms at Aldeburgh and Hadleigh were butteries/pantries simply because they were connected to the hall. At Aldeburgh, the use of the building for civic administration and possibly an original fireplace jointly point to a retiring room or another court-related function of higher status than a simple serving room. At Hadleigh, based on the interpretation offered here, the second room was located behind the crenellated tie-beam of the high end of the hall. This is an unlikely position for a service room and thus likely had a higher-status use like that at Aldeburgh.

The four three-room buildings (Finchingfield, Felsted, Fressingfield, Laxfield) each seem to have a first floor hall ‘unit’ which is fully vertically divided from another part of the building. At Finchingfield, this ‘unit’ clearly comprises a hall and butter/pantry service rooms (taken for convenience here as a single ancillary room). Beyond these, the room reached by a ladder stair from the ‘kitchen’ below is divorced from this hall unit and instead forms part of the kitchen unit. The full-height vertical partition at Fressingfield points to a similar division: a hall unit comprising the hall and service bay, and another comprising a chimney

bay and likely ‘kitchen’ unit beyond. As these partitions effectively divide the building into two, it could be argued that the ‘three-room’ variants are in fact extensions of the two-room plan insofar as it pertains to the hall element of the community building.

County	Parish	Building	Area of First-Floor Hall (m^2)	Average Size (m^2)
Cambridgeshire	**Linton**	Old Guildhall	86	70.5
Cambridgeshire	**Whittlesford**	Guildhall	55	
Essex	**Clavering**	Old Guildhall	97	72.7
Essex	**Felsted**	Old School Room	N/A	
Essex	**Finchingfield**	Guildhall	59	
Essex	**Matching**	Marriage Feast Room	62	
Norfolk	**Great Yarmouth**	Tolhouse	113	77.5
Norfolk	**Methwold**	Old Vicarage	42	
Suffolk	**Aldeburgh**	Moot Hall	59	83
Suffolk	**Fressingfield**	Fox and Goose inn	103	
Suffolk	**Hadleigh**	Guildhall	86	
Suffolk	**Laxfield**	Old Guildhall	84	

Table 7. Comparative areas of first-floor halls in East Anglian community buildings and average sizes per county

As in the South West, there is a range in the size of first-floor halls, with 42 m^2 at the Old Vicarage, Methwold, rising to 113 m^2 at the Tolhouse, Great Yarmouth (**Table 7**). It should be noted that it has not been possible to calculate the size of the hall at Felsted, but, given the building’s similar dimensions and

form to Finchingfield Guildhall, it might be estimated around the same figure. The latter and the Fox and Goose Inn in Fressingfield (103 m^2) are the only two buildings with a size over 100 m^2, whilst the former is the only hall under 50 m^2. Two-thirds of the buildings studied therefore have a first-floor hall sized between 50 m^2 and 100 m^2. By county, there is a reasonable correlation in average size, which differs by only 13 m^2 between the smallest (Cambridgeshire) and the largest (Suffolk). With the small number of buildings currently available for study, at this stage these figures can only provide a first step towards establishing a more detailed pattern. However, they do suggest a relatively large average size of first-floor hall with correspondingly large capacities for standing or seatedgatherings. For example, no buildings have been identified in East Anglia on the diminutive scale of St Teath and Lamerton. Though there remains in East Anglia a clear predominance of external staircase structures, Matching displays an internal stair (though still only accessible externally) comparable with the Town Hall at Fordwich (Kent) and the Courthouse at Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire), although it could represent a secondary development from an earlier external stair. Related to this is the continuing predominance of full horizontal separation, which is only broken at Hadleigh, with the anomalous (and probably secondary) staircase towards the upper end of the Guildhall, and at Finchingfield, with the ladder stair to the kitchen chamber. In the latter, however, it is significantly not the hall 'unit' which is disturbed in this manner. In the nine buildings with definite external stairs, all but one (Methwold) appear to have led into the lower end of the first-floor hall and, in any case, even internal staircase bays rise in this position. The external staircases are positioned on the long elevation of the building in all cases but one, namely Hadleigh, where the first staircase was apparently on the north gable of the Guildhall. Again, even where

the staircases were within the envelope, in all cases they were accessed from a long elevation rather than a gable.

Whilst the South West buildings broadly had two-, three- or, less commonly, one-room ground floors, there is greater variation in East Anglia, although in many cases the plan is not clearly discernible. What seems clear is that there are fewer, if any, instances of ground floors which exactly match the two-room South West plan (kitchen and secure store/buttery) or the three-room plan (kitchen, large central room, secure store/buttery). The multi-room plans in East Anglia seem more aligned (on both floors) with the hall and buttery/pantry common to domestic layouts, again possibly linked to the lack of internal kitchens and fireplaces. Fireplaces are only evidenced in three of the twelve buildings. Significantly, these coincide with those with three rooms on the first floor, indicating that the fireplace/kitchen element was partly responsible for the addition of this element to the first floor. Moreover, each of these fireplaces was of a size sufficient to provide the cooking/brewing facilities so common in the South West.[619] The numbers therefore suggest that integrated fireplaces were less common in East Anglia, but the surviving detached kitchen at Hadleigh points to their continued connection with community buildings. The predominance of timber as a construction material perhaps discouraged all but the most well-resourced communities from including fireplaces within their buildings. Though the ground floors keep to these generally comparable constituents, three buildings (Finchingfield, Felsted and Aldeburgh) break from the South West buildings in having explicit commercial units within their envelope, an element which greatly increases the number of ground-floor rooms. At Finchingfield at least three rooms appear to have had this function (probably a similar number at

[619] If one existed at Aldeburgh, it was sized for heating rather than cooking/brewing.

Felsted), with six at Aldeburgh and one room in each given over to a lock-up. These were therefore identified as a useful bridge between the less conspicuously commercial South West community buildings, and the ‘market hall’ buildings so common in towns.

10 Conclusion

This study began with the rural ‘church houses’ of the South West, which had come to be understood as a building type with several shared attributes (two-storey, location near a church, an external staircase and a first-floor hall), a shared purpose (the holding of church ales) and a shared name (a ‘church house’). Notwithstanding early antiquarian insistence upon their universality, the state of current knowledge clearly demonstrated that successful attempts to export this model in interpreting other community buildings have been hindered by a need to maintain each of these specific architectural, descriptive, locational and functional conditions as one unbending package.

In taking a broader approach to buildings elsewhere which all displayed clear architectural similarities, but in some cases differed in label, situation and function, this study sought to address these hindrances. The objective was to establish whether the ‘church house’ model is merely one descriptor of a much more widespread building type in the late medieval and early modern periods and whether the historical or current labels for the buildings masked functional connections. This was approached through detailed analysis of twenty-nine community buildings in different settings and different regions on opposite sides of England. These buildings have, over the centuries of their existence, variously been referred to in primary and/or secondary sources as guildhalls, town halls, town houses, church houses, poor houses, market houses, and council houses. Although not subject to detailed analysis, this study has also referenced well over one hundred other extant or lost buildings from Ireland to Lincolnshire and from Kent to Scotland, all of which contribute in some way to a broader understanding of community buildings within and without the two study regions.

The introductory chapter posed several questions which the thesis sought to answer, including the validity of the building type as an object of study; the

extent to which the buildings' multifarious labels concealed similarities of function; and to what extent the buildings' architectural forms across town and country were in fact connected. The study has also provided an opportunity to address wider questions, in particular how the methodology contributes to ongoing debates on the most effective approaches to vernacular architecture studies; and also to what extent the existence of a community building type illustrates social, economic or religious concerns. Finally, as is the case with any research, the findings provide signposts to future avenues which could illustrate or extend the connections made here.

Building Type

Beginning with the concept of the 'building type', the study began by establishing that this term can never be anything more than one of convenience; one which deftly sidesteps the issues of semantics which linger nonetheless as 'elephants in the room' behind every term coined. Its intention is therefore not to set impermeable limits and parameters, but rather to gather under one heading disparate buildings with broadly observable architectural forms typically linked by broadly similar functions. It is evident in all classes of building that building types display variants among themselves, yet which are not sufficient to break free of the overall term. In that sense, the concept of a 'building type' has proved no hindrance to the outcome of this study, which has consistently posited the 'community building' type as a convenient term to embrace a multitude of buildings with a host of labels which had become coextensive with a host of ostensible building types, e.g. church houses as against market halls as against guildhalls. Acceptance of this overarching term therefore unites a wider range of buildings in a wider range of contexts than has currently been possible and permits their connections to be explored and understood. This, in turn, can only

contribute to our knowledge of how buidings were used to serve the range of community functions which existed in town and village settings.

Community Building Terminology

The intensive study of parochial and manorial records by the VCH in Somerset revealed the range of terms given to community buildings in historical sources. This diversity was supplemented by a comprehensive overview of Patent Rolls in the period 1553-1603 and confirmed not only in the South West and East Anglia, but even in a wide range of English counties. In corroborating the popularity of terms, the Patent Rolls seemed to confirm the use of ‘guildhall’ for buildings in towns where it is mostly found in grants of incorporation and the term ‘church house’ for grants of land in rural areas, although the overall number of references (twenty-four) was small. The prevalence of the term ‘church house’ in rural communities is confirmed by the churchwardens’ accounts, which, although rarely entirely contemporary or matching a particular parish where a building survives, proved the most fertile ground for references in the South West. This contrasted with East Anglia, where in the same period the Patent Rolls yielded double the number of references, in which more than eight out of ten village community buildings were called ‘guildhall’, with only two called ‘church house’. On a national scale, ‘guildhall’ emerged as the most popular term: even if one discounts the heavy slant in the records towards Lincolnshire, which provided more than fifty times the number of references than the closest county, the term ‘guildhall’ is just over twice as common as ‘church house’, though the latter is by far the second most common term.

In explaining this use of historical terminology, it was suggested that the terms used relate more to the nature of the groups who administered the buildings than to their functions. In some rural areas guilds were the main

instigators of acquiring or constructing community buildings, whilst in others it was churchwardens. The latter would be particualrly prevalent in rural communities as the *de facto* community administrators outside the formal scope of the church and the manor. However, whilst such an explanation would account for the greater presence of guildhalls in the Patent Rolls, where they were typically exposed by enquiries into concealed lands, it does not account for why guilds would be more active in this way in these areas. Subsequent study of the attested labels for the South West community buildings confirmed the picture that 'church house' was more regularly applied to those buildings in rural areas and attached to the churchyard, whilst 'guildhall' pertained more to community buildings in towns and separate from the churchyard. In East Anglia, the term 'guildhall' in rural areas was equally distributed between community buildings attached to and separated from the churchyard. In urban areas, as in the South West it was similarly applied to the civic/administrative buildings. Taken together, documentary sources thus confirmed an observation central to this study, namely that the wide range of names given to extant community buildings has proved a distraction from their architectural similarities. For this reason, the use of the term 'community building', itself evidenced in historical sources in Latin and English, was justified as an umbrella term which did not contradict the various designations or uses.

Community Building Uses

Even when the building type can be established, this study has found that both extant buildings and historical records are limited in their success relating to interpreting use: the former often provide rooms of varying sizes with no obvious sign of what happened in them, whilst the latter mostly provide only a passing mention of the building. It is relatively rare that details such as the presence of a

stair, a chimney, an oven, or a kitchen provide an indication of form or use. Yet there are two notable exceptions which shone some light onto this dark area. First, documentary sources have revealed numerous references to wool-weighing and the apparatus for it within community buildings, such as at the extant church house in Stratton (Cornwall). This was also documented in lost buildings, such as the guildhalls in Wimborne Minster (Dorset) and Diss (Norfolk), the Court House in Barking (Essex), and even the town hall in Calais in the fourteenth century. Second are the references to commercial activity within and around community buildings: in the South West, this applies to the standings and stalls recorded in the church houses of Stratton and Ashburton (Devon) or the shops in the church house at Sherborne (Dorset) and guildhall in Wimborne Minster (Dorset). These two sets of references pointed to a hitherto unappreciated connection between community buildings, particularly those in rural areas, with trade and opened an entirely new window of interpretation for the buildings which are extant, but do not benefit from contemporary records. The instances where a commercial function is explicit in the surviving fabric of selected buildings in East Anglia which also combined feasting, such as the guildhalls in Finchingfield and Felsted (Essex) and Hadleigh (Suffolk), cements their connection with the aforementioned buildings of the South West. This has broader implications for our understanding of rural community buildings and in this it seems appropriate to come full circle and return to where this project originally began: the church houses of the South West. Far from being rural peculiarities, these buildings can now be understood as reflecting a much broader architectural tradition extending in both space and time beyond late medieval and early modern village England. The clear connection with church houses and guildhalls of other rural areas is highly significant in revealing that communities across England responded to their local needs by adopting the

same basic type of building. Moreover, we are now in a position to go beyond restricting these buildings to simple venues for the peasant merrymaking barred from churches and churchyards. While feasting and ales certainly seem to have formed a significant element of their use, certainly in the South West, in both regions there is now cause to see them as woven far more intricately into the wider context of community trade and management in the same way that town halls served the needs of urban communities.

Survival and Loss

Factors affecting the survival and loss of rural buildings, such as fire, decay and dereliction, were also considered. In the South West, the disparity in survival rates in Devon and Somerset was noted, despite both the building- and document-based approaches suggesting a historically wide spread of buildings in both counties. Documentary sources record a notable number of community buildings in both counties converted to poorhouses from the sixteenth century onwards, but whereas just over one third of these survive in Devon, only two of thirty-two survive in Somerset. Therefore whilst general factors were contemplated as to why community buildings converted in this way were later demolished (e.g. larger workhouses required by Poor Law legislation), the buildings provide no clear explanation of the discrepancy in survival between the two counties. Devon has the added element of the 'Church House Inn', another route by which the buildings retained some form of community use. This continuation of community use therefore seems at least partly to explain the survival of buildings in Devon. This was contrasted with East Anglia where, although the buildings had comparable community uses, it was suggested that the greater incidence of guild ownership and subsequent confiscation and sale into private hands severed the community connection. Once guildhalls lost this

function and entered the private land market, there was little to shield them from the same vicissitudes which have shaped the survival of any and all buildings from this period. Though certainly fewer buildings survive than in the South West, the number is significant enough to have prompted this study and suggests an initially higher number of community buildings as guildhalls in East Anglia.

Architecture and Function

In terms of connections between architecture and function, themselves hardly separable in vernacular buildings, the detailed analysis in this study has permitted detailed answers. At the end of Chapter 8, an overarching set of characteristics was put forward that linked the plan-forms of the selected buildings in the South West, which themselves were not all ‘church houses’ in the received sense of that term:

1. single first-floor rooms or, at least the majority of the first floor occupied by a single room;
2. external staircases to access first floor;
3. first-floor doorways off-centre, leading into one end of the space; and
4. horizontal separation between floors.

If the above attributes define the general building type, then the variations observed needed to be considered as to whether they were contrary; were sufficiently widespread as to constitute a fifth characteristic; or were in fact sub-variations within these four areas. It was found that a shared set of sub-varations existed beneath the overarching attributes without fundamentaly changing their application. These variations were established as:

1. size of first-floor room;
2. position of external staircase;
3. provision of internal stair;

4. provision of fireplace;
5. number of ground-floor rooms; and
6. provision of a pentice.

In applying first the overarching characteristics of the building type in the South West to East Anglia, an overwhelming fit has been demonstrated. Furthermore, where variations occurred, they were found to be consistent with the established sub-variations. Across the two regions, twenty-one (just under three-quarters) had one first-floor hall which occupied the entire building footprint, establishing this as a predominant attribute. Significantly, this number includes all the South West buildings but one (Fowey), suggesting that the single-room first floor was all but universal there. The remaining eight fell into two observable types, both of which are united by a multi-room first-floor footprint. Four buildings, of which Fowey emerged as the only example in the South West, have two-room first floors, although for Methwold this is conjectural.[620] In these buildings, the second room exists as a smaller chamber at the lower end of the hall, thus apparently with an ancillary function. At Hadleigh, the ancillary element was less certain owing to its presence at the upper end of the hall. The second type, found exclusively in East Anglia, had three or more rooms occupying the first-floor footprint. These four buildings, within which is included Felsted on assumption, all appear to comprise two distinct ‘units’ separated by a full vertical division. These units comprise a ‘hall unit’ of a first-floor hall and service bay typically divided into two on the buttery/pantry model, and what appears to have been a ‘kitchen unit’, with lost chimneys/smoke bays reconstructed for Fressingfield and Laxfield by analogy with Finchingfield and, most likely, Felsted. With these separate units it was argued that, insofar as the hall element is concerned, these could be

[620] Fowey, Methwold, Aldeburgh and Hadleigh.

considered as two-room plans akin to those mentioned above. Although the second unit resulted in an overall larger building, it was not found to follow that they necessarily had larger halls: this was the case at Fressingfield (103 m^2), but not at the remaining three. Notwithstanding these variations in first-floor plan, it was nonetheless observable that the first floor always accommodated a hall which occupied the majority of the footprint; there were no instances of buildings with multiple small rooms of similar dimensions on this floor. Across the two regions considerable variation was found in the size of the first-floor halls, ranging from 28 m^2 (Lamerton) to 156 m^2 (Chew Magna), but two-thirds of the buildings, evenly spread between the two regions, were found to have a hall between 50 m^2 and 100m^2. Of the five buildings with a capacity of under 50 m^2, four are in the South West and, along with the slightly lower average sizes, this suggests South West community buildings were on average slightly smaller than in East Anglia.

Given the suggestion that the two-unit community buildings had kitchens, they obviously coincide with the provision of fireplaces within the building envelope. This feature is otherwise absent from community buildings in East Anglia in stark contrast to over three-quarters of the South West buildings. Specifically, this refers to fireplaces of a size sufficient for large-scale cooking and brewing, rather than heating, and therefore discounts Aldeburgh, which is the only clear example of a 'single-unit' plan in East Anglia possibly to have had a fireplace of any form. The provision of a fireplace therefore stands as a sub-variant uniting the buildings in the two regions. It was suggested that the general lack of integral fireplaces in East Anglia owes much to timber-frame construction and the associated risks of fire in buildings which were not only socially significant and reflective of community aspirations, but also considerable financial investments. The survival of the detached kitchen at Hadleigh was taken not only

to demonstrate how most, if not all, East Anglian community buildings could have had a similar provision, but also how these could have served those South West buildings, such as Poundstock, with no evidence for an original fireplace.

The primary means of access to the first-floor hall was confirmed as an external staircase in both regions, with all but three of the twenty-nine buildings retaining either the staircases themselves or with relatively clear evidence for it. This number includes Lamerton and Drewsteignton, which, owing to the higher ground-level from which the first floor was accessed, did not need a staircase specifically for the door. Of the three, reinterpretation of the floor plans at Fressingfield and Laxfield, based partly on fabric and partly on the above patterns in East Anglian plan-forms, suggested that these two buildings also had external staircases. At Matching, the current staircase and door were established as later alterations and, coupled with evidence from the floor structure and a possible blocked first-floor doorway, it was suggested that this too could originally have had an external stair. Intrusive investigation of the fabric in all three buildings could therefore add these to the total and provide a 'full house' of external staircases. Though it is therefore clear that in both regions the external staircase was by far the predominant means of access, mention was made of buildings in other regions where integrated, and apparently original, staircases are found. [621] However, it was noted how in these buildings the stair typically still had a dedicated access door on the ground floor which thus bypassed the ground-floor areas. With the reinterpretation of Laxfield, none of the selected buildings was therefore found to have a staircase within the envelope which both provided primary access to the first floor and was accessed from another internal space. Three of the twenty-nine buildings were found to have evidence for at

[621] Town Hall, Fordwich (Kent) and Courthouse, Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire).

least one internal staircase (Drewsteignton, Martock and Hadleigh), and other community buildings in the South West with stair turrets were noted. In all these cases, it was established that these were a secondary means of access to the first floor and, as they did not therefore break the conceptual division between the floors, were considered as a further sub-variant. In the selected buildings, and in the majority of the South West buildings with stair turrets, these secondary stairs coincide with fireplaces for cooking/brewing (detached at Hadleigh) and so they were interpreted as a convenient means of transporting food and drink to the first-floor hall, rather than as a primary means of access.

It was found that in all the buildings, apart from perhaps St Teath, the first-floor doorway was positioned so as to provide access to one end of the hall rather than in a central position. Where possible, interpretation of features such as fenestration (e.g. Crowcombe), moulded beams (e.g. Hadleigh) or proximity to service-bay partitions (e.g. Fowey and Finchingfield), suggested that this was always at the 'lower end' of the space, indicating a similar conception of spatial hierarchy as is found in, for example, contemporary domestic plan-forms. This was found to be the same in the rural church houses and guildhalls, as well as in the 'town hall' civic/administrative buildings such as Fowey, Looe and Aldeburgh. There was some variation in the position of the stair, either on a long elevation or gable, but this did not affect the door's position in relation to the hall and so was categorised as another sub-variation.

There was insufficient uniformity in treatment of the ground-floor plans across both regions to establish this as another overarching attribute of community buildings in both regions. However, it was suggested that the ground-floors of many South West community buildings were suitable for at least occasional commercial use owing to the documented references to trade within and without some buildings (e.g. Stratton); quality and quantity assurance of

commodities evidenced through wool-weighing; incidence of high-quality ceiling structures differentiated from ancillary areas (e.g. Widecombe-in-the-Moor); pentices (e.g. Harberton); and adjoining open spaces. In this regard they were linked with those East Anglian buildings, such as Aldeburgh and Finchingfield, where commercial units are in evidence and, by extension, with the referenced open-sided marketplace buildings in other regions. Significantly, all but seven of the twenty-nine buildings have evidence for at least one ancillary space on the ground floor. Of those that do not, four are in buildings with civic/administrative use (Fowey, Looe, Aldeburgh and Great Yarmouth) and three in buildings where only one room appears to have occupied the whole ground floor (St Tudy, Lamerton and Poundstock). In the four 'town hall' buildings, this ancillary element could be interpreted as being replaced by a lock-up, though at Fowey this is conjectural.

The predominance of internal fireplaces in the South West impacts upon the plan-forms of the ground floors, the majority of which are either two-room (kitchen and service bay), or three room (kitchen, large central room and service bay). Two ground-floor layouts found in East Anglia are not evidenced among the South West buildings: multiple individual shop units (e.g. Aldeburgh) and a ground-floor hall/service bay closely matching that on the first floor (e.g. Fressingfield and Laxfield). In general, however, it was noted that twenty-three buildings, or more than three-quarters, across the two regions had either two or three-room plans. Of those with more than three rooms (Aldeburgh, Felsted, and Finchingfield), the additional commercial element is largely responsible for the additional rooms. The remaining three (Poundstock, St Tudy and Lamerton) had only one ground-floor room, though no trace would now be found at Lamerton owing to alterations. Whilst a case for commercial use was advanced for those buildings with two- and three-room plans and therefore a functional connection

with the typical ‘market hall’ buildings of towns, the buildings with fewer and more rooms can be similarly connected. Whilst the commercial units make the connection with use explicit, the single-room ground floors could also be interpreted merely as enclosed versions of the open-sided structures. In this case they could be explained by the need to provide a more multi-purpose space in small communities with no other significant public building other than the church.

Open Spaces and Landscapes

The presence of an open space around the building emerged as a consideration during the course of the study, but has also hitherto not been appreciated in the context of studying at least rural community buildings. It was seen how, in towns, these are typically self-evident as ‘marketplaces’, a term used notably less often for open spaces in rural villages. Here they tend to be referred to as ‘squares’ or ‘greens’, terms which, like the buildings, can obscure similar commercial and festival uses. The study illustrated that eighteen – nearly two-thirds – of the community buildings across both regions sit on or within an identifiable open space, either as a ‘village square’ or some form of widened thoroughfare. The remaining eleven could be reconstructed through morphological regression using historic maps, interpretation of plot shapes, sizes and ownership, and approximate dating of neighbouring buildings. On this basis, there is compelling evidence that the overwhelming majority, if not all, of the community buildings adjoined an open space. These in turn were divided into ‘primary’ open spaces, i.e. identifiable as the main centre of the settlement (e.g. South Tawton and Hadleigh), and secondary open spaces, which adjoined the building but appeared not to represent the main village square or green (e.g. at Stogumber and Methwold). It was suggested that the latter comprised either secondary marketplaces or had a use specific to the building, such as for

activities attendant upon fairs, feasts, though this need not exclude simultaneous commercial uses. Setting this alongside the community uses of the buildings, it was suggested that their position was in fact driven not by the church, but by the open space. Taking this further, albeit as an aside, it was suggested that the position of the church itself was dictated by a pre-existing ancient space at a road junction, green or any other place for commerce, festivals or other gatherings. In smaller rural communities, particularly in the South West, frequent clusters of church, manor house, community building and open space were noted (e.g. Chew Magna, South Tawton, Clavering). With this in mind, one can imagine the development of open spaces in front of manor house plots, followed by the parish church, followed by the community building. Such developments might be seen in the open spaces that formed at prominent gateways, such as at Corfe Castle (Dorset), Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) and Battle (East Sussex). Just over half the community buildings, again evenly spread over both regions, had no means of access to either floor from the churchyard, even when joined to it. Buildings such as South Tawton and Matching, with their plain, nearly blank elevations facing the churchyard, exemplify this alternative orientation.

The distribution of selected buildings in both regions was sufficient to encompass differing landscape types, but it was noted how the concentrations of surviving buildings generally corresponded with Roberts' and Wrathmell's South-Eastern Province and western part of the North and Western Province, where dispersion is the predominant settlement characteristic. This contrasts with the champion Central Province, where settlement nucleations are more common and where no significant concentrations of surviving community buildings were identified, even though individual buildings are evidenced. The initial impression is that the incidence of community buildings confirms Hoskins' view that they were to be found in areas of dispersed settlement rather than of compact

villages. However, there are *caveats* and observations which keep this at the level of broad correlation rather than invariable attribute. First, at least three selected buildings in Somerset (Chew Magna, Baltonsborough, and Martock) are situated, along with most of the county, within this Central Province, and yet show consistency in their form and position with the two Somerset buildings (Crowcombe and Martock) on the frontier of Devon in the North and Western Province. Second, if settlement context was the defining factor of community building construction, then one would expect greater concentrations in Cornwall and other parts of the South-Eastern Province from Hampshire to Kent, all of which lie within suitable areas of dispersion. Third, the Patent Rolls make clear that Lincolnshire was particularly well endowed with community buildings, even though it is in the Central Province. Therefore the extent to which this study contributes to this question is to conclude that the community building type was found all over England, but apparently in greater numbers in areas of dispersed settlement. However, this conclusion could be altered on the one hand by analysis of extant buildings in other areas to ascertain their conformity with the type established here, and on the other by extensive documentary research to establish where and in what concentration community buildings (of whatever form) were historically present.

Contexts: Vernacular Architecture and History

This study has sought to avoid the pitfalls which have beset vernacular architecture studies and have lessened the transferability of its outcomes to wider historical fields. Whilst buildings have remained the focus, the approach was thrown open to a multitude of methods from the historical toolkit, including elements of documentary history, architectural history, buildings archaeology and landscape archaeology. This multi-faceted approach has borne fruit in enabling a

richer and wider breadth of sources to be approached and interrogated, and the findings set against those from other areas to shape interpretations and conclusions. Most importantly it has established that buildings alone cannot answer all the questions, even those to do with buildings. The aforementioned use of intensive historical surveys, such as those of the Victoria County History, illustrate their inestimable value to architectural history enquiries. We can but hope that these continue their steady progress through the hundreds and parishes of England and, in so doing, unlock more information which will have a bearing on the questions posed here.

On the other hand, this study has demonstrated the potential of buildings to enrich the landscape of the historian. The extant buildings are visible and tangible artefacts of the period under discussion whose construction, alteration and loss provide insights, which documents alone do not, into the processes which shape society. Whether in providing fresh interpretive information or in posing new questions, the buildings do not simply illustrate what is already known from documents. In three related areas, this study illuminates the context outlined in the introductory chapter. Firstly, the community building was one of the means by which communities consciously or unconsciously expressed some measure of administrative independence, which in turn contributes to understanding the impacts of decreasing manorial control throughout this period and the dual 'rise of the parish' and of civic authorities, arising both from greater opportunities for independence of action and the impositions of an increasingly centralised government. Secondly, the construction of the buildings in village settings, which, as far as can be seen, was almost exclusively through community fundraising, points towards gradually increasing economic resources, sufficient at least to permit disposable income to be put towards such projects. In this way, it was not simply towns that were improving their infrastructure with

town halls and market halls. Related to this is the aforementioned architectural and locational suitability of the community building type for commercial activities, a linkage cemented through documentary sources. If these buildings were intended to have this function, even if only in part, then it contributes to our understanding of marketing in the late medieval and early modern periods. In turn, this can illustrate either the lessening of formal market charter controls or provide another venue for Chris Dyer's 'hidden trade'. Finally, this study has shown that the community building type has proved remarkably resilient to the impacts of the Reformation. Where evidence is available, the research has shown that the use of the buildings was of far less consequence than the beneficiaries of that use where they clashed with the tenets of the Reformation, such as chantry foundations or religious guilds.There is little evidence to suggest that the Reformation prompted the widespread loss of church houses in the South West, but there is more evidence that the guildhalls in East Anglia faced greater challenges owing to the financial and administrative challenges facing communities that wished to reacquire the buildings from the grantees. This relates to comments above about the drivers and instigators behind the buildings: where these were religious guilds, then the buiding would face confiscation; where these were churchwardens using a building for administration, commerce or raising funds for the fabric of the church, then the buildings were untouched. More impactful would be the changes in social *mores*, the 'reformation of manners', which saw changes to the ways communities socialised and gradually spelled the end of the church ale long after the Reformation.

Questions: Origins and Distribution?

The clear connections which have cemented the community building type in this study have the potential to contribute to understanding its development and

distributionwhich have not been fully addressed here, owing to the focus on establishing the building type as a starting point for these questions. Even with detailed documentary and architectural analysis, the questions relating to distribution of the buildings across the two regions and beyond remain without definitive answers. Given the relative dates of the buildings researched, the best that can be suggested is that the community building type started in towns and appeared in villages at a slightly later date, replacing simpler, probably single-storey structures such as common ovens and bakehouses. If that is the case, it has implications for a diffusionist approach, as traders and grandees spread ideas from town to town and sparked the flame of emulation, a flame caught by the communities in the hinterland. Alternatively, the type could have begun as local spontaneous adaptations (or evolution?) of the 'chamber block' at manor house sites. The free-standing chamber block buildings were teased apart from the community building type in this study, but without intending to disclaim at least some architectural connections. Insofar as they have been mentioned in this study, these buildings seem to hark from an earlier period than the 'community building type', e.g. the early thirteenth-century Manor House at Boothby Pagnell. However, the thirteenth-century Tolhouse in Great Yarmouth was included partly as a 'bridge' to these buildings and to illustrate that, at this early period, any distinction between the building types needs further exploration. In any case, a greater understanding of the community building type of the fifteenth century and later can only contribute to the ongoing studies of defining these earlier 'chamber blocks', particularly in questioning whether the two have an evolutionary relationship. To this can be added connections with architecturally related buildings in Continental Europe, especially early examples such as the eleventh-century *Maison de Petits Palets* (**Plate IV.2**). In

approaching these questions, this study will act as a springboard to further research.

AULA COMMUNITATIS:

THE COMMUNITY HALL IN ENGLAND, *c.* 1400–1640

VOLUME II: BIBLIOGRAPHY, PLATES AND APPENDICES

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XLVIII.1 St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, partially infilled original fireplace at northeast end

XLVIII.2 St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, cross-beam with mortices for plank-and-muntin partition

XLVIII.3 Fowey (Cornwall), Old Town Hall, view from cross-passage into first-floor chamber

XLIX.1 Looe (Cornwall), Old Guildhall, rear (south) elevation (Photo © A. C. Carne)

XLIX.2 Looe (Cornwall), Old Guildhall, view of first-floor hall towards magistrates' bench

XLIX.3 South Tawton (Devon), Church House, view of first-floor hall towards entrance

L.1 South Tawton (Devon), Church House, view of ground-floor towards partly infilled full-width fireplace

L.2 South Tawton (Devon), Church House, reinstated screen on line of original ground-floor partition

L.3 Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, view of first-floor hall from entrance (west) end

LI.1	Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, view east through larger of the two original ground-floor rooms towards fireplace
LI.2	Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, detail of cross-beam with mortices for screen and differing joists
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LII.2	Harberton (Devon), Church House Inn, view east through ground floor towards screen
LII.3	Harberton (Devon), Church House Inn, view of fireplace at west end of ground floor
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LIV.1	Holcombe Rogus (Devon), The Priest's House, front elevation showing line of pentice and entrances
LIV.2	Holcombe Rogus (Devon), The Priest's House, fireplace at south end of ground floor
LIV.3	Lamerton (Devon), Old Priest's House, view west through first-floor chamber
LV.1	Lamerton (Devon), Old Priest's House, view west through ground-floor room towards fireplace
LV.2	Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms, view west into first-floor hall
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LVI.1	Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms, view west through ground-floor room towards screen
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LVI.3	Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Room, view west through first-floor hall with entrance doorways (far right)
LVII.1	Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Room, view east towards full-width fireplace at eastern end of ground floor
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LVIII.2	Stogumber (Somerset), Brewhouse, fireplace at west end of ground floor

LVIII.3 Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, view from north with blocked door (left) and door from cross-passage

LIX.1 Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, view east through ground floor towards fireplace during 1980s refurbishment (© Landmark Trust)

LIX.2 Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, view west through first floor towards inserted screen

LIX.3 Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House, view east through first-floor hall towards entrance

LX.1 Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House, view east through central ground-floor room

LX.2 Martock (Somerset), Court House, full-width fireplace in southernmost ground-floor room

LX.3 Martock (Somerset), Court House, position of plank screens and blocked doorway at southern (kitchen) end

LXI.1 Martock (Somerset), Court House, external view of openings in LX.3 above

LXI.2 Martock (Somerset), Court House, north ground-floor room with fireplace and compartmented ceiling

LXI.3 Martock (Somerset), Court House, first-floor landing with inserted seventeenth-century staircase (stair turret doorway to right)

LXII.1 Martock (Somerset), Court House, current extent of first-floor room looking towards external door on north gable and intramural stair (far left)

LXII.2 Linton (Cambridgeshire), Old Guildhall, view from southwest showing blocked entrance door

LXII.3 Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, ground-floor looking south to ancillary room

LXIII.1 Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, possible blocked first-floor doorway above stair

LXIII.2 Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, first floor looking north towards later partition

LXIII.3 Felsted (Essex), Old School Room, shop windows on west side of covered passage

LXIV.1 Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, doorways (and inserted door, left) on west side of covered passage

LXIV.2 Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, service room (left), kitchen and fireplace at east end of ground floor

LXIV.3 Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, view east through first-floor hall towards service room partition and doorway position (now window)

LXV.1 Felsted (Essex), Old School Room, view west through first-floor hall (reproduced from Craze, History of Felsted School, facing p. 49)

LXV.2 Clavering (Essex), Old Guildhall, front elevation showing cross-passage doorway and position of doorway at north end

LXV.3 Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, first-floor hall looking south towards upper end

LXVI.1 Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, blocked original windows on west elevation of first-floor hall

LXVI.2 Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, eighteenth-century cells on ground floor

LXVI.3 Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, ground-floor room looking south

LXVII.1 Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, fireplace in north ground-floor room

LXVII.2 Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, fireplace in north first-floor room showing mortices on jowl post and cross-beam (centre left)

LXVII.3 Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, south end of original first-floor room with arched brace to cross-beam (right), braced post (centre) and doorway position (left)

LXVIII.1 Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, view of ground-floor of east gable with blocked window, moulded jetty plate and ornamented dragon post (right)

LXVIII.2 Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, view towards open first-floor truss at west gable with chimney bay defined by lack of joists

LXVIII.3 Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, view east through first floor showing blocked service doorway (rear left) into hall

LXIX.1 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Market House, shopfront on west side of covered passage

LXIX.2 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Market House, blocked windows from ground-floor room at west end of Market House (viewed from later Guildhall)

LXIX.3 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Market House, surviving second-floor room with central crown post

LXX.1 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, view south through first-floor hall towards original end wall

LXX.2 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, view south through ground-floor hall

LXX.3 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, plain joists in ancillary room at south end of ground floor (cf. moulded joists of hall), with cross-passage and staircase position

LXXI.1 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, first-floor entrance doorway (right) following extension and building of new stair turret

LXXI.2 Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, north end of ground floor showing positions of end wall and internal wall, with corresponding differences in joist mouldings

LXXI.3 Aldeburgh (Suffolk), Moot Hall, view north through first-floor hall (from small chamber)

LXXII.1 Aldeburgh (Suffolk), Moot Hall, west elevation with intact central shop unit of door and two adjacent windows

LXXII.2 Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, view of typical queen post and bracing

LXXII.3 Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, view of first-floor west gable wall, formerly an open truss with arched braces

LXXIII.1 Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, view west through remaining part of first-floor hall to service room partition and doorways



1. South Tawton (Devon), The Church House



2. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), The Church House, north elevation with external stair



3. Aldeburgh (Suffolk), the Moot Hall



1. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room



2. Poole (Dorset), Guildhall (1761)



3. Boothby Pagnell (Lincolnshire), Manor House



1. Fordwich (Kent), Town Hall



2. Milton Regis (Kent), Court Hall



3. Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire), Courthouse



1. Elstow (Bedfordshire), Moot Hall



2. Dol-de-Bretagne (France), twelfth-century *Maison de Petits Palets*

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3. Melcombe Regis (Dorset), Guildhall, *c*. 1830 (DCM P/1951.55.1)

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1. Penzance (Cornwall), Old Market House, n.d. (PHGM PEZH 1997.34)

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2. Extract from Ashburton Tithe Map (1840) (Dev HC DEX/4/a/TM/Ashburton)

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3. Ashburton (Devon), Market House, 1829 (reproduced from Moore, *The History of Devonshire*)

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1. Rochford (Essex), Market House (reproduced from Walker, *Essex Markets and Fairs*, p. 13)

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2. Waltham Abbey (Essex), Market House, watercolour by Thomas Rowlandson, 1816 (reproduced from *VCH Essex*, V, facing p. 165)

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3. Barking (Essex), Court House, *c. 1911* (reproduced from Clapham, 'Court House, or "Old Town Hall", at Barking', facing p. 295)

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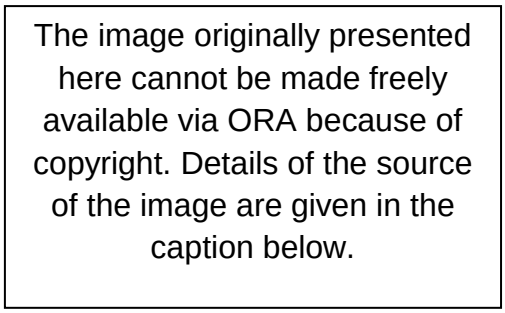
1. Barking (Essex), Court House – drawing of 1595 (extract from TNA E178/843)

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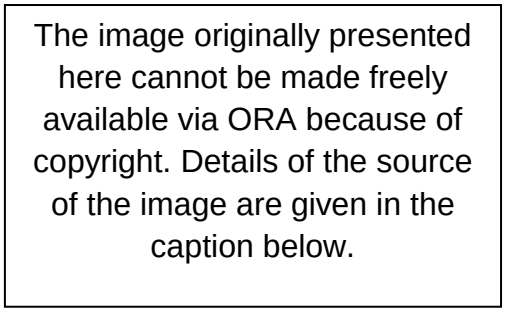
2. Hereford, Market Hall, engraving by Thomas Dingley (d. 1695) (reproduced from Dingley, *History from Marble*, I, p. ccxvii)

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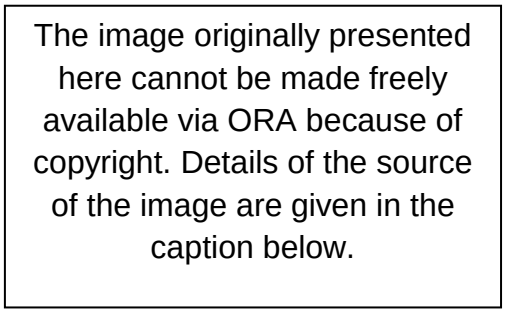
3. Cockermouth (Cumberland), Old Moot Hall (CAC DX 154/23)



1. Darlington (County Durham), Old Tolbooth, engraving by O. Jewitt, *c*. 1808 (Durham Record DR07949)



2. Ruthin (Denbighsire), Town Hall (W. Wallis, *c.* 1830) (National Library of Wales)



3. Broughton (Edinburgh), **Tolbooth (*c*. 1850)** (reproduced from Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, II, p. 152)

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1. Somerton (Somerset), former church house, engraving by John Buckler, 1830 (reproduced from *VCH Somerset*, III, p. 144)

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2. Westonzoyland (Somerset), church house, wash drawing by W. W. Wheatley, *c*. 1845 (reproduced from *VCH Somerset*, VIII, p. 206)

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

3. Hullavington (Wiltshire), church house, watercolour by C. G. Awdry, 1877 (reproduced from *VCH Wiltshire*, XIV, facing p. 108)

Plate X



1. Stoke-sub-Hamdon (Somerset), Fleur de Lis Inn, former church house

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

2. Stoke-sub-Hamdon (Somerset), Fleur de Lis Inn, wash drawing by W. W. Wheatley, 1848 (reproduced from *VCH Somerset*, III, p. 144)



3. Tetbury (Gloucestershire), Old Market House

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

1. Tetbury (Gloucestershire), Old Market House, lithograph by W. Spreat, *c.* 1857 (reproduced from Lee, *History of the Town and Parish of Tetbury*, p. 35)



2. Blo' Norton (Norfolk), Church Farmhouse



3. Coggeshall (Essex), 7 West Street, formerly The Cricketers PH



1. St Osyth (Essex), 8 Spring Road

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

2. Titchfield (Hampshire), Market Hall, prior to dismantling (1969)
(reproduced from Tankard, 'Markets, Fairs and Felons', p. 29)

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

3. Titchfield (Hampshire), Market Hall, re-erected at the Weald & Downland Museum (Photo © Weald and Downland Museum)



1. Leominster (Herefordshire), Grange Court, relocated former market hall
(Photo © Andy Mabbett [CC BY-SA/3.0])

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2. Chagford (Devon), Church House, etching (1811) by Samuel Prout (Devon County Council)



3. Molland (Devon), 1-3 Church Cottages, altered and extended church house



1. Cratfield (Suffolk), Town House, much altered guildhall/church house



2. Stratford-upon-Avon (Warwickshire), Guildhall

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

3. Plymouth (Devon), Old Guildhall (PWDRO PCC/76/5/5823)

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

1. Ipswich (Suffolk), **St Mildred's Church as Moot Hall**,*c*.1812 (SfROI K423/10)

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

2. Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk), old market house (SfROB K511/403)

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the map are given in the caption below.

3. Lewes (Sussex), extract from map of Lewes showing **market house** (High St, left) and **Town Hall** (High St, centre), by George Randoll (1620) (ESRO ACC3746)



1. Stratton (Cornwall), the former church house, now subdivided into two properties

The plan originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the plan are given in the caption below.

2. Stratton (Cornwall), church house (left) and marketplace, 1583 (CRO P216/25/140b)



3. Monksilver (Somerset), Courthall, possibly the original church house



1. East Bergholt (Suffolk), Churchgate House, much-altered former guildhall



2. Braunton (Devon), Old School Rooms, the former church house



3. Abbotskerswell (Devon), the former church house



1. Littlehempston (Devon), Tally Ho Inn, the former church house



2. Ilsington (Devon), 1-3 St Michael's Cottages, the former church house with blocked first-floor door to right



3. Yatton (Somerset), **Lady Florence Stalling Almshouses**, the former church house. Blocked first-floor doorway to left gable (not visible)



1. Ashdon (Essex), the Guildhall, viewed from the churchyard



2. Yaxley (Suffolk), **Guildhall Cottage**



3. Palgrave (Suffolk), **Brackendale**, likely a former guildhall



1. Cockfield (Suffolk), **Church Cottage**, a likely community building with a staircase within the envelope



2. Great Shelford (Cambridgeshire), **17-21 Church St**, much-altered, but likely community building. Pegging for external timbers indicates no first-floor doorway.



3. Stoke-by-Nayland (Suffolk), **Old Guildhall**, with adjacent ground-floor doorways

Plate XXI



1. Hempnall (Norfolk), The Long House, a possible community building on the market place



2. Banham (Norfolk), the Old Guildhall, situated on a large village green



3. Pattiswick (Essex), **Woodhouse Farm**, likely former guildhall on a large common

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the map are given in the caption below.

1. Pattiswick (Essex), extract from map of Essex by J. Chapman and P. André, (1777) showing former guildhall **(Woodhouse Farm)** (top) and relation to church (bottom right) and manor house (bottom left) around large common



2. Wrentham (Suffolk), **Old Guildhall**, not accessed, but located on triangular green near church (Photo © Adrian S Pye [CC/BY-SA 2.0])



3. Pettistree (Suffolk), **Greyhound Inn**, altered and not accessed, but in suitable location for community building (Photo © Adrian Cable [CC BY-SA 2.0])



1. Poughill (Devon), **Village Hall**, nineteenth-century school on site of, and in style of, original church house (Photo © Roger Cornfoot [CC BY-SA 2.0])



2. Brenchley (Kent), **The Old Vicarage**, situated on churchyard edge facing a green, but of a domestic plan-form

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

3. Morebath (Devon), remains of church house (reproduced from Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses. Part VI', facing p. 165), demolished since

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. Details of the source of the image are given in the caption below.

1. Cheldon (Devon), remains of church house (reproduced from Copeland, 'Devonshire Church Houses. Part II', facing p. 427), demolished since



2. Hurst (Berkshire), **Castle Inn**, conversion of public building (Photo © Steve Daniels [CC BY/SA 2.0])



3. Sonning (Berkshire), **Bull Inn**, conversion of public building



1. Chardstock (historically Dorset), **George Inn**, only known possible example in Dorset of conversion to inn (Photo © Derek Harper [CC BY/SA 2.0])



2. Sherborne (Dorset), **Church House**, now subdivided into several shops



3. Corfe Castle (Dorset), **Old Town Hall**, community building type, but later rebuilding



1. Poole (Dorset), **Scaplen's Court**, probably town house, but heavily restored



2. Fowey (Cornwall), Old Town Hall/Fowey Museum, south elevation



3. Looe (Cornwall), Old Guildhall, north elevation



1. Poundstock (Cornwall), Gildhouse, viewed from northeast



2. St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, viewed from northeast



3. St Tudy (Cornwall), The Clink, viewed from northeast



1. Swimbridge (Devon), The Old School Rooms, viewed from southeast



2. Holcombe Rogus (Devon), **The Priest's House**, viewed from the northeast



3. Drewsteignton, Church Rooms, viewed from the southeast



1. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), The Church House, south elevation



2. Lamerton (Devon), The Old Priest's House, viewed from the east



3. Harberton (Devon), Church House Inn, viewed from the east



1. Wick St Lawrence (Somerset), Banksea Cottages, viewed from the northeast



2. Stogumber (Somerset), The Brewhouse, viewed from the south



3. Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House, viewed from the east



1. Martock (Somerset), Court House, viewed from the northeast



2. Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, viewed from the southeast



3. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Rooms, viewed from the north



1. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, viewed from the west



2. Felsted (Essex), Old School Room, viewed from southeast



3. Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, viewed from the west



1. Clavering (Essex), Old Guildhall, viewed from the southwest



2. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Town Hall, viewed from the northwest



3. Laxfield (Suffolk), The Old Guildhall, viewed from the northwest



1. Fressingfield (Suffolk), The Fox and Goose, viewed from the north



2. Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, viewed from the northeast



3. Methwold (Norfolk), The Old Vicarage, viewed from the west



1. Whittlesford (Cambridgeshire), The Guildhall, viewed from the south



2. Linton (Cambridgeshire), The Guildhall, viewed from the southeast



3. St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, showing location of blocked first-floor doorway



1. Poundstock (Cornwall), Gildhouse, looking north across open space
(Photo © Google)



2. St Tudy (Cornwall), The Clink, looking east across infilled open space (Photo © Google)



3. Fowey (Cornwall), Old Town Hall, north elevation onto Market Street



1. Fowey (Cornwall), Old Town Hall, blocked first-floor doorway on rear (north) elevation



2. South Tawton (Devon), Church House, view from northeast showing blank rear elevation facing churchyard and church



3. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), The Church House, showing east gable with inserted window and later stair turret



1. Combeinteignhead (Devon), Church House, with remnant of flashing for pentice



2. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), looking west across village green ('Butpark')



3. Lamerton (Devon), The Old Priest's House, rear (north) elevation showing entrance from churchyard



1. Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms, showing first-floor doorway on west gable and north (churchyard) elevation (right)



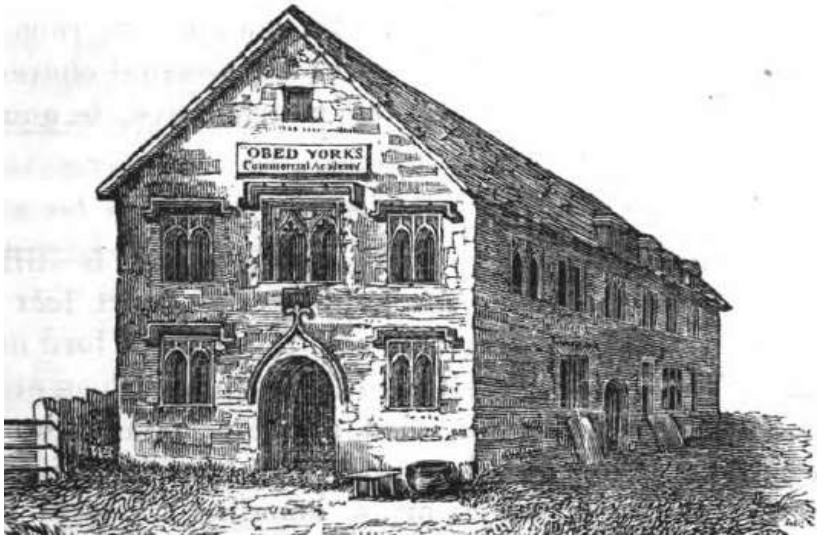
2. Swimbridge (Devon), Old School Rooms, churchyard (east) elevation



3. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Rooms, external staircase on churchyard (north) elevation



1. Stogumber (Somerset), The Brewhouse, viewed from churchyard, showing blocked first-floor doorway on east gable



2. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Rooms, reproduced from J. Rutter, *Delineations*, p. 201



3. Stogumber (Somerset), The Brewhouse, viewed from southwest



1. Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House, rear (southwest) elevation



2. Martock (Somerset), Court House, rear (west) elevation with stair turret



3. Whittlesford (Cambridgeshire), Guildhall, situated on legible open space at road junction (Photo © Google)



1. Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, rear elevation showing location of external door



2. Felsted (Essex), Old School Room, rear elevation showing suggested location of first-floor doorway



3. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, rear elevation from northeast



1. Clavering (Essex), Old Guildhall, rear elevation from northwest showing possible location of first-floor doorway



2. Clavering (Essex), the wide, rectangular form of Middle Street looking south



3. Methwold (Norfolk), view northeast along Crown Street towards Old Vicarage, historically visible from this viewpoint (© Google)



1. Hadleigh (Suffolk), extent of Market House in fifteenth century



2. Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, showing suggested access points



3. Hadleigh (Suffolk), sixteenth-century stair turret (centre) and Guildhall (right)



1. Hadleigh (Suffolk), remains of detached Guildhall kitchen



2. Hadleigh (Suffolk), **Guildhall**, approximate position of cross-passage entrance from marketplace



3. Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, viewed from southwest showing plain rear (south) elevation and approximate doorway position



1. Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, front elevation showing primary doorway position



2. Poundstock (Cornwall), Gildhouse, view into hall from first-floor entrance



3. Poundstock (Cornwall), Gildhouse, view from ground-floor entrance towards inserted partition wall



1. St Tudy (Cornwall), The Clink, view into hall from first-floor entrance



2. St Tudy (Cornwall), The Clink, view across ground-floor room



3. St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, view across first-floor room, now partially subdivided at each end



1. St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, partially infilled original fireplace at northeast end



2. St Teath (Cornwall), Church House, cross-beam with mortices for plank-and-muntin partition



3. Fowey (Cornwall), Old Town Hall, view from cross-passage into first-floor chamber



1. Looe (Cornwall), Old Guildhall, rear (south) elevation (Photo © A. C. Carne)



2. Looe (Cornwall), Old Guildhall, view of first-floor hall towards magistrates' bench



3. South Tawton (Devon), Church House, view of first-floor hall towards entrance

Plate L



1. South Tawton (Devon), Church House, view of ground-floor towards partly infilled full-width fireplace



2. South Tawton (Devon), Church House, reinstated screen on line of original ground-floor partition



3. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, view of first-floor hall from entrance (west) end



1. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, view east through larger of the two original ground-floor rooms towards fireplace



2. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, detail of cross-beam with mortices for screen and differing joists



3. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, rear (north) elevation showing possibly blocked ground-floor doorway in stair projection



1. Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Devon), Church House, entrance to Sexton's Cottage with blocked doorway alongside



2. Harberton (Devon), Church House Inn, view east through ground floor towards screen



3. Harberton (Devon), Church House Inn, view of fireplace at west end of ground floor



1. Meavy (Devon), Royal Oak Public House, former church house with stair turret



2. Walkhampton (Devon), Church House, showing stair turret (left)

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3. Holcombe Rogus (Devon), The Priest's House, 1983 view north through first-floor hall to blocked doorway (© Landmark Trust)



1. Holcombe Rogus (Devon), The Priest's House, front elevation showing line of pentice and entrances



2. Holcombe Rogus (Devon), The Priest's House, fireplace at south end of ground floor



3. Lamerton (Devon), Old Priest's House, view west through first-floor chamber



1. Lamerton (Devon), Old Priest's House, view west through ground-floor room towards fireplace



2. Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms, view west into first-floor hall



3. Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms, view of fireplace and winder stair (right)



1. Drewsteignton (Devon), Church Rooms, view west through ground-floor room towards screen



2. Swimbridge (Devon), Old School Rooms, view south through first-floor hall



3. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Room, view west through first-floor hall with entrance doorways (far right)



1. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Room, view east towards full-width fireplace at eastern end of ground floor



2. Chew Magna (Somerset), Old School Room, entrance and ornate fenestration on west elevation



3. Stogumber (Somerset), Brewhouse, view east through first-floor hall towards blocked entrance



1. Stogumber (Somerset), Brewhouse, view from the north showing location of blocked doorway



2. Stogumber (Somerset), Brewhouse, fireplace at west end of ground floor



3. Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, view from north with blocked door (left) and door from cross-passage



1. Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, view east through ground floor towards fireplace during 1980s refurbishment (© Landmark Trust)



2. Baltonsborough (Somerset), Parish House, view west through first floor towards inserted screen



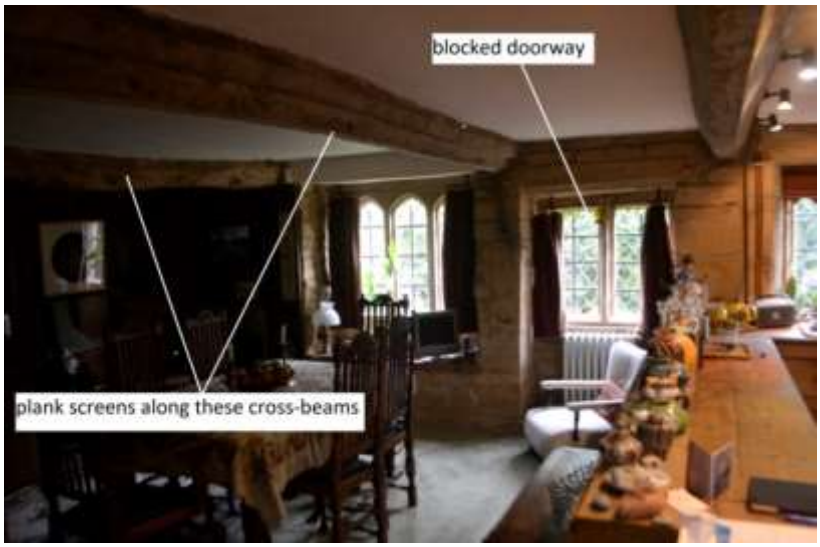
3. Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House, view east through first-floor hall towards entrance



1. Crowcombe (Somerset), Church House, view east through central ground-floor room



2. Martock (Somerset), Court House, full-width fireplace in southernmost ground-floor room



3. Martock (Somerset), Court House, position of plank screens and blocked doorway at southern (kitchen) end



1. Martock (Somerset), Court House, external view of openings in LX.3 above



2. Martock (Somerset), Court House, north ground-floor room with fireplace and compartmented ceiling



3. Martock (Somerset), Court House, first-floor landing with inserted seventeenth-century staircase (stair turret doorway to right)



1. Martock (Somerset), Court House, current extent of first-floor room looking towards external door on north gable and intramural stair (far left)



2. Linton (Cambridgeshire), Old Guildhall, view from southwest showing blocked entrance door



3. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, ground-floor looking south to ancillary room



1. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, possible blocked first-floor doorway above stair



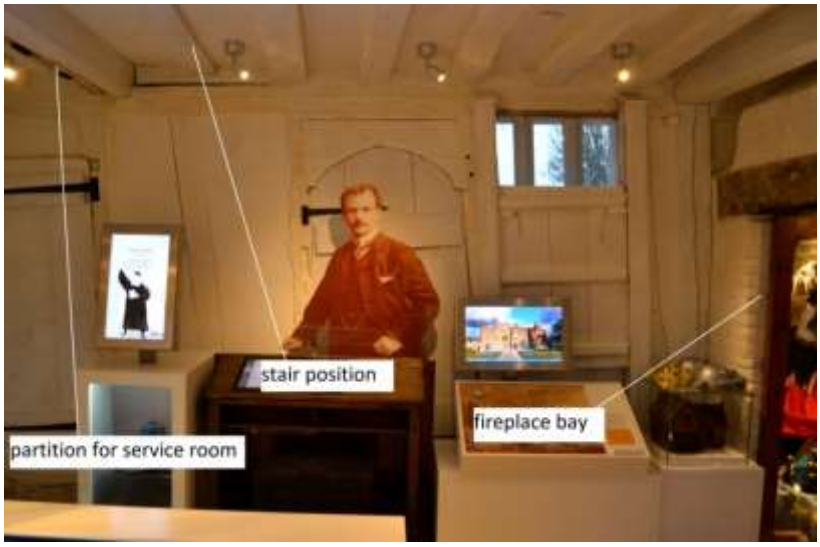
2. Matching (Essex), Marriage Feast Room, first floor looking north towards later partition



3. Felsted (Essex), Old School Room, shop windows on west side of covered passage



1. Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, doorways (and inserted door, left) on west side of covered passage



2. Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, service room (left), kitchen and fireplace at east end of ground floor



3. Finchingfield (Essex), Guildhall, view east through first-floor hall towards service room partition and doorway position (now window)

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1. Felsted (Essex), Old School Room, view west through first-floor hall (reproduced from Craze, *History of Felsted School*, facing p. 49)



2. Clavering (Essex), Old Guildhall, front elevation showing cross-passage doorway and position of doorway at north end



3. Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, first-floor hall looking south towards upper end



1. Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, blocked original windows on west elevation of first-floor hall



2. Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Tolhouse, eighteenth-century cells on ground floor



3. Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, ground-floor room looking south



1. Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, fireplace in north ground-floor room



2. Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, fireplace in north first-floor room showing mortices on jowl post and cross-beam (centre left)



3. Methwold (Norfolk), Old Vicarage, south end of original first-floor room with arched brace to cross-beam (right), braced post (centre) and doorway position (left)



1. Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, view of ground-floor of east gable with blocked window, moulded jetty plate and ornamented dragon post (right)



2. Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, view towards open first-floor truss at west gable with chimney bay defined by lack of joists



3. Fressingfield (Suffolk), Fox and Goose Inn, view east through first floor showing blocked service doorway (rear left) into hall



1. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Market House, shopfront on west side of covered passage



2. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Market House, blocked windows from ground-floor room at west end of Market House (viewed from later Guildhall)



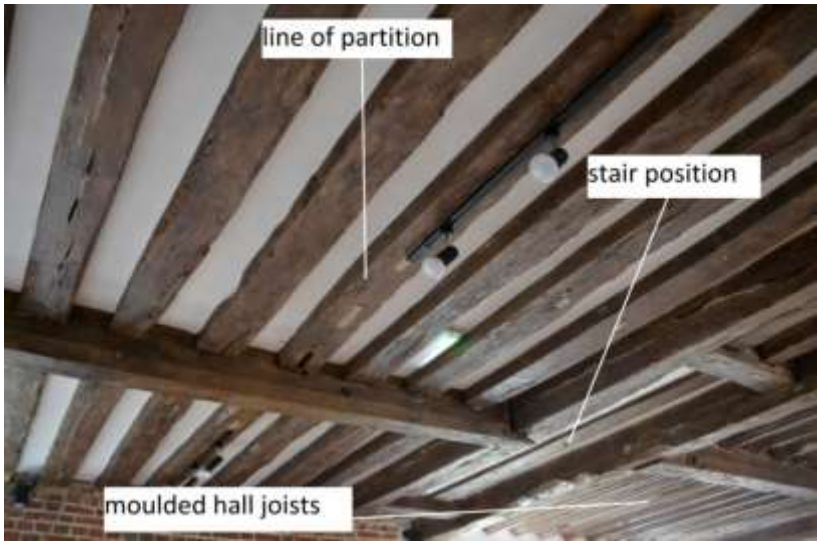
3. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Market House, surviving second-floor room with central crown post



1. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, view south through first-floor hall towards original end wall



2. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, view south through ground-floor hall



3. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, plain joists in ancillary room at south end of ground floor (cf. moulded joists of hall), with cross-passage and staircase position



1. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, first-floor entrance doorway (right) following extension and building of new stair turret



2. Hadleigh (Suffolk), Guildhall, north end of ground floor showing positions of end wall and internal wall, with corresponding differences in joist mouldings



3. Aldeburgh (Suffolk), Moot Hall, view north through first-floor hall (from small chamber)



1. Aldeburgh (Suffolk), Moot Hall, west elevation with intact central shop unit of door and two adjacent windows



2. Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, view of typical queen post and bracing



3. Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, view of first-floor west gable wall, formerly an open truss with arched braces



1. Laxfield (Suffolk), Old Guildhall, view west through remaining part of first-floor hall to service room partition and doorways

Appendix One

List of Community Buildings in the South West

Note on Appendices

The subsequent tables provide a ‘long-list’ of extant buildings in numerous counties, which, through a combination of form, name and location, were considered as contenders for the community building type. It should be noted that not all buildings might, on further investigation, demonstrate this type. The tables are to be understood as ‘live’ and therefore to be added to, or subtracted from, following further research. Not all buildings listed were visited during the course of the research.

As well as historic county and parish, additional information has been provided toease identification, including: address, approximate date of earliest phase, building material, listing grade and number (where applicable) and whether residential or non-residential use.

County (Historic)	Parish	Building Name	Address	Approx. Date	Orig. Material	Listing Grade	List Entry No.	Current Use
Cornwall	**Budock Water**	The Vestry	Churchtown, Budock Water, Falmouth, Cornwall TR11 5BZ	C19	TF	II	1141986	Non-resi
Cornwall	**Constantine**	The Church Room	Church Square, Constantine, Falmouth, Cornwall TR11 5AB	C16	Stone	II	1142108	Non-resi
Cornwall	**Fowey**	Fowey Museum	Town Hall, Trafalgar Square, Fowey, Cornwall PL23 1AT	C15	Stone	II*	1210657	Non-resi
Cornwall	**Kenwyn**	Lych Gate	Knights Hill, Kenwyn, Truro, Cornwall TR1 3DR	C17	Stone	II	1205425	Non-resi
Cornwall	**Kilkhampton**	West Cottage	West Street, Kilkhampton, Bude, Cornwall EX23 9QW	C16	Stone	II	1230495	Resi
Cornwall	**Looe**	The Old Guildhall	Higher Market Street, Looe PL13 1AX	C16	Stone	II*	1201113	Non-resi
Cornwall	**North Tamerton**	Church Cottage	1 Victory Road, North Tamerton, Cornwall EX22 6RX	C17	Stone	II	1137231	Resi
Cornwall	**Padstow**	Court House	8 Riverside, Padstow, Cornwall PL28 8BY	C16	Stone	II	1212206	Resi
Cornwall	**Poughill**	Church House	Poughill Road, Bude, Cornwall EX23 9ER	C16	Stone	II*	1278759	Resi
Cornwall	**Poundstock**	The Guildhouse	Poundstock, Cornwall EX23 0AX	C15	Stone	I	1141793	Non-resi
Cornwall	**St Clement**	Lych Gate	St Clement, Truro, Cornwall TR1 1SZ	C19	Stone	II	1141073	Non-resi
Cornwall	**St Hilary**	Church House	St Hilary, Penzance, Cornwall TR20 9DQ	C19	Stone	II	1310170	Non-resi

Cornwall	**St Teath**	Community Centre	Churchyard, St Teath, Cornwall PL30 3JT	C16	Stone	II*	1158789	Non-resi
Cornwall	**St Tudy**	The Clink	Redvale Road, St Tudy, Cornwall PL30 3NN	C17	Stone	II	1162270	Non-resi
Cornwall	**Stratton**	1 & 2 Church Street	1 & 2 Church Street, Stratton, Cornwall EX23 9DE	C15	Stone	II*	1141878	Resi
Cornwall	**Wendron**	Lychgate	Wendron, Helston, Cornwall TR13 0EA	C18	Stone	II*	1162651	Non-resi
Devon	**Abbotskerswell**	Church House	Main Street, Abbotskerswell, Devon TQ12 5NZ	C16	Stone	II	1097318	Non-resi
Devon	**Berry Pomeroy**	Church Cottages	Berry Pomeroy, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6LQ	C16	Stone	II	1324895	Resi
Devon	**Bickington**	Church House and Dove Cote	Bickington, Newton Abbott, Devon TQ12 6JX	C16	Stone	II*	1097153	Resi
Devon	**Bovey Tracey**	Church Steps	Bradley Road, Bovey Tracey, Devon TQ13 9EN	C16	Cob	II	1165683	Resi
Devon	**Bratton Fleming**	Church House	Bratton Fleming, Barnstaple, Devon EX31 4SA	C17	Stone	II	1164474	Resi
Devon	**Braunton**	Church House	Old School Rooms, Church Street, Braunton, Devon EX33 2EL	C16	Stone	II*	1161569	Non-resi
Devon	**Brayford**	The Old Church House	Brayford, Devon EX34 7QL	C16	Stone	II	1107674	Resi
Devon	**Bridgerule**	St Bridget and St Katherine's Cottages	Bridgerule, Holsworthy, Devon EX22 7EL	C16	Stone	II	1164081	Resi
Devon	**Broadclyst**	Red Lion Inn	Broadclyst, Exeter, Devon EX5 3EL	C17	Stone	II	1098317	Non-resi
Devon	**Broadhembury**	Church Gate	Broadhembury, Honiton, Devon EX14 3NF	C16	Stone	II*	1204377	Resi

Devon	**Broadhempston**	Monks Retreat Inn	Broadhempston, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6BN	C16	Stone	II	1097333	Non-resi
Devon	**Buckland Monarchorum**	Drake Manor Inn	Buckland Monachorum, Yelverton, Devon PL20 7NA	C17	Stone	II	1318125	Non-resi
Devon	**Buckland-in-the-Moor**	Church Cottage	Buckland-in-the-Moor, Ashburton, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ13 7HN	C16	Stone	II	1209712	Resi
Devon	**Chagford**	Endecott House	High Street, Chagford, Devon TQ13 8AJ	C16	Stone	II*	1308676	Non-resi
Devon	**Chardstock**	George Inn	Chard St, Chardstock, Axminster, Devon EX13 7BX	C16	Stone	II*	1333537	Non-resi
Devon	**Cheriton Bishop**	Church Cottage	Church Lane, Cheriton Bishop, Devon EX6 6HY	C15	Cob	II	1169807	Resi
Devon	**Cheriton Fitzpaine**	The Old Thatched School	Cheriton Fitzpaine, Crediton Devon, EX17 4JG	C18	Stone	II	1170450	Resi
Devon	**Churchstow**	Church House Inn	Churchstow, Kingsbridge, Devon TQ7 3QW	C16	Stone	II	1108149	Non-resi
Devon	**Colebrooke**	Rowes Farmhouse	Rowes Farm, Colebrooke, Crediton, Devon EX17 5JH	C16	Stone	II	1262117	Resi
Devon	**Colyton**	Old Church House	Market Place, Colyton, Devon EX24 6JS	C16	Stone	II	1098527	Resi
Devon	**Combe Martin**	Community Centre	Church Street, Combe Martin, Devon EX34 0LQ	C16	Stone	II	1106803	Non-resi
Devon	**Combe Raleigh**	Fidlers and Glebe Cottage	Combe Raleigh, Honiton, Devon EX14 4TQ	C16	Stone	II	1333785	Resi
Devon	**Dartington**	The Old Church House	Higher Week, Dartington, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6JP	C16	Stone	II	1210539	Resi
Devon	**Dartington**	New Church House Cottage	Higher Week, Dartington, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6JP	C16	Stone	II	1108335	Resi

Devon	**Denbury and Torbryan**	Old Church House Inn	Torbryan, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ12 5UR	C16	Stone	II*	1249793	Non-resi
Devon	**Diptford**	Church Cottage & Church House	Church House, Diptford, Devon TQ9 7NY	C16	Stone	II	1324979	Resi
Devon	**Dowland**	Manor Cottage	Dowland, Winkleigh, Devon EX19 3PD	C16	Stone	II	1104603	Resi
Devon	**Down St Mary**	Marylea	Down St Mary, Crediton, Devon EX17 6DZ	C16	Cob	II	1242600	Resi
Devon	**Drewsteignton**	Church Rooms	1 Knowle Lane, Drewsteignton, Devon EX6 6QN	C16	Stone	II*	1106077	Non-resi
Devon	**East and West Buckland**	1-2 Church Cottages	East Buckland, Barnstaple, Devon EX32 0TD	C16	Stone	II	1310218	Resi
Devon	**East Budleigh**	Church Cottage & Church Stile Cottage	23 High Street, East Budleigh, Budleigh Salterton, Devon EX9 7ED	C16	Cob	II	1097450	Resi
Devon	**East Down**	Church Room	Churchyard, East Down, Devon EX31 4LY	C19	Stone	II	1107151	Non-resi
Devon	**East Ogwell**	The Jolly Sailor	Ogwell, Newton Abbott, Devon TQ12 6AW	C16?	Stone	II	1169995	Non-resi
Devon	**East Worlington**	School House	East Worlington, Crediton, Devon EX17 4TS	C17	Cob	II	1107335	Non-resi
Devon	**Exeter**	The Guildhall	High Street, Exeter, Devon EX4 3EB	C15	Stone	I	1103905	Non-resi
Devon	**Exeter**	Tuckers' Hall	140 Fore Street, Exeter, Devon EX4 3AN	C15	Stone	II*	1103965	Non-resi
Devon	**Exminster**	The Priest's House	Main Road, Exminster, Devon EX6 8AP	C16	Stone	II	1097042	Resi
Devon	**George Nympton**	Church House	George Nympton, South Molton, Devon EX36 4JE	C16	Stone	II	1107238	Resi

Devon	**Georgeham**	Millie's Cottage	Georgeham, Braunton, Devon EX33 1JJ	C16	Stone	II	1162053	Resi
Devon	**Germansweek**	Paul's Shop	Old Pauls Shop, Germansweek, Beaworthy, Devon EX21 5BP	C16	Stone	II	1317271	Resi
Devon	**Haccombe with Combe**	Church House	Combeinteignhead, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ12 4RA	C16	Stone	II	1097737	Resi
Devon	**Halwell and Moreleigh**	Braeside Rose Cottage and Alms Cottage	Church Street, Halwell, Devon TQ9 7JB	C16	Stone	II	1213943	Resi
Devon	**Harberton**	Church House Inn	Harberton, Totnes, Devon TQ9 7SF	C16	Stone	II*	1108225	Non-resi
Devon	**Hartland**	Church House	Stoke, Hartland, Bideford, Devon EX39 6DU	C15	Stone	II*	1146627	Resi
Devon	**High Bray**	Old Church House	High Bray, Brayford, Barnstaple, Devon EX32 7QL	C16	Stone	II	1325364	Resi
Devon	**Hockworthy**	Court Hall Farmhouse	Hockworthy, Devon TA21 0NW	C17	Stone	II*	1147804	Resi
Devon	**Holcombe Rogus**	The Priest House	Fore Street, Holcombe Rogus, Devon TA21 0PE	C16	Stone	II*	1307172	Resi
Devon	**Holne**	Church House Inn	Holne-by-Ashburton, Newton Abbott, Devon TQ13 7SJ	C16	Stone	II	1107381	Non-resi
Devon	**Ilsington**	1-3 St Michael's Cottages	Ilsington, Newton Abbott, Devon TQ13 9RJ	C16	Stone	II*	1358910	Resi
Devon	**Kenton**	Kenton School	Mamhead Road, Kenton, Exeter, Devon EX6 8LY	C16	Stone	II	1097676	Resi
Devon	**Kingkerswell**	Tudor Cottage and Gospel Hall	3 Church End Road, Kingkerswell, Devon TQ12 5DS	C16	Cob	II	1164906	Resi
Devon	**King's Nympton**	Glebe House	King's Nympton, Umberleigh, Devon EX37 9SS	C17	Cob	II	1106699	Resi

Devon	**Lamerton**	Ye Olde Priest's House	Church Avenue, Lamerton, Tavistock PL19 8RN	C13	Stone	II	1105743	Resi
Devon	**Landkey**	1-3 Causeway (former Ring O' Bells PH)	1-3 Causeway, Manor Road, Landkey, Barnstaple, Devon EX32 0JJ	C15	Stone	II	1164986	Resi
Devon	**Littlehempston**	Tally Ho Inn	Littlehempston, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6LY	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Non-resi
Devon	**Lustleigh**	Church House	Lustleigh, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ13 9TD	C16	Stone	II	1097363	Resi
Devon	**Manaton**	Church Cottage	Manaton, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ13 9UJ	C16	Stone	II	1097226	Resi
Devon	**Marldon**	Church House Inn	Village Road, Marldon, Devon TQ3 1SL	C16	Stone	II	1324888	Non-resi
Devon	**Marwood**	Parish Room & Lych Gate	Marwood, Devon, EX31 4EB	C19	Stone	II	1325540	Non-resi
Devon	**Meavy**	Royal Oak Inn	Meavy, Devon PL20 6PJ	C16	Stone	II	1105441	Non-resi
Devon	**Molland**	Church Gate Cottages	1, 2 & 3 Church Gate Cottages, Molland, Devon EX36 3NG	C16	Stone	II	1213509	Resi
Devon	**Newton Poppleford**	Church Green Cottages	1-2 Church Green, High Street, Newton Poppleford, Devon EX10 0DX	C15	Cob	II	1141410	Resi
Devon	**North Huish**	Church House	North Huish, South Brent, Devon TQ10 9NQ	C17	Stone	II	1227876	Resi
Devon	**Nymet Tracey**	St Martin's	Nymet Tracey, Bow, Crediton, Devon EX17 6DB	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Resi
Devon	**Parracombe**	Church Cottage	Parracombe, Devon EX31 4RJ	C16	Stone	II	1306615	Resi

Devon	**Peter Tavy**	Church Cottage	1-2 Church Cottages, Peter Tavy, Tavistock, Devon PL19 9NN	C17	Stone	II	1105406	Resi
Devon	**Poughill**	Village Hall	Poughill, Crediton, Devon EX17 4LA	C19	Stone	N/A	N/A	Non-resi
Devon	**Rattery**	Church House Inn	Rattery, Devon TQ10 9LD	C16	Stone	II	1308433	Non-resi
Devon	**Sampford Courtenay**	Church House	Chapple Lane, Sampford Courtenay, Devon EX20 2SY	C16	Stone	II*	1105293	Resi
Devon	**Sampford Spiney**	The Old National School	Sampford Spiney, Yelverton, Devon PL20 6LH	C16	Stone	II	1326239	Resi
Devon	**Satterleigh and Warkleigh**	Church Cottage	Warkleigh, Umberleigh, Devon EX37 9DE	C16	Stone	II	1258845	Resi
Devon	**Shaugh Prior**	Glebe Cottage	Shaugh Prior, Plymouth, Devon PL7 5HB	C16	Stone	II	1309464	Resi
Devon	**Silverton**	The Old Church House	1 Fore Street, Silverton, Devon EX5 4HP	C16	Cob	II	1106657	Resi
Devon	**South Brent**	Church House	South Brent, Devon TQ10 9AQ	C16	Stone	II	1325429	Resi
Devon	**South Milton**	Stable Cottage and Church Cottage	South Milton, Kingsbridge, Devon TQ7 3JL	C16	Stone/Cob	II	1169714	Resi
Devon	**South Tawton**	Church House	South Tawton, Okehampton, Devon EX20 2LQ	C15	Stone	II*	1106005	Non-resi
Devon	**Staverton**	Sea Trout Inn	Staverton, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6PA	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Non-resi
Devon	**Stockland**	Church Ale House	Churchstyle Farmhouse, Stockland, Devon EX14 9BR	C17	Cob	II	1333612	Non-resi
Devon	**Stockleigh English**	St Mary's Cottage	Stockleigh English, Crediton, Devon EX17 4DD	C16	Cob	II	1250889	Resi

Devon	**Stockleigh Pomeroy**	Church Cottage	Stockleigh Pomeroy, Devon EX17 4AU	C16	Cob	II	1251023	Resi
Devon	**Stoke Gabriel**	Church House Inn	Church Walk, Stoke Gabriel, Totnes TQ9 6SD	C16	Stone	II	1108496	Non-resi
Devon	**Stokeinteignhead**	Church House Inn	Stokeinteignhead, Devon TQ12 4QA	C16	Stone	II	1170600	Non-resi
Devon	**Stokenham**	Church House Inn	Stokenham, Kingsbridge, Devon TQ7 2SZ	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Non-resi
Devon	**Stoodleigh**	Church Cottage	Stoodleigh, Tiverton, Devon EX16 9PQ	C16	Stone	II	1106875	Resi
Devon	**Sutcombe**	Morice Terrace	Sutcombe, Holsworthy, Devon EX22 7PP	C17	Stone	II	1105099	Resi
Devon	**Swimbridge**	The Old School Room	Swimbridge Pre-School, Watergate, Swimbridge, Barnstaple, Devon EX32 0PR	C17	Stone	II	1317155	Non-resi
Devon	**Thorverton**	Abbotsford	The Bury, Thorverton, Exeter, Devon EX5 5NT	C17	Stone	II	1240593	Resi
Devon	**Throwleigh**	Church House	Throwleigh, Okehampton, Devon EX20 2HU	C16	Stone	II*	1168267	Resi
Devon	**Thurlestone**	1-3 Church Cottages	Thurlestone, Kingsbridge, Devon TQ7 3NJ	C16	Stone	II	1324949	Resi
Devon	**Totnes**	The Guildhall	Guildhall Yard, Totnes, Devon TQ9 5QH	C16	Stone	I	1235949	Non-resi
Devon	**Uplyme**	Court Hall Farmhouse	Pound Lane, Uplyme, Devon DT7 3XJ	C17	Stone	II	1171351	Resi
Devon	**Upottery**	Church Cottage	Sandy's Lane, Upottery, Devon EX14 9QT	C16	Stone	II	1098218	Resi

Devon	**Walkhampton**	Church House Cottages	Walkhampton, Devon PL20 6JY	C16	Stone	II*	1105374	Resi
Devon	**West Alvington**	Old Stones, School Cottage & Pay Cottage	West Alvington, Kingsbridge, Devon TQ7 3PN	C16	Stone	II*	1324917	Resi
Devon	**West Anstey**	Church House	West Anstey, South Molton, Devon EX36 3PE	C16	Stone	II	1305812	Resi
Devon	**West Worlington**	Church Cottage, Middle Cottage & Lower Cottage	West Worlington, Crediton, Devon EX17 4TT	C16	Stone	II	1325474	Resi
Devon	**Westleigh**	Church Rooms at West Entrance to Churchyard	Churchyard, Westleigh, Devon EX39 4NL	C16	Stone	II	1325339	Resi
Devon	**Whitchurch**	Whitchurch Inn	Church Hill, Whitchurch, Tavistock, Devon PL19 9ED	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Non-resi
Devon	**Widecombe-In-the-Moor**	Church House	Widecombe-in-the-Moor, Newton Abbott, Devon TQ13 7TA	C16	Stone	II*	1259960	Non-resi
Devon	**Winkleigh**	Church House	3 Queen Street, Winkleigh, Devon EX19 8JB	C16	Stone	II	1104550	Resi
Devon	**Woodleigh**	Church House	Woodleigh, Kingsbridge, Devon TQ7 4DG	C16	Stone	II	1169152	Resi
Devon	**Woolfhardisworthy**	Glebe Cottage	Woolfhardisworthy, Crediton, Devon EX17 4RX	C17	Cob	II	1251342	Resi
Devon	**Yarcombe**	Yarcombe Inn	Yarcombe, Honiton, Devon EX14 9BD	C16	Stone	II	1306402	Non-resi
Dorset	**Corfe Castle**	The Old Town Hall	West Street, Corfe Castle, Dorset BH20 5EX	C17	Brick	II*	1121006	Non-resi
Dorset	**Poole**	Old Town House (Scaplens Court)	4 High Street, Poole, Dorset BH15 1BW	C15	Stone	I	1275378	Non-resi

Dorset	**Sherborne**	Former Church House	Half Moon Street, Sherborne, Dorset DT9 3LN	C16	Stone	II*	1110736	Non-resi
Somerset	**Abbas and Templecombe**	Church House	Church Hill, Templecombe, Somerset BA8 0HQ	C17	Stone	II	1056353	Resi
Somerset	**Axbridge**	The Old Church House	The Square, Axbridge, Somerset BS26 2AP	C15	Stone	II	1059121	Resi
Somerset	**Baltonsborough**	Church House / Church View	Church Walk, Baltonsborough, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8RL	C16	Stone	II	1345011	Non-resi
Somerset	**Cannington**	Almshouse	1-5 Henry Rogers House, High Street, Cannington, Somerset TA5 2HE	C16	Stone	II	1308297	Non-resi
Somerset	**Cheddar**	Church Farmhouse	Church Street, Cheddar, Somerset BS27 3RF	C15	Stone	II*	1344877	Resi
Somerset	**Chew Magna**	Old School Room	Chew Street, Chew Magna, Somerset BS40 8SH	C16	Stone	II*	1135935	Non-resi
Somerset	**Cothelstone**	Manor Cottages	Cothelstone Road, Cothelstone, Somerset TA4 3DS	C15	Stone	II	1059194	Resi
Somerset	**Crowcombe**	Church House	Crowcombe, Taunton, Somerset TA4 4AR	C16	Stone	II*	1057446	Non-resi
Somerset	**Fitzhead**	Village Hall	Fitzhead, Taunton, Somerset TA4 3JT	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Non-resi
Somerset	**Frome**	The Old Church House	1 Eagle Lane, Frome, Somerset BA11 1PL	C17	TF	II	1173034	Resi
Somerset	**Langford Budville**	Hillview Cottages	Butts Lane, Langford Budville, Somerset TA21 0RN	C17	Stone	II	1344575	Resi
Somerset	**Long Ashton**	Angel Inn	172 Long Ashton Road, Long Ashton, Somerset BS41 9LT	C15	Stone	II	1311840	Non-resi

Somerset	**Martock**	Court House	Church Street, Martock, Somerset TA12 6JL	C16	Stone	II*	1227536	Resi
Somerset	**Milborne Port**	The Guildhall	6-7 High Street, Milborne Port, Somerset DT9 5AG	C17	Stone	II	1295536	Resi
Somerset	**Monksilver**	Courthall	Front Street, Monksilver, Somerset TA4 4JB	C16	Stone	II	1296053	Resi
Somerset	**Publow**	Bridge House	Stanton Lane, Pensford, Bristol BS39 4AL	C16	TF	II	1136398	Resi
Somerset	**Shepton Beauchamp**	Salisbury House	Church Street, Shepton Beauchamp, Ilminster, Somerset TA19 0LQ	C16	Stone	II	1237297	Resi
Somerset	**Spaxton**	St Margarets Cottage	Church Road, Spaxton, Bridgwater TA5 1DA	C16	Stone	N/A	N/A	Resi
Somerset	**Stanton Drew**	Church Farmhouse	Stanton Drew, Bristol BS39 4EW	C15	Stone	II	1320714	Resi
Somerset	**Stoford**	22/23 The Green	22/23 The Green, Stoford, Yeovil BA22 9UD	C15	Stone	II	1057231	Resi
Somerset	**Stogumber**	The Brewhouse	High Street, Stogumber, Somerset TA4 3TA	C16	Stone	II	1057502	Non-resi
Somerset	**Stoke-sub-Hambdon**	Fleur de Lis Inn	West Street, Stoke Sub Hamdon, Somerset TA14 6PU	C16	Stone	II	1116988	Non-resi
Somerset	**Wick St Lawrence**	Banksea Cottages	1-2 Banksea Cottages, Wick St Lawrence, Weston-super-Mare BS22 7YP	C16	Stone	II	1156476	Resi
Somerset	**Williton**	1, 4 & 5 Church Cottages	Williton, Taunton, Somerset TA4 4NS	C16	Stone	II	1174710	Resi
Somerset	**Yatton**	Lady Florence Stalling Almshouses	Church Road, Yatton, Bristol BS49 4HH	C15	Stone	II	1137428	Resi

Appendix Two

List of Community Buildings in East Anglia

County (Historic)	Parish	Building Name	Address	Date	Orig. Material	Listing Grade	List Entry No.	Current Use
Cambridgeshire	**Dullingham**	Guildhall	2 Station Road, Dullingham, Cambs. CB8 9UP	C15	TF	II*	1126323	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Duxford**	College Farmhouse	Green Street, Duxford, Cambs. CB22 4RH	C16	TF	II	1309461	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Fen Ditton**	Barn to NW of Ditton Hall	Ditton Hall, Fen Ditton, Cambs. CB5 8ST	C15	TF	II*	1331306	Non-resi
Cambridgeshire	**Gamlingay**	13-15 Church St	13 and 15 Church Street, Gamlingay, Cambs. SG19 3JH	C16	TF	II	1128175	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Great Abington**	The Old Guildhouse	88 High Street, Great Abington, Cambs. CB21 6AE	C15	TF	II	1309994	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Great Shelford**	15, 17 and 19 Church Street	Church Street, Great Shelford, Cambs. CB22 5EL	C16	TF	II	1127894	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Helpston**	Church House	2 Church Lane, Helpston, Peterborough, PE6 7DT	C17	Stone	II	1317858	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Hildersham**	Church Cottages	1-2 Church Cottages, High Street, Hildersham, Cambs. CB21 6BZ	C16	TF	II	1331141	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Hinxton**	The Old Manor House	29 High Street, Hinxton, Cambs. CB10 1QY	C15	TF	II*	1330970	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Linton**	Barham Hall	Bartlow Road, Linton, Cambs. CB21 4PN	C16	TF	II*	1161958	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Linton**	The Guildhall	4 Church Lane, Linton, Cambs. CB21 4JX	C16	TF	II*	1331166	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Thriplow**	Bassetts	21 Lower Street, Thriplow, Cambs. SG8 7RJ	C16	TF	II*	1317239	Resi

Cambridgeshire	**Whittlesford**	The Guildhall	North Road, Whittlesford, Cambs. CB22 4XF	C16	TF	II*	1165789	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Wilburton**	The Rectory	West End, Wilburton, Cambs. CB6 3RE	C15	TF	II*	1331470	Resi
Cambridgeshire	**Wisbech**	The Conservative Club	29 Hill Street, Wisbech, Cambs. PE13 1BD	C14	Stone	II*	1126681	Non-resi
Essex	**Ashdon**	Guildhall	Church End, Ashdon, Essex CB10 2HG	C15	TF	II*	1112492	Resi
Essex	**Blackmore, Hook E & Wyatts Grn**	Barn	Fingrith Hall Farm, Fingrith Hall Lane, Ingatestone CM4 0JN	C17	TF	II	1297287	Non-resi
Essex	**Brentwood**	Wealdcote	47 Wigley Bush Lane, Brentwood, Essex CM14 5QN	C16	TF	II	1297219	Resi
Essex	**Castle Hedingham**	The Old Moot House	1 St James Street, Castle Hedingham, Essex CO9 3EJ	C15	TF	II	1122923	Non-resi
Essex	**Clavering**	Guild House	Guild House, Clavering, Essex CB11 4PJ	C15	TF	II*	1112457	Resi
Essex	**Coggeshall**	18-20 Stoneham Street	18-20 Stoneham Street, Coggeshall, Essex CO6 1TT	C15	TF	II	1306041	Resi
Essex	**Feering**	Church Gate House	1 The Street, Feering, Essex CO5 9QJ	C16	TF	II	1169574	Resi
Essex	**Felsted**	Old School Room	5 Station Road, Felsted, Essex CM6 3DG	C15	TF	I	1146621	Non-resi
Essex	**Finchingfield**	Guildhall	Church Hill, Finchingfield, Essex CM7 4NW	C15	TF	I	1115594	Non-resi
Essex	**Gestingthorpe**	Hill Farm Outbuilding	Sudbury Road, Gesthingthorpe, Essex CO9 3BL	C14	TF	II	1123077	Non-resi
Essex	**Great Bardfield**	Rear Wing of Bank House	High Street, Great Bardfield, Essex CM7 4SP	C15	TF	II*	1123478	Resi

Essex	**Great Tey**	Guildhall Cottages	1 and 2 The Street, Great Tey, Colchester, Essex CO6 1AE	C16	TF	II	1223389	Resi
Essex	**Herongate and Ingrave**	Granary/Court Hall 90m SE of Heron Hall	Billericay Road, Brentwood, Essex CM13 3SD	C17	Brick	II	1205471	Non-resi
Essex	**Ingatestone and Fryerning**	Gatehouse and Courtyard Ranges	Ingatestone Hall, Hall Lane, Ingatestone, Essex CM4 9NS	C16	TF	II*	1197286	Resi
Essex	**Kelvedon**	Ancillary Building 5m SE of Bridgefoot Farm	Bridgefoot Farm, Maldon Road, Kelvedon, Essex CO5 9BE	C16	TF	II	1123766	Resi
Essex	**Maldon**	Moot Hall	High Street, Maldon, Essex CM9 5PF	C15	Brick	I	1256887	Non-resi
Essex	**Matching**	Marriage Feast Room	Matching, Essex CM17 0QZ	C15	TF	II*	1166130	Non-resi
Essex	**Mount Bures**	The Olde House	Hall Road, Mount Bures, Bures, Essex CO8 5AJ	C16	TF	II	1224672	Resi
Essex	**Pattiswick**	Woodhouse Farmhouse	Bradwell, Essex CM7 8BB	C16	TF	II	1123883	Resi
Essex	**Romford**	Church House	15 Market Place, Romford, Essex RM1 3AB	C16	TF	II	1079903	Non-resi
Essex	**South Benfleet**	The Anchor Inn	1 Essex Way, Benfleet, Essex SS7 1LS	C14	TF	II*	1123689	Non-resi
Essex	**Steeple Bumpstead**	The Moot Hall	3 Church Street, Steeple Bumpstead, Essex CB9 7DG	C16	TF	II*	1146551	Resi
Essex	**Stisted**	18-19 The Street	The Street, Stilsted, Essex CM7 8AW	C16	TF	II	1171307	Resi
Essex	**Thaxted**	Guild Hall	19 Fishmarket Street, Thaxted, Essex CM6 2LA	C15	TF	I	1112905	Non-resi
Essex	**Thorpe-le-Soken**	The Bell Hotel	High Street, Thorpe-le-Soken, Essex CO16 0DY	C16	TF	II*	1112112	Non-resi

Essex	**Toppesfield**	Church Farmhouse	Church Lane, Toppesfield, Essex CO9 4DR	C15	TF	II	1122994	Resi
Norfolk	**Banham**	The Old Guildhall	1-2 Guildhall Cottages, Church Hill, Banham, Norfolk NR16 2AA	C16	TF	II	1169078	Resi
Norfolk	**Blakeney**	The Guildhall	High Street, Blakeney, Norfolk NR25 7NA	C15	Stone	II*	1373987	Non-resi
Norfolk	**Blo' Norton**	Church Farmhouse	The Street, Blo Norton, Diss, Norfolk IP22 2JB	C15	TF	II*	1077441	Resi
Norfolk	**Briston**	Church House	Church Street, Briston, Norfolk NR24 2LY	C17	Stone	II	1373780	Resi
Norfolk	**Dereham**	The Guildhall	St Withaburga Lane, Dereham, Norfolk NR19 1EE	C16	Brick	II	1169785	Resi
Norfolk	**Great Yarmouth**	The Tolhouse	Tolhouse Street, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk NR30 2SH	C12	Stone	I	1245560	Non-resi
Norfolk	**Hempnall**	Long House	The Street, Hempnall, Norfolk NR15 2AD	C16	TF	II	1304369	Resi
Norfolk	**King's Lynn**	The Guildhall	29 King Street, King's Lynn, Norfolk PE30 1HA	C15	Stone	I	1211953	Non-resi
Norfolk	**Methwold**	The Old Vicarage	11 Crown Street, Methwold, Thetford, Norfolk IP26 4NR	C15	TF	I	1342369	Non-resi
Norfolk	**Norwich**	The Guildhall	Goal Hill, Norwich, Norfolk NR2 1JS	C15	Stone	I	1187384	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Aldeburgh**	Moot Hall	18 Market Cross Place, Aldeburgh, Suffolk IP15 5DS	C16	TF	I	1269716	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Badwell Ash**	Barn at Street Farm	Street Farm, The Street, Badwell Ash, Suffolk IP31 3DH	C15	TF	II	1032212	Resi
Suffolk	**Bardwell**	The Old Guildhall	St. Peters Guildhall, Quaker Lane, Bardwell, Suffolk IP31 1AL	C15	TF	II	1376915	Resi

Suffolk	**Brampton with Stoven**	Church House	Stoven, Beccles, Suffolk NR34 8ER	C16	TF	II	1352591	Resi
Suffolk	**Burgate**	Hall Farm House	Hall Farm, Little Green, Burgate, Suffolk IP22 1QE	C15	TF	II*	1352234	Resi
Suffolk	**Bury St Edmunds**	The Guildhall	Guildhall Street, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk IP33 1PR	C13	Stone	I	1363726	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Clare**	The Maltings	Callis Street, Clare, Suffolk CO10 8PX	C15	TF	II	1031730	Resi
Suffolk	**Cockfield**	Church House	Church Cottage, Church Lane, Cockfield, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk IP30 0LA	C16	TF	II*	1194237	Resi
Suffolk	**Cratfield**	Town House	Church Road, Cratfield, Suffolk IP19 0BU	C15	TF	II	1182935	Resi
Suffolk	**Debenham**	Trinity Hall	1 Little Back Lane, Debenham, Suffolk IP14 6QW	C15	TF	II	1032327	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Debenham**	The Guildhall	2 Gracechurch Street, Debenham, Suffolk IP14 6RA	C16	TF	II*	1199276	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Debenham**	Outbuilding 10m north of Ulveston Hall	Stony Lane, Debenham, Suffolk IP14 6BW	C16	TF	II	1198979	Non-resi
Suffolk	**East Bergholt**	Churchgate House	1 Rectory Hill, East Bergholt, Suffolk CO7 6TG	C16	TF	II*	1033454	Resi
Suffolk	**Eye**	The Guildhall	Church Street, Eye, Suffolk IP23 7BD	C15	TF	I	1316621	Resi
Suffolk	**Fressingfield**	Fox and Goose Inn	Church Road, Fressingfield, Suffolk IP21 5PB	C16	TF	II*	1032967	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Gislingham**	The Old Guildhall	Mill Street, Gislingham, Eye, Suffolk IP23 8JT	C15	TF	II*	1180771	Resi

Suffolk	**Hadleigh**	Guildhall	Church Walk, Hadleigh, Suffolk IP7 5ED	C15	TF	I	1194046	Resi
Suffolk	**Halesworth**	15-16 Thoroughfare	15-16 Thoroughfare, Halesworth, Suffolk IP19 8AH	C15	TF	II	1224419	Resi
Suffolk	**Hawstead**	Church House	Church Road, Hawstead, Suffolk IP29 5NT	C15	TF	II	1229467	Resi
Suffolk	**Higham**	Ye Olde Guildhall	Higham Road, Higham, Suffolk CO7 6JZ	C16	TF	II	1351626	Resi
Suffolk	**Hitcham**	Old House	2 Church Lane, Hitcham, Suffolk IP7 7NN	C16	TF	II	1037292	Resi
Suffolk	**Kelsale cum Carlton**	Kelsale Teachers Centre	18 Low Road, Kelsale, Suffolk IP17 2NX	C15	TF	II	1030641	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Lavenham**	Guildhall	Market Place, Lavenham, Suffolk CO10 9QZ	C16	TF	I	1037186	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Laxfield**	The Old Guildhall	The Street, Laxfield, Suffolk IP13 8DZ	C16	TF	II*	1180990	Resi
Suffolk	**Monks Eleigh**	The Old Guildhall	1 The Street, Monks Eleigh, Suffolk, IP7 7AU	C15	TF	II	1037098	Resi
Suffolk	**Nayland-with-Wissington**	The Old Guildhall	12 High Street, Nayland-with-Wissington, Suffolk CO6 4JE	C15	TF	II	1351876	Resi
Suffolk	**Needham Market**	2-4 High Street	2-4 High Street, Needham Market, Suffolk IP6 8AP	C17	TF	II	1254055	Resi
Suffolk	**Palgrave**	Brackendale	Lion Road, Palgrave, Suffolk IP22 1AN	C16	TF	II*	1032778	Resi
Suffolk	**Pettistree**	Greyhound Inn	The Street, Pettistree, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP13 0HP	C16	TF	II	1030268	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Ringshall**	Barn	Ringshall Farm Barn, Stowmarket Road, Ringshall, Suffolk IP14 2HZ	C16	TF	II*	1352190	Resi

Suffolk	**Stoke-by-Nayland**	The Old Guildhall & Tudor Cottages	3 School Street, Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk CO6 4QY	C16	TF	II*	1200348	Resi
Suffolk	**Stradbroke**	Town House	1-2 Town House, Church Street, Stradbroke, Suffolk IP21 5HS	C16	TF	II	1032851	Non-resi
Suffolk	**Wenhaston**	Church Cottages	1-3 Church Lane, Wenhaston, Suffolk IP19 9EG	C16	TF	II	1030613	Resi
Suffolk	**Wickhambrook**	Queens Cottage	Baxters Green, Newmarket, Suffolk CB8 8TS	C16	TF	II	1360806	Resi
Suffolk	**Woodbridge**	11 Theatre Street	11 Theatre Street, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 4NE	C15	TF	II	1031001	Resi
Suffolk	**Worlingworth**	Guildhall	Church Street, Worlingworth, Suffolk IP13 7NS	C16	TF	II	1287814	Resi
Suffolk	**Wrentham**	Old Guildhall	Church Street, Wrentham, Suffolk NR34 7LX	C16	TF	II	1182468	Resi
Suffolk	**Wyverstone**	Guildhall Place	The Street, Wyverstone, Stowmarket, Suffolk IP14 4SJ	C15	TF	II	1033112	Resi
Suffolk	**Yaxley**	Guildhall Cottage	The Guildhall, Ipswich Road, Yaxley, Eye, Suffolk IP23 8BS	C16	TF	II*	1033115	Resi

Appendix Three

List of Community Buildings in Other Areas

County (Historic)	Parish	Building Name	Address	Date	Orig. Material	Listing Grade	List Entry No.	Current Use
Bedfordshire	**Elstow**	Moot Hall	Church End, Elstow, Bedfordshire MK42 9XT	C15	TF	II*	1136906	Non-resi
Berkshire	**Cookham**	Church Gate House	Sutton Road, Cookham, Maidenhead, Berkshire SL6 9SN	C14	TF	II*	1303445	Resi
Berkshire	**Hurst**	The Castle Inn	Church Street, Hurst, Reading, Berkshire RG10 0SJ	C16	TF	II	1319474	Non-resi
Berkshire	**Shrivenham**	Church House	28 Claypits Lane, Shrivenham, Oxfordshire SN6 8AH	C17	Stone	II	1368345	Resi
Berkshire	**Sonning**	The Bull Inn	High Street, Sonning, Berkshire RG4 6UP	C16	TF	II*	1117462	Non-resi
Berkshire	**Stanford-in-the-Vale**	Former House	Church Green, Stanford-in-the-Vale, Oxfordshire SN7 8HU	C16	TF	II	1284336	Resi
Berkshire	**Warfield**	Parish Room	Church Lane, Warfield, Berks. RG42 6EG	C16	TF	II	1390396	Non-resi
Buckinghamshire	**Fenny Stratford**	11 and 13 High Street	Chantry House, 11-13 Watling Street, Bletchley, Milton Keynes MK2 2BU	C14	TF	II*	1125436	Non-resi
Buckinghamshire	**High Wycombe**	The Little Market House	High Street, High Wycombe, Bucks.	C17	Brick	II*	1310836	Non-resi
Buckinghamshire	**Long Crendon**	The Courthouse	116 High Street, Long Crendon, Bucks. HP18 9AN	C15	TF	II*	1214040	Non-resi
Buckinghamshire	**West Wycombe**	The Church Loft	High Street, West Wycombe, Bucks. HP14 3AB	C15	TF	II*	1125134	Resi

Cumberland	**Carlisle**	Guildhall	Fisher Street, Carlisle, Cumbria CA3 8JE	C15	TF	I	1210129	Non-resi
Cumberland	**Ireby**	Moot Hall	Suncroft, Ireby, Cumbria CA7 1DU	C16	Stone	II	1146313	Resi
Derbyshire	**Eckington**	35 Church Street	35 Church Street, Eckington, Derbyshire S21 4BG	C16	Stone	II	1370066	Resi
Derbyshire	**Tissington**	Church House	Tissington, Ashbourne, Derbyshire DE6 1RA	C17	Stone	II	1109272	Resi
Derbyshire	**Winster**	Market Hall	Main Street, Winster, Derbyshire DE4 2DJ	C16	Stone	II*	1245115	Non-resi
Gloucestershire	**Coln St Aldwyns**	The Stores	Coln Village Stores, Main Street, Coln St Aldwyns, Cirencester, Glos. GL7 5AN	C16	Stone	II	1156310	Non-resi
Gloucestershire	**Elkstone**	The Priest's House	Priest's House, Elkstone, Cheltenham GL53 9PB	C15	Stone	II	1088447	Resi
Gloucestershire	**Minchinhampton**	Market House	Market Square, Minchinhampton, Glos. GL6 9BW	C17	Stone	II*	1340484	Non-resi
Gloucestershire	**Newent**	Market House	Market Square, Newent, Glos. GL18 1AH	C16/C17	TF	II	1078631	Non-resi
Gloucestershire	**Painswick**	Stocks Cottage	St. Mary's Street, Painswick, Stroud, Glos. GL6 6QB	C17	Stone	II	1091574	Resi
Gloucestershire	**Prescott**	The Cottage	Stanley Pontlarge, Cheltenham, Glos. GL54 5HD	C14	Stone	II	1091663	Resi
Gloucestershire	**Redmarley D'abitot**	Church House	The Causeway, Redmarley D'abitot, Glos. GL19 3HS	C16	TF	II	1156556	Resi
Gloucestershire	**Rodmarton**	The Old Cottage	Rodmarton, Cirencester, Glos. GL7 6PE	C16	Stone	II	1304158	Resi

Gloucestershire	**Standish**	Church House	Standish Lane, Standish, Glos. GL10 3EU	C16	Stone	II	1091336	Non-resi
Gloucestershire	**Stow-on-the-Wold**	St Edwards Grammar School	Church Street, Stow-on-the-Wold, Glos. GL54 1BB	C16	Stone	II*	1078374	Non-resi
Gloucestershire	**Wotton-under-Edge**	The Ancient Ram Inn	Potters Pond, Wotton-under-Edge, Stroud, Glos. GL12 7HF	C16	TF	II*	1088885	Non-resi
Hampshire	**Southampton**	Bargate and Guildhall	West Bargate, Southampton, Hants.	C12	Stone	I	1092087	Non-resi
Herefordshire	**Colwall**	The Church Cottage	Flapgate Lane, Colwall, Malvern, Herefordshire WR13 6HJ	C16	TF	II	1302409	Non-resi
Herefordshire	**Cradley**	Parish Hall	Rectory Lane, Cradley, Malvern, Herefordshire WR13 5LH	C15	TF	II*	1082300	Non-resi
Herefordshire	**Ledbury**	Market House	High Street, Ledbury, Herefordshire	C17	TF	II*	1349392	Non-resi
Herefordshire	**Pembridge**	Court House Farmhouse	Bearwood Lane, Pembridge, Herefordshire HR6 9EA	C17	TF	II	1349911	Resi
Herefordshire	**Pembridge**	Church House	West Street, Pembridge, Herefordshire HR6 9DU	C16	TF	II	1166985	Resi
Herefordshire	**Richards Castle**	Court House Farmhouse	Wheatcommon Lane, Richards Castle, Herefordshire SY8 4EW	C17	TF	II*	1349875	Resi
Herefordshire	**Ross-on-Wye**	Market House	Market Pace, Ross-on-Wye, Herefordsire HR9 5BX	C17	Stone	II*	1098680	Non-resi
Hertfordshire	**Aldbury**	42 and 44 Trooper Road	42-44 Trooper Road, Aldbury, Tring, Herts. HP23 5RW	C16	TF	II	1342215	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Ashwell**	Village Museum	Swan Street, Ashwell, Herts. SG7 5NY	C16	TF	II*	1102724	Non-resi
Hertfordshire	**Barley**	The Town House	Church End, Barley, Hertfordshire SG8 8JW	C16	TF	II*	1347403	Non-resi

Hertfordshire	**Berkhamstead**	The Court House	Church Lane, Berkhamstead, Herts. HP4 2AX	C16	TF	II	1078131	Non-resi
Hertfordshire	**Hitchin**	Coopers Arms	81-2 Tilehouse Street, Hitchin, Herts. SG5 2DY	C15	TF	II	1102122	Non-resi
Hertfordshire	**Little Gaddesden**	John of Gaddesden's House	Little Gaddesden, Berkamsted, Herts. HP4 1PG	C16	TF	II*	1100427	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Northchurch**	84-96 High Street	Northchurch, Berkhamsted, Herts. HP4 3QN	C15	TF	II	1295556	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Rickmansworth**	The Priory	40 Church Street, Rickmansworth, Herts. WD3 1DJ	C16	TF	II	1296195	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Sandon**	Old Sextons	Sandon, Buntingford, Herts. SG9 0QX	C16	TF	II	1347357	Resi
Hertfordshire	**St Albans**	The Old Moot House	25 Market Place, St Albans, Herts. AL3 5DL	C15	TF	II	1103069	Non-resi
Hertfordshire	**Standon**	54-60 High Street	54-60 High Street, Standon, Hertfordshire SG11 1RX	C16	TF	II*	1347522	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Standon**	Knight's Court	Hadham Road, Standon, Herts SG11 1LN	C16	TF	II*	1347492	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Welwyn**	Old Church House	4 Church Street, Welwyn, Herts. AL6 9LX	C16	TF	II	1174994	Resi
Hertfordshire	**Wheathampstead**	Bury Farm Cottages	48 Ash Grove, Wheathampstead, AL4 8DF	C16	TF	II	1347257	Resi
Huntingdonshire	**Buckden**	The Manor House	15A Church Street, Buckden, Cambs. PE19 5SH	C15	TF	II*	1161627	Resi
Isle of Wight	**Niton and Whitwell**	Old Church House Cottages	1-3 High Street, Niton and Whitwell, Isle of Wight PO38 2PZ	C16	Stone	II	1219350	Resi
Kent	**Brenchley**	The Old Vicarage	High Street, Brenchley, Kent TN12 7NQ	C15	TF	II*	1250138	Resi

Kent	**Canterbury**	The Guildhall	Clarks, Guildhall Street, Canterbury, Kent CT1 2JG	C13	Stone	II*	1085024	Non-resi
Kent	**Charing**	Vicarage Cottage	Vicarage Cottage, Market Place, Charing, Kent TN27 0LP	C16	TF	II*	1185849	Resi
Kent	**Cranbrook**	Church House	Carriers Road, Cranbrook, Kent	C16	TF	II	1336921	Non-resi
Kent	**East Malling and Larkfield**	132 Rocks Road	132-6 The Rocks Road, East Malling, Kent ME19 6AX	C16	TF	II	1070509	Resi
Kent	**Egerton**	Church House	The Street, Egerton, Ashford, Kent TN27 9AJ	C15	TF	II	1319982	Resi
Kent	**Elham**	Church Cottage	Vicarage Lane, Elham, Kent CT4 6TT	C16	TF	II	1241518	Resi
Kent	**Faversham**	The Guildhall	The Market Place, Faversham, Kent ME13 7AE	C16	TF	II*	1343844	Non-resi
Kent	**Faversham**	Old Grammar School	Shooting Meadows, Abbey Place, Faversham, Kent	C16	TF	II*	1344229	Non-resi
Kent	**Fordwich**	Give-ale Cottage	King Street, Fordwich, Kent CT2 0DB	C14	TF	II	1085669	Resi
Kent	**Fordwich**	Town Hall	King Street, Fordwich, Kent CT2 0DB	C16	TF	II*	1085670	Non-resi
Kent	**Goudhurst**	Church House	High Street, Goudhurst, Kent TN17 1AJ	C16	TF	II*	1338719	Resi
Kent	**Headcorn**	Cloth Hall	North Street, Headcorn, Kent TN27 9NN	C15	TF	II*	1344312	Non-resi
Kent	**Headcorn**	Shakespeare House	High Street, Headcorn, Kent TN27 9QA	C15	TF	II	1344308	Resi
Kent	**Hever**	Church Cottage	Hever Road, Hever, Kent TN8 7NH	C16	TF	II	1258343	Resi

Kent	**High Halden**	Church House	High Halden, Ashford, Kent TN26 3JB	C16	TF	II	1070962	Resi
Kent	**Higham**	The Old Vicarage	Church Street, Higham, Kent ME3 7LR	C16	TF	II	1096326	Resi
Kent	**Loose**	Church House	Church Street, Loose, Maidstone, Kent ME15 0BT	C15	TF	II	1263251	Resi
Kent	**Lydd**	Old Court Hall	1 Coronation Square, Lydd, Kent TN29 9DJ	C15	TF	II	1338213	Resi
Kent	**Lynsted**	Heathfield	Ludgate Lane, Lynsted, Kent ME9 0RQ	C16	TF	II	1069307	Resi
Kent	**Milton Regis**	Court Hall	The Court House, 110 High Street, Milton Regis, Kent	C15	TF	II*	1344240	Non-resi
Kent	**Otford**	Chantry House	The Green, Otford, Sevenoaks, Kent TN14 5PD	C14	TF	II*	1273144	Resi
Kent	**Otham**	Church House	Church Road, Otham, Maidstone, Kent ME15 8SA	C16	TF	II	1250722	Resi
Kent	**Penshurst**	The Old Guildhouse	Leicester Square, Penshurst, Kent TN11 8BJ	C15	TF	II*	1272985	Resi
Kent	**Pluckley**	Church Gates Cottage	The Street, Pluckley, Kent TN27 0QS	C16	TF	II	1335886	Resi
Kent	**Rodmersham**	Church Cottage	Church Street, Rodmersham, Kent ME9 0QD	C16	TF	II	1069287	Resi
Kent	**Sandwich**	The Guildhall	Cattle Market, Sandwich, Kent CT13 9AH	C16	TF	II*	1069731	Non-resi
Kent	**Selling**	Church House	Vicarage Lane, Selling, Kent ME13 9RD	C15	TF	II	1069075	Resi
Kent	**Smarden**	Pent House	The Street, Smarden, Kent TN27 8QA	C15	TF	II	1119650	Resi

Kent	**Sutton Valence**	Heaven Cottage	North Street, Sutton Valence, Kent ME17 3HR	C16	TF	II	1344323	Resi
Kent	**Throwley**	Church House	Throwley Road, Throwley, Faversham, Kent ME13 0PF	C16	TF	II	1203514	Resi
Leicestershire	**Leicester**	Old Town Hall	Guildhall Lane, Leicester LE1 5FG	C14	TF	I	1361405	Non-resi
Lincolnshire	**Boston**	St. Mary's Guildhall	Boston Guildhall, South Street, Boston, Lincs. PE21 6HT	C14	Stone	I	1389007	Non-resi
Lincolnshire	**Carlby**	Church House and Barn	Church Street, Carlby, Stamford, Lincs. PE9 4NB	C17	Stone	II	1317563	Resi
Lincolnshire	**Lincoln**	St Mary's Guildhall	High Street, Lincoln, Lincs LN5 7SF	C13	Stone	I	1388604	Non-resi
Lincolnshire	**Lincoln**	Stonebow and Guildhall	192 High Street, Lincoln, Lincs. LN2 1DH	C16	Stone	I	1388605	Non-resi
Lincolnshire	**Stamford**	6 Red Lion Square	6 Red Lion Square, Stamford, Lincs PE9 2AJ	C15	TF	II*	1062212	Non-resi
Northamptonshire	**Byfield**	Church House	Church Street, Byfield, Daventry, Northamptonshire NN11 6XN	C17	Stone	II	1054712	Resi
Northamptonshire	**Islip**	Nicholas House	The Green, Islip, Northamptonshire NN14 3LQ	C15	Stone	II	1040291	Non-resi
Northamptonshire	**Kings Sutton**	The Courthouse	The Square, Kings Sutton, Northamptonshire OX17 3RF	C15	Stone	II*	1226138	Resi
Northamptonshire	**Rothwell**	Market House	Market Hill, Rothwell, Northamptonshire NN14 6BW	C16	Stone	I	1288812	Non-resi
Northumberland	**Embleton**	The Moot Hall	Station Road, Embleton, Northumberland NE66 3XH	C17	Stone	II	1153709	Resi

Northumberland	**Hexham**	The Moot Hall	Hexham Moothall and Gallery, Hexham, Northumberland NE46 3NH	C14	Stone	I	1042577	Non-resi
Oxfordshire	**Abingdon**	Long Alley Almshouses	St Helen's Wharf, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 5BL	C15	Stone	I	1048811	Resi
Oxfordshire	**Bloxham**	The Courthouse	Church Street, Bloxham, Oxfordshire OX15 4ET	C14	Stone	II	1046193	Non-resi
Oxfordshire	**Burford**	The Tolsey	High Street, Burford, Oxfordshire, OX18 4QU	C16	TF	II*	1224632	Non-resi
Oxfordshire	**Chipping Norton**	The Guildhall	22 Middle Row, Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire OX7 5NH	C16	Stone	II	1052632	Non-resi
Oxfordshire	**Henley-on-Thames**	Chantry House	Church Avenue, Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire RG9 2AT	C15	TF	I	1047033	Resi
Oxfordshire	**Wallingford**	Town Hall	Market Place, Wallingford, Oxfordshire OX10 0EG	C17	TF	I	1368477	Non-resi
Oxfordshire	**Wigginton**	Court Leet	Mill Lane, Wigginton, Banbury, Oxfordshire OX15 4JT	C16	Stone	II	1281798	Resi
Shropshire	**Condover**	Church House	Condover, Shrewsbury, Shropshire SY5 7AA	C15	TF	II	1175370	Resi
Shropshire	**Highley**	Church House	Church Lane, Highley, Shropshire WV16 6NB	C16	TF	II	1188730	Resi
Shropshire	**Ludlow**	The Reader's House	Church Walk, Ludlow, Shropshire SY8 1AL	C17	TF	I	1220775	Resi
Shropshire	**Ludlow**	The Guildhall	Mill Street, Ludlow, Shropshire SY8 1AZ	C14	TF	I	1211188	Non-resi
Shropshire	**Much Wenlock**	The Guildhall	Willimore Street, Much Wenlock, Shropshire TF13 6HR	C16	TF	II*	1053794	Non-resi

Shropshire	**Shrewsbury**	Drapers Hall	St Mary's Place, Shrewsbury, Shropshire SY1 1DZ	C16	TF	II*	1058993	Resi
Shropshire	**Shrewsbury**	Old Market Hall	The Square, Shrewsbury, Shropshire SY1 1LH	C16	Stone	I	1254925	Non-resi
Shropshire	**Weston-under-Redcastle**	Church House	Hawkstone Court, Weston, Shropshire SY4 5XG	C17	TF	II	1237200	Resi
Shropshire	**Worfield**	The Club House	Main Street, Worfield, Shropshire WV15 5LF	C16	TF	II	1190303	Resi
Surrey	**Lingfield**	Old Town House & Old Town Cottage	Church Road, Lingfield, Surrey RH7 6AH	C16	TF	II*	1029910	Resi
Surrey	**Pirbright**	The Manor House	The Manor House, Mill Lane, Pirbright, Surrey GU24 0BN	C16	TF	II	1188635	Resi
Surrey	**West Horsley**	Church House	Epsom Road, West Horsley, Surrey KT24 6AP	C16	TF	II	1029362	Resi
Surrey	**Wonersh**	The Courthouse	The Green, Shamley Green, Surrey GU5 0UB	C16	TF	II	1241272	Resi
Sussex	**Icklesham**	The Court Hall	9 High Street, Winchelsea, Icklesham, East Sussex TN36 4EA	C14	Stone	I	1234513	Non-resi
Sussex	**Kirdford**	Church House	Kirdford, West Sussex RH14 0LT	C16	TF	II	1239169	Resi
Sussex	**Lindfield**	Church House	122 High Street, Lindfield, West Sussex RH16 3HS	C14	TF	II*	1193272	Non-resi
Sussex	**Pevensey**	The Court House and Wallby	Pevensey Court House Jail, High Street, Pevensey, East Sussex BN24 5LF	C16	Stone	II	1182588	Non-resi
Sussex	**Steyning**	Grammar School	Church Street, Steyning, West Sussex BN44 3LB	C15	TF	I	1194367	Non-resi

Sussex	**Thakeham**	Church House	Cray's Lane, Thakeham, West Sussex RH20 3ER	C16	TF	II	1181223	Resi
Sussex	**Warbleton**	Church Cottage, Church Farm Cottage, Old CH	Church Hill, Warbleton, East Sussex TN21 9BD	C17	Brick	II	1183954	Resi
Warwickshire	**Alcester**	Town Hall	Henley Street, Alcester B49 5QX	C17	Stone	I	1024606	Non-resi
Warwickshire	**Aston Cantlow**	Guild Rooms	Bearley Road, Aston Cantlow, Warks. B95 6HZ	C15	TF	II*	1300206	Non-resi
Warwickshire	**Coventry**	St. Mary's Hall	Bayley Lane, Coventry, Warks. CV1 5RN	C14	Stone	I	1116402	Non-resi
Warwickshire	**Henley-in-Arden**	Guildhall	High Street, Henley-in-Arden, Warks. B95 5AU	C15	TF	II	1382384	Non-resi
Warwickshire	**Knowle (Solihull)**	The Guild House	1715 High Street, Knowle, Solihull, West Midlands B93 0LN	C15	TF	II*	1281619	Non-resi
Warwickshire	**Stratford-upon-Avon**	Guild Hall	Church Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warks. CV37 6HB	C15	TF	I	1187780	Non-resi
Warwickshire	**Warwick**	Leycester Hospital	High Street, Warwick, Warks. CV34 4AT	C15	TF	I	1035441	Non-resi
Westmorland	**Appleby**	Moot Hall	63-66 Boroughgate, Appleby-in-Westmorland, Cumbria	C16	Stone	II*	1145607	Non-resi
Wiltshire	**Bradford-on-Avon**	Masonic Hall	Church Street, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts. BA15 1LN	C16	Stone	II*	1036037	Non-resi
Wiltshire	**Bromham**	Church House	26 High Street, Bromham, Chippenham, Wilts. SN15 2EX	C15	TF	II	1200486	Resi
Wiltshire	**Chippenham**	The Yelde Hall and Council Chamber	Market Place, Chippenham, Wilts. SN15 3HL	C15	TF	I	1267996	Non-resi

Wiltshire	**East Knoyle**	Church House	Hindon Road, East Knoyle, Salisbury, Wilts. SP3 6AE	C16	Stone	II	1131172	Resi
Worcestershire	**Areley Kings**	Church House	Rectory Lane, Areley Kings, Stourport-on-Severn, Worcs. DY13 0TB	C16	TF	II*	1217941	Non-resi
Worcestershire	**Evesham**	The Old Vicarage	Market Place, Evesham, Worcestershire WR11 4RW	C16	TF	II*	1081350	Resi
Worcestershire	**Evesham**	The Round House	2 Bridge Street, Evesham, Worcestershire WR11 4RS	C15	TF	I	1156077	Non-resi
Worcestershire	**Kings Norton**	Old Grammar School	St Nicholas Place, 81 The Green, Kings Norton, Birmingham B38 8RU	C15	TF	II*	1211444	Non-resi
Worcestershire	**Lower Sapey**	Church House Farmhouse	Lower Sapey, Worcs. WR6 6HE	C17	TF	II	1082979	Resi
Worcestershire	**Mamble**	Church Cottage and Church House	Church Lane, Mamble, Kidderminster, Worcestershire DY14 9JY	C15	TF	II	1350053	Resi
Worcestershire	**Yardley**	Trust School	422-4 Church Road, Yardley, Birmingham B33 8PB	C15	TF	II*	1343388	Resi
Yorkshire	**Thorner**	30 Main Street	30 Main Street, Thorner, West Yorkshire LS14 3DX	C16	Stone	II	1227589	Resi
Yorkshire	**York**	Guildhall	Coney Street, York YO1 9QN	C15	Stone	I	1257929	Non-resi
Yorkshire	**York**	Merchant Adventurers' Hall	Fossgate, York YO1 9XD	C14	TF	I	1257828	Non-resi
Yorkshire	**York**	Merchant Taylors' Hall	Aldwark, York YO1 7BX	C15	TF	I	1259571	Non-resi